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# **CAMBRIDGE - The Transformation of a Working Class City**

## **Harvard and M.I.T. Create Imperial City**

**This article was prepared by strikers  
during the spring 1969 Harvard strike.**

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# **ERRATA:**

pages 8 and 13: Regarding the discussion of the Wellington Harrington Project (erroneously printed as W-Barrington): The Wellington school has not been rebuilt. The schools have come down, and been replaced by the Harrington School. The Cambridge Corporation is not actually in the construction business. They have submitted the plans, but neighborhood reaction has prevented their implementation. Thus it is erroneous to say that the Cambridge Corporation was able to keep the people quiet by fooling them (last paragraph, p. 13). The people weren't fooled and the project has thusfar been foiled.



## STOP HARVARD'S EXPANSION

### GENERAL ARGUMENT

Harvard's real estate involvements are playing a major role in the current transformation of Cambridge. A class substitution process is underway. Cambridge is ceasing to be a largely working class-manufacturing city and is rapidly becoming a foremost center for training highly specialized technicians, for carrying out government and private research, and for exploiting the latest technologies in lucrative private industries. There is a coherent pattern in this creation of an entire city which will excel in generating programs and systems -- including military weapons -- for strengthening and advancing the corporate system here and abroad. As shown below, this transformation involves the gradual exclusion of working people and many students -- their places being taken by highly paid professionals. It can be adequately understood only in the context of the relationship between Harvard and the U.S. government and corporations.

A complex of industry based on defense contracting has developed in the Boston area -- especially the Route 128 electronics network -- feeding on the manpower, technical advice and facilities available at the Universities and in turn providing job and moonlighting opportunities and research and development "fallout" to academia. The government fits in by its exchange of defense contracts for the sophisticated technical and social engineering output of the mutually supportive universities and corporations. At the New England Regional Space Conference in 1962, then MIT President Killian spoke of the threesome as a "triple-play combination (of) Tinkers to Evers to Chance and government to education to business," and as "the symbiosis of education and business."

Harvard's interests are closely tied to big business. The President and six Fellows of Harvard collectively hold one chairmanship, three presidencies and thirty-three directorships in major U.S. corporations. These men have a large stake in the defense of the American empire and hence in the university expansion programs which will transform Cambridge into an efficient "Imperial City."

It must be emphasized that the taxpayers (including workers) ultimately provide the funds for this cycle which amounts to a government forced subsidy from the people to the corporations and universities. The workers' relationship to the "triple play" is hardly symbiotic.

The policies jointly promoted by Harvard and the businesses and agencies for whom Cambridge is being redeveloped are explicitly opposed to the interests of the people whose housing is being redeveloped out of existence. The most obvious example is the Vietnam War, designed in part by Professors McGeorge Bundy, Huntington, Kissinger, etc., and on which many of the Harvard-related defense industries are based. For workers, the war means inflation and taxes spent to support a policy which takes a heavy toll of their draft-age sons. More generally, as counter-insurgency operations, here and abroad, increasingly require sophisticated technological and sociological foundations, we can anticipate increased government and foundation contracts to academic and research-and-development establishments. The new Cambridge, Imperial City, will be a richly funded complex grinding out programs to suppress black rebellions, worker and student struggles, and insurgency in the American empire. Modern counter-insurgency -- first publicly pushed by Harvard educated and advised John F. Kennedy -- depends not only on arms but also on subtle social engineering techniques like the Civic Action and "pacification" programs, partly developed at Harvard. A new aspect of these programs is the restructuring of university education in the Third World to make it more like U.S. education and turn out people who are basically narrow technicians. (There is a counter-insurgency contract to Michigan State University to redesign the universities of Thailand and Guatemala.) As counter-insurgency succeeds for a time in pacifying an area, some U.S. corporations move from their original locations to take advantage of the cheap labor (and newly Americanized technicians), thus further hurting the workers of places like Cambridge and Boston. (The Boston area has been one of the hardest hit by "run-away shops" in textiles, electronics, etc.)

Thus the demand to end Harvard's expansion refers both to the kind of expansion it is facilitating -- the development of a community centered around military, corporate and U.S. government priorities -- and to the destruction of working class neighborhoods. Workers' interests are being attacked in two ways: both through the broad policies in which Harvard is instrumental, and through rent increases and the destruction of workers' housing.

Students' interests are similarly being attacked. First, rent hikes and deteriorating housing are a beginning phase of the redevelopment. Second, by cutting students off from working class communities, converting Cambridge to a middle and upper-middle class city is functional for the elitist attitudes which Harvard education, as well as the life experience of most Harvard students, tends to inculcate. Most Harvard students have very little contact with workers. The University instills values which look down on the kind of work done and lives led by most people in the society. Most students are trained as mental workers and as technicians serving the ruling class. We are not trained to question, analyze and



change society. Fighting university expansion is not simply a humanistic support action for workers losing their homes. The fight is an attempt to encourage the development of an alliance between students and workers against the oppressive policies serviced by Harvard. Harvard's expansion works to prevent that alliance.

