Resources

Controlling Capital
Mobilizing Capital For Economic Development: Institutional Innovation and the New Urban Policy brings together a number of important papers on changing the flows of private and public capital, and gaining more public accountability over the proceeds.
Based on a conference that was held at Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School last spring, the reader covers capital for new technology, pension fund investment, private venture capital firms, anti-redlining strategies, community development corporations, innovative uses of CETA, the National Development Bank, employee stock ownership, and more.
For copies, send $6.25 to the Center for New Jersey Studies, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton, Nj 08540.

Arresting Medical Care Costs
The Rising Costs of Health Care, an Oregon PIRG study, examines Portland’s excess hospital beds and their maintenance costs—and concludes that the huge expense of upkeep for unused beds is borne by the public through insurance premiums, taxes, and doctor and hospital bills. Also detailed is the structure of the health planning bureaucracy from the Federal to the local level.
Recommendations include sharing of major equipment among hospitals, effective consumer participation in health planning on all levels, and frequent public meetings of Health Systems Agencies and State Health Planning and Development Agencies.

For a copy, write Oregon PIRG c/o Bill Van Dyke, Tythian Bldg., 915 SW Yamhill St., Portland, OR 97205.

New Magazines Focus on State and Local Government
One measure of the growing importance of state and local politics is the number of magazines, both commercial and non-profit, that now focus on it.
Potomac Journal covers state and local government in Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, reporting on how such governments work and “why they sometimes fail.” Recent articles examine property taxes (“How High and How Fair?”), state agencies (“How Effective They Really Are”), transportation (“Highways and Mass Transit: Slugging It Out for Sexed-Up”), and the federal government (“Rich Uncle or Big Brother?”). For subscription information, write them at 711 E St. SE, Washington, DC 20002.

NC Insight is a quarterly published by the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, a non-profit tax-exempt corporation. The Center is committed to “the independent scrutiny of state government” and “directed solely to the improvement of governmental performance.” A recent issue of NC Insight included a critique of the state’s plan to establish the first place in the US to use a new process to recycle the waste engine oil of automobiles. It also included excerpts from a center report called, “This Land Is Your Land: Here’s How the State Boys and Sells It” (available from the center for $5).

For NC Insight subscription information, write North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, P.O. Box 10694, Raleigh, NC 27610.

Illinois Issues is co-sponsored by the University of Illinois and Sangamon State University. Articles focus on controversies in Illinois, describe how a public agency or unit of government functions, analyze a problem, or report developments in science or education. The magazine also summarizes legislative action on key bills.
For subscription information, write Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62701.

New Jersey Magazine, now two years old, is independently published ten times a year. The lead article of a recent issue made a case against jail in, using the Connecticut experience as proof that legalizing gambling on the game is a means of invitation to corruption and exploitation of desperate poverty. (New Jersey voters were given the option of legalizing gambling in jail in the state in November, and defeated it.) Other pieces included “A Look Behind the Door At the Senate Judiciary Committee,” “Notes of a Campaign Follower: Who Knows You is More Important Than What You Know,” and an analysis of the Murphy-Farber case.
For subscription information, write New Jersey Magazine, 16 Vandeventer Ave., Princeton, NJ 08540.

Those who publish similar regional magazines should send a sample copy to the editor of Ways & Means. Mention of them will be made in a future issue in this space.

Ways & Means
Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies
1901 Que St., NW
Washington, DC 20009

Ways & Means
Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies
1901 Que St., NW
Washington, DC 20009

Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies
January-February 1979

In This Issue...
State & Local Tax Reform: Congress Could Help, p. 3

• Direct Marketing: A Bumper Crop of Benefits for Farmers & Consumers, p. 5

• Activists Urge Redirection of Public Pension Funds, p. 6

• November Election Round-up: In the Wake of Jarvis-Gann, Progressives, Republicans Win, p. 7

• Berkeley Progressives Score November Victories, p. 12

• Tax Reformers Made Advances in Massachusetts, Ohio, p. 13

"Farmers have always had little or no control over the marketing of their products, and consumers have little recourse to higher food prices other than to stop eating. Direct marketing is the first step toward gaining more control . . . ” See story, p. 5.
Congress Could Help

State and Local Tax Reform

Legislative Initiative

Agriculture Land Enforcements
For Farmers & Consumers

Direct Marketing: Bumper Crop

Repealing State Food Taxes

Family Farm Coalition "Worries Ahead"
Progressives, Republicans Win in Wake of Jared-Cam "Journal" November Election Results

Activities Under Redemption Fund
Women in Politics

Women in the Economy

Public Reaction and Impact

Women Capture Economic Power

Women have always been an essential part of the economy. From early days, women have worked alongside men in various industries, contributing to the growth and development of their communities. In recent years, women have been making significant strides in the economic sphere, proving that gender should not be a barrier to success.

Women have played a crucial role in businesses and industries across the globe. They have taken on leadership positions and have been instrumental in driving progress and innovation. Women-owned businesses have also contributed to the economic growth of their respective regions.

Despite the progress, women still face challenges in the economy. Gender biases, lack of access to resources, and lack of representation continue to be major issues. However, the ongoing advocacy and support for women's economic empowerment are showing positive results.

Women in Politics

Women have been making significant contributions to politics worldwide. They have been elected to various positions, including presidents, prime ministers, and governors. Women's participation in politics is not just a numbers game; it is about bringing diverse perspectives and experiences to the decision-making process.

Women's participation in politics has led to the implementation of policies that benefit all citizens. Women often focus on issues like education, health, and violence against women, which are critical areas of concern.

In conclusion, women's economic empowerment and political participation are essential for the growth and development of societies. Their contributions are invaluable, and their voices must be heard. As we continue to strive for equality, we must recognize and celebrate the achievements of women, both in the economy and politics.
Proposal for Tax Reform in Massachusetts

12

Reformers Make Advances

November Victories

Berkeley Progressives Score
Problem for the Urban Elderly

Program P.13
After Need Changes
10 Local Groups Can Still
KeepBank Move Ahead

Women's Work in California

Government, p.5
Join the Conference Targets State,
Reviving Agriculture

Print Closing Legislation Focus

Ways to Achievements
Safe and Local Public Places
Conference on Alternative
Education 1979
Plan Closing Legislation Focus

Who Leads the Way

Legislative Initiatives

Agriculture

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### Women in the Economy

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#### Education

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waseda University</td>
<td>September 2019 - May 2020</td>
<td>Business, Economics, Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvard University</td>
<td>September 2019 - June 2020</td>
<td>Business, Law, Journalism</td>
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The Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

Legislative Initiatives

Coop Bank Moves Ahead

Local groups can still achieve needed changes
Farmers in Alabama, p. 14
Activity State Senator Aids
in Cleveland, p. 6
An Analysis of Utility Vote
Job Loss, p. 5
Poniatowskie California Farm
for Sale Action p. 3
Registration Form p. 7-10

In This Issue:...
From the January 14, 1920 edition of the "Los Angeles Times" newspaper, a clipping featuring the following headline:

"FOR THE 90th ELECTION
ACORN Plans
The Abstemious
Under Attack
Agriculture
"
Behind the Vote in Cleveland

By Paul Ryder

I believe in municipal ownership of all public service monopolies . . . because if you do not own them they will in time own you. They will rule your politics, corrupt your institutions, and finally destroy your liberties.

Tom Johnson
Mayor of Cleveland
1901-1909

On February 27th, a majority of Cleveland citizens voted not to sell their city's Municipal Light plant to a private utility, and in favor of increasing their income tax. A recent analysis of the vote shows that strong support for these measures crossed both racial and economic lines within the city.

At stake was the survival of the only big-city public utility in the country operating in direct competition with a private utility, the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company. (CEI). Also at stake was the city's $38 million anti-trust suit against CEI for sabotage, price-fixing, and other "anti-competitive" practices. The income tax increase was crucial, as failure of the measure would have left public employee layoffs, service cutbacks, and the likelihood of the state takeover of city finances.

The outcome of the initiative showed that the long-dominant Cleveland institutions—corporations, media, and political parties—had exhausted their credibility in many of Cleveland's neighborhoods. Their pressure campaign against the public initiative had not worked. Replacing these institutions may well be what Cleveland's Mayor Dennis Kucinich calls the "coalition of the future—poor and working people, black and white, unified on economic issues."

It was the black vote, which comprises 36% of the voting public, that helped make the difference. In past elections, Cleveland voters have often found themselves divided by race. Only six months ago, for example, 67% of black Clevelanders voted to recall Mayor Kucinich, while 57% of the whites opposed the recall. This winter's campaign could have witnessed the same racist split: the media, both white and black, were encouraging "poll/ballot" conflicts between Mayor Kucinich and black City Council President George Forbes. Forbes is a longtime black and柄 singer for bigotry in Cleveland.

As the campaign began, nearly all observers thought that the sale of Municipal Light was a foregone conclusion. It was supported by CEI, Cleveland Trust, the Greater Cleveland Growth Association (Chamber of Commerce), the Plain Dealer, the Cleveland Press, the black-owned Call and Post, all three TV stations, the City Council leadership, and both major political parties.

Working to keep their public utility, the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, neighborhood groups, ad hoc ward committees, and the Kucinich administration's Cleveland Can Win Committees coordinated two months of house-to-house leafleting and canvassing. OPIC and the United Auto Workers co-authored and distributed thousands of leaflets throughout the city, as did the Cleveland Can Win Committee.

When the election day came, 84% of Cleveland's voters rejected the sale, and 68% voted to increase the income tax. In the black community, 56% voted with 70% of the whites, and in City Councilman Forbes' own ward, the sale passed by only 163 votes. Personal rivalries and racial divisions had given way to economic considerations.

Paul Ryder is Associate Director of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, a state-wide non-profit citizen organization concerned with protecting Ohio's jobs and tax base.

Fifth Annual National Conference

An Agenda for the 80's

We invite you to join with 800 other state and local public officials, community activists, and government leaders at the Fifth Annual National Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies to be held in Philadelphia-Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, August 3-5, 1979.

This three-day conference will be unique and important gathering of progressive leaders from all over the country who are utilizing state and local governments to bring about social change in America.

A wide range of workshops will provide for the exchange of innovative policies and programs on such crucial issues as property tax reform, plant closings, employment, energy costs, affirmative action, urban housing, and redistribution of income. Plenary sessions will concentrate on the economic and political problems we face in the 80's and the national context for state and local efforts.

This year's conference takes place at a critical time. Inflation increases, while unemployment remains high; people demand more government services while they also demand substantial tax cuts; government and public employees are on the defensive, as are the corporations and special interests. It is a critical time, but it is also a time of substantial opportunity for progressives who can define new alternatives and mount broad-based coalition efforts.

