

## Resources

### Controlling Capital

*Mobilizing Capital For Economic Development: Institutional Innovation and the New Urban Policy* brings together a number of important papers on changing the flows of private and public capital, and gaining more public accountability over the process.

Based on a conference that was held at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School last spring, the reader covers capital for new technology, pension fund investment, private venture capital firms, anti-redlining strategies, community development corporations, innovative uses of CETA, the National Development Bank, employee stock ownership, and more.

For copies, send \$6.25 to the Center for New Jersey Studies, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton, NJ 08540.

### Arresting Medical Care Costs

*The Rising Costs of Health Care*, an Oregon PIRG study, examines Portland's excess hospital beds—and their maintenance costs—and concludes that the huge expense of upkeep for unused beds is borne by the public through insurance premiums, taxes, and doctor and hospital bills. Also detailed is the structure of the health planning bureaucracy from the Federal to the local level.

Recommendations include sharing of major equipment among hospitals, effective consumer participation in health planning on all levels, and frequent public meetings of Health Systems Agencies, and State Health Planning and Development Agencies.

For a copy, write Oregon PIRG c/o Bill Van Dyke, Tythian Bldg., 918 SW Yamhill St., Portland, OR 97205.

### New Magazines Focus on State and Local Government

One measure of the growing importance of state and local politics is the number of magazines, both commercial and non-profit, that now focus on it.

*Potomac Journal* covers state and local government in Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, reporting on how such governments work and "why they sometimes fail." Recent articles examine property taxes ("How High and How Fair?"), state agencies ("How Effective They Really Are"), transportation ("Highways and Mass Transit Slug It Out For Subsidy"), and the federal government ("Rich Uncle or Big Brother?"). For subscription information, write them at 711 E St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

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

For *NC Insight* subscription information, write North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, PO Box 10886, Raleigh, NC 27605.

*Illinois Issues* is cosponsored by the University of Illinois and Sangamon State University. Articles focus on controversies in Illinois, describe how a public agency or unit of government functions, analyze a problem, or report developments in science or education. The magazine also summarizes legislative action on key bills.

For subscription information, write Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62708.

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

For subscription information, write New Jersey Magazine, 16 Vandeventer Ave., Princeton, NJ 08540.

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

### Ways & Means

Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies  
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## Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

# Ways & Means

January-February 1979

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

# Legislative Initiatives

## Bank of North Dakota Makes Loans to New Farmers

The Bank of North Dakota, the nation's only state-owned bank, has committed \$1.7 million in loans to new farmers in the first two-and-a-half months of its Beginning Farmer Program.

Under the plan, new farmers can receive 100 percent financing for purchase of farmland, 50 percent from the bank and 50 percent from the Farmers Home Administration (FHA).

In addition, the borrower receives a two percent interest deviation for the first five years of a 40-year loan, and principal payments can be deferred the first two years of the loan if necessary.

To qualify for the program, the new farmer must be a North Dakota resident, must spend 50 percent of his time on the farm, derive 50 percent of his income from the farm, and must have 2-3 years farm management experience, either through formal education or actual farm labor.

The program was initiated by the North Dakota Industrial Commission, which regulates the bank, in cooperation with the bank and the FHA.

For more information, contact Steve Tomac, Vice President in charge of the Loan Department, Bank of North Dakota, Bismarck, ND 58501.

## West Virginia Acquires Corporate Land By Condemning It

West Virginia has moved finally to take corporate land for desperately needed housing in Mingo County. Governor John D. Rockefeller IV's move to condemn 83 acres of the Cotiga Land Development Corporation's almost 40,000-acre holdings is a small but important step. The Ting Valley Recovery Center has advocated acquisition of land through condemnation since April 1977.

For more information, contact Ting Valley Recovery Center, Sandy

New Era, 515 Harvey St., Williams, WV 25661.

## Precedent for Hydroelectric Projects May Be Set

In the town of Bonifant, Utah, the fight between Utah Power & Light and the Bonifant municipal electric department over the control of a nearby hydroelectric project may be an important one for proponents of public control of utilities. Since the private company's license to operate the project expired, both have applied to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) for permission to be the licensee.

A clause in the Federal Water Power Act of 1920 gives preference to states and municipalities when new licenses are granted to utilities. Bonifant says that this preference should apply to relicensing as well. If this argument is accepted by FERC, an important precedent could be set for the 86 hydroelectric projects which are due for relicensing by 1980; nearly all could be open to public takeover.

For more information, contact Environmental Action, Utility Project, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

## 2-4-5-T Banned in Oregon Town

Oakridge, Oregon, has become the first municipality in the US to oppose the aerial spraying of the herbicide 2-4-5-T. A threatened lawsuit by local citizens, aroused by US Forest Service tactics, finally won the battle. Tests have since shown 2-4-5-T contamination in the waters of nearby streams along with traces of dioxin, a cancer-causing agent known to have caused sterility and birth defects in Vietnam where it was used in the defoliant "Agent Orange."

For more information, contact the community-based non-profit Lane Economic Development Council, PO Box 1475, Eugene, OR 97401.

# State and Local Tax Reform: Congress Could Help

## By Lee Webb

Tax reform campaigns at the state and local level are alive and growing. The success of the Massachusetts Property Tax Classification Initiative (See p. 13) and burgeoning support for similar efforts in Ohio and Illinois bear witness to the movement's health. So also does the widespread participation and enthusiasm at the Conference's October meeting, "State and Local Tax Reform: A Progressive Agenda," where 250 tax activists, public officials, and union leaders met.

No matter how many isolated victories the tax reformers score, however, invariably they run into one crucial problem, the solution of which is the keystone of a successful overall program for states and cities. A must for nearly every tax reform program is higher taxes for business. Yet the division of power in the federal government allows and even effectively encourages states and cities to outbid each other with lower and lower business tax abatements to attract new industry. This destructive tax competition creates no new jobs for the country as a whole and instead robs cities and states of billions of dollars in possible revenue.

Thus state and local progressives must look to another important area for help in state and local tax reform—Congress and the federal government. Instead of effectively discouraging state and local tax reform, these systems must use their power and authority to stimulate and encourage it. This would be a far better response to the "tax revolt" than President Carter's massive tax cuts or the budget slashing of the Kemp-Roth bill. Regrettably, because of the lack of an exciting program, Congressional tax reformers have been stuck on the sidelines of the "tax revolt" debate as Democratic moderates have sought to out-Republican the Republicans.

Congressional tax reformers do have an exciting alternative to massive revenue and spending cuts, however. A program of federal stimulus for state and local tax reform could provide the basis of a common program between Congressional tax reformers and state and local activists. For the local tax activists it could also provide the possibility to unite the growing strength of local tax reform efforts into a national campaign.

**"A program of federal stimuli could provide the basis for a common program between Congressional tax reformers and state and local activists."**

In recent years, there has been some interest in the federal role in state and local tax reform. Proposals, however, were tentative and not comprehensive enough. In 1973, Senators Edmund Muskie and Charles Percy introduced The Property Tax Reform and Relief Act (S1255). In the past session, Congressman Stephen Solarz introduced the Local Government Income Tax Relief and Incentive Act (HR13019) and Congressman

Walter Jones introduced legislation to use federal authority to eliminate severe disparities in state cigarette taxes.

None of these proposals would have put the federal government in the business of writing state and local tax codes, but they do point in the right direction.

Progressives should support the following key elements of a federal effort to stimulate state and local tax reform:

- Congress should use the resources of the federal government to help finance state-run property tax relief programs, such as a broad circuit breakers. To qualify, state tax systems could also be required to meet minimal standards

of progressivity and modern tax administration.

- Congress should provide financial assistance to states, counties, and local governments for improving their tax administration through grants or federally-sponsored programs to train tax administrators.

- Congress should provide incentives through General Revenue Sharing and other grant formulas, and reward the states and local governments which move towards a more progressive tax structure.

- Congress should induce states to adopt more progressive corporate taxation by establishing a program of tax credits similar to the foreign tax credit for corporate income taxes paid to the states.

This would have the effect of setting a minimum state corporate income tax. States that did not enact such a tax would simply see that money go to Washington, so all states would respond by enacting such a tax. States like Texas without a corporate income tax would be generating more revenue for general purposes, while states with existing corporate taxes would be less fearful of businesses fleeing to states without corporate taxes.

- Congress should take necessary steps to make local tax abatements less attractive. The federal government could eliminate much of the incentive of tax abatements by treating them as taxable income under the IRS Code. Or such abatements could only be tax free if they were in areas with certifiably high unemployment.

In the coming year, the conference will investigate and develop possible initiatives that the federal government could take to encourage state and local tax reform in the coming year. For more information, contact the Tax Reform Project of the Conference.

*Lee Webb is executive director of the Conference.*

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

Subscription prices: \$10, \$30 for individuals, \$50 for institutions. To order, see centerfold. Please request permission to reprint.

# Repealing State Food Taxes

By Diane Fuchs

The sales tax on food is the most regressive tax of all. It takes the most from those who have the least. It is a tax on a necessity that must be paid by everyone, regardless of income.

Twenty-three states currently tax food with rates ranging from two percent in Oklahoma to five

percent in Mississippi.

The tax is regressive because high-income families spend less of their income on food and on the tax than do low-income families. For instance, a family of four with an income above \$25,000 spends about 8.9 percent of its income on food, or an average of 2.7 percent on the food tax. A family with an income

under \$8,000 spends almost a quarter of its income on food, or 7.4 percent for the tax.

A number of states that tax food have dealt in part with the regressivity of the tax by enacting income tax credits. Colorado, Idaho, and Nebraska compensate in this way. In addition, Hawaii, New Mexico, and Vermont provide credits on their income tax to generally compensate for sales taxes, including those on food.

Another 23 states and the District of Columbia simply exempt food from the general sales tax.

Eliminating the tax, however, also removes a hefty source of state revenues. As a result, fears of increases in other taxes led voters in Colorado and Missouri to reject ballot measures in 1976; and voters in Arkansas defeated a similar ballot initiative, sponsored by ACOFN, this past November.

These revenues could be made up in other ways, however. For instance, the general sales tax could be extended to non-necessity items, such as services purchased mainly by businesses and those in upper-income brackets. Other additional revenue sources might be generated by:

- More efficient sales tax administration, including the pre-collection of the tax from the whole rather than retailer.
  - More effective tax administration, generally including membership in the Multistate Tax Commission.
  - An increase in the upper levels of the state income tax, or enactment of one where none exists.
  - Placement of a tax on intangible personal property.
  - An increase in corporate taxes.
- In their upcoming sessions, the legislatures in Utah and Mississippi will be considering bills to exempt food from the sales tax.

Diane Fuchs, a Washington, DC, tax consultant, was formerly an attorney with the Tax Reform Research Group.

# Direct Marketing: Bumper Crop For Farmers & Consumers

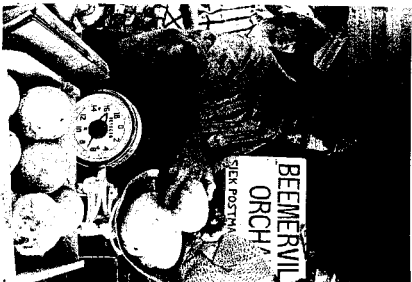
By Joe Belden

In 1977, Americans spent about \$179 billion for food consumed both at home and in restaurants. Of this amount, farmers received \$57 billion—only 32 percent of the total. This proportion has been relatively constant, or even on the decline, for decades, and it illustrates a continuing problem. Consumer food prices keep rising while farm income barely keeps up the same large gap. That gap—the 68 percent—is occupied by transportation, processing, wholesaling, retailing, advertising and other costs between the farm gate and the dining table. Many state and local governments have begun to examine ways of cutting into the gap and helping both producers and consumers.

Farmers, pressured by rising costs of production, need better markets for their crops and livestock and more control over existing markets. Many are being forced by economic circumstances into integrated or "contract" farming. An alternative is for agricultural producers to market directly to consumers, bypassing the big food corporations in the middle. Direct marketing is no panacea for the problems of the U.S. food system, but it can be a significant step in a new direction. By cutting away all or most of the middlemen, direct marketing has the potential to increase farm incomes, lower consumer prices, provide fresher food, and encourage more local and regional production. In an era of concern over public expenditures, direct marketing even offers the possibility of paying all or part of its own way—through small fees charged to farmers for market space.

A number of states and localities have begun direct marketing programs and other efforts to increase the market strength of farmers. West Virginia's farmer-to-consumer markets are an example. State-

owned and operated markets in six cities were the sites of \$1.8 million worth of food sales in 1976. Farmers pay a small commission on produce sold. A similar market, consisting of three city block-sized sheds, operates year-round in Dallas. Other cities, such as Honolulu and New York (in its Greenmarket program), have open-space markets—on parking areas and vacant lots. Buildings and sheds once used for thriving farmers' markets still stand throughout the U.S. Many are now unused but could be revived.



"Direct marketing could increase farm incomes, lower consumer prices, provide fresher food, and encourage more local and regional production . . ."

Pennsylvania has an extensive marketing program, initiated under former state Secretary of Agriculture Jim McHale. It includes "alligate" markets, a state canning facility, directories of farmer-to-consumer outlets, and a direct marketing newsletter. From 1976-1977, producers in Pennsylvania

sold over \$114 million worth of farm goods in direct markets. California's Department of Consumer Affairs sponsors a toll-free telephone number offering information on farms with excess fruit or vegetables to sell.

Direct farmer-to-consumer selling is probably the best known but not the only marketing alternative under exploration. "Buy Local" campaigns in New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts use labeling, publicity, and other promotional efforts to encourage purchase of food grown within the state. Another idea is to require or encourage state institutions (such as schools, hospitals and cafeterias in public buildings) to buy locally.

Legislation seeking that end has been proposed in Massachusetts and New York. In Kansas, legislation has been introduced that would begin multistate investigation of commercial grain marketing practices. A model multistate organization suggested in the original bill would examine the feasibility of anti-trust action against the grain industry. That industry is dominated by a handful of mostly private multinational corporations (with no public stock and thus no public disclosure).

Farmers have always had little or no control over the marketing of their products, and consumers have little recourse to higher food prices other than to stop eating. Roadside stands, direct marketing systems, and campaigns for local buying are the first steps toward gaining more control. The Kansas bill suggests much more for the future—ultimate public regulation or control of the marketing of major agricultural commodities. These new marketing alternatives will benefit both farmers and consumers.

Joe Belden works as a consultant on agricultural and food policy issues in Washington, DC.

## Family Farm Coalition Moves Ahead

By Cathy Lerza

Proponents of a family farm-based agriculture scored an unexpected victory in the 95th Congress with the passage of the new Agricultural Credit Act of 1978 which includes low-interest loans to limited resource low-income farmers and farm production cooperatives.

The new program, originally part of the Family Farm Development Act (see old *Conference Newsletter*, No. 11, March 1978), will specifically address the credit needs of the 1.6 million farmers in the US who gross less than \$20,000 each year. The new program will provide loans at 8.5 percent interest rates. The loan recipient can repay the loan on a "balloon repayment schedule" by which the interest rates are lower in the first period of the loan pay-back schedule than in the latter period.

The Act extends loan capital to farm production cooperatives and small farmers who are unable to obtain credit through conventional private and public sources. USDA's Farmers' Home Administration (FmHA) will direct the program and has announced that approximately \$100 million will be available under these terms.

The National Family Farm Coalition, a national lobbying group working on the Family Farm Development Act, is now geared up for reintroduction of the bill in the

new Congress, with Representatives Rick Nolan (D-MN.) and George Brown (D-CA) as cosponsors. The coalition will work, both in Congress and with its growing membership of farm, consumer, religious, and environmental groups to see action taken on the remaining eight titles of the bill.

These cover everything from reform of federal agricultural payment programs to better serve the needs of low-income farmers to an increase in USDA commitment to alternative marketing systems to a redirection of USDA-funded agricultural research and extension programs. The bill is aimed at restructuring the programs and services of USDA so that they help small- and moderate-sized family farmers. The intention is to eliminate the "get-big-or-get-out" attitude still rampant at USDA, and remove some of the obstacles to family farms which still permeate federal farm programs. The coalition's first major lobbying effort in the 96th Congress will be aimed at passage of the direct marketing section of the bill.

Write the coalition at 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20006. Organizations and individuals who will serve as regional coordinators or Congressional district contacts are needed.

Cathy Lerza is a co-director of the National Family Farm Coalition in Washington, DC.

# Activists Urge Redirection of Public Pension Funds

By Bill Schweke

State and local public-employee pension funds hold assets of \$180 billion. Traditionally, pension fund trustees have invested this capital in corporate stocks and bonds with little regard for the needs of small business and farmers, inner-city homeowners, minority entrepreneurs, consumer cooperatives, community development corporations, and declining rural and urban areas.

This situation may now be changing. For four days in November, individuals and organizations committed to the alternative investment of this capital met for a seminar, "Public-Employee Pension Funds: Their Potential for Social and Economic Change," sponsored by the Conference.

Over 50 state and local public officials, community organizers, investment specialists, and policy analysts debated the issues in an intensive schedule of plenary discussions, workshops, and informal meetings. At the end, a new working relationship had been developed that will help to unify a common analysis and strategy. Participants agreed that the re-

direction of public-employee pension fund capital should be guided by a specific set of goals. The Massachusetts Task Force on State Pension Funds has adopted these:

- Investments should yield a return comparable to that of other well-managed funds under similar legal restrictions, and at a similar low level of risk.
- Investments should bring other net income to the state treasury via indirect returns (e.g., more jobs leading to higher tax revenues, lessened dependency on public assistance, etc.).
- Investments should increase the aggregate level of economic activity in the state.
- Investment decisions should pay attention to targeting economic

benefits to low-income residents.

Pat Roach, councilwoman of Dayton, OH, and a Conference Steering Committee member, is an advocate of using public-employee pension funds for locally-based economic and community development.

Investment decisions should also take into account their national and international impact on human rights, the environment, unionization, and other socially responsible goals.

Participants debated about how to design investment options and political strategies consistent with the above goals. Two broad strategies were identified. First, trust-



John Harrington, staff member of the California Select Committee on Investment, drafted California's state bank legislation and is an expert on the public control of money.

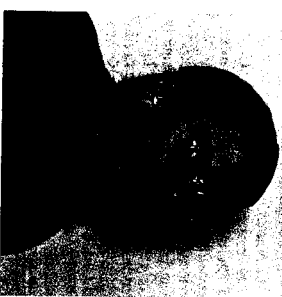
tees could withdraw their monies from the corporate stock market and redirect their capital into investment vehicles and securities that are targeted to particular states and communities. And given the existence of federal loan guarantee programs, these more "socially responsible" investments could be made virtually risk-free.

Second, according to New Haven Alderwoman Barbara Richards, there is the possibility of utilizing the corporate portion of pension portfolios to encourage socially responsible practices of large corporations and to "gradually increase ownership of the major corporations of this country by the workers themselves through their pension funds." Alderwoman Richards concluded that "for the moment, we should probably pursue both strategies simultaneously and explore the potential of each of them as we develop concrete models in different localities."

Other participants raised questions of a more political nature. Pension lawyer Mike Leibig, legal counsel for the American Federation of State and County Municipal Employees (AFSCME), stressed

*Continued on page 10*

Photos Gail Gallessich



Mike Leibig, a pension lawyer for AFSCME, is author with Bob Kalman, of the forthcoming book, *The Public Pension Crisis: Myth, Reality, Reform*.

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## November Election Round-up:

# In Wake of Jarvis-Gann, Progressives, Republicans Win

By Lee Webb

When all the votes were finally counted on November 7, the losers appeared to be Jarvis, Gann, and the state Democratic parties, and the winners the progressives and the Republican Party.

Progressive victories on two issues stand out as national in importance:

- In a stinging setback to the Jarvis-Gann forces, Massachusetts voters turned down tax relief for commercial and industrial taxpayers while supporting it for homeowners. After a bitter statewide campaign, the Property Tax Classification initiative passed by more than 2-1. Sponsored by Massachusetts Fair Share and a coalition of trade unions and others, the strategy will serve as a model for progressive tax reform coalitions around the country (See p. 18 for details).
- In an election that could have a national impact on union politics, Missouri voters resoundingly turned down a statewide initiative to ban the union shop. By a majority of more than 3-2, voters defeated conservative right-to-work forces in the state. The initiative campaign galvanized the state's unions into new alliances with progressive organizations, and will perhaps set an example to labor leadership in other states.

One of the lessons of these and other victories and defeats is the importance of concentrating on economic issues. For example, the Jarvis-Gann-type tax and expenditure limitations lost if a strong progressive coalition opposed them with a platform of specific alternatives. In addition to the Massachusetts Classification Amendment, progressive coalitions defeated Proposition 13-type initiatives in Oregon and Michigan. Similar groups defeated milder state spending limitations in Nebraska and Colorado as well.

In states without strong progressive coalitions, however, tax and spending cuts were passed, Nevada and Idaho passed Prop-13-type measures while Arizona, Hawaii, Michigan, South Dakota, and Texas passed milder expenditure limitations.

While Jarvis-Gann-type forces did not do as well as predicted, the Republican Party as a whole did make major gains. Most news commentators missed this point, however, because they looked primarily at the Republican's poorer than expected showing in Congressional and Senate races. In fact, the Republicans' big victories were in the states—the direct consequence of a decision by them to target those races.

Before the election, the Republicans controlled both legislative bodies in only five states—Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, Idaho, and South Dakota. At the polls this November, the GOP seized total control of the legislatures in eight more states—Kansas, Arizona, North Dakota, Iowa, Indiana, New Hampshire, Utah, and Vermont. They also picked up 300 additional legislative seats and six new governorships. As a result of this last development, Republican governorships increased from 12 to 18; more importantly, they now hold the top power in five of the ten most populous states—Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Texas.

The Republican National Committee is reported to have spent more than \$2 million on state races. In the midst of the Republican gains and Democratic defeats, California progressives scored important victories whose strategies may serve as examples in the future. One of the biggest and most surprising was in Berkeley where progressive fortunes have been meager in recent years. Voters there this fall approved a mandatory

rent rebate to tenants from landlords from the Prop 13 windfall. (See p. 12 for details.) They also turned down an attempt to dismantle limitations on political contributions to city elections and referenda.

In San Francisco, voters elected a very progressive membership to the city's new Charter Review Commission, but turned down a mandatory rent rebate.

Elsewhere in California, Davis voters approved a mandatory rent rebate while Santa Cruz approved an anti-land speculation measure. In San Jose, voters approved a progressive measure to elect all city supervisors by district rather than at-large elections. Finally, in an action that few observers thought possible just a few months ago, California voters soundly rejected the anti-human rights Briggs initiative.

Progressives also scored a number of initiative victories in other parts of the country. Hawaii and Montana approved measures to ban the building of nuclear power plants. So did the county of Missoula, Montana. Hawaii also approved a measure to impose stricter controls on land resource development.

On the east coast, referenda were not as widespread. However, an unprecedented mobilization of blacks and progressives in Philadelphia overwhelmingly defeated by Mayor Frank Rizzo which would have allowed him to run for a third term.

In individual races for public office, many progressives won. A few stand out. Marion Barry, a Conference Steering Committee member and long-time activist city council member, was overwhelmingly elected Mayor of Washington, D.C. Barry's position as mayor of the nation's capital will give progressive programs and politics unparalleled national visibility.

*Continued on page 15*

7

# PUBLICATIONS

Conference

## New Directions in

## Farm, Land

## and Food Policies

A Time for State and Local Action



## New Directions in Farm, Land, and Food Policies

A major new publication of the Conference documenting new policy initiatives on farm, land, and food-related issues. Topics include: **State Anti-Corporate Farm Acts • Direct Marketing • Access to Land and Capital • Protecting Farmland from Development • Graduated Property Taxes on Farmland • City Food Plans • Repealing Food Sales Taxes.**

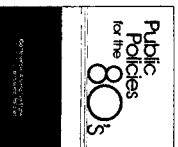
Each of 18 chapters covers concrete and yet innovative policy alternatives and legislative proposals, and includes a bibliography and a listing of key organizations to contact for further information and technical assistance. An excellent resource for farmers' organizations, public officials, consumer and neighborhood groups, students, church hunger task forces, and political activists who are working to change agricultural and food policies at the state and local level. **320 pp. \$8, \$14 for institutions.**

## Public-Employee Pension Funds: A Manual for Public Officials and Activists

A comprehensive resource book on the subject of redirecting public-employee pension fund capital into socially responsible investment projects. Included are statistics and facts on the size and portfolios of pension funds, and models of new investment strategies in the areas of housing, small business, and economic development. The materials include original articles and reports, speech transcripts, reprints of newly published articles, a glossary of financial terms, and a comprehensive list of resources. **200 pp. \$8, \$14 for institutions.**

## State and Local Tax Reform: Perspectives, Proposals and Resources (ready in March)

Analyzes the current state and local tax revolution and the progressive opportunities it provides. Resource section includes people and organizations active in tax reform and their strategies, places to get tax legislation, and bibliographies. **\$10, \$15 for institutions.**



## Public Policies for the 80s: Perspectives and Resources for State and Local Action

Edited by Lee Webb. Major new publication of the Conference includes: Suggested new policy initiatives on Energy, Tax Reform, Economic Development, and Agriculture • Issue bibliographies on 27 major problems facing state and local government • Key organizations, individuals, and publications for policy-making in the 1980s. Invaluable to public officials and community organizations who hope to take action on crucial public policies at the state and local level. **255 pp. \$10, \$15 for institutions.**

## COOP BANK!

New Funds for Community Development

**The Coop Bank: New Funds for Community Development**  
A special four-pp. report on the Coop Bank Act. Includes a section-by-section summary, legislative history, implementation strategies. **\$50.**

**National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act**  
A reprint of the recently enacted Consumer Cooperative Bank Act which provides a major new source of financing for rural and urban consumer coops. Useful summary included. **\$1.**



**Industrial Exodus**  
Realistic proposals about what each level of government could do to save jobs and protect communities from plant shutdowns. **30 pp. \$2.50, \$5 for institutions.**

## The Cities' Wealth

Programs for community economic control in Berkeley, California, compiled by the Community Ownership Project (COOP). **85 pp. \$3.50, \$5 for institutions.**

## Insurance Redlining

A proposed 1978 Chicago ordinance to stop insurance redlining. It provides that insurance companies doing business in the city must agree not to discriminate and to disclose insurance policy renewals, cancellations, and rejections by Zip Code zone. **\$1, \$1.50 for institutions.**

## Revenue Strategies for D.C.

A unique action-guide to potential tax strategies, using the District of Columbia as a model. **92 pp. \$1.50, \$3 for institutions.**

## Jobs From the Sun

One of the first studies to examine in detail the industrial and employment potential for solar energy. Provides basic data and methodology for calculating the economic impact of solar energy for any state or region. By Fred Brantman and Steve LaMar. **119 pp. \$6.50, \$10 for institutions.**

## SolarCal

A model proposal for a public solar energy authority. **\$1, \$1.50 for institutions.**

## WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY



**Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda**  
Edited by Ann Beaudry. Contains current model legislation and program proposals for women to achieve economic equality. Includes information on such topics as: displaced homemakers • domestic workers • rights of pregnant workers • economic protection for homemakers • vocational training • alternative work patterns • state labor laws • upward mobility. In addition, the book includes useful resource lists on specific issues, a general bibliography, and a directory of working women's organizations. **133 pp. \$5, \$10 for institutions.**

## Women in the Economy Conference Report

Contains names and addresses of the 200 participants and texts of the plenary speeches. Conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 12-13, 1978, and sponsored by the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies and Cleveland Women Working. **30 pp. \$2.50, \$50 for institutions.**

## Runaway Plants Acts

Ohio and Michigan bills requiring notice to affected employees and communities before any industry shutdown, relocation, or reduction in operation. **\$1, \$1.50 for institutions.**

## Public Policy Reader

Includes programs and legislative proposals for energy, public enterprise, political organization, economic development, tax reform, health, education, criminal justice, and food, land, and growth issues. **625 pp. \$5, \$10 for institutions.**

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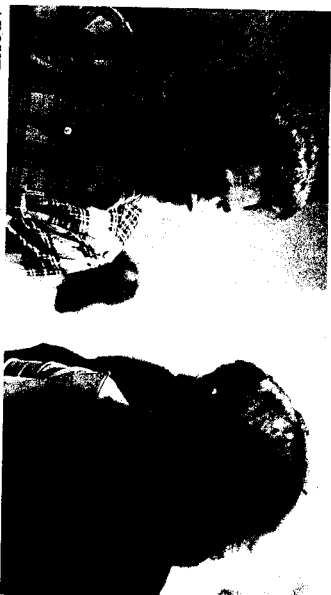
that the support of public-employee unions is "absolutely critical" to the redirection of pension funds. This redirection will not be forthcoming until alternative investments are more specifically identified and extensive research on the risks involved has been carefully conducted. Leibig also argued that the redirection must be part of a comprehensive program on pension reform, which would include such union concerns as disclosure, conflicts of interest, and inflation. These must be at the center of any political program for the public control of pension capital, Leibig said.

Proposals were also made for the creation of an advisory committee of pension consultants and for the design and implementation of pilot experiments. The Conference is itself prepared to take the issue to this necessary next stage. It is accelerating its work on public-employee pension funds and public capital issues generally.

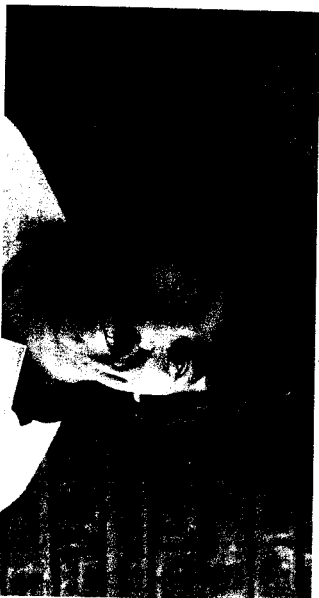
In the next month, the Conference will publish "Public Employee Pension Funds: A Manual for Public Officials and Activists." This will include much of the material prepared for the November meeting. In addition, the Conference is establishing a clearinghouse and assistance center on the issue. Finally, the Conference will be seeking funds for intensive technical and political assistance to model projects.

*Bill Schwabe, a Conference staff member specializing in economic development, is a doctoral candidate in sociology at the University of Texas at Austin. He is currently completing a dissertation on alternative full-employment planning.*

For more information about the pension fund publication, the clearinghouse, or the assistance center, contact Bill Schwabe or Lee Webb, at the Conference.



ABOVE: Nick Carbone, Deputy Mayor of Hartford, CT, and Conference Steering Committee member with New York City councilmember Jane Trichter. Carbone is exploring the possibility of establishing a coalition in Hartford to redirect public-employee pension capital. Trichter is working to do the same in New York City. BELOW: Ray Rodgers is the organizer of Amalgamated Textile & Clothing Workers' Union's Corporate Campaign Against J. P. Stevens.



Photos: Gail Gellesch

## Pension Fund Resources from SEOC and IPS

The demands for new investments for public-employee pension funds is bringing together two diverse political coalitions—one calling for decent housing and jobs for this country's economically disenfranchised, the other demanding majority rule and independence for South Africa.

In the past, this emerging force for social and economic change has been hampered by the lack of good information on the link between their respective struggles. Two new sources help fill this gap.

The Massachusetts Social and Economic Council (SEOC) is researching and designing investment

options for public pension fund capital. Many of their preliminary findings are now available. For copies, write Michael Kane or Jack Kittredge, SEOC, 294 Washington St., Rm. 744, Boston, MA 02108.

In addition, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has just released *South Africa: Foreign Investment and Apartheid* in which Lawrence Litvak, Robert DeGrasse, and Kathleen McTigue present a persuasive argument against the idea that foreign investment by multinationals can exert a progressive effect on South Africa's policy of apartheid. For copies, send \$3 to IPS, Publications Dept., 1001 Que St., NW, Washington, DC 20006.

# Women in the Economy

## Minimum Wage To Rise in DC

In December, the District of Columbia Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board increased the hourly minimum wage for domestic workers from \$2.50 to \$3.50. This increase would largely affect women, who comprise at least 90% of the domestic worker force in DC.

Paula Jewell, chairwoman of the minimum wage board, stated that the major factor that was considered in increasing their wages was that domestics do not receive such benefits as sick leave, retirement security, or vacations.

Other legislation which would affect 150,000 DC women who are employed at the minimum wage is a bill introduced by City Councilmember Hilda Mason to increase the District minimum wage from \$2.65 to \$3.60 an hour. The bill would also provide for regular adjustments based on the current cost of living.

One interesting feature of Mason's bill is a clause aimed at halting restaurant employers' use of tips held against the employee's minimum wage. This action challenges the direct legal substitute of tips for wages.

For more information, contact Hilda Mason, District Bldg., 14th & E Sts., NW, Washington, DC 20004; and the National Commission on Household Employment, 7706 Georgia Ave., NW, Suite 208, Washington, DC 20012.

## Kentucky Civil Rights Act: Most Comprehensive of Any State

Women miners may soon comprise 20 percent of Kentucky's coal-field workforce. Conciliation agreements between the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights and several mining companies would require those companies to hire one woman for every four men until 20 percent of its workforce is women. Similar conciliation agreements have required companies to grant back wages and extra seniority to several women who had been victims of sex discrimination.

The commission's leadership role in affirmative action enforcement is empowered by a 1972 amendment to the Kentucky Civil Rights Act which prohibits employment discrimination because of sex.

The Kentucky Act is one of the most comprehensive pieces of civil rights legislation enacted by a state. The success of the commission in using the law to expand employment opportunities for women is an important precedent which re-inforces the vital role that state and local governments can play in this area. Significant features of the bill are these:

- The employment section applies to "the State, any of its political or civil subdivisions or agencies."
- Discriminatory advertising is prohibited in connection with employment.

- Proof of an intent to discriminate is not required to show an unlawful discriminatory practice.
- Cities and counties are enabled to enact enforceable laws against any form of discrimination.
- Violation of a conciliation agreement is made an unlawful practice and such agreements are enforceable.

- The commission can require employers, labor organizations and employment agencies to submit reports as necessary for enforcement of the act.
- The act provides a fine for intimidation or retaliation against a complainant.

For more information, contact Galen Martin, Director, Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, 701 W. Walnut St., Box 60, Louisville, KY 40201.

# Women in Politics

## Women Candidates' Problems Addressed

A sophisticated, comprehensive guide addressing the special problems and experiences of women political candidates has been published by the National Women's Education Fund.

*The Campaign Workbook* contains "how-to" information for all levels—from a local campaign guide to a shoestring budget to a well-financed statewide office bid.

All aspects of campaigning for public office are covered: factors to consider in making the decision to run; strategy development; statistical and demographic analysis of the electorate; public opinion surveys; volunteers; media; advertising; and final campaign analysis.

For copies, write National Women's Education Fund, 1532 - 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

## Survey Analyzes Female Participation in Public Life

The Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) has released the results of a year-long census and survey of women holding political office across the country. The second edition of *Women in Public Office: A Biographical Directory and Statistical Analysis*, just published by Scarecrow Press, identifies more than 17,000 women serving as public officials in local, county, state and federal governments in 1977, and both documents and analyzes female participation in public life.

*Women in Public Office* is an invaluable and unique source of data on women's participation in the political process. For more information on the survey, write CAWP, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901.



# Berkeley Progressives Score November Victories

By Anna Rabkin

On election night, Berkeley progressive candidates and their supporters were jubilant. Berkeley had bucked the conservative wave sweeping the state. Berkeley Citizens' Action (BAC), the city's political organization, had bounced back from a municipal defeat two years ago to see every local candidate and ballot measure it supported pass easily in spite of heavily-financed conservative opposition.

Ron Dellums for Congress, Tom Bates for Assembly, Helen Burke for Water Board, Roy Nakadagawa for Transit Board, and Will Usury for Bay Area Rapid Transit Board all won their races, and an important initiative measure sponsored by BAC to ensure a tax rebate for renters in the wake of Proposition 13 was passed.

Berkeley's city budget was reduced significantly as a result of the passage of Prop 13, which decreased property taxes in California by about 60 percent. The majority on the city council responded in a traditional way to budget reduction—many direct services were cut while administrative overhead was barely touched.

City support for community-based social service programs was dropped, putting most programs in serious jeopardy. The city's recreation and transportation departments were dismantled. City services that remained were put on a fee-for-service basis.

In addition, tenants, who had received no property tax rebates as a result of Prop 13, were confronted by new or higher user fees and, in some cases, the elimination of the free or inexpensive city services which had been available.

In response to this lost situation, Berkeley-Oakland Assemblyman Tom Bates proposed a bill to provide property tax relief for renters statewide. The bill received important statewide publicity and grassroots support. It passed committee but was defeated on the state senate floor.

In the meantime, a group of Berkeley housing experts prepared

an initiative similar to the Bates bill for placement on the November ballot. The measure was carefully researched, clearly written, and structured for easy understanding and implementation.

The ordinance stipulated that renters receive 80 percent of a landlord's Prop 13 property tax savings. Landlords would retain 20 percent of the tax savings to cover increased expenses. Rents would be frozen for one year.

Owners could increase rents if they had legitimate expenses, but would have to notify their tenants and justify the increase. Owner-occupied residential rental property of four or fewer units was exempted. No bureaucracy would be created because it would be up to renters to enforce their rights.

Seven-thousand signatures were gathered in three weeks—more than twice the amount needed to qualify the measure for the ballot.

Opponents tried to portray Measure I as an attempt to sneak rent control in the back door. The ordinance was printed in the local newspaper with clauses allegedly proving the rent control intent circled in red. TV and radio ads alleged potential disaster for the

elderly, minorities, and the poor if the measure passed.

Nearly Palo Alto and San Francisco also had renter relief proposals on the ballot, and by the last weeks of the campaign, official campaign reporting statements showed that more than \$330,000 had been spent by real estate groups to defeat the measure. Over \$100,000 had been targeted for Berkeley.

The Measure I campaign raised about \$7,000. However, more than 500 volunteers emerged to do the myriad tasks involved in a door-to-door grassroots campaign. The campaign never had enough money to do a citywide mailing and had to rely on traditional literature drops, precinct work, election-day door-hangers and get-out-the-vote call-ers—even basement mimeograph machines were unearthed.

In retrospect, although Prop 13 brought the expected large profits to big business, it also brought unexpected new vigor to progressive grassroots organizations in Berkeley.

Anna Rabkin is administrative assistant to Berkeley, City Council member Loni Hancock.

## Election Shorts

**Victory in Saskatchewan is Sweet**

The fall election outcomes were a cause of celebration for Canada's socialists in the New Democratic Party (NDP). In Saskatchewan's Provincial Parliamentary elections, the present NDP government won a smashing victory, increasing its seats in Parliament from 33 to 41 out of a total 61.

The NDP victory was all the more important because the press and political commentators had predicted that the right-wing mood in the US would move north. The victory was particularly sweet to the NDP leadership because their opponents made the NDP plan to

# Tax Reformers Make Advances in Massachusetts, Ohio

**Progressive Coalition Wins Major Tax Battle in Massachusetts**

The November referendum in Massachusetts saw an important and hopeful variant of the property tax revolt. The voters by a 2-1 margin approved a progressive referendum providing for business and commercial property to be taxed at a higher rate than residential.

The vote was on the "Classification Amendment"—or "split rolls"—a constitutional amendment setting up four classes of property: residential, commercial, industrial, and open-space. Coupled with legislation already passed giving \$5000 homestead exemption, the amendment's passage prevented a \$265 million tax shift from commercial to residential property.

All fall, a classic populist battle raged. Big business strongly opposed the amendment, as did the ultraliberal "taxpayers groups." Supporting classification was a remarkable coalition of unions, public and private, big city mayors, especially Mayor Kevin White of Boston, the Catholic

Church, seniors and veterans groups, with a catalytic role being played by Massachusetts Fair Share, the statewide citizens' action organization.

The "business community" led by the First National Bank of Boston raised and spent almost \$500,000. But the Vote Yes on One Coalition ran an effective campaign through many networks and grassroots organizations, boosted by public funds appropriated in Boston to support the amendment.

On Election Day, though the polls generally showed a close race, the returns swept in with a 2-1 margin statewide, 4-1 in urban areas, and an incredible 10-1 vote in Boston.

Since the victory, which was the first referendum defeat for business in ten years, the coalition is examining various progressive tax reform proposals around which to make a major united fight in the 1979 legislature. Participants are hopeful that a solid unified program can be found.

For more information, contact Massachusetts Fair Share, 364 Boylston St., Boston, MA 02116.

ings in the 1977 Ken Cockrel City Council campaign and the 1972 Justin Ravitz for Records Court victory.

DARE's goal is "to build a majority movement for the socialist transformation of society," and one of the ways they will work towards this goal is to run candidates for office. As DARE's constitution states: "We believe it is necessary for progressives to engage in electoral politics. We will generate and support candidates for public office who represent the interests of working people. We will use election campaigns as one way of placing our views before the people."

For more information, contact DARE, 409 Griswold, 5th Fl., Detroit, MI 48226.

**Post-Election Sweep**

In Oklahoma City, a radio station paid citizens ten cents for each used campaign poster they collected after the elections in a massive clean-up effort.

"It cost the station between \$3,200-\$3,300 but it was worth it," said John Scott of KATV. The signs were brought to the station over a 27-hour period and formed a pile 30 ft. in diameter and 10 ft. high. They were then collected by Boy Scouts and taken to a recycling center.

**Proposal for Tax Reform in Ohio**

The Ohio Public Interest Campaign believes the best defense against spending limitations and irresponsible tax reduction is a good offense—a responsible tax reform plan. Such a plan would be one which recognizes the legitimacy of peoples' concern over high taxes, provides tax relief financed in a progressive way, safeguards public services and public employees, and takes the tax issue away from the right wing.

The Ohio Fair Tax Initiative consists of three essential parts: property tax limitation for low- and middle-income homeowners, renters, and farmers; closing corporate tax loopholes; and balancing the tax load. By enacting this initiative, Ohioans can have protection from excessive property taxes while proving increased revenue for schools and other vital public services.

For details on the plan and its strategy, write Ohio Public Interest Campaign, 340 Chester, 12th bldg., Cleveland, OH 44114.

**Boston Sues Massachusetts Over Tax-Exempt Land**

Plagued by one of the highest property tax rates in the nation, Boston has sued the Commonwealth for a hefty reimbursement of revenue that it loses on tax-exempt property. A full assessment of the property (about 61 percent of the city) would bring an additional \$100 million annually into the city coffers.

The suit is similar to one brought by New Haven in which Connecticut, settling out of court, agreed to a reimbursement formula based in part on the amount of non-taxable property in each city and town. The Boston suit would ask the court to declare exemptions unconstitutional unless the legislature approved a more equitable system of reimbursement.

For more information, contact Boston's corporate counsel Herbert Gleason, State House, Boston, MA 02138.

# Seniors Gain at State & Local Level

Compiled by  
Patrice Gallagher

## Food Stamps Buy Restaurant Meals for Seniors

Salt Lake area senior citizens who receive food stamps may now purchase restaurant meals with their stamps. Eligible recipients will receive an ID card to be presented at cashier counters of participating restaurants. If the response to this pilot is good, the program may be expanded statewide.

For more information, contact Salt Lake Assistance Payments Office, PO Box 15729, Salt Lake City, UT 84115.

## B.U.S. Seeks Dental Care For Seniors

In Prince George's County, Maryland, the Betterment of United Seniors (B.U.S.) is using its growing political clout to secure better dental care for seniors and support from legislators for the B.U.S.-initiated Senior Health Center. The 4000-member, four-year-old group held its annual convention just before elections and obtained commitments of support from both candidates for county executive.

B.U.S. is calling for the county to set aside \$100,000 for dental care—one of the most pressing problems facing seniors, according to the group. Dental Care aid is not provided by Medicare or Medicaid, and only seniors with exceedingly low income levels qualify for state and federal funding. B.U.S. studied programs in other parts of the country and talked with dentists about equipment and staffing needs before it determined its suggested funding level.

For more information, contact George Holden, B.U.S., 5706 Sargent Rd., Chillum, MD 20782.

## Federal Law Facilitates City Spending for Elderly

As urban elderly populations continue to grow and city revenue bases shrink, city officials must look for alternative ways to provide



## Self-Help Guide For the Elderly

*The Older Person's Handbook* is a practical and sensitively written guide for the elderly in New York City. It should serve as an outstanding model for anyone working with disenfranchised groups. With photographs and an easy-to-read format, it outlines such self-help projects as food-buying clubs and urban gardens; it also presents self-protection projects, cooperative and exchange projects, projects for the homebound, and more. Published by the Mutual Aid Project for Older People, a first edition went quickly, but the second is available now. Write MAP, 17 Murray St., 4th fl., New York, NY 10017.

## "Swing-Bed" Concept Takes Hold

Utah's "swing-bed" concept gives 25 underused hospitals in small towns across the state a fiscal boost by allowing them to receive Medicaid funds for providing long-term nursing-home care.

The program, the first of its kind to "swing" beds from short- to long-term care as needed, was developed five years ago. Involved are 25 small hospitals in towns of 2,500 or less. Only five of the towns have actual nursing-home facilities, and before the "swing-bed" plan was implemented, patients were moved to one of those towns for care. Now patients can receive care close to home, while the hospitals receive needed revenues.

Iowa, South Dakota, and Texas have adopted similar programs. Texas officials estimate that their program has saved \$7.5 million in funds that would have been spent to build and staff "skilled nursing" facilities in remote parts of the state.

For more information on the Utah program, contact its developer, Dr. Bryce Walter, Deputy Director, State Health Department, State House, Salt Lake City, UT 84114.

## Elections

continued from p. 7

In another race of national importance, Peter Shapiro, also a member of the Conference Steering Committee, was elected county executive in Essex County, New Jersey. With more than 300,000 citizens, Essex County is one of the most powerful political domains in the state and in national Democratic politics.

In Minnesota, where the Democratic Farm Labor Party was routed in the races for governor and senator, two progressives, Dee Long and Lee Greenfield, bucked the tide and won seats in the state legislature. In addition, Tom Johnson, a very progressive Minneapolis alderman, won the race for county attorney.

Jan Dolan, an active member of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, was elected supervisor in Butte County, California.

In New Hampshire, a state well-known for its conservative politics,

progressives and nuclear power opponents were overjoyed when Governor Meldrim Thompson was defeated in his bid for a third term. Mary Just Skinner, a consumer lawyer and public interest activist in Vermont, won election to the state senate. After an uphill battle, Madeline Kunin was elected Lieutenant-Governor.

In Iowa, Steve Rapp, a former state legislator, regained his seat from the Waterloo district.

In many instances, the election results for state and local races are very encouraging to progressives. Races and campaigns of national importance were won handily. In more localized races, progressives won significant victories. Importantly, progressive political forces, trade unionists, community leaders and others have learned from the Republicans the value and impressive results of targeting and putting resources into local races.

Lee Webb is Executive Director of the Conference.

## Internships

The Conference is now accepting applications for spring semester full- and part-time internships. Interns will do research, help staff organize seminars and conferences, and provide administrative support. Interns generally choose to work with one of the following issue areas on which the Conference focuses: state and local tax reform, energy, women's economic issues, agriculture and food, low-income housing and neighborhood issues, pension funds, and economic development alternatives.

Letters of application should include the candidate's interests and objectives; the dates s/he will be available; how much time s/he will be able to devote each week; and a resume or other statement of relevant research and academic or work experience.

Letters and requests for information should be sent to Patrice Gallagher, at the Conference.

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# Resources

## Strategies for Community Economic Development

*Issues and Strategies in Local Government: Community Groups Relationships* provides a comprehensive survey of the types of relationships that exist between CDDs and local governments and recommends new possibilities for joint projects. Public services most appropriate for CDD delivery are examined and suggestions are offered for ways local governments can use CDDs for service delivery.

The 75 page pamphlet is available from the Center for Community Economic Development, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Suite 316, Cambridge, MA 02138 for \$3.00.

For copies write the Massachusetts Community Development Finance Corporation, 131 State Street, Suite 600, Boston, MA 02109.

The East Los Angeles Community Union has recently published *The Handbook for Community Economic Development* which provides background information on economic development strategy and gives a thorough description of the development process. *The Handbook* includes a comprehensive glossary of technical terms, a list of federal programs for financing community economic development, and a detailed examination of special administrative problems facing community development organizations. A must for anyone interested in alternative economic development.

Since last year, the Massachusetts Community Development Finance Corporation has committed over a million dollars to community-based businesses in economically depressed areas of the state. The *Second Annual Report* tells how they did it providing an oversight of the agency's investment portfolio and a good write-up of the program.

Available free from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Economic Development Administration, Room 6225, Washington, DC 20230.

## Non-Profit Legal Limitations

Members of non-profit corporations may be interested in two new pamphlets which focus on legal issues affecting non-profits. *Limitations on Political Activities of Non-Profit Corporations* explains different standards determining limitations on political activity and provides information on allowable activities and dollar expenditure limits. *Liabilities of the Non-Profit Corporation* discusses board member liability, organizational liability for acts of workers and insurance coverage.

Both pamphlets are available from the Legal Information Project, Community Congress of San Diego, 1172 Morena Blvd., San Diego, CA 92110 for \$1.00 each plus 28¢ postage.

## New Right from p. 5

Plans for 1980 are even more ambitious. More money than ever before will be available to help fund right-wing candidates for legislative seats. In many cases, the same campaigns will benefit from the growing involvement of corporations, either through political action committees or direct contributions.

Another important source of funds is the Republican Party which plans to pour more than \$2 million into state legislative elections next year. Significant gains in the 1980 races could put the New Right in a powerful position for the rest of the Eighties, since it will be next year's legislators who draw the congressional and legislative redistricting maps for the rest of the decade.

*Will Hunter is a three term Vermont state legislator. He is also a Rhodes scholar studying part-time at Oxford University.*

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*Lee Webb is the Executive Director of the Conference.*

# Conference PUBLICATIONS

## New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies: A Time for State and Local Action

Resource guide with 17 chapters describing actual working programs and specific policy and legislative proposals for changing America's farm and food policies. Edited by Joe Belden, Gibby Edwards, Cynthia Gayer, Lee Webb. (January 1979) 320 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

## State and Local Tax Revolt: The Progressive Challenge

A comprehensive guide to state and local tax issues and what can be done to make these taxes more equitable. 29 chapters written and edited by nationally known progressive tax experts. Edited by Dean Tipps and Lee Webb. (August 1979) 300 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

## The Battle of Cleveland: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power

Thorough examination of the corporate/public interest conflict in Cleveland with emphasis on the election of Mayor Kutchin and how his administration has resisted corporate dominance of City Hall. Edited by Don Marshall with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign. (July 1979) 180 pp. \$7.95; \$9.95 Institutions

## Public Policies for the 80s: Perspectives and Resources for State and Local Action

An encyclopedia of ideas and resources on public policy issues with emphasis on the fields of energy, economic development, state and local tax reform and agriculture. An extensive resource section identifies names and addresses of over 4,000 organizations and individuals. Edited by Lee Webb. (1978) 256 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

## The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices

Report on a new conceptual tool for analyzing the impact of public and private economic decisions. David Smith. (June 1979) 20 pp. \$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

## Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment

Comprehensive resource book detailing ways public pension fund assets can be redirected to socially useful investments. Edited by Lee Webb and William Schewe. (July 1979) 180 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

## Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders

Comprehensive resource manual including magazine articles, essays, policy reports and press clips on the causes of plant closings, and the organizing and legislative strategies to prevent them. Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb. (May 1979) 85 pp. \$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

## Industrial Exodus

Concise booklet outlining an action program for unions, community groups, states and the federal government on the problem of plant closings and runaway shops. Edited by Ed Kelly. (July 1979) 30 pp. \$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

## Reclaiming Our Future: A Citizens Conference on the Crisis of the Industrial States

Official report of the April, 1979 Columbus, Ohio conference with speeches by Doug Fraser, William Wimpfinger, Dennis Kucinich, James Farmer and others. (July 1979) 100 pp. \$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

## Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda

Thorough examination of the economic problems facing women and the legislative efforts at the state and federal level to solve these problems. Ann Beaudry with Mary Coyne. (1978) 133 pp. \$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

## Equity for Farm Women: Proposals for Estate Tax Reform

Clear explanation of how estate tax laws discriminate against farm women, and what steps states and the federal government can take to end this discrimination. Edited by Ann Beaudry. (May 1979) 29 pp. \$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

## Tax Abatement: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders

Up-to-date resource manual which details not only the problem of tax abatements, but the tactics public officials, community groups and labor unions have successfully used to fight them. Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb. (May 1979) 80 pp. \$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

## Energy-Efficient Community Planning: A Guide to Saving Energy and Producing Power at the Local Level

An analysis of the American cities and towns that are using comprehensive conservation programs and alternative energy systems to save and produce more power at the local level. James Ridgway. (July 1979) 218 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

## The Coop Bank: New Funds for Community Development

Excellent introduction to the Coop Bank with legislative history, and section-by-section summary of the Act. (1979) 4 pp. \$1.50

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## Resources

**California Public Funds Sit Idle**  
California's Senate Select Committee on Investment Priorities and Objectives has published a survey entitled *Municipal Government Investments: Temporarily Idle Funds*. It documents the extraordinary financial assets held in the state and local governments of California, and argues for a much more professional and aggressive investment strategy for the funds.

The Committee discovered that some treasurers are not making "reasonable" efforts to select a bank or savings and loan association that agrees to pay the highest rate of interest, that several cities surveyed held a disproportionate amount of their public fund portfolios in low yield passbook savings accounts, and that there is no standardized method of reporting public deposits and investments by California cities. For a copy of the report, write The Senate Select Committee, John Harrington, Consultant, 1116 Ninth Street, Room 66, Sacramento, CA 95814.

### Illinois Study Exposes Corporate Land Holdings

The Illinois South Project Inc., a community action/public interest group, has released a study entitled *Who's Mining the Farm*, which exposes huge Illinois land holdings by America's leading energy companies. The report recommends family farm legislation that would prohibit the ownership of Illinois farmland by large corporations. It also argues for adoption of an Illinois Coal Severance Tax,

which is essential, says Project staff member Dave Ostendorf, "to assure that the people from Illinois' coal regions share in the benefits that expanded coal production can bring." Copies of the report are available from Illinois South Project, 101 1/2 N. Park, Herrin, Illinois 62948.

### Learning From Abroad

American public officials and community organizers can profit from the experiences of progressive policy-makers abroad by reading two recent publications on the subject. Alfred Kahn's and Stella Kamerman's *Not for the Poor Alone: European Social Services* describes a number of exciting and unique programs in community health care, day care, school meals, elderly housing, and city planning. The authors argue persuasively that such programs do not diminish individual freedoms, but in fact foster individual security and independence. This book is available from Harper & Row publishers, 10 E 53rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022. (\$3.95).

*Comparative Public Policy: The Politics of Social Choice in Europe and America*, explores the patterns of convergence and divergence between these countries' policies, and offers an illuminating explanation of the social policy differences. Written by Arnold Heidenheimer, Hugh Heilo, and Carolyn Teicher, the book surveys British, Swedish, German, French, and American policy in the areas of health care, secondary school reform, housing, city planning, mass transit, income

maintenance, and taxation. For a copy, write St. Martin's Press, 175 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10010 (\$7.95).

### Resources On Community Development Credit Unions

An innovative way to reverse capital flow out of low income areas and gain community control over neighborhood money is to create a Community Development Credit Union (CDCU). A CDCU is a non-profit cooperative which can make loans for home mortgages, housing rehabilitation, consumer credit, and small business start-up and expansion. CDCU's, in fact, can perform practically every function a savings and loan or commercial bank can, as well as develop community awareness, unity, and skills. Three extremely helpful resource books on the nature, development, and operation of CDCU's have just been published:

- *Community Development Credit Unions: A Self Help Manual* by Brad Catell, National Economic Development Law Project, 2150 Shattuck Avenue, Suite 300, Berkeley, CA 94704 (\$10);
- *Community Development Credit Unions: Economics for Neighborhoods*, by Floyd Agostinelli, Inc., P.O. Box 29146, Washington, D.C. 20017 (\$3.00);
- *Community Development Credit Unions*, by Benjamin Johnson, from National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, 1521 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (free).

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Conference on Alternative  
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# Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies Ways & Means

March-April 1979

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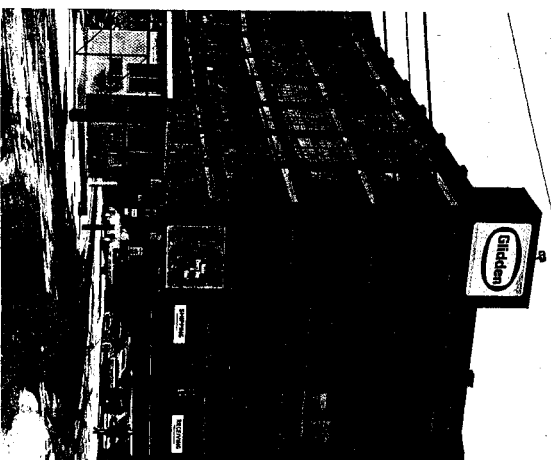
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The Glidden Paint Plant in Cleveland closed in June 1976. Six months after the closing, 89% of the workers surveyed had still not found new jobs. Of those who had worked at the plant for 20-29 years, 45% were unemployed at the time of the survey, as were 50% of those who had been there for 30-40 years. For what groups are doing in Ohio and elsewhere around the country to protect workers against such closings, see story on p. 8.

# Legislative Initiatives

## Progressive Legislation for Family Farmers

The 1979 state legislative sessions are picking up where the 1978 1978 sessions left off, with innovative legislation being drafted and introduced to help small family farmers. Here are some of the most interesting recent victories and proposed legislation:

- This past November, *South Dakota* voters fed up with skyrocketing milk prices repealed the 1966 Dairy Marketing Act, which had guaranteed a 10% profit for milk processors in the state. Over the past twelve years, since the passage of the Marketing Act, a handful of large companies had bought up many of the small processors who were going out of business due to the inevitably high price of milk. The day after the voter initiative was passed, prices of milk and milk products fell immediately. For a copy of the initiative, write to the Secretary of State, State Capitol Bldg., Pierre, S.D. 57501.

## Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

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- Legislation calling for income tax incentives to landowners who sell or lease land to beginning farmers is being considered in the *North Dakota* legislature. (A "beginning farmer" either has a net worth of under \$50,000 or does not own or lease land with a market value of over \$250,000). One bill would entitle a landowner selling to a beginning farmer a direct income tax credit of 10% of the land price, or 10% of the down payment on contracts for dead sales up to \$100,000. For larger land sales, the owner receives a direct credit of \$10,000, and on contract sales the owner receives a credit of 10% of the down payment or \$10,000, whichever is less. For more information, contact Allen Hobert, North Dakota Legislative Council, State Capitol, Bismarck, N.D. 58505.

- A bill to create a loan assistance authority to help beginning farmers finance farmland acquisition has been approved by an interim Legislative Committee of the *Iowa* legislature. Modeled after

## Ways & Means is a bimonthly publication of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies.

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

Subscription prices: \$10, \$30 for institutions. To order, see centerfold.

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## Ohio Leads the Way

# Plant Closing Legislation Focus of Citizen/Labor Groups

By Edward Kelly

"When you work for a company as long as nine years, giving them the best part of your day and all your effort, the least they can do is give you notice that they are going to close." This was how Doree Frye, who lost jobs twice because of plant closings in Toledo, Ohio, explained her support for the passage of plant closing legislation in Ohio.

The Community Readjustment Act, developed by the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, has received countless similar expressions of support since its introduction into the Ohio Senate in 1977 by Senator Michael Schwarzwald. Now organizations and individuals in other industrial states are developing plans for similar legislation. All of these efforts are taking place because of the continuing serious problems created by large corporations which close and relocate plants, leaving employees and communities devastated.

The Community Readjustment Act requires that any corporation with over one hundred employees which closes, partially closes, or relocates a plant or other facility must provide: 1) two years advance notice to their affected employees and communities; 2) severance pay equal to one week's pay for each year worked to employees who lose their jobs (unless a collective bargaining agreement calls for more); 3) community assistance funds equal to ten percent of the affected annual payroll. These funds would be used for community economic development with first priority being the creation of new jobs for affected employees of the closed plant.

The Community Readjustment Act is not designed to restrict plant closing and relocations. If this can be done at all, federal legislation will be necessary. Instead the

bill is an attempt to provide some minimal protection for employees and communities affected by plant closings. Nevertheless, the bill has been fiercely attacked by Ohio's large corporations and their representatives. According to the Ohio Manufacturers Association (OMA): "The bill constitutes a severe threat to the very concept of 'free' enterprise in the state of Ohio. It is therefore incumbent upon all manufacturers to... be prepared to actively fight this 'anti-industry legislation'."

Despite such attacks, the Ohio Public Interest Campaign has developed a great deal of support for the bill. Supporters include the AFL-CIO, the UAW, the Ohio State Council of Senior Citizens, the Ohio Council of Churches and the Commission on Poverty and Economic Justice. After the bill is reintroduced this year, a renewed effort is planned to bring it out of the committee which blocked it last year.

- In January, a new organization in Massachusetts, the Coalition to Save Jobs, introduced its own plant closing bill into the Massachusetts legislature. The Coalition is broadly based and includes the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and Massachusetts Fair Share, a statewide citizens' organization.

The Coalition's bill is similar to the Community Readjustment Act. However, it requires one year advance notice instead of two. It also requires a payment of fifteen percent of the annual payroll into the fund to be used for economic redevelopment. Besides these differences, it sets up a somewhat different mechanism for guaranteeing severance payments. As of this writing, plans are still being

formulated for pressuring the legislature to pass this legislation.

- In Illinois a number of organizations including the Illinois Public Action Council, the United Auto Workers Region Four, and various AFL-CIO unions are working out a campaign to deal with plant closings and relocations. This may lead to specific legislative proposals like the ones in Ohio and Massachusetts.

- Unions and community groups in Pennsylvania also considering a campaign for plant closing legislation. Pennsylvania has been hard hit by plant closings in recent years and a great many people are coming to see the need for state efforts to alleviate the problem.

Because of the growing interest in plant closing legislation and related matters, the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, the United Auto Workers, and other national and local organizations are convening a conference on the crisis of the industrial states, plant closings, and tax breaks to industry.

The conference will be held in Columbus April 27th-28th, with United Auto Workers' President Douglas Fraser and the Machine's head William Whipsinger among the speakers.

Details on this and similar conferences coming up this Spring are available from the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, 340 Chester-12th Building, Cleveland, OH 44114.

Edward Kelly is Research Director of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, a statewide non-profit citizens organization concerned with protecting Ohio's jobs and tax base. It publishes a bimonthly newsletter Public Interest Report. (15.00 for one-year subscription).

## Small Farmers Squeezed Out by Abuse of Reclamation Law

The Reclamation Law of 1902 has become one of the ways the large corporations and food conglomerates have been able to squeeze out the small farmers, Jesse De La Cruz of National Land for People explained to the participants at the Nashville conference. One of the law's original purposes was to encourage the settlement of as many small farmers as possible on Reclamation land by limiting the number of acres of federal water any one landowner could own.

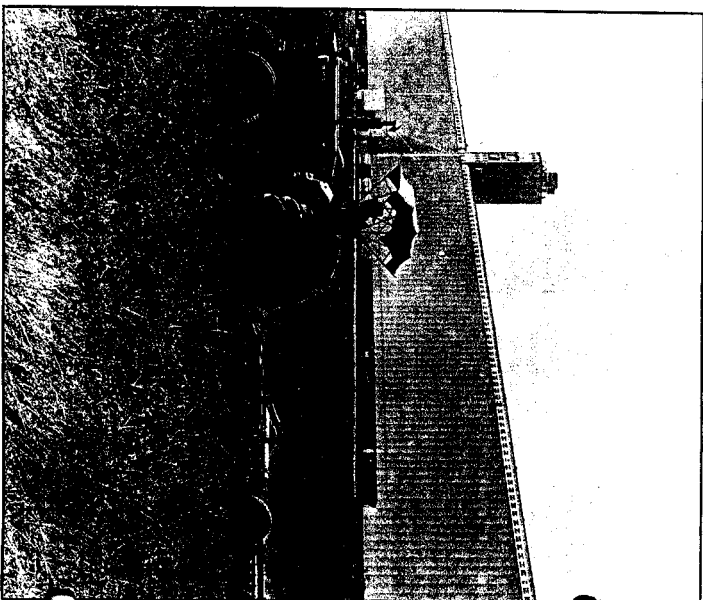
Over the years, however, the Reclamation law has been used by railroads, oil companies, land corporations and speculators to obtain

decide upon how to amend the law means there is time to organize. National Land for People is urging the adoption of certain rules and regulations, including putting all beneficiaries of such land up to public lotteries, enforcing residency requirements and anti-speculation laws, and guaranteeing that up to 20% of the lands be sold to new farmers. For more information on how to help amend the law so that it serves its original purpose, please contact Henry Hyde, Rural America, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, or George Ballis, National Land for People, 2348 N. Cornelia St., Fresno, CA 93711.

### Food Banks Feed the Hungry

A growing number of "food banks" are being established around the country to gather excess food and distribute it to needy families. Working with city officials, local health departments, major food chain stores and farmers, grass-roots organizations are setting up networks of "gleaming projects" to take advantage of some of the millions of tons of surplus food that is ordinarily discarded every year. In 1978, for example, Second Harvest, the outreach arm of St. Mary's Food Bank in Phoenix Arizona distributed 2 million pounds of food through its food clearing house. Over 200 local charities, social workers and churches participate in the program.

Now, with the financial aid of the Community Services Administration, Second Harvest is providing training and technical assistance to individuals and organizations interested in starting their own food banks. Second Harvest also publishes a newsletter entitled "Thought for Food." For more information, on this innovative system, write to Second Harvest, National Food Salvage Network, 819 North Third Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85004.



## On Farm, Land and Food Problems

# Nashville Conferees Target State, County and City Governments

The recent Nashville gathering of progressive public officials, and farm, church, labor and environmental activists enthusiastically endorsed the strategy of targeting state legislatures, county governments and city councils in an effort to solve the critical problems facing family farmers, consumers and farmworkers.

Organized by "The Conference on State and Local Policies, the 'New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies' conference brought together over 500 people from 47 states, Canada and Puerto Rico.

North Dakota's Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan opened the conference by discussing his state's recent victories: the toughest anti-corporate farm act in the country; a widely-accepted proposal for a progressive property tax to support family farmers; and a new loan/financing program for small farmers at the State Bank of North Dakota.

Conference participants broke into over thirty workshops to discuss policy alternatives ranging from state anti-corporate farm acts to methods of protecting farmland from development, innovative nutrition policies and progressive Canadian farm policies. Political strategy workshops dealt with building state-wide food policy coalitions, lobbying state legislatures and citizen activism.

Plenary speakers targeted increasing corporate control over all aspects of the food production and distribution system as the major problem facing the country today.

Speaker Jim Hightower, a former co-director of the Agribusiness Accountability Project and now editor of the *Texas Observer*, documented the degree of economic concentration in the food industry. In 1965, he reported, 50

companies controlled 50% of the profits. In 1975, those same 50 companies controlled 75% of the profits, and within certain product lines, up to 90%. The 125% increase in food prices in the last decade is due, Hightower said, almost exclusively to this monopoly control.

Referring to a study recently completed by the University of Wisconