

conference on ALTERNATIVE state and local PUBLIC POLICIES

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Editor: Barbara Bick



Ruth Yannatta – From Consumer Activist To Assembly Candidate
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ALTERNATIVE LEGISLATION

"Truth-in-Renting Act"

The nation's first "Truth-in-Renting Act" took effect statewide in New Jersey last summer. The seven-section statute is written in uncommonly simple language and mandates the N.J. Department of Community Affairs to prepare and publish a statement of established legal

rights and responsibilities of tenants and landlords of rental dwelling units." This "statement" is to be sold for \$1 to the public and all New Jersey landlords. Landlords are required to distribute a copy to each of their present tenants (within 30 days), to all prospective tenants and must post a copy in at least one prominent location which

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Alternative Legislation Continued . . .

is "accessible to all . . . tenants." The DCA is charged with the responsibility to revise and update the tenants' rights booklet annually.

The current DCA statement of tenants' rights runs about 15 pages and covers every major area of tenants' rights in the state. Areas covered include the lease, rent increases, discrimination, security deposits, crime insurance, distress/distrain, evictions, retaliations, receivership and condition of the premises.

The new "Truth-in-Renting" law serves as an excellent model for the 30 or more other states across the nation that have well-developed tenants' rights laws on the books.

The DCA "statement of tenants' rights" is available at a cost of \$1 from the Bureau of Housing, Dept. of Community Affairs, P.O. Box 2768, Trenton, N.J. 08626. Checks or money orders should be made payable to Treasurer, State of New Jersey.

"Lifeline" Tax Program

A nearly \$1 billion tax reform and relief proposal has been sponsored in the California Legislature by the California Tax Reform Association and the Citizens Action League. The Tax Justice Act of 1977 would reform the capital gains loophole, add new income tax brackets for wealthy taxpayers, and use up some of the state surplus in order to fund middle and low-income property tax relief for homeowners and renters on the basis of need.

This "lifeline" or "fair share" proposal is designed to relieve the property tax burden on low and middle income homeowners and renters. The State of California would reimburse them directly for a portion of the property taxes they paid.

The \$925 million program will not require a general tax increase. The cost of the package would come from \$240 million in increased revenues resulting from the elimination of the special treatment of capital gains in the California tax code, and from \$520 million raised by increasing the progressivity of California's income tax in the upper brackets. The final \$200 million would be an appropriation from the surplus in the state's General Fund.

Presently, California's state and local tax burden is regressively distributed, i.e., falling hardest on poor people. The Tax Justice Act, if enacted, would move the state's tax system closer to an ability to pay basis.

For further information, contact: California Tax Reform Assoc., 1107 9th St., #224, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Research Curb

A national precedent of local control over scientific research was set last month when the Cambridge, MA City Council voted stringent safety regulations over genetic research at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. State legislatures and city councils from New Jersey to California have debated the question of DNA research but until now all the votes have allowed such work to go on. The Cambridge City ordinance, adopted unanimously by the nine member council, is more restrictive than guidelines issued last July by the National Institutes of Health. The council had imposed a moratorium on DNA research since the NIH guidelines.

Consumer Protection

An extensive study by the Public Service Commission concludes that Michigan's liberal consumer protection laws have not caused in-

creased utility costs. The laws prohibit deposits for gas and electric service and ban fees for late bill payment. Despite contrary predictions, the study of six Michigan companies states that the utility firms had no more trouble collecting bills under the new laws than under the former rules.

Tax Proposal

A major tax reform proposal for New Haven, CN has been adopted by the New Haven Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO. It proposes a reduction in taxes on middle and lower income city residents and a major increase on the richest citizens and the wealthiest corporations. Among its proposals are increased taxes on Yale University, a progressive city property tax, and the inclusion of notes, bonds, stocks, and other intangible property within the local property tax. For more information contact Richard D. Wolff, New Haven AFL-CIO Delegate, 678 Orange St., New Haven CN, 06511.

TOPPIX



"Tell me, Mr. Hopkins, why is 5 1/2 per cent whopping when it's interest you're paying me, but 13 per cent is measly when it's interest I'm paying you?"

Elderly Rent Exemption

Eligible elderly tenants were given a 50% exemption from a recently passed rent hike in Boston's rent controlled apartments. To be eligible the elderly tenant (65 years or older) must be head of a household living in a rent controlled unit. The total gross annual income for the entire household must be \$7,200 or less for one person, \$8,750 or less for two people, \$8,750 or less plus \$300 for each additional person.

Sunset Laws

First adopted in Colorado, sunset laws mandate that the legislature periodically examine the performance of agencies it has created. If review indicates that the agency no longer operates in the public interest, or if its activities are essentially duplicated by other agencies, the legislature will cause the sun to "set," and the unit will be legislated out of existence.

The Colorado law

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The Problem of Run Away Plants

By Lee Webb

The small town of Fairport Harbor, OH was hit by an economic earthquake last year when Diamond Shamrock Corporation announced it was closing. It meant that 1200 people will lose jobs. It meant that Fairport Harbor will lose taxes equal to 60% of its school budget. And to top it off, a 270 acre chemical waste pond, with an estimated 60 year life span, will be left for the town to deal with, when the corporation departs.

Such a story is all too commonplace in local newspapers throughout the country. Plants shut down in one state in order to open up in another state that offers lower wages, lower taxes, and "a better business climate." Plants flee the North to the South, from the North and the South to Mexico, Taiwan, and other underdeveloped countries.

The ability of industry to move easily from one place to another in search of higher profits is one of the worst problems facing states and cities today. Officials are often paralyzed by the knowledge of corporate mobility. They shy away from innovative taxes or regulatory policies for fear that existing companies will leave or that others will boycott them. In fact, any attempt to stop or put a price on those businesses which abandon a plant and community has been attacked as bad public policy under the rationalization that such moves were motivated by the need for industrial efficiency and thus were good for the country as a whole.

However a new and hard look at this problem is underway. Stimulated by the massive exodus of American jobs to other countries and the continuing decline of the Northeast and Midwest, community organizations, state legislators and Congressmen are taking steps to control "runaway plants" in a number of ways. Some examples include:

- A Wisconsin law passed in 1975 requires 60 days notice if a corporation plans to shut down a plant in that state. Although the notice period is short, it is a first step. Even a two month period gives time to the town, the union, and the state to exert pressure on the corporation to change its decision or, if unsuccessful, to plan for the shutdown.

- Vermont responded to the shut down of a local asbestos mine and processing plant with both political muscle and financial resources. The state lent money and guaranteed additional bank loans for the purchase of the plant by its workers. The worker-owned company, in Lowell, VT, has earned substantial profits and is opening another large plant in the area.

- An Ohio bill, "The Plant Closing Act of 1977" would require two years notice to affected employees and communities before any industry shutdown, relocation, or reduction in operations. The Act would also require a corporation to pay 10% of the total annual wages of laid-off

workers into a state Community Assistance Fund. The Fund would then make payments to hard-hit workers and communities. The bill was proposed by the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, a state-wise organizing effort against runaway plants, which has done impressive research on strategies to control plant closings. For more information on their work, write to OPIC, 340 Chester, 12th Bldg., Cleveland, OH 44114.

- At the federal level, Senators Hart and Mondale introduced a bill several years ago (S2809) requiring that every corporation give two years notice before closing any plant over a certain size. In addition, there is a mandatory hearing and investigatory procedure to determine whether the plant should remain open. If the plant closing is deemed "unjustified," all federal assistance to any new plant of the corporation can be withheld, particularly the use of the federal investment tax credit. Currently there is a similar bill (H.R. 76) in the House.

Nearly all these bills and proposals represent a changing belief in the legal relationship of a corporation to its workers and the community in which it is located. In the past, a plant had no legal obligation to a community other than payment of taxes and observance of local laws. It had no legal obligation to its workers except to pay wages for time worked. The new argument holds that when a plant has been in a community for some considerable period of time there is an implicit contract or franchise between the plant, its workers, and the community. This should enable the community to prevent a plant from leaving at will. This implicit contract is what the various legislative proposals would codify into statutory law.

There are a number of laws, viewed as precedent for runaway shops, which prevent a profit making business from closing at will. Most are in regulated industries. On the national level, an airline or railroad cannot eliminate service to a city or rail line without formal legal permission, after extensive hearings of the CAB or ICC. At the state level, an electric utility or telephone company cannot cut or eliminate service without approval by the state Public Utility Commission. In most states a bank cannot move its business location, or that of any branches, without approval of the Banking Commissioner.

There is obviously strong resistance to applying these precedents to manufacturing and commercial enterprises. However, until there are restrictions on runaway plants, states and cities are severely hampered in efforts to confront their economic and social problems. Little can be done about changing property taxes, reforming state tax systems, environmental laws, minimum wages, etc. while corporations are able to pick up stakes and move at will. The mounting desperation of states, communities, and unions will, hopefully, be reflected in more legislative programs in the immediate future.

From Consumer Advocate To Citizens' Candidate

by Derek Shearer

Today consumer advocate Ruth Yannatta is a leading candidate for the state assembly. Four years ago she was one of a group of angry Los Angeles housewives who sparked a nation-wide meat boycott. How did Ruth Yannatta make the jump from protesting the high price of meat to running for public office?

Part of the answer is the politicization of the consumer movement. More important, perhaps, is the recent coming together of the single-issue movements of the 1960's and early 70's into a coherent national political force.

But back to Ruth in 1973. When most of the other women who had started the meat boycott returned to their jobs or families, Ruth decided to keep working on food issues. She helped form a group called Fight Inflation Together (FIT).

FIT began a study of California state's marketing orders. They discovered that the government protected big farmers from competition by setting prices, quality, and quantity standards to the detriment of the small farmer — and the consumer. FIT also discovered that the 1933 law which set up the state marketing boards, required the appointment of one public member to each board. This had never been done. When FIT publicized this omission to the press and to Reagan's Director of Agriculture, Ruth was shortly appointed as the public member on the state Egg Board. She was the first public member in California history.

Ruth used her position on the Egg Board to oppose a program to ship surplus eggs to Japan in order to keep egg prices up in California. She kept the press informed about other activities of the state marketing boards. Ruth continued to play an activist and organizing role, exposing the state setting of wholesale milk prices, organizing a Mother's Day milk boycott, picketing at supermarkets. And she continued to call for the appointment of a majority of public members on all commodity boards.

In 1974 newly elected Governor Jerry Brown announced that he would place public members on all state marketing boards. Ruth and her group were given credit for raising the issue. Brown also offered her a job as Assistant to the Director of the Department of Consumer Affairs. The appointment provided added legitimacy to the consumer movement in the state.

Ruth continued her activist role in her state position, helping local groups fight for lower utility rates and lower food prices. She helped organize a program of direct fruit and vegetable marketing: consumers call a toll-free number

which gives the location of farms with surplus crops that can be picked or purchased at low cost. Organized labor supported her fight against supermarket computerization and for a bill that would keep the price of goods on items by law. Ruth frequently spoke at labor gatherings to stress the common interests of the labor and consumer movements.

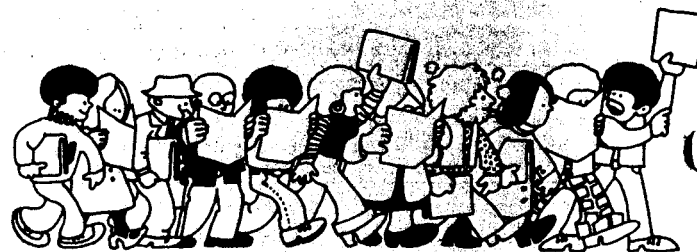
Politically, it all came together for Ruth when she attended the first national conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policy in Madison, WI. She helped to organize the California regional conference and gave workshops on food policy at the national conference in Austin, TX. At these meetings she met other activist women from around the country who had run for public office and won on progressive platforms.

And so, Ruth Yannatta, consumer activist, decided to run for the state assembly when it appeared likely that a special election would be held in the spring to fill an upcoming vacancy. The Democratic establishment will be fielding a male candidate against Ruth, and a number of other candidates will be running.

The 44th District, one of the most liberal in the state, includes Venice, Santa Monica, and the middle and working class sections of West Los Angeles. It is not overly affluent. It should respond to Ruth's concerns about high food prices and government-business collusion.

Assembly races in California are not cheap. A minimum budget runs around \$50,000. More likely Ruth will have to raise and spend \$75,000 to win. Ruth Yannatta plans a people-oriented campaign, with extensive precinct walking by herself and volunteers. Her advantages are that Ruth has some name identification in the district, a clear set of issues, and a record of citizen action on which to campaign.

Derek Shearer is a journalist, the west coast coordinator of the National Conference — and husband of Ruth Yannatta.



Alternative Legislation Continued . . .

schedules 13 of 39 agencies for automatic termination every other year. But before dismantlement public hearings are held so that a given agency may demonstrate a public need for its continued existence.

Two Texas legislators, Sen. Lloyd Doggett and Rep. John Wilson, have introduced a sunset bill which would require 66 state agencies and 13 advisory councils to justify their existence every six years or be phased out.

The Maryland General Assembly killed a sunset bill for this session by referring it to a summer study. The bill would have shut down more than 100 state agencies if they couldn't justify their existence. Considered one of the major bills to come before the Assembly, it would have guaranteed a staggered review of 122 agencies and would have made reviews of these agencies mandatory every six years. Still alive is another bill that would limit review to only 55 state agencies until the sunset concept had proved itself. This bill was

prepared by a legislative task force that included members of Common Cause, the group that wrote the sunset law now in force in Colorado.

Dr. Benjamin Shimberg, of the Center for Occupational and Professional Assessment in Princeton, N.J., has made a detailed study of sunset laws. He suggests that they will only be effective if there is an accountability process that monitors what the boards do and that can intercede to stop actions not in the public interest. Shimberg said that the Colorado sunset law does not come to grips with this problem. He believes the key is the inclusion of effective private citizens on licensing and regulatory boards to help insure accountability.

Anti-Surveillance

A model Anti-Surveillance Statute has been drafted that would prohibit political surveillance by state and local police. It would also regulate police conduct as it intruded on First Amendment ac-

tivities. The author is Jerry Berman of the Center for National Security Studies. Copies of the draft statute are available from the CNSS, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Wash., D.C.

New Labor Initiatives

While repeal of state right-to-work laws has been sought for years, an unprecedented new national campaign for sweeping changes in the nation's labor laws was announced by the AFL-CIO's Executive Council. It will be backed by a union war chest of more than \$800,000, to be raised by assessing each of the 14.2 million union members one cent a month for six months.

The campaign will seek to repeal Section 14(B) of the Taft-Hartley Act, under which 20 states have enacted right-to-work laws prohibiting collective bargaining agreements that require workers to join a union. The whole legislative

package includes proposals that would make it easier for unions to organize and negotiate contracts, and a higher minimum wage floor (from \$2.30 to \$3 an hour) with automatic increases in the future to keep the minimum equivalent to 60% of average hourly earnings in manufacturing. It does not include a provision for a lower minimum for teenagers which many industries favor but which the AFL-CIO says would be discriminatory.

It also includes federally mandated collective bargaining rights for public employees and agricultural workers, and removal of the Hatch Act's ban on politicking by federal workers. A recent Supreme Court decision has cast doubt over Congress' right to legislate for state and local government employees. The Council, for the time being, is recommending that all federal grant programs contain a proviso that recipients must agree to bargain with

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Fresh Voices in State Capitols

A number of new state-wide, multi-issue community organizations, active now in about 10 states, are shaking up status-quo politicians in their state capitols. Groups such as Mass Fair Share, ACORN (in Arkansas and half a dozen other states), Citizens Action League (California), Carolina Action, and Virginia Consumers Congress speak mainly for working class and the lower-middle class who make up most of their membership.

In the past year Mass Fair Share mobilized such wide support for its "Fair Share" referendum, or flat electric rates, that the utility companies were forced to spend more than \$1 million to defeat the measure. The Citizens Action League overwhelmed the utility lobbyists

in Sacramento and won legislative approval for their Lifeline electric rate bill. ACORN sponsored referendum in five cities in Arkansas for electric rate reform, winning in Little Rock. Missouri ACORN came very close in a state-wide referendum to exempting food from the state sales tax.

These community organizations are generally based on neighborhood, town, or city chapters with a state-wide central office and staff. Until recently, the local chapters have focused on neighborhood or city issues such as traffic, housing, schools, etc. They are now moving into the state-wide political arena since many local problems, such as utility rates, taxes, and consumer protection, can be effectively

tackled only in the state capitols. They have shown that they can mobilize effective support on behalf of state ballot referendums and state legislation. However, they rarely endorse or support specific candidates. In fact, their leaders speak forcefully against getting involved in "electoral politics" even though they seem to be knee deep in everything but actually running or endorsing candidates.

These community organizations have demonstrated the ability to get their issues into the middle of the political debate. They have developed interesting, innovative and politically popular legislation. Their growing fund raising ability is allowing them to expand. This year Carolina Action

will attempt to get the North Carolina legislature to pass an electric utility rate reform bill. Action League will be lobbying state-wide and in Sacramento for their "Tax Justice Act of 1977." Mass Fair Share will be working on a state-wide strategy for economic development and job creation. All of the groups will be sending vocal delegations to the offices of their state representatives and into the lobbies of their state capitols.

ACORN, Mass Fair Share, Citizens Action League, Carolina Action, Virginia Consumers Congress, and others, are the natural political allies of the growing number of issue-oriented elected and appointed state and local officials. They are sorely needed!

A New Source of Federal Money

Transfer Amendment

By Bob Schaeffer

State and local public officials and their allies in organizations now have a powerful lever to win a bigger share of scarce federal funds. The new Budget and Impoundment Control Act offers a way to force a choice between spending on wasteful Pentagon programs and priorities which benefit local communities. A "Transfer Amendment" plan for introduction later this spring will make Congress directly confront the guns versus butter spending dilemma.

Although Jimmy Carter campaigned for the Presidency on the promise of a substantial cut in military spending, his budget actually increases Pentagon funding by more than \$7 billion over last year.

His much ballyhooed \$2.8 billion cut actually came from Ford's inflated proposal for \$123 billion in military spending authority for 1978 which was \$10 billion more than the 1977 figure. In fact, his proposals run counter to the Democratic party platform which castigates the Nixon/Ford administration for "undermining the security of our

nation by neglecting human needs at home while for the first time in our nation's history increasing military spending after a war." Since Carter won't keep his word it's now up to citizens to press Congress to keep the Democrat's pledge.

The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy has been established to coordinate the campaign. They have prepared a model Transfer Amendment to be filed in congress later this year. The proposal calls for cutting the FY 1978 military budget by \$13.6 billion and applying all the savings to social programs which aid states and municipalities. Specific cuts would come from unnecessary weapons such as the B-1 Bomber, Trident Submarine, and Cruise Missile, as well as overseas troops in places like Korea, and funds which aid dictators and support CIA intervention.

Programs slated for additional funding include anti-recession aid to state and local governments (up \$2.5 billion), public service jobs (more than \$3 billion additional, with concentration on minority, youth and senior citizen), elementary and secondary education (in-

STATES AND CITIES



Total Federal Aid \$80.7 billion

Major Programs:

Welfare \$6.5 billion

Highways \$6.7 billion

Sewers \$5.2 billion

Revenue Sharing \$6.8 billion

The Washington Post

creased by \$2 billion), world development, housing, health care, and children's services.

Since military spending is the worst possible economic activity in terms of jobs created for each \$10 thousand spent (according to Bureau of Labor Statistics figures), passage of the Transfer Amendment would actually create nearly a million new jobs without adding a single dollar in total extra spending. Also included is a special fund of \$500 million earmarked to aid communities and workers directly affected by the military cuts.

The Transfer Amendment will come to the floor in Congress in late April or early May. To win that crucial vote and bring much needed funds to our communities, work must begin now:

- contact the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., N.E. Wash. DC 20002 [(202) 546-8400] for copies of the Transfer Amendment, detailed analyses and supporting material. Get on their mailing list for Legislative Alert;

- Raise the connection between bloated military spending and local fiscal "crises" when community programs are cut, taxes raised, or municipal candidates campaign;

- Have the Transfer Amendment endorsed by your local government, civic, religious, and labor organization, and "notable" community figures;

- Urge your U.S. Senators and Representatives to support the Transfer Amendment. Tell them how it will help local programs.

The Transfer Amendment will be no panacea for all the fiscal ills of our hardpressed cities, towns and states. But it is a concrete way in which we can begin to change this country's misdirected priorities.

Bob Schaeffer is a staff member of Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX)

DEFENSE



Total Spending \$112.3 billion

Major Costs:

Pay and Fringe Benefits for 950,000 civilian and 2.1 million military personnel \$51.3 billion

New Weapons \$23.8 billion

Weapons Research and Testing \$11.4 billion

The Washington Post

Notes to Note

Food Club Handbook

Excellent material on how to set up and run a food buying club, as well as information on the history of food politics in Washington D.C. and nationally, is contained in a small, attractive manual, *The D.C. Food Buying Club Handbook*. It is published by Strongforce, a D.C. group that recently obtained a National Institute of Mental Health grant to train community residents on starting and running democratically managed, community-worker controlled businesses. In addition to other planned publications, Strongforce puts out a lively newsletter, "D.C. Democratic Economics." To be placed on the mailing list, write to Strongforce, 2121 Decatur Pl. N.W. Wash. DC 20008

Economic Democracy

The Federation for Economic Democracy, with several state chapters, has opened a national office in Washington D.C. The group focuses on helping people establish or take over manufacturing operations that are closing down, and then to operate them on a worker controlled and managed basis. FED's experience has been that corporations, even when not interested in operating a given plant, are still reluctant to sell to workers. It is clear that corporations are still less interested in worker-managed business competition.

FED is also working with a number of unions for the inclusion of a clause in union contracts that would give workers the first option to buy when a business is to be sold or shut down.

For more information write to George Benello, c/o IGP, Suite 311, 2100 M St., N.W., Wash. DC 20063

Block Grant Aids

"Citizen Involvement in Community Development: An Opportunity and A Challenge," is the fifth in a series of publications called Citizen Action Guides published by the Center for Community Change. The pamphlet is designed to help citizen groups apply more effectively for community development block grants. Price is \$1.50. CCC, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Wash. DC 20007

Peddling Public Policy

Initiative America is an organization that aids the citizen in exercising its direct democratic rights through the initiative process. In 23 states and hundreds of municipalities the initiative process, by collecting signatures from about 5% of the voters, can put legislation on the ballot. From conception to passage the bill remains exclusively citizen controlled.

Initiative bills are overwhelmingly of people-oriented concern — the type of reform that rarely makes it through the legislature. Through that process the state of Washington passed a tough consumer credit act. In Michigan successful legislation removed the sales tax on food and drugs and instituted a returnable deposit law on bottles and cans. California and Florida now have strict political honesty laws. It is unlawful to have huge corporate farms in North Dakota, and Missouri has a law to protect consumers from unfair utility charges for construction costs.

Initiative America came up against power and money as they fought for nuclear energy safety measures in seven states. Still,

with the help of community groups and volunteer attorneys, Initiative America won two Utah State Supreme Court battles against the utilities who tried to force them off the ballot.

One can join Initiative America for \$25, or \$10 for students and senior citizens. For information contact John Forster and Roger Telschow at Initiative America, 1316 Independence Ave. S.E., Wash., D.C. 20003.

In These Times

In These Times, a nationally circulated weekly newspaper, has begun publication in Chicago. An independent socialist newspaper for a general audience, *In These Times* is sponsored by a wide range of leftists, including Julian Bond, Barry Commoner, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Elinor Langer, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, and William A. Williams. Subscriptions are \$15.00. 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60614.

NYC Take Over of Con Ed?

A call to take over Consolidated Edison, the private utility serving New York City and Westchester County, was made by Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul, two well known city political writers, in a recent issue of the *Village Voice*. They argue that the take over of Con Ed is necessary to reduce energy costs for the poor, to improve the air and environment, and to encourage the economic development of the city.

New Yorkers were urged to follow the example of two small up-state cities, Massena and Sherrill, which have passed referendums and are in the process of taking over the private utilities in their communities. To put the take over of Con Ed on the November ballot, the signatures of 50,000 registered voters must be placed on petitions.

Food Day '77 In 50 States

By Barbara Gottlieb

Food Day, the national day of action and education on food, is set for April 21, 1977. Local groups and coalitions across the country are planning a wide array of activities to educate and involve their neighbors in the issues of nutrition, hunger and agribusiness.

If last year's Food Day was a fair indication, then Food Day '77 will be observed in all 50 states with food fairs, teach-ins, community meals, farmers' markets, urban gardens, food stamp drives, lobbying drives and films.

In addition, the Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), sponsor of Food Day, is planning a Capitol Hill conference on the political causes of world hunger, as well as a series of debates in major U.S. cities.

The debates will pit spokespeople for regional and alternative food systems against representatives of food corporations and supermarkets. Subjects to be debated will include the effectiveness of food coop systems versus supermarkets; Westlands and the use of tax-subsidized water for corporate farming; absentee ownership and management of farms; and the role of food corporations in contributing to malnutrition.

Among the cities where debates are scheduled are Fresno, San Francisco, Omaha, Austin, Chicago, Philadelphia and Atlanta.

Senator Mark Hatfield joins CSPI in sponsoring a conference on the political causes of world hunger. The conference, April 21 and 22, featuring speakers from Third World countries, US-AID and the World Bank, will challenge the conventional wisdom of cash-crop farming, Green Revolution

Continued on page 13

8 Point Economic Development

The Northeast Cities Conference, held in Hartford, CN last December, enunciated the first policy paper adopted by any meeting or section of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. The document was in the form of a letter to the Governors of the Northeastern Coalition. In addition to an 8-point program for the cities, the letter requested that all policy discussions with the federal government include prior consultation with state and local public officials, community groups, and other appropriate leaders, and a halt to all policies that fail to address the crucial needs of urban residents.

The letter is reprinted below for the information of all those concerned with the needs of our cities who did not attend the Hartford gathering. A Steering Committee of the Northeast Cities' Conference will meet in the near future to plan continuing programs, publications, and topical conferences. To be on their mailing list, write to: Cities Conference, Hartford Process Office, 7th Floor, 100 Constitution Plaza, Hartford, CN 06103.

We are elected or appointed officials, policy planners, representatives of unions and community organizations. We live and work in cities that are struggling for their social and economic survival. Unemployment of black and Puerto Rican youths in our cities runs at an annual level of over 40%. Property tax rates are past the breaking point — yet there are still no resources for the basic services our citizens need. Many of our public employees labor for salaries that lag behind inflation. The gap between what is being done and what should be done grows larger every day.

The major problem facing the Northeast and the rest of our country is an inequitable distribution of economic and political power. This imbalance reflects itself in the racism, poverty and environmental degradation which characterize the social crisis facing our cities. All programmatic initiatives must be measured against the extent to which they address this imbalance.

Too often, the response to these problems has been at best an unfortunate and at worst a destructive policy of reducing public services, providing ill-conceived subsidies to the private sector, and forcing the adoption of virtually confiscatory property tax measures. Current policies ignore the real causes of the Northeast's difficulties, which lie in the way our economic system works and in the misplaced priorities of the federal government. They make the situation worse, not better.

The 450 of us who have gathered in Hartford this weekend at the Conference on Alternative Public Policies for Northeastern Cities propose new forms of governmental response to urban needs. Our proposals center on ways by

which the public, through its elected representatives, can control the wealth of neighborhoods, cities, and states. Our proposals advocate decentralization and citizen participation in the delivery of social services. They look to a federal policy that is responsive to the needs of the entire Northeast, especially our cities.

We understand that the governors have formed a coalition to focus on regional concerns and to develop an agenda for interstate cooperation and federal action. We support this effort. The existence of a coalition, and the nature of the policy discussions it stimulates, reflect concern for the region and willingness to consider bold and innovative action.

But this logic must take one step farther. The governors argue forcefully that national economic and social measures do not affect all regions equally. Even measures that support our region, however, will not automatically assist our cities. The same economic logic that transfers resources from the Northeast to the Sun Belt will continue to move resources from the central cities to the suburbs. In both cases, new public policies are required to counteract this economic logic.

Let us emphasize that federal bailouts are not the issue, nor will more dollars spent in support of business as usual meet our needs. The new administration takes office at a time of economic scarcity and disillusionment with centralized bureaucratic solutions. It thus has a unique opportunity to help the cities by promoting structural reform. The cities do need assistance from Washington in the form of federalized welfare, federal assumption of health and education expenditures, and general revenue sharing. But more than these, we need changes in the way wealth is produced, distributed, and controlled.

Specifically, we propose the following measures:

1) That economic supports and incentives be targeted to areas of highest unemployment.

a) Any regional development corporation, for example, must provide specific criteria for directing investments to these areas.

b) Any supports to business created through the tax system must be designed to bring private investments back to urban areas.

2) That all public expenditures in support of economic development be measured against an explicit set of criteria that ensures adequate returns to the public investor, namely the taxpayers.

a) Whenever possible, public money should be used in support of publicly controlled instruments. Too often, public funds have subsidized private interests

Program for Northeast Cities

without adequate public benefit.

b) Policies should be designed to provide priority support to new instruments such as the Community Development Finance Corporation in Massachusetts and the numerous locally based community development corporations operating in our core urban areas.

3) That financial institutions be required, as a condition of their charters, to give priority to the credit needs of the communities they are chartered to serve.

a) In allocating charters and branches, priority should be given to banks that emphasize community credit and economic development needs.

b) License renewal should be contingent upon regular demonstration of service to communities.