This Philadelphia conference will draw together those people who are drafting the next agenda for the 80's and who are forging the new coalitions. We hope that you will join us in Philadelphia as we transform the present challenges into exciting opportunities.
FRIDAY, 3 AUGUST 1979

8:00 a.m. REGISTRATION OPENS
Thomas Libby, Bryn Mawr College

10:30 a.m. OPENING SESSION
Welcoming Remarks
John Alscher, Assistant City Manager, Hartford, Connecticut; Chair, Conference Steering Committee

"SIGNIFICANCE: The Crisis of the 80's?"
Gea Alperovitz, Co-director, National Center for Economic Alternatives

"SIGNIFICATION: What Implications for the State and Local Agenda?"
Heather Booth, Director, Midwest Academy, Chicago
Joe Brooks, President, Emergency Land Fund, Atlanta

12:00 LUNCH

1:30 p.m. WORKSHOPS
Proposition 17: Who Wins? Who Loses?
Plan Change: Strategies to Protect Workers and Communities
County Government: An Important Arena for Progressive Politics
Race and Politics: Can We Unite Progressive Constituencies?
The Economics and Politics of Rent Control
Renewal and Displacement: Successful Local Responses
Corporate Tax Abatements: The Political and Policy Issues
Shaping Food Inflation: State and Local Approaches
How Progressive Campaigns Can Use the Media
Care Studies in Progressive Economic Development:
Massachusetts, Hartford and Madison
The European Experience With Coops: Lessons for the National Consumer Credit Bank
Organizing Around Occupational and Environmental Health and Safety

3:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS
Federal Resources: Developing Neighborhood-based Community Development Plans
Women and Minorities: Critical to the Future of Organized Labor
The Crisis in Health Care: What States and Cities Can Do
Innovative Approaches to School Finance Reform
Redlining Revisited: Taking on the Insurance Industry
Preserving Agricultural Land: Tax and Planning Strategies
New Financing Sources for Alternative Energy

SATURDAY, 4 AUG. 1979

9:00 a.m. CONCURRENT PLENARY SESSIONS
"Strategies to Meet the Attack on Human Services"
Art Torres, State Assembly, California
Ruth Messinger, City Council, New York City
Earl Craig, Director, Urban Coalition of Minneapolis

"The Crisis in American Agriculture: Opportunities for Progressive Change"
Jim Hightower, Edtor, Texas Observer
Cynthia Guder, Coordinator, Agriculture Project, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies
Michael Figure, State Senate, Alabama
Vicki Ray, Assistant to the President, National Farmers Union

"The Effective Response to the Tax Revolt"
Vera moms, State Representative, Oregon
Leigh Webb, Director, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies
Tom Balc, State Assembly, California
Michael Ansara, Director, Massachusetts Fair Share

10:30 a.m. WORKSHOPS
Community Strategies for Prevention of Crime and Police Brutality
Preventing Economic Dislocation: Recommendations from the European Plan Closing Study Group
How Local Government Can Work Through Neighborhoods: Success and Problems
State and Local Taxation of Corporations: Making Them Pay Their Fair Share

Controlling Energy Inflation: Meeting the Needs of Low and Moderate Income Consumers
Political Campaigns: The New Technologies
Development, Finance and Institutions: Evaluating the Progressive Track Record
Public Policies for the Handicapped
The Role of the Sunkist: Growth, Economic Development and Jobs
How to Build a Successful State/Local Tax Reform Movement: Four Case Studies
The Progressive Alliance: Its Program and Strategy
Urban Mass Transportation: Providing Services to the Inner City

12:00 LUNCH

1:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION
"The 1980 Presidential Campaign: Perspectives and Issues"
George Poulou, General Vice-President, International Association of Machinists
Carolyn Lucas, Boston Vice-President, Massachusetts Fair Share
Michael Harrington, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee

3:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS
Controlling the Housing Market: Limiting Speculation and Profits
The Denial of Big City Political Machines: What Potential for Progressive Policies?
Strategies for Building New Alliances Around Farm, Land and Food Policies
Public Assistance: Reforming Welfare and Social Service Programs
Services for Seniors: Innovative State and Local Programs
Unaccountable Public Authorities: What Can Be Done?
Cleveland and New York: Case Studies in Corporate Domination of City Economics
State and Local Approaches to Anti-Discrimination and Affirmative Action
Proposition 17: Its Impact on Labor: Implications for Citizens/Labor Tax Reform Conditions
How to Lobby State Legislatures
Developing a Comprehensive State Energy Policy

4:30 p.m. RECEPTION

SUNDAY, 5 AUGUST 1979

9:00 a.m. PLENARY SESSION
"State of the States: A Program for the 80's"
Ann Beaudry, Associate Director, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies
Ira Aukb, Director, Ohio Public Interest Network
Bryan Dorgan, Tax Commission, North Dakota

10:30 a.m. WORKSHOPS
Federal Initiatives to Stimulate State/Local Tax Reform
Cities and Suburbs: A Fair Share of Regional Wealth
The Emerging Demographics—Minorities, the Elderly and Women: Implications for Progressive Politics
Beyond Three Mile Island: What States and Cities Can Do To Control Nuclear Energy
Youth And Jobs: Policies and Programs of the State and Federal Level
New Strategies for Labor Organizing
Preserving Corporate Control of Agriculture and Land Across the Fence for Taxes
Employee-Owned Coops: The Potential of the National Consumer Credit Bank
Progressive Public Officials as Managers: Meeting the Needs of Constituents and Public Employees
Public Pension Funds: New Capital for Economic Development
Politics in California After Proposition 13
Developing a Comprehensive State Agriculture and Food Policy

12:00 LUNCH

1:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS
Linking the Jobless to Jobs: Policies for Employment and Community Stabilization
New Revenue Policies for Cities
Community-based Strategies to Finance Low-Income Housing
Emerging Progressive Politics in the South
Food for People: Innovative City Programs
Rural Development Policy: Outside Industry vs. Local Initiative
Strategies Against Apartheid: Pension Funds and Corporate Social Responsibility
The New Right: Right Issues, Wrong Programs
Progressive Utility Regulation: Protecting Consumer Interests
Community Reinforcement Act: How Cities and States Can Use It
Limiting Corporate Control of the Energy Industry: Building Alternative Institutions
Tacticals and Strategy for Referenda and Initiatives

2:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION
"Independent Politics: Strategies for Progressive Change"
Marion Barry, Mayor, District of Columbia
Douglas Fraser, President, United Auto Workers

4:00 p.m. CONFERENCE ENDS
REGISTRATION INFORMATION
FIFTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE
3-4-5 August 1979
Philadelphia-Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Registration:
Registration fee: $35
Registration fee includes participation in all Conference sessions, workshops and entertainment.
Partial registration fee scholarships are available. Please make arrangements with Ann Beaudry no later than July 15, 1979.

Accommodations:
Single rooms are available in dormitories on the Bryn Mawr campus. Rates include breakfast, lunch and dinner each day, served in the college dining room. Price is $25 per night. Tickets for individual meals are available for those not staying on campus.

Child Care:
Children 3 months to 5 1/2 years old can register at a day nursery located on the edge of the campus. Pre-payment and advance reservation are required no later than July 6, 1979. The nursery is open daily from 7:30 a.m.-4:15 p.m. and the cost is $2 per hour per child.

Registration Form

NAME ____________________________
POSITION / ORGANIZATION ____________________________
ADDRESS ______________________________________
PHONE (Home) ____________________________ (Work) ________________

REGISTRATION FEE $35

HOUSING
Single room at $25 per night for __________ nights.

Please indicate which nights:
☐ Thursday
☐ Friday
☐ Saturday

TOTAL

(Children must accompany order—payable to Conference)

CHILD CARE
I would like to reserve a space(s) for my _______ child(ren).
Please indicate which days: ☐ Friday ☐ Saturday ☐ Sunday
Industrial Exodus
Realistic proposals about what level of government could do to save jobs and protect communities from plant shutdowns.
30 pp. $2.50. $5 for institutions.

CETA-Eligible Women: A Neglected Majority

By Jane Fleming

The statistics which reflect the position of women in the economy have forced policy makers at the federal state and local level to take the employment needs of women more seriously. Women constitute a significant portion of the labor force, yet they remain neglected in the under-employed, under-supported, and economically disadvantaged. The figures speak for themselves:

- Since 1970, the number of women holding jobs has increased from 18 million to 42.1 million. By 1977, 50% of all women were over sixteen were in the workforce.
- In 1977, women earned only 67c for every $1 earned by men.
- Women make up 50% of the unemployed. 60% of the "disalyzed" workers who have given up looking for a job, and 65% of the 16 million Americans living below the poverty line.
- Women are doubly vulnerable because of race discrimination. 50% of all black families headed by women live below the poverty line, as compared to 26% of all white female-headed families.

Programs such as Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) which purport to offer job training to the economically disadvantaged, have historically favored women, while women continue to be trained and placed primarily in the lower-paying, traditionally "female" jobs.

Programs in the future will be given at Harvard University starting June 11. Taught by noted economic development specialists, it will examine case studies of local and federal community development projects. Infor-
Activist State Senator Aids Farmers in Alabama

After almost fifteen years of working with poor, black farmers in the southeast, State Senator Michael Figures was elected Alabama's third black state senator last November. Figures' campaign was supported by such progressive organizations as the Non-Partisan Voters League, the Alabama Democratic Conference, and the Ministerial Alliance. Figures, a civil rights lawyer and activist, was one of the founders of the Emergency Land Fund (ELF), an organization established in 1971 to provide legal, financial and technical assistance to black landowners.

Many black political leaders and community groups believe that the black community is losing an extremely valuable base for future economic and political development due to the dramatic decline in black-owned land—the current rate of loss is 9,000 acres per week. In a recent interview with Wags & Meems, Figures talked about this and other problems facing the rural poor in Alabama, and described some of the legislation he plans to introduce in the State Senate this year.

- Figures is planning to introduce legislation to protect small family farms threatened with mortgage foreclosures. One proposed bill would extend the same farmland tax benefits to farmers, who live in remote areas are discriminated against by the utility companies in the form of higher rates and poorer service. "Electricity is as vital as food," Figures argues, and if people receive food stamps to pay for food they cannot afford, they should be given assistance to pay for high utility expenses.

- Establishment of a State Human Relations Department with wide enforcement powers to monitor the state's equal opportunity and employment practices is another innovative idea proposed by State Senator Figures.

- Another proposed bill relates to changing the partition sales law, which allows one heir of an estate to sell without all other owners to sell to take the property. Figures calls this law a "violation of equal protection." In addition, the current practice of lawyers getting 10% of the sale price in "illegal and grossly unfair," Figures says, as it gives them a strong incentive to locate heirs and

Consumer Advocates Elect Renter's Rights Platform in Santa Monica

A progressive coalition in Santa Monica elected consumer advocate Roberta Fonseca and activist lawyer Bill Jenkins to the City Council on April 10. Both ran as co-chairs of the renters' rights initiative that passed the same day.

While the average turn-out in previous city council elections has been 20%, the interest generated by the two candidates and the rent control initiative turned out over half the voting population. The successful ballot initiative, Proposition A, calls for the establishment of rent control and establishment of an elected rent control board. The bill will roll rents back to April 1978 levels, provide tenants with new rights such as restrictions on "just cause" evictions, and require that all condominium conversions be approved by the elected rent control board.

Although the coalition of groups, called Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights, was outspent by landlord forces seven to one, it managed to recruit hundreds of volunteers for door-to-door canvassing and other campaign work.

A number of local unions supported the renters' efforts, including the Retail Clerks, the Service Employees Union, and the United Auto Workers. In some respects, the Santa Monica victory is an example of the progressive coalition which is currently being organized at the national level.

Landlords have moved immediately to challenge the new law in court, and they may have engaged in retaliatory evictions of tenants who supported Proposition A. The coalition has already selected a five-person slate for the rent control board elections to be held in June, and landlords are expected to announce their own slate shortly.

Youth Jobs Council Proposed in Massachusetts

Massachusetts State Representative Mel King has introduced a bill (H 1708) that would set up a Youth Jobs Council for his state. The legislation would give the Governor the power to appoint a council to develop a fifteen thousand training slots in various sectors of the economy. In support of the bill, Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX), a state-wide citizens group, is organizing a "Youth Employment Coalition" involving neighborhood groups, labor unions and public interest organizations. For more information on the bill and what CPPAX is doing to build support for it, write to CPPAX, 35 Kingston Street, Boston, MA 02111.

Minnesota Bill Would Protect Families With Children

Minnesota House Representative Janet Clark has recently introduced a bill that would help protect families who are being discriminated against in the rental housing market because they have children.

The bill would amend the Minnesota Human Rights law to prohibit discrimination on the basis of children in advertising, renting or terminating the lease of rental housing units. For a copy of the bill, contact the Council for Economic Status of Women, 400 SW State Office Bldg., St. Paul, MN 55102.

Upcoming Conferences

National Teach-In on Inflation and the Economy

On June 26 and 27, the COIN Campaign (Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Next Century) will hold a national Teach-In in Washington, D.C. on a progressive program to fight inflation in the necessary fields of income, education, housing and health care. William Winship, Doug Frazer, Ralph Nader, and Gar Alperovitz will be among the speakers. For information write to COIN, 2005 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20030.

National Black United Fund Holds June Conference

The National Black United Fund is holding its third annual Public Policy Conference on June 28th-July 1 in Boston, Massachusetts. Congressman Parren Mitchell and Dr. Barbara Sizemore of the University of Pittsburgh will be among the speakers. For more information write to the National Black United Fund, Inc., 3741 Stocker, Suite 211, Los Angeles, CA 90008.

Resources

Getting Involved in the Local Budget Process

A 50-page citizen's action guide entitled Citizen Involvement in the Local Budget Process has recently been published by the Center for Community Change in Washington, D.C. The guide focuses on how citizens can intervene in the budget process, and describes the normal local budget process step-by-step, highlighting areas of concern. It is available free to effective work: strong organization, homework, early intervention in the budget process, and involvement in public hearings. The citizen's action guide sells for $1.50 and is available from the Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.
VPIRG Warns of Nuclear Shut-Down Costs
The Vermont Public Interest Research Group (VPIRG) recently published a report on the problems of decommissioning of nuclear power plants entitled The Final Shutdown: VPIRG White Paper on the Decommissioning of the Vermont Yankee. This up-to-date analysis explores the inevitable contamination from nuclear plants that are shut down, and the enormous costs of cleaning them up. It also focuses on the failure of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to issue definitive guidelines on plant decommissioning.

VPIRG is distributing the report to state officials, especially to those of the Vermont House of Representatives who are now considering a bill (H 3863), which would establish a panel to begin planning for the eventual decommissioning of Vermont Yankee. The panel would be given the authority to require the plant to set aside funds for decommissioning purposes.

For a copy of the VPIRG White Paper, send $2.00 to VPIRG, 26 State Street, Montpelier, VT 05602.

Learning from Abroad
State and local policy-makers should take note of two recent publications that describe and evaluate European policies and institutions. Martin Carney's and Derek Sherar's Alternative Organizations of Production: Applying to the U.S. Political System, compares European and American economic policies in the areas of full employment, income redistribution, and democratic control of work and production. The 502-page report includes chapters on public enterprise, welfare state reforms, and democratic control of investment.

Consumer-Owned: Sweden's Cooperative Democracy, by William T. Landberg, is an excellent description and analysis of the role that consumer cooperatives play in the Swedish economy. The history, financing, structure and operation of these cooperatives are described in detail.

For copies of the Alternative Organizations of Production, send $18.50 to the Center for Economic Studies, 497 Kingsley Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94301. (Individual chapters may be purchased separately.) For a copy of William Landberg's book, send $2.75 (which includes postage) to Consumers Cooperative Publishing Association, 341 Pomroy, #20, Santa Clara, CA 95051. Quantity discounts are available.

Portland, OR, Develops Comprehensive Alternative Energy Plan
The City of Portland has released a discussion draft of a new proposed energy policy which focuses on energy conservation and the use of renewable energy sources. It estimates that, if implemented, the policy will save 30 percent of the city's energy usage by 1995—a savings of some $162 million at today's prices.

One of the first city-based efforts in the country to develop a comprehensive approach to energy conservation, the program includes a mandatory energy conservation retrofit code, financing for residential weatherization and accompanying property tax reduction during the period of weatherization.

The plan also calls for initiation of economic development strategies utilizing renewable energy resources, a 1 cent gasoline and diesel tax, promotion of bicycle and pedestrian projects as well as increased use of mass transit systems. The proposed policy is available from Andrea Scharf, Policy Development and Research Section, 620 SW Fifth, Room 610, Portland OR 97204.

New Group Defends Rights of Prisoners and Juveniles
State and local public officials and community leaders interested in promoting the rights of prisoners and institutionalized juveniles should note the establishment of a new organization, Institution Educational Services.

Relevant federal and state court decisions, innovative legislation, and organizing activities are published in IES's monthly report, Prison Law Monitor. Feature articles by national experts focus on strategy and developments in criminal justice.

For more information write to IES, 1806 T Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.
More States Move on Plant Closing Legislation

During the recent legislative session, there has been an increase in activity around plant closing legislation. The following is the legislative status of some of the more recent initiatives.

New Jersey Assemblyman Richard Codey, confronted with the closing of the largest employer in his district, is working for the passage of a plant closing bill (A4019), which requires one year advance notice of the dislocation of business concerns. It also authorizes financial assistance from the state to affected communities. Employers who fail to provide the required notice face criminal fines of up to $25,000.

In New York, Senator Martin Connor has just submitted a bill (New York 9975-A), which combines advance notice, severance benefits, and community assistance funds with provisions that would facilitate employee purchases, such as technical assistance and training.

Representative Friederman from Rhode Island has introduced a bill (S-4524-2) which requires two years advance notice, a severance benefit of one week's salary for each year worked (which is paid by the employer), and employer contributions to a Community Assistance Fund in the amount of 10% of the lost annual wages.

Pennsylvania also has a plant closing bill (HB 1251), which has recently been introduced with sixty-eight cosponsors. It provides for pre-notification of plant shutdowns, severance benefits, and an employer financed community assistance fund.

For copies of the New Jersey bill, write to Assemblyman Richard Codey, 269 Main Street, West Orange, NJ 07052. For copies of the New York legislation, write to Senator Martin Connor, Room 416, State Senate, Albany, NY 12242. For the Rhode Island bill, write to George Jee, Rhode Island Workers Union, 371 Broadway, Providence, RI 02910. For a copy of the Pennsylvania bill, write to Julius Fink, AFL-CIO, 212 North 3rd Street, Harrisburg, PA 17101.

Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

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Ways & Means is a bi-monthly publication of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. Since the Conference was founded in June 1972, it has provided a major meeting place and forum for ideas of progressive elected officials, community organizers, political activists, and technically trained experts interested in alternative policies and programs at the state and local level. In addition to holding an annual national meeting, the organization holds frequent regional, statewide, and issue conferences which focus on the increasingly complex problems facing state and local governments today.

Subscription prices: $10, $20 for institutions. To order, see centerfold.

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Plant Closings and Tax Abatements

In a unique and successful collaboration, the Conference and the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC) recently co-produced two publications, Plant Closings and Tax Abatements. Both manuals are part of the "Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders series and were released for the April 27-28 "Reclaiming Our Future" conference held in Columbus, Ohio, sponsored by OPIC, Ohio AFL-CIO, and the Ohio UAW Community Action Program. The Conference and The Progressive Alliance, the conference brought together over 1,200 trade unionists, senior citizens, and members of church, community, and minority organizations from across Ohio and ten other industrial states.

Plant Closings examines, at length, the causes and devastating effects of plant closings, and describes through reprinted reports, articles, and press clippings the many approaches that have been used in the U.S. and Europe to save jobs and reduce the impact of "runaway shops."

Tax Abatements reveals the rising tax subsidies and loopholes that corporations are using to attract local and state governments. Useful facts and arguments are provided demonstrating that these tax abatements are a false solution, creating instead what even Business Week recently admitted was a "risky" situation for government subsidies as companies play off city against city and state against state.

Continuing the collaboration, OPIC and the Conference are now jointly publishing Redefining Our Future: Conference Proceedings which will report on the increasingly complex problems facing state and local governments today.

Plant Closings and Tax Abatements are available from The Conference. For ordering information see the publication centerfold.

By Frank Domurad

In recent months tax expenditures have become an issue of great concern in several state legislatures. This is due to the growing recognition that tax laws riddled with ill-considered exclusions, exemptions, deductions and other favors granted to special interests not only rob state treasuries of billions of dollars in lost revenues each year, but also impede any hope for an orderly, comprehensive, and responsible budgetary process.

To bring this massive and indirect drain on state funds under control, many lawmakers have called for the introduction of tax expenditure budgets. Currently, four states require such reports on state expenditure budgets. In Nebraska, LB 17, sponsored by Senator Dave Nowell, has been accepted by the unicameral legislature and is awaiting the governor's signature. It would not only list each individual expenditure and supply a cost estimate, but would also make recommendations for terminating or "sun-setting" particularly ineffective tax subsidies.

In Michigan, Representative H. Lyon Jondahl is co-sponsoring HB 4166, requiring an annual enumeration of tax expenditure items similar to the model report Analysis of Michigan Tax Expenditures published by the State Department of Management Budget last October. Jondahl's legislation has already sailed through the House by a vote of 95-0 and a revised, even more complete version expects little trouble in the Senate.

Finally, in Minnesota, Representative John Clason is drafting a bill to provide that state with its own tax expenditure analysis. While tax expenditure budgets in and of themselves will not necessarily lead to tax reform, they are definitely a step in the right direction.

What has made tax expenditures so imperious to attack in any context has been the dearth of information concerning their existence and scope. Special interests devise devices that are not available, and grants in effect used the legislative back door. They have usually gone to friendly tax committees for assistance. As a result the average wage-earner and homeowner has in many instances been forced to pay the tax bills of those groups more than able to bear their fair share. At the very least, tax expenditure budgets would throw some light on this whole process.

Frank Domurad works at the Tax Reform Group, 133 9th St., S.E., 20003.

October Conference To Focus On State and Local Taxation of Business

The Multistate Tax Commission and American University will be sponsoring a two day conference on state and local taxation of business on October 15-16, 1979 in Washington, D.C. The conference will bring together public officials and others interested in exploring how business tax policy is made and administered, and how such policy affects decisions concerning economic development.

For more information, contact Rosapepe, Fish and Associates, 1550 E Street, NW, Suite 1242, Washington, D.C. 20004, (202) 775-2050.
Seattle, Washington Passes First Police Spying Legislation

By Kathleen Taylor

The Seattle City Council just took an ominous step toward an individual surveillance system that is designed to control the intelligence activities of the city's police department.

The ordinance is the result of combined efforts by the Police Department, the Mayor's office, the City Council, the County Prosecutor, the City Attorney, and the Coalition on Government Spying over the past year. Approval by the City Council makes Seattle the first city in the nation to legislate limitations on police intelligence activities.

"We hope other cities and states will use the Seattle ordinance as a basis for drafting legislation to suit their own needs," urged Jerry Berman, ACLU's legislative counsel in Washington, D.C. Similar legislation is in fact being considered in Michigan, New York, California and Washington, D.C.

The ordinance is based on our findings that police are gathering information on the religious beliefs of people, including church and synagogue activities, on their religious beliefs. If such information is necessary to the course of a criminal investigation, the police officer must give his superior officer detailed proof that the subject of the investigation is reasonably suspected of having committed a crime, and that the information sought is relevant to the case.

An independent auditor, appointed by the Mayor himself, confirmed by the City Council, would review all authorizations, conduct random audits of police files and make public reports about police department compliance with the ordinance. The auditor finds that information has been illegally obtained, the subject of that information would be notified.

Police Intelligence operations in Seattle were uncovered in 1976, when the press revealed that the police had amassed political files on 165 individuals and organizations, including church leaders, media figures, Democratic party regulars, lawyers and businesspeople. Those files and about 700 others were destroyed by the Chief of Police, who promised that "such files are now not maintained nor will they be in the future."

Some members of the community were not convinced. The local affiliates of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the National Lawyers Guild, and the American Friends Service Committee decided to form the Coalition on Government Spying to investigate the spying charges.

Joined by 41 other individuals and organizations, the Coalition filed suit under the State's public disclosure law to obtain their political files. At first, the police refused to release the files—or even admit they existed—but in April 1978, the first files were released.

Four days later, the Mayor, himself a former target of surveillance, adopted the Coalition on Government Spying's proposed legislation and introduced it to the City Council as his own. In answering the final version, Larry Baker, a Coalition representative on the drafting committee, said, "We are not fully satisfied with the ordinance. It has some shortcomings, but it will go a long way to stop the kind of abuse we have seen in the past."

Kathleen Taylor is the Coordinator of the Coalition on Government Spying. For copies of the Seattle ordinance, send $2.50 to CGP, 4501 Smith Tower, Seattle, WA 98104. For information about what other cities and states are doing to protect citizens against illegal spying operations, write to the Campaign for Political Rights, 401 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Pennsylvania Takes Lead in Implementing ERA Amendment

Pennsylvania, one of sixteen states to pass Equal Rights Amendment, has made significant advancements in equal rights legislation. This small state has implemented a comprehensive plan to address the needs of women and has been praised for its progressive stance on ERA implementation.

Under the guidance of a four-year effort by the Pennsylvania Commission for Women, a total of fifty-nine ERA implementation bills became law during the post-legislative session. Six additional bills were introduced in the Senate this current session.

The most significant bill is the "Family Support and Interstate Property Rights Law," introduced by Senator Jeanette Reineem and Representative Stephen Levits. Support is defined in the bill as care, maintenance, and financial assistance. The bill sets criteria for judges to use in determining how much financial assistance is to be awarded to a spouse or child, clearly including the value of homemaking and child care services as well as contributions to the children's education, living, education, skills, health, financial resources, and non-monetary contributions. It also strengthens the enforcement procedures by streamlining the jurisdictional issues.

Five other bills, too, neutralize sections of the Administrative Code which affect state agencies, making technical changes in the language of the Public Welfare and Liquor Code. These, plus two employment and occupational compensation are distributed to widows of working women just as they are to widows of working husbands.

For more information on legislation relating to equal rights for women, write to the Pennsylvania Commission for Women, 512 Finance Bldg., Harrisburg, PA 17120.

By Jeff Ziminer

The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) is proving to be an effective organizing tool for community development organizations. The CRA allows banks and savings and loan associations to be legally charged with discrimination if they are not meeting the credit needs of their community. An increasing number of neighborhood groups are now using the CRA successfully, both in "traditional" and innovative ways. In other cases, the mere existence of the Act is forcing banks to negotiate changes in their lending policies.

One significant recent community victory was the denial of a new branch to the Greater New York Savings Bank, based on a CRA challenge filed by Brooklyn Against Investment Discrimination (BAID). The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) denied the new branch on the grounds that the "percentages of the banks' current loan portfolio which is committed to mortgage loans in the Brooklyn area, although increasing, remains at a fairly low level." The FDIC decision is important, as it makes the threat of a branch denial a real one. Also promising is the implication of the FDIC ruling that one of the overall CRA standards that banks and lending associations will be assessed by is the "percentages" of loans made to the community.

In a similar action, a Legal Services Corporation in San Bernardino, California has forced a savings and loan association to open an inner-city office. The bank agreed to open the new facility when Legal Services agreed to drop its CRA suit against the bank's plan to build a new branch in a nearby wealthy community.

Another recent case is that of Legal Aid has developed a new and important application of the Act—breaking up a racially discriminatory contract sales scheme in south central Los Angeles. Every year, hundreds of low-income primarily black home-owners in central Los Angeles face the possibility of losing their homes through foreclosure on lien contracts. Although the savings and loan associations which was the target of the challenge was not directly involved in the original lien contract scheme, it did purchase the loans from housing contractors and other fast-talking home renovators. Often credit information was falsified, giving the appearance of a good loan when purchased by the S&L. If a loan went into default, the S&L would sell the mortgage back to the contractor, who would foreclose on the property and evict the residents. Often, the contractor then resold the property at a considerable profit.

Los Angeles Legal Aid used the CRA to protect this discriminatory activity, and this June it got results. The L.A. bank not only changed its "depository office" policy in that neighborhood to a full-service branch, but it agreed to open a new branch in south central Los Angeles. Moreover, it agreed to put together a financing package to develop and finance low-income housing, to initiate an affirmative outreach marketing program for the area, and finally to end its above-mentioned discriminatory contract sales scheme.

Even when a community group does not reach a settlement, results can be significant. St. Louis ACORN, for example, challenged an application of the Manchester Financial Bank before the Federal Reserve Board. The FRB denied the challenge, and ACORN was unable to negotiate any understanding with the lender. However, recent Home Mortgage Disclosure Data shows Manchester Financial continued on p. 11

Cleveland Becomes First City to Use CRA to Promote Urban Revitalization

The City of Cleveland is the first municipal government to use the recently passed Community Reinvestment Act to launch a strong commitment by a local bank to community reinvestment needs. First Federal Savings and Loan of Cleveland has signed an agreement with Mayor Dennis Kucinich pledging $15 million in home mortgage and improvement loans over the next two years.

As part of the agreement, First Federal will also work with a consortium of urban development specialists, representing government, community groups, and savings and loan associations. This new task force will focus on devising new urban revitalization strategies for Cleveland.

The agreement came as a result of a challenge filed by the city against the Federal Home Loan Bank Board under provisions of the CRA. The city had protested First Federal's closing of its branch office in Mount Pleasant, a low-income neighborhood. When Federal applied to open a new branch in inner-city Cleveland an challenge was filed. Just before a scheduled CRA hearing the city and the lender came to an agreement, and the challenge was dropped.

Economic Development Commissioner Jack Nicholl, who wrote the city's original hard line with getting that challenge and loan office to negotiate, said "that if the really big billion-dollar savings and loans follow First Federal's lead, we'll really begin to see some changes in Cleveland's neighborhoods."

For copies of the agreement, write Jack Nicholl, Economic Development Commission, City Hall, Cleveland, OH 44114.
Saskatchewan Farm Policies: Lessons for the U.S.?

By David Miner

In Saskatchewan province, people believe that the family farm should continue to be the cornerstone of the rural economy. The Government of Saskatchewan, which is run by the New Democratic Party, has demonstrated its commitment to that goal over the years by passing legislation enabling the family farm to flourish. The progressive approach toward family farming taken in this Canadian province has provided a model that states in the U.S. are looking toward.

One particularly successful program is the Saskatchewan Land Bank Commission. In operation for seven years, the Land Bank purchases land from persons who voluntarily offer their property to the Commission. It then leases the land at low rental rates to farmers, who use it to establish viable family farm units. Presently, there are 2200 farmers who lease nearly one million acres of Land Bank-owned land.

Since the Saskatchewan Land Bank is the first program of its kind, the success of the venture has been necessary to constantly re-examine the policies of the Commission. Consequently, in the nearly seven years of operation, many policy changes have been introduced.

Perhaps the most important, from the leasee's perspective, was the introduction of a formula which calculates the annual rental payment. This formula is based on the productivity of the land and the price of products produced on that land. In that way, the leasee's rental charges are tied to the level of income the land is, on average, capable of producing.

As a rural adjustment tool designed to address the problems of beginning and developing farmers, the Land Bank concept has attracted the interest of agricultural policy makers outside of Canada.

Two States Approve Multi-State Grain Marketing Compact

Legislation that would create a grain marketing compact has passed the Kansas Legislature and is awaiting the Governor's signature. The idea for a grain marketing compact was initiated by the Kansas Legislative Committee on Agriculture Grain Marketing, which set up a meeting of representatives from 15 grain producing states. The compact would allow major grain producing states to get together to discuss problems in grain marketing and to study and investigate the grain marketing practices of the major corporations.

Approval of 5 states by July 1984 is necessary for the compact to become effective. The Texas and Ohio legislatures may still pass legislation approving the compact during the current session. For more information, contact Randy Gilliland, Legislative Research Department, State House, Room 545-N, Topeka KS 66612.

Iowa Bans Corporate Ownership of Farmland

A permanent ban on corporate ownership of farmland was passed by the Iowa Legislature this session. Existing legislation banning corporate ownership would have expired in August 1980. The bill (HF 451) restricts corporations, other than family farm corporations, in purchasing or leasing any agricultural land in the state.

Although the ban was controversial when first enacted in 1975, it passed the Senate unanimously this session, and received only one dissenting vote in the House.

For a copy of the bill, write to the Chief Clerk, State House, Des Moines, IA 50309.

By Cynthia Gayer

As property values skyrocket due to increasing development and speculation, a growing concern in many urban communities is the public's ability to gain access to unused land. Responding to this concern, state and local governments are beginning to assist in community efforts to convert ownership of abandoned and under-utilized lots from public corporations and individuals to community land trusts.

The Trust for Public Land has been one of key catalysts in bringing state government officials together with members of local neighborhood groups. Based in both New York and San Francisco, TPL believes the neighborhood-controlled land trust is a workable alternative to the governmental acquisition and private development of open space.

Many city governments have begun to actively support efforts to transform vacant and run-down, rubble-strewn lots into community parks. In addition:

- The Oakland Department of Community Development gave a community park a $15,000 grant in 1978, allowing the state appropriated funds to the California Coastal Conservancy, a state governmental agency with Governor Jerry Brown's support.

The United Farmworkers and other people's organizations are increasingly turning to state legislators for assistance because the federal Land Bank Relations Act of 1965 excluded agricultural workers from its protection.

The need to support the new law was highlighted by a 500-mile march this winter, organized by the Texas Farmworkers Union. The march was started in late January in the town of Milehouse, and arrived in Austin, the state capitol, on March 10th.

For more information on the new bill, contact the Office of Representative Tony Garcia, PO Box 2910, Austin, TX 78705.
Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials

Community Leaders

Union leaders, public officials, and community leaders welcome this comprehensive resource manual detailing the problems of plant closings and runaway plants. Included are the most informative magazine articles, essays, policy reports and graphs on this problem. There is an excerpt of the Cuyahoga County Experience and the organizing and legislative strategies to prevent them. Very useful for course adoption and union education programs.


Tax Abatements: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders

One of the major reasons why property taxes are so high in Cleveland and other cities, is Mayor Dennis Kucinich and others is the Ohio Public Interest Leaders. On the other is the powerful alliance of labor and industry, who, after losing their tax abatement privileges, have men enough of populist politics. The Battle of Cleveland traces the development of this corporate/public interest alliance, with an overview of Cleveland's economy and a description of Cleveland's power structure. Lake Chenoweth shows how the rise of public interest politics, now that trend contributed to the election of Mayor Kucinich, and how ad


Youth and Trade Unionism: Community leaders, union officials and public officials met in Columbus, Ohio, April 1976 to fight a number of corporate actions that have threatened communities throughout the industrial states. Hidden plant closings and corporate tax breaks were the main topics as nationally prominent union leaders and workshops participants hammered out legislative and community responses to the corporate offensive. This is the official conference report. Included are the keynote speeches of the Rev.erald Flanagan, William Wangsjaeger, Dennis Kucinich, James Farrow, Bishop James McDonald and others), photographs, graphs, clippings, workshop notes and background text.

Edited by The Conference on Alternatives to State and Local Policy and the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (July 1976) 110 pp. $4.95. 30% Institutions.

The Battle of Cleveland: Public Interest Challenges

Power Corporations

This is a story of a city and its Mayor in open conflict with the financial and corporate elite. At stake: the future of Cleveland and for whose benefit. On the one side is a broad coalition of "New Urban Plotters" including Mayor Dennis Kucinich and on the other is the Ohio Public Interest Leaders. On the other is a powerful alliance of labor and industry, who, after losing their tax abatement privileges, have men enough of populist politics. The Battle of Cleveland traces the development of this corporate/public interest alliance, with an overview of Cleveland's economy and a description of Cleveland's power structure. Lake Chenoweth shows how the rise of public interest politics, now that trend contributed to the election of Mayor Kucinich, and how ad

States Battle Mining Companies Over Severance Taxes

By Cam Duncan

The debate over the coal severance tax has become a major political issue in the North-ern Great Plains states. In North Dakota, the state government is fighting to implement a severance tax that will be used to fund coal industry-related projects.

North Dakota has the simplest severance tax system—each ton of coal is taxed at a fixed rate of 85 cents, adjusted quarterly to the Consumer Price Index (CPI). In Wyoming, a number of taxes totaling 10.5% per cent are levied against the total value of coal production. Wyoming coal is valued at the time of extraction, before preparation and loading. The 30 cent tax on coal in Montana is the highest. The tax for a recent quarter, for example, averaged $1.25 per ton.

Although the distribution of severance tax revenues varies from state to state, most legislatures have appropriated these collections to areas affected by the mining, such as alternate energy research, roads, schools and reclamation and repair of environmental damage. Revenues from the Wyoming tax, for example, assist communities in financing public water, sewer, highways and streets.

The coal severance tax issue became a major controversy in the recent North Dakota legislative session when pro-business interests proposed a decrease in the state’s severance tax rate. The chief sponsor of Montana’s coal severance tax, State Senator Tom Towe, ex-plained to the North Dakota House Finance Committee that Montana’s tax, which is steeper than North Dakota’s, is working well and has widespread support.

Responding to the legislators’ concern about the rising rate of inflation, Towe suggested a percent-age tax based on the P.O.B. price as an alternative to adjusting the tax to the rate of inflation every year. He then asserted that Montana was somehow financing its entire budget from severance tax revenues if the state had established a severance tax program when the copper mining industry began.

Although Towe’s testimony, the Republican-dominated North Dakota legislature voted to roll back the state’s severance tax rate from 97 cents to the present 85 cents per ton. More importantly, the escalator clause, which adjusts for inflation, was reduced from one cent for each one point rise in the CPI to one cent for each four point rise. The State Tax Commission in Dorgan called the decrease the “sell-out of 1970 in North Dakota.”

In another attack on severance taxes, Detroit Edison, Chicago Edison and other major utility companies which purchase coal mined in midwestern states have filed suit in Montana’s District Court, charging that Montana’s coal severance tax is not only unconstitutional and excessive, but that it impedes interstate commerce as well.

While progressives are pushing for more taxation on coal mining corporations in the upper Midwest, a number of coal producing states have still not seriously considered severance taxation. Montana, West Virginia, for example, relies primarily on property taxes to build up its treasury. Levying property taxes, however, is often not enough. In Lincoln County, West Virginia, corporations control 96% of the mineral rights, yet only pay 14% of the property taxes.

Cam Duncan is the Coordinator of the Tax Reform Project at the Conference.

D.C. City Council Passes Condominium Conversion Moratorium

The Washington, D.C. City Council voted last month to place a 90-day moratorium on condominium conversions in the District, in response to the influx of new housing stock coming from the real estate industry. The moratorium would halt the conversion of at least 116 projects containing some 9,000 units—although it would not exempt any project in which tenants agree to buy and convert the property themselves.

The moratorium is an effort to discourage the displacement of large numbers of low-and moderate-income tenants that is taking place due to a rapidly increasing rate of condominium and cooperative conversions. Approximately 3 out of 10 of the 130,000 rental units expected to be converted nationally to homeownership in 1979 will be in Washington, D.C., at an average sales price of $67,000.

The moratorium follows a series of legislative proposals, including two bills (S-318 and S-140) introduced by Councilwoman Hilda Mason, prohibiting the eviction of any tenant for a period of three years after conversion, permitting unlimited occupancy by tenants 85 years of age or older, and prohibiting conversion when the vacancy rate is 5% or less. The moratorium bills call for the creation of a study commission that would propose permanent laws to preserve rental housing in the District.

For more information, write to City Councilwoman Hilda Mason, D.C. City Council, District Bldg., 14th & E Sts, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

Utilities Give Way Under Pressure from Citizen/Labor Group in Kentucky

Under increasing pressure from the Kentucky Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC), Kentucky’s state utility commission has ordered both gas and electric utilities to adopt life-line rates. It also placed tough restrictions on charging customers for advertising, and proposed a ban on declining block rates. The commission also improved regulations covering utility shut-offs, and has ordered Kentucky utilities to adopt budget payment plans.

For more information write to C/LEC, Ken Dupre, 800 South Fourth St., Louisville, KY 40203.

Bill Would Reduce Urban Displacement in Massachusetts

In an effort to reduce displacement of low-income neighborhood residents from urban development programs, Massachusetts State Rep. Mel King and Senator Joseph Champlin have introduced the Neighborhood Stabilization Act (H 2605). Developed by the Social and Economic Opportunity Council, the bill requires priority allocation of state housing subsidies, CETA job training programs and other resources in areas where state urban development projects are planned.

Not only does the bill require women, minorities and local residents to be hired to work on such projects, but also calls for the establishment of a Citizens’ Review Committee to insure that neighborhood concerns about displacement and other issues are addressed in state projects. The bill was recently approved by the Urban Affairs Committee. For a copy of the legislation, write to Michael Kane, SEOC, 294 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02118.
Nuclear

Pennsylvania Legislature Responding to Nuclear Accident

By Mark B. Coho

The Pennsylvania General Assembly has been at the center of a public pressure to do something about the dangers of nuclear power plants since the Three Mile Island disaster. While it is not clear at this writing how the powerful utility lobbyists will affect the strong public demand for action, a number of bills relating to nuclear power have already been passed by either the House or the Senate, and a number of others are currently being introduced.

The Pennsylvania House has already passed legislation to allow the State to monitor radiation—a bill that the utilities had successfully killed last year. The Pennsylvania Senate has passed two bills—one that would stop the construction of new power plants but not interfere with those in operation or under construction, and another that would prohibit new reactors from being assessed for the costs of the Three Mile Island accident.

Other legislative proposals that are being introduced would:

-mandate the Pennsylvania consumer advocate to appear before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and to pay for such appearances;
-give the Public Utility Commission oversight power over all state nuclear facilities;
-place consumers on the boards of all utilities;
-provide the public with information about new construction, permitting, and the cost of repair in the rate prices;
-require Metropolitan Edison to seek approval from the General Assembly and the Governor for future rate increases;
-and establish a Power Plant Siting Commission, heavily weighted with nuclear critics, to approve all nuclear power plants in the future.

I am a co-sponsor of all the above legislation, and would also like to push to make the construction of a new nuclear plant require an act of the state legislature.

Mark Coho is a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. For copies of the above bills, write to him at the House of Representatives, Room 116, E-B Wing, Main Capital Bldg., Harrisburg, PA 17120.

Anti-nuclear Initiatives Spread

As a result of the Three Mile Island disaster, state and local governments have become increasingly active in legislative and regulatory initiatives relating to nuclear power.

The Massachusetts State Legislature, for example, called on the NRC to re-open the Maine Yankee Nuclear Power Plant, which closed 49 days before the accident; a week later the same legislature passed a resolution calling on the President to declare a moratorium on licensing new plants. Dozens of other bills were also introduced in Massachusetts which would severely limit the use of nuclear power there, including anti-CWIP legislation, legislation limiting the transportation of radioactive waste and the amount of on-site storage of spent fuels. Also introduced were bills prohibiting a moratorium on new construction of nuclear plants in the state until a permanent federal waste disposal facility has been established and prohibited the Massachusetts Municipal Wholesale Electric Company from financing the initial development costs of any nuclear plant.

Michigan legislators introduced a slew of anti-nuclear bills. A three-part bill calls for a five-year moratorium on nuclear construction, prohibits the three plants now under construction from going on line until the legislature certifies that they are "sustainable," and authorizes a legislative task force to study whether the four existing plants in the state should be closed. Another bill required that residents within 20 miles of a nuclear plant be informed within two hours of any accident.

Much of the state’s response to Three Mile Island, however, focused on safety and evacuation plans, and insuring that there is adequate monitoring of radioactive emissions from individual plants. A number of states sought to place the siting of nuclear plants under direct local control. New Hampshire’s House Bill 671, for example, would require local approval of the siting of nuclear plants, and in Colorado a bill has been introduced requiring a county-wide referendum on the proposed siting of a radioactive waste management facility within any county. The Consumer Alliance for Responsible Energy in Arizona has filed an initiative petition that would limit the construction and operation of nuclear power plants in the state.

Some states introduced legislation increasing the utility’s liability in the event of an accident, and limiting the extent to which costs can be passed on to the consumer. Georgia enacted House Bill 420, for example, which requires bonds from the utilities to assure funds in the event of a shut-down, abandonment, or insolvency. For more information on state and local initiatives, contact Critical Mass, 122 C Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003, or Elizabeth M. Thirty, Office of State Programs, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Washington, DC 20003.

By Dick Simpson

While people around the nation are well aware that Chicagoans elected their first women Mayor over the Nuclear plant construction, this Spring, few have turned their attention to the legal and political results of the city’s Aldermanic elections. It was here, at the ward level, that some progressive changes took place.

Chicago’s fifty-five-member City Council, the largest in the nation, has been dominated by either the Republican or Democratic Machine since the Chicago fire of 1871. The outgoing City Council, which served from 1976-1979, had 45 regular Democrats, 3 Independents, 2 vacancies, and no Republicans during its last year. Under both Mayor Daley and Mayor Bingland, Machine control was nearly absolute. From April 1975 to April 1979, 441 major ordinances introduced by the two Mayors passed. In contrast, only 58 were passed from 1977-1981. Most of the 286 pieces of major legislation offered by Independents over the past eight years which have languished in committee.

Specifically, the 1979 Aldermanic elections put into the City Council a number of progressive aldermen who will work with the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies in the years ahead. Alderman Martin Oberman (43rd Ward), who has attended previous Conference meetings on redlining and reinvestment, was reelected to the City Council with a 70% plurality. He becomes the “Dean” of the Independent bloc and their floor leader.

The 49th Ward in the Rogers Park community elected a Conference activist of several years, David Orr. Alderman Orr is the first Independent alderman elected in that ward since the 1871 Chicago fire. A political science professor of Mundelein College, David will bring considerable theoretical and practical political knowledge to the City Council.

In my ward, it is rumored that we were able to elect Bruce Young, a long-time community activist and Executive Director of the Hull House Hall, who pledged to continue our community’s eight-year tradition of Neighborhood Group activities and experiments.

Most remarkably, three Black Independent aldermen were also elected in 1979. Among them is Alderman Danny Davis of the 29th Ward on Chicago’s west side.

His election is seen as a liberation of the west side Black community which has been dominated by the Machine since it moved into Chicago. Alderman Davis also has expertise in community health programs, a subject little considered in previous Chicago City Councils.

In short, while the 1979 elections did not bring to power a totally progressive Chicago government, they were a giant step forward, and progressive legislation is expected to be introduced and passed in numbers not seen before.

Dick Simpson, a former Alderman of Chicago’s 4th Ward, is a professor at the University of Illinois in Chicago, and author of a number of books and articles on progressive city politics.

SolarCal Proposes State Energy Plan for California

A comprehensive state-wide solar development plan has been prepared by the SolarCal Corporation, a California state agency. Entitled Toward a Solar California, the plan constitutes a model for other state energy plans by placing strong emphasis on support for local solar utilities, community-run solar enterprises, small solar businesses, and community solar planning and education.

In addition to specific proposals such as extending the existing tax credit and offering direct loans or cash incentives to low-income users who cannot utilize credit, the Council calls for long-term low interest financing by utilities, and utility rates which reflect the “true costs of energy.”

For further information, contact Ronald Lipton, SolarCal Corporation, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814.
Minnesota Studies Problems of Poor and Elderly Women
A study of the economic problems facing poor and elderly women in Minnesota has been published by the state's Council on the Economic Status of Women. Entitled Minnesota Women: Income and Poverty, the study covers data and analyses that show the disparity in housing, wages, education and training between such women and the rest of the state's population.

Plant Closing Legislation: A State-By-State Survey
A useful packet of resources on proposed plant closing legislation in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio, Maine, New York, Michigan, and Indiana has been prepared by the Massachusetts State and Economic Opportunity Council (SEOC). SEOC is also compiling a bibliography of testimony on the economic, social, and health aspects of plant shutdowns across the country.

Study Shows Manufacturing Costs of Complete Innovations on Energy Costs
An energy conservation program which would create 2500 direct new jobs and save the state $80 million in energy costs over the next ten years has been developed by Massachusetts Fair Share. In their report, "Retrofitters Not Petrolubrolers", Mass Fair Share shows how an aggressive retrofit program in state buildings would create jobs, lower taxes, and cut government waste in local municipalities. The program would involve conservation projects in 3500 state buildings, with estimated savings per year of $35 million.

Two Reports Highlight Accelerating Loss of Farmland
A major problem facing state and local officials in the western and central portions of the state is the escalating loss of prime agricultural land. Between 1967 and 1976, over 2 million acres of farmland were irreversibly lost to urban sprawl, highways, dams, and industrial development.

Internships
The Conference is now accepting applications for full- or part-time internships. Interns will receive a copy of the report, The Blueprint for a Better Life, which analyzes the effects of poverty on the economic, social, and health aspects of plant shutdowns across the country.

Report Explains Inflation in Los Angeles
A booklet documenting and explaining the reasons for the rise in prices on necessities in the city of Los Angeles, California, has just been published by the Center for New Corporate Priorities. Entitled Inflation and Relevance, the booklet provides a comprehensive analysis of the factors contributing to inflation and offers recommendations for addressing the problem.

Five Community Organizing Campaigns Evaluated
Organizing strategies and campaigns used in five different communities are evaluated in a new publication of the ACORN-affiliated Institute Training Center. Among the campaigns analyzed in the 52-page report is an anti-redlining effort in St. Louis, a campaign to get death tax exemptions for senior citizens in Houston, and a renters' rights campaign in Reno, Nevada. Each article takes the reader step-by-step through the project, analyzing its organizational strengths and weaknesses.

$1.50 to Bill Seretta, Coordinator, Maine Consortium for Food Self-Restoration, 6415 School Street, Freeport, ME 04032.
The Last Entrepreneurs Bid for Business

Nothing sparks fiercer competition among public officials than the business of attracting business. Using the limited incentives available to them, mayors, governors and development specialists find themselves on a treadmill keeping up with each other’s “best offer” for a limited number of new businesses.

In The Last Entrepreneurs, author Bob Goodman describes the frantic bidding war that went on between states to land Volkswagen’s U.S. assembly plant. One mayor ran a full page open letter to Volkswagen in the Wall Street Journal saying, ‘What we want is a Cadillac, not a Volkswagen’. The ‘winner’ of the battle, paid dearly. Loans, abatements, construction, training programs, and other incentives totaled well over $100 million.

Goodman and Jerry Jacobs, author of Bidding For Business, argue convincingly that something has to be done to de-escalate this bidding war. Jacobs develops his arguments from the results of an exhaustive nationwide survey of business incentives. He looks at the use of industrial development bonds and tax incentives and concludes that the danger exists that states will be forced to continue to increase incentives merely to keep up with competition until they find themselves in a precarious financial situation.

Jacobs presents a list of recommendations for checking the continued growth of business incentives. They include: state monitoring and regulation of municipal industrial development activities; mandated public hearings before any special concession is approved; and elimination of the tax free status of pollution control and industrial development bonds.

Goodman’s conclusions are as philosophical as Jacobs’ are pragmatic. He paints a picture of a future regional-based economy structured around “warm” investments and local self-reliance. Warm investing, that is, developing a production system which uses progressively fewer depletable resources and less unnecessary labor to meet future needs, is posed as an alternative to our current system.

Between warm investments and cold facts, Goodman and Jacobs present a strong argument for new priorities in state and local development.

The Last Entrepreneurs: America’s Regional Wars For Jobs and Dollars by Robert Goodman is available from Simon and Schuster, Rockefeller Center, 1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020 for $11.95 and $1.00 handling.

The Bidding War by Jerry Jacobs is available from the Public Interest Research Group, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 415, Washington, DC 20005 for $10.00 for groups and $5.00 for individuals.

Resources

Pick of the Month

How can state and local policymakers regularly stay in touch with what’s going on around the country in their issue areas? In addition to reading Ways & Means, one of the best ways is to subscribe to periodicals of appropriate public interest organizations. Undoubtedly the best source of information for finding the appropriate publications in your field is Periodicals of Public Interest Organizations—A Citizen’s Guide.

This resource guide introduces the reader to 103 newspapers, newsletters, magazines and journals published by 96 national, public interest/citizen organizations. News and information often unavailable from traditional sources are readily available in these periodicals.

Copies can be ordered from the Commission for the Advancement of Public Interest Organizations, 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 1013, Washington, DC 20009. Prices are $4.00 to public interest/citizen groups; $5.00 to individuals; government, schools, and public libraries; and, $15.00 to all others.

Ways & Means
Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies
2000 Florida Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009

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November-December 1979

In This Issue...

- Options For Slowing Condominium Conversion Evictions, p.3
- A Progressive Agenda For Small Businesses, p.4
- New Right Targets State Legislatures, p.5
- The Effect of Tax Shifts on the Taxpayer's Revolt, p.7
- Organizing for Women's Economic Justice, p.8
- Community-Labor Alliance Succeeding in New Haven, p.13

Thousands of tenants are evicted each year as a result of condominium conversions. To counter this trend, policy options are being developed all over the country. See p.3 for a report.
Inside Ways & Means

State Representative Mel King made an impressive showing in Boston’s mayoral primary, finishing third with 15,000 votes. His supporters plan to continue the campaign organization to push progressive issues in that city. North Dakota Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan is thinking of running for a seat in the U.S. House or Senate. In Vermont, the senatorial candidate is Jim Skinner testing the waters for a run for attorney general.

Jim Hightower’s quest to become a Texas Railroad Commissioner was boosted by a well-received barnstorming tour of the state last month, not to mention the more than $100,000 raised so far.... Meanwhile long-time Conference supporter Hartford City Councillor Nick Carbone lost a hard-fought battle for mayor and will be out of elected public office for the first time in ten years. Derek Shearer reports that real estate interests have poured $250,000 into this month’s initiative to gut rent control in Santa Monica. Rent control supporters are hoping to strengthen their hand by electing Cheryl Roden to the city council which would give them veto power over city spending.

Speaking of rent control, the coalition, San Franciscans for Afforable Housing, has updated a brochure for their rent control initiative which would be a useful model for anyone doing an electoral campaign. (See p.11 for additional information.) Since we last published, Massachusetts Governor Edward King abolished the progressive Social and Economic Opportunity Council. Not to be outdone, Director Michael Kane moved to Low Income Planning Aid with key staff members to continue the group’s work.... The Center for Women Policy Studies has published an excellent review of state legislation on domestic violence. (Write to the Center at 2000 P St. NW, Suite 508, Washington DC 20036 for free copies.)

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Lee Webb
Executive Director
Ann Beaudry
Associate Director

Ways & Means is a bimonthly publication of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. Since the conference was founded in June 1975, it has provided a major meeting place and forum for ideas of progressive elected officials, community organizers, political activists, and technically trained experts interested in alternative policies and programs at the state and local level. In addition to holding an annual national meeting, the organization holds frequent regional, statewide, and issue conferences which focus on the increasingly complex problems facing state and local government today.

Subscription prices: $10, $20 for institutions. To order, see page 15.

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Publications Update

Regular Ways and Means readers will note the absence of the usual 6-page publications centerfold. Rather than signaling a scathing demise, this small change in the publication program, the abbreviated one-page list that appears on page 15 signaling the advent of a new 50-title Resource Catalog soon to be mailed to active subscribers.

Prominently featured are two Conference “best sellers” Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment and Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials, Trade Unions and Community Leaders. New Strategies for Investment has come at a time of great interest among public officials and members of the financial community in the potential for using the $120 billion in public employee pension funds to meet America’s pressing social and economic problems. As the book illustrates, a change in portfolio management could provide capital for such needs as inner city housing rehabilitation and small business development without jeopardizing rate of return or depleting pension assets.

Plant Closings is another timely resource, By supplying analyt- ics and a valuable overview, along with a legislative update, the book is helping trade unionists, community organizers and public officials counter the devastating effects of corporate relocation and plant shutdowns.

Interest is high. This issue has been so great that our first print run was bought out almost before it was off the press. The updated second edition, which will be available November 15, also features the most recent federal legislative initiatives.

To Our Subscribers

Due to a change in editors, one edition of Ways & Means was not published. Your subscription has been extended for an additional month.

Options For Curbing Condominium Evcutions

By Jeffrey Tryens

Increasingly, public officials are forced to address community problems created by condominium conversions. Probably the most pressing is the demand by tenants that lawmakers act to protect them from arbitrary eviction. The Nyack hearing process is a farce. How serious is this problem and what can be done about it?

Condominium conversion is big business. In 1977, 70,000 rental units were converted. This year’s rate is expected to be 150,000. These will be, of course, tenant evictions. Tenants who have already begun the process will be subject to eviction. The New York City Senate and House judiciary committees will consider bills that require rent controls.

Conversions usually occur in cities with high vacancy rates which means high rents. Each apartment building taken out of the rental market reduces the vacancy rate further, contributing to even higher rents. Low and moderate income families are thus forced to pay more and more of their income for the same amount of space.

Elderly people of all income levels are particularly hard hit by the process. Many either can’t or won’t make the substantial down payment to purchase a unit. Right to remain in an apartment which they may have occupied for years. Finding a new apartment is often a serious hardship for them.

Public officials or courts act to resolve these displacement problems can choose from a number of strategies and policies: Pass a moratorium on condominium conversions. This is often the first step a city takes giving local officials time to work out a more permanent solution.

Encourage a vacancy rate "trigger." An ordinance can be passed that brings new condo minimum conversions to a halt when the city’s vacancy rate falls below a certain percentage. Violation, for Colorado, for example, has a 5% trigger.

Provide for tenants’ right of first refusal. An ordinance can give tenants the right to match any developer’s best offer before conversion can proceed. California requires building owners to give tenants 60 days to match any offer before the building can be sold. In response to a flurry of local activity restricting conversions, real estate interests have developed the Uniform Condominium Conversion Act. This “model” statute, which would expedite local ordinances, provides only limited protection for condominium tenants. In Pennsylvania, the bill was introduced at the same time as the tenant’s rights legislation. A conversion moratorium in Philadelphia. (Cont.)

Condo Hotspots

Los Angeles—A community coalition called Renters to Stop Condo/Coop Conversions persuaded the city council to pass a strong ordinance in September. It gives the council discretion to stop a conversion if it negatively affects the rental market and places substantial tenant relocation requirements on the converter.

Philadelphia—The Philadelphia City Council recently passed an 18-month moratorium after a whirlwind six-week campaign by the Council of Tenant Associations of Southeast Pennsylvania. San Francisco—San Franciscans for Affordable Housing has put a rent control initiative on the city’s November ballot which would not allow conversions unless the tenants commit to purchase their apartments. No evictions of non-buyers would be permitted.

Washington, D.C.—A housing commission was formed and has produced a report recommending lightening of existing controls on condominium conversions. A citizens group has recommended that the city council adopt a stronger moratorium including 60% approval by existing tenants and life tenure for senior citizens and handicapped individuals.

Baltimore—A rent control initiative has been passed on the November ballot which would require approval by the City Planning Commission to remove buildings of four or more units from the rental market.
Economic Development

The Progressive Potential of Small Businesses

By Bill Schewe

Progressives in state government have worked to develop methods to assist small businesses. Faced with technological change, energy shortages, government regulations, high interest rates, and corporate power, small businesses find their frustrations on government, complaining bitterly of high taxes and government interference.

While the federal government has developed a few programs to address some small business problems, many state governments have avoided this problem. The extent of small business assistance in some states is no more than an understaffed management assistance program.

Possibilities exist for greater state involvement. Because small businesses play a key role in job creation—MIT economist David Birch recently reported that almost half of the new jobs created in the U.S. in the last ten years have come from small businesses—programs could be proposed to create a place for states in fostering and preserving small businesses. Arguments could be made for alternative tax policies toward small business which involve energy conservationists, minorities, entrepreneurs, and others.

Programs which would begin to address this issue include:

- Increasing the availability of long-term debt and equity capital. The greatest obstacle facing small businesses is lack of access to capital.
- Promoting small business development by creating product development corporations to provide financing for innovative companies and products. In South Dakota a community development corporation was set up by the State Economic Opportunity Office and the Northeast South Dakota Community Action Program to provide financial and technical assistance to small, community-oriented businesses in a ten-county area. And Alaska is creating a set of development finance institutions to direct a portion of its massive oil income into developing new fishing, agricultural, and forestry enterprises. The first of these, the Alaska Renewable Resources Corporation and the Alaska Commercial Fisheries and Aquaculture Bank have been approved by the legislature and will soon be operating.

Creating job retention programs. Not a single state has a well-designed, well-funded job retention program. A few, like Vermont, have assisted workers in laying off plants. When multinational corporations close down profitable plants, states should have the capacity to help new, locally owned businesses take over these operations.

Pursuing state antitrust actions. States can lessen unfair advantages enjoyed by big business and diminish the barriers of entry that exist in many industries by filing suits on behalf of citizens. When Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton was attorney general, he successfully filed suit on behalf of citizens complaining of price-fixing, artificial limitations of goods and services and conspiracies to divide markets.

By using these measures, states could enable business to play a more significant role in creating jobs, fostering economic development and lowering prices to consumers without rolling back environmental or worker safety standards.

Bill Schewe is the coordinator of the Economic Development Project at the Conference.

By Will Hunter

In almost every state this year, progressives battled well organized attempts to gut state-wide tax cuts and broader ranging conservative legislation or repeal progressive state laws. For instance, in Connecticut, constitutional conventions on right-to-life and tax limitations led the way, followed by attempts to pass right-to-work bills and repeal prevailing wage laws.

Were these manifestations of the much heralded rightward turn in American politics? Were they all independent local efforts which happened to coincide with similar initiatives in other states?

To both questions, the answer is no. The barrage of conservative initiatives launched in the last few years is a sign of a different political phenomenon: the New Right’s decision to exert a strong nationwide presence in state legislatures.

The ultralibertarian groups generally referred to as the New Right are best known for their efforts on the national level. It is the New Right which defeated Democratic Senators Tom McIntyre, Dick Clark, and Floyd Haskell in 1978. It is the New Right which led to the emotional battle against ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties. And it is the New Right which targeted five liberal Democratic senators for defeat in 1980.

The National Right to Work Committee, founded in 1957, is the key to the New Right’s rise to power. In their 1976 convention in Seattle, the National Right to Work Committee urged its members to work with state legislators to pass right-to-work laws. Their tactics were simple: use the threat of an upcoming election to force legislatures to pass right-to-work bills. The National Right to Work Committee has continued its efforts in state legislatures ever since.

In this crusade, the NRCWC is joined by another group, the State School Board of Virginia. Both are tightly controlled by a single individual, Tom Varnes, who has used his influence to influence state constitutional conventions and other important legislation.

In Colorado, the NRCWC has made numerous appearances in the state legislature, and has been successful in getting several anti-labor bills passed. In Georgia, the NRCWC has worked closely with the State School Board to pass right-to-work laws.

The NRCWC has also been active in other states, such as Ohio and Indiana. In Ohio, the NRCWC was successful in getting a right-to-work law passed in 1980. In Indiana, the NRCWC has been working to pass right-to-work laws since 1976.

In both states, the NRCWC has been successful in getting right-to-work laws passed. The NRCWC has been able to use their influence to get legislation passed that favors their interests.

By Cam Duncan

The built-in bias against renters in both state and federal income tax codes has recently been challenged. Although income tax codes have prevented tenants from deducting property taxes paid on their owner's property, even though they pay property taxes through rent payments. This inequity costs the nation's 29 million renter households over a billion dollars per year. The poor have been made at the state and federal level to change this inequity.

Six states now have provisions in their income tax laws specifically applying to renters. Arizona allows a credit equal to 10 percent of rent paid with a maximum credit of $80 per year. Pennsylvania allows an income-tax credit of 12 percent of rent constituting property tax.

In 1978, New York enacted legislation allowing renters to deduct property taxes paid from their gross federal income taxes. The statute was regarded as a model for other states eager to enact “free” tax relief measures for apartment dwellers. Upon review of the legislation, the IRS voided the law, rejecting New York’s contention that it had transformed property taxes into a liability for the renter, and not the landlord. The plan of tenants until

See Renters p. 6
Agriculture

Ag Preservation Bill Increases States’ Options

By Robert C. Weaver

A bill has been introduced in Congress which would assist farmers in developing viable agricultural land retention programs while limiting the federal government’s role. Introduced by Congressman James Jeffords (R-Vt.), this legislation would give local officials an opportunity to investigate the problem of disappearing farmland and develop possible solutions.

Historically perceived as a rich agricultural nation, this country’s capacity to feed itself is in serious jeopardy. Between 1967 and 1977, approximately thirty million acres of agricultural land were converted to other uses such as subdivisions, highways, and shopping centers. This represents a land area larger than Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts combined.

Rents from p.4

Rents have gone unheeded in Washington. In response to increasing pressure for renter tax relief, several Congressmen have introduced bills that would allow renters to qualify for shelter-based rental property taxes from their federal income taxes. H.R. 834 (Leslye Wolf) and H.R. 2910 (R.P. Robert Doran, R-CA) and H.R. 2191 (Rep. Herbert Harris, D-VA) would allow the renter a federal income tax deduction for 25 percent of his or her rent. H.R. 1841 (Rep. Robert Dornan, R-CA) and H.R. 2191 (Rep. Herbert Harris, D-VA) would allow the renter a federal income tax deduction for 25 percent of his or her rent. H.R. 1841 (Rep. Robert Dornan, R-CA) and H.R. 2191 (Rep. Herbert Harris, D-VA) would allow the renter a federal income tax deduction for 25 percent of his or her rent.

Readers may write to the Tax Project of the Conference for copies of the New York, Arizona or Wisconsin laws on renter’s tax relief.

Com Duncan is coordinator of the Tax Project at the Conference.

Tax Shifts To Homeowners Key To Tax Revolt

By Robert Kuttner and David Kelston

The great tax revolt of 1978 has been popularly characterized by a rise in the property tax. Many states, in their tax revolt, have dropped the sales tax. In the 1970s, local governments have engaged in a competition with each other to attract industry by granting tax concessions. Tax abatements are a favorite. In some cities, such as St. Louis, Cincinnati, and New York, small new commercial construction has occurred in recent years without tax abatement. Since, by definition, all existing structures will eventually be replaced, this practice guarantees that in future years commercial properties as a class will be paying a declining share of the tax. Fourth, a series of recent state court decisions struck down the tradition of assessing homes at a lower fraction of actual value than businesses. Typically businesses were assessed at a higher rate than the theory that income-producing property could afford to pay more. This priming approach to tax equity was extra legal in most states.

In the last two years, courts and legislature began to press for comprehensive equalization of assessment rates. These mandates for uniform assessment ratios stripped the local assessor’s office of its traditional function of keeping homeowners’ assessments within political tolerable bounds. It is also worth pointing out that the property tax burden has fallen to the residences at a time when an ever greater portion of the net worth of low and middle-income property is in the investment in their homes. As a consequence, most of the wealth owned by ordinary people is taxed at increasing rates. Politically, it is quite significant that the two states which adopted the most drastic limits on the property tax in 1978—California and Idaho—also experienced very significant tax shifts. In California the share of property tax paid by single family homeowners rose from 32% in 1975-76 to 44% in 1978-79. In Idaho, after a period of relative stability, the share of property tax paid by single family homeowners rose from 24% in 1975-76 to 44% in 1978. Tax shifts can be mitigated through the implementation of new public policy. The three most popular means are a homestead exemption, a residential circuit breaker, or a classified property tax system.

Other sections policymakers can take include:

- Commissioning studies that would indicate the distribution of actual values, as well as the distribution of assessed valuation;
- Advocating legislation that would require multistate trade associations offering tax abatements to calculate and publish the amount of revenue foregone; and
- Making certain that consistent methods are used to assess all types of property, so that residences are not over assessed relative to the true market value in comparison to businesses.

For copies of Kuttner and Kelston’s complete analysis of tax shifts and their effect on the tax revolt contact the Publications Department of the Conference.

Robert Kuttner is a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government. David Kelston is a student at Harvard Law School.
Women Organized To Demand Economic Justice

Massachusetts Women Take The Lead

In this issue, the work of the Women in the Economy Project is featured. The Project is working to advance economic justice, the Project held two conferences in recent months. The first addressed the situation of women in Massachusetts. The second was an in-depth investigation of comparable worth as a means of redressing pay inequities.

Seven hundred office workers, poor women, neighborhood activists, union leaders and public officials provided a stunning display of the scope and vitality of the women's movement in Massachusetts when they gathered at the Massachusetts House to discuss policies and programs aimed at improving the economic situation of women. Organized by the Women in the Economy Project and 9 to 5, Boston's Organization of Women Office Workers, Women for Economic Justice in Massachusetts addressed a wide range of issues including state budget priorities, corporate employment practices, health rights and equal access to housing. Workshops and plenaries highlighted three main themes: budget priorities for women; Massachusetts working women; and coalition strategies for change. Keynote speakers included State Representatives Doris Bunte and Sandra Graham who encouraged women to become active in the political process, particularly in promoting programs to meet the needs of working women. Former Banking Commissioner Carol Greenfield and Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 925 representative Nancy Fier in described employment problems and argued that organizing and coalitions with labor unions were necessary to advance women's economic welfare. The need for structural changes in the economic system was highlighted by Gloria Steinem, Jane Fonda and Pat Cronin, who discussed the problems of women clerical workers, the most rapidly increasing sector of the labor force.

The conference represented a major step forward for activists working to develop a more effective voice to address women's economic policy issues in Massachusetts. Working together, representations from such groups as the Massachusetts Caucus of Women Legislators, the Legislative Black Caucus, Massachusetts Women for Share, YWCA, SEIU and NOW laid the groundwork for future cooperative activities.

Conference on Pay Equity Held

Pay equity for women was the theme of a conference on 24 in Washington DC. Conference participants discussed the organizational and legal strategies that could lead to pay equity and presented reports and speeches that will soon be published as the Mont and on Pay Equity by the Women in the Economy Project.

Conference sponsors included: Working Women; Business and Professional Women's Foundation; Women's Student Program at George Washington University; AFWOMC (American Federation of Women's Organizations); AFL-CIO Women's Caucus; Defense Fund; Women's Bureau; National Commission on Working Women; Network on Pay Equity; and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

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Comparable Worth: A Key to Success

Comparable worth or equal pay for work of equal value, is a serious, but little understood, public policy question for the nation. Women's organizations and unions are turning to comparable worth as a way of strengthening the economic position of women workers by reducing the overall gap between male and female occupations. The concept, which is most often taken place in the past, is to pay all workers the same wage regardless of job classification. In this case, it means women in male-dominated job categories, such as secretaries, should be paid the same wage as men in female-dominated categories.

Major efforts are underway to implement comparable worth through passage of state and federal legislation. Comparable worth barriers. Eva Johnson highlights a number of these important activities by Eva Johnson

The Washington State Council 28 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) was one of the first groups to recognize that work done by men was better paid than comparable work done by women. In 1974 the Council was instrumental in efforts to persuade Governor Dan Evans to provide funds to determine the equity of state pay scales for work of comparable value. The study focused on 121 job classifications and examined each on the basis of four criteria: degree of accountability; required knowledge and skills; mental demands; and working conditions. Results showed that the jobs dominated by men were paid, on the average, 20% more than those jobs of equal value held predominantly by women.

Since that time, Michigan and Connecticut have undertaken similar studies. In Michigan the Office of the Auditor General has state that Department of Labor has a CETA grant to determine the value of work done by state employees. Connecticut became the third state to take a serious look at its employees patterns when a bill was passed requiring the Commissioner of Administrative Services to assess classified positions. Both studies are scheduled to be completed in the Spring of 1980.

Activity has not been limited to classification efforts. Unions and others have tried to achieve implementation through the courts as well. In Denver, Colorado a group of public employees who were paid less than women in male-dominated job categories have sued for equal pay. They have lost on the basis that they had equal or greater responsibilities. Essentially the judge ruled that the nurses were correct, but that ruling in their favor would create social and economic upheaval which he was not prepared to assume responsibility. He ruled against the nurses maintaining that equity must be sought through the legislative process.

The National Union of Electrical Workers brought one of the best known private sector comparable worth cases to Trenton, N.J. The union argued that Westinghouse Electric was illegally devalued positions held by women on the basis of sex and that the contract lacked a clause which bore no relationship to quality of work. Again, the court sidestepped the issue and the decision is now being appealed.

The collective bargaining process is one of the unexamined methods for redressing inequities in pay policy. In Humboldt County, California the AFSCME Local 1684 requested a study of clerical pay in 1977. The county Human Rights Commission reported that 53 percent of employees were women whose average biweekly wage of $358.31 paid unfavorably to the male average of $527.71. The Commission recommended reclassification of several clerical positions. This year the union county negotiations include a proposed clause on pay equity.

The federal government has also taken an interest in comparable worth. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has CETA funds available for developing guidelines to implement equivalent pay for comparable work as far as as research on the subject. And the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has requested the National Academy of Sciences study the issue. Their preliminary report surveyed job categories that indicates several problem areas.

Women's issue of comparable worth holds potential for others as well as women. People of color who have been left behind in low paying job categories could also benefit from its application. Broad acceptance of the concept could have the same far reaching effects as the adoption of the minimum wage and the 40 hour week.

Eva Johnson is the National Coordinator of Women's Activities for AFSCME.
Legislative Initiatives

Coalition Moves to Strengthen San Francisco Rent Control

A broad-based coalition of activist groups has placed an initiative on the ballot for the November city election that would significantly strengthen and democratize rent control in San Francisco.

Last November, San Franciscans rejected a rent control measure 107,000 to 96,000. But the issue didn’t die. Pressure continued to rise as landlords increased rents in spite of significant Proposition 15 generated property tax savings. As a result, the board of supervisors passed a rent control law in June.

San Franciscans for Affordable Housing (SFHA), which represents almost every progressive constituency in the city, is presenting its plans as an alternative to the current statute. The group claims the board passed law encourages evictions and automatic rent increases.

The SFHA proposal would:
- Allow rent increases only to cover landlord costs or assure “a fair rate of return.”
- Prohibit vacancy de-control of apartments as they are vacated.
- Provide for a citywide election of the Rental Housing Board.
- Prohibit demolition or conversion of rental units to other purposes unless an equal number of units are made available; and
- Slow condominium conversion by requiring that 80% of a building’s tenants commit to buy. (See story on p. 3.)

For additional information contact San Franciscans for Affordable Housing, 12 Valencia St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 694-6413.

Public Officials
Censure J.P. Stevens

Officials in three states have taken action against J.P. Stevens and Co., Inc. in recent months.

The Los Angeles City Board of Public Works branded the textile firm an “unworthy bidder” at a day long hearing on Stevens’ alleged labor law violations. The board prohibits the firm from entering into contracts or subcontracts with Los Angeles City for two years or until they comply with state and federal labor laws.

In California, the state took similar action against Stevens earlier this year after a legal review conducted by the Industrial Relations Board turned up innumerable violations.

In Connecticut, a statute banning state contracts with labor law violators was enacted. The legislation, known as the J.P. Stevens bill, prohibits the company from doing business with the state for three years or until it complies with the National Labor Relations Act. Massachusetts included a reference to the J.P. Stevens Co. in the state budget prohibiting any state business with the company as of July 1 for one year.

Business Tax Breaks: A Habit Hard to Kick

State legislatures continue to pass tax reductions favorable to the country’s businesses and corporations. A recent report released by the Coalition of American Public Employees (CAPE) indicates that legislatures in 28 states have enacted bills which either cut taxes on businesses or increase the amount of deductions, credits and exemptions for which they are eligible.

Specifically, 15 states have authorized property tax exemptions or abatements for such diverse purposes as commercial fishing vessels and the renovation of commercial facilities.

Fourteen states have enacted tax deductions or credits. And, sales tax exemptions aimed at specific business-oriented endeavors such as equipment manufacturing have been passed by 10 states. Exemptions such as these shift the sales tax burden squarely onto the necessities.


Coop Bank a Reality

The newly established National Consumer Credit Bank is due to make its first loans in March, 1983. With the recent confirmation of its thirteen-member Board of Directors by the U.S. Senate and Congressional appropriations for FY 79, the bank has moved into its final “implementation” phase: establishing lending policies and procedures, adopting final rules and regulations, and hiring staff.

(See p. 10 for new Coop Bank Publications)

Resources

Recycling

Vacant Property

Public officials and community groups concerned about vacant land in their neighborhoods will be interested in Citizen’s Action Manual: A Guide to Recycling Vacant Property in Your Neighborhood. This U.S. Department of Interior pamphlet recommends that community groups form nonprofit neighborhood land trusts to acquire and develop vacant land. Using the land trust model, the 30 page booklet looks in-depth at “how to” incorporate a neighborhood land trust, use the Internal Revenue Code to drastically lower costs, and acquire public land. Tips on planning and developing vacant land are also provided.


Coop Bank Publications Available

Four new publications on the National Consumer Coop Bank designed to help borrowers increase their banks’ potential as a financing source for innovative, community-based projects are available from the Conference. The Self Help Development Fund: Will Its Promise Be Realized? outlines how the bank might use its Self-Help Development Office as a creative, development finance tool, particularly in low-income communities. The Coop Bank and Housing ($150) describes the bank’s potential for supporting neighborhood-based housing projects focusing on the twin problems of abandonment and displacement. Energy and the Coop Bank ($200) argues that the bank can play an important role in stimulating energy cooperatives. Low Income Cooperatives and the Coop Bank: Critical Policy Questions ($4.00) analyzes the Federal Interagency Task Force’s proposed rules and regulations as they affect low-income cooperatives. For copies of these publications or for general information on the bank, write the Coop Bank Member Information and Assistance Project at the conference.

New Group Pushes Minority Involvement in Renewable Resources

Minorities Organized for Renewable Energy (MORE) is a new national coalition addressing the difficult problem of involving minorities in the development of renewable energy. Founded in August, 1978 at the first annual Solar Energy Conference in Washington, D.C., MORE has initiated a four point plan.

The plan involves: a nationwide survey of minority-run renewable energy projects; an information clearinghouse for those minorities without experience in renewable energy; a national workshop to develop an action plan for increasing minority involvement in the development of renewable energy; and ten regional workshops to demonstrate the beneficial connection between renewables and minorities.

Project Coordinator Kay Cooper said that MORE’s goal is to “ensure that minority communities all over the nation share the benefits of renewable energy technologies.” This will be accomplished, she said, by mobilizing minorities to participate in all aspects of renewable energy development.

For further information on MORE, contact Kay Cooper, Center for Renewable Resources, 1061 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20006.

Of Belts and Bullets

Urban activists and union leaders will soon have a new public information weapon at their disposal with the release of “Tighten Your Bullets, Bite the Bullet,” a 66-minute color film about the crisis of America’s cities.

The film, through documentary-type footage and animation, explores the relationship between bankers, industrialists and city government (highlighting Cleveland and New York City), and examines what people in Northeast cities are doing to deal with the problems of plant closings, economic decline and the “fiscal crisis.”

An advance screening drew an enthusiastic crowd at our recent Philadelphia conference. For rental information write City Crisis Film Group, 192 Broadway, Rm 706, New York, NY 10002.

Condos from p. 3

On the federal level, Congressmen Benjamin Rosenthal has introduced legislation calling for a three year national moratorium, changes in the Interal Revenue Code to make conversions less desirable and a presidential commission to investigate the problem.

Jeffrey Trynes is the editor of Ways & Means.

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To order these publications please use order form on page 15.
Energy

California Officials Lead in Solar Initiatives

By Michael Freedberg
and Julie Slavet

Solar activists can continue to look to California for direction in developing state and local policies for solar energy. Using a variety of administrative, regulatory, and financial resources, local officials and community leaders have made the state a testing ground for the widespread commercialization of solar.

San Diego County officials enacted two far-reaching solar ordinances in 1979. All new residences must be built with solar water heating systems and, in unincorporated areas, must be built to assure access to sunlight for contiguous buildings. The county has also installed solar water heating units to assess solar applicability.

Several cities in Santa Clara County have formed Energy Advisory Committees to draft solar ordinances. In July, the county board of supervisors unanimously voted to support the principle of a solar access ordinance similar to San Diego’s.

The West Side Community Development Corporation is using solar energy as an innovative community development tool, and the CDC has established a vocational school to train CETA employees in solar heating, sitting, and weatherization. Thirty low-income units are slated for a solar-powered development. The CDC is planning to convert a 24-unit motel into a “Section 8” solar-heated elderly housing cooperative.

The Solar City Council, a state body, has established a local government commission made up of solar-oriented local officials. The commission plans an aggressive strategy to encourage solar activities at the town, city, and county level.

The California Energy Commission’s newly released Toward an Alternative Energy Path for California contains a section on solar initiatives which outlines a multi-level strategy to achieve maximum solar usage by 1990. Options being considered include low interest loans and grants to encourage low-income participation, a solar plan for renters, policies encouraging competition in the solar industry, and expansion of the state’s solar tax credit. Contact the California Energy Commission, 1111 Howe Ave., Sacramento, CA 95825 for copies, first copy free, $5.00 for each additional.

Another California-based organization, Western Sun, a joint program of the U.S. Department of Energy and a number of western states, has published Capturing the Sun’s Energy: Opportunities for Local Government, which details several options for cities and counties interested in implementing solar plans. They include model solar water and pool heating ordinances, energy conservation and clotheline ordinances, and a plan for priority processing of construction projects using solar energy. For a free copy contact Western Sun, 1111 Howe Ave., Sacramento, CA 95825.

Michael Freedberg is the coordinator of the Energy Project at the Conference. Julie Slavet is a consultant to the Project.

High Income Utility Users Found Most Wasteful

Utility rate reformers will be interested in a survey by the Ohio Office of the Consumers’ Counsel which reported that high income residential electric users use a disproportionately higher share of the state’s electricity. After surveying 4000 customers of Ohio’s seven largest utilities, the state consumer agency found that families with incomes exceeding $25,000, while representing 18% of the sample, used a whopping 30% of the electricity consumed. High consumption was closely correlated with single family homes and ownership of a large number of appliances.

The office will be analyzing the survey data to develop rate proposals. For more information contact William A. Spradley, Ohio Office of the Consumer Advocate, 157 East State Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

State Nuclear Actions Continue

In July, Ways & Means reported on the response by Pennsylvania and nine other state governments to the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident. Since then, states have passed additional legislation which limits nuclear power plant construction and waste disposal.

In Massachusetts, a bill was enacted requesting the Department of Public Utilities and the state Energy Facilities Siting Council to spend development of alternative energy resources and to delay decisions on encouraging nuclear reactor construction for two years or until comprehensive studies of plant safety can be done.

Connecticut and nine other states established the Connecticut Commission on the construction of new nuclear reactors until a safe disposal method is found. A virtual ban on nuclear power plant construction.

In New York, a ban on siting waste disposal repositories within the state without state approval, by the Governor and the legislature was passed. Also in August, New York reestablished the state’s 15 year Energy Master Plan—which included no future plans for nuclear reactors.

Oregon passed a ban on the issuance of nuclear reactor site permits until November 1980 and until the Oregon DOC completes a Three Mile Island accident study to consider and prevent similar problems.

New Haven Community Labor Alliance: Case Study In Coalition Power

By Barbara Richards

The New Haven Community Labor Alliance (CLA) flexed its strength when it held a candidates night—on its terms. The CLA brought all three mayoral aspirants before a live TV audience, just six days before the primary, to present its demands which each candidate was asked to endorse or reject on the spot. All three candidates agreed to a majority of the demands and the leading candidate, who later won the primary, endorsed all of the CLA’s positions.

Less than two years ago, the CLA did not exist. Today, it is challenging economic priorities on both a state and local level.

The Alliance grew out of a prolonged strike at Yale University by the Federation of University Employees in the fall of 1977. Community leaders were asked to support the strike based on a common adversary, Yale. Successful settlement led to a large community supported rally, led to the formation of a permanent organization. The CLA now has 35 members including the New England Central Labor Council, 12 union locals, and minority, peace, activist, neighborhood and tenant groups.

Financing is provided largely through a five cent per member monthly assessment paid by each member organization.

The other major activity of the Alliance is supporting member organizations on “bread and butter” issues. For instance, the CLA recently organized a 3000 person demonstration in support of a strike by Local 609 of the Machinists.

The long range goal of the CLA is to build an organization which will allow low and moderate income people to work on a wide range of issues. This is reflected in the Statement of Principle that all demands for full employment, more accountable redistribution of local, state and national resources; broadened citizen participation in public policy at both governmental and private institutions; strengthened civil liberties; and an end to discrimination.

Members of the Alliance would like to see efforts to build community-labor coalitions take place in other cities. The organization is prepared to help interested individuals or organizations in that effort. For more information call the Alliance at (203) 965-3990.

Barbara Richards is the Executive Director of the Community Labor Alliance and a member of the New Haven Board of Selectmen. She has recently decided to run for re-election in order to devote herself full-time to building the CLA.