The following information on University expansion treats the community invasion by MIT as well as by Harvard. This is necessary because the two programs depend intimately on each other. Harvard and MIT share joint facilities -- the electron accelerator, computing centers, etc. -- and they act jointly to lure industrial and government research and development establishments to the area. It is inconceivable that a research and development corporation growing out of an MIT venture would not benefit from Harvard's proximity, and in turn serve the University. This is obvious when one considers the far-reaching effect of Lincoln Laboratories as described by MIT in "Cambridge, USA, Hub of a New World," Christopher Rand (Oxford U. Press, 1964.) :

"We have six hundred scientists and engineers in our Lincoln Lab. It has been a great center for developing features of all the U.S. warning systems now in use - of the DEW line, SAGE, and BMEWS were worked out at Lincoln. Such things are INVALUABLE FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE' of course, and they have also had a great IMPACT ON INDUSTRY; THEY HAVE FED IT IN MANY WAYS' Then our Instrumentation Lab which also has six hundred scientists and engineers, is the main center in the country for missile guidance systems. For Polaris, Thor and Titan. This work, too, apart from its value to defense, has attracted industry, chiefly electronics, to the region. AC Spark Plug, the electronics division of General Motors, came here because of it. So did Minneapolis-Honeywell. And the lab has helped tremendously in the growth of local firms like Raytheon. (Rand, p. 37) (Emphasis added.)

Harvard graduates work in these firms, Harvard professionals consult there, and Harvard aids MIT's expansion because it creates the correct "professional" environment for its own plans. Our Stop Harvard Expansion demands must, then, be seen in the broader context of University expansion in Cambridge. The following facts come from information gained in Cambridge Peace and Freedom Party canvassing, from various official agencies -- in each instance cited -- and from surveys taken by the Harvard City Planning Department. It should be stressed that the best source of information is going around and actually talking to the people who appear here merely as statistics, and observing their living conditions first-hand.

## IMPERIAL CITY

THE NASA COMPLEX. Harvard and MIT's role in the creation of NASA (Rand, p. 50) prompted the choice of Cambridge for the NASA plant. People should go to Kendall Square and see the site. The plant will be enor-



mous and will employ between 2100 and 3000 people when totally completed. (This information is from Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, "Kendall Square Urban Renewal Area - Regional Location and Accessibility", Dec., 1968. Hereafter Called CRA, 1968). It already has 844 "professional, technical and administrative" personnel, and the projected figure is over 1400. These professional people are going to be provided housing and "services" in Cambridge, causing rent hikes and demolition. This is in addition to the destruction of housing and factories where working people lived and worked to make way for the plant itself. And NASA will pay zero taxes. Often people justify high-rise apartments by saying they "improve the tax base." Apparently those who control Cambridge care very little about the tax base when they bring in NASA. It should be noted that when the site was being considered, available land in West Cambridge, which would have destroyed no housing, was turned down because it was not close enough to the universities. There it is - the imperialist university!

TECH SQUARE. NASA is only part of an enormous complex of new industrial set-ups. The complex began before anyone was talking publicly about NASA - it's called Tech Square and it is directly west of the NASA site (across Broadway). It will finally have over one million square feet of office space and it replaced the old Lever Brothers plant and some housing. (Rand, p. 47 and CRA, "Kendall Square Urban Renewal Area - Land Utilization and Marketability", Oc., 1965 - hereafter called CRA, 1965.) Cabot, Cabot and Forbes developed it, and according to Rand, MIT was instrumental in its creation. It was designed for "commercial use and for companies and agencies that want a close link with MIT personnel." Among the tenants are IBM, Institute of Naval Studies and ARPA (Advanced Research Project Administration of the Air Force.) Ed Crane, then Mayor of Cambridge and now a City Councilman (and the biggest local political boss) said at the New England Regional Space Conference in 1962 that this project had played an important role in "blitzing the slums" - that is, driving out working people. This shows once again the way all parties cooperated and plan together. In fact, the CRA says (CRA, Dec., 1968) that the Tech Square land "was made available, in part, through urban renewal action by the City of Cambridge and the CRA."

GOLDEN TRIANGLE. Next to Tech Square stands the "Golden Triangle" to be. This too is being pushed directly through the CRA. The Golden Triangle is almost a duplication of Tech Square, with the high rise office buildings and the big electronics and R and D firms. The CRA advertised in the Cambridge Chronicle-Sun about a month ago that the tenants

were limited to "prestige" R and D businesses, apartments and stores. The prospectus (CRA, 1968) makes it clear that they want businesses which fit into the Imperial City pattern. That is, they only want new type light industry, high-priced apartments and classy stores.

**CAMBRIDGE GATEWAY.** Right next to the Golden Triangle is the site of "Cambridge Gateway" which will be the new home of "The Badger Company" - a subsidiary of Raytheon. (Military oriented Raytheon has 200 MIT graduates on its staff.) Badger will take up only ten stories of about 30 in a two-tower operation, the others being occupied by other R and D and light research firms. This project is being managed by the R.M. Bradley Co., which is the manager of Harvard's holdings on University Road (site of the murder last year and of a projected \$50 per month rent raise.)

Kendall Square, then, is a big center for future R and D, with MIT as the hub of the operation and Harvard undoubtedly contributing what it can. This enormous complex will probably continue to grow. For example, we have now heard from people who work at MIT that Lockheed Aircraft and General Dynamics are all coming to Cambridge. Bolt, Baranek and Newman, an acoustics firm, all of whose owners carry appointments at MIT, is also planning to move in - according to people canvassed in the rent control campaign.

**OTHER RECENT AND PROJECTED BUILDINGS.** The Charles Bank Building (the one that looks like a waffle) has just been completed in Central Square. It doesn't fit in at all right now, but someday more buildings in Central Square will look like that. For example, there is a sign there that Hunneman and Co. is going to put up a big new building. (Hunneman is one of Harvard's apartment managers and he sits on Radcliffe's Board of Overseers. They must expect a lot of business in the future.) Elsewhere in Cambridge, further out, 625 Mt. Auburn Street was recently built. It contains three insurance companies and the Social Security Administration. Another big building, across from Fresh Pond Shopping Center, is an office building just completed (since 1960). It contains, among others, the Smithsonian Astrophysical Lab. And at Mass. Ave. and Ellery, a big new office building is going up.

**PORTER SQUARE.** Oliver Brooks, the head of the Cambridge Corporation, told our interviewer that their latest project is a huge industrial park in Porter Square, just off the shopping center, smack on top of a working class neighborhood. An industrial park, e.g. Tech Square and the Golden



Triangle, is a grouping of buildings suitable for industry. It usually includes hotels (Holiday Inn has plans) and restaurants nearby or on the site, but basically it's meant to be a "pleasant surrounding" for highly skilled light industry technicians.

The Cambridge Planning Board issued a report in 1965 which showed that there have been big declines in the soap, candy, rubber and bakery industries in Cambridge. These are the production industries which used to (and, to some extent, still do) employ the working people of Cambridge. Thus, despite the addition of huge plants for R and D and light industry like Polaroid (by the way, Land, the President of Polaroid, has an MIT appointment without any advanced degree), the industrial employment in Cambridge decreased by about 1000 since 1950. At the same time, total employment increased by 12,000 between 1950 and 1965. Of these, over 10,000 were at Harvard, MIT or business "closely related to university resources" -- that is, light industry R and D. Furthermore, they expected 10,000 MORE SUCH JOBS BY 1970. Several of the people in the work-in last summer were told by their bosses that their company was planning to move within ten years. Thus, people on both sides know what the future holds. On the one hand, the old style industry expects to leave; on the other hand, the new style industry expects to come.

**SERVICES IN IMPERIAL CITY** . With the transformation of Cambridge into a big defense industry center, the services in the city cannot be kept at the miserable level that the working people have endured. Housing will be discussed a little later. Beyond this, there are other services which are being developed right now in anticipation of future needs.

The importance of the material below is that almost without fail these are services provided by the city **IN ANTICIPATION OF THE TRANSFORMATION**. This shows that the whole thing is planned and that this is not just the natural operation of "market forces." If it were, the type of planning which goes into these services could not have occurred.

**MBTA**. The MBTA has announced plans to extend the subway to Fresh Pond and Porter Square. These will be very very expensive. We all know that the MBTA pleaded poverty at the time of the fare hike. Why have they suddenly decided to do this? After all, thousands of working people up in Porter Square have had to take buses to Harvard Square for years. Certainly the MBTA wouldn't be just getting around to serving



them. The answer is the new industrial park that the Cambridge Corporation is planning. This big plant will need more luxurious transportation and naturally the government will provide it. Notice that the extension plans were announced long before the Porter Square park was officially announced -- in fact, that project is not yet official. This can't be "in response to new demand" because the demand hasn't arisen. It is in response to the anticipated construction which has been planned and then coordinated with MBTA. In fact, Oliver Brooks, the head of Cambridge Corporation, told our interviewer that they were still talking to the MBTA in order to arrange not to conflict over the land there.

**HIGHWAYS.** Three roads are coming through Cambridge. The most famous is the Inner Belt, which will run up Brookline and Elm Streets to Somerville. The Inner Belt has been planned for some 20 years. Why have they suddenly decided to go ahead? The answer lies in several realms, no doubt, but one of the biggest is bound to be what the CRA said in its prospectus on the Golden Triangle: "Kendall Square will be directly linked to the entire metropolitan area including Route 128 . . ." by the Inner Belt! (CRA, 1965). Clearly, in order for the Cambridge industry to function really well, it will need direct access to the airport, Route 128 and all the major super-highways. The Inner Belt will supply that. Furthermore, the construction of the Inner Belt will help in several other ways. First, it will provide transportation from suburbia to Cambridge for those working here who don't live in the to-be-built high rises. Second, it provides the opportunity to build up all sorts of services along the highway which fit into the Imperial City mold. Third, it will help to drive out some 1500 working families and students who are not wanted in the future city. This is what Councilman Crane called "blitzing the slums." Fourth, because of the threat of the Belt, many small home-owners in the Cambridgeport area have been persuaded to sell to big speculators (notably MIT) at very low prices because they know that they will get next to nothing from the state. Many of these homes will not be used by the Belt, and so this gives the big boys an easy way to grab houses and jack up rents, etc. It should be noted that MIT, to protect the site for a proposed low-vibration laboratory, vetoed an alternate route which would have knocked out very few houses.

Less known than the Inner Belt are two other highway extensions coming through Cambridge. These are clearly part of the attempt to give Cambridge a very advanced highway system to serve the incoming industry. One, Route 12, will go through North Cambridge, but we know little more about it right now. The other, an extension of Route 2, will go from Fresh Pond along Concord Avenue. This will destroy about 320 homes.



These roads do not serve the people of Cambridge. Their real function is high-speed access to Cambridge from points far away. The Cambridge citizen does not need that high-speed access and he often doesn't even have a car. Thus, these ROADS DO NOT HELP ANYONE PRESENTLY LIVING IN CAMBRIDGE. To help provide for outside cars, a parking garage has been proposed under Cambridge Common. (City Council 3110). Harvard supports the proposal, even though they have in the past opposed construction of parking lots to get student cars off the streets.

