

"HOW I WILL PREPARE TO RUN FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY"

by

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on February 12, 1985 in partial fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

The mayor of New York City, what a former mayor called "the second hardest job in America", is a position that I have longed aspired to. New York City has many problems that will be more complex in 2001, the year that I will run; however, there will be many reasons why New York will still be the greatest city in the world. Though the mayor has limited power, there is a lot more he can do to improve the city than the present and former mayors have. I will prepare to run for mayor by working in the private sector in a city other than New York or Boston, being active in politics and community affairs, making the contacts that will help my campaign for mayor be successful, getting to know New York better than I do now and keeping physically fit.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Frank S. Jones

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I. WHY RUN FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY?

It is hard to explain to someone who hasn't lived in New York City or to someone who has lived in New York City all or part of their lives but hasn't lived in the City to the fullest, why I would want what John Lindsay called "the second hardest job in America". Like many New Yorkers, I have a love/hate relationship with the City. I have seen the beauty of New York and I have lived in the city that never sleeps. I have seen concentration camp survivors, grandchildren of slaves and people from big cities and small towns in Greece, Russia, Italy, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Poland, Ireland, Korea, Germany and Hong Kong who have made it into the middle and upper classes. My parents were brought up impoverished during the depression and worked their way into the middle class. I have seen graduates of Brooklyn College and other City University schools who have been accepted into MIT and Harvard and have excelled. I have also seen the wealth of the Upper East Side, Wall Street, parts of Flatbush, Riverdale and Forest Hills. And just a half a year ago, I saw Geraldine Ferraro, the daughter of Italian immigrants, run for Vice President of the United States.

But I have also seen hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers who have always been on welfare and who for the rest of their lives will be on public assistance. I have walked the slums of Brownsville, Bushwick, Crotona and Harlem. I have been witness to a high crime rate, filthy streets, a subway system that once was the best in the world and is now the worst, and ten of thousands of homeless people. I have seen corrupt city officials, bankers, political leaders and real estate brokers who should be in prison for committing atrocities against the people of New York but instead are reaping profits from

their actions.

Most of all, I have seen a New York that has the potential of again becoming the best city in the world to live. The schools can educate its nearly one million students, the subways can run on time, crime can be reduced and ex-New Yorkers can be persuaded to return to the city.

I grew up in Crown Heights and Flatbush areas of Brooklyn and I saw both neighborhoods change drastically for the worse in just a few years. While growing up I had pride in New York and these two areas that so many New Yorkers have in their city and neighborhoods. I was able to commute into Manhattan in less than half an hour and was able to explore the fascinating world of Broadway, the dozens of museums, Greenwich Village, Wall Street, the Upper West Side and the Lower and Upper East Side. When I started college in 1976 I also started to explore intriguing neighborhoods that I never knew existed all over the city.

My parents established in me an interest of history, especially American history. They also gave me a love of Judaism and I went to private school not only to learn about my religion but also so I would not have to attend Erasmus Hall, the local public high school because it had greatly deteriorated since Walt Whitman, Barbara Streisand, Billy Cunningham, and Bobby Fischer went there. I attended school during the day and hung out in the local political club at night and learned what politics was really like.

I started college at Baruch College but transferred to Brooklyn College after a year and a half. While at Brooklyn College I got involved with Planned Parenthood, the New York Public Interest Research Group and helped form two local civic associations. I also

become involved in city, state and national elections and was an Alternate Delegate to the 1980 Democratic National Convention. I also continued to explore New York and in 1981 bought a bike and was able to explore the land of suburbia of Long Island, Westchester and northeast New Jersey.

New York City has had a very progressive tradition: a free university system until 1976, over half of the municipal hospitals in the United States, the highest welfare payment in the nation, an extensive mass transit system (part of which the city built during the depression); but most of all it has been a haven for the nation's and world's downtrodden and a vehicle for their upward mobility. New York City has produced many of the nation's leaders and will continue to do so.

New York City has been the place where many ethnic groups have settled and have set up a piece of the old world in America. Over 100 languages are spoken in New York, dozens of religions are practiced there and hundreds of ethnic restaurants feed millions of people a year.

New York is the cultural center of the world: Broadway, the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Ballet, the New York Philharmonic and the Julliard School. The presence of these institutions brings millions of tourists to New York and thousands of people to live in New York in order to make the big time. In the metropolitan area, there are two baseball, three hockey, two N.F.L., one U.S.F.L. and two basketball teams.

New York City is a world capital as well as a world class city. The United Nations with their thousands of delegates and support staff

pump millions of dollars in the city's economy as well as help to make New York an exciting place to live.

The city is also the financial capital of the world. The world's two largest stock exchanges, seven of the U.S.' 25 biggest banks, the world's largest investment banks and the largest law firms have their headquarters in New York. Midtown and Downtown Manhattan and Downtown Brooklyn contain more office space than all of Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, Washington, Pittsburgh and Atlanta combined. Downtown Brooklyn's skyline would be impressive if it wasn't in the shadow of Lower Manhattan.

New York City, the city that never sleeps, never shuts down, unlike other urban areas that close at 3 a.m., 1:30 a.m., 10 p.m. or 5:30 in the afternoon. Greenwich Village, the West Side and East Side have hundreds of bars, discos, restaurants, and night clubs that are crowded all hours of the night. Thousands of cabs cruise Manhattan all night and do a brisk business at all hours.

New York is also the heart of the nation's largest metropolitan area that can be said to extend from the college towns of Poughkeepsie (Vassar), Princeton (Princeton), and New Haven (Yale). It includes the mid-sized cities of Newark, Jersey City, Yonkers, and Bridgeport. Taken to its extreme borders it contains 15 million people.

New York is the largest transportation center of the world. Two of the largest airports in the world, the biggest subway and bus system in America, the world's largest bus terminal, miles of commuter rail, and hundreds of thousands of elevators carry millions of people a year.

The future of New York City can be a bright one, it can be a world class city for all its people, not just a portion of the

population. The Mayor must have a vision for New York but also must have the administrative capability to carry it out; the mayor must also set his vision so that it can realistically be carried out. John Lindsay had a magnificent vision for New York but it was unrealistic and he lacked the administrative abilities to carry it out. His brain trust and cabinet also had the problem of having an unrealistic vision and they also lacked administrative capabilities to carry it out.

The vision that I have for New York City is that of a city that is open to all of its people. I would like to see a city where people are involved in solving their own problems, where block associations and civic groups all over the city will patrol their neighborhoods, or take care of their areas by providing services which include cleaning their streets and alleys. I can see a city where business feels comfortable but also where the banks, insurance companies and pension funds reinvest in New York rather than in projects far away from the city.

Most of all, I can see a city where my parents will retire comfortably and where I can safely bring up children.

II. NEW YORK CITY IN 2001

1. THE BOROUGHES

A. THE BRONX

The Bronx, which has become a symbol of urban decline, had a 20% decline in its population during the 70s. In 1970 the population was 1,471,000 but had shrunk to 1,169,000 in 1980. Despite the overall decline, the Black and Hispanic population grew; the White population declined by 42%! In 1980 the White and Hispanic population were both 395,000 and the Black population was 348,000. Today the Whites are the smallest of the three groups and the population has continued to shrink.

The Bronx, which is the poorest of the five boroughs, will continue to lose population because the borough offers few amenities for the middle class to stay and there will be little if any funds to build low and moderate income housing; therefore, as the middle class continues to move out at a slower rate than the 70s, the poor will continue to move into housing vacated by the middle class. There will be exceptions to the continued decline of the borough, the Throgs Neck and Riverdale areas which are two neighborhoods that are somewhat physically separated from the rest of the Bronx will remain middle class. These two areas are neighborhoods where the White population is young, affluent and is investing in into communities. However, they try not to be associated with the Bronx and use the return address of "Throgs Neck, NY", "Riverdale, NY", or "New York, NY", but not "Bronx, NY". Also, few if any of the new White, Asian, Hispanic or Black immigrants are moving there and the population of these areas will probably be the same in 2001.

The other boroughs have not only not experienced the devastation to the extent that the Bronx has but have also experienced gentrification. The Bronx has never had the housing stock of brownstones that attracts the gentrification by new homeowners and the areas closest to the Upper East Side and West Side of Manhattan are separated by Harlem and the most devastated parts of the borough. Except for the Concourse subway line which was part of the I.N.D., all the subway lines that serve the Bronx were part of the I.R.T. which is the most deteriorated of all these lines that became part of the New York City Transit Authority.

B. BROOKLYN

Brooklyn, the piece of United States that has produced so many of America's political, business, entertainment, sports, literary, artistic and educational leadership, will continue to be as diversified as any American city with a population of over a million. The total population declined to 2,230,000 in 1980 from 2,602,000 in 1970 but both the Black and Hispanic population grew as the White population declined by 32%. However, unlike the Bronx, these are many positive signs that the future of Brooklyn is promising.

The borough will continue to have a population decrease but at a slower pace than the 70's. Brooklyn has many strong ethnic neighborhoods that are showing signs of resiliency. Neighborhoods that urban planners expected to deteriorate are showing signs of prosperity. The Hasidic Jews will invest in Borough Park, Williamsburg and Crown Heights; Orthodox Jews in Flatbush; the Italians in Bensonhurst and Gravesend; the Greeks and Arabs in Bay Ridge; the Haitians and Jamaicans in Crown Heights and East Flatbush; the Irish in Marine Park. However, the best example of the reinvesting currently going on in Brooklyn is that by 1990 the Nehemiah Plan, (named after the prophet who rebuilt Jerusalem) which will add 5,000 single family houses to the formerly devastated areas of Brownsville and East New York, will be completed; the development is being carried out by the Coalition of East Brooklyn Churches and will not be entirely financed by the government, as have nearly all the developments built over the last three decades in Brownsville and East New York.