4) That regional decision-making bodies include urban communities in their membership, and that whenever possible government policy and implementation should be controlled by locally based entities.

a) Programs designed to ensure decentralized decision making such as those underway in New York City and Buffalo should be incorporated and supported by any regional initiatives.

b) The Conference of Northeast Governors Task Forces and other decision-making bodies must include urban representatives at all levels.

5) That all proposals specifically address racism and other forms of discrimination, especially in the areas of housing, education, and employment.

a) No proposals should be considered without an explicit affirmative action plan and a clear monitoring capacity.

b) Manpower training programs must be designed so as to reduce the unacceptable income level disparities between whites and other ethnic and racial groups, and between men and women.

6) That the states and cities immediately join in a policy of cooperation for economic development and end our current pattern of predatory competition.

a) We should immediately enact legislation establishing common regional policy with respect to tax, revenue bond, and other incentives.

b) No state or other jurisdiction allow any expenditures for programs designed to lure business from one part of the Northeast to another.

c) A federal policy should discourage other regions from raiding our industry.

7) That the inordinate tax burdens of urban communities be relieved.

a) Tax measures should be developed to equalize property tax burdens throughout each state and thereby to ensure evenhanded funding for human service and education programs.

b) The governors should immediately pledge to target new revenues resulting from federal welfare reform to urban and other chronically depressed communities.

8) And, finally, that you join in supporting a re-direction of national priorities away from a swollen defense budget and toward the programs that guarantee needed social and human services to all of our citizens.

IN THE CONFERENCE

What's Happening?

By Barbara Bick

Sam Brown To the Feds

Colorado State Treasurer, Sam Brown, one of the "stars" of the National Conference, has gone federal. On February 19, President Carter confirmed that he will nominate Sam to head ACTION, an agency created by Nixon that puts the various federal volunteer programs such as the Peace Corps and Vista, under one roof.

One of the most quoted remarks by Sam, regarding his devotion to the work of the National Conference, was "A few years ago I was out to save the world. Then I became interested in the country and then the state I live in. Five years from now I may be trying to save my neighborhood and holding that up as the model for the world."

We'll give you a new quote from our good friend, Sam Brown, next month — from Washington.



"You are my grass roots."

Soglin in Majority Runoff

Another good friend and one of the Conference founders, Paul Soglin, two-term Mayor of Madison, WI, finished second to Alderman Anthony Amato in the nonpartisan single primaries that are required for all Wisconsin municipal elections. Amato, who is a former aide to the conservative William Dyke whom Soglin defeated for Mayor four years ago, will face Paul in the runoff election April 5. Although Amato polled 16,557 votes to 12,941 for Soglin, Soglin is still considered as having the greater potential. Paul said he hopes to draw support from voters who sided with Alderman Michael Sack, a socialist, who finished third in the primary with 6,961 votes.

The Four Seas Corp. bought the hotel in 1975 and has been trying to evict the tenants so that it can demolish the building. With the support of San Francisco community activists, the tenants have held out. They appeared to have won their fight when the San Francisco Board of Supervisors decided to have the housing authority use its power of eminent domain to buy the building and sell it back to the tenants. But the corporation would not sell and the courts upheld them. The San Francisco police have again been asked to evict the tenants.

So, I guess it's good news to know that the people's sheriff was arrested in the good fight. He is presently out of jail on appeal.

Hongisto Sentenced

Is it good news or bad news for our friends in the Conference this month?

All those who attended the Austin national conference will long remember the fantastic criminal justice workshop which combined the outrageously witty and articulate San Francisco Sheriff Richard Hongisto, and Detroit Judge Justin Ravitz. Latest word from the West is that the Sheriff was sentenced to five days in jail for *not* carrying out an eviction notice against elderly Chinese and Filipino tenants of the International Hotel.

California Conference

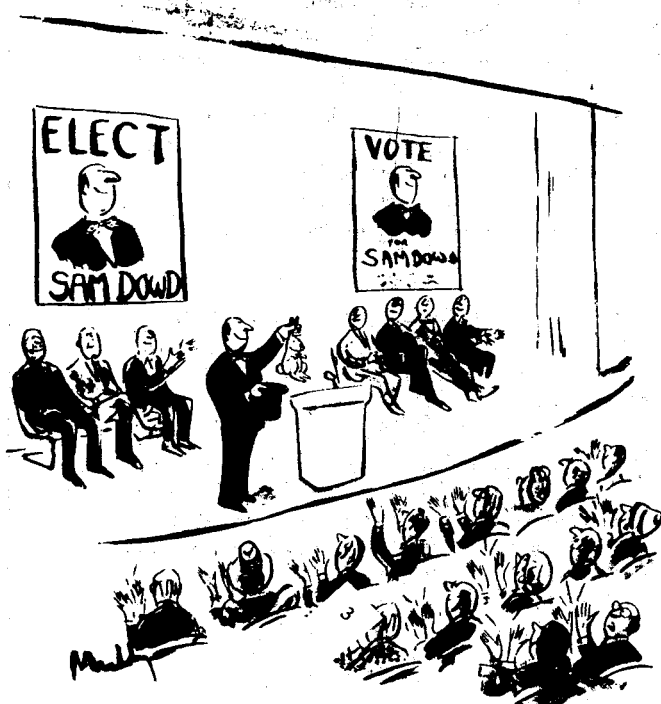
How does California get the talent? Henry Fonda read from "The Grapes Of Wrath" at the second regional conference's cultural program. Quick report from the gathering held February 18-20 in Santa Barbara, is that it was very successful, with around 800 people, and much interesting work. Copies of the "Working Papers" prepared for the conference are available. Write to Fred Branfman, California Public Policy Center, #224, 304 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90013.

New Candidates

Some of the happiest news coming our way are all the fighting activists who have recently called to announce that they are running for office and need strong and innovative programs to flourish before the voters. One such is 21 year old Nick Martin who is running for Mayor of Lexington, KY. Nick was the state coordinator for the Gene McCarthy presidential campaign last year. He is campaigning on the issue that the number one priority is to insure that the city budget is directed toward human needs. Nick says, "We have to guarantee that the people in this city who are without basic necessities are going to get those necessities." He also supports decriminalization of marijuana. "I would instruct the Metro Police to deal with those who smoke marijuana as they would deal with those who jaywalk; if they create a hazard, arrest them."

Michael Hildt walked into the office the other day. He is running for the Seattle City Council after doing unusually effective work as City Council staff. Hildt was one of those most responsible for developing Seattle City Light, a municipal utility which drew up a 19-point energy conservation program for the city.

More about the others next month . . .



"Great! But where does he stand on environmental protection?"

Womens Legislation

(Continued from Back Page)

suror, or person which incorporates the terms "man" or "men" be modified to substitute the terms "person" or "persons" after the present supply of such forms and materials is exhausted."

When a problem needs to be confronted on a more specific basis, it needs the concentrated support of women's groups and partisan legislators. It is this effort that has caused the revisions of well over 50% of state rape codes in only four years. Proposed bills for 1977 would eliminate corroboration and the need to review the victim's past sex life. Appointment of women officers as those responsible for the rape details would be mandatory. The newest legislation to aid the victim will hold the state responsible for the required medical bills.

While it is essential to have large decisions on the federal level, it is the county, city and state where women live

and work that problems are encountered. The year old National Equal Credit Opportunity Act needs to be re-enacted at every state and municipal branch. All states except Hawaii, no longer compel a woman to use her husband's name, but other restrictions exist and vary in difficulty.

The National Conference has up-dated its *Legislative Handbook on Women's Issues*. While primarily concerned with economic issues affecting women, it covers education, family law, work, equal rights and child care. The model legislation which the *Handbook* contains can help both individuals and groups make an impact in their area. It should be pushed as required material for every legislator at the city, county and state level.

Mona Hochberg is an intern at the National Conference from Sarah Lawrence College

Alternative Legislation Continued . . .

their employees. It flatly rejected inclusion of a no-strike rule in public bargaining legislation.

Opposition to the new labor legislation will come from, among others, the National Right to Work Committee which is attempting to raise \$5 million this year, with \$1 million earmarked for the right-to-work fight.

State Land Trust

A model statute to preserve farmland and open space and promote orderly and efficient growth is detailed in an article by John McCloughry in the June 1975 issue of the *Harvard Journal on Legislation*. The article also discusses the approaches taken by several states and the Canadian provinces. To

get "A State Land Trust Act," send \$2.50 to the Harvard Legislative Research Bureau, Langdell Hall, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Nuclear Waste Storage

More than 50 members of the Vermont House of Representatives have co-sponsored a bill that would prohibit the creation of any nuclear waste storage facilities in Vermont by any private utility or by the federal government without the express permission of the Vermont Legislature. The bill is modelled on the Vermont nuclear moratorium bill that became law two years ago. Copies of H261 can be obtained from the Vermont Public Interest Research Group, 26 State St., Montpelier, VT.

Making Sense Out of the System

By Joseph Marfuggi

"We were trying to make sense out of the system," says Hartford City Councilman Nicholas R. Carbone, as he explains why Connecticut's capitol city developed a program that allows the working poor and unemployed residents to work off local taxes.

"The State of Connecticut ranks 49th out of 50 states in the amount of aid it provides cities and towns," Carbone says. "The local communities have to raise property taxes to keep pace with inflation and an increased demand for services.

"But people who are unemployed, or on welfare, or trying to make ends meet with a Social Security check, can't afford to pay higher property taxes," the councilman says. "So Hartford was forced to cut services—at the very time that record-high unemployment was creating a need for additional human services."

The Hartford City Council took action to deal with that Catch-22 situation last May when it set up a pilot program to allow unemployed or low-income residents to pay their taxes by working for city or non-profit agencies.

Under the In-Kind Service Program, people can "earn" up to \$1,000 to be applied to their tax bill. More than 200 types of jobs were listed by the city, ranging from accountants to elevator operators to maintenance work. The hourly "pay" ranged from \$2.50 to \$4, depending on the job.

It seemed to be a good idea. The city was getting work done that it could not afford to hire people to do. And the people in the program preserved their dignity and self-respect—and avoided the prospect of having to worry about

digging out from under bills for back-taxes.

Then the State of Connecticut heard about the program.

People who are credited with dollars for doing work are earning a wage the State said, and would no longer be eligible for unemployment benefits.

That ruling meant that unemployed people could not afford to participate in the In-Kind Service Program. The Hartford program gave people credits towards their taxes on homes or motor vehicles. It did not provide funds to buy food or meet

other living expenses.

After loud and vigorous complaints from Hartford's City Council, the State modified its position. All right, the State said, people can participate in the In-Kind Service Program without losing their full unemployment benefits. But they must give up from their unemployment checks two-thirds of any money "earned" in the program.

With that kind of restriction imposed on them, unemployed people are still excluded from the program. Hartford legislators are pushing a bill in the current

session of the General Assembly that would remove credits granted for in-kind services from any limitations carried by the Unemployment Compensation statutes.

If that bill passes and is signed into law by the Governor, the Hartford In-Kind Service Program will be workable. And the city will be one step closer to its goal of making sense out of the system.

Joseph Marfuggi is Director of Program Development for the City Institute of the University of Hartford

A MANUAL . . .

"New Directions in State & Local Tax Reform"

There are people going in new directions.

People like Houston City Controller Leonel Castillo, D.C. City Councilmember Marion Barry, Montana State Representative Ora Halvorson, North Dakota State Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan, and many others.

They are rewriting the tax laws so that ordinary taxpayers get a better deal. They are auditing large corporations with the result that millions of dollars in unpaid taxes are recovered for the public. More and more elected officials are getting tough with energy monopolies, real estate speculators, and other interests that traditionally get much but pay little in taxes.

On April 15th through 17th, 1977, hundreds of elected officials, community activists, and tax reformers will meet in Washington, D.C. to share ideas and look to the future. A movement has started. This manual, prepared especially for this conference, tells the story.

"New Directions in State and Local Tax Reform" spells out the issues the conference will address. It includes original articles, reprints, and resource guides. It tells what tax reformers have done and what they hope to do. It is a must for everyone who cares about better and more progressive state and local taxes.

To order "New Directions in State and Local Tax Reform" see coupon on page 15.

Alternative Technology Plan

Plans to use alternative technology to revitalize a desolate inner city section of New York encompass a program of recycling vegetable waste from the huge Hunts Point Produce Market into compost with which to cover up barren land so as to create urban farms, parks and gardens. At the present time the rubble strewn and derelict buildings of South Bronx are reminiscent of war-torn Berlin. The "Comprehensive Plan of Action for the Redevelopment of the South Bronx" provides a blueprint for a self-contained community, with other recycling, rehabilitation and self-help programs that are unique in their application to an urban community. The plan could be replicated in other parts of the country. For more information, write to Irma L. Fleck, The Bronx Frontier Development Corp., 1777 Grand Concourse, The Bronx, N.Y. 10453, (212) TR8-6620.

PBC

The People's Bicentennial Commission is now the People's Business Commission. Along with the name change, PBC has set up two new organizations:

The Center For Alternative Economic Education, which plans to develop educational materials that challenge myths and assumptions about our present economic system and that explore models and strategies for democratization.

The Center for Political Alternatives which will focus on education for electoral politics on the grass roots level.

The PBC newspaper, *Common Sense* will now be called *People's Business*. The address is still the same: PBC, 1346 Conn. Ave., N.W., Wash. DC

More Notes to Note

Continued from page 7

technology, and massive food aid, and will discuss the feasibility of labor-intensive, subsistence farming.

CSPI is a Washington-based, non-profit public interest group headed by scientists. While CSPI sponsors Food Day, all participating groups are completely independent. Further information on Food Day and a list of local coordinators are available from FOOD DAY, 1757 S St. N.W., Wash. D.C. 20009; (202) 332-4250.

Barbara Gottlieb is the national coordinator for Food Day.

Economic Alternatives

The first report issued by the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives (EPEA), *Toward A National Food Policy*, has received widespread media attention. It is part of a series of 12 reports on alternative institutions, and such topics as local and national resource conservation, community economic planning, and legal and political strategies for employee and community ownership of business enterprises.

EPEA's working premise is that the solutions to the many crises of the new economic era lies with government action. The corporate business community has already understood this. In one form or another, corporate solutions to this country's pressing economic problems involve subsidizing business. Some business leaders — like Henry Ford and Felix Rohatyn — have even proposed formal national economic planning to maintain long run corporate profitability. The question is not will there be economic planning, but who

will plan and what they will plan for. The struggle over those questions will dominate the political agenda for the next 25 years.

EPEA's purpose is to develop practical alternatives to the increasingly centralized economic planning system dominated by big business and Federal bureaucracy. EPEA stresses that efforts to turn the clock back to a time of competitive markets with little or no government intervention are not realistic. A more practical strategy centers on the creation of strong state and local economic institutions — governments, public corporations, cooperatives, locally controlled businesses, community corporations and citizen planning organizations. These institutions should then become the basis for economic plans and policies that *begin* rather than end with local priorities.

But in a society dominated by national and multinational economic interests, effective strategies must in-

volve national policies as well. For example, federal employment programs can be used to promote the development of local cooperative economic enterprises. National policies to stabilize the consumer price of necessities — food, housing, medical care, energy — can be used to build a local and regional capacity for effective economic planning to stabilize local economies. National programs to allocate capital to public priorities can be transformed over time to a form of capital revenue-sharing. Such efforts can build an economic foundation for the reinvigoration of community in America.

These and other proposals, as well as political strategies for their implementation, are discussed in the reports. The following are available now at \$5 each, (\$10 for institutions) from:

EPEA
1519 Connecticut Ave NW
Wash., D.C. 20036

Toward a National Food Policy. How the price of food may be stabilized and the food industry decentralized.

Capital and Community. An analysis of alternative programs for public control over capital.

Public Trusts for Environmental Protection. How the concept of public trusteeship over the environment can be extended.

Strengthening Citizen Access. How individual rights can be reinforced against bureaucratic abuse. (\$4, \$8 to institutions)

Cooperatives. The problems and potentials of several existing prototype cooperatives.

Extending Divestiture. The use of divestiture as a device to expand community and employee ownership over industry.

Job Opportunity

The New School for Democratic Management needs a Curriculum Director to redesign the teaching of finance, accounting, marketing, etc., from the perspective of democracy in the workplace; to write case studies of worker and community controlled businesses; and to help with other first year activities of the school. Write David Olsen, New School for Democratic Management, 256 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA 94108.

Tax Conference Set for April

The National Conference, in conjunction with a group of public officials, is sponsoring a conference on New Directions in State and Local Tax Reform in Washington, D.C., April 15 through 17. The conference will discuss programs developed in urban, suburban and rural communities. It will draw on the concrete experiences of practicing tax reformers who have developed such policies as:

- Metropolitan tax-base sharing to achieve a fairer distribution of revenues between cities and their suburbs, and to prevent land-use decisions from resting solely on tax-base needs.
- Restoration of property taxes on "intangible property" — stocks and bonds — to relieve the real estate burden on homeowners.
- Taxes on real estate speculation to deter the destruction of farmland and urban neighborhoods.
- Plans to stimulate jobs and economic development without tax breaks for large corporations which increase profits without corresponding benefits for the public.
- Better management of public revenues to increase investment returns to the public and to achieve social objectives.

Among those who will address the conference are: **Marion Barry**, Washington D.C. City Councilperson, Chair of the Finance and Revenue Committee; **Nicholas Carbone**, Majority Leader of the Hartford, CT City Council; **Byron Dorgan**, State Tax Commissioner of North Dakota; **Leonel Castillo**, City Controller, Houston, TX; **Ralph Nader**, Citizen advocate; **Barney Frank**, Massachusetts State Representative, and **Vic Fingerhut**,

President, Democratic Victory Group Associates

Three general sessions will discuss: Building a movement for tax reform; The impact of federal policies on state and local tax reform, and The Political environment for tax reform.

Among the more than 20 workshops planned are: Equity Issues in State and Local Income and Sales Taxes; Federal-State-Local Fiscal Relations: Who Should Pay for What?; Auditing Large Corporations; Speculation, Farmland Preservation and Controlling Growth; Taxation of Natural Resources: Coal, Oil and Gas, Timber; The Revenue Possibilities of Public Enterprises; Alternative Revenue Sources for Local Governments; Getting Elected on Tax Reform Issues; and Using Administrative Office for Tax Reform.

CONFERENCE LIST

After months of preparation, making changes, and coding more than 4000 names, the Conference mailing list has finally been put on the computer. There are still a lot of errors and duplications in the list, and we hope you will bear with us while we are in the process of getting it cleaned up. You can help us. If you have received your Newsletter incorrectly addressed, please give the correct information on the coupon below. Be sure to fill out the space provided for indicating your title or area of interest, so we can assign you the proper code. And let us know if you have received more than one copy of the Newsletter.

... Josie Anderson

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(Check box if you received a duplicate) ☐

Great Plains to Organize CONFAB

By Kandra Hahn

A Great Plains Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies is planned for May 27-29 in Lincoln, NE.

Drawing on a twelve-state region, the Conference will focus on the problems of the agricultural heartland and the delicate balances it must strike with water, energy and mineral development.

Unless Plains citizens are informed, organized and represented, exploitation on the order of an Appalachian devastation is not merely a possibility but a likelihood. A goal of the conference planners is to bring together the isolated groups which have

independently confronted power, water and coal projects in order to exchange information and to form a multi-state perspective.

Another major topic will be an examination of the out-migration of Plains capital. However, unlike most other Alternatives Conferences, the focus is expected to be largely non-urban. It will be designed to meet the needs of rural-oriented participants who may have had difficulty plugging into national conference sessions.

Elected officials, community organizers and others interested in the preservation of a vital Great Plains are invited to attend. Agenda and planning details are still

malleable and suggestions are invited. Correspondence should be addressed to the Great Plains Conference/Alternative State and Local Public Policy, P.O. Box 80084, Lincoln, NE 68501. Registration and accommodations information will be available late in March.

For Conference planning and publicity, the Plains region has been defined as Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Kandra Hahn is the elected Clerk of the District Court of Lancaster County, NE.

Publications Available From the National Conference

Alternative Legislation Series (\$1 each)

- ☐ State Bank. Draft legislation from Oregon and New York.
- ☐ Metropolitan Planning Law, Minnesota legislation establishing integrated metropolitan system of land use planning within the seven-county St. Paul-Minneapolis Metropolitan Area.
- ☐ Nuclear Safeguards Packet. A compendium of nuclear safeguards moratorium initiative measures from seven states.
- ☐ Disclosure Legislation. The Chicago municipal ordinance plus Illinois and Alaska state legislation for financial disclosure by banks. Analysis by David Smith.
- ☐ Displaced Homemakers. Bill to establish multipurpose centers to provide counseling, training, skills and referral services to displaced homemakers.
- ☐ Citizen Bill of Rights relating to law enforcement intelligence information.
- ☐ South Dakota Homestead bill. Model legislation for establishment of a homestead lands commission designed to strengthen family farm system of agriculture.
- ☐ A compendium of public power authority bills. Summary and analysis by Lee Webb.
- ☐ Neighborhood Government. Washington, D.C. Act to Establish Advisory Neighborhood Commissions.
- ☐ Senate bill S2631, the National Consumer Cooperative Bank bill. Proposes a bank that will make loans directly to consumer coops.
- ☐ Model State Public Utility Commission Act. Includes recommendations in all areas of electric utility regulation: commission structure, procedure, jurisdiction, enforcement, etc. By Lee Webb & Jack Chesson.
- ☐ Model State Energy Act. A draft Bill for a democratically controlled, publicly owned state energy system. By Lee Webb & Jeff Faux.
- ☐ National Community Health Service bill. Model legislation for a community-based, nationally funded health service. By the IPS Community Health Alternatives Project.
- ☐ Lifeline Packet. The most innovative "lifeline" electric utility rate structure proposals introduced in various state legislatures.
- ☐ Louisiana Automobile Insurance Corporation Act. Model legislation establishing a universal, compulsory auto insurance plan, with the state corporation the exclusive underwriter.
- ☐ Community Development Finance Corporation. The legislation provides equity and venture capital to finance businesses and create jobs in specifically targeted areas where economic conditions are most severe.

Reprints (50¢ each)

- ☐ "Public Control of Public Money" by James Rowen, reprint from *The Progressive*, February 1977. A 6-page article about the Estes Park, CO banking conference, outlining a number of the programs and people represented there.
- ☐ "Campaign Surprise: Some Politicians Are Worth Voting For!" by Alexander Cockburn & James Ridgeway, reprint from *The Village Voice*, May 24, 1976 and "The New Progressives" by Cockburn & Ridgeway, *The Voice*, June 23, 1975. Officials associated with the National Conference and their innovative programs are described in these two articles.

Public Policy Series

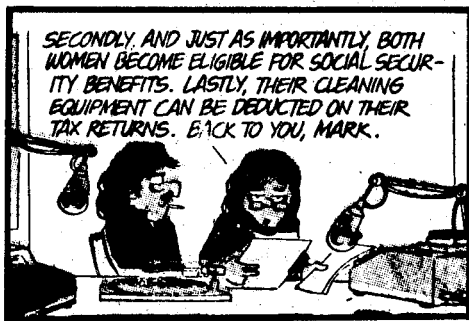
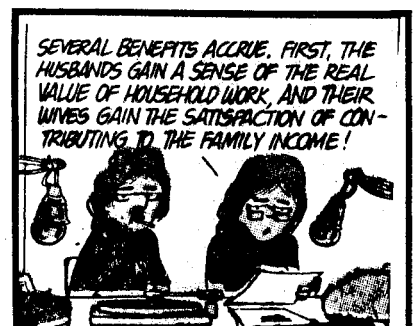
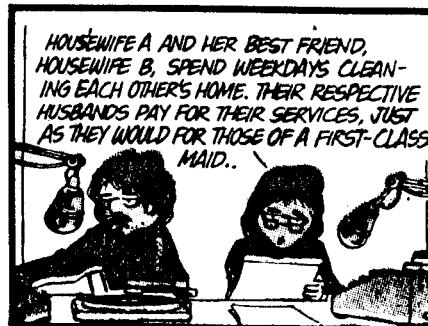
- ☐ Public Policy Reader, Second Edition. Prepared for the Austin Conference. The Reader is a unique collection of model legislation and ordinance, articles, analyses, and proposals on such issues as energy, tax reform, controlling corporations, and long range program development. Over 650 pages. NEW 1977 PRICE: \$5; \$10 to institutions.
- ☐ Legislative Handbook on Women's Issues by Kathy Rhodes and Ann Beaudry. A collection of legislation on economic issues affecting women, including the best, most innovative proposals, and a detailed bibliography. Price: \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ The Cities' Wealth: Programs for Community Economic Control in Berkeley, California, compiled by the Community Ownership Organizing Project. This report outlines in detail the programs and organizing strategies of the Berkeley Coalition over the seven years of its political work with the Berkeley City Council. Price: \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ LABOR-PAC #1. From Conference Labor Task Force. Toward a "Public Employees Bill of Rights and Model Contract": Background materials on legal framework; data; resources; reports and letters on alternative local developments. Price: \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ The Political and Economic Crisis of the Northeast Cities, edited by Leonard Rodberg. Proceedings of a Seminar on alternative urban policies held April 23-27, 1976. Includes discussion by Hartford, CT. City Councilman Nick Carbone, Washington DC City Councilman Marion Barry, and others. \$1.50, \$3 to institutions.
- ☐ State Bank for Co-Ops, by Lee Webb. A proposal to establish a state bank for cooperatives and a state cooperative development agency. The bill was prepared for the Department of Employment Development, State of California. \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ Public Control of Public Money: Should States and Cities Have Their Own Banks?, by Derek Shearer. Analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of state and city-owned banks. Includes descriptions of the state-owned Bank of North Dakota, and recently proposed state banks in New York, Washington, Oregon, and California. Price: \$1.50 - \$3 to institutions.
- ☐ The Manitoba Auto Insurance Plan, by Sherman Bernard. A report on the operation, costs, and social and economic considerations of providing auto insurance through a public corporation. Price: \$1, \$2 to institutions.
- ☐ New Directions in State & Local Tax Reform. A handbook written largely by tax-reform practitioners and containing original articles, reprints and resource guides. Price: \$6.50, \$13 to institutions.
- ☐ Revenue Strategies for D.C.: Potential Initiative Actions. A study of potential tax revenue sources for cities. Price: \$1.50, \$3 to institutions.
- ☐ National Conference NEWSLETTER. The newsletter reports on the activities and plans of the new movement/network of state and local activist elected officials, and on the work of the organizers and planners who are part of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. Six issues per year. \$5, \$10 to institutions.

I have enclosed \$_____ for the publications checked above.
(Please inquire about bulk rates for 10 or more copies.)

Name _____
No. & Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____ Position/Organization _____

DOONESBURY

by G. B. Trudeau



Womens Legislation Proceeds Apace

By Mona Hochberg

Positive legal recognition of women's rights has been painfully slow recently: in December, the Supreme Court decision on pregnancy benefits, the on-going struggle for the Federal ERA, and the increasing pressure for stricter abortion laws.

There is a foundation of strength, however, on the state and local levels where laws better reflect women's

gains. For instance, Pennsylvania and Connecticut laws require benefits to pregnant employees that withstand the Court decision. And the mere recommendation in New York's human relations guidelines of the same benefits was interpreted as law by the NY state court, only a week after the Washington ruling.

States differ as to how they rectify sex discrimination. In some states each particular grievance must be dealt with

separately. Recently, the practice has been to issue vague bills outlawing all inequalities on the basis of sex under the state's civil code. Washington D.C.'s legislature has been the most recent to adopt this. California, Wisconsin, and Iowa passed single, long bills in 1976, "relating to certain statutory provisions affecting the legal treatment of male and female persons" and citing corrections in everything from elections, to

Welfare and Institutions, to insurance, labor, and the Food and Agriculture Code.

Laws are now drafted as "he/she", "widow/widower", or simply "spouse" in the more progressive states, thus eliminating differences in new insurance, health, inheritance and work bills. California is moving semantically closer to equality with SB 2060, directing "forms and material used by any public agency, in-

Continued on page 7

National Conference Newsletter

Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Que Street, N.W.
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May 1977

Editor: Barbara Bick

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

"Minnesota Farm Loan Fund A Model Act" (p. 2)

by Katherine Lerza

With the average age of farmers at 50 and the competitive entry level of financing at about \$50,000, there is a real question of who the next generation of farmers will be.

"Penal Reform: A Matter of Will" (p. 4)

by S. Brian Willson and Andy Hall

Beginning in the mid-60's, the most massive wave of prison and jail construction in history continues.

"Criminal Justice Tied to Economic Justice" (p. 5)

by Richard Hongisto

The most peaceful countries in the world are the most libertarian . . . and have the greatest equitable distribution of wealth.

THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE SET FOR DENVER (p. 7-10)

Conference Agenda reflects the critical importance of Carter administration's new domestic policy and programs to state and local governments.

"Alternative Politics in the Big Sky County" (p. 12)

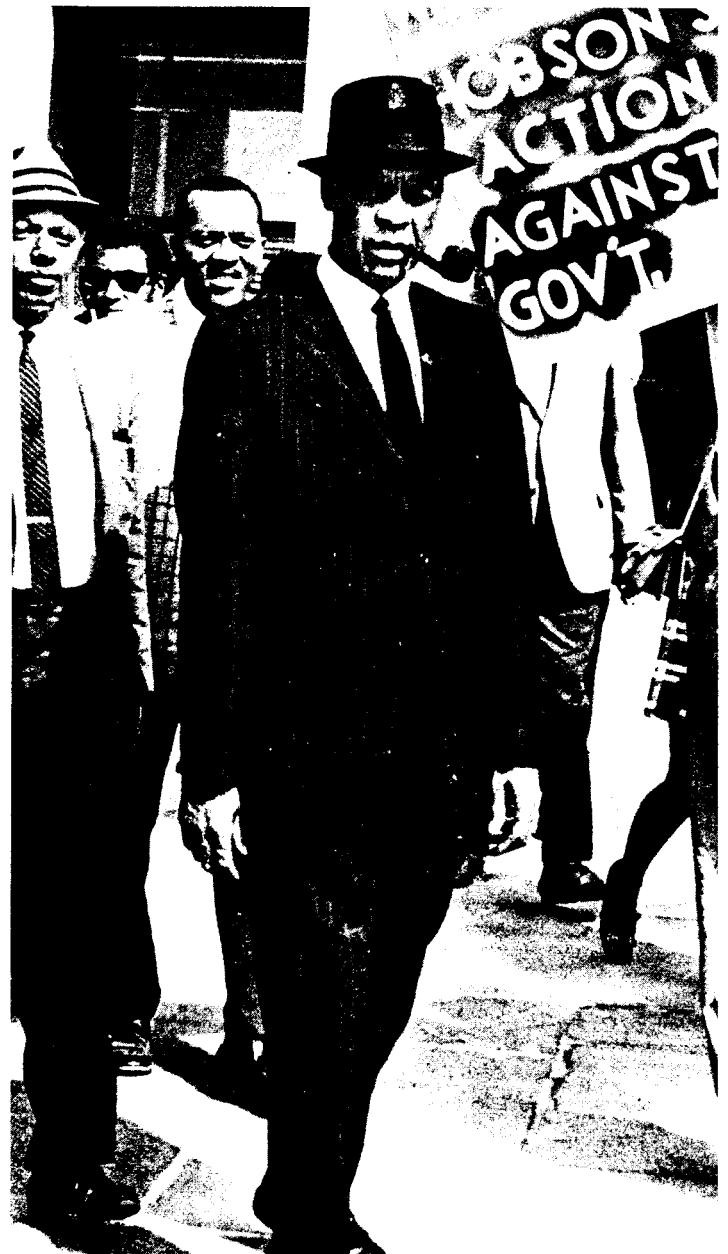
by Ora J. Halvorson

Montana is a target for everyone. But one strong woman carries the issues forward.

"Conservatives Renew Interest in State and Local Politics" (p. 13)

by Lee Webb

Money and resources are pouring in to support local conservative campaigns.



Washington D.C. City Councilmember Julius Hobson, innovative legislator, social activist nonpareil, dead of leukemia. (see story page 3)

Minnesota Farm Loan Fund — A Model Act

By Catherine Lerza

In an effort to encourage new farmers to purchase agricultural land, Minnesota has enacted a Family Farm Security Act (see Newsletter 4) which guarantees bank loans to farmers seeking to buy land. The cost of prime midwestern farm land has tripled over the last five years, with land in Minnesota now selling for about \$1200 to \$1400 per acre. This has made the initial investment in farm land prohibitive to most potential farmers.

The new Minnesota law, passed in April 1976 and put into operation this past February, deals with this dilemma by creating a Family Farm Security Board which administers a \$10-million loan fund that will guarantee 90% of bank loans to farmers who might not otherwise be eligible for a loan. When a farmer goes to a bank for a loan to purchase farm land and the bank decides the applicant is not a good credit risk without additional financial help from the state fund, the credit application is sent to a seven-member Farm Security Board. The Board, made up of four farmers, two bankers and an agricultural extension agent, reviews the application and determines whether or not to guarantee the loan.

According to Dan Garry, director of the program, the Board puts no age, dollar or acre limits on loans. Each loan is dealt with on an individual basis, Garry explained, and "repayability is the only limitation." The Board has so far approved four loans, denied two and, Garry said, "I couldn't even guess how many applications are on the way."

Other agricultural states are faced with land inflation as serious, and even worse,

than that which Minnesota faces. As Susan Sechler and Susan DeMarco of the Agribusiness Accountability Project explained in a recent article in *THE ELEMENTS*, "With the average age of farmers at 50 and the competitive entry level of financing for new farmers at about \$50,000, there is a real question of who the next generation of farmers will be." Minnesota's new fund is an attempt to give small, individual farmers a chance to compete with capital-rich institutions, corporations and banks, for example, who will otherwise be the only buyers of farm land in the future.

Garry says that he receives two or three information requests about the new program every week and that "other states are watching us closely." He believes that other Midwestern states may enact similar legislation in the next couple of years, depending on the success of this program. The only real problem the fund faces is a technical one: no nationally-chartered banks can participate in the program because of legal problems arising from the regulations under which the fund operates. Until the state receives a positive decision from the office of the Comptroller of the Currency in the Treasury Department, nationally-chartered banks will not take part in the loan program, although state-chartered banks will.

Senator Hubert Humphrey has introduced into the U.S. Senate the Family Farm Security Act of 1977 (S.598) to create a federal program modelled after the Minnesota plan.

Catherine Lerza is a Washington writer specializing in food and agricultural policies

Alternative Legislation Continued . . .

Nuclear Safety Bill

A strong new anti-nuclear bill was introduced into the Massachusetts House by Rep Richard Roche, Entitled "An Act Relating to Land Use and Nuclear Fission Power Plants Safety", HB 1200 would lift the limits of insurance liability in case of nuclear accidents and require that those suffering from nuclear accidents be compensated fully for their losses. Under the Price-Anderson Act of 1956 passed by the U.S. Congress there is a top limit of \$560 million on the amount that utilities would be liable for in case of a nuclear accident.

Another part of the bill would create a "nuclear Advisory Group" to study the safety of various nuclear power plant operations, and would have the authority, if the industry wasn't properly protecting the populace of the state, to gradually restrict the power plants operations.

Economic Agenda

Economic issues promise to be the hottest question confronting the Massachusetts Legislature this year. Numerous progressive bills have been introduced, many concerned with banking and finance, including S. 29 which creates a State Bank for the deposit of state funds; S. 49 which creates an Economic Development Bank; H. 1363 which provides for the issuing of state and municipal bonds in small denominations; H. 1754 which links deposits of state funds to local community investment by the individual banks; and H. 3141 which establishes a state auto insurance company.

Two bills are aimed at creating jobs. S. 51, filed by Sen. Jack Backman and Rep. John Businger, would establish the right of every Massachusetts resident to meaningful work and would provide \$30 million of public service jobs funded through an expanded lottery system and other sources. A bill by Rep. Mel King, H. 3258, would provide some 90,000

jobs for unemployed Massachusetts youth in the next year. The jobs would be in state promoted and financed construction projects including schools, hospitals, recreation facilities, day care centers, residential housing, mass transit, alternative energy, and marine services and recycling. Funds for the King bill would come from increases in the taxes on stocks and bonds over the amount of \$150,000, a raise in the tax of property assets over the amount of \$250,000, and a raise in the tax of corporate profits over the amount of \$100,000.

Battered Women Bill

Women beaten by their husbands or lovers would, along with victims of fires and disasters, get priorities in emergency public housing if a bill filed recently by Massachusetts State Rep Elaine Noble is passed. "A lot of women will not leave their homes even if they are incredibly battered, unless they know there is a bed for them somewhere," Noble said. "They are victims of a domestic disaster" she added, and should be given the same aid as victims of natural disasters.

Fed "Lifeline" Bill

State Utility Regulatory Commissions would be required to enact "Lifeline" electric rates if the "Lifeline Rate Act of 1977", introduced in Congress by Rep William Lehman of Florida wins approval. Under Congressman Lehman's bill, state regulatory commissions would have to establish the quantity of kilowatt hours which is the subsistence level for residential use in each state. The rate charged for that amount would have to be the lowest charged to any class of consumer, thus eliminating the breaks presently enjoyed by industrial and other large users. Copies of H.R. 469 can be obtained from Rep. William Lehman, U.S. House of Representatives, D.C. 20515.

Julius Hobson:

Champion and Legislator for Human Rights

By Barbara Bick

A singular legislative legacy was left to the people of the District of Columbia when City Councilmember Julius Hobson died of leukemia on March 23, 1977. The nine bills which he submitted to the council in January included a measure that would make Washington D.C. a city/state, a Youth Employment Act, an Initiative and Referendum Act, and a Non-Criminal Police Surveillance Act.

Washington D.C., which was granted a limited form of self-rule only three years ago, has probably the most activist city council in the U.S. The 13 member council numbers 11 blacks and five women. But every councilmember has a staunch history in the civil rights, peace, poverty and/or reform Democrat movements. No councilperson, however, equals the remarkable record of Hobson.

Hobson's national reputation goes back to the 1950's when he led the successful desegregation of road houses and gas stations on Route 40. This was the infamous stretch of highway where black diplomats made international headlines when they were unable to get gas or food service during trips between their UN missions in New York and their embassies in Washington. Hobson was also widely known for his early and long leadership in the peace movement, as well as in police and transportation issues that went far beyond the limits of D.C. In 1969 he filed a major suit that accused the federal government of bias against blacks, women, and Mexican Americans.

But mostly Hobson was known as the pressing, abrasive, deeply respected gadfly of the nation's capitol. His solid achievements on behalf of the city's people, before the advent of electoral politics in the District, were diverse. As President of CORE Hobson ran more than 80 picket lines on approximately 120 retail stores in downtown D.C., resulting in the initial employment over a four-year period of 5,000 black citizens. His benchmark court case in 1967 resulted in the outlawing of the rigid track system in the newly desegregated school system.

In part, surely, due to Hobson's agitation and court actions against the school system, Congress in 1968 permitted election of school board members — the first D.C. local elections since the previous century. Hobson won a seat on the school board with the largest plurality. Then in 1971 the District of Columbia got, first, the right to elect a non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives and, finally, in 1973 the right to elect its own city council. However, the Home Rule Charter, which went into effect in 1975, is only partial self-rule since Congress retains a veto power over Council legislation.

Hobson was a founder of the District of Columbia Statehood party, which began as a small and seemingly unrealistic group but which today is one of the three major parties of the District. The Home Rule Charter that Congress approved prohibits any one party from holding more than two of the four At-Large seats. Hobson was elected twice, representing the Statehood Party, to fill one of the At Large seats. His D.C. Statehood Act would provide a process for Washington to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the other states. True home rule, according to the Statehood Party, would have to see the end of the congressional veto. It would also mean voting representation in both houses of Congress. That can be accomplished either through a constitutional amendment, which is "too much of a hassle," or through an act of Congress, which is the basis for Hobson's bill. Hobson's foreword states: "Changes in our local government that take place under the present home rule structure are only colonial reforms. Half freedom is half slavery and we should not accept it. Partial self-government is no answer. Equality is not divisible."

Another piece of Hobson's legislative agenda is the Initiative and Referendum Act, which would amend the Home Rule Charter to permit a voter approved initiative measure to become the equivalent of an Act passed by the Council and signed by the Mayor. In addition, Hobson introduced the "Recall of Elected Officials Amendment Act." The stated purpose of the bill declares, "In a democracy an elected officer serves at the will of the people. When an official ceases to be responsive to that will, there should be adequate legal remedies for his removal. A recall procedure is such a solution."

Hobson's "Educational Accountability Act of 1977" calls for the Board of Education to design and implement minimum standards of student competency for promotion and graduation. It is a commitment to young people that public education can and will provide them with the reading, writing, communication and mathematical skills to effectively compete in today's world. Through provisions of the bill, citizens and taxpayers would also know how well students are learning such "demonstrated competencies."

The "Non Criminal Police Surveillance Act of 1977" is designed to protect the basic rights of privacy, freedom of expression and association, and the redress of grievances. The Act establishes specific safeguards against police surveillance activities aimed at the lawful political activities of

Continued on next page

Hobson

Continued . . .

individuals and organizations in D.C. It specifically outlines the type of police intelligence activities that are illegal — such as unauthorized wiretapping, inciting people to engage in unlawful activities or interfering with the lawful activities of individuals or organizations.

Hobson was given six months to live — in 1971 — when he was told that he had multiple myeloma, a spinal cancer. Although the illness shrank him into a wheelchair, Hobson lived, worked and fought for five more years. This January, Hobson called a press conference to say his doctors had once again given him six months to live because of acute leukemia.

In the next three months Hobson worked hard on his legislative agenda which is now his last testament. Copies of the nine bills can be obtained from the National Conference office or from his Statehood Party replacement on the City Council, Hilda Mason.

On Hobson's office wall there was a poster quoting Frederick Douglass:

Those who profess to favor freedom, yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning; they want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

Hobson said of himself,

Ideologically I consider myself a Marxist . . . I believe in socialism; I believe what we're fighting over is the distribution of goods and services and the production of them; and I believe that everybody on earth has the inalienable right to share in them."

In his book "Captive Capital: Colonial Life in Modern Washington" published in 1974, Sam Smith, editor of a local newspaper, wrote about Hobson,

With such a record, one might have expected Julius Hobson to emerge as a national civil rights leader. His record of achievement was as impressive as the best of them and if he had wished to he could have drifted into the more comfortable world of semi-acceptance enjoyed by (these leaders) . . . a world achieved by exchanging effectiveness for respectability and progress for power. Hobson eschewed power and he refused respectability. But Hobson changed the face of modern Washington as much as any single person.

Criminal Justice Tied to Economic Justice

By Richard Hongisto

In every such poll, crime shows up as the first or second priority on people's minds. If countries were rated by their peacefulness, specifically their murder rate, the Scandinavian countries would lead with a murder rate of one-half of 1% per 100,000 per year. In England, it is 1½ or 2%, and in Western Europe, about 5%. Below that is the U.S. with a murder rate nationally of about 8%.

A traditional law enforcement answer to that problem would be, "permissiveness." In those countries with a low murder rate, how would you measure permissiveness? Let's say a country that legalized pornography or maybe a country that has decriminalized prostitution, the way England and Scandinavia have.

The point is that the most peaceful countries in the world are the most libertarian. So much for the collective wisdom of our law enforcement leaders. Their argument on permissiveness only reveals their collective ignorance.

Those countries with the least crime are also the most socialized, i.e. they have the greatest equitable distribution of wealth for all their citizens.

We're told that in the U.S. we should accept our myriad problems because the free enterprise system maintains economic incentive. But we have been surpassed by a number of industrialized countries. Sweden and Switzerland can each claim to be more successful with a per capita GNP 20% above ours. We have also been surpassed by Norway and West Germany. Relative to achievement in the rest of the world, the U.S. economy no longer delivers the goods. America's poor are no longer middle class abroad. They are poor.

We have a system of criminal justice because we don't have a system of distributive justice.

One study, across the whole U.S., showed that for 1% increases in unemployment sustained over a five year period, there'll be a 1.9% increase in cardiovascular diseases, 1.9% increase in cirrhosis of the liver from alcohol, 3.4% in state mental hospital admissions, 4% in prison admissions, 4.1% in suicide, and 5.7% in homicide. Crime is a symptom of a problem that is an economic problem above all.

Can traditional law enforcement methods combat the social ravages induced by a sick political economy that doesn't meet the needs of its own people?

Recently, the Law Enforcement Administration revealed that for several years it had pumped millions and millions of dollars into a crash effort, a tour de force, to fight crime with technology and money. The result? Crime went up dramatically, over 100% in all jurisdictions.

We have organized our political economy around the pursuit and accumulation of wealth instead of taking care of ourselves. Now we are faced with a dilemma. Do we want to have economic democracy, equalize the distribution of wealth, and protect ourselves from the predatory tendencies of money-hungry money-makers? Or are we going to be content with high levels of unemployment to keep people in line, with lots of prisoners, lots of jails, lots of police, and of course with a steady erosion of our civil liberties?

Richard Hongisto is the Sheriff of San Francisco County. The above was excerpted from a speech he gave at the Santa Barbara, CA. Conference on Economic

Penal Reform: a Matter of Will

By S. Brian Willson and Andy Hall

The present repressive components of crime control, initiated in the mid-1960's, continues to expand and become more deeply entrenched. An integral feature of that regime is the most massive wave of prison and jail construction in the world's history.

The proposed 1978 Federal Budget includes \$346,615,000 for the Bureau of Prisons. Of that, \$67,588,000 would be used to plan or construct new prisons.

These construction funds are in addition to a recent \$22 million supplemental request to construct a new youth prison at Ray Brook, N.Y. which would first house 1980 Winter Olympics athletes.

In addition the Bureau of Prisons is currently constructing new youth prisons in Memphis, TE., Bastrop, TX., and Talladega, AL., and an adult prison in Otisville, N.Y. A 1976 draft federal prison system report "Long Range Facility Analysis" describes plans to build 10 more prisons and to open two more camps — in addition to all of those listed above.

U.S. history shows that as dependence on prisons has increased, the rate of reported crime has grown steadily as a broad social response. If anything, the use of prisons seems to produce, not reduce crime.

What then lies behind the continuing drive for more

penal facilities? There are two clear factors. The first is the function of the crime control industry as a growth market which now employs over a million persons in approximately 50,000 agencies. The other is the need of the non-poor to maintain sanction over those held hostage within class boundaries due to disparities in opportunity, wealth, income and influence. What is equally clear is that incarceration holds no promise of crime reduction, promotion of social order, community tranquility, or criminal justice.

Given the public clamor for "get tough" policies what alternatives can be found in city, county, or state legislatures? Certainly no jurisdiction can afford the literal pursuit of the get-tough/lock 'em up craze. The most practical and morally correct stance is to refuse to submit to the pressures for building more jails and prisons. This would provide time for pursuing systemic alternatives which are not only more just but are also more cost-effective. If removal and isolation were reserved only for the heinous offender whose actions have grievously threatened public safety, the 500,000 prison beds already in existence throughout the U.S. would be more than sufficient. By local legislative initiative on a proactive model, rather than the customary reactive posture, a progressive public policy could be developed that would no longer be subservient to judiciary and other pressures.

In the short run, emphasis should be placed upon practices which shorten the average number of days spent in jail or prison. This would free existing beds and preclude the need for acquisition or construction of new spaces to relieve temporary population pressures. Expediting release of pre-trial detainees too poor to afford

bail, by granting freedom on personal bond or promise of supervision, would greatly decrease the cost of maintaining detainees. Increasing and vesting good time, expediting parole, and implementing other forms of "rehabilitative" releases would shorten the number of prison person-days served. Pardons or clemency for most offenders within a certain number of months of parole eligibility would also decrease the need for more prison spaces.

In the long term a drastic reduction in our dependence upon prisons can be achieved by educating the public to understand the large amount of prison intake which is irrelevant to the offense (or non-heinous) and thus cost-defective to the taxpayer. Probation subsidies would induce jurisdictions to retain offenders in their communities where they would be required to make restitution to victims, pay fines to the community, and be engaged in mediation of disputes. The decriminalization of consensual acts between and among adults, as well as most property offenses, would reduce the numbers of persons in prisons, jails and training schools. Another overdue reform is substantial cuts in the length of penal sanctions.

The entirely destructive policy of dependence upon prisons must be abandoned. New public punishment policies must reflect the idea that punishment and resolution of social problems must be borne by the entire community rather than the individual alone.

J. Brian Willson and Andy Hall are coordinators of the National Moratorium on Prison Construction. For more information or to receive their bulletins and JERICO, their newsletter, contact NMPC, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., N.W., D.C. 20010. (202) 483-7080.

Community Organizers

ACORN, a community organization which works for political and economic democracy for its low to moderate income membership, has openings for organizers in six southern states. Issues range from neighborhood problems to utility rates, unfair taxes, redlining, etc. Long hours, low pay. Only those mobile and interested in social change need apply.

Contact: Carolyn Carr, ACORN, 523 W. 15th St., Little Rock, AR. 72202 (501) 376-7151

Development Planner

Responsible for planning, development and evaluation of new work/training program designed to increase job capture rate of Hartford residents. Program is being developed jointly by school system, business community, city government, labor unions, and community groups. Job includes business planning for small business ventures operated by the school system. Salary \$18,000. Begins July 1, 1977. Send letter of intent, resume, list of employer references, and writing samples, to Office of Personnel and Labor Relations, Hartford Public Schools, 249 High St., Hartford, CT 06103. (203) 566-6056. Deadline: 4 P.M., June 3.

Urban Planner

Master of Urban Planning April graduate from University of Michigan looking for full time position. Skills include legal aspects of planning, public speaking, audio-visual presentations, some statistical analysis and fortran programming. Resume and references supplied upon request. Contact Bob Tessier, 424 N. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Democracy, Feb. 18-20. A full report, with transcripts of speeches by Tom Hayden, Cesar Chavez, and U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums can be obtained from THE CAMPAIGNER, P.O. Box 22699, San Francisco, CA 94122. In addition a 159-page set of "Working Papers on Economic Democracy", prepared for the conference, is available for \$10 from the California Public Policy Center, 304 S. Broadway, #224, Los Angeles 90013.

What's Happening?

Soglin Reelected Mayor

Good news first. Paul Soglin was reelected on April 5 to a third term as mayor of Madison, WI. In a primary contest seven weeks earlier, Soglin had finished behind conservative Alderman Anthony Amato. In that race Soglin's student and leftist base had been eroded by the third place finish of Socialist Party candidate, Alderman Michael Sack. However, following the primary most of the left, together with formal support from COPE and a big absentee ballot push in the university area, combined to give Soglin a 29,000 vote margin and 64% of the turnout.

Soglin attributed his victory to the return of the "golden coalition" of labor, students, and professionals which first put him in the mayor's office in 1973, as well as his social and economic development program begun in the first two terms. Soglin had previously served five years on the Madison City Council and was known as a student activist. An issue raised in Amato's conservative campaign was Soglin's trip to Cuba during his second term as mayor.

Immediately after his campaign victory, Soglin hosted a two-day energy conservation conference. The first day was aimed at Madison's 40 biggest commercial and business users with workshops that considered highly technical and computerized conservation systems. The second day featured workshops aimed at the ordinary citizen and discussed alternative energy sources, such as solar, the correct way to use wood-burning furnaces and fireplaces, as well as home appliance, home lighting, and water conservation. For information about the conference, write to Jim Rowen, Assistant to the Mayor, City Hall, Madison.

Berkeley Citizens Action Slate Trowned

And now, for the bad news. The long-term organizing effort of the progressive coalition in Berkeley, CA., which has been a model of citizen accountability and participation, received a severe set-back when its entire slate for city council was defeated April 19. At stake were four council seats that could have shifted the balance of power away from the Democratic Club which has run Berkeley for years with the support of Republicans and business interests. The critical issue in the contest was a rent control initiative, supported by many community organizations as well as the Citizens Action group. The race was so close that an election eve poll taken by the opposition indicated that the rent control measure was within a 1% chance of passing, and that the council race was too close to call.

A lurid campaign of distortion around the rent control measure was used to defeat the BCA candidates. Over \$150,000 was known to have come into Berkeley from real estate interests all over California. According to Councilmember Loni Hancock, who along with BCA Councilmember John Denton was not up for reelection, it was similar to the November campaigns waged against Proposition 13, the nuclear initiative, and Proposition 13, the farm worker initiative. In that election massive amounts of money from all over the country came into California, leaving local coalitions without adequate resources to combat the fear and hate campaigns.

On the evening before the election many homes in Berkeley had two and three pieces of hate literature. Material supporting the Democratic Club candidates warned voters that they would be "robbed" by a BCA majority "determined to rape the city treasury, foment antisocial attitudes and wreak financial vengeance upon responsible citizens."

Ying Lee Kelley, one of the BCA leaders, who was running for a second four-year term, was defeated by about 300 votes.

Santa Barbara Coalition Drubbed

A progressive and environmental coalition which had held a four to three majority on the Santa Barbara CA. City Council for the past four years lost two of their four seats in the last March 8 city elections. The victory went to a heavily financed slate backed by developers, real estate interests and other local business groups. The irony of the election results is that Proposition A, supporting recently adopted measures on population limitations, won overwhelmingly but two of the three candidates which supported Proposition A were defeated and two of the three candidates who most opposed Proposition A were elected. The incumbent mayor, an opponent of the progressive coalition, was reelected by a scant 34 votes.

The coalition analysis of these contradictory electoral results is that voters are concerned about uncontrolled growth and environmental issues but they are also anxious about economic factors such as property taxes. Hence they tend to "balance out" their votes. According to professor Dick Flacks, Santa Barbara activist, the coalition is going forward despite their defeat. They are discussing ways to improve their organizing capacity and hope to be able to employ full-time staff in the near future.

More on page 11



CONFERENCE/ Alternative State and Local Public Policies

**7/8/9/10 July
Denver, Colorado**

Two years have past since the beginning of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. The hundreds of public officials, scholars and community activists who have worked with the Conference during that period are eloquent testimony of the enormous resources available to making state and local government a major instrument for social change in America. Our many conferences, publications, and task forces have been part of, and in turn have helped to create, the movement to increase the role of state and local government in progressive political thinking. No longer do most modern Americans see state and local governments as just passive providers of sewers, schools and highways. Instead they are seen as instruments for dealing with problems of citizen participation, social planning, regulation of business, neighborhood decay, and the distribution of income and power. A new provocative and forward looking agenda is emerging for state and local government.

The National Conference has correctly seen its role as encouraging communication about specifics of innovative programs among public officials and others throughout the country. We have concentrated our resources and work around the questions of what specific alternative policies for states, counties and cities can be implemented now.

Our third annual conference in Denver, CO., will carry that work forward in a new and challenging way. We hope that you will join with us in that work at Denver July 7 through 10, 1977.

Lee Webb
Director, National Conference

3rd Annual National Conference Host Committee

Chairman: Regis Groff, *Assistant Minority Leader, State Senator*
Roy Romer, *State Treasurer*
Kathy Oatis, *Colorado Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO*
Cathy Donahue, *City Council, Denver*
Michael Henry, *President, Capitol Hill United Neighborhoods*
Bob Scarlett, *Steelworkers Committee on Political Education*
Dennis Gallagher, *State Senator*
Nancy Dick, *State Representative*
Rubin Valdez, *Minority Leader, State Representative*
Paul Danish, *City Council, Boulder*
Polly Baca-Barragan, *State Representative*
Tom Hale, *San Mateo County Commissioner*
John Stencil, *President, Rocky Mountain Farmers' Union*
Michael Kinsley, *Pitkin County Commissioner*

CONFERENCE/Alternative

7/8/9/10 JUL

THURSDAY, 7 JULY 1977

6:00 P.M. / REGISTRATION OPENS

Colorado Women's College, Houston Fine Arts Building, Corner Quebec and Montview Blvd.
(Reception, Cash Bar)

8:00 P.M. / OPENING SESSION

Welcoming Remarks

Regis Groff, Assistant Minority Leader, Colorado State Senate Chairman, Conference Host Committee

Chick St. Croix, Organizing Director, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Colorado

Pat Roach, City Council, Dayton, Ohio

8:30 P.M. / PLENARY:

"Democratic Visions: New Directions for Public Policy"

Panel—

Lee Webb, Director, Conference/Alternative State and Local Public Policies

Loni Hancock, City Council, Berkeley, California

Byron Dorgan, State Tax Commissioner, North Dakota

David Smith, Professor, University of Massachusetts, Boston

FRIDAY, 8 JULY 1977

9:00 A.M. / PLENARY SESSION:

"Building A Political Movement"

Mickey Flacks, Chairperson, Affirmative Action Commission, Santa Barbara, California

Ron Dellums, U.S. House of Representatives, California

10:15 A.M. / WORKSHOPS

Introduction to Development Finance

Affirmative Action Strategies for State and Local Government

Taxation of Natural Resource Development

Budgeting and Finance for Public Officials

Effective Lobbying for Progressive Policies

The Public Balance Sheet: Criteria for Evaluation of Public Investment

Feminist Issues: Legislative Strategies at the State and Local Level

12:00 / LUNCH

1:30 P.M. / PLENARY SESSION:

"An Alternative Energy Policy: Implications for Cities and States"

Mary O'Halloran, State Representative, Iowa

Barry Commoner, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri

3:45 P.M. / WORKSHOPS

Federal Energy Policy: Power Lost, Power Gained?

Introduction to State and Local Tax Policy

Intervention Strategies: How to Establish Public Control of Investment Monies

The Defense Budget: Impact on State and Local Governments

How to Run an Issue-Oriented Campaign: A Workshop for Potential Candidates

The Politics of Water and Natural Resources

Being an Effective Staff Person

Strategy in the Legislature: The Experience of the NDP

6:00 P.M. BUFFET DINNER

7:30 P.M. / PLENARY SESSION

Introductions:

Barbara Bick, Editor, National Conference Newsletter

Paul Soglin, Mayor, Madison, Wisconsin; National Conference Coordinating Committee

"Towards a Progressive Federalism"

Leonel Castillo, Director, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service; former Comptroller, Houston, Texas

Sam Brown, Director, ACTION; former Treasurer, Colorado; National Conference Coordinating Committee

9:00 P.M. / ENTERTAINMENT

State and Local Public Policies

1977 Denver, Colorado

SATURDAY, 9 JULY 1977

9:00 A.M. / PLENARY SESSION

"Life With the Democrats: The Impact of the New Administration on State and Local Policies"

Bill Winpisinger, President, International Association of Machinists

Nicholas Carbone, City Council, Hartford, Connecticut

Bennie Thompson, Mayor, Bolton Mississippi; Chairman, Mississippi Conference of Black Mayors

Barney Frank, State Representative, Boston, Massachusetts

John Alschuler, Assistant City Manager, Hartford, Connecticut

10:45 A.M. / WORKSHOPS

Women in the Workforce: Implications for Public Policies

Basic Tax Enforcement

Democratic Management of Public Agencies

History of Municipal Reform Movements

What's Wrong with American Agriculture

Federal Strategies that Support Community Economic Development

Creative Program Alternatives at the Local Level:

Manpower Monies, Tax Strategies and Regulatory Agencies, and their Role in Economic Development

The Future of Public Employee Unions

12:30 P.M. / LUNCH

2:00 P.M. / REGIONAL MEETINGS

4:00 P.M. / WORKSHOPS

Review of Alternative Economic Policies: Bank of North Dakota, Link Deposits, CDFCs, Community Development Corporations and the NDP Experience

Speculation, Farmland Preservation and Controlling Growth

Base Building for Electoral Action

Counter Budgeting and Whistle Blowing

How to Work as a Progressive Minority in a Legislative Body

Community Control of Economic Development

Local Political Organization

6:00 P.M. / RECEPTION — CASH BAR

7:00 P.M. / BUFFET DINNER

8:15 P.M. / PLENARY SESSION

Introductions:

Kandra Hahn, Court Clerk, Lincoln, Nebraska

Si Galperin, State Senate, West Virginia

"Public Involvement in Natural Resource Development"

Sidney Green, Minister of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, Province of Manitoba; National Vice-President, Canadian New Democratic Party

10:00 P.M. / PARTY — MUSIC — DANCE

SUNDAY, 10 JULY 1977

9:00 A.M. / WORKSHOPS

Economic Democracy: Issues and Strategies

The California Experience: Tom Hayden

Controlling Urban Growth

Property Taxes

State Strategies to Protect the Family Farm

11:00 A.M. / PLENARY SESSION

Introductions:

Kathy Oatis, Colorado Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO

Marion Barry, City Council, Washington, D.C.