**SCHOOLS.** Everyone is familiar with the poor state of the school systems in many cities in the country. The working class neighborhoods -- especially black neighborhoods -- get the worst schools possible and never get new ones, while neighborhoods with wealthy people get new, expensive schools. Hence, many people were surprised to find Cambridge embarking on one of the most massive school rebuilding plans of any city around. So far, bids have been brought in on three of the schools: the King School, the RFK School and the John M. Tobin School. Al , the Wellington School was torn down to make way for the Wellington-Barrington Project and is being rebuilt. The latter costs \$1,500,000. The other three went for a total of \$13,388,000 (to the Aberthaw Construction Co.). (See Cambridge Chronicle-Sun, 4/3.) There was talk at the City Council during February of at least two more projected rebuildings.

This is all in anticipation of the influx of the upper middle class. This was revealed in the Cambridge Chronicle (2/20) when Councilman Hayes announced that there was 20 million dollars waiting in Washington for the redevelopment of Riverside (where the King school is located) and Wellington-Barrington. Apparently the reconstruction of the schools is looked upon as "matching funds" for Federal urban renewal money. Now Hayes has introduced a motion in the City Council to get these funds and use them to redevelop these two areas. At the City Council where he introduced this (2/24) he revealed that this plan was developed by the CRA, and that he was going along with them. The motion has been temporarily tabled because hordes of Cambridge citizens showed up to protest the impending destruction of their communities. However, Ackerman (the "liberal") has a motion to bring it off the table, and will do so in due time. In the meantime planning proceeds.

This incident reveals several very important facts. First, as soon as people heard about this "urban redevelopment" they got very mad; the "apathetic working class" is a myth. The outcry occurred even though Hayes -- at the City Council meeting -- tried to pass these off as Federal funds for "new streets, street



lighting, park and recreation facilities and other community improvements, and for housing for the elderly. . ." Workers knew it was urban removal and said so. They were ready to take action and they destroyed Hayes at a "community meeting" which was called to calm them down. Second, this reveals the very bad role of the Poverty Program. The Riverside Association and the CEOC put forward demands at that meeting that the only thing the people wanted was that they be consulted on this plan and any others. They had a City Council resolution passed last year which said community groups would be consulted on all urban removal and they tried to build a campaign around getting the City Council to obey this. Thus, there was no demand to STOP these projects - only that the people be consulted. Naturally, now that Hayes has appeared in the community (and gotten clobbered) he will say the community has been consulted and go right ahead.

A few other services are also being planned or are already built. The Fresh Pond Shopping Center itself is the "new type" which caters to "upper-middle class". The CRA (CRA, 1965) points with pride to Fresh Pond as a selling point in attracting other light industry. (p.11) The new buildings in Central Square will serve a similar function.

**HOUSING AND HARVARD.** Housing is a central feature of the transformation to Imperial City. First, the transformation will require the expulsion of working people and students to make room for big installations. Also, the new high rises are essential for housing the incoming technicians, and in a "proper atmosphere" to give them the idea that technicians are somehow different from workers. Most of the land in Cambridge is devoted to housing, and therefore most of the new land for labs, etc. comes from it.

We can already see what is happening in the housing situation. Rents have doubled since 1960 according to the CEOC. This brings the average rent for a one-bedroom apartment up to about \$140 and the average for available apartments near to \$200. A survey by the Harvard City Planning Department indicated a 123% rent increase from 1960 to 1968 for the average two-bedroom apartment (now renting for \$145) and a 106% increase for the average three-bedroom apartment (now \$155) during the same period. It is simply impossible, at these rates, for a working family to get a place here. A CEOC survey indicates that over one-half of the city's elderly citizens live on \$1500 and must pay over half their income for rent.

When families lose their apartment through demolition or a rent raise, they have to leave Cambridge. Furthermore, when they do leave Cambridge, it's not simply a question of people getting thrown out of their home town. They don't find good two bedroom apartments for under \$100 anywhere in the Boston

area. Therefore, what happens is that the people leave Cambridge (that's bad enough) and also end up paying \$70 for a two-room apartment somewhere like Jamaica Plain. Thus, it's not just losing your home; it means lousy housing elsewhere.

At the same time, the working people are replaced by students who can't afford the high rents either. However, unlike a family, students can team up -- four or five at a time -- in order to meet the exorbitant rents. Some people think students like to live this way; but most students would prefer their own apartments to sharing a bedroom.

At first we thought that this was simply a matter of landlords getting ahold of a good thing -- gouging students and working people for big profits. Then we found that Harvard was the biggest landlord in Cambridge and MIT the second biggest. Perhaps the Universities were flooding Cambridge with students by deliberately providing insufficient student housing to supply themselves, the slumlords, with tenants. Over 4,000 Harvard students live in private Cambridge housing. The CRA (CRA, 1965) talks of MIT's housing policy and its expansion policy in no uncertain terms. They say that MIT had 14,000 students in 1965, that MIT planned to expand to 20,000 by 1970, and that MIT planned to limit housing facilities to 6,000. These are not inadvertent accidents which come along. They are policies upon which the CRA chose to plan its own policies -- to build much housing for these people.

But, certain things did not fit into place. First, Harvard was making a big fortune off Peabody Terrace. If they became slumlords and provided themselves with student tenants only to make a killing from high rents, they would also build more of these and find juicy ways of encouraging students to live in them. (Many, many universities do this, including Berkeley.) Second, the University landlords in Cambridge were letting their houses run down, but they were also letting them fall into rot. This is the wrong thing to do if you want to continue to gouge rents. You let the apartments fall apart, but you keep the foundation up if you expect to be a good slumlord for a long time.

Finally, we realized that the Cambridge housing crisis actually helps Harvard and the Imperial City businesses to expand. In the past when Harvard or MIT tried to take land for building, the tenants started kicking up a fuss. This is called bad "public relations" -- i.e., someone was fighting back. One way to prevent this is to buy land, raise the rents, and then rent to your own students. The displaced tenants blame the students and the students don't fight because they move out each year and therefore don't care if the building is torn down in their wake.



By driving working people out with rents, Universities don't have to worry about open rebellion when everyone finally realizes what's going on. Most neighborhoods can be thrown out piecemeal instead of all at once. There has been massive resistance to big renewal projects -- for example, the South End Project which caused a political crisis of some proportions. So plans are kept secret and the main fighters -- working people who have lived here all their lives -- are forced out before they realize what's happening. Students are used by the universities to facilitate the process.

By these means, the housing crisis also centralizes ownership of housing into the hands of large speculators who are always willing to sell to the demolition teams. If Harvard wants to build a big lab, but some of the houses are owner-occupied, it is in trouble. It might offer as much as three times the price and not get it, because the owner just likes his place. On the other hand, with property values soaring, with "students moving in" and with speculators knocking on the door every day, an owner can be worn down. In a few years when Harvard is ready to move, it has less trouble.

An interesting related phenomenon is block-busting with students. One house will be bought, the rents jacked and students moved in. (This is happening at the bottom of Western Ave.) Then the owner (in this case Harvard) will be very lax about keeping the place up, especially the outside, by not having good garbage service, not keeping up the yard, etc. Then speculators go around to the neighbors saying that "students are moving in" and "Harvard is taking over" and that they had better sell before the bottom drops out of their price and the neighborhood gets run down. Many people are cruelly fooled by this and lose their homes for very low prices. The speculators buy the houses or Harvard does. Either way, the people lose.

Harvard and MIT are out to buy much of Cambridge. MIT is buying particularly in the Belt route and near it. Harvard had no holdings in Cambridge in 1958 apart from its own educational campus. (As President Pusey said at Winthrop House 3/12/69, "Harvard preceded Cambridge and is the most important thing going on here.") Between 1958 and 1964 it bought only for Peabody and Mather House sites. Then it began to buy. Between 1964 and 1967 it bought on the order of 200 units. From January 1st, 1967 to July, 1968 it bought 150 more. This year already it has bought 60. The total is 1100 units - 400 of them besides the married student housing. Charles Whitlock, Harvard

V.P. for Community Affairs told a woman who was getting many "offers" for her house that "we're in no hurry, we'll get your place when you die." Prof. Nash of the City Planning Department has been quoted as saying that Harvard buys everything it can get at a good price. And so the stage is set: Harvard has bought and students are moving in.

What happens to all this land? First, the Universities use it for expansion. MIT has built something like ten new buildings in the last five years. Harvard has built Peabody, Mather, William James Hall, and is planning a big government building, another big lab and maybe more. (The CEOC asked Harvard for its plans and was refused.) Second, a lot of this land goes for all the industries, roads, and services that we talked about above. Third, the land is converted into expensive housing for rich people who are coming and will come to Cambridge.

Let's look at this. Between 1955 and 1959, a total of 161 rental units and 35 owner-occupied dwellings were built in Cambridge. Not very much. Between 1959 and 1964, 988 were given permits. Notice the big difference. Consider, however, that not a single low-income unit was built, no federal housing projects, not even middle income! All this in a working class city. What was built? The CRA looked at 778 of the new units and found that they were all upper income dwellings in the Harvard Central Square area or out on Brattle Street. 650 of these units have air conditioning. the LOWEST RENT WAS \$125 PER MONTH FOR AN EFFICIENCY APARTMENT. The lowest two-bedroom rent was \$195. The average rents were well over \$200 per month and the average for two-bedrooms was over \$300. No one with an income lower than \$15,000 per year can afford \$300 per month (according to the U.S. government.) So you can see that the average two-bedroom built excluded 90% of the population. That is, they were upper class housing -- occupied in part by the 1800 Harvard faculty who live in Cambridge.

The trend continues. The Cambridge Chronicle (4/3) reported that permits were asked for a six-floor high-rise at 377 Franklin Street of 72 units, at 280 Harvard Street for 31 units, and at 25 Elmer Street for 18 units. There is new construction at Trowbridge and Cambridge Street, a 16-floor high-rise is going up at Fresh Pond, 200 units are being built over the parking lot in back of Corcoran's in Central Square. And so it goes.



Harvard has played a particularly active role in all this.

Besides Peabody Towers which charges \$115 per month for a one-bedroom apartment -- hard for poor graduate students, but just right for Business School people who mostly inhabit it -- Harvard has announced plans to build "faculty" housing at the Shady Hill site. Further, they have now announced (Crimson 3/3) that they are building more upper income housing on Sacramento Street (where working people used to live and students now live), and also at the Treeland site (next to the river). Furthermore, the same announcement intimated that they had their eyes on a Green Street location which has just now begun to get its rents jacked up, driving working people out.

Mr. Goyette, the man who announed this, said "the University has expressed its concern for the housing situation in the city and has recognized the need for added housing." The new housing will throw out students -- who can then move to Somerville -- or Boston or anywhere the University wants -- but out of Cambridge. And Goyette says that the University is living up to its "responsibility!"

But even more degrading than this is the behavior of the Cambridge Corporation, a Harvard-Imperial City outfit described further below. Five years ago, the city announced that it was going to redevelop East Cambridge. When the citizens heard, they got fighting mad. So they announced that they were going to build low income housing. The project was called the Wellington-Barrington Housing Project and it has toddled along since 1965. The City Manager even appointed a hand-picked citizens committee (not a single tenant among them) to front for the job. In 1967, the Cambridge Corporation took over the administration and started the construction of some "cooperative" apartments. All this time when anyone complained, they were told that Wellington-Barrington showed that the city cared. Now (at the City Council meeting 3/24) they are ready to unveil their plan. Co-op apartments at \$100 to \$120 per month. First off, this is far too expensive for most people in Cambridge -- they need rents of less than \$100. But what's worse is that this is a lie. Actually, that is the cost of "payments." The tenants of these "co-ops" will also pay taxes (they are the "owners"), maintenance, insurance, corporation fees and supervisorial fees. Actually, you won't get one of them for less than \$175 per month. THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO WILL BE ABLE TO AFFORD THEM ARE THE NASA TECHNICIANS WHO ARE WORKING LESS THAN FIVE BLOCKS AWAY!

Notice what this did. First, it provided even more upper income housing, this time publicly financed. Second, it kept people quiet for a long time because they thought they were getting low income housing. Third, it gave

the city a front group -- this citizens committee -- to blame for the bad deal the people of the community got. Already, there is a fight brewing to replace the nasties on the citizens committee. While everyone is fighting that war, the Cambridge Corporation will pull the same trick elsewhere.

In fact, they have already started. In Walden Square -- conveniently close to the new industrial park, the Cambridge Corporation has built a front group called the Interfaith Housing Corporation and they are planning to build "low to moderate" income housing -- 250 units of it. However, they already admit that the rents will be over \$100. By the time it's built, undoubtedly they will be very nice apartments suitable for the newly completed industrial park. In the meantime, the city will point to this as a big new project which is meant to serve working people.

Also, the City of Cambridge just sold Max Wasserman (a notorious slumlord) the City Dump for \$1 per square foot and he is building 500 units on it (up near Rindge Ave.). Once again, this is "Federal housing" and therefore billed as "low to moderate income". However, even in its current state, the rents will be over \$100 and by the time it's completed, they will be much higher. ,

Then let us take the cruelest cut of all. Cambridge has four housing projects which really are low income. One of them, Washington Elms, is right next to MIT. There is a rumor that MIT owns the land underneath the project. Several tenants have been visited by men from MIT who have told them that they want to look at the apartments because they are considering buying them from the city. You can see what is going on. There is going to be a clean sweep of Cambridge -- no working people will be left. They are even going to tear down the housing projects.

## AGENTS OF URBAN IMPERIALISM

Who are the major actors in the transformation process, besides Harvard and MIT? How is it coordinated? Naturally, this is the hardest thing to uncover. However, it seems that the Cambridge Corporation is the center of much maneuvering. The Cambridge Corporation was established in 1965 or 1966 with \$1,000,000 endowment. Harvard and MIT gave \$250,000 each and the rest was put up by the other big businesses in Cambridge. The Board of Directors includes Chairman James Killian of MIT, President Pusey, the head of the Harvard Trust, a man from Polaroid, Arthur D. Little, etc.

The first thing the Cambridge Corporation did was hire the head of the South End Redevelopment project to write a redevelopment plan for Cambridge. This man, Dick Green, has now retreated to Cleveland where he



does redevelopment for Mayor Stokes. The report proposed that Cambridge be converted into a middle class town because that was the proper atmosphere for universities. It caused such a stir that it was suppressed. Technically, it was written for the Redevelopment Authority, but if you ask them for it, they deny its existence. This is undoubtedly very sensible -- they don't want people to know that the plan is really in operation. Since then, the Cambridge Corporation has had its hands in almost every pie. Apparently it masterminded the Wellington-Barrington operation. It is running the Walden Square project, the Porter Square industrial park, and others.

The Cambridge Redevelopment Authority is also an important cog in the wheel. The CRA is responsible for overseeing all Federal redevelopment plans in Cambridge and for taking land to use in these plans. Therefore, NASA, Golden Triangle, Wellington-Barrington and everything else goes through them. CRA also helps in planning the entire process of Harvardization. For example, they recently did a study on NASA plants of comparable size to the one here. These were Lewis Research Center (Cleveland, 4900 employees), Jet Propulsion Laboratories (Pasadena, 4000 employees) and Ames Research Center (outside of San Francisco, 2200 employees.) They found that these center had little effect on the surrounding towns and industry. They brought no new industry, no new housing and no new services. In essence the CRA report urges the awareness that NASA's coming is not alone sufficient for further Cambridge growth. In other words, the report shows there is no inevitable "market" trend to Harvardization. It must be deliberately encouraged.

The City Council plays the same role it always plays in Cambridge. It serves the big university and business in a number of ways. All the construction is directly administered by the City Council -- the schools, parks and improvements. Furthermore, they grant every kind of easement so that high rises and university buildings can be built. Finally, the City Manager just (3/24) announced that he had put together a Housing Task Force to help with the housing problem. According to Goyette, President Pusey encouraged this development. The members are the CRA, the CHA (Cambridge Housing Authority -- administers the projects), Harvard, MIT, the Cambridge Corporation and the Planning Board (another city agency). This brings together into one group all the big guys in Cambridge. On April 4, the City Manager asked the CEOC to join the planning force, so that completes the group -- all the anti-people agencies are now represented. How can this group possibly serve the interests of the people?

This brings us to the CEOC -- the Cambridge Economic Opportunity Committee, the local arm of the "War on Poverty" (or is it the War on the Poor?) CEOC began some time ago and acts to co-opt people in Cambridge.



First, they see their role as finding housing for dislocated citizens. This lures tenants into a defeatist attitude about the possibilities of fighting the demolition or rent hike program responsible for their dislocation. Second, they operate through traditionally unresponsive government channels, instilling in workers unjustified faith in the power structure. Third, they push token community control measures, like seating a worker on the university and corporation dominated CRA, thus diverting attention from programs that could really give workers more power. There is undoubtedly a relationship between the past protests of Cambridge citizens when Harvard or its corporate cohorts wanted to expand and the choice of Cambridge as one of 20 Model Cities programs. Cambridge now has one of the most lavishly funded War on Poverty programs.

To briefly review the relation of the CEOC to our rent control demand: last September, the CEOC sponsored a Housing Convention with much fanfare and expensive publicity under the slogan "Keep Cambridge Yours," and managed to attract 900 people. This was when the Cambridge Peace and Freedom Party had just begun to work on rent control. What CEOC did was simply pass every single suggestion which was made and then refer them all to the "coordinating committee" to decide upon. This committee was dominated by the CEOC leadership, who are on the Federal payroll. One proposal was rent control, but they didn't even set up a committee on it. However, when Peace and Freedom began the rent control referendum campaign, the sub-committee on rent control started having weekly meetings and the UPA (Urban Planning Association), the Harvard group in charge of "advising" them, became anxious. Right away, they started working hard on rent control — especially after they tried to convince Peace and Freedom to discontinue the referendum and were refused. In no time flat, the rent control sub-committee was the only functioning group in the whole Housing Convention. This took place late November-early December, and now the rent control group has received direct funds (rumor has it over \$100,000) and no longer has to hassle with the Housing Convention leadership. By the way, CEOC just got a new \$180,000 Federal grant, so we can see that the Federal government is worried.

The CEOC law keeps changing. Currently, it allows for the Rent Board to order raises in rent (for "higher costs") which means the bill can actually be used to accelerate rent increases. However, that's just the current state. Every time they are attacked, they change it, since the only real reason for its existence is the co-optation of the referendum movement. Their plan, by the way, is to take the bill to the CEOC leadership, where it will be amended, take it to the City Manager's Committee,



where it will be amended, take it to the City Council, where it will be amended, and then ask the City Council to pass it. If the referendum is very strong, the City Council may, in fact, pass the weak CEOC bill. CEOC, in short, has shown that whatever the rent control campaign does, they will respond, and that whenever something bugs people, they will sponsor a protest which has no hope of winning anything.

The Federal government proper is undoubtedly deeply into the planning of the new Cambridge. It's hard to nail down exactly the coordination, but we must recognize the centrality of their interest. Besides sponsoring most of the building -- NASA and other defense buildings -- they also are the sources of all the building funds for the various so-called housing projects. Furthermore, most of the businesses which will and do operate in Cambridge are under one Federal contract or another. For example, A. D. Little (author of a new building near Fresh Pond) have just completed research on the synthetic marijuana bomb. Third, remember the CEOC. Finally, the Federal government gives special money to the city for special needs. The most spectacular is the Yearly Census which has just been commissioned starting this year. Cambridge is the only city in the whole country with such a census, and when it was announced in February, Mayor Sullivan spoke of its use in helping the city to "plan better." Obviously, they want to keep careful track of the demography of Cambridge. Justin Gray -- special assistant City Manager to handle Federal funds (how many cities the size of Cambridge have one of these?) -- said at the City Council meeting Feb. 24 that he had added up the city's Federal money needs and they work out to 220 million in the next five years. It's an exorbitant sum, but he obviously expects to get it. The Federal government, in addition to Harvard, obviously is interested and implicated in the creation of Imperial City.

This lavishly funded process of Harvardization is not in the interests of workers and students.

## THE SDS DEMANDS

### I. WE DEMAND THAT HARVARD ROLL BACK THE RENTS IN THE APARTMENTS IT OWNS TO THE JANUARY 1, 1968, LEVEL.

Harvard, as the largest landlord in Cambridge (it owns at least 450 units), has played a leading role in the rent raises and the systematic expulsion of working class families.

President Pusey claims that Harvard rents are lower than the market prices. Members of the Rent Control Referendum Campaign have canvassed

Harvard-owned buildings and have found that rents in those buildings are among the highest in Cambridge. On Garfield Street, for example, two-room apartments now rent for \$115 a month, and Harvard has just informed tenants of a \$15 raise. The apartments are poorly maintained. Boilers in the buildings broke down last winter and people went without heat. Repairs, when made, are slipshod, unsatisfactory; major, expensive repairs are almost never performed. Since Harvard wants to tear them down, it won't make "unnecessary investments," but it does manage to make a good deal of profits. A Harvard official admitted recently to the tenants of the University Road apartments that Harvard makes \$14,000 profit per year there. This amounts to \$20 per month per tenant -- and these are among the lowest rents in Harvard-owned buildings! And Pusey has the gall to say that Harvard does not invest for profit in real estate!

Harvard tried to raise the rents in these buildings a few years ago, but was defeated when the tenants got together, organized the Mt. Auburn Tenants Union, and threatened a total rent strike. Harvard now wants to raise the rents by \$20 to \$50 a month, to drive out the poorer tenants so that the others can be more easily put into the "moderate-income" housing that Harvard likes to have around.

Harvard's interest in raising rents is two-fold; the increases bring greater profits to the Corporation and also facilitate Harvard's expansion policies. It is easier to tear down a building filled with students whose leases soon expire and who do not need to be relocated or a building filled with middle-income people with more housing opportunities than it is to evict established members of the Cambridge community.

Right now the main means by which working people are being kicked out of Cambridge is rising rents. The Cambridge Peace and Freedom Party is working to fight that process. One aspect of the campaign is a referendum for a strong rent control bill that would roll rent back to the level of January 1, 1968 for a period of four years. This is a necessary first step in the fight for a community where decent housing can be provided at reasonable rents to working class people.

Both because Harvard has a profound effect on Cambridge rent levels and because it uses rent increases as a tool in its expansion, we demand that it institute unilaterally this provision of the Peace and Freedom Party Rent Control Law.



## II. WE DEMAND THAT BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS' HOMES IN ROXBURY NOT BE TORN DOWN TO MAKE ROOM FOR THE AFFILIATE HOSPITALS CENTER.

President Pusey's reaction to this demand was: "How can one respond to allegations that have no basis in fact? . . . there are no . . . homes being torn down to make way for the Harvard Medical School expansion." The same day Dr. Robert Ebert, Dean of the Medical School, confirmed that 182 units would be demolished to make room for the new hospital complex in which the Medical School will conduct teaching and research. And Saturday, Harold Goyette of the Harvard Planning Office confirmed that Harvard owns (or will own) the land and the buildings that are to be destroyed.

Interviews with tenants turned up the fact that they received letters from Hunneman, Harvard's agent, January 1 saying that their homes would be torn down in from two to five years, and that rents were now up by \$15 and \$25, an increase of 50% in some cases. Harvard has allowed the buildings to deteriorate. Tenants point to holes in walls and ceilings; one building burned because Harvard refused to repair faulty wiring; in another building, a gas leak in an unrented apartment has gone unrepaired for months.

Now Harvard intends to tear down the slum it is creating and put up a hospital. The planned Affiliate Hospitals Center amalgamates three currently independent Boston hospitals: Peter Bent Brigham, Robert Breck Brigham, and the Boston Hospital for Women. It is to be run by a group that is legally independent of the Harvard Corporation, but staffed by the faculty of the Harvard Medical School and is to continue the training functions for the Medical School currently carried on by the three independent hospitals. Is this going to serve the community? The main aspect of the hospital is to serve as a teaching and research center for the Medical School, and, clearly, to teach medicine involves treating patients. But teaching and research involve very different facilities and priorities from trying to serve the pressing health needs of Roxbury. For this reason, Harvard Affiliated Hospitals have extremely poor records with respect to the welfare of the community they supposedly serve. A primary purpose of the complex is claimed to be the provision of greater economic efficiency. However, greater efficiency does not necessarily mean better medical treatment; the needs of the community for decent and personal health services are best served by a decentralized network of clinics and hospitals. The Harvard Medical School sees its role in training the future leaders, the elite researchers and specialists; it is not a social service organization.

The people being expelled have been promised first choice of 400 units of "moderate income" housing planned for medical personnel as part of the new project. The promise sounds good, but many of the residents don't take it seriously. Projected rents in the new project start at \$150 for two rooms and average around \$250 a month. (Record American March 5, 1969). (Rents in the area now range from \$75 to \$125). There is a plan to make Boston Housing Authority federal rent-subsidy leases available for 80 units of the 400 for the dispossessed, but application to BHA leases must come from a city-wide waiting list -- and in any case, most of the families would be forced to seek housing elsewhere, with even less available each time the university destroys more. Already, workers are being replaced by technicians and hippies as the rent goes up.

Harvard's response to our demand, full of contradictions and lies, has been revealing indication of its hypocritical intentions.

## II. WE DEMAND THAT THE UNIVERSITY ROAD APARTMENTS NOT BE TORN DOWN TO MAKE WAY FOR THE KENNEDY MEMORIAL LIBRARY

On this issue, again, members of the Administration contradicted each other as to the facts. President Pusey in his April 9 statement said, "There are no plans to tear down any apartments on University Road." However, Henry Cutler, manager of Harvard's real estate, said that "it was very likely that the University Road building would be worked into the site plans" for the Kennedy Library. (Globe, April 11, 1969, p. 2). In reference to that property Cutler said, "This (the library site) was one of the things we considered when we bought it." A Boston Globe article of April 10, headlined "Harvard Concedes: Will Raze Buildings," quotes Dean Franklin Ford as saying, "It's possible," in response to a question on whether the University Road property would be razed. A new rent hike notification has just gone out in a preliminary move in the same pattern described above: rent hikes, deteriorated housing, displacement, razing.

The site will most probably be incorporated into the construction of the Kennedy Institute Complex, intended as a center for the study of political administration. The Institute has close ties to the government both formally and because its faculty includes top governmental advisors. The new institute will increasingly act as a focus for those who formulate the American government's exploitative policies. Thus the Kennedy School will hurt not



only the people of Cambridge whose homes it will destroy, but is also used to study how to suppress popular, democratic movements around the world. We support those movements and the working people of Cambridge who are persecuted by Harvard, and therefore we demand no more demolition of homes to expand the Kennedy Institute.

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But these three demands are only a beginning. We have raised these three limited demands now because they are of immediate consequence to the people of Cambridge and Boston. We can wage a fuller fight against Harvard expansion and exploitation of the community only when we are fully aware of the issues, and when students and working people have built a stronger movement for a harder fight - a fight which we shall win.

**ABOLISH ROTC!**

**NO EXPANSION!**

**NO PUNISHMENT!**

**Anti-Expansion Anti-ROTC Strike Steering Committee**