Gentrification will continue in Park Slope, Fort Greene, Clinton Hill, Prospect Heights, Boreum Hill and Cobble Hill. New areas that young people will settle because they can't afford the above areas or Manhattan, will include Flatbush, Bay Ridge, Sunset Park, and Windsor Terrace.

Though there will be a lot of upgrading of parts of Brooklyn, crime, abandonment, poverty and poor education will continue to plague parts of the borough and a substantial portion of its population. Some young people will continue to flee the devastated transit system, deteriorated neighborhoods, dirty streets and a poor public educational system for places such as Long Island, New Jersey, the southwest, Texas, Florida and California.

C. MANHATTAN

Manhattan, the center of New York City, if not the world, will continue to be the place where people will want to live and work. It will also continue to be a capital of the arts, real estate, finance, law and international politics. The borough had a population of 1,427,000 in 1980, a 7.3 decline from 1,540,000 in 1970. Both the White and Black population decreased but the Hispanic population increased. The decrease in White population can be attributed to the White flight from Washington Heights and Inwood but also to the decline of family size due to the influx of singles and young people who replaced larger families. The Black decline can be attributed to the continued abandonment of Central and East Harlem. The increase in Hispanic population is attributed to the influx of people from the Dominican Republic, Cuba and other Latin American countries to Washington Heights and Inwood.

Manhattan's population will remain stable but the White population will increase due to the building of hi-rises on the West and East Side and the gentrification of the Lower East Side, East Village, the East 96th Street area, Manhattan Valley, Washington Heights and Inwood. The need and demand for a Manhattan apartment will cause rent levels to continue to be the highest in the nation.

The Black population will continue to decline as the abandonment of Central Harlem continues and the gentrification of Manhattan Valley pushes north of 110 Street. The Hispanic population will remain stable because there will be no housing for the new immigrants to live in; they will have to settle in Queens and Brooklyn.

D. QUEENS

Queens, the second biggest borough in terms of population, has a population of 1,891,000 down 5% from 1,986,000 in 1970. The White population decreased from 1,575,000 to 1,172,000 as the Black population increased 37% from 258,000 to 354,000 and the Hispanic population doubled to 262,000 from 131,000. The Asian population increased 442% to 93,000 from 22,000. Both the Black and Hispanic populations are different from the rest of New York City. Most of the Hispanic population is non-Puerto Rican and most of the Blacks are middle class. Unlike Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn, there has been little abandonment of housing during the 70s.

The White population of Queens will decrease slightly over the next 15 years due to a few factors. The first will be the outmigration of the Whites, especially the young and elderly; the gentrification of parts of areas like Woodside, Jackson Heights, Astoria and Forest Hills by people who can't afford or don't want to live in Manhattan which will cause a decrease in the size of families; Whites will move from areas that Hispanics will move into such as parts of Woodside, Jackson Heights, Elmhurst, Ridgewood, Woodhaven and Richmond Hill and Corona. The Whites will be replaced by Blacks in areas such as South Ozone Park and Queens Village; the Asians will replace the Whites in Flushing, Elmhurst, Woodside and Corona. There will also be an influx of Israelis, Greeks, Russians into Astoria and Forest Hills that will partially counteract this. The Puerto Rican population will increase due to the expansion of the Brooklyn ghetto areas into the border areas of Woodhaven and Ridgewood in Queens; immigration, legal and illegal, of people from South and Central

America will also increase the numbers of non-Puerto Rican Hispanics in Queens.

The Black population will increase slightly in southeast Queens as the Black areas grow slightly as Blacks who can afford houses move there from Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. There will also be a direct migration from the Islands. Blacks will be displaced by Asians in Flushing and Hispanics in the East Elmhurst areas as both the Asian and Hispanic population grow at a high rate.

The Asian population will increase as new immigrants arrive from China, Hong Kong, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Iran, Japan, the Phillipines, Korea and Vietnam. Flushing, Elmhurst, Jackson Heights, Corona, Astoria and Woodside will continue to receive these new Americans; Asians have been able to settle in all areas of Queens with little resistance unlike the Blacks and to some extent Hispanics. Therefore others areas might become more heavily Asian than they are at present.

E. STATEN ISLAND

Staten Island, New York's smallest borough in terms of population, is also the city's fastest growing borough. In 1980 it had a population of 352,000, an increase of 19% from 295,000 of 1970. The southern two thirds of the island was sparsely populated until 1964 when the Verrazano Narrows Bridge, which connected Staten Island to Brooklyn, opened. The island was 86% Italian, 7% Black, 5% Hispanic and 2% Asian in 1980 and is probably the same today.

The population of Staten Island will probably grow at a slower rate over the rest of the century even though there is still a great deal of open land. Staten Islanders like their "suburban setting" and the unsettled areas are zoned for one-family houses, or have been designated a Greenbelt not to be developed. Also along the west shore of the island, like the area of New Jersey adjacent to it, there are garbage dumps, oil refineries, chemical plants and other impediments to settlement.

2. ETHNIC GROUPS

A. BLACKS

The Black population, 1,740,000 according to the 1980 census, up 7% from 1970, will continue to grow at a moderate pace but its makeup will be ethnically more diverse and economically more disparate. Despite a high fertility rate, the American Black population will rise slightly because the suburbs are opening up to Blacks and there is a large net migration to the south due to better economic conditions, race relations and a healthier environment than when the bulk of Black migration to New York took place during the 50s and 60s from the south.

The bulk of the increase of the Black population will be due to immigration from the Caribbean. More and more people from Haiti, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, Barbados and Grenada will come to join their relatives and friends here for economic and political reasons. Even though the Islanders have been in New York much less time than the native Blacks, they are economically much better off than the native Blacks.

The Black population will be economically more disparate as the Islanders and some of the native born Blacks will move into the middle class. However, the majority of the native Blacks will be left behind in the slums of the city with its poverty, poor education, squalor, crime and street gangs.

The Black population will become more politically involved. Jesse Jackson and the anti-Koch movement have gotten more Blacks involved in politics. Recent victories by Blacks over White incumbents or defeats

in close elections, will be an impetus for Blacks to become more politically involved. Also, Blacks from the Islands come from countries where the political system has been run by Blacks and politics has played a major part of the culture of those nations, unlike the American Blacks who come from the south where they were disenfranchised until very recently and the political system has been run by Whites rather than by Blacks.

The Blacks will be a more powerful voting block but it is unlikely that they will be able to elect a mayor. The Black population is only 25% of the total population, unlike Philadelphia, Chicago, Atlanta, Gary, Newark and Washington where the Black population is either over 50% or very nearly half the population. The Blacks from the Islands are more conservative than American Blacks and very often do not identify with American Blacks. The Hispanic population, which has often not voted in solidarity with Blacks, is changing from a predominantly Puerto Rican population to a non-Puerto Rican population. The new immigrants from South and Central America, very often do not consider themselves people of color and are more conservative than Puerto Ricans; Cubans, and other people who have fled Communist governments very often vote Republican.

B. THE HISPANICS

The Hispanic population was 1,404,000 in 1980 which was a 10% increase from 1,276,000 in 1970. The Hispanic population is becoming more diversified and will increase over the rest of the century but Puerto Ricans who have made up the bulk of the Hispanic population will decrease as a percentage of the Hispanic population. The figure of 1,404,000 is probably higher because people who are familiar with demographics feel that the Census Bureau undercounted the Hispanic population for many reasons, the biggest being that there is a large population of illegal immigrants from Central and South America.

The Puerto Ricans made up 63% of the Hispanic population in 1970 but only 60% in 1980; the Puerto Rican population increased only 5% during the 70's. The Puerto Rican population will continue to grow at a slow rate despite a high fertility rate because some Puerto Ricans have started to migrate back to Puerto Rico. Though figures are not available, there were probably more people moving to Puerto Rico from New York than to New York from Puerto Rico during the 70's because Puerto Rico offers a safer environment and more opportunity than the slums of New York. Unlike the Irish, Jews, Italians and Germans, they have not been able to use neighborhood migration as a vehicle for upward mobility.

The non Puerto Rican Hispanic population rose 20% during the 70s and was 554,000 in 1980, which was 40% of New York's Hispanic population. The figure was probably higher because there is a large illegal immigrant population from South and Central America. The number of non-Puerto Rican Hispanics will rise as the economic conditions worsen in places like Peru, Colombia and Argentina since

these nations have to repay tremendous foreign debts which will cause a lowering of the standards of living. Political conditions in nations such as Chile, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador will drive people away from these countries. Unlike the Puerto Ricans, these Hispanics have settled in working class/middle class areas such as Washington Heights-Inwood, Jackson Heights, Richmond Hill, Elmhurst and Sunnyside and these areas are a different world from the slums of Williamsburg, the South Bronx and East Harlem. Queens, which experienced a 68% increase in its non-Puerto Rican Hispanic population and is 69% non-Puerto Rican Hispanic will be the home to most of these new Americans.

The economic and political condition of Central and South America are reasons that many Hispanics will leave their homelands but the question will be are there jobs for these new immigrants who don't speak English? So far, New York has provided them with economic opportunity and many have made it to the middle class despite only being in America for a short time.

The Hispanics from South and Central America are more conservative than Puerto Ricans; the new Hispanics very often do not identify with the Puerto Ricans. Jose Serrano, an assemblyman who is Puerto Rican from the South Bronx, spoke to a group in the working class Columbia neighborhood of Richmond Hill in Queens about empowering people of color and was shocked when the audience responded with the answer "but Assemblyman, we are White". The political split of the Hispanic community makes it questionable if a Herman Badillo can be elected Mayor, even if he speaks for the Hispanic community.

C. ASIANS

The Asian population of New York City rose to 231,000 from 95,000 in 1970, an increase of 243%. The population will continue to increase because of the attraction of America and the economic and political condition of Asia.

The political oppression in such nations as Korea, the Phillipines, Thailand, Vietnam and Pakistan; the poverty in other countries such as India, Bangladesh and Indonesia; the Russian invasion of Afghanistan; and the transfer of Hong Kong from England to China; will all cause a further migration from Asia.

The Asian community has been very prosperous, has made it into the middle class, and has done so in only a few years of America. The Asians who came to America have not been the impoverished of their countries but the working class and middle class. The population has also been able to move into most areas of the city.

Neighborhoods such as Flushing, Elmhurst and Jackson Heights have become heavily Asian and will expand as more Asians move into these areas. Chinatown in Manhattan will not grow, because the adjacent areas are starting to be gentrified, and Chinatown has not attracted many non Chinese-Americans.

D. JEWS

.There are approximately 1,200,000 Jews in New York City. The Jewish population will probably decrease slightly but the makeup of the community will change as the Hasidic and Orthodox Jewish population increase, as will the Israeli and Russian component, but the non-Orthodox American born population will decrease.

The non-Orthodox American born Jewish population who have been the political and business leaders of the Jewish community will decrease as the young people continue their migration to places such as the Southwest, Florida, California and the suburbs of New York. The deterioration of New York, particularly its public schools, will be the reasons for them to leave. A better climate, open space and an expanding economy in the south and southwest will attract New Yorkers. There is also a large segment of this population which is determined to stay in New York. Also a larger percentage of the people who are gentrifying New York and the Yuppies are Jewish and are not Orthodox.

The Orthodox and Hasidic Jewish population, many of whom were born in Europe, will increase because they do not believe in birth control and have large families and they must be in an urban environment and cannot live in a rural or suburban setting. They cannot ride to synagogues on the sabbath and therefore cannot live far from temple as they would have to in non urban areas. They also send their children to yeshivas and are unaffected by the poor school system.

The economic downturn in the Israeli economy that will occur when the government is forced to economize, will cause a further out migration from Israel. If Russia allows the Jewish population to

leave, then more will do so. Many of these immigrants will come to New York because there is a big Jewish community there already.

E. ITALIANS

The Italian population which is around 1,600,000 will decline at a slow rate. Some will be attracted to the southwest, California and Florida by the healthier and safer environment, stronger economy and better climate. However, there are reasons why many Italians will stay in New York City; strong family and neighborhood ties, a strong Catholic church and jobs in the new economy.

The Italians have started to use their numerical strength and are getting into the political leadership of New York. The second generation of Italians which is better educated than the first generation is getting prestigious jobs as some of the ethnic barriers have been eliminated.

F. OTHER WHITES

There are approximately a million White people in New York City who are not Jewish or Italian. The biggest group is the Irish who are followed by the Germans, Poles and English. These groups will decrease because as some of its younger people are moving out and the older people die, there is no one to replace them. Like the Jews and Italians, they are attracted by quality of life elsewhere and want to leave a deteriorating city.

In Germany and Ireland, there are no reasons for the population to leave and come to New York; their economies are stable and their systems of government are democratic. In Poland, continued political oppression would be an incentive for out-migration but the government only permits a few thousand people to leave a year.

The number of English will increase over the rest of the century because many of the gentry and Yuppies are White Protestants. The banks and Wall Street law firms recruit at the best schools for entry level positions, and many of these people are WASP.

3. CITY GOVERNMENT

The government of New York City which provides services that no other city in the nation provides, will contract during the rest of the century as external forces will force it to change its size and focus. The city will provide less services and cash payments to its residents and will have a smaller labor force.

The formal structure of the city's government will continue to be a strong mayor type of government but the Board of Estimate, which votes on the mayor's budget, zoning changes, map changes, urban renewal projects and the contracts with the municipal employees and private vendors, may have to change dramatically if the law suit to invalidate the Board's structure is successful. The three city-wide elected officials who are the mayor, the President of the city council, and the comptroller have two votes each, and the five Borough Presidents have one vote each. The plaintiffs contend that the structure is unconstitutional, because each borough has one vote but have varying populations. (For instance, Brooklyn, with a population five times greater than Staten Island, has one vote, as does Staten Island). Federal Court Judge Edward Neaher of New York's Eastern District has ruled that the Board of Estimate does violate the one man, one vote principle but still has to rule whether the Board is a legislative or administrative body. Should the courts rule that the Board is a legislative body, then the Board's power can either go to the city council or the Board can be greatly expanded to accommodate the one man, one vote rule as the Borough Presidents can use a weighted vote structure.

The Federal government provides New York with 14% of its revenues and New York state provides 22% of the budget; as these funds decrease, New York City will have to lower the expenditure side of the budget because under the law the budget must be balanced. The Federal funds will decrease because the \$200 billion deficit will have to be reduced by cutting the domestic budget; the State, which has the highest tax rate of any state in the nation, will have to reduce its tax collection and expenditures if it is to compete with other states and the state legislature is controlled by conservatives who are philosophically against taxation. The city itself will have to cut its tax rate or risk the further loss of its tax base to other places.

As the city has to reduce its services, it will privatize its physical plant and services. The Health and Hospital Corporation will probably sell or give away a few of its hospitals to nearby private institutions or close them; parks could be given to private corporations to run (the redevelopment and maintenance of Bryant Park will be done by a private corporation); some communities have and will have volunteer or paid patrols which substitute for police protection; 1/4 of the city's grade and high school students attend private schools, and this proportion will probably increase; part of the City University could be given to private institutions.

New York City presently has approximately 197,000 employees which includes 23,000 police officers, 12,000 firefighters, and 8,000 sanitation officers. There are 66,000 teachers in the public schools and 24,000 in the City University. The number of employees will probably decrease over the rest of the century.

New York City is the only city in the nation that is required to pay 25% of its welfare payments. The city will be unable to increase the payments at the rate of the inflation because it will not have the funds to do so and there will be more people on welfare because the number of poor people will grow as the blue collar job base will shrink and these people will be unable to go into white collar jobs because they will not have the background needed for the white collar jobs.

4. GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification, the saving of urban America to some and the destruction of urban America to others, will continue to have a profound impact on New York City during the rest of the century. The gentrification of certain neighborhoods will add to the vitality of New York; the resurgence of either once elegant areas or the upgrading of neighborhoods that were always working class or poor will also add to the economic base of the city.

People will continue to be drawn to New York City by jobs, excitement, ethnic affiliation and to break into the entertainment industry. People will be drawn to the center city in order to be closer to their jobs and to cut down on their commuting time and to avoid the subway system. The continued growth of the single member households caused by a high divorce rate, young singles moving to New York for jobs, the growth of the gay community and people waiting longer to marry will increase the need for new housing units.

There will be little space left in mid-town, downtown, the Upper East Side, Greenwich Village and the Upper West Side to build new housing, but the vitality and excitement of these areas will cause nearby areas of Queens, Brooklyn and Staten Island to attract people to live there; most of the people attracted there will be single and will not need to be away from the center city to raise children. The architectural beauty and the large size of some of the deteriorated housing will also be an attraction for people to move into these areas and to rehabilitate these structures.

In Manhattan, neighborhoods such as Harlem, Washington Heights, Manhattan Valley, the Lower East Side and the East Village will

experience an influx of young, higher income and mostly White people. In Brooklyn, areas affected by gentrification will include Park Slope, Cobble Hill, Boreum Hill, East Greene, Flatbush, Sunset Park and Bay Ridge. In Queens the neighborhoods will include Sunnyside, Woodside, Long Island City, Astoria, and Jackson Heights. Saint George on Staten Island's north shore which is the area nearest to the Staten Island Ferry will also attract the gentry.

5. THE ELDERLY

The elderly population of New York City will increase over the next 15 years as the middle aged population grows older; some of them will retire and move to Florida and the southwest but a portion of the loss will be compensated by other retired people who will move to the city; people will live longer as medical advancements will help prolong life and help make it more productive and healthier. The increase in the older population will increase the need for hospitals and other health services, senior citizens center and other services for the elderly.

There were 950,000 people above the age of 65 in 1980 (13.5% of the population) but there were 1,436,000 people between the ages of 45 and 64 (20.5% of the population); many of these people will die or move away from New York. The emphasis on preventive health care is becoming a part of the American culture and will help make the elderly's last years more productive. Senior citizen centers, sports facilities, entertainment and other full time activities will increase.

As the baby boom generation grows older and moves away from home, their parents will not longer need large houses and the superior school system in the suburbs, thus some will move back to New York City where many of them were originally from. The empty nesters who live in the city will also sell their homes and move into apartments; there will be an increase of apartments exclusively for the elderly but it will be privately financed and only for the better off elderly because the federal housing programs will be cut out or sharply curtailed.