"How to Build Coalitions for Progressive Policies"

Ruth Yannatta, Candidate for State Assembly, Los Angeles, California

Ira Arlook, Director, Ohio Public Interest Campaign

Ron Asta, Former Chairman, Pima County Board of Supervisors, Tucson, Arizona

Dennis Gallagher, State Representative, Denver, Colorado

12:30 P.M. / CONCLUDING REMARKS — REPORTS AND PLANS

Lee Webb, Director, Conference/Alternative State and Local Public Policies

Paul Soglin, Chairman, National Conference Coordinating Committee

3RD ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Colorado Women's College
Denver, Colorado
July 7 - 10, 1977

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

Registration Fee:

Pre-registration fee (for participants pre-registered by July 1) \$20
Registration fee (for participants who register at the conference) \$25

Registration fee includes a copy of *New Directions for State and Local Public Policies: A Resource Manual for Public Officials and Political Activists* and participation in all conference sessions, workshops and entertainment.

Partial registration fee scholarships are available. Please make arrangements with Ann Beaudry.

Please use the form below to register for the Conference and to reserve housing accommodations. Return to:

National Conference
1901 Que Street
Washington, D.C. 20009

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THIRD ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE — REGISTRATION

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If you will be unable to attend the conference, but would like a copy of *New Directions for State and Local Policies: A Resource Manual for Public Officials and Political Activists* which is being prepared for the conference, please indicate below:

PRICE: \$7.50 _____ check enclosed
Number of copies ordered _____ please bill me

What's Happening? Continued ...

Amherst Coalition Wins Partial Victory

A coalition of university students, tenants, and environmentalists won one-third of the seats in the April 5 race for the 240-seat Town Meeting in Amherst, MA. Over one half of the residential units in the town of 23,000 are rental, many to students. The Amherst Tenants Association was perhaps the strongest organized group behind the progressive coalition which is preparing strategy to support numerous warrants they put on the Town Meeting Agenda. Articles include mandating the Selectmen to actively oppose the planned nuclear power plant in Montague, MA; rent control; establishment of a town administered fund for rental security deposits to end the landlords' abuses of deposits they hold; removal of gender from description of all town offices and jobs; and opposition to the diversion of water from the nearby Connecticut River to supply future water needs for the City of Boston.

Northeast Cities Follow-up

The Northeast Cities Conference, held in Hartford, CT, last December has generated a great deal of interest. A conference continuations committee met, March 26, to review several proposals for new projects and to consider a draft fund raising plan.

Work in four areas were agreed upon: to publish a regional newsletter which would focus on critical analyses of alternative legislation which conferees have worked on, to hold a series of educational sub-regional conferences, and to convene working groups to develop model new proposals in high priority areas. It was hoped that these new proposals would serve as the basis for a series of issue meetings. It was also agreed to operate a technical assistance clearinghouse in Hartford that would respond to the growing volume of requests.

A fund raising plan to support this level of activity was also approved.

New Public Resource Center Started

Three of the people most involved in conceptualizing and carrying through the work of the National Conference during the past 2½ years are separating from the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), the institution which provided support for the Conference in its initial phase. Barbara Bick and IPS Fellows Robb Burlage and Leonard Rodberg were part of the group which first undertook to survey political activists who had developed state and local electoral constituencies. They, along with IPS co-Director Marcus Raskin and Goddard professor Lee Webb, a long-time associate and Trustee of IPS, provided much of the staff work which led to the first conference in Madison, WI. in June 1975.

Burlage, Rodberg and Bick, along with six other former IPS Fellows are setting up the Public Resource Center which will undertake research and education on the use of human and natural resources in the public interest. All of the new Center associates are members of the IPS Union of Fellows and Faculty which was formed in the late Fall of 1976. The subsequent attempt to bargain collectively with the IPS co-Directors and Board of Trustees failed and a settlement was negotiated that included a sufficient grant to establish the new institution.

The work of the PRC will stress two themes: *community federalism*, which is seen as the linking together of democratic communities of various kinds in struggle for justice and liberation; and *political ecology*, which is the bringing together of political power, economic democracy and decent respect for the integrity of the biosphere.

The new Center associates are committed to the development of alternative public programs which support the best of progressive local movement toward a new national agenda. Some will continue to work with the National Conference. Specifically, the PRC will analyze and report on the uses of public lands and mineral resources; on the networks of cooperative agriculture; on ways in which new religious communities can receive spiritual and economic sustenance; on the community-based economic development of cities and regions toward full employment; and on community-based national health programs.

Others in the PRC include Arthur Waskow, Jim Ridgeway, Charlotte Bunch, Frank Smith, Bettina Connor and Cynthia Washington. For more information, write to Public Resource Center, 1747 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington D.C. 20009 (202) 483-7040.

Executive Director is Sought for National Conference

The National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies is looking for an Executive Director, who will serve as the primary administrator of the organization, directly responsible to the Conference's Coordinating Committee. The Executive Director should have substantial experience in state and local government, a demonstrated interest in innovative public policy, and significant administrative experience, including publications and fund raising. The Executive Director's salary shall be in the \$16,000 plus range.

For more information, contact Lee Webb, National Director, 1901 Q St., N.W. D.C. 20009.

Alternative Policies in the Big Sky Country

By Ora J. Halvorson

The art of shaping public policy can be subtle or abrasive. I have failed more often than succeeded, but I hope my legacy is that somewhere a spark was kindled because I tried. For many years, as a housewife, I had the time and opportunity to make small waves in my community of Kalispell, Montana. But when I saw a need that I could fill and ran for the State Legislature, I was roundly defeated. Facing the truth that I was a middle aged, uneducated, ordinary housewife, I knew I would need to earn the respect and votes for my next round.

I started by going to school, after having raised my children and seeing them through their academic years. The hardest part was to overlook the ridicule of my peers, as well as that of the 18 year old freshmen I was joining. Co-ed dorms, pot, hard drugs, different customs and ethnic backgrounds, new geographical areas, all were important in developing the political depth that I needed. I managed a BA degree from Goddard College, a Business College diploma, and a LaSalle Extension Law diploma.

Then I went back to politics and ran for delegate to the Constitutional Convention. I lost again. Everyone thought I wouldn't have the temerity to run again, but I did — and won.

My first year in the Montana House of Representatives was mostly a learning process and was marred by the fact that I had just nursed my diabetic son through his terminal illness. The next year I was ready. I proposed inheritance tax reform and a capital gains tax on the speculative sale of land. But the realtors were too strong for me.

Next election I led the ticket. Again I tackled the speculative sale of land and again was defeated. But with the energy crisis a new issue surfaced. Coal was becoming increasingly valuable. The year before I had advocated taxing coal on a percentage of the price and lost. On my second attempt, we won and Montana now taxes coal at 30% of the price at the mine mouth. I also sponsored a referendum to have half of the coal taxes invested for the future and this is now law.

My inheritance tax again failed. However, the Uniform Probate Code passed, as did many of the Equal Rights laws for women and minorities that I supported.

Large New York investors began open-pit coal mining in Canada across the border from Glacier Park. I requested that the International Joint Commission investigate pollution problems

from this activity. This will become more of an issue between nations as time goes on and policy must be established.

The problems and loss of property that result from flooding valley floors was highlighted in our area during a flash flood brought on by cloud seeding. When the Federal Flood-Plain Insurance Act was not applied in our valley it became clear that delineation changes were needed. This became a battle royal. But my bill is now used as a model for flood-plain areas in other states.

Montana is a target for everyone. We have the wealth of vast land and huge deposits of minerals; we are the headwaters of man's most important resource, water. Arabs and Japanese, Canadians and Australians are buying our land, New York bankers our minerals, and Washington, California, New Mexico, Nevada and Arizona want our water. The world wants our timber.

Poor Montana. The European fad for men's high beaver hats destroyed our hunting; the buffalo were exterminated in less than a dozen years because of the demand for the skins. The final indignity of the bleached bones being sent to market in the east, instead of being allowed to fertilize and revitalize the plains, was the buffalo's ultimate fate. Gold was mined and gone within a decade. The forests were harvested and not replenished. The range was homesteaded and the grass destroyed. Drought and wind blew the top soil into the Dakotas, and gas and oil were shipped east until the resources were gone.

Today, Coal is King, and land is beckoning the greedy and water is exciting envy in the needy.

Last election it was very apparent that Montana was targeted by the John Birch group. They ran one candidate for U.S. Senator, one for the Western Congressional District, and one for Governor. They ran one against me and in every other race in the state that they could fill.

We are only 750,000 people. Can we survive? Have we the courage and fortitude to save our beauty and wisely dispense our resources? Will we become vanquished like the Indian groveling on our reserved areas? Will the gambling interests debauch our life style? Will the ultra right quench our desire for inquiry and compassion? Will we fight alone? Or will we even fight?



Ora J. Halvorson is a Montana State Representative.

Notes to Note

Quality of Working Life Meeting

A national conference on Productivity and Quality of Working Life in the Public Sector is planned for May 25-26 at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. Sponsored by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the Work in America Institute, and the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life, registration is \$95. For information contact Virginia Richards, Conference Coordinator, Work in America Institute, 700 White Plains Rd, Scarsdale, NY 10583.

Solar Laws

A compendium of current solar legislation is featured in the April issue of THE ELEMENTS. During the last session 30 or more solar energy incentives were introduced. THE ELEMENTS summarizes 28 of the major bills. To obtain the April issue, write to THE ELEMENTS, 1901 Q St., N.W., DC 20009, or subscribe for one year for \$7.

Housing Publications

Two excellent publications on housing policies have recently been issued by activist community groups. One is *Hostage! Housing and the Massachusetts Fiscal Crisis* by Michael Stone and Emily Achtenberg, published by the Boston Community School, 107 South St., Boston, 02111. The price is \$1.50. The second is "*Housing in the Public Domain: The Only Solution*" by Peter Hawley. It is available for \$1.50 from the Metropolitan Council on Housing, 24 W. 30 St. New York 10001.

Credit Union Project

A unique way to assist economically disadvantaged neighborhoods by making nonmember deposits in Community Development Credit

Unions was outlined in a 1975 booklet prepared by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs. Such non-member deposits are 100% insured by the US government and pay substantial interest. Over \$1,700,000 has been invested in 16 low income Community Development Credit Unions. A report describing the effects of this effort is available from Lloyd Agostinelli, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, 1521 16 St, N.W., D.C. 20036.

Madison CDC Plan

Mayor Paul Soglin is submitting to the Madison City Council an ordinance to create a Community Development Corporation for the city. Copies of the proposed ordinance and the accompanying "An Economic Development Strategy for Madison" can be obtained from Jim Rowan, Assistant to the Mayor, City Hall, Madison, WI 53709.

Public Policy Resource

News about articles, studies, and reports on municipal and state public policies is available from the Municipal Government Reference Center at the Boulder, CO Public Library. A lengthy monthly newsletter lists additions to the resource library, and a 500 page annual catalogue of the collection is published. For more information on their monthly *Newsletter* and annual *Catalogue*, contact the Municipal Reference Center, Boulder Public Library, 100 Canyon Blv'd., P.O. Drawer H, Boulder 80302.

Patients' Bill of Rights

"A Patients' Bill of Rights and Responsibilities: Health Policy of the City of Madison," is a guide for health consumers regarding their right to participate and

Conservatives Renew Interest in State and Local Politics

By Lee Webb

Conservative organizations, which in the past eight years have concentrated their attention on the White House and Congress, are pouring money and resources into state and local government. Two relatively new organizations, the American Legislative Clearinghouse based in Washington, D.C., and the National Conservative Political Action Committee are separately providing model legislation and research to conservative state and local public officials. NCPAC is also providing money and resources for conservative campaigns for state and local political office.

The American Legislative Exchange Council describes itself as "committed to curbing the growth and power of government." It helps state legislators dedicated to "productive free enterprise, private property rights, and limited representative government." ALEC will provide affiliated legislators with periodic issue briefs and fact sheets, suggested legislation, a monthly bill digest, and a newsletter *First Reading* which informs members of legislative ideas and "grassroots activity" throughout the country.

One of ALEC's primary publications is *1977 Suggested State Legislation*, a 66-page book, which includes 22 suggested pieces of legislation developed by ALEC members. The legislation is strongly right-of-center, including a state constitutional amendment limiting total taxes which a state can collect, another constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right to property, a financial privacy act, a right to life

act, a free enterprise education act, and a school discipline act. This short booklet has been sent out to 8,000 house and senate members in the 50 states.

The National Conservative Political Action Committee provided financial backing for conservative candidates for Congress and state and local public officials in the 1976 elections. They claim that 63% of their candidates for Congress won, and 55% of the 130 candidates for state and local office.

Former staffers and leaders of the Reagan for President campaign are very active as directors and officers of NCPAC. The organization concentrates on the nuts and bolts of campaign organization with the same elan that characterized the Reagan campaign. They promise to provide candidates they support with extensive polling and issues development, demographic research to target districts, and comprehensive training seminars for conservative candidates and staffers. They also say that they are targeting these services in the local elections coming up in Virginia, New Jersey, and Kentucky in 1977, and are actively recruiting potential candidates for state and local races in 1978.

To assist candidates and campaign managers in running races for state legislatures, NCPAC has written and published *In Order to Win: A State Legislative Campaign Manual* detailing campaign strategy, tactics, and schedules for conservative campaigns for state legislatures.

For more information on the American Legislative Exchange Council, contact ALEC, 600 Pennsylvania Ave, S.E. Suite 204, D.C. 20003. For information on NCPAC, contact it at 1500 Wilson Blv'd., Suite 513, Arlington, VA 22209.

make decisions about their own health care. It is bilingual (Spanish and English) and graphically illustrated. Published by Health Writers, an investigative, advocate/journalist group writing about health and con-

sumer issues, the booklet would apply to most communities.

50¢ per copy plus postage; 10 or more copies 40¢ plus postage. Health Writers, 306 North Brooks St., Madison, WI 53715.

Tax Reform Confab Draws Officials

Incredibly, on April 16-17 over 200 people from around the country chose to stay indoors on a beautiful and balmy week-end in Washington D.C. while they listened intently and talked animatedly about tax reforms that would increase funds needed by municipalities for human services, but that would shift more of the tax burden to corporations and the wealthy. The majority of participants were elected or appointed officials especially concerned with tax issues, such as Leonel Castillo, Controller for the city of Houston, TX, Evan Doss, Assessor for Claiborn County, MS., Joanne Chesler, newly elected Tax Assessor from Urbana, IL, and Byron Dorgan, Tax Commissioner of North Dakota. But city mayors, councilmembers and state representatives were well represented.

Washington D.C. City Councilman Marion Barry described a tax proposal he is putting before his Finance and Revenue Committee, which is aimed at discouraging speculators from buying homes and reselling them

quickly—a pattern that has forced many poor and black residents from D.C. neighborhoods—by heavily taxing the profits of sales when the current owner has owned the house less than three years. Massachusetts State Rep. Barney Frank said the major limit on tax reform is fear of displeasing business. He cited examples of labor leaders who oppose tax breaks for middle-income workers when told industry might withdraw jobs.

The National Conference is planning many follow up activities to the week-end meeting, including technical assistance through the Alternative Legislation Clearinghouse and intensive workshops and conferences at state and local levels. For more information on any of these programs, write to the National Conference, 1901 Q St., N.W., DC 20009.

Many of the programs discussed at the conference are in the Tax Manual, "New Directions in State and Local Tax Reform", prepared for the conference by Jonathan Rowe. See review below.

New Directions in State & Local Tax Reform

"Nobody ever told us how to reform the taxes," a state legislator said recently. "They just told us to do it."

For years, state and local tax reform has been a desire without a definition. "New Directions in State and Local Tax Reform" brings the tax reform movement into focus. It tells what tax reformers have done, and plan to do, on such subjects as property taxes, auditing large corporations, new city revenues, and taxes on coal and real estate speculation. One chapter explains for the uninitiated how to read a tax proposal. Another chapter profiles the accomplishments of seven state and local

officials who have been active in the tax arena.

A major theme of "New Directions in State and Local Tax Reform" is that tax reform comes in all shapes and sizes. "Tax reform does not only mean closing big income tax loopholes," the introduction says. "It means, as well, making sure that merchants turn over the sales taxes they collect from customers."

This manual will not tell you the "right" solution for every tax reform problem. But it will help public officials and citizens alike to see the direction in which they should be going.

Price for the 390-page book is \$6.50, \$13 to institutions. To order see page 15.

Banking Conference for Non-Bankers

By Kevin Johnson

"Banking for Non-Bankers: The Public Interest and Development Banking" is the theme of a conference set for June 5 through 10, 1977 in Chicago and co-sponsored by the National Conference, the Woodstock Institute, the National Public Interest Research Group and the unique Chicago South Shore National Bank. The meeting will acquaint participants with the fundamental skills needed to deal with topics such as reinvestment, credit availability, loan criteria, bank structure and management, as well as issues such as branch banking, bank holding companies, alternative financial institutions and secondary markets.

The South Shore National Bank is key to the conference. Chicago's South Shore neighborhood, which had been a predominantly white community, had "turned over" in the last decade causing the bank to lose a significant part of its deposit base as its customers moved to the suburbs. In 1972 the bank owners, claiming the area could no longer support a commercial bank, requested regulatory approval to move to a downtown location. Community pressure resulted in denial of the request. Eight months later the bank was purchased by a group of churches, foundations and private individuals.

The intent of the newcomers was to use the bank as a model for community redevelopment. This markedly different approach to banking, developed by Ronald Grzywinski, emphasized profit and lending prudence but was predicated on the belief that a commercial bank, operated as a development bank, would be the best primary base from which to attack neighborhood deterioration.

Structurally the plan was to establish a bank holding company with three arms: a commercial bank, a not-for-profit subsidiary devoted to social welfare programming, and a for-profit subsidiary to make equity investments in economic development projects in South Shore.

In three and a half years the South Shore Bank has reversed the decline in deposits and reinvested more than a third, or \$8 million, of its loan portfolio in the neighborhood, a relatively high proportion compared with other urban banks. It has developed and marketed new programs to better meet the needs of low income customers. The bank is now beginning to work with possible partners in potential joint ventures to accomplish larger housing rehabilitation and commercial development projects.

Net bank income for 1976 was \$429,000—a figure close to industry norms for similarly sized banks. Last year new development loans amounted to \$2.9 million outstanding to South Shore residents.

As an outgrowth of its concern and relative success in neighborhood redevelopment and reinvestment, the South Shore National Bank has joined with other organizations committed to alternative policies to plan the "Banking for Non-Bankers" Conference.

For information about the conference write or call Kevin Johnson, South Shore National Bank, 7054 S. Jeffrey Blvd., Chicago, IL 60649, (312) 288-1000; or, Lawrence Rosser, Woodstock Institute, (312) 644-4469.

Kevin Johnson is a Goddard College Intern working with the South Shore Bank.

Publications Available From the National Conference

Alternative Legislation Series (\$1 each)

- ☐ State Bank. Draft legislation from Oregon and New York.
- ☐ Metropolitan Planning Law, Minnesota legislation establishing integrated metropolitan system of land use planning within the seven-county St. Paul-Minneapolis Metropolitan Area.
- ☐ Nuclear Safeguards Packet. A compendium of nuclear safeguards moratorium initiative measures from seven states.
- ☐ Displaced Homemakers. Bill to establish multipurpose centers to provide counseling, training, skills and referral services to displaced homemakers.
- ☐ Citizen Bill of Rights relating to law enforcement intelligence information.
- ☐ South Dakota Homestead bill. Model legislation for establishment of a homestead lands commission designed to strengthen family farm system of agriculture.
- ☐ A compendium of public power authority bills. Summary and analysis by Lee Webb.
- ☐ Neighborhood Government. Washington, D.C. Act to Establish Advisory Neighborhood Commissions.
- ☐ Senate bill S2631, the National Consumer Cooperative Bank bill. Proposes a bank that will make loans directly to consumer coops.
- ☐ Model State Public Utility Commission Act. Includes recommendations in all areas of electric utility regulation: commission structure, procedure, jurisdiction, enforcement, etc. By Lee Webb & Jack Chesson.
- ☐ Model State Energy Act. A draft Bill for a democratically controlled, publicly owned state energy system. By Lee Webb & Jeff Faux.
- ☐ Lifeline Packet. The most innovative "lifeline" electric utility rate structure proposals introduced in various state legislatures.
- ☐ Louisiana Automobile Insurance Corporation Act. Model legislation establishing a universal, compulsory auto insurance plan, with the state corporation the exclusive underwriter.
- ☐ Community Development Finance Corporation. The legislation provides equity and venture capital to finance businesses and create jobs in specifically targeted areas where economic conditions are most severe.

Reprints (50¢ each)

- ☐ "Public Control of Public Money" by James Rowen, reprint from *The Progressive*, February 1977. A 6-page article about the Estes Park, CO banking conference, outlining a number of the programs and people represented there.
- ☐ "Campaign Surprise: Some Politicians Are Worth Voting For!" by Alexander Cockburn & James Ridgeway, reprint from *The Village Voice*, May 24, 1976 and "The New Progressives" by Cockburn & Ridgeway, *The Voice*, June 23, 1975. Officials associated with the National Conference and their innovative programs are described in these two articles.

- ☐ **National Conference NEWSLETTER.** The newsletter reports on the activities and plans of the new movement/network of state and local activist elected officials, and on the work of the organizers and planners who are part of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. Six issues per year. \$5, \$10 to institutions.

Public Policy Series

- ☐ **Public Policy Reader**, Second Edition. Prepared for the Austin Conference. The Reader is a unique collection of model legislation and ordinance, articles, analyses, and proposals on such issues as energy, tax reform, controlling corporations, and long range program development. Over 650 pages. NEW 1977 PRICE: \$5; \$10 to institutions.
- ☐ **Legislative Handbook on Women's Issues** by Kathy Rhodes and Ann Beaudry. A collection of legislation on economic issues affecting women, including the best, most innovative proposals, and a detailed bibliography. Price: \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ **The Cities' Wealth:** Programs for Community Economic Control in Berkeley, California, compiled by the Community Ownership Organizing Project. This report outlines in detail the programs and organizing strategies of the Berkeley Coalition over the seven years of its political work with the Berkeley City Council. Price: \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ **LABOR-PAC #1.** From Conference Labor Task Force. Toward a "Public Employees Bill of Rights and Model Contract": Background materials on legal framework; data; resources; reports and letters on alternative local developments. Price: \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ **The Political and Economic Crisis of the Northeast Cities**, edited by Leonard Rodberg. Proceedings of a Seminar on alternative urban policies held April 23-27, 1976. Includes discussion by Hartford, CT. City Councilman Nick Carbone, Washington DC City Councilman Marion Barry, and others. \$1.50, \$3 to institutions.
- ☐ **State Bank for Co-Ops**, by Lee Webb. A proposal to establish a state bank for cooperatives and a state cooperative development agency. The bill was prepared for the Department of Employment Development, State of California. \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ **Public Control of Public Money:** Should States and Cities Have Their Own Banks?, by Derek Shearer. Analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of state and city-owned banks. Includes descriptions of the state-owned Bank of North Dakota, and recently proposed state banks in New York, Washington, Oregon, and California. Price: \$1.50 - \$3 to institutions.
- ☐ **The Manitoba Auto Insurance Plan**, by Sherman Bernard. A report on the operation, costs, and social and economic considerations of providing auto insurance through a public corporation. Price: \$1, \$2 to institutions.
- ☐ **New Directions in State & Local Tax Reform.** A handbook written largely by tax-reform practitioners and containing original articles, reprints and resource guides. Price: \$6.50, \$13 to institutions.
- ☐ **Revenue Strategies for D.C.: Potential Initiative Actions.** A study of potential tax revenue sources for cities. Price: \$1.50, \$3 to institutions.

I have enclosed \$_____ for the publications checked above.
(Please inquire about bulk rates for 10 or more copies.)

Name _____
No. & Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____ Position/Organization _____

Alternative Legislation

Town Meetings Reject Nuclear Power

The nuclear power industry received a strong body blow when 36 Vermont and at least eight New Hampshire communities, on their traditional Town Meeting Day in March, voted against future nuclear construction within their borders. The towns also voted against the transportation of nuclear materials through their communities, and the storage or disposal of nuclear wastes within their borders.

This was the first time that a large number of communities within a state took a firm stance against future nuclear development. The Vermont effort was organized by the Vermont Public Interest Research Group which succeeded in getting resolutions on the warrants in about 40 towns. The votes on some of the anti-nuclear proposals are not binding. While the nuclear opponents had conceded that before the voting, they insisted that the symbolic nature of the towns' votes was important. Nuclear power industry officials, who earlier in the year had announced they were doubling their public-relations budget, said that a court test of the votes was likely in any case.

The present Republican governor, Richard Snelling, and the past Democratic governor, Thomas Salmon, opposed the towns considering the resolutions, arguing that they were inappropriate and that such decisions should be left to the state and federal government.

Former U.S. Sen. George Aiken, who retired in 1974 after 34 years, spoke out at length in the Putney town meeting in opposition to the anti-nuclear proposals. But in most towns the anti-nuclear majorities were two or three to one. Only two towns rejected the bans completely. Five others either tabled or postponed parts of the ban.

An important additional vote against nuclear power is coming up in mid-May in the small town of Orwell, identified by the state's largest utility as the best site for a new nuclear power plant.

In neighboring New Hampshire, the Clamshell Alliance and the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League sponsored similar resolutions in about 11 towns, but focused on opposition to the planned Seabrook nuclear plant on New Hampshire's seacoast. Eight towns voted against the nuclear plants, and Seabrook, the site of a plant already under construction, voted to ban the transportation of nuclear wastes.

The anti-nuclear resolutions are very much in the recent tradition of New England town government. Two years ago many Vermont town meetings took strong stands for public power and a radical progressive tax reform proposal. For more information and copies of materials prepared for the town meetings, contact Whitey Bluestein, Vermont PIRG, 26 State St, Montpelier, VT

Proposed Alaskan Legislation

A number of interesting bills are in preparation for introduction to the Alaska Legislature. They include 1) a state energy corporation that would put the state in the oil and gas exploration business; 2) a state bank that would invest Alaska's surplus oil revenues; 3) a bill prohibiting public employee affiliation with the Teamster's Union; 4) public financing, with spending limits, of the Governor's race and 5) a bill that would fund citizen participation in utility hearings. Copies or news of these bills can be had by writing to Jamie Love, Alaska Public Interest Research Group, P.O. 1093, Anchorage, 99510.

Homemaking Factor in New Divorce Law

A divorce law aimed at assuring women more equitable divorce settlements, was passed by the 1977 Virginia General Assembly. The legislation, sponsored by the Assembly's seven women members, instructs judges to consider a woman's non-monetary homemaking contributions—such as cooking, cleaning and child rearing—in establishing a settlement. The measure also allows a judge to order a lump sum award in addition to periodic alimony payments, and orders the judge to consider property as well as income in reaching a settlement.

More on page 2

Third Annual Conference Set for Denver

The third annual conference of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, which will be held the week-end of July 7-10 in Denver, CO. promises to be the most provocative and important gathering of electoral activists since the first gathering in Madison, WI in 1975. As before, elected and appointed officials, community and labor organizers, public interest advocates, public employees and community leaders will meet to share experiences and programs. The three-day conference will have an extensive program of speakers, panels, and workshops that will provide participants an unparalleled opportunity to study the most innovative legislation and proposals under consideration in states and cities across the country. Turn to pages 7-10 for the Conference Agenda, housing and other information — and a pre-registration form to ensure your participation.

National Conference Newsletter

Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Que Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

STAFF OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE

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conference on ALTERNATIVE state and local PUBLIC POLICIES

July 1977

Editor: Barbara Bick

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Regional conference brings together new grouping with old concerns.

"Ecologists New Force in France" (p. 6)

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Ecologists, aligned with the Left but independent of them, are forging a new politics in France.

"Disabled Movement Gains Support" (p. 12)

by Leonard Goldberg

A new movement of disabled people raises issues which go beyond traditional paternalism.

"Whistle Blowing For Public Employees" (p. 13)

by Jim Wright

A new response by public employees that confronts public agencies and management.



Ron Asta tells of right-wing impact on Arizona politics. See story p. 10.

Alternative Legislation

New Public Representation Bills

Three pieces of innovative legislation have been prepared for the Wisconsin Legislature with backup work by the Center for Public Representation. Assembly Bill 383 would remove certain zoning restrictions on the establishment of community living arrangements in residential neighborhoods. The bill defines facilities licensed by the Department of Health & Social Services as including group foster homes, child welfare agencies, and adult community-based residential facilities. The bill excludes day-care centers, nursing homes, hospitals, prisons, and jails.

An Open Public Records Act that would establish a 10-day time limit within which an agency must respond to a citizen's request for public records, is sponsored by Sen. Gary Gayke. The Act would also create a Commission on Public Records which would review appeals by individuals who have been denied access to government records. The Open Records Act would apply to all government units, including the Legislature and judicial branch.

Finally, a bill to create a non-profit Citizens Utility Board which could intervene in all proceedings involving public utilities, has been introduced by Assembly Majority Leader James Wahner. The CUB would be financed by \$3 a year memberships sold through special inserts in the monthly billings of major utilities. For more information on any of these bills, contact the Center for Public Representation, 520 University Ave., Madison, WI 53703.

Flex-Time Job Bills

Wisconsin Assemblywoman Midge Miller practices what she legislates. The sponsor of a bill to create more part-time jobs in state govern-

ment, she has hired two women who each work part-time to share one legislative assistant job.

Miller's bill, which is similar to legislation passed in Massachusetts and Maryland, would increase the number and types of part-time jobs in state government. Such bills call for gradual increases in the percentage of part-time jobs available up to a ceiling of between six and 10% of all positions. These bills also guarantee part-time workers fringe benefits such as sick leave, vacation, merit increases, and seniority.

Curbs on Mandatory Retirement Laws

Mandatory retirement of municipal workers was abolished in Seattle, WA by an executive order of Mayor Wes Uhlman, who called it "arbitrary age discrimination against older Americans."

Los Angeles voters recently passed an amendment to remove mandatory retirement in that city's work force, but continued a requirement of annual physical examinations for older workers. Seattle eliminated the physical examination requirement also.

Tenant Victory

A town-controlled trust account to hold rental-security deposits was voted up at the May Town Meeting in Amherst, MA. Tenant groups fought hard for this legislation and it is considered a great victory for them. Under the new law, landlords can no longer hold security deposits, which gives tenants equal rights in a dispute over apartment damages. In addition, tenant deposits will be protected against landlord bankruptcy. For more information, contact James Starr, Task Force on Security Deposits, Town Hall, Amherst, MA.

New Property Tax Measures

Two tax reform measures aimed at increasing revenues for financially-strapped Boston, were introduced into the Massachusetts House by Rep. Barney Frank. The first, H305, would remove the property tax exemption for university and college property in the state, except for classrooms, libraries, and laboratories. Non-educational buildings, such as dormitories, dining halls, and athletic facilities would have to pay property taxes.

The second bill would require airlines to pay property taxes on their terminals and facilities at Logan Airport, which the airlines are presently refusing to pay.

Farm Loan Aid

Under a recent Minnesota law, the state will assist farmers with assets of less than \$50,000 to purchase farm land. The state will guarantee loans of local commercial banks up to a statewide total of \$100 million. For more information, contact Don Garry, Administrator of Farm Security Program, 510 B State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55155.

Anti-Redlining Bills

Two strong anti-redlining bills were introduced in the 1977 Utah legislative session. Senate Bill 40 would give a Commissioner of Financial Institutions the power to establish and regulate mortgage-lending policies. Under the bill, an institution charged with discriminatory practices would receive a public hearing; if found guilty, the Commissioner could suspend or revoke the institution's license, issue rules to further the provisions of the Act, require the State Treasurer to withdraw all state funds from the institution, or impose a

monetary fine. House Bill 196 is a fair lending housing act. Both bills were defeated this session. Copies can be obtained at the State Legislative Bureau, State Capital, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Curb on Insurance Redlining

The Missouri Senate has passed a bill designed to curb insurance redlining. The bill would prohibit insurance companies from refusing to insure or from cancelling homeowner policies on the grounds of location of residence, occupation, sex or age. It would also require insurance companies to give specific reasons for cancellation or non-renewal. Senate Bill 300 was supported by intensive lobbying efforts of Missouri ACORN. For more information, ACORN is located at 2335 South Grand, St. Louis, MO 63104.

Computer Software Tax Reform

A bill defining computer software as tangible personal property and therefore subject to the state's 5% sales tax, was signed recently by Tennessee Governor Ray Blanton. The new law is a strong victory for tax reformers and a defeat for the computer industry.

The tax status of computer software (programming and services) is a very important issue, including potentially hundreds of millions of dollars in tax revenues. With pressure growing for taxation of software in Missouri, California, New York, and New Jersey, the industry trade association—the Association of Data Processing Service Organizations, is beginning lobbying and legal actions to try to stop the reforms.

Continued on page 7

Women Seek Major Offices in New York City

by Barbara Bick

On the first of June, Bella Abzug threw her hat in the ring to become a candidate for the top municipal electoral office in the U.S. In so doing she joined a group of dynamite women who have already begun campaigning for a number of the highest decision making positions in the embattled Big Apple. These crusading women include Ronnie M. Eldridge—running for Manhattan Borough President, Carol Bellamy—running for New York City Council President, and Ruth Messinger and 10 Miriam Friedlander—campaigning for City Council seats.

If any group of elected officials can turn back the spiraling decline of the nation's most important city, it might well be these committed women who represent a new sort of political activist seeking electoral office. Each of them has an outstanding history of participation in the important social movements of the 60's and 70's: civil rights, anti-war, women's equality, and anti-poverty. 20 They share a deep commitment to the restructuring of American society for the benefit of people.

In seeking the mayoralty, former Congresswoman Bella Abzug would rank as the world's most visible municipal spokesperson for urban alternatives. Abzug's



Bella Abzug Aims for New York City Mayoralty

Abzug on Neighborhoods

We are a great city. We are the financial, educational, cultural, small business, and idea center of the nation. But we are also a collection of hundreds of neighborhoods. I've been to most of them and I know the people who live there.

I am always impressed by their ideas and energy.

I think of the people at Co-op City who are working so hard to save their project.

I think of the people in Brooklyn who have organized a green-line campaign against red-lining by the banks.

I think of the longshoremen in Chelsea who are

fighting to revive the Hudson River waterfront.

I think of the people in Queens, Staten Island and the other boroughs who volunteer their services, grow vegetable gardens, run food co-ops, organize anti-crime patrols, join the auxiliary police, transport and help feed senior citizens, and figure out so many ways to make this city more livable.

These people are our greatest resource. Our city can never die as long as the people who live here retain hope and work to save it. And as long as they have leadership to inspire and organize them.

25 long history as a labor and civil rights attorney and as a national leader in the anti-war and women's movements is well known. During her two terms in Congress, Abzug worked for a national mass transit policy, national health insurance, and additional aid to the cities. In her last year's race for the U.S. Senate, Abzug spoke out sharply for reduced military spending, nationalization of welfare, and tax reform. She lost that bid for the Democratic nomination to Daniel Moynihan by less than 1% of the vote. In her campaign for Mayor, her primary 35 issues will focus on restructuring the city bureaucracy, going after the more than \$1½ billion owed to the city in uncollected taxes, fees and fines, and upgrading the city's faltering mass transit system by trading in a proposed super highway for transit construction money.

Running against Abzug are incumbents Mayor Abraham Beame, Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, U.S. Reps. Edward Koch and Herman Badillo, and N.Y. Secretary of State Mario Cuomo.

45 The Board of Estimate, rather than the City Council, has the political clout in the city of New York. The Board approves every contract that the city funds and has the crucial power of shaping the Mayor's budget and

Continued on page 4



Ruth Messinger campaigning for New York City Council

the delivery of services. The office of Borough President carries two votes on the Board; the Mayor, City Council President and City Comptroller each have four votes. N.Y. State Senator Carol Bellamy, running for City Council President, said she would use her votes to mold the budget. Bellamy, an attorney, was first elected to the State Senate in 1972. She has been a strong advocate for the communities and neighborhoods of New York and believes that the city should have begun an economic development program long ago. Bellamy said that, "My understanding of financial problems and my ability to meld that with the human and social needs of the city qualify me for the job."

Ronnie Eldridge, running for Manhattan Borough President was a close associate of Bobby Kennedy and an early reform worker. She was a Mayoralty Aide under John Lindsay. Most recently she directed TV Channel 13's *Woman Alive*, and the station's community service program. For a number of years she was associated with *MS Magazine*.

The two activist candidates for City Council include one incumbent, Councilperson Miriam Friedlander, who represents the southern tip of Manhattan. It is the poorest district of the island and the most widely diverse ethnically. Friedlander has been an unusual advocate, ombudsman, and organizer for community groups in her district.

Ruth Messinger, a long-time peace activist, is running for a Council seat representing the upper West Side. Messinger directs a program at the College of Human Services which trains and places unemployed and welfare persons in social service jobs. An elected School

Board member, Messinger is also a community activist and was a leader in the fight opposing West Way, a super highway which would slash through city neighborhoods to the suburbs. Messinger participated in the December meeting in Hartford, CT of Northeast Cities, organized by the National Conference.

These women are opposed by candidates with far greater access to money and other resources. In turn, they are strong on program—and devoted volunteers. For more information about their candidacies and position papers, contact Abzug for Mayor, 1460 Broadway; Eldridge for Borough President, 1472 Broadway; Bellamy for Council President, 270 Broadway; Messinger for City Council, 175 W. 77th St.; and Councilmember Friedlander, City Hall—all in New York City.

The Urban Fiscal Crisis Unmasked

A superb new book by Paul DuBrul and Jack Newfield, *The Abuse of Power—the Permanent Government And The Fall Of New York*, Viking Press, presents with fascinating detail the story of New York's crisis—which in the final analysis is the story of the potential catastrophe in store for all of America's cities. Who—and what—brought New

York to its knees, is critically important information for everyone concerned about urban policies and what must be done to change them. Four years of research by New York journalist Newfield, and planner, organizer DuBrul has resulted in a brilliant expose cum analysis. Price is \$12.50, but worth the investment. Ask for it at your local bookstore.

Great Plains Conference Sets Priority Strategies

by Marilyn McNabb

A hundred public officials and activists gathered in Lincoln, NE over Memorial Day weekend to exchange strategies for promoting the public welfare in the face of the region's new dynamic—crash development. From Montana to Missouri, life on the Plains is under stress from the coal boom, the rapid spread of new irrigation techniques, and soaring farmland prices.

The priorities of resource-oriented politicians and local groups proved to be as varied as the forms of change experienced. There seemed to be broad agreement, however, that there are three serious obstacles to the region's "progress": 1) progressive state and local officials and activists; 2) "the greed factor"—tangled and conflicting claims to land, water, and mineral rights that could take decades to sort out; and 3) a resistance that bubbles up from the conservationist spirit of the Great Plains, combined with popular convictions about authority, public or private.

Local and state government's defensive scramble to comprehend and plan for the impact of corporate, federal government, and investor activity was a shared theme. Byron Dorgan, Tax Commissioner of North Dakota, related how the advance planning of the energy giants had brought their representatives winging in on company jets to buy coal leases from farmers on the lignite nobody had ever wanted. By the time Project Independence was decreed, North Dakotans found they didn't own or control the coal. The state did what it could. A tough coal severance tax was passed and it will be implemented with an aggressive approach to

auditing the books of Standard Oil, U.S. Steel, and the likes.

Maps of the region—roughly the Missouri and Upper Mississippi River Basins—were heavily marked over as participants from 10 states drew in sites of new and planned coal stripping, gasification plants, coal and nuclear plants, mineral extraction, major irrigation and water diversion projects, and coal slurry pipelines. The scale is awesome.

Nebraska State Senator Steve Fowler pointed to a common element in each development plan—water. Decisions about water may be an important lever still available to gain some public control over the region's future. One major objective of business is generous public subsidies to river barges, according to John Marlin of the Coalition on American rivers. Ownership of the barge lines, catalogued by Friends of the Earth, turn out to be familiar names—in addition to the grain companies, they are many of the same oil-chemical-energy giants which have staked out Plains' resources. The urgency of public access to water-use choices was underscored by announcement of Carter's support for coal slurry pipeline development. One projected pipe would take scarce Plains water to flush coal into the largest petrochemical complex in the country, located in Houston.

The Plains Conference was probably most unlike other regional meetings of State and Local Alternatives in its loud chorus of negative views of Washington. The Feds, especially the agencies of the Department of the Interior, all too frequently seem to bless resource rip-offs, ac-

tively promoting what recent books called a *One Time Harvest* (Mike Jacobs) and *The Rape of the Great Plains* (K. Ross Toole). In fact, views were inconsistent and as diverse as this sampling suggests:

In South Dakota, John Sieh, chairman of his 15-county local Reclamation Board came into office with a change of 10 of the 11 directors. The campaign was organized and funded by local farmers and ranchers ("no environmentalists!") who had taken a long look at a proposed billion dollar water project. The Oahe Project would destroy about 150,000 acres of farm and ranch land to irrigate 190,000 acres, much of which can't maintain irrigation. Before the election, the Bureau of Reclamation had provided no opportunity for local input. The new Board held a series of public hearings, hired a manager "who would listen to people," and submitted an unprecedented budget to Washington. Of the 300-some Boards in the country, only Sieh's requested that their project get no funding.

In Illinois, Jane Johnson ran for her County Board to try to save excellent farmland from being stripped for coal. By a six-vote margin she won election to the Board, but found that there was little support there for her goals—or in the State Legislature. More hope is offered in federal legislation to protect prime agricultural land, she believes.

For Native Americans on the Plains, the Federal Government's special relationship to the tribes is of critical importance, according to Mario

Gonzales, member of the Oglala Sioux and Judge on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Federal obligations under Treaties and Supreme Court rulings include not only the protection of resources on reservation land in the best interests of the tribes, but also certain rights outside the reservation boundaries, including water rights. A Supreme Court decision initiated in Montana (the Winters Doctrine) established that Native Americans have supreme rights to present and future, good quality water. Ground and surface water which flows into reservations cannot lawfully be diverted or polluted. Court rulings have clarified the status of some Indian lands—for example, that mineral rights on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana are held in perpetuity by the tribe, not by individuals. Many treaty land areas however, like the Black Hills of South Dakota, are still under litigation.

For Gonzales' own reservation, Federal care has meant 80% unemployment, low income rates, high infant mortality, and the regular siphoning off of Federal funds to non-Indians off the reservation. Still, because "most Indians desire to maintain their culture, and the reservation is a way to do that, we do not desire to go to state jurisdiction."

In Montana, fourth-term state legislator Dorothy Bradley reported, there is serious worry that Washington's massive changes in energy priorities could undermine the state's gains. In recent years, Montana has put into law the strongest stripmine and reclamation act in the country, a facility siting act that requires proof of public need,

Continued on page 7

Ecologists New Force in French Politics

by Barbara Koeppel

Paris.

If 1977 will be remembered as the year France swung left, with Socialist-Communist coalition slates of candidates sweeping the spring municipal elections—it is also the year it discovered ecology.

Astounding the pollsters, politicians and ecologists themselves, candidates running under the ecology banner captured 12.5% of the first round vote in Paris and as high as 20% elsewhere—though somewhere between 5-10 10% for the country overall. Veteran politicians on both left and right, who at the start largely dismissed or denounced the environmentalists as amateurs or spoilers, were claiming deep concern for their cause at the end.

Who are they? According to Brice Lalonde, spokesman for Paris Ecologie (the electoral alliance for this region), they are a convergence of many autonomous movements, special interest groups and disenchanted individuals who had waged unsuccessful battles defending the environment for several years.

20 "Despite our efforts, no one in power listened. Also, we can't lobby our legislators, as ecologists do in the United States, since our system is totally centralized and elected representatives vote strictly on party lines. Thus we decided to take the offensive and enter the political arena ourselves," he explained.

Some of the groups in the movement, like their U.S. counterparts, focus directly on the natural environment, launching attacks against air and water pollution or the spread of nuclear energy. Others limit their scope to promoting more trees, parks and recreation space for the cities.

30 Unlike the Americans, however, from whom Lalonde says they have learned much, the French wrap under the environmental umbrella the struggle over community control, the destruction of neighborhoods by property speculation, highway and high-rise development, public vs. private (auto) transportation and the nature of the political and economic system which, he asserts, "creates polluted and unlivable cities, besides spawning the economic crisis."

40 "Inflation, unemployment, pollution, the deteriorating quality of life—all these problems are linked to the system."

For the movement's militants, whose political consciousness were forged in the May, 1968 upheavals, the key themes are the abuses of industrial growth and economic and political power. Though power in France was

always rooted at the center (it is said here that "when Paris sneezes, the rest of France catches cold"), it was consolidated still more under De Gaulle.

"Today, there is a total lack of decision-making at the local level. Even the elected officials have no power. Everything is decided at the national level by the government (the ministers and the bureaucracy)," Lalonde says.

Against this background, promises abound from both the left opposition parties and the government majority to consider local concerns. But the ecologists argue that 60 the promises are empty, that the government offers only token representation and speaks mainly for the industrial powers which destroy the environment. At the same time, they claim the parties of the left are highly centralized, see issues as national problems rather than local concerns and most important, view control of the State as crucial to their objectives. Thus, the ecologists refuse to join them.

"They want, as we, to transform France into a more 70 just society. But they believe a strong, centralized government is vital to that transformation," he observes.

For the ecologists, State power is no answer. In fact, it is an anathema. They argue that nationalizations alone, which are the mainstay in the left's Common Program (a series of measures it promises to adopt if it wins the upcoming national elections and takes over the government) won't solve society's problems. "Nuclear energy is already controlled by the government and is just as 80 dangerous as if it were in the private sector," Lalonde stresses.

Their solutions, instead, involve local control, self-management at work and in the community, with frequent referendums. In this way, they claim, individuals can decide on matters that affect their lives, like the location of new factories, highways or shopping centers in their neighborhoods and towns, or what they produce and consume.

When accused of being utopian, Lalonde insists the 90 opposite, arguing it is "they—the government—who are utopian. They think their system works. But a quick look at the mounting unemployment and the economic crisis that won't disappear proves it doesn't."

Strengthened by the election results, the ecologists have intensified their battles, at both the local and national levels, organizing neighborhood campaigns against evictions and forming national coalitions to launch full-scale attacks against all candidates or parties who favor further development of nuclear energy. They are quoted 100 daily in the media and, in deference to their growing

6 100 x 10 = 1000 wds

Alternative Legislation

Continued . . .

Liberalizing Class Action Possibilities

Recent state actions are widening the possibilities of class action suits—a favorite tactic of consumer and environmental groups—which were narrowed by two business oriented decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1973 and 1974. The New York Legislature recently passed a liberalized class action rule and the North Dakota Supreme Court recently adopted similar rules as a part of its court procedure. In Pennsylvania, a revised class action statute is being distributed for comment. Other states that have shown an interest in liberalizing are Maryland, Iowa, Washington, and the District of Columbia. These changes in statutes and court procedure were based primarily on a model statute adopted last summer by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

Tax Help For Renters

A number of states are taking steps to lower taxes for people who rent. At present in most states, renters can not deduct the money they pay

for housing as property taxes, while homeowners can.

Indiana, for instance, allows renters to deduct from their state income taxes the total amount of rent paid, or \$1000, whichever is less. Arizona permits renters to deduct 10% of their rent or \$50, whichever is less.

Bills proposed in California and Colorado would benefit rent-payers by transferring liability for paying property taxes from landlord to tenant. As a result tenants could deduct property taxes from their state and federal taxes. A problem with the Arizona, Indiana, Colorado and California legislation is that it does not provide the benefits of "circuit breaker" legislation since most low-income people do not itemize their deductions.

"Circuit breaker" legislation gives tax rebates to homeowners and renters who pay more than a certain percentage of their income on rent or in property taxes. Michigan, Oregon, Vermont, and Wisconsin offer some type of rebate to homeowners and renters, while 11 states and the District of Columbia restrict such assistance only to homeowners and elderly renters.

appeal, have been invited to sit on newly created regional advisory commissions.

As one University of Paris professor of urban studies notes, "The ecologists struck a deep chord of French dissatisfaction, voicing those concerns that neither left nor right chose to articulate. And though they won no municipal posts in the last go-round, they are a growing force with which the others must reckon."

Barbara Koeppel, a Washington-based free lance journalist, is spending the year in France. She has published articles in the Nation, the Progressive and other journals.

Limits on Corporate Campaign Spending Sought

by Bob Schaeffer

Still smarting from their defeat on five referendum questions last November, Massachusetts progressives are seeking to close a legal loophole through which big business and conservative interests poured more than \$4 million to finance "Vote No" campaigns. Though state campaign law limits personal contributions to \$1000, there is no ceiling for corporate giving. As a result, the 1976 election saw the container industry spending over \$1.5 million to defeat the bottle bill, while electric power companies financed massive canvassing and advertising drives against the state power authority.

More than two dozen bills were filed in the 1977 Legislature to close this loophole. Initial pressure was impressive: a public hearing on the issue was mobbed with supporters of corporate restrictions and many media outlets provided favorable coverage.

But the drive stalled in the back rooms of the Legisla-

ture's Election Laws Committee. Using the excuse that some of the loophole-plugging proposals had drafting flaws, the committee grouped all the legislation into a package that is to be sent to the State Supreme Judicial Court for review.

Pending a verdict on the constitutionality of each bill, supporters of limits or a ban on corporate campaign spending can do little. It is now believed to have been an error to submit so much legislation on the same topic rather than to focus energies on one carefully drawn proposal. Still the legislative effort was valuable in turning public attention to the magnitude of corporate intervention in the electoral process.

Plans are underway for a better coordinated effort in 1978.

Bob Schaeffer is a staff member of Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPA)

Great Plains Continued . . .

a three-year moratorium on water development in the Yellowstone River Basin (passed in 1974), a 30% tax on coal, part of which goes to renewable energy development, and other measures to protect the people and land. This year, reformers succeeded in defending their legislation against amendments to exclude citizen participation in planning, to change water-use priorities to favor industry, and to gut the reclamation standards. But the fights were tough to win, and that was before Carter's push to coal, which will have to target the Northern Plains.

Discussions of legislation proposed by the Farmers Union in North Dakota to set up a public land bank to aid in the passing of family-farm-size units to young farmers, potentials for alliance-build-

ing among farmer, labor, community, and environmental groups, approaches to low-energy agriculture, farm credit, and schemes of big banks to buy up farmland—these and other exchanges revealed much about the "conservationist spirit" and fair-play ethic which insists on alternative policies in the Plains. Perhaps the political strategies proposed have more coherence to Plains residents than to all who equate the area with dull driving hours on the way somewhere else. Or perhaps there is a basis here of working agreement as to what is possible, worth fighting for, how it can be done, and with whom.

Marilyn McNabb is a Research Analyst with the Nebraska Legislature

Bibliography of Books and Manuals on

For the Busy Candidate

Compiled by Mona Hochberg

This bibliography was first compiled for a series of campaign workshops that were held this spring. The idea was to sort out the numerous manuals and books that are available; a task that most busy candidates do not have time to do.

Absent from the list are philosophical statements of what a candidate and his/her respective ideology has to offer. Sam Brown's and Tom Hayden's books will suffice here for liberal candidates running strong issue campaigns. The National Conservative Political Action Committee's manual, and other publications I have noted, include conservative stands as well as detailed practical information. There is no reason to read only those books whose politics you feel you would agree with; valuable tips can be gotten from the "other side"—and, of course, it is always important to see where your opponent is getting information from.

Any progressive candidate needs to find out the specific filing date for his office and state. After that, it is all the issues, the media, your staff, your stamina . . . and some help from the following books.

Books

Brown, Sam, *Storefront Organizing: A Mornin' Glories Manual*, Pyramid Books, 1972.

This is based on Brown's experiences fund-raising and organizing with the peace movement and the McCarthy campaign. It is not a what-to-do manual as much as recollections of what other politicians have done, along with a logical theory approach to campaigning.

Hershey, Marjorie Random, *The Making of Campaign Strategy*, Lexington Books, D.C. Heath & Co. 1974.

This is a very analytical and scholarly book, compiled of charts and statistics on how to evaluate apathy, decision-making, mind-changing and voting patterns to predict behavior.

Myer, D.C., *The Winning Candidate: How to Defeat Your Political Opponent*, James Heineman, Inc., 1966.

Good chapters on involving others in your issue campaigns and on organizing political rallies. Read this book for its suggestions on speech writing and on playing up the candidate's strengths.

Milbrath, Lester, *Political Participation*, Rand McNally, 1965.

This is not a primer, but a conceptual analysis of success, or lack of it. It is useful only if the reader does not mind the sweeping generalizations made so the voters can be fitted into categories.

Mulchaky, Kevin and Katz, Richard, *America Votes*, Prentice-Hall, 1976.

A short, very readable and recent book with useful charts about voting behavior, parties and state election patterns.

Nichols, David, *Financing Elections: The Politics of an American Ruling Class*, New Viewpoints, 1974.

Though this will not tell you *where* to get money for your campaign, it thoroughly documents how the rich and mighty give money for campaigns.

Parkinson, Hank, *Winning Your Campaign: A Nuts and Bolts Guide to Political Victory*, Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Parkinson starts at the very beginning, with instructions on how and when to file for your candidacy. Unfortunately, the book tends to be condescending, such as "one good woman is worth three men in any campaign" and then recommends that women are useful for coffee and shopping sessions.

Seligman, King, Kim and Smith, *Patterns of Recruitment: A State Chooses Its Lawmakers*, Rand McNally, 1974.

This book concerns the politics of Oregon, but is useful for anyone in a state race who would need to gather and interpret state voting patterns. Good information on what to do during the filing, primary and election periods.

Simpson, Dick, *Winning Elections: A Handbook in Participatory Politics*, Swallow Press.

Detailed strategies for candidates and an excellent annotated bibliography make this an excellent beginners book.

Simpson, Dick and Beam, George, *Strategies for Change: How to Make the American Political Dream Work*, Swallow Press.

A thorough citizen action book for "Winning issue campaigns without violence."

Schwartzbaum, Edward, *Campaign Craftsmanship*, Universe Books, 1973.

A good comprehensive book written especially for local candidates in their first election who want to use "professional" techniques.

Wilson, James, *Political Organizations*, Basic Books, 1973.

A huge book concentrating on the effects of parties, unions, business, and civil rights organizations on campaigns. No direct, practical how-to's, but a book someone important in a campaign organization should read to better understand how to deal with large special interest groups.

The Business and Art of Political Campaigns

Manuals

The following manuals written by organizations and individuals can be ordered from the addresses listed. The prices for these books run from 35c to \$4. Exact prices can be obtained from the organizations.

American Association of University Women. *Tool Catalog: Techniques and Strategies for Successful Action Programs*, 2401 Virginia Ave. NW, Washington, DC.

This is a huge book, incredibly useful, which does not concentrate on campaigns specifically, but is loaded with information on action projects, and the techniques of dealing with institutions, holding demonstrations, researching, and publicity planning. The AAUW also has two smaller publications, *An Action Bag* and *Power Quotient Bag*. Both have charts, lists of questions and activities, and posters.

Carr, Billie. *Don't Default to the Bastards: Organize! A Common Sense Handbook for Left-Wing Democrats*, 2418 Travis, Suite 3, Houston, TX 77006.

Instruction on how to run a successful liberal precinct club. Carr's belief is that liberals get their strength running as Democrats in grass-roots elections and then working their way up. A wonderfully serious yet humorous manual, Carr's deep convictions are always clear. It is a great guide on how to run a tough, aggressive campaign.

Democratic National Committee: *The Democratic Campaign Manual*, 1976, 1625 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

This is a good survey book with a bibliography and an exceptional section on communications covering everything from television to direct mailings. Special section on dealing with minority voters.

Hayden, Tom. *Make the Future Ours*, 204 Santa Monica Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90401.

From Hayden's bid for the Senate, a manual explaining why we must go from "protest to political power". The book is useful for those running an issue campaign, looking for analyses of the problems the country faces today. Hayden covers energy, the environment, communications, the economy and equality for minority groups.

League of Women Voters: *Making an Issue of It: The Campaign Manual*, 1730 M St. NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Geared towards getting legislation passed, there are short but practical paragraphs on building coalitions and committees, lobbying, testifying and overcoming the opposition. The League also has a yearly campaign guide, written by their education fund, discussing the issues and how to rally community strength around them.

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 1425 H St. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

This Committee prints an excellent *Media Action Handbook*, which in great detail outlines not only how an individual can gain access to the media but also how the mass media functions. Since the book is written by a public interest group, it can be used well by someone running an issue campaign. Good bibliography of additional media communications books.

National Conservative Political Action Committee: *In Order To Win: A State Legislative Campaign Manual*, 1911 N. Fort Meyer Dr., Suite 706, Arlington, VA 22209.

Information is mostly from professional political consultants, on "how to run a professional campaign on limited resources of people and money." The book does succeed in being all-inclusive in 50 pages, covering campaign structure and personnel, finances, communications and getting the votes. This is a decent survey specifically designed to assist state legislature races and lower level political offices.

National Federation of Republican Women: *Consider Yourself for Public Office*, 310 E. First St. S.E., Washington, DC 20003.

How to deal with your children, your husband, your community, and your staff. The stories of five Republican women who have done it successfully.

Republican National Committee, 310 First St. S.E., Washington, DC 20003.

The GOP publishes booklets on a variety of subjects. There are the usual topics, thoroughly handled, of fundraising, organization, media, and advertising. Then there is a book comprised of the do's and many more don't's for candidates' wives and a manual on opposition research, "a composite of ideas on how to develop a complete picture of your opponent, assess his strengths and exploit his weaknesses." If you don't know the fine points of investigating your opponent's tax returns, military and scholastic records, then you need this manual.

The Woman Activist, 2310 Barbour Rd., Falls Church, VA 22043.

This organization has small but substantial booklets geared towards women running for local office. Printed in '73 and '74, they are full of optimism for the coming years' possibilities. Good bibliography and easy reference charts and timetables for organization of duties. There is a 1976 guide to precinct politics. It is excellent for both sexes and this grass-roots book has some interesting ideas for volunteers and voters.

Mona Hochberg is an intern at the National Conference from Sarah Lawrence College.

IN THE CONFERENCE

What's Happening?

Arizona Progressives Plan Comeback

Good visits last month with some alternative activists—including Ron Asta and Jim Wright from Arizona. I learned from them that a successful and growing coalition around the issues of growth-control, environmental protection, tax reform, and improved social services, had been brought down in last November's general elections by an invasion of right-wing forces into Arizona politics. The coalition had been sparked by the 1972 election of charismatic Ron Asta to the Pima County Board of Supervisors. At one point, the "Astacrats," as the coalition's successful candidates were dubbed by the press, held 24 offices, including a number in the State Legislature, the Tucson City Council and School Board, a Judgeship, and the County Board of Supervisors. Although Asta himself was defeated for his fourth term by GOP candidate Katie Dusenberry, he reported that the growth-control advocates are geared for a strong fight-back.

The right-wing tactic in the state, according to Asta, has been the formation of a seemingly "nonpartisan" Good Government League. The League, which hired many of Ronald Reagan's people in Arizona, was the biggest spender in the local elections. While the Good Government League collected more than \$63,500 from its members, according to reports filed with the County Election Bureau, most was spent on "advice" and polls made available to candidates supported by it, rather than in direct contributions.

But Ron Asta seemed optimistic about the successful comeback of the progressive Democrats. There is an energetic state-wide movement made up of rank-and-file trade unionists, consumer and environmental groups, minority and women's groups, and others concerned about the problems created by uncontrolled, unplanned growth spawned by real estate speculators and other business interests. And the movement is growing.

Transfer Amendment Support

A resolution to urge the U.S. Congress to approve the Mitchell Transfer Amendment to the FY 1978 Budget, which calls for reduction in defense spending and transferring the monies to domestic programs, was placed before the District of Columbia City Council by Councilmembers Hilda Mason and Marion Barry. The resolution stated, in part:

Whereas The District of Columbia faces a continuing fiscal crisis due to insufficient funds to meet pressing social needs; and



District of Columbia City Councilmember Hilda Mason

Whereas the only alternative . . . is to increase regressive taxes or cut basic social services; and

Whereas, there has been a drastic reduction in Federal assistance over the past two years to cities and states for funding vitally needed social programs, while spending on defense programs have simultaneously increased; and . . .

Whereas, the cost of one military program alone, the B-1 bomber fleet is estimated to cost more than \$92 billion over its lifetime—enough to fund the current operating budget of the District of Columbia for over 80 years; . . .

Now, therefore be it resolved . . .

Both Mason, who is acting as the Statehood Party's Councilmember until the July special election to fill the At-Large Seat left vacant by Julius Hobson's death, and Barry have participated in National Conference meetings. Mason is a candidate in the special election.

Yanatta's Strong Campaign Runs Second

Derek Shearer called to tell us that Ruth Yanatta was narrowly defeated in the special election, May 31, for a California Assembly seat. Consumer-advocate Yanatta placed second in a field of 13, receiving 27.5% of the vote. The winning candidate, Mel Levine, who ran with the backing of the Democratic Party establishment, received 30%—a margin of 1500 votes. Derek stressed that Yanatta actually won a majority of the Democratic votes. However, in special elections to fill vacant seats in California, all candidates, regardless of party, appear on one ballot and crossover voting is allowed. Levine was endorsed by a number of well known Republicans.

The Levine campaign outspent Yanatta two-to-one, and relied on the mailing of 25 different, computer printed and targeted letters to voters discussing issues from a variety of points of view. For example, voters received letters from such "groups" as Teachers for Levine, Lawyers for Levine, the Jewish Committee for Levine, Italian-Americans for Levine (headed by Tommy Lasorda, manager of the L.A. Dodgers), as well as telegram-like communications from Democratic heavies such as Senators Humphrey and Cranston—topped off by a message to black families signed by Sugar Ray Robinson. A number of the most powerful California labor union officials also endorsed Levine.

Despite such formidable opposition from the establishment, the Yanatta campaign, managed by husband Derek Shearer and utilizing more than 200 volunteers—80% of whom were women—put together a coalition of senior citizens, women, minorities, labor, and local community activists.

The local press Hayden-baited the Yanatta campaign, implying that Ruth was a puppet of Tom Hayden and serving his ambition. However, the coalition which came together around the Yanatta campaign will not disintegrate. There are discussions about opening a "shadow" Assembly office to continue work on such local issues as housing, food prices, and neighborhood redevelopment.

Southwest Conference Projects Parley

Mary Sanger, who put together the widely praised Southwest Regional Conference, held in San Antonio, December 1975, reports that a two-day statewide conference entitled "Growth In Texas: Who Pays? Who Profits?" has been scheduled by the new Southwest Center for Public Policy. Funds for the two-day Growth Conference were granted by the Texas Committee for the Humanities & Public Policy, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The meeting, set for March, 1978, will explore the implications of the state's recent economic, population, and cultural growth. For more information, contact Mary Sanger, Southwest Center for Public Policy, P.O. Box 4841, Austin, TX 78765.

Senior Citizens New Constituency For Change

Josie Anderson, National Conference office manager who warmly receives all and sundry who visit, sent us the following report:

"A tall, white-haired man walked into our office one day early in May. He was J. P. Noterman, a retired insurance man-turned-activist who was running for the Wilkes-Barre, PA City Council. Radiant with energy and enthusiasm, he did not hesitate to admit being 70. I asked about the devastating floods the region had recently experienced and he answered, 'It's not the floods that's the problem, it's the developers.' Then I learned that it was the earlier, 1972 floods that got him started. He and other senior citizens, who joined to protest the federal government's bad handling of flood damage, became a new constituency for change. Since then he has taken a strong stand in favor of progressive property taxes, and against local water policies. Members of the Wilkes-Barre Water Board own high-priced land in the area and want to sell it for expensive suburban development. In order to protect the existing water supply for the new developers, they now propose that water from the Susquehanna River should be diverted to supply drinking water for people living in lower-income areas.

"I've been in touch with Noterman and learn that he was defeated in his bid for a Council seat. His campaign was "low-key"; he didn't have a lot of money to advertise. When he came to our office he expressed feelings of isolation, of a need to share experiences with others of similar interests. I told him that was one part of our reason for being. Maybe he'll try again. I hope so."

New Florida County Commissioner A Challenge

A visit with Palm Beach County Commissioner Dennis Koehler was rather like stepping into the middle of a maelstrom—but clearly the hectic pace was still challenging after half a year in office. Koehler was the Florida county's Environmental Control Officer when he attended last year's national conference in Austin, TX. Although the youngest commissioner (35) and known as an activist, Koehler is rapidly gaining the respect of the Council staff, the media, citizens at large, and even his conservative opponents on the Board. He has worked hard to get the charter government movement rolling, to remove agricultural exemptions from local pollution enforcement standards, and for a number of land-use planning and density control issues. Most recently, he supported the claims put forward by a Citizens Coalition on Revenue Sharing protesting the county's proposals to use federal money for new roads and bridges rather than for social services for the poor or aged. Koehler proposed and the Council agreed to the creation of a Citizens Advisory Committee to help decide how the \$2.1 million in federal revenue-sharing funds should be spent.

Continued on page 12



Palm Beach County Commissioner Dennis Koehler

Over lunch Koehler questioned some of the "political principles" of the National Conference, i.e. that it is necessary to build constituencies and citizen movements for alternative programs and policies, rather than relying on charismatic politicians. Koehler postulated that the two major hurdles to accomplishing progressive policy change at the local level was 1) getting elected in the first place, and 2) developing a working rapport with fellow Board members that will actually allow you to institute progressive policies. "Under these circumstances," according to Koehler, "you often don't need political movements and coalitions to accomplish such goals. You need winning candidates with winning ways, who are able to stimulate their fellow Board members and their own professional staffs with new policy ideas."

Well. Let's hear some debate on the question.

Populists Win—And More Tries

Despite some set-backs, the populist trend in state and local elections surges ahead. The biggest gain was the surprise victory of underdog Henry E. Howell in the Virginia Governor's primary. His opponent spent a record \$1 million—outspending Howell 3-1. A coalition of blacks (Howell received nine out of every 10 black votes), urban poor, liberals and intellectuals, came together in support of Howell's advocacy of consumer protection, tax reform, equality in legislative apportionment—and his 30 year record in civil rights.

Reports from Texas are that an unprecedented number of good candidates won victories in recent elections, including a member of the Arlington City Council, the Mayor of Ft. Worth, and seven of the City Councilmembers PLUS the Mayor of San Antonio. News that long-time civil-rights attorney and activist Ken Cockrel is running for a seat on the Detroit Common Council—is good news indeed. I hope you all out there will keep the good news flowing in; we need to share our victories.

Disabled Movement Gains Support

by Leonard Goldberg

The new movement of disabled people raises issues which go beyond the traditional paternalism of present welfare policies. Disabled people are demanding not just more resources but control over those resources. They are also demanding access which breaks down the traditional segregationist policies of the society which separate disabled from non-disabled. They raise a challenge for progressives to respond in ways which recognize the questions of self-determination and full access.

Along these lines, California Assemblymember Tom Bates has introduced legislation which requires all state agencies to develop affirmative action policies for hiring disabled individuals. The legislation calls on each agency to develop goals and timetables to correct the underrepresentation of the disabled in employment. It also requires an advisory committee of disabled people to oversee the implementation of the plans. The bill has cleared the Committee on Public Employees and Retirement in the Assembly, but is expected to run into opposition based on potential cost of providing access. The concept is simple, but the inclusion of people with physical and mental dis-

abilities into regular employment would be a major step beyond the present tokenism of limited positions for a few people.

The movement which raises these issues has been growing in influence and organization in California. The recent demonstrations, demanding federal implementation of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, received broad legislative support through a letter authored by Bates and signed by 46 other California legislators. Many of the demonstrators in San Francisco had worked with Berkeley's Center for Independent Living, which has achieved national recognition for its efforts to build a self-determined community of disabled people. And California's Department of Rehabilitation is headed by Ed Roberts, the Department's first disabled director and co-founder of the Center for Independent Living. At present, the climate in support of the rights of the disabled is favorable. Progressives should take some leadership to make sure that climate gets translated into policies which give the disabled control of their destinies.

Leonard Goldberg is a Legislative Aide to California Assemblymember Tom Bates

Notes Continued . . .

Conservation Publications Scheduled

The Elements, a project of the new Public Resource Center, will publish in July a special detailed report on the Davis, CA energy conservation program. The study will tell how the program works, and how the city put it together. Planning drawings, photos, ordinances, and other basic documents are to be included in the report which will run about 50 pages. The report is aimed at citizen groups and state and local government agencies which

hopefully may be able to get some specific useful ideas from the Davis experiment. Price: \$2 for individuals and public interest organizations; \$5 for institutions, including business and government agencies. Postage included. There is a 10% reduction for more than 10 copies. The report will be sent free to all those who renew or take out new subscriptions to *The Elements*.

At the same time, James Ridgeway, editor of *The Elements*, announced the monthly paper will begin publishing a compendium of legislation

Whistle Blowing for Public Productivity

by James Wright

In Pima County, AZ, a County Supervisor holds a press conference, or provides a press leak, with the same public message every other month. It is a simple message. And the public loves it. The message: the budgetary ills of county government can be solved by laying off 200 county employees—at random.

This particular Supervisor happens to be a local university government professor. He is fully aware of his not so "at random" actions.

His message is becoming a more and more familiar one. It is part of a national political flim-flam act directed at voters in an effort to find a scapegoat for inappropriate taxing systems, the failure of local and national economies, and gross mismanagement of inept elected officials and their managers.

Public employees have been slow to respond. They are aware that there exists a pervasive feeling that government is unresponsive and

does little toward meeting citizen expectations. Public employees know that feeling well. How to respond is another question.

The public employee union for which I work tried one tack. The union recently issued a press release enumerating a long list of horror stories and Marx Brother-like bungling which occurred in a local county hospital. That hospital is one of the institutions included in the Supervisor's "random, personnel layoff fantasies."

Some of the items disclosed by the union included:

- Critical emergency medical supplies arriving at nursing stations 26 hours after being ordered from the hospital's Central Supply Department.

- An anesthesiologist not informed of an operation, leaving the assembled operating staff and a prepped patient waiting in the operating room. No one knew who the on-call anesthesiologist was because of the

poorly organized on-call system.

- A medical emergency notification system in the hospital's recovery room that fails to notify other medical staff when an emergency arises. Staff are forced to depend upon an unreliable phone system or to leave the patient in order to obtain assistance.

- Medical supplies stocked in no particular order in the hospital's Central Supply Department forcing the staff to check each aisle and shelf for any given item.

The response of county elected officials to the press disclosure was to denounce the union as "irresponsible" and exploitive of the administration's problems of transition to a new facility. Internally, hospital employees were admonished for talking to "outsiders" about hospital "business."

However, "blowing the whistle" on inefficient and bungling hospital management was a tremendous success. The employees were

elated that their story and frustrations were finally being explained to the public, which had always been quick to condemn them. And the union's disclosure forced the resignation of the hospital's administrator.

Since then our union has recognized that it must fight within local agencies to allow employee participation in reorganization and productivity programs. The union's Blow-the-Whistle for Improved Productivity Program is expanding with marked success. It seems to be one effective way to respond to the "lay-off more public employees" syndrome. Our union will continue to harass and embarrass elected officials and their managers until public employees are allowed to participate in agency decisions which affect their work and their ability to be productive in the public service.

James D. Wright is Executive Director of AFSCME Local 449, in Tucson, Arizona

on alternative energy measures (including solar, wind, energy conservation, etc.) pending before Congress. The compendium will be updated periodically and will include a run-down on how each member voted on key energy conservation measures. In April, 1977, *The Elements* published a detailed analysis of all solar programs pending before Congress. The journal will publish a similar run-down on alternative agriculture and family farm legislation. Subscription rate is \$7 per year for individuals; \$20 per year for institutions, including business and government agencies. Write to: *The Elements*, 1747 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, DC 20008

School Food Programs

Federal law P.L. 94-105 calls for breakfast and lunch programs to be available in all public schools. However, the law offers no concrete im-

plementation for local school boards. State legislatures have to enact compliance measures and set rules and deadlines for participation in the program.

During the past seven years only nine states have passed some compliance legislation. Most of it has been unsatisfactory: lack of voluntary participating and accountability on the local level, and no enforcement agencies.

The Department of Agriculture is required to pay the school district for each free or reduced meal served in the program.

A Guide for State School Breakfast and Lunch Legislation can be ordered from the Food Research and Action Center, 2011 Eye St. N.W., Washington, DC 20006.

Along with analysis of existing state bills, the guide also includes contact people and strategies for introducing and gaining support for legislation.

56 State Women's Meetings

by Karen Lynch

Fifty-six State Women's Meetings have been scheduled for this year by the National Commission on the Observation of International Women's Year (IWY), to enable women of diverse backgrounds and opinions to share ideas about issues which effect them. Coordinating committees were established in each conference area to plan outreach strategies with the goal of attracting thousands of women from a spectrum of ages, incomes, ethnics, racial, religious and professional backgrounds. The Commission hopes to include homemakers, students, working women, civic leaders, union members, church workers, and especially women who have never been to a women's meeting.

State Meeting workshops focus on employment, educa-

tion, homemakers' legal rights, rape, wife abuse, child care, the image of women in the media, and many other problems faced by women. Pamphlets and fact sheets have been prepared for the State Meeting by the IWY.

A National Women's Conference will be held November 18-21 in Houston, TX with representatives elected at the State Meetings and appointed by the National Commission. Based on the results of the State Meetings, the National Conference will make recommendations to eliminate the barriers that prevent women from participating fully and equally in all aspects of national life. These recommendations, together with a final report, will be submitted to the President and the Congress in 1978.

In Vermont, where the first State Meeting was held in
Continued on page 15

Democratically Controlled Health Service Proposed

by Leonard Rodberg

Congressman Ronald Dellums has introduced his long-awaited Health Service Act, providing for the creation of a comprehensive, nationally-financed but community-controlled health service. Dellums' proposal puts on the national agenda—and on state and local agendas as well—the issue of whether to proceed with more and more stringent Federal controls on a chaotic and inflationary private health system, or to move toward a democratically-planned, publicly-funded health service.

In sharp contrast with the proposals for national health insurance—which would only prop up with Federal money an inadequate, maldistributed, and inflationary private health industry—a health service such as Dellums has proposed would ensure that high quality health care services were available in every community and were accountable to the residents of those communities.

The Dellums Bill has been under discussion since the early 1970s, when the Medical Committee for Human Rights, working with other progressive groups, proposed a set of principles for a national health program. These included such basics as comprehensive accessible care to be available without discrimination and without charge at the time of delivery, thorough health care institutions controlled by representatives of patients and health workers. Dellums declared his willingness to introduce legislation embodying these principles, and a task force of health professionals and organizers was assembled to develop the legislation. A model bill was prepared by the Community Health Alternatives Project (originally at the Institute for Policy Studies but now located at the newly-created Public Re-

source Center in Washington, DC).

The Health Service Act that emerged from this lengthy drafting process establishes the U.S. Health Service Organization, a non-profit corporation mandated to provide comprehensive health services without charge to everyone within the boundaries of the United States. The Organization is to be controlled through a "community-federalist" system that begins with elected community health boards ("communities" contain 25,000 people—less for isolated rural areas). These boards oversee the provision of primary, outpatient care as well as nursing homes and other facilities in the community.

Community boards elect members of district boards which, in turn, oversee general hospitals for "districts" of about 250,000 people. These boards, in turn, choose members of regional boards which conduct planning and coordination for regions of a million or so people.

Health care facilities would be managed on a day-to-day basis through a program of democratic worker self-management appropriate to each facility. The provision of health care would emphasize health team organization and delivery. The Health Service Organization is funded by a progressive federal income tax, with funds distributed on a capitation basis to the various levels. It is this prepaid, community-based-budgeting, and the provision of services through an organization that employs salaried health workers under "consumer control" that makes the Dellums Bill such a departure from any of the national health insurance proposals now extant.

Many parts of the bill could be adapted readily for implementation at the state and local level. The three-

Conference Publications NEW DIRECTIONS SERIES

- ☐ **New Directions in State & Local Public Policy.** This newest conference publication takes complex questions facing city and state governments, including: energy, public capital, tax revenues, agricultural land use, controlling corporations, disclosure and re-investment, and women's economic issues. 300 pages of progressive analyses and programs by expert practitioners. \$7.50, \$15 for institutions.
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- ☐ **Revenue Strategies for D.C.: Potential Initiative Actions.** A unique action-guide to potential tax strategies, using the District of Columbia as a model. 92 pp. \$1.50, \$3 for institutions.
- ☐ **Legislative Handbook on Women's Issues** by Kathy Rhodes and Ann Beaudry. A collection of legislation on economic issues affecting women, including the best, most innovative proposals, and a detailed bibliography. \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ **The Cities' Wealth: Programs for Community Economic Control** in Berkeley, California, compiled by the Community Ownership Organizing Project. This report outlines in detail the programs and organizing strategies of the Berkeley Coalition over the seven years of its political work with the Berkeley City Council. \$2.50, \$5 to institutions.
- ☐ **Public Control of Public Money: Should States and Cities Have Their Own Banks?** by Derek Shearer. Analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of state and city-owned banks. Includes descriptions of the state-owned Bank of North Dakota, and recently proposed state banks in New York, Washington, Oregon, and California. \$1.50, \$3 to institutions.

level planning, the community-based governance and provision of care, the equitable financing, and other measures could all be introduced, even before the Federal Government acts, by individual states and localities.

Summaries and copies of the bill are available from the National Conference as well as from the Health Service Action, P.O. Box 6586, T St. Station, Washington, DC 20009. A contribution to Health Service Action of \$5 or more will put you on their mailing list to receive additional material and a newsletter containing information on regional conferences and hearings that are being planned around the bill.

Leonard Rodberg is a Director of the Public Resource Center.

Notes Continued . . .

February, more than 1000 people traveled to Montpelier, exceeding the 300 expected participants, and passed resolutions in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, and scholarships for older women students. An informal poll showed that 45% of the women participating in Vermont had never attended a meeting of that kind before, and 54% did not belong to any women's organizations.

For further information about the State Meetings or the IWY publications contact: IWY Commission, Room 1004, Department of State Building, Washington, DC 20520; (202) 632-8978.

Karen Lynch is an intern with the National Conference from Dartmouth College.

ALTERNATIVE POLICY PACKETS

☐ Toward A Working Economic Policy

- **Public Policy Reader.** The issues of the 70s facing cities and states, including programs and legislative proposals for energy, public enterprise, political organization, economic development, tax reform, health, education, criminal justice, and food, land and growth issues. If ordered separately, \$5, \$10 for institutions.
 - **The Cities' Wealth:** Programs for Community Economic Control in Berkeley, CA, compiled by the Community Ownership Organizing Project. The programs and organizing strategies of the Berkeley Coalition toward winning a majority on the Berkeley City Council.
 - **"Public Control of Public Money",** by James Rowen. A 6-page reprint from *Progressive Magazine* capsulizing the programs and proposals presented at the Estes, CO banking conference.
 - **State Bank for Co-Ops,** by Lee Webb. A proposal to establish a state bank for cooperatives and a state cooperative development agency. The bill was prepared for the Department of Employment Development, State of California.
 - **The Manitoba Auto Insurance Plan,** by Sherman Bernard. A report on the operation, costs, and social and economic considerations of providing auto insurance through a public corporation.
- Price: \$12, \$24 for institutions.

☐ Toward Public Employees Rights and Working Public Management

A digest of articles, legislation and alternative proposals put into practice by public officials, practitioners and public employee unionists. Edited by Robb Burlage.

Price: \$2.50, \$5 for institutions.

☐ Controlling Energy

A comprehensive collection of innovative and model legislation on key energy issues, with introductory analysis by Ed Murray.

- **Nuclear Safeguards.** Nuclear safeguards moratorium initiative measures from seven states.
- **Public Power Authority.** Summary and text of bills establishing publicly owned electric utilities in five states.
- **Model State Energy Act.** a draft bill for democratically controlled, publicly owned state energy system.
- **Model State Public Utility Commission Act.** A draft bill including recommendations in all areas of electric utility regulation: commission structure, procedure, jurisdiction, enforcement, etc.
- **Lifeline Electric Utility Rates Structure.** Summary and text of proposals introduced in various state legislatures.
- **Coal Severance Tax.** Program for a North Dakota state severance tax of 33 1/3 % on each ton of coal extracted by coal companies.
- **The RUCAG Proposal.** Model state legislation, with comment analysis, to establish consumer representation before state regulatory agencies, paid for by a voluntary check-off on monthly utility bills. Reprinted from *Harvard Law Review*.

Individual Price: \$6.50 (or \$1.00 each)
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ALTERNATIVE LEGISLATION SERIES

- ☐ **Community Development Finance Corporation.** 1975 Massachusetts legislation creating a public corporation to invest in not-for-profit community-developed businesses.
 - ☐ **National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act (H.R. 2777).** 1977 legislation creating a federal bank to finance and give technical assistance to self-help and not-for-profit cooperatives.
 - ☐ **National Community Health Service Act (H.R. 6894).** 1977 model legislation for a community-based, nationally funded health service.
 - ☐ **South Dakota Homestead Land Act.** A bill to help new farmers get started by purchasing and then leasing back farms at low cost.
 - ☐ **Advisory Neighborhood Commission Act.** A Washington, D.C. statute passed in 1975 that created basic institutions of neighborhood government to advise the city government on policy questions.
 - ☐ **Metropolitan Government Act.** Minnesota law establishing integrated land use planning with strong authority in the St. Paul-Minneapolis seven-county area.
 - ☐ **State Bank Acts.** Bills from New York and Oregon establishing state-owned banks.
 - ☐ **Non-Criminal Police Surveillance Act.** District of Columbia bill prohibiting intelligence-gathering related to "political, economic, social or sexual preferences or ideas" where constitutionally protected or not unlawful.
 - ☐ **Model Anti-Surveillance Legislation.** A draft model statute by Jerry Berman, Center for National Security Studies, to prohibit political surveillance activity by local police and to regulate police conduct that may intrude on First Amendment activity.
 - ☐ **Runaway Plants Acts.** Ohio and Michigan bills requiring notice to affected employees and communities before any industry shutdown, relocation, or reduction in operations.
 - ☐ **Family Farm Security Act.** 1976 Minnesota legislation creating a Family Farm Security Board to administer a guaranteed loan fund for farmers seeking to buy land.
 - ☐ **Capital Gains Tax.** Vermont tax on land speculation and District of Columbia proposed tax on real estate speculation.
 - ☐ **Disclosure Legislation.** The Chicago municipal ordinance plus Illinois and Alaska state legislation for financial disclosure by banks.
 - ☐ **Displaced Homemakers.** Bill to establish multipurpose centers to provide counseling, training, skills and referral services to displaced homemakers.
- Price: \$1 each, except where indicated differently.

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Conference NEWSLETTER

News and views from the Conference network of state and local activist elected officials and progressive reformers across the country, with reports on the organizing work of the Conference on Alternative State & Local Public Policies. \$5, \$10 for institutions.

Notes to Note

"Nuclear Power: The Bargain You Can't Afford"

The Environmental Action Foundation, a national clearinghouse on electric utility issues for more than 1000 consumer and environmental groups, has just published another excellent booklet which explains how citizens can challenge the construction of nuclear power plants before state utility commissions and other agencies. *Nuclear Power: The Bargain You Can't Afford*, by Richard Morgan, claims that electricity from new nuclear plants will cost considerably more than would coal power or energy conservation. The book charges that most state regulators have given utilities a "blank check" to charge customers for any costs associated with atomic energy—thus insulating the utilities' stockholders from risk, and forcing electricity consumers to pay for the cost overruns and malfunctions which have been commonplace at atomic reactors.

The book is available from EAF, 724 Dupont Circle Bldg., Washington D.C. 20036. Price: \$3.50 (\$15 for profit-making businesses).

Energy Planning for Public Buildings

A comprehensive report on creative energy designs and planning for public buildings and facilities, has been prepared by *Rain*, a Journal of Appropriate Technology, for the California Office of the

State Architect. The definition of "energy" is broad—the use of electricity and fuels within the building is only part of the picture. The aim of the report is to present basic information, policy guidelines and a checklist of considerations which client agencies can refer to in the programming, planning, design and evaluation of public facilities. Available from the State Architect's Office, P.O. Box 1079, Sacramento, CA 95805. Copies of *Building Value: Energy Design Guidelines for State Buildings*, cost \$3.25 each.

Consumer Protection Units

Ombudsman-type consumer protection units to deal with utility commissions can now be funded on the state level by grants from the FEA. Guidelines for the new, \$2 million a year program are now being set. The state offices will assess the impact of proposed rate changes on consumers. They will also assist consumers in presenting their positions before utility regulatory commissions, and can argue consumer positions on their own behalf. The consumer offices will be able to assign staff members to work directly with consumer groups to provide legal services or expert witnesses, and can employ consultants or contractors to provide technical services to citizen groups.

For details, contact Nancy Tate Gavin, FEA, 1200 Penna. Ave., N.W. Washington DC 20461 (202) 566-7472.

Disclosure & Neighborhood Reinvestment

A series of resource guides on neighborhood revitalization, written for public officials and community action groups, are being published by The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs. The most recent, *Neighborhood Reinvestment: A Citizen's Compendium of Programs and Strategies*, by Karen Kollias, describes a wide range of reinvestment programs throughout the country. The Compendium (\$4) and other materials can be ordered from the Disclosure & Reinvestment Project, NCUEA, 1521 16th St., N.W., Washington DC 20036.

In addition, a NCUEA subsidiary, the Organization for Neighborhood Development, Inc. can provide technical assistance to community groups, public officials, and lending institution representatives for neighborhood development programs. For more information, write to Bob Corletta, ONDI, above address.

Neighborhood Empowerment

A pamphlet that details possibilities for strengthening neighborhood cohesion has recently been published by the Policy Options for Neighborhood Empowerment. Written by Arthur J. Naparstek, it is available from the Academy for Contemporary Problems, 1501 Neil Ave., Columbus, OH 43201.

Agri Publications

Two new publications on corporate farming are available from the Center for Rural Affairs. A *Land Research Tenure Guide* outlines how to research agricultural land ownership. *Who Will Sit Up with the Corporate Sow* reports on the growing corporate control of hog production in Nebraska. For copies contact the Center for Rural Affairs, P.O. Box 10, Walthill, NE 68067.

New Housing Finance Publication

A 10-point Housing Finance Plan has been published by the D.C. Commission on Residential Mortgage Investment following a study of where lending money in Washington has gone in the past. While the study showed that past practice was clearly discriminatory, it also determined that minority neighborhoods are no higher lending risks than others. In the planning stages are the establishment of a housing loan pool to benefit moderate income groups, and the creation of a Loan Review Committee to hear complaints. These will be projects of the D.C. Neighborhood Reinvestment Commission, an outgrowth of the investment commission. The 10-point Housing Finance Plan is available from DCPIRG, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW., Washington, DC 20036.

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National Conference Newsletter

Institute for Policy Studies
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Editor: Barbara Bick

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Alternative Legislation

More Forced Retirement Curbs

The wave of legislation to protect older Americans from compulsory retirement is growing in states from Maine to California. At present most private employers require retirement at 65 and state and local governments at 70.

Employers and their organizations have been surprised at the strength of the political movement to prohibit arbitrary retirement regulations. In many cases progressive legislation prohibiting forced retirement has swept through legislatures or city councils without a dissenting vote.

The California State Legislature recently rushed through a bill to prohibit mandatory retirement in private business unless the employer can prove that the employee is incapable of doing the job. Governor Brown is expected to sign the bill.

A similar bill, affecting only state employees, was passed recently in Maine. Florida adopted a similar provision the previous year. The cities of Los Angeles, Portland, OR and Seattle, WA adopted similar ordinances in recent months.

Rental Relations Board

An ordinance to establish a "Madison Rental Relations Board" has been submitted to the Madison, WI City Council. Under the proposed ordinance the Board would be authorized to certify tenant organizations, and to ensure that landlords and tenant organizations engage in direct bargaining to resolve conflicts. The ordinance also mandates a collective bargaining procedure applicable to all rental property of more than four rental units in Madison.

A unique feature of the bill is the requirement for an Economic Impact Statement concentrating on the economic effect on tenants of

any proposed sale of an apartment building. A Financial Disclosure Statement is also required from the landlord. The bill was prepared by Phil Ball, a member of Mayor Paul Soglin's staff.

The Madison Mayor's Office has also published an excellent 33 page economic analysis of the reasons for rental increases in Madison in early 1976. The major point is that the rent increases of that period were not the result of increased costs but of increased profits for landlords. For copies of the Madison Rental Relations Board ordinance and the study of rent increases write to Phil Ball, Mayor's Office, City Hall, Madison, WI.

Homestead Tax Bill

A homestead tax bill (SB 144) introduced in the Ohio legislature would permit senior citizens over age 65 who have a yearly income less than \$15,000 to defer payment of all or any portion of the property taxes owed on their home. The deferred taxes would be payable when the home was transferred or upon the death of the owner(s). This type of legislation has been enacted in several jurisdictions, including Oregon, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Land Speculators Axed

An ordinance aimed at halting the rampant land speculation in their city that has hit communities throughout California was recently passed by the Davis City Council. The ordinance requires all new home purchasers to sign a sworn statement that they plan to live in their new residence for at least a year. If someone, with the intent to speculate, buys a house and then sells it within a year, the ordinance requires a penalty of six months in jail and a \$500 fine.

AT&T Shifts to State Legislatures

Stymied in its attempt to get the U.S. Congress to pass legislation protecting its monopolistic control over telephone and other communications, AT&T has opened up a second front in state legislatures in its effort to limit competition.

Bills introduced recently in Massachusetts and Minnesota would limit competition with the telephone company. The bills were introduced at the request of local telephone workers unions. The telephone company disclaims any responsibility.

Also resolutions supporting the AT&T sponsored Congressional legislation have been passed in California, Wyoming, Utah, and South Dakota. A similar resolution introduced in the Arizona Legislature was defeated.

Natural Resources Taxed

Tax reform caught up with natural resource industries in a number of states during the most recent legislative sessions. North Dakota, Florida, Wisconsin, and Colorado have passed new severance tax legislation and Alabama is considering it.

North Dakota, under the leadership of state tax commissioner Byron Dorgan and the Democratic Party, advocated a 33 1/3% severance tax on coal, but had to settle for less. Still, North Dakota won one of the stiffest severance taxes in the country. Florida, meanwhile, took a bigger bite out of its phosphate industry by increasing the severance tax from 5% of its value to 10%.

Wisconsin, overriding intense lobbying by Exxon, Kennecott, and Noranda Mines, levied a new severance tax on metallic mines in the state with rates up to 20% of value. Although the companies warned that they would have to close down

their operations if the tax was passed, they are now expanding. And Colorado will raise another \$11 million this year from higher severance taxes on coal and molybdenum.

Meanwhile in Alabama, Governor George Wallace is still promoting a \$16 million tax increase package, turned down once this year by the Legislature, that would raise the state's severance tax on coal and oil, increase corporate franchise taxes, and add a new stock transfer tax.

State Owned Insurance Fund

Wisconsin is the only state with a Life Insurance Fund for its residents. Started in 1911, it runs on a non-profit basis, receives no state subsidies, and is exempt from federal income tax.

Because advertising and commissioned agents are not allowed, prices can easily be kept down, and policies purchased from the fund are much lower than other life insurances.

Maximum coverage currently available is \$10,000 for life insurance. Women pay less per premium fee than men the same age since women are expected to live longer and thus make more payments in their lifetime. The Wisconsin fund will insure those normally considered "medically-impaired" though premiums for this insurance are higher than average.

Until April 1977, the fund had returned large premiums to stockholders as dividends. This has been stopped so that the difference between premiums and costs will be minimized, and will allow low-cost insurance to people who could not normally afford it.

Further details can be gotten from: State Life Insurance Fund, Office of the Commissioner of Insurance, 123 W. Washington Ave, Madison, WI 53702.

United Kingdom Treaty Hits At State Tax Rights

by Diane Fuchs

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is the unlikely forum currently reviewing a matter which greatly affects the ability of states to get needed tax revenues out of the biggest tax avoiders—multinational corporations. The amount of revenue lost each year is unknown because the corporations refuse to disclose the extent of their operations. Conservative estimates run into the millions for most states.

The adroitness of Getty Oil at this avoidance game is typical. Getty is composed of 63 wholly owned subsidiaries. One subsidiary, Getty Eastern, is incorporated in Delaware where it has a \$3 billion oil refinery operation. Despite the fact that Getty Eastern has an estimated payroll of \$37 million (in 1975) and yearly profits estimated at \$80 to \$100 million, it pays no income taxes to Delaware. Rather, Getty Eastern has declared losses of \$31 million since 1971, and avoids \$6 million in Delaware taxes each year.

The scheme used most widely by Getty, and many other multinationals, is known as "downstreaming." In Getty's case, Getty's foreign subsidiaries which pump and transport crude oil, "overcharge" Getty Eastern for the oil which it refines. Due to the high price it "pays" to the Getty foreign subsidiaries, Getty Eastern appears to operate at a loss. The result is that Getty completely avoids tax on its Delaware income and can invest the tax-free profits in overseas expansion projects.

The states and the Internal Revenue Service use different methods for dealing with such corporate shell games. A number of states require that multinational businesses file "combined" returns including information about all their subsidiaries, although only one may do business in the state. States that use this "unitary combined" method apply a three factor formula involving sales, payroll, and property, to arrive at how much of the corporation's profits can be fairly allocated to the state for taxation.

The IRS, as well as most of the international community, uses the "arms length" method, which permits related corporations to file jointly or separately depending on which is most advantageous for them.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is now considering an income tax treaty between the U.S. and the United Kingdom which contains a provision, Article 9, that allows the states to use the arm's length method, but prohibits their use of the combined unitary method when computing corporate state income tax for the subsidiaries of U.K. com-

panies. As a result several states stand to lose a good deal of revenue. California, for instance, estimates that it will lose up to \$125 million per year or 10% of its corporate base. Alaska's estimate is \$50 million per year. Such losses will undoubtedly increase if the Treasury Department carries out its stated intention to place Article 9 limitations in all future tax treaties.

States using the unitary method believe that it will be impossible for them to make use of the arm's length method because it is based on subjective factors and is administratively unfeasible for them. Those who favor Article 9 argue, without substantiation, that the unitary method distorts the corporate profit picture by over allocating profits to the states, and that the reporting requirements are too burdensome.

Whether or not the Treaty Article is ultimately reserved (i.e., struck) is likely to be decided on grounds other than the merits of the tax methods involved. The decision will reflect an opinion as to whether the Senate is a proper forum, and a treaty the proper vehicle, for setting federal policy in the area of state taxation. Federal intervention in the area of state taxing powers is considered potentially detrimental to the delicate balance between state and federal powers.

Opponents of the Treaty Article believe that its inclusion in a Treaty that otherwise deals with federal and U.K. taxes, is an attempt by the Executive branch of government to bypass full Congressional review. During the past 20 years Congress, urged by the largest corporations, has considered numerous pieces of legislation to regulate state income taxation. However it has refused or failed to enact such legislation for fear of intruding on the states' prerogatives in this area. It would appear that the Treasury Department has taken it upon itself to arrive at the resolution of the issue.

The Treaty comes before the Foreign Relations Committee for mark-up on September 27. Although many Senators are sympathetic with the reservation of Article 9, others have expressed fear for the survival of the Treaty if Article 9 is removed. Senate reservation of Article 9 would give Great Britain an opportunity to reject the "amended" Treaty which, by its other terms, gives substantial tax benefits to American business.

Diane Fuchs is on the staff of the Tax Reform Research Group in Washington, D.C.

Catching Corporate Tax Avoiders

by Jonathan Rowe

There may be no such thing as a free lunch, but there are better ways to get more state and local revenues than increasing taxes on working people and small businesses. One of these ways is to enforce tax laws already on the books regarding large multistate and multinational corporations. Experienced auditors and enforcement officials put the annual revenue loss to the states because of tax avoidance by major corporations, at billions of dollars. This is not revenue that escapes through loopholes in the law. It is revenue due but never paid.

Large corporations have teams of lawyers and accountants working to make three plus five equal two for the tax collector. A common device is the state A-state B routine, in which the corporation tells state A that certain income is taxable in state B, while telling state B the opposite. Another device is the use of subsidiaries to juggle income between the states to minimize the exposure to taxes. The use of foreign subsidiaries to stash income away from the taxing jurisdiction of the states, is common.

At the same time, multistate businesses have some valid complaints about inconsistent state tax requirements, and overlapping audits by different states.

Ten years ago, a group of states decided they needed to join together to enforce their tax laws effectively against multistate corporations, and to make their tax laws more compatible. The result was the Multistate Tax Commission, which has grown from its original 11 members to 19 today. One of the MTC's most important accomplishments has been its pilot joint audit program, through which the member states pool their resources to audit the nation's largest corporations.

Though still in its pilot stage, and obstructed by the major corporations at every turn, the audit program has been a promising success. Last year the program turned up \$31 in uncollected taxes for each dollar spent. In five years the average return to the member states has been \$18 for each dollar they put in. Moreover, the deterrent value of the program is impossible to measure.

Most major corporations do not like being caught not paying their taxes. Ninety-two of the nation's 100 largest have formed an organization called COST—Committee on State Taxation—to try to destroy the MTC. COST members lobby the legislatures of the member states to persuade them to pull out of the Commission and, led by U.S. Steel, they have tied up the Commission in an expensive lawsuit, hoping to drain its treasury and morale.

They have done neither. Last year a three-judge federal court rebuffed the corporate challenge to the MTC's legality. U.S. Steel et. al. have appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Once that appeal has been decided, the MTC should have an unquestioned mandate to help the member tax commissioners scrutinize the tax returns of the mighty as diligently as they do the tax returns of the small.

For further information, contact the writer at Multistate Tax Commission, 444 North Capitol St., NW, Wash. DC 20001; (202) 624-5873.

Jonathan Rowe has recently joined the Multistate Tax Commission as Deputy Executive Director. He is the co-editor of New Directions in State & Local Tax Reform, a publication of the National Conference, and formerly was on the staff of the Finance & Revenue Committee of the District of Columbia City Council.

Progressives Go Local

By Lee Webb

"There is a real vacuum. There is little citizen pressure on city and state issues from a progressive direction. That's why most state and local politics stinks," said Bob Schaeffer, director of Massachusetts Citizens for Participation in Political Action in a recent discussion.

Schaeffer's observations are certainly accurate about the past two decades, but they seem to miss the essential reality of current political developments. In the last few years, crucial changes have taken place in progressive political thought and strategy which point to a powerful progressive or left/liberal voice in state and city politics.

First, many liberal/progressives have started to shift their interest and energies toward state and local issues. For over three decades their primary attention had been rivoted on national and foreign policy problems. This single-minded concentration had abandoned state and local public policy questions to more status quo or conservative interests.

Secondly, more traditional liberal Democratic organizations such as the New Democratic Coalition, have accurately perceived a shift in the national mood and are trying to develop an active constituency and program on state and local issues.

Finally, individuals and organizations that matured in the anti-war movement of the late 1960's have learned the lessons of their later political isolation.

The consequence of these developments and others is that state and local politics may well become an equally important arena for the struggle between progressive policies and the status quo as national and Congressional politics. Conservatives, of course, have always seen state and local politics as the primary arena to publicize their issues,

develop public opinion, win legislative victories, and develop candidates for national office. Their attention has paid off since state and local government traditionally has been their power base in American politics.

The progressive Democratic organizations, particularly those that make up the New Democratic Coalition (NDC) have begun to be quite active on state and local issues. For example:

- One of the most organized and active on state and local issues is CPPAX. Its December convention set up four task forces: (1) Economic Democracy; (2) Social Justice; (3) Elections and Citizens Control; and (4) Peace Action and Foreign Policy. Besides supportive progressive federal legislation on these issues, the task forces helped draft state legislation. They also lobby and do public education. For more information, contact CPPAX, 11 South St., Boston, MA.
- Regular monthly programs on state and local issues, as well as federal, have been set up by Dade County, FL. NDC. In February, for example, the state issue was state control of private utilities, the local issue was a review of county administrative procedures, and the national issue was the B-1 bomber.
- A day-long state legislative issue symposium was recently convened in Albuquerque, by New Mexico NDC featuring state bills and issues relating to energy and labor.
- A part-time lobbyist on state issues has been hired by the Connecticut Caucus of Concerned Democrats to work at the State Capitol. He will lobby for tax and election reform, a returnable bottle bill, and bills to aid cities and low income people.
- In California, the Hayden for Senate campaign organization established the California Campaign for Economic Democracy whose goal is a state-wide organization

Working and Retired People Hardest Hit by Property Taxes

by Dave Yetman

Editor's Note: The following article is an excellent summation of a populist legislator's response to the needs and problems of his constituents. However, a number of tax specialists and economists are beginning to challenge the widely held notion that the property tax is regressive. We suggest to our readers that they look at the article "Property Taxes Aren't All That Bad," by Donald G. Hagman, in New Direction In State & Local Tax Reform, published by the National Conference as well as "A New Look At An Old Tax," by Christopher Jencks, in Working Papers, summer 1977 issue. ►

Since I have been a member of the Board of Supervisors and have sat on the Board of Equalization hearing tax appeals, I have become painfully aware of the ways in which our tax structure hits working and retired people the hardest. Most taxes are non-progressive, i.e., sales, gasoline, excise, property, personal property and lieu taxes, but I wish to focus on one tax in particular, the property tax.

Since the property tax is levied on a flat rate basis, it makes no discrimination between the rich and working people. A family with a \$20,000 house will actually pay proportionately more in taxes than a family with a \$100,000 house. The higher the valuation of the house, the greater the dollar amount of variance between the actual market value and the assessed value of the house. The assessor is far more liable to make an error of a few thousand dollars on a high-priced residence than on a low-priced one. While the homeowner rebate alleviates this somewhat, it can never entirely compensate for it.

Furthermore, the mass appraisal system, under which our property tax operates, penalizes the homeowner for improvements to a dwelling, no matter how necessary, and for any inflated sales in the area. For example, if a resident spends \$750 on improvements, furnishing her own labor, the assessed value of the house increases by about \$2,000, unless she is clever enough not to make the improvements cosmetic. But the improvements to her house will also improve the neighborhood. When the house next door sells, it will in all likelihood sell for more than it would have

otherwise, so the improvements will wind up adding about \$75 to her tax bill. If she is unfortunate enough to be on a pension or fixed income, she may well lose the house.

This pattern can operate insidiously throughout entire neighborhoods. There is a development in my district which illustrates another pitfall of the mass appraisal system. The Santa Cruz Linear Park Plan projects the development of new recreation parks along the river and new tract housing close by. It is a good plan but, consider its effect on an old neighborhood known as Barrio Kroger Lane. The neighborhood is characterized by old houses, many severely deteriorated, and is a typically red-lined, FHA boycotted neighborhood. There is, however, a strong sense of neighborhood identity as a good place to live. Should the park plan be implemented, it would cause an immediate increase in the value of the land on which the existing houses are located. If some existing residences were sold, even for demolition, it would inflate the value of other residences in the area. Ultimately such inflated land and residence value would produce abrupt increases in taxes and would add a heavy financial burden to an already financially depressed area. Many residents would be unable to pay the tax increase, and would have to accept highly inflated offers. Residents would begin to leave the area and the sense of neighborhood would gradually be lost. Under the present tax system, an otherwise good park plan will spell the death-knell for the existing neighborhood.

Reform of the mass appraisal system would require that taxes not increase on residences up to a certain value (say, \$40,000) while the owner continues to reside on the property. Taxes should be abolished or be merely token on homes of \$40,000 or less which are occupied by persons over 65. The weaknesses of the mass appraisal system, moreover, points out the ultimate inequity of the property tax as a means for financing local governments, particularly public schools.

Dave Yetman is a member of the Pima County AZ Board of Supervisors.

with local activist chapters to run local candidates as Democrats or independents and to lobby in both Sacramento and Washington. For more information, contact California CED, P.O. Box 2269, San Francisco, CA. 94122.

• In Minnesota, an Alliance of Minnesota Populists has formed to be a strong politi-

cal caucus within the Minnesota Democratic Farm-Labor Party. Its attempt is to create a "populist political force" in Minnesota, and is planning a state-wide conference. For more information, contact Alpha Smaby, 1531 E. River Rd., Minneapolis, MI. 55414.

• In Michigan, a number of activists in the Human Rights

Party, a 1960's split-off from the Democratic Party on the issue of the Vietnam War, have left the third party to create a Democratic Socialist Caucus in the Democratic Party. Some candidates of the Caucus in Ypsilanti, MI. won the Democratic nominations for city council positions; one was elected.

Both the 1960's activists and the more traditional progressive Democrats seemed to have made a decision to concentrate on state and local politics. Combined with similar decisions by conservatives, state and local politics promise to be one of the most exciting areas of American political life.

IN THE CONFERENCE

What's Happening?

By Barbara Bick

Apologies are in order for the delay in this September issue of the Newsletter. The reason is that your editor spent five weeks, up to the Sept. 8 primary, working in the New York City mayoralty campaign with Bella Abzug. Rather than a report I offer a very personal reaction.

New York's Mayoralty Race — Campaigning with Bella

To reach for the office of mayor of the largest city in the nation is to reach for a position of immense power. Despite the horrendous problems besetting the city, a victory could have spelled an exhilarating mix of the most innovative alternative programs creatively merging with honest government and leadership fiercely committed to restoring to the people their right to a decent life. Elsewhere in this issue Tom Hayden and Ron Asta speak positively, out of their political experiences, about the route to achieving political power. And Bella herself, speaks optimistically about building a new urban coalition with Percy Sutton and others. But I have to express some feelings of gloom.

We all know the political importance of the recognition factor. I walked and rode beside Bella for parts of almost 30 days and in New York it was no longer a question of "recognition." Bella was *known*—to Puerto Rican street kids who raised their fists and yelled, "Hey Bella!"; to policemen and women who swerved their motorcycles to escort her car for a distance; to sanitation workers who warmly greeted her at 6 A.M. with "Give them hell, Bella;" to well dressed professionals in the Wall Street area who almost compulsively came over to shake her hand; to workers and blacks all over town who threw their arms around her; to women rallying for the ERA who filled the air of Central Park with the syncopated scream: "We want Bella!" That knowledge of Bella was based on the correct perception of Bella's history on the issues of civil rights, peace, and for working people.

Why then did her top position in the polls begin to drop so precipitously and why did she lose to two men who began the campaign with relatively zilch recognition?

Bella, as well as Beame, incidentally, based her campaign strategy on organizing people. The bulk of her campaign spending went into a telephone operation to identify and pull out her vote. Beame based his campaign strategy on having organizational support; New York's trade union leadership overwhelmingly endorsed and worked for him, as did most of the Democratic Party organization and city-funded poverty and community organizations. Neither

Cuomo nor Koch had Bella's constituency or Beame's organization.

Why then, and how, did a "liberal" from the affluent East Side of Manhattan, who did not even have the support of the New Democratic Coalition with which he has been affiliated, finally win the Democratic nomination for Mayor?

One overwhelming factor is the extent of the influence which the media, both press and commercial television and radio, now exert over political campaigns.

Every newspaper in the city endorsed either Cuomo or Koch—and then proceeded to trivialize Bella personally and to ignore the program statements and issue papers which her large and excellent staff produced in prodigious amounts.

Both Cuomo and Koch based their campaign strategy on TV commercials and each had one of the political media "giants", Rafshoon and Garth, at their side. In a primary campaign where the spending was in excess of \$5 million, the bulk of Cuomo and Koch money went into advertising.

The extra plus that Koch had over Cuomo was Koch's hard-nosed ability to manipulate the fears of people and whip up hysteria on the issue of law-and-order. Both Bella and Cuomo refused to accede to Koch's call for the death penalty (over which the Mayor has no voice, in any case). Koch argued that the National Guard should have been called out during the black-out; he also scape-goated public employees, promising to "get tough" with municipal unions. He castigated Bella for stating that police and fire-fighters have a right to strike.

There were other elements to Bella's defeat, of course, such as the defection of the labor leadership and the syphoning off of black and Puerto Rican votes in the initial primary. But the essential, depressing fact is the incredible power of the media which, at least in the case of New York, outweighed organization, history, and the development of good program.

It was not all depressing. Two excellent progressive candidates, Ruth Messinger and Miriam Friedlander, were elected to the City Council. Carol Bellamy received endorsements from every city newspaper, virtually every political organization, scores of federal, state and city officials, in her campaign for City Council President. In the run-off she beat incumbent Paul O'Dwyer by a largely white, liberal vote. About 200,000 Blacks and Hispanics who voted in the Sept. 8 primary did not go to the polls Sept. 19.

(Paul DuBrul, in his article "Why Bella Lost," *In These Times*, Sept. 21-27, presents an in-depth analysis, which I recommend.

Third Annual Conference Shows Growth, New Potentialities

Madison, WI Mayor Paul Soglin called for the first national get-together of populist/progressive locally elected officials to be held in his bailiwick the summer of '75 and it was a grand old time for the more than 150 Sixties' activists turned politician who came. Austin, TX Mayor Jeff Friedman claimed his turn to host the second meeting in '76 and that round brought several hundred new faces, along with many more community organizers, trade union officials, political activists and planners. In Austin, Colorado State Treasurer Sam Brown promised a big hoedown if the Conference came West in '77; then he went East to join the Carter Administration. But before he left, Sam brought together a broad-based group of labor, community activists and state and local elected officials to form a hard working, dedicated, totally fantastic Host Committee and the third annual event was bigger and better than ever. The four-day meeting of close to 500 persons established a new level of growth, seriousness and political potentialities.

The heart of the conference was, as in previous years, the workshops. In each of the dozens of workshops, scores of legislators, government workers, organizers and academics analyzed, debated and traded experiences about programs and legislation. Most of the workshops focused on how to develop greater public control over where money goes, rather than on the delivery of human services, another major U.S. problem. But participants were heartened by the success of some early Conference proposals such as "lifeline" electric rate structures, municipal ownership of utilities, Family Farm legislation, state banks, community economic development programs, aggressive tax reform, and local strategies for new forms of energy development.

Plenary sessions that focused on "Life under the Democrats" were mostly critical. Massachusetts Rep. Barney Frank's comment that, "Life under the Democrats is just like life under the Republicans except that Andy Young's indiscretions are morally preferable to Pat Moynihan's," was widely quoted in media coverage. This year's Conference Report features the many major press stories, rather than workshop summaries, and is available for \$1.50.

Frank also criticized Carter for his total lack of commitment to do anything for poor people, while increasing the military budget. As for the Conference, Frank suggested that it was "between the stage of being simply an association of rising politicians with left backgrounds and the harbingers of a national movement with real power for change. And to become a national movement," Frank said, "the group will need a national central focus. I think opposition to Jimmy Carter's policies could provide that focus."

A further biting criticism of federal policies was made by ecologist Barry Commoner whose edited speech begins on p. 8 of this issue. Edited texts of remarks made by Ron Asta and Tom Hayden at the Conference are on p. 12.

The new National Steering Committee was announced at the conclusion of the Conference. Members are: *John Alschuler, Assistant City Manager, Hartford, CT; *Ira Arlook, Director, Ohio Public Interest Campaign; Marion Barry, District of Columbia City Councilmember; Barbara Bick, Editor, Conference Newsletter; Sam Brown, Director, ACTION; Nicholas Carbone, Hartford, CT City Councilmember; Byron Dorgan, North Dakota Tax Commissioner; Kandra Hahn, Clerk of the District Court, Lancaster County, NE; Loni Hancock, Berkeley, CA City Councilmember; *Melvin King, Massachusetts State Representative; *Pat Roach, Dayton, OH City Councilmember; *Derek Shearer, economist/journalist; *David Smith, Professor, College of Public & Community Service; Paul Soglin, Mayor, Madison, WI; and Bennie Thompson, Mayor, Bolton, MS. Those starred, along with Lee Webb, are on the Administrative Committee, which will meet more frequently.

Arizona Recall Defeated

Arizona progressives chartered and filled a bus to attend the Denver conference. One of the participants, Frank Peters, a City Councilmember from Bisbee, AZ., withstood a conservative recall movement mounted against him this summer. It was a significant victory and since the entire bus load of Denver attendees played a support role to Peters, we are gratified that the Denver meeting had such an immediate political impact.

Cockrell Places In Detroit

Out of a field of 73 non-incumbents vying for the Detroit City Council, activist Kenneth V. Cockrell came in first, with over 100,000 votes, in the September 13 nonpartisan primary. Seven incumbents also ran for re-election and will be among the 18 candidates on the November ballot. In addition to coping with 80 candidates seeking a place on the nine seat council, Detroiters this summer approved the first property tax rise in 11 years, which restores sports, music and art classes to the city school system, and voted for two black candidates to face each other in the runoff election in November for mayor. Detroit, which is roughly 50-50 black and white and is the nation's sixth largest city, gave 55.1% to incumbent Mayor Coleman A. Young.

The Cockrell campaign was unique, even in this dramatic summer electoral swirl. It was a mass-based, issue-oriented, progressive campaign which mirrored the independent, outspoken candidate. Ken Cockrell, an attorney who holds Marxist views, has spearheaded many of the important political struggles that have been part of Detroit's history. Among his many widely known legal cases are his successful defenses of a Chrysler worker charged with murdering two foremen, by proving that working conditions and racism were the real murderers; and a 20-year old black policewoman prosecuted for shooting her male scout car partner. Cockrell proved she was using self-defense when, after being shot at 12 times by a number of police, she turned on and wounded one of her white assailants.

Continued on page 11

Carter Energy Plan Pos

By Barry Commoner

The significance of the Carter Energy Plan has not yet been assimilated although it has extraordinarily serious consequences for all of us. The Carter administration is using the energy problem as a screen for developing economic and political policies so unacceptable to the American people that they have to be hidden. If The Plan is carried out it will represent the biggest intensification of corporate control over the U.S. economy in our lifetime. It will put an increasing burden on the poor. The Plan is flirting with extremely dangerous political ideas. The Carter Energy Plan is a political Trojan Horse.

Most people think the Carter Energy Plan is a plan to conserve energy because that is what Mr. Carter said it is. However, another picture emerges from the data in a book titled THE NATIONAL ENERGY PLAN, published by the White House this spring. Those numbers state that the total conservation The Plan would bring about between 1976 and 1985 is 4%. However, since The Plan will alter the energy situation between now and 1985, it is necessary to look at the increment between 1976 and 1985. In that period there will be about a 30% increase in the demand for energy. According to these same figures, The Plan would meet the increment, 16% by conservation and 23% by nuclear power. Clearly the flaunted cornerstone of The Plan is mislaid. Nuclear power plays a bigger role than conservation.

In fact, most of the administrative bureaucracy of The Plan is designed to accomplish energy conservation in only one sector of the energy budget, i.e. transportation. Here the White House numbers state that of the total demand for energy between now and 1985, The Plan would save 2.7% in transportation. So The Plan is not about conservation; that ex-

plains why there is no mention of mass transit in The Plan; notably the most effective way to save energy in the transportation sector.

Mr. Carter says that we have to avoid imports of oil. That is a political judgment we can agree with. Carter also says that we can not keep up with the demand for oil by raising domestic production.

However, the National Petroleum Council published a major report in 1971-2 which shows that the oil industry can, by 1985, raise the production of domestic oil 50% and that they are prepared to do it for a 30% price increase. What the Carter Plan does is to accept low production figures while mandating the high price that would be sufficient to raise oil production by 50%. But we are not going to do it. An interesting question is where the extra money which that price represents will go.

According to The Plan, energy demands between now and 1985 would be met 16% by conservation, 23% by nuclear, 9% by domestic petroleum and 50% by coal. Compared with present distribution this is a rise in the use of coal from 19% to 50% and a rise in nuclear from 2.7% to 23%. In other words, the biggest change that The Plan mandates is a heavy emphasis on nuclear and coal.

What kind of energy is created by nuclear power plants and coal? The only usable energy produced by nuclear power plants is electricity. Since coal can be used for direct heat only in certain industrial installations, most of the increase will, again, mean production of electricity. The laws of physics show that when heat is converted to electricity, $\frac{2}{3}$'s of that heat can not be converted and is thrown out into the environment. Consequently, electricity is not a good or efficient way to heat domestic or commercial installations. Those are, moreover, exactly the markets that



solar energy can enter today economically, by means of solar collectors and making methane from organic waste. If The Plan goes into effect, it would make it very difficult to introduce solar energy into exactly those markets it is now ready to invade.

The Plan would also drastically shift energy away from consumers to industry. There is a close connection between the use of energy in industry and the non-use of human labor. The energy is used to replace people. The Plan will push industry in the direction of using energy instead of people and that means unemployment. Half of the unemployment in the U.S.

today is technological; that is, the displacement of people by machines, run by energy.

In order to understand the most serious deception in The Plan, which is what The Plan says about nuclear power, some basic facts are needed.

First, what is the nature of the energy crisis? It is simply that we are trying to sustain an economic system with energy resources—oil, coal, natural gas, uranium—which are non-renewable and which will not last forever. That does not mean that suddenly the lights will go out. It does mean that as these non-renewable resources are used there is a loss in efficiency and prices will rise exponenti-

es Trojan Horse Threat



ally. In other words, the energy problem is an economic problem. The American economy is hitched onto the inevitably escalating price of oil, gas, and all the other non-renewables resources.

There are several things wrong with that situation. First, it places a heavy burden on the poor; 20% of a poor family's budget is used to buy energy, 5% of a rich family's. Secondly, it creates inflation. Third, it becomes a major block to investment.

The only way to solve a problem which is caused by having a non-renewable energy source is to go to a renewable source. There are two possible renewable

sources. One is solar, in all its manifestations. The other is nuclear power with a breeder..

Present nuclear power plants use uranium. They use it once and then it is dumped someplace with the hope that someone will figure out what to do with the radioactive waste. In 25-30 years there will be no more uranium available to use that way and so the country will be left with radioactive while elephants.

The Plan mandates building 90 or so more nuclear power plants, and Schlesinger has said there might be 300 by the turn of the century. But there won't be any ura-

nium left—unless you have a breeder which regenerates fuel as it operates. While Mr. Carter is on the record as being against the breeder, material in the National Energy Plan shows that the administration is actually in favor of a breeder. It says: "The President has proposed to reduce the funding for the existing breeder program and to redirect it toward evaluation of alternative breeders."

It is clear that the administration know what it is doing with all those projected nuclear power plants. They will not run out of fuel at the turn of the century because there will be an alternative breeder. Mr. Carter recently was enthused about the thorium breeder which he says would provide energy for hundreds of years into the future. There is your alternative breeder. So The Plan covertly commits this country to a future based on nuclear power. That choice makes it impossible to take the solar route, because the two routes are contradictory.

Nuclear power suggests a metaphor which involves the physics of visiting a friend. You go to a door and there is a doorbell. Pressing the doorbell is a task, a thermodynamic task. It requires work. Energy is useful only in so far as it generates work, and "work" is that which you have to do if you want something to happen that otherwise would not happen. That is the Second Law of Thermodynamics. One of the rules of thermodynamics is that the source of energy should be well matched to the task. I have a good, well-adapted source of energy—me. I push the button, and it works, the doorbell rings.

There is an alternative technique for accomplishing that same task. I arrive, this time in a truck, and on the truck is a cannon. I aim the cannon at the doorbell and let go. And it does depress the button. So it accomplishes the task. But it is not well suited to the task. The result is that there

is a great deal of damage.

A technocratic response is to say that to use a cannon is more progress than to push the bell by hand, so the bell must be protected. A sheet of armor plate is put over the doorbell. Now I come with my cannon and WHAM, I ring the bell and everything's fine. But one day I miss and there's a big hole in the house. Now the whole front of the house must be armor plated. From then on I come up with the cannon and ring the doorbell and the house is pock marked, but it's okay. Except that now it is a very expensive house.

That is the story of nuclear power. The thermodynamic task of a nuclear power plant, is to boil water. The reason why nuclear power has become the most expensive form of energy is the need to protect or armor-plate. Nuclear power plants have to be made earthquake proof. Engineers claim that they are very safe because they have triple and quadruple backup systems. Exactly. They are so dangerous that every possible precaution is taken to prevent these dangers.

Another thing about the economics of nuclear power is that because of the extreme capital costs it, as well as all conventional forms of energy, has a very good economy of scale. You can not make an efficient little nuclear power plant. A nuclear power plant costs \$2 billion. A refinery costs a half a billion dollars. A breeder will be about \$20 billion. A coal-fired plant is also a billion dollars. Those companies with lots of money have an economic advantage in the energy industry. It is no accident that Exxon is the largest corporation in the world.

The solar energy route is completely different; it is incompatible with the present concentration of capital in the energy system. Solar energy has one beautiful characteristic. There is no economy of scale. A very little photo-

Continued on page 10

Carter Energy Plan

continued . . .

voltaic cell, which is what produces electricity, can be used to run a flashlight. A bigger one can be used to run a computer. A still bigger one will run a vacuum cleaner. The bigger ones are made by taking little ones and putting them side by side, and the efficiency of the big photovoltaic cell will be exactly the same as the efficiency of the little one. That means that there is no advantage in producing a big solar installation. Corporations that have only a million dollars of capital, instead of a hundred billion, will be able to compete as well as the big corporations. In fact, \$50,000 capital, a few people, and an empty garage can begin production of solar collectors. In other words, the solar route inevitably means the loss of economic competitiveness associated with bigness, in the energy industry. An exception might be where there is a lot of high technology involved in producing the equipment, like a photovoltaic cell. A big company will probably be able to do that better than a little one. But when the equipment is in place, there will be no need for any big companies.

Since there is a shortage of capital, and solar energy will require capital, a choice has to be made as to whether capital will go in big chunks or little ones, or in various size chunks. That one economic decision will make an enormous difference.

Another important point is that immediate applications of solar energy are not in electricity, whereas the immediate application of nuclear power and coal is in electricity. Consequently the electric power system will have to be expanded if the country is to go the nuclear-coal route. If the solar route is taken the only reason for the network will be to shift power from one place to another. In other words, the network, which is the system through which the energy is

used, is different in the two cases.

This country is at a crossroads. If the nuclear route is taken, we will be blocked from going down the solar route. The American people have to make that decision now.

The Carter Energy Plan is a commitment to the nuclear route. It is a commitment to the support of industrial consumers over private consumers. It will result in the intensification of large-scale installations.

The Carter Energy Plan is a tax scheme which can amount to \$80 billion a year. It is a large taxation laid on the country to cut the consumption of fuel. Every report on the capital shortage calls for a cut in consumption. Now that is a very simple economic proposition. What you consume prevents the formation of capital, so one way to accumulate capital is to cut consumption. This is known as austerity.

Money in the hands of poor people is useless in accumulating capital, because they consume it. Consequently, wealth must be diverted to those people who are rich enough to save some so that capital can be accumulated. Suppose you were elected President in order to carry out that mandate. Could you get away with it? Not unless you called it "conservation."

The Plan calls for accumulating huge amounts of capital in the hands of the government. My guess is that part of that \$80 billion will go to subsidize the big nuclear-intensive ways of producing energy. And if that isn't cutting consumption in order to accumulate capital so that it can be invested where you want it, I don't know what it is.

This country has some real problems. Among them are problems of unemployment and of inflation. There will be damned few jobs in building

nuclear power plants and big coal-fired plants. The enormous effort required to shift from our present energy budget to a solar budget *would* mean jobs. Tomorrow, every city could be given public works funds to rebuild its garbage and sewage treatment plants to produce methane, which is solar energy. Garbage is solar energy. It is organic matter produced by the sun. The price of garbage will not escalate because it is a renewable resource. The same is true of sewage, of canning wastes, of forestry wastes. This would stabilize the price of energy. The entire energy economy of the country could be rebuilt in a way which would redistribute wealth. This would not mean expropriating the big companies, but merely that a \$100 million corporation would get a break, as compared with \$100 billion corporations. Even \$100,000 corporation would get a break. It means spreading this huge peak of concentrated wealth out a little bit.

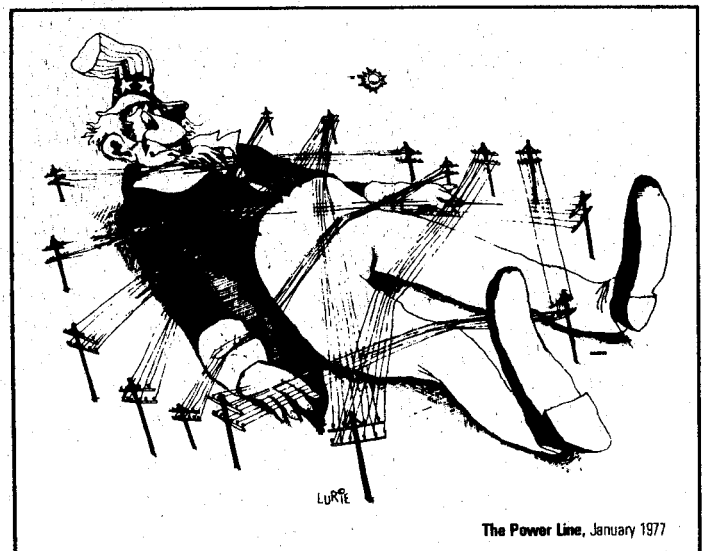
So, there is the way to solve the problem of inflation, of jobs, and of the dominance of the big corporations over the life of this country. We must have a People's Energy Policy if we want to save the economy and the political life of this country for its people.

Protections Against Plant Shut-Downs

Employees in the state of Maine are somewhat protected against corporations that close down and leave the state. Under a 1971 statute, any corporation in the state which closes its doors must pay severance pay equal to one week's wage for each year of employment. This mandatory severance pay for "runaway shops" is the only known program in the country, and is being used by the Ohio Public Interest Group as a precedent for a similar bill they are supporting in Ohio.

Corporations run into bigger trouble in Europe when they try to close down a plant than they do in the U.S. 251 former employees of Raytheon Corporation's subsidiary in Belgium, for instance, are claiming \$5.5 million in severance pay. Under Belgian law, employees are eligible for large severance pay claims, averaging \$25,000, if their employer closes down the operation.

The Raytheon subsidiary's assets are insufficient to meet the possible claims, causing Mark Eyskens, the Belgian Secretary of State for regional development, to suggest that the government may have to require companies to put up guarantees for the payment of social benefits in the event they later go out of business.





Kenneth V. Cockrel

Close to 1,000 volunteers turned out for the Cockrel campaign, distributing more than 200,000 leaflets which attacked the problems of unemployment, heroin trafficking, redlining, crime and corruption and advancing the idea that government should be controlled by and answerable to the people.

Support from outside Detroit is welcomed. For information, contact Sheila Murphy, Campaign Manager, 2826 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211.

New Staff Line-up for Conference

Lee Webb became full-time Executive Director of the National Conference this Fall, resigning from the Goddard faculty and moving to Washington, D.C. Ann Beaudry moved into a new slot also, as Associate Director, responsible for on-going operations. Ann, who came on staff a year ago as Legislative Clearinghouse Coordinator, has co-edited the Conference tax reader and organized the third annual national conference in Denver.

Josie Anderson, formerly Conference Administrative Assistant, has been replaced by two new staff members, Kevin Johnson and Yvonne Frederick. Kevin, who coordinated the recent Banking for Non-Bankers meeting in Chicago, will be responsible for publications distribution and promotion and will organize a series of seminar/workshops on banking. Yvonne will be a part-time secretary. We are all sorry to see Josie leave the Conference.

Barbara Bick, founder and former national coordinator, has moved from Conference headquarters at the Institute for Policy Studies, to the new Public Resource Center, but will continue to edit the Conference newsletter.

Notes Continued . . .

black and poor Georgians in the most recent legislative session. The *Review* is the only comprehensive public interest treatment of legislative activity in a Southern state.

For copies of the 137-page *Review*, write to Robert A. Kronley, Director, Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, Clark College, Atlanta, GA. 30314.

Military Spending Impact

An excellent packet of materials on the economic effects of proposed military spending on state and local governments show that the proposed Carter budget calls for increases in military spending over the next few years and a decrease in financial support for state and local governments. For copies, contact the Coalition for a New Foreign & Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Wash. D.C. 20002

LABOR-PAC

There are ways to move around the dead-end impasse locally between public employees and public officials.

Many of these issues and new program approaches were discussed in workshops at the Denver Conference in July. A planning group of public employees, labor, public officials, and community organization representatives at Denver urged that more LABOR-PAC be published, including broader labor issues as well.

Edited by Robb Burlage, the first LABOR-PAC can be ordered from the Conference and from the Public Resource Center, 1747 Connecticut Ave., NW, Wash. D.C. for \$2.

State Bank Report

For an example of how successful a state-owned bank can be, write to the state-owned Bank of North Dakota, Bismark, ND. 58505, for a copy of their 1976 An-

nual Report. The Report includes a lengthy summary of the activities of the bank, financial information on operations, and a summary of financial results of the past six years.

JOBS

Wilmington United Neighborhoods

WUN, a city-wide, multi-issue community organization, is seeking a Director with at least two years experience in grassroots community organizing. The organization deals with issues which range from neighborhood problems to city and state-wide issues. The job begins December 1 and requires some skills in fundraising and proposal writing, and ability to train and supervise staff. Salary is negotiable, comprehensive health benefits and travel allowance. Write or call: Nino Nannarone, Director; Wilmington United Neighborhoods, 1300 N. Broom St., Wilmington, DE. 19806; (302) 655-3338.

Carolina Action

Carolina Action, statewide organization of low to moderate income North Carolinians is interviewing for full-time community organizers. Through direct action by neighborhood, city, and statewide groups, CA has won issues ranging from winning recreation improvements and stopping highways from ploughing through neighborhoods, to altering priorities in federally funded community development programs and to a campaign, unprecedented in North Carolina, which instigated the state legislature to consider major utility rate restructuring. Training provided to individuals dedicated to bringing about social change. Contact: Sue Esty, Carolina Action, 712 W. Johnson St., Raleigh, N.C. 27603 (919) 834-1138.

Score Card For Progressive Coalition Building

Edited Remarks from The Denver Conference

by Tom Hayden

To build the new progressive coalition that will achieve substantial political power we must seriously tackle a number of questions.

One: is the question of program. How do you bring together the 30% or the 50% of the American people around something they have in common and will fight for. In California we have spent a lot of time trying to analyze the issue of economic democracy. Many groups which do not necessarily get along on other issues can relate to this concept.

Two: is the question of leadership. There has never been significant social change that did not have leaders associated with it. People who are economically, spiritually, down do not trust words or organizations because they have heard promises and seen groups come and go for a long time. But they can trust individual persons because of how that person has delivered in the past. The problem is how to make leadership accountable. That is difficult because most people in leadership positions and in office did not come out of a movement and therefore do not think collectively or organizationally. Consequently, we have to have electoral coalitions with good candidates but not rely on the candidates to be the organizers. This will lead to built-in problems but we can live with the problem until the day when, through a more organized movement, we create our own candidates.

Three: is the question of organization. Several lessons can be learned about the problems of organization from the past. One is that there are no short-cuts. It takes a long time. Two is that you cannot rely on the current wave of movement excitement. You have to have some plan of action. Three, you have to have organizer training. Four, you have to have a financial base that does not depend on philanthropy but on the people that

you see as the voters and the future of your movement.

Four: unity. Very often people or organizations split because they lack agreement on program, on leadership and whether there should be a long-term organization. In order to get unity there has to be education about issues and ideology, but there also has to be something deeper. Perhaps we have to apply some of the techniques of group therapy to politics. Internal unity requires dealing with people on a more fundamental level than politics, as we usually understand politics. You also have to find issues that are not divisive of the coalition and this is difficult. Issues that link people are broad single issues like opposition to the war, or class issues like higher utility rates. Other issues, crucial to women and minorities, take a long-term coalition. And then, coalitions have to be built at the grass root level and not just among leaders or on paper.

Finally, Five: the question of spirit. Successful movements have been marked by people clapping hugging, crying, singing, and going crazy about themselves. When people experience tough times they get through by a spiritual leap. When police approach a picket line, people don't start reading Karl Marx to see what is the correct response to the police. They link arms and enclose themselves in each other, finding a spiritual togetherness that allows them to rise above, or at least cope with their fear and get to the next step.

So if we have program and leadership and organization and unity and spirit together then we can get across this next 15 year space into power. I don't know how to do it day to day but these are the elements that we have to deal with.

Tom Hayden ran a broad-based campaign for the U.S. Senate from California last year. He lost and is currently coalition building.

by Ron Asta

In Arizona we began building a successful political coalition for progressive policies in 1972. We suffered some setbacks in 1976. Our number one priority now is to have a full understanding of our opposition—their tactics and strategies—in order to come back with solid victories.

Principle among our opponents was the Good Government League—a coalition of new car dealers, bankers, Chamber of Commerce, Southern Arizona Homebuilders Assoc., Tucson Board of Realtors, big contractors, big department store executives, republicans and labor.

Not all labor was against us. The steelworkers, public employees, retail clerks and others were with us. But the construction trades were not, because they bought the "no growth" scare.

There are seven lessons that we have learned that I want to relay to others working to build progressive coalitions.

Lesson No. 1: Ronald Reagan has a sunbelt strategy and that is to go after state and local races with a vengeance. Part of the strategy is to rewrite local government charters and push for metro government.

Lesson No. 2: Don't buy Metro. Remember it is easier to gain control of one government in a local area than several.

Lesson No. 3: It is time for us to play hardball politics. It's important to stick to issues but we should no longer refuse to attack the opposition because we want to maintain a "positive" image. The tactics of our opponents are the same across the country and they are simple—they lie!

If you try to help consumers, they claim you are anti-business.

If you try to save some environmentally critical land, they say you are no growth.

If you try to discourage costly growth in the suburbs, they lie that you are anti-jobs.

The biggest lie of all is our opposition's cry to protect free enterprise. We don't have free enterprise for the many anymore; we have subsidized enterprise for a few. It's time to tell the truth about their lies in no uncertain terms.

Lesson No. 4: We have to get labor back. We all know that environmental protection, energy conservation, tax reform, and economic democracy are essential to a healthy economy. But how many times have we pushed for direct jobs? I'm going back to Tucson and try my best to recruit a labor intensive, anti-automation industry for our community.

Lesson No. 5: There are some important, natural alliances that can be formed with the right; not the conservative, Reagan right, but the libertarian right. They are with us on abortion, gay rights, ERA, legalization of drugs—true civil libertarians. They are opposed to big government and big corporations.

Lesson No. 6: The media. In my town the morning newspaper endorsed my opponent after 3¼ years of solid support for me and my issues. In their editorial favoring my opponent, they pointed out I had kept all my campaign promises so I was "polarizing" the community.

The reason for this quick change of heart? Advertising pressure. It's time for progressives to own a radio station or two, a television station or three, magazines and newspapers. There are important goals for fund raising in the near future.

The final Lesson No. 7: We need to be upbeat again, not down. There is a holding back on our rhetoric. Why? Did we make a mess of society? Let's intensify our rhetoric, not retreat.

Let's play some hardball and beat those people.

Ron Asta was formerly a member of the Pima County, AZ Board of Supervisors. He is currently coalition building.

What Is A Good Idea Worth?

New Directions in State and Local Public Policy

surveys new innovations in 10 crucial areas of state and local public policies. Proposals, bibliographies, resource guides and model legislation are included on • Energy • Redlining and Reinvestment • Food • Agriculture • Economic Development • Tax Reform • Women's Legislation • Neighborhood Banking • Political Organizing • Land Use • Public Enterprise • Revenue Sharing • Public Employees. It is an invaluable public policy manual for state and local officials, public interest groups, citizen organizations, and others. 1977. 430 pp. \$7.50. What's a good idea worth?

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is a collection of the most interesting innovative legislation and proposals developed in the 70s. More than 100 proposals and model bills covering the full range of state and local policies are included: Government Reform • Police and the Courts • Neighborhood Government • Local Education • The Arts • Farmland Banks • Utility Reform • Environmental Protection • State and City Banks • Property Tax Reform • Public Enterprise • Political Organizing. 1976. 654 pp. \$5 (\$3 with orders of \$10 or more) What's a good idea worth?

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tells what could be done about runaway plants. States and cities throughout the nation are being hurt by unexpected shutdowns of industrial plants and manufacturers. Many people believe nothing can be done to save these jobs and communities. This volume in the Public Policy Series makes realistic proposals for what the federal, state, and local governments could do to save jobs and protect communities from plant shutdowns. By Ed Kelly. \$2.50, Institutions, businesses, \$5.

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New Public Advocate Department

by Peter A. Buchsbaum

A Department of the Public Advocate, designed to open up the process of government to the people, was created in 1974 in New Jersey. This piece of legislation set up several unique institutions. The most innovative is the Division of Public Interest Advocacy, a state-funded public interest law firm which can act to protect citizens' rights against invasion from sources such as state or local governments and private corporations. It resembles, but has more power, than the proposed federal Agency for Consumer Advocacy. Also of great importance are the Division of Rate Council, financed by an assessment on the public utilities and designed to fight rate hike requests; and the Office of Citizens Complaints which investigates and resolves individual problems that people have with state government.

Among other key sections are a Division of Mental Health Advocacy, to protect the rights of mental patients in individual cases and class actions; an Office of Inmate Advocacy, to handle parole revocation and prison law reform matters; and an Office of Dispute Settlements which trains community groups in techniques of mediating their disputes with local governments.

A review of some of the activities of the Divisions of Rate Counsel and Public Interest Advocacy indicates that such a Department is a viable mechanism for assuring that alternative policies are considered at the state level.

Rate Counsel has placed challenges to rate increase requests on a basis that is probably more sustained and consistent than in any other state. The most notable accomplishment came when its arguments persuaded the Public Utilities Commission to reject a Bell Telephone multi-million dollar rate hike application outright. But the key to the worth of the Division lies not in its success in any one case but in its abil-

ity—backed by the secure financing of an automatic assessment on utilities—to fight every major rate increase vigorously and to participate fully in other economic matters that the P.U.C. considers, such as hearings on rate design or the long range needs for power plant construction. The \$250,000 recently expended by the Division in opposing a rate application by the State's largest utility is an unprecedented consumer effort in New Jersey.

The Division of Public Interest Advocacy has pursued a wide range of public issues through litigation and administrative action. Housing has been one area of concentration with particular emphasis on court cases seeking to preserve municipal rent control and end exclusionary zoning. We have also used our status as a state agency, and consequent right to participate in the A-95 review process, to ensure that communities spend their allotments under the Housing & Community Development Act of 1974 for low and moderate income people. And we have pushed for regulations which will strongly enforce New Jersey's new anti-red-lining law.

Because we are part of the state, our inquiries, requests and threats of suit bring faster action from other government officials. We can provide mechanisms for making the policy views of citizens groups known to responsible officials.

Our experience demonstrates that a state-funded public interest entity is a useful alternative public policy mechanism for opening up government.

Further inquiries should be addressed to the writer at the Dept. of the Public Advocate, P.O. Box 141, Trenton, N.J. 08601, or call (609) 292-1692.

Peter A. Buchsbaum is the Assistant Deputy Public Advocate, of the Division of Public Interest Advocacy for the state of New Jersey.

Throwaway Deposit Ordinance — Successful Case Study

By Patrick Lacefield

Last spring voters of Columbia, MO, overcoming a slick, well-financed campaign by bottling and retailing interests, passed an ordinance mandating a deposit on all throwaway beverage containers. The ordinance, similar to laws in effect in several states require: a minimum 5¢ deposit on all throwaway beer and soft drink containers, that all containers bear the stamp "Columbia", and that retailers refund deposits for brands and sizes which they sell.

The campaign began in a class at the U. of Missouri entitled "Citizens and the Environment", taught by community activist David Thelen. It quickly gathered significant community support from the Conservation Federation of Missouri, Sierra Club, YMCA, Public Service Employees Local 45, various church social concern committees, Teamsters Joint Council 13, and both of the Columbia newspapers, as well as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Kansas City Star*. The issue was taken before the Columbia City Council in December of 1976 and defeated 4-3, with the vote splitting upon strict conservative/progressive lines. The citizens coalition, Columbians Against Throwaways, then decided to take the issue to the people by referendum and easily gathered enough signatures to assure a spot on the ballot.

Organized against the ordinance, under the misnomer of Columbians for Consumers, were local and state bottling and retailing interests. Their extensive campaign included point-of-sale leaflets on the counters and posters in all retail outlets as well as anti-deposit stickers on all beverage containers. Their slogan was "Don't Pay for the Slob!" The campaign stressed that all beverage prices would go up as a result of the deposit law and that Columbia would lose business. The bottlers also sought to portray the de-

posit ordinance as limiting the freedom of choice of those who buy throwaway containers and described it alternately as a "forced deposit" and "mandatory refund" scheme.

The bottlers and retailers banked on heavy financial support from out-of-town interests and raised and spent about \$11,000 in opposition to the ordinance. Expenditures included extensive newspaper advertising, a 17,000 piece mailing to all registered voters, and blanket advertising on the local radio outlets. Beer distributors throughout the state received a letter urging contributions from the U.S. Brewers Assoc. Post-election disclosure of contributions showed that only 13 of their 72 contributions came from within Columbia.

The Columbians Against Throwaways, on the other hand, raised and spent only \$1000, turning down all contributions from outside the city, including a donation from the Teamsters Union. Door-to-door canvassing, a massive letters-to-the-editor campaign, and free radio advertisements spearheaded the proponents efforts. They received the free radio spots under the Fairness Doctrine from several local radio stations. The possibility of the same happening on television caused the bottlers and retailers to cancel a planned TV blitz in the closing days of the election.

The throwaway deposit ordinance won with 53.6% thus becoming the first city to pass such an ordinance by referendum, and garnering support from conservative as well as progressive areas. Although the Missouri Brewers Assoc. is planning a challenge in the courts to prevent implementation, the ordinance will very likely withstand the challenge.

Patrick Lacefield is a community activist. He recently moved from Columbia to New York City to join the staff of WIN Magazine.

Notes to Note

Municipal Utility Sale Blocked

A petition campaign to "Save Muni Light" led by Dennis Kucinich, chief clerk of the Cleveland Municipal Court, has forced the City Council to hold a public referendum on its plan to sell the city-owned utility to the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. Kucinich has warned that CEI will impose a big rate increase if it takes over the municipal utility.

No Alternative To Full Employment

A national conference in Washington, D.C., November 11-13, will kick off a campaign to press President Carter and the Democratic Congressional majority to live up to their party's 1976 platform promises, especially full employment and tax reform.

THE DEMOCRATIC AGENDA conference will bring together union members, community organizers, elected officials and active feminists, socialists and liberal Democrats. Workshops at the conference will focus on democratic economic planning, regional development, national and local tax reform, urban problems, full employment, U.S. inflation and proposals for curbing corporate power and redistributing wealth.

Conference speakers will include Sen. George McGovern, Machinists Union President William Winpinger, and socialist author Michael Harrington as well as

Massachusetts State Rep Barney Frank. Other sponsors of the Democratic Agenda conference include: Gloria Steinem, U.S. Reps. John Conyers and Ronald Dellums, Heather Booth, Derek Shearer, union presidents Douglas Fraser (UAW), Jerry Wurf (ASCME) and Murray Finley (Clothing & Textile Workers), and Paul Soglin, Mayor of Madison, WI.

For more information write: THE DEMOCRATIC AGENDA, Room 617, 853 Broadway, New York, 10003, (212-260-3270).

Public Lands Study

Legislative and tax policies that would redistribute the vast corporate and railroad land holdings to small farmers is highlighted in "Promised Land; A Contemporary Critique of Distribution of Public Land by the United States", written by Sheldon L. Green. The article is in the *Ecology Law Quarterly*, Vol. 15, 1976, published by the School of Law, U. C. at Berkeley.

Senior Food Stamp Program

Food stamp recipients in the Salem, OR. area who are over the age of 60 will be able to use their stamps to pay for meals in restaurants starting in September. Oregon is the second state in the national to institute a dining out program for elderly food stamp recipients. Hawaii pioneered the idea in 1975.

"Save Our Cities" Campaign

Local officials struggling with tight budgets and the need for increased spending on social services, have become painfully aware they cannot expect the necessary federal help so long as the nation spends \$110 to \$120 billion a year (and \$170.4 billion by FY 1982) on its military machine.

A new coalition has been formed, Mobilization for Survival, to apply public pressures that will both reverse the arms race and transfer at least \$15 or \$20 billion a year to meet human needs at the grass roots. The coalition includes such traditional peace and social justice organizations as American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, Clergy & Laity Concerned, Another Mother for Peace, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, Women's Strike for Peace, SANE, Critical Mass, as well as such individuals as Rep. Ron Dellums, Rep. John Conyers, Nobel Laureates George Wald and Salvatore Luria, Daniel Ellsberg, Barry Commoner, Sidney Lens, David Dellinger, Norma Becker, Noam Chomsky.

Mobilization is currently organizing teach-ins around the country (scheduled for October and November) to institute a creative discussion of this problem, and plans a series of actions in March 1978 under the heading "Save our Cities, Fund our Communities." Hopefully local of-

ficials will hold meetings and pass resolutions calling on the federal government to reverse the arms race and apply those funds to human needs. The \$10.6 billion now allocated for nuclear bombs—we have 30,000, enough to kill everyone on earth 12 times—and the \$4 to \$6 billion on weapons research can be better used to provide jobs, homes, educational facilities, etc.

If you wish to participate in this campaign, contact Mobilization for Survival, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA. 19107 (215 563-1512).

International Urban Innovations

A good source of information on innovative urban policies abroad is the Council for Urban Liaison, which follows urban public policy in Europe and the English-speaking world closely. The Council writes short reports on interesting developments in such areas as urban renewal, housing, transportation, arts, the elderly, environmental issues and others. Contact the Council at 1612 K St., Room 904, Wash. D.C. 20006.

Georgia Legislators Rated

The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy has just published the *Georgia Legislative Review*, 1977 which rates state legislators on their key votes affecting
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