The increase in the elderly will increase the need for health services. Hospitals, doctors catering to the older population, nurses, social workers, medical assistants and other health related services will increase. Health care in New York not only serves the city's and region's population, but provides health care and medical research and training for the world; employment in health care will increase in all levels of the field.

6. TRANSPORTATION

The mass transit system of New York City is the circulatory system of the city. The buses, the Staten Island Ferry, commuter rail lines, taxis and subways transport millions of people a day. New York, like Philadelphia and Boston, grew out of the walking city of the 17th and 18th centuries; these cities then evolved into the railed cities of the 19th century. Robert Moses was partially unable to bring New York into the auto city of the 20th century because New York was built upon group transportation rather than individual transit; simply put, there is not enough room for all those cars.

The New York City subway was once the best system in the country but has deteriorated into one of the worst systems; there are many reasons for the devastating deterioration. In many ways, New York's future depends on its ability to transport its people cheaply, safely and quickly. More of the young corporate executives are moving to New York City in order to provide labor for the corporations; the costs to transport these executives are high because the alternatives to the subway system are very expensive; also, all indications point to the subway fare rising in 1986 to at least \$1.00. The corporations, who not only have to pay a higher salary for the high cost of transportation but also have less productivity from their workers due to long and arduous commuter to work; thus they will have to support a fare reduction plans and a capital improvement program for the M.T.A.

The need for increased capacity and improved service on the mass transit system of New York will increase due to the decrease in parking space caused by the development of parking lots and garages into offices, hotel and apartments which is the best and highest use

of the underutilized empty lots and low rise garages.

Taxis will play a greater role as a means of transporting more affluent single young people who go out during the evening in Manhattan they cannot own a car; the city will therefore have to increase the supply of legal cabs which was set at 12,000 during the depression and has not been changed since. The city will also legalize the "gypsy" cabs that serve the areas outside of Manhattan, especially the ghetto areas. The city will also legalize the flat fare cars that drop off and pick up people at feeder subway stops. The number of gypsy cabs and flat fare cars (usually the same price as the bus) will increase when they are legalized. They are faster than buses because they are easier to drive and do not have to make stops until the passenger reaches his destination.

Express buses, using exclusive bus lanes, will also increase as an alternative to using the subways and as a way to avoid taking a bus to the subway in a two fare space. The bus service will be provided by both the M.T.A. and private bus lines.

The city's two airports, LaGuardia and Kennedy, will experience heavier volume and will have to expand for the higher volume of traffic because air travel will be cheaper due to continued deregulation of the airlines and travel agencies; and the new convention center will attract more conventioners.

7. FUN CITY

New York will continue to be the entertainment, cultural, and sports capital of the world and will continue to attract thousands of would be artists, actors, musicians, singers and writers to live in New York. The city, which is the premier tourist and convention city of the nation, will attract a greater volume of tourists and conventioners. Economic and demographic trends in both New York City and the U.S. will put pressure on the "Fun City" sector to expand.

People are waiting longer to marry and have children and thus there are more people who have time to "party". New York will continue to attract a large number of gay people and they do not raise families and therefore have a great deal of free time. The divorce rate which is at a record high level will continue to produce "new singles" who will reenter the social scene; most of the "Yuppies" who will come to New York will be single and enjoy socializing at night; people will live longer and thus will have more free time.

The economic reasons that will benefit "Fun City" are also very complex. The young professionals and support staff who will be mostly single will have more income to spend on entertainment; the popularity and need for convention will cause a growth in the numbers of conventions and the ultra modern Jacob K. Javits Convention Center that is scheduled to open in mid-1986 will attract a high volume of conventioners; Americans with more disposable income and free time will increase the number of tourists coming to New York on their vacations; air fares will continue to decrease as Peoples Express and other airlines take advantage of air traffic deregulation and compete with each other; the deregulation of the travel agents industry will

increase the number of companies involved in travel and will cause the prices of packaged deals to New York to decrease; the gentrification of more neighborhoods outside of Manhattan will help produce more entertainment to start up.

8. THE ECONOMY

New York City will experience an increase in the 3,200,000 people that are employed in the city over the next 15 years. However, the jobs will not all go to city residents and will not be distributed equally among the races and classes. The White, educated and middle class will greatly benefit from the increase but people of color, uneducated and poor will suffer from the increase in jobs since there will also be a loss of blue collar jobs.

The newly created jobs will be in the hi-technology, law, real estate, finance, tourism, communications, health, entertainment, research and development and other service industries. The demand for managerial and support staff will make more jobs available and will cause wages to increase and will result in a migration of educated young professionals ("Yuppies") to New York City. There will also be an increased demand for secretaries, word processors and computer operators. The need for first class and back office space to accommodate these new workers will increase new construction and conversion from other users to office space. Staten Island and parts of the West Side will experience new construction and Long Island City, the Garment center and Chelsea and downtown Brooklyn will experience conversion of industrial space into office space.

Manufacturing will decrease over the next 15 years for a few reasons. New York City has never had heavy industry but was a light industry based city. The most important sector is the garment industry and these jobs will decrease due to cheap imports and the conversion of factory space in the garment center, Long Island City, Chelsea and the West Side into office spaces. The public sector, the

part of the economy that has enabled many minorities to rise into the middle class will be cut back and thus two important vehicles for upward mobility of people of color will be decreased.

The reason that the people of color of New York will not be prepared for the new economy are many; discrimination, a culture of poverty and the lack of skills needed for these jobs. The public educational system for many reasons has failed the Blacks and Puerto Ricans of New York. Forty-seven percent (47%) of all students who start in the New York City public school system do not graduate. But the numbers are more staggering, because the dropout rate is not evenly distributed among the ethnic groups. Sixty-five percent of minority students drop out between eighth and twelfth grade! The students who drop out today will be in their 30s in 2001 and their unemployment rate will be very high.

There will be an increase in the 800,000 people on welfare and a growth of poor people in New York. The increase of the poverty rate among people of color will be caused by the City's loss of blue collar jobs and the inability of Blacks and Hispanics to go into the new economy. The distribution of poverty in the minority community will not be even. Many of the Blacks from the Caribbean and the non-Puerto Rican Hispanics who come to New York have some wealth, education, middle class values and skills such as nursing.

The new economy will create new office areas in New York such as on Staten Island in the form of office parks and hi-tech industrial parks. The West Side of Manhattan will experience construction of office and hi-tech buildings in the many vacant sites. The arrival of the young urban professionals will cause gentrification.

III THE ROLE OF THE MAYOR

1. CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR

The most important function that the Mayor of New York City or any other U.S. city that has a strong mayor-weak council form of government is that of the Chief Executive Officer of the city. In many ways running New York is like running a large corporation, because efficiency, productivity, loyalty and a budget that is not in the red is essential for its operation.

Police and fire protection, urban planning, residential garbage collection, the flow of traffic, the jail system, the libraries, the water supply, and the maintenance of the city's buildings and structures are the Mayor's responsibilities. The Health and Hospitals Corporation which runs 17 of the 25 municipal hospitals in the country, the Transit Authority which is the nation's largest transit company (public or private) in terms of passengers, and the Board of Education which is the largest public or private educational system in the U.S. are all the indirect responsibility of the Mayor.

All agencies must be accountable to the Mayor because the services that they supply affect the daily life of all New Yorkers. The level, efficiency, and cost of these services also affect whether the city's people and businesses stay or move elsewhere. The policies that the Mayor sets must be carried out by agency heads who have to be competent and loyal. The Office of Operations which coordinates activities between the agencies and is a consultant to them on how they can be run more effectively must have top notch professionals working in it. The Office of Management and Budget, which controls the city's purse strings, must have people working for it who both understand how the agencies work as well as can crunch the numbers.

The Mayor must be responsible for all the services that affect the quality of life of New York and not blame other people for their shortcomings. Though the Transit Authority, Health and Hospitals corporation and the Board of Education are not mayoral agencies, the Mayor must work directly with these agencies to improve the services that they provide and not contend that they are not his responsibility.

2. BUSINESS RELATIONS

The future of New York City depends on the private sector's ability to create jobs for all its citizens and not just for the White middle and upper class. New York's unemployment rate has always been higher than the national average, and New York will probably have a high unemployment rate at the end of the century. The roots of crime, poverty, drug addiction and other social ills can partially be attributed to the high amount of unemployment in certain segments of the community; if New York is to have a strong future, the unemployment rate must be reduced.

The mayor must have a good relationship with businesses that contribute to New York. If businesses are to be kept in New York and encouraged to expand and if other businesses are to be attracted to the city, the mayor must create a hospitable business climate. The mayor must give moral support to the business community and provide good municipal services. He should visit businesses regularly and set up advisory councils. He must make sure that they get responsive city services and that the infrastructure that they depend on is kept in excellent working order. The mayor's office should assist businesses to relocate in New York by assisting in the creation of industrial and office parks, back office space and other facilities in good locations.

The mayor should get the private sector involved in providing services and helping to build or rehabilitate its infrastructure. The mayor could set up an "adopt-a-school" or a subway station program. He could also work with them to adopt flextime so the city's transportation system won't be overburdened during rush hour.

The mayor has the responsibility to fight businesses that are detrimental to the city. The mayor should fight red-lining, blockbusting, the slumlords, pollution and other businesses that exploit the city. The mayor could use the city's bureaucracy, lead boycotts, and use the media to make these businesses more responsive to the city.

3. CHIEF SPOKESMAN

In a city as diverse as New York, the mayor must be the chief spokesman for all its people. He must speak out against injustice whether it be in New York, the United States or the world; he is in the position to be an opinion leader because New York is the media, financial and international political capital of the world. He must remember that whatever he says millions of people will hear and will react positively or negatively to the comments. When speaking out, he must take extra care not to offend people, especially residents of New York City. Too often elected officials shoot from the hip and have said things that have accomplished little except to alienate many people.

The mayor must speak out against totalitarianism in Syria, Russia, South Korea, Cuba, the Phillipines and El Salvador. He must condemn anti-semitism in Nicaragua and apartheid in South Africa. He must also speak out for human rights in Vietnam, Angola, Iran, Iraq, Poland and Northern Ireland.

The mayor also must speak out against injustices in the United States. He must promote the E.R.A., civil and human rights for everyone, including illegal immigrants. Most importantly, he must condemn injustice in New York because his constituents are affected directly by injustice in the city. He must be there when a synagogue or church is vandalized, a Black or White person is attacked for racial reasons or if a person is attacked because he or she is gay. The mayor should attempt to attempt to attend all demonstrations that promote human rights.

4. CHIEF LOBBYIST

The mayor of New York City must take the lead in lobbying for programs and grants that will help the city. He must take the leadership in working with congress and the executive office, the state legislature and gubernatorial agencies and the city council in order to adopt programs that are beneficial to the city.

The federal deficit is projected to be in the red by \$200 billion; therefore urban aid to cities such as New York will have to be cut. The mayor will have to get a bigger percentage of a smaller urban budget for New York from such agencies as the Department of Education, Health and Human Services and Housing and Urban Development. The states will play a greater role in providing services but they cannot print money and are under pressure to lower taxes. The mayor will have to lobby the private sector to give grants to New York for specific program; they include the foundations and corporations.

The power and prestige of the mayor is and will continue to be a powerful force that must be used to its maximum when dealing with elected officials, government bureaucrats and business leaders. The mayor must spend a considerable time personally visiting key legislators asking for their assistance in order to help pass legislation that will be beneficial to New York. He must also spend a considerable amount of time lobbying the state and executive agencies in order for those departments to give grants to New York. He must also do the same with the decision makers in the private sector and the foundations.

After a few years of intensive lobbying, the mayor could build personal relationships that will hopefully allow him to call the key leaders and have them respond to his personal appeal rather than to the merits of the case. The Washington and Albany office that the city runs for lobbying purposes must be expanded.

The mayor must be willing to use political clout, both positive and negative, to accomplish his goal. The mayor must be willing to trade patronage, political support or a grant to a legislator in order to adopt his program. He has to be willing to use negative leverage to get his way such as threatening the person's political life or by cutting off his patronage; both can be used very effectively if they are backed up by action and are not used very often because idle threats are ineffective and a mayor who uses negative leverage too often makes a lot of political enemies and can be hurt in the press. The mayor should use political clout in cases where there are close votes or where there is a possibility that many votes can be changed; therefore the ability to count heads is essential.

The mayor must be able to deliver a sizeable block of voters when dealing with upstate and suburban legislators in Albany and non-New York City congressmen in Washington; thus he must be willing to support programs that he disapproves of if the tradeoff will help New York.

5. CHIEF CONCILIATOR

The mayor of New York City must be the main person who will heal the city's wounds and must bring people together in order for them to iron out their differences. He must promote human rights and make the city and its government open to all its citizens and not a privileged few or a simple majority. The mayor must be there to quiet situations that could blow up and attempt to prevent it from ever getting to that level of confrontation.

As the chief conciliator, the mayor must bring different people together and attempt to lessen prejudices. He should open up dialogues between groups that have some differences as well as between groups that are at each other throats; and once a line of communication has been established, the mayor's office should be there to help settle the dispute.

When the mayor promotes human rights, such as gay rights, he must attempt to persuade the opponents that it is in the best interests of the city and that they would be upset if they were the victim of prejudice. As with other political matters, he must use his political power to achieve his goal if needed.

The mayor's office must be open to everyone and all the groups should be allowed to have their say on an issue though the mayor cannot hear everyone or even a sizeable percentage of both sides, his aides should be available to everyone.

6. CHIEF BOOSTER

The mayor of New York City must be the chief booster of the city, the person who will sell New York to its people and potential residents, business and possible investors, convention organizers and tourists. The image that the mayor portrays is the image that the world sees because the mayor can command more media than the mayor of any city in the world. New York is the media capital of the world: the Wall Street Journal and New York Times are printed in the city; A.B.C., C.B.S. and N.B.C. have their headquarters in New York (as well as their flagship stations). Being the financial and world political capital of the world, the U.S. and world's governmental and financial leaders go to New York for business and pleasure.

The mayor must promote by publicity or by legislation projects that will make New York City the leader of the world. The mayor should promote New York having the tallest building in the world. He should also be in the forefront of building a football stadium to attract the Jets or another NFL football team to NYC. The convention center should be expanded to be the best and biggest in the world.

The city's neighborhood and ethnic diversity is one of its greatest strengths but few tourists go to the outer boroughs except to see the Mets, Yankees, the Bronx Zoo or to St. George via the Staten Island Ferry and they rarely go past the attraction. The mayor should promote tourism to the outer boroughs by heavy marketing and funding if needed.

The West Village around Christopher Street is considered the east coast capital of gay America. The mayor should declare the area the

"official capital" and attempt to attract gay tourism and gay capital
to invest in New York.

7. THE LIMITATIONS OF THE MAYOR

The mayor's actions are restricted by many factors both internal and external to the city. New York City, like most cities in a democracy, is run by many diverse interests and is not ruled like a totalitarian government by a dictator or a monarch. The mayor, though he has a great deal of power, cannot change the world or even a significant part of New York City. New York City is governed by formal and informal sets of checks and balances.

Formally, the city gets its powers from the state and the state must approve changes in New York's tax schedule, the make up of the Board of Education, New York City Transit Authority, Health and Hospital corporation and City University. The city is ordered to provide certain services by federal and state laws and regulation.

The city is also restricted by state and federal court orders. The courts have ordered the city to provide costly services but did not provide funds to support them. The courts have also ruled on the ways that the city acts towards its citizens in term of civil liberties.

Informally there are also a checks and balances that restrict the ways the mayor acts. The city is restricted in many ways by different powers. The social, ethnic, economic, labor and other groups prevent the mayor from being a strong ruler. Aside from the legal restrictions on taxation, there are informal restraints because business and citizens can "vote with their feet" and move from New York and the remaining businesses and citizen can oppose the Mayor in the next election.

The mayor can't cut certain services, not only because there are state and federal rules on the services that the city provides but there are constituencies that would not allow the cuts. The groups could prevent the cuts in the programs by lobbying, public actions or by the threat to oppose the mayor in the future.

IV. HOW PAST MAYORS OF NEW YORK PREPARED TO RUN

1. JOHN LINDSAY

John Lindsay, the 103rd Mayor, was born in 1921 and grew up on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. He is from an upper class WASP background and attended prep schools in Manhattan. He graduated from Yale in 1943 and won five battle stars as an officer in the Navy during World War II. He then returned to New York but immediately was admitted to Yale Law School and graduated in 1948. Aside from a two year stint as an assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, he practiced law with a Wall Street firm. While practicing law he got married and moved to Stuyvesant Town on the East Side.

Lindsay was active in the local Republican club on the east side but joined the reform faction of the club when it split in 1956 and was chosen to be the candidate of that faction for Congress in 1958. Though he was the underdog, he won the primary in a close race and was elected to Congress in November of 1958. He served in Congress for seven years and was elected Mayor in 1965.

The people that he knew while growing up in an upper class atmosphere, his classmates at both Yale college and Law School and his contacts from the Wall Street law firm were the people who helped staff and finance his campaign for Congress and then for Mayor. He was involved in Republican politics on the East Side of Manhattan in the late 50s and early 60s which was the politics of the rich. Unlike today, the Republican party of New York City was the party of the rich and was controlled by the East Side Liberals. Once he was elected to Congress, he reunited the party. Since he was the congressman from the richest congressional district of New York, he became a party leader and was able to secure the party's nomination for Mayor in

1965.

2. ABE BEAME

Abe Beame was born in 1906 in London while his parents were on their way from Poland to America. His family settled in the Lower East Side and he grew up impoverished living in the tenements of the Jewish Lower East Side. He was a member of a street gang and his nickname was "Spunky" because of his 5'2" height. He attended commercial High School and then received an accounting degree from CCNY in 1928. In 1930 he got married to a woman he knew from the University Settlement house on the Lower East Side and moved to Brooklyn. During the depression he taught high school while he worked as an accountant, and when he received his certification, he worked full time as a C.P.A.

When he moved to Brooklyn, he became active in the Madison Club, the house club of the Speaker of the Assembly, Irwin Steingut (whose son also would be Speaker forty years later); he was one of the club's best captains and was awarded in 1946 a position as the city's Assistant Budget Director when the Democratic organization recaptured City Hall after LaGuardia and his reform administration didn't win again. In 1952 he became Budget Director and became a leader in Democratic politics. In 1961, he was elected comptroller when he and part of the Brooklyn organization split from the machine and joined the reform ticket with Mayor Wagner when he was not offered the borough presidency of Brooklyn. He was defeated for Mayor by John Lindsay in 1965 but was re-elected comptroller in 1969 and then Mayor in 1973. Though they both grew up in Manhattan, John Lindsay and Abe Beame were from different worlds. Beame grew up impoverished and attended public schools and universities for sixteen years. He prepared to run for mayor by being a power in the Brooklyn party

first, by being a club captain, and then by being active in the working class Brooklyn Democratic machine. He was able to get local supporters and political favors by using the Budget Department and the comptroller's office as a patronage base while always being a leader in the Madison Club, Brooklyn's biggest club during the 50's.

3. ED KOCH

Ed Koch was born in 1924 in the Bronx and grew up in Newark, New Jersey. His family moved to Brooklyn and he went to N.Y.U. After he graduated, he went to Europe as a soldier during World War II. When he returned to America, he went to NYU Law School and he practiced law with a very small law firm while still living with his parents on Ocean Parkway in Brooklyn. In 1956, at the age of 32, he moved to his own apartment in Greenwich Village.

He became active in the Village Independent Democrats (V.I.D.) and practiced speech making on street corners in the Village and in 1962 was defeated in the Democratic primary for the Senate Assembly. Later that year he was elected president of V.I.D. In late 1963 he defeated Carmine De Sapio, the county leader, for district leader. In 1966 he was elected to the City Council when the incumbent resigned from the City Council to run for John Lindsay's seat in Congress and Koch defeated the City Councilman who had to run in the general election after being appointed interim councilor by the City Council. In 1968 he defeated Whitney North Seymour for Congress and in 1973 ran for Mayor but dropped out after he realized that he couldn't win. In 1977 he was elected Mayor after a bitter election.

Ed Koch was active in Village, East and West Side politics which includes one of the most liberal (radical chic) and richest areas of the county. He was active in liberal causes and won prominent supporters. In the City Council and Congress he associated with people that could help him in the future. He also was Congressman for the Silk Stocking District (the same as Lindsay) and received a great deal of publicity.

V. HOW I WILL PREPARE TO RUN FOR MAYOR

1. WHAT LIVING IN BOSTON HAS MEANT TO ME

Living away from New York City and attending M.I.T. has been a very positive experience. Living in the Boston area has opened my mind and has made me realize that there is life north of the Bronx. Having lived for the last year and a half in Cambridge has reinforced in me the idea that New York is both a great and dreadful city. I definitely recommend to all life-long New Yorkers that they should live away from the city for at least one year.

Having lived my first 25 years in New York City, I lived somewhat of a sheltered life, like many New Yorkers have. Though I experienced the city to the fullest and knew people from all walks of life, it was still a limited view. My chauvinistic view of New York as the greatest city in the world and the only place to live was very true but also dead wrong. Though I want to live away from New York for a few more years, it is the place where I want to settle down.

One of the reasons that attending MIT has been a great experience has been the immense resources available at MIT and Harvard. The leading professors in their field, the visiting professors, the seminars, the guest speakers, the alumni who return to speak at their alma mater and attending what is considered the best urban planning program in the country has been an experience that cannot be duplicated. MIT has enabled me to meet people from all over the world who will return home and will be the leaders of their respective nations and cities. MIT has also enabled me to attend a university that has great prestige and will hopefully help me land a good job once I graduate.

The cultures of New York and New England are very similar but at the same time very different. Boston is a city that is less ethnic and runs at a slower pace than New York City and unlike New York, Bostonians seem to be at ease. Boston has also helped me to adopt to a city where there are no street grids (aside from Back Bay and South Boston); the Boston street pattern is probably the hardest street pattern of all U.S. cities to get accustomed to as are the patterns in Newton, Cambridge, Quincy, Braintree, Everett and Winthrop. In cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Washington, there is some semblance of order. The experience will make it easier to get to know other cities that do not use the grid system.

Working at the Economic Development and Industrial Corporation enabled me to learn how the city government of Boston operates, who are the key players and the relationship that Boston has to its business community. I also worked at E.D.I.C. when a new mayor who had a different style and philosophy than his predecessor was elected and took office. At E.D.I.C. I worked with businesses, real estate brokers and developers and bankers including both ethnics and Brahmins. I also learned the intricacies of Boston real estate.

The Division of Capital Planning and Operations has afforded me the opportunity to work in state government and learn the workings of the Commonwealth. It has also given me the opportunity to learn about some of the communities that make up Massachusetts. D.C.P.O., like E.D.I.C., gave me the opportunity to work with hard working public servants.

2. THE NEED TO LIVE IN ANOTHER CITY

In order for me to gain a better understanding of urban America, it will be essential for me to live in another large city; the city should be outside the northeast because urban areas in a megalopolis such as Bowash (Boston to Washington corridor) have a great deal in common. The cities that would be the best places to live outside of the northeast include Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Dallas or Houston. If I stay on the northeast, Baltimore, Philadelphia or Washington would be the best cities to live in. The cities are either the largest in the country (Chicago, LA, Philadelphia, Houston or Dallas), is the nation capital (Washington, DC) or has the vitality of a great city such as New York or Boston or San Francisco. They all have strong qualities and extensive problems that are comparable to New York. They all have a strong mayor/weak council system except for Washington which has a unique system because it is under the direct control of the Federal Government.

It will be essential for me to have a work experience that will be a learning experience that I will be able to use when I return to New York to live permanently and to run for mayor. The position should enable me to establish contacts that will help me economically and in other ways when I run for office in New York. The position should enable me to learn a great deal about different segments of the private sector.

The position that I will take should not only enable me to gain experience that is transferable to New York but should also allow me to have enough time to learn about the city. I should have time to do research on the city, explore the city, and live it to the fullest.

The position should enable me enough time to bike all over the city and its suburbs, study its government and private sector, talk to its leaders, research its history, use its mass transit system, enjoy its night life, cultural institutions and sports teams and to belong to organizations that provide tours and lectures on the city. I will also read the local newspaper and watch the local newscasts.

It will be essential for me to know what is going on in New York City. Therefore I will read The New York Times everyday, The Village Voice every week and Manhattan Inc. every month. I will also stay in contact with my acquaintances in New York by phone and spend long weekends in the city.

It will also be very important for me to keep in good physical shape. Everyday I will either run, use my exercise bike or take a long bike ride. I will be sure to keep on a strict diet of good food.

3. WORKING IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

After I graduate MIT, the first job that I will take should be in the private sector because I have extensive experience working in the public sector in both New York City and Boston. I have also done a great deal of research on government in school and on my own. The private sector plays an important role and will become more important as the federal role in local government continues to decrease. In order for me as mayor to understand how the private sector operates and to deal with it to the best of my ability, I should have extensive work experience in the private sector.

The mayor works with investment banks, commercial and savings banks, securities brokers, real estate developers, service vendors, construction companies, insurance companies, manufacturers and retailers. Aside from providing the millions of private sector jobs, these industries provide vital services to New York; investment banks grade the city's bonds and notes and along with security firms market the bonds and notes. Commercial banks provide financing for the public and private sector, savings and loans institutions provide long term residential financing, real estate developers shape the form that the city takes, construction companies build and rebuild the city's infrastructure and public and private buildings, service vendors provide some of New York's services and insurance companies provide long-term financing for both the public and private sector and insure both the citizens and businesses of New York. The way the private sector performs can either be beneficial or disastrous for the city. Some businesses had helped build New York but some have helped to do irreversible damage.

A mayor who has worked in and understands how the private work can more easily work with it than can a mayor who has never worked in it and has to learn how it works; hands on experience in the private sector would give me insight about where the private sector is coming from and how to react. The mayor must also work with the private sector to retain and expand the economic base but must also have the businesses contribute more than jobs to New York. The mayor must be in the forefront of stopping the private sector from bleeding the city; he must fight red-lining, block busting and other business practices that have greatly damaged New York and other urban areas; a mayor who knows how these organizations work is in better shape to combat them than a mayor who doesn't.

Working in the private sector will give me the opportunity to establish the contacts that I will need in order to finance my campaign. The members in the business community are the people who can contribute the hundreds of thousands of dollars to my campaign coffers by not only donating funds themselves but also by introducing me to the people who can easily contribute a thousand dollars and not feel it.

Real estate development is a field that I should go into because it deals with both the private and public sectors: insurance companies, planning firms, developers, commercial banks and savings and loans institutions, pension funds, construction companies and many governmental agencies. Whatever sector of real estate development I go into, it should provide me with the opportunity to work with all the different segments of the development process. The real estate development process also would enable me to have a great deal of

contact with the public sector.

Eight to ten years in the private sector in both New York City and another city will enable me to become very knowledgeable about the private sector, set up contacts and make my mark in the real estate field. It will also allow me to make enough money to live comfortably and finance my run for the state legislature and city council.

4. THE LOCAL POLITICAL CLUB

The local political club will be the base that I will use to run for local office prior to the run for mayor. The club will also help me to develop contacts at the city level and I can get the club members to be active in city, state and national elections or to get involved in races in other areas.

The neighborhood club, if it is well run, can elect a candidate to office if its members are involved in community and a solid precinct captain network can be set up. The club also supplies the people who do the leg work of a campaign; door-to-door literature distribution, street campaigning, the manning of phone banks, and staffing the campaign headquarters.

The local political clubs in New York City are part of a network of county (borough) and state political clubs. The reform political clubs are part of the state wide New Democratic Coalition and the county wide organization. The regular clubs are part of the regular county organization; sometimes the club is both part of the NDC and the regular organization. Through this system I can get to meet political people from all over the city and other people who are involved with groups that are involved in elective politics.

I will get the club members to be involved in the city, state and federal election that I'm involved in. The club members can also be used to assist in the election in other areas not covered by the club. At both the citywide and local levels, the club members can be used to do different tasks depending on their capabilities.

5. THE NEED TO BE A FULL TIME ELECTED OFFICIAL

Once I have returned to New York City and am involved in politics, public interest work, neighborhood groups and have set up contacts among different interests, I will run for a local office such as the New York City Council, State Assembly or State Senate when the time is proper. That will be when a seat is open or when an incumbent is weak. I will spend full time running and will have a professional staff running the campaign.

Once I'm elected, I will start to run for Mayor of New York City; I'll do this by being a full-time legislator. As a full-time city councilman, State Senator or Assemblyman I will have a staff that will deliver extensive constituent services and reputation will be enhanced by serving my constituency well. Being a full-time legislator will also allow me to work on city wide issues and yet be well known at a city wide level.

Being a full-time elected official will also allow me to do the other activities that are needed to run for mayor. I will be able to stay in constant contact with my Board of Directors, former colleagues, political, civic and business leaders and other people that can help me to get elected mayor. I will also be able to travel around the world, get to know New York City better and keep physically fit.

In order to do a good job at the local level and on city issues, I will need to have the best staff possible. I will need an administrative aide to run the home office and take care of the constituent services and be my representative to the community. There will be an administrative aide to run my office in Albany or in New

York City where I will work on the city wide issues. My press secretary , who can be part time as long as he/she gets me local and citywide publicity, will play an important role in order for people to know who I am and what I am doing.

6. ELECTIVE POLITICS

One of the ways to build a political base to run from is to become active in elective politics and build up IOUs. As with the public interest work, it will be necessary for me to support candidates that I not only believe in but who are not controversial and whom it will be beneficial for me to support. My support can take many forms: I can send some of my troops in to help; I can take a week or two off from work before a key election and devote full time to the campaign; along with my political advisors, I can advise the candidate; I can set him up with some of my contacts who can help the candidates with workers, money, press support, technical support, and can introduce him to other people.

The candidate I will support will have a large base of support and I will be in a prominent position in the campaign where I can be visible. The campaign can be at the city, state or federal level. Once the campaign is over, I will have to keep in contact with the people that I met in the campaign.

As I have done in the past, I will support a wide range of candidates because the people that I support will either give me credibility or can hurt my reputation. I should find a campaign where I will help a Black candidate over the White candidate in order to help me win credibility and support in the Black community; the same with the Hispanic population.

7. LOCAL CIVIC WORK

The local civic associations will help me to build the community base that I will need to run for local office. It will also assist me to understand how these groups function and will allow me to run on my record which will include extensive community work.

Few candidates are elected, using their civic associations as their entire base; however, many elected officials used the civic groups as part of their base combined with a good technical staff and a political base or other people who were interested in politics. The civic groups rarely cover an entire assembly or city council district but the groups can provide the troops needed in a campaign and the precinct captains in the area that they cover.

The civic associations are often affiliated with a borough or citywide association of civic groups. This will also be a vehicle for me to meet people from all over the city. They are also affiliated with foundations that provide funding for various activities that the groups are involved in. A lot of influential people are involved with the foundations.

8. PUBLIC INTEREST WORK

Public interest work is a key way for me to be involved with groups that will enable me to establish a reputation that will help me get support in my mayoral race and other races for office. The groups and causes that I will be involved with cannot be too controversial and I can't be involved with people who are themselves controversial. Many important New Yorkers and national figures have been involved in groups that I have been associated with such as Planned Parenthood, Common Cause, and the New York Public Interest Research Groups. Other groups that I will be involved with may include the American Jewish Congress, the National Organization for Women and the Sierra Club. Other groups in which I believe in their causes but are too controversial, are groups that I must stay away from include the War Registers League, Mobilization for Survival for the Democratic Socialists of America.

There are many ways to be involved with the public interest groups. I can donate money, host wine and cheese fundraisers and organizational meetings, lobby elected officials and attend social events. I will also do some of the dirty work such as manning phone banks or tabling for signatures. It will also be important for me to be in the leadership of these groups and make sure that the leaders know of my work and will "owe me one of two favors" but at the same time it will be important for me to be perceived as truly committed to the cause and not just a political opportunist.

9. GETTING TO KNOW NEW YORK CITY

New York City is one of the most complex cities in the world and few people know the city the way that I do. The city has a governmental bureaucracy that performs more services than any other city in the country or the world, hundreds of neighborhoods, an extensive transportation system, a huge educational system, hundreds of cultural institutions, dozens of religions and thousands of miles of streets. It took me thousands of hours of walking, biking, commuting by bus, auto and subway, attending hundreds of meetings, and talking to people in order to understand the city the way I do.

In order to understand why New York has gotten to the position it is now at, it will be necessary for me to continue to do research on the city's history by reading books, documents and old newspapers and to speak to historians, scholars, architects and people who were active in politics, government, and business for many years. There are also historical tours of New York that explore the city's past in depth.

New York City is a constantly changing city that will require me to keep up with the vast changes. Therefore it will be necessary for me to understand why these changes are happening and how the city, specifically the mayor, should react to them and in what path the mayor should try to set the city on.

There are many ways to get to know New York. The best way is to bike around the city. Biking is quick, efficient, cheap and a healthy way to see New York. The best areas to ride a bike are where there is little traffic and the lack of mass transit make these areas quite inaccessible. Jamaica, The Rockaways, Bayside, Flushing, Astoria,

Woodside, Jackson Heights, Forest Hill, Astoria, Ridgewood, St. Albans, and Springfield Gardens in Queens, Riverdale, Throgsneck, Williamsbridge, Morris Park and Wakefield in the Bronx; Canarsie, Sheepshead Bay Bay Ridge, Bensonhurst and East New York in Brooklyn; and all of Staten Island are ideal areas to explore by bike. The weather permits biking from mid March until late November or 70% of the year, with a good lock, it is possible to lock up and walk around.

Walking was the way I got to know New York before I purchased my first bike in 1979 and is another excellent way to see the city. In areas that have heavy traffic flow such as Long Island City in Queens; all of Manhattan, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Williamsburg, Greenpoint, Park Slope and Brooklyn Heights in Brooklyn, it is easier and safer to see the area by foot.

There are many good organizations that conduct extensive tours of New York. The American Institute of Architects, Hunter College, the 92nd Street Y, the Museum of the City of New York, Columbia University and other groups offer tours that go into great detail into the history, architecture and other details of different neighborhoods. They also sponsor lectures and forums about different and interesting subjects.

There are many people who are considered "experts" in their field of study of New York. They include journalists, historians, academicians, bureaucrats, politicians and business people. It will be in my best interest to keep in contact with the experts and get information and advice from them. Some of these people can be included as part of my board of directors.

10. TRAVEL

Contrary to the cover of the famous New Yorker that has been made into the best selling poster, there is life on the other side of the Hudson and a lot to gain from seeing the world . As much as my finances and time will allow I will travel around the world and see how other cities work, how they are run and how people are elected to office.

During what will hopefully be many trips, I will speak to elected officials, bureaucrats, business, political leaders and newspeople. I will also use the methods that I will use to see New York: walking, biking and professionally geared tours. During the touring, I will speak to people in the neighborhoods and get their opinions about their area, city and elected officials.

A good itinerary is essential for a productive trip. Before my trip I will have to read up about the cities, get street and transit maps, set up meetings and either find out about a place to rent a bike or use an airline that will permit me to take my bike along.

During the trip I will need to learn how the bureaucracy works, how services are delivered, what role the private sector plays, how elections are conducted, what type of architecture is prevalent, what the transportation modes are and what the relationships between the city and state or federal government are.

11. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors will serve as my "inner circle". They will advise me, set up contacts, run both my informal campaign structure and then the formal campaign apparatus. After I am elected they will serve in the Haironson Administration or as advisers outside of government. The members must be people who I can trust and will be very loyal. They will be religious, business, political, civic, educational and governmental leaders.

I will have contact with each person one on one because they will be a very diverse group and will include people who have nothing in common or dislike each other. I will meet them for lunch or dinner, social events or just talk on the phone on a regular basis. They will also bring me to events such as cocktail parties, neighborhood events, religious ceremonies, business events and ethnic festivals. It will be essential for me to keep in constant contact even if it is just to call and say "hello".

The chairman of the board will be the person who will be a professional political consultant who will run my formal and informal campaign for local office and then for mayor. He/she will advise me on physical appearance, press and media and general strategy. Like the rest of the board, the person must be very very loyal and someone who I can trust greatly.

The board will educate me on the issues that confront the city, boroughs and the neighborhoods. These include: budget, transportation, the economy, law, race relations, politics and other important issues that confront New York City. They will also inform me about national and world matters because it is essential that I

know what is going on beyond New York's borders.

There will be board members who will educate me about the different ethnic groups that make up New York City. I will need to know the history of these groups in order to understand why they came to New York and why they are at the stage of development that ethnic groups have traditionally gone through or why they are being denied the American dream. I will also need to know the individual needs of these groups and what the mayor's administration can do for them. The members will also introduce me to the leaders of their community, raise money for me and get me political support from within their community.

The ethnic makeup of New York City is continuing to change, it is almost certain that the city will have a predominately minority voting base by 2001. New York's Black community will be very diversified and will include people from the south, Haiti, Jamaica, Barbados, Grenada and other Caribbean nations. The Hispanic community will include people from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Colombia, Argentina, Panama and Cuba. I will not only need members from each group but representatives from each borough because there are large Black and Hispanic communities in all the boroughs except Staten Island.

The Asian community, traditionally overwhelmingly from China and located in the Chinatown area of Manhattan, is now composed of people from Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Pakistan and India and there are large Asian communities in Queens and Brooklyn. They also have easily integrated into the White neighborhoods and though there are occasional incidents, they have been able to move into all parts of

New York.

The ethnic White Europeans who have traditionally dominated New York politically will also have board members who will advise me. They will include Italians, Jews, Germans, Irish, Greeks, Albanians and Poles. Since most of these groups are very diverse, representatives of each of the different segments should be represented.

The board members from the business community will include both people that I have worked with and other contacts that I have set up. They will educate me about the private sector but their major function will be to raise money for my campaign. These people will directly contribute to my campaign but also set me up with people who have money and are willing to contribute. They will include investment bankers, bankers, real estate developers and brokers, lawyers, insurance executives and other corporate executives. They can make the donation by directly contributing or attending small parties or large fundraisers.

The board will include people that I have been involved with while working with public interest groups. They can provide a favorable candidate with funds, workers, printing and technical supports.

The political leaders will provide me with the broad based political support that I will need from around the city. They will also raise funds, introduce me to political and civic groups. They are also a good source about what is happening in their individual communities.

Members of the press are essential for the board because they are the people who can give a candidate good or bad coverage or just

ignore his campaign. With the press members, exchange of political information is often sufficient to get good coverage.

12. OTHER PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES

There are many important lessons to be learned from other peoples' experience, especially on how to run for public office and how to govern a city. To understand their experiences is essential because it will assist me to emulate their positive experiences and avoid their mistakes. After I am elected, it will be even more important for me to continue to learn from other peoples experiences in order to be a good chief executive and to prepare to run for re-election.

A lot of people will be worth talking to about their experiences and what they feel I should do to become mayor of New York. I will speak to former mayors of New York City and unsuccessful candidates; mayors, former mayors and unsuccessful candidates in other cities; and elected officials in New York and other municipalities.

I will also meet with elected officials in other countries in order to understand how to appeal to New Yorkers who are from other nations. The nations will include Greece, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Hong Kong, South Korea, China, Israel, Italy, India, El Salvador, Colombia, Pakistan, and Vietnam because these immigrants may play a significant role in the future of New York politics. Naturally, time, money and the availability of a visa will dictate whether I can travel to these countries.

13. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Physical appearance can play an important role in politics and a large part of individual candidate's popularity can be attributed to their good looks. One of the reasons John Lindsay was elected was his tall appearance and his being very handsome; Ronald Reagan's youthful appearance also helped him get elected president, as did John Kennedy's striking looks. My physical appearance are not only good for my public image but I will need to be fit so I will be able to keep a grueling schedule that a candidate for Mayor has.

Daily exercise is essential for keeping fit and I will bike, use a stationary bike or jog at least once a day. Exercise not only enhances appearance and increases stamina but also makes a person less tense and more alert. The media, as well as the rest of the nation, admires people who are good looking and athletic.

The diet that a person has affects his physical and mental state and will try to keep up a vegetarian diet and eat food with little sugar and chemicals. I will continue to not drink milk and dairy products because it causes me to be allergic to dirt, pollen, animals and feathers.

As the cliché goes, "clothes make the person" and I will be conscious of the way I look. My suits will be from Brooks Brothers and shirts from the Custom House and my casual clothes and exercise clothes will never be faded or look cheap. Polyester and acrylic are two materials that I will not wear.

VI. WHAT I WILL DO WHEN I AM ELECTED

When I am sworn in as Mayor on January 1, 2002, New York City will be a different city that will still have many complex problems. The Mayor will have to deal with a reduced budget (in constant dollars), as unemployment rates that will be higher among the minority and uneducated population but will be lower among the white and educated, and a transportation system that will be in poor condition. The last section of my thesis is devoted to what I will do about the major problems that New York City will face.

1. TRANSPORTATION

As mayor of New York City I would revert the city to a walking and tracked city rather than an auto based city. Walking, mass transit and biking will be a priority of my administration while I will try to discourage the use of the automobile.

I would attempt to get the New York City Transit Authority under my jurisdiction whether it be by legislation or by agreement with the Chairman of the Metropolitan Transit Authority; if they will not allow the mayor to run the N.Y.C.T.A., I would come to an accommodation that would give the mayor partial control of the T.A. I would put my best people into the T.A. because without a good transportation system the city can't function. The union should be worked with and the T.A. would offer part of the savings from productivity to the union as a cash bonus for accepting productivity improvements.

I will work with businesses to institute flex hours for the workers because the new economy will be based on a 9-5 work schedule; therefore, the system will be most crowded from 8-9 and 5-6. I will work with businesses to have their starting time from 7:30 to 10:00.

In my administration, the fare will be reduced and added capital funds will be provided through my leadership. I would make the #1 priority on my agenda during the 2002 legislative year for a package of taxes to provide these funds. The taxes used include a gas tax of a few cents, a corporate surcharge tax and a 1% sales tax; the burden will be on the auto owner, the corporation and all shoppers.

Biking and walking will be encouraged during my administration. Capital funds will be provided for bike lanes on both bridges, streets and trails in the parks. The Manhattan, Verrazano-Narrows, Throgs

Neck, Bronx-Whitestone, Queensboro, Outerbridge and Goethel bridges will get walkways and bikeways. The major arteries in Manhattan will get bike lanes. All office buildings must provide indoor space for bikes; all garages will have to provide bike parking space for free.

The City will provide funds for the commuter rail lines, and to build new stations. New stations will be built on Metro's North New Haven's division at Co-op City and Parkchester; the Woodlawn, Williams Bridge and Fordham stations of the Harlem division will be improved; as will the Riverdale, Spuyten Duyvil, Marble Head, University Heights and Morris Heights station. On the Long Island Railroad, the Rosedale, Springfield Garden and St. Albans stations will be improved. Added service to all the stations will attract more ridership; this can be done by added new runs or getting the suburban trains to add more stops.

The flat rate cabs and vans that feed into the commuter rail and subway stations will be legalized or encouraged. Express bus lanes will be added on the Major Deegan Expressway, Bruckner Expressway and F.D.R. Drive for the Liberty Lines Bronx Lines, M.T.A. and other lines that service the Bronx. Express lanes will be added on the Long Island Expressway, Grand Central Parkway for the Steinway, Jamaica, Queens and M.T.A. lines that service Queens.

2. EDUCATION

The lack of an education will be the main reason that people will not be employable in the new economy of New York and why many jobs that could be created in New York will be created in the suburbs and why the employers will have to use labor from the suburbs. Racism and other factors will play a part in a high minority employment rate, but the lack of an adequate education will be the major reason for joblessness.

The teaching profession must be improved. In my administration the teacher will be trained to deal with students and parental problems and taught other human relation skills. They will also be taught other skills that will help the teacher. I will also propose funds to reduce classroom size.

I will propose to eliminate bilingual education in the public schools because in real life, the new economy jobs will need a proficiency in English and not Spanish. It will be easier to eliminate the program because by 2002 the Hispanic population will be predominantly non-Puerto Rican and want to be Americanized and will be anxious to learn English.

The mayor will work with City university officials to tap the alumni of the C.U.N.Y. schools for donations in order to get endowment money to be used to improve facilities, add programs, and build dormitories, so students can live near campus and not have a long commute to school.

The schools will also be used to educate adults who do not have the basic skills needed in the new economy of the 21st century. I will also set up technical programs to help train people in computer and

other skills.

3. UNEMPLOYMENT

In 2002, the mayor will have to deal with a high unemployment rate ; it will be the highest among people of color and the uneducated. If New York is to be a city for all the people, everyone must have a job and there can't be a greater disparity of wealth and income between the races than there is now.

Workfare, the granting of welfare to able bodied individuals only if they work, must be stressed and applied to all the clients who are able to work. These people can clean the streets, parks, subways and municipal buildings; they can also work on building the streets and highways. Should the client not be willing to work, then they are off the dole. I will also work to set up training programs to teach skills to the welfare recipients.

As mayor, I would use the city's power of eminent domain to take land and build offices and high tech parks if the city does not already own the property. The open areas of Staten Island near the Richmond Parkway, Staten Island, Island Expressway, West Shore Expressway, Willow Brook Expressway, Outerbridge Crossing, Goethals Bridge and the Verrazano Narrows Bridge should be developed for jobs. The City should also provide buses or vans, driven by the employees (in order to save paying for a driver) to take them to work. The open areas of the northeast Bronx in Baychester could also be used for developing office, hi-tech and other industrial parks. Some of the industrial jobs can be filled by uneducated people.

The third economic development proposal is probably the most controversial. I will propose that gambling be legalized only in certain areas. The areas will be dispersed in order to allow people

from Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, upstate New York, Connecticut and Long Island to come to New York for a night, weekend or a week. The Rockaways, Coney Island, the Great Kills Park, Baychester, South Bronx, Hunts Point or Harlem are potential areas. As parts of the R.F.P., the developer would have to provide the community a certain percentage of job and a certain percentage to minorities.

The fourth proposal I will put forward will be the making of New York as the capital of gay America. Gay people will be encouraged to spend their vacation time in New York and also invest their capital in developments that will help both gay people and New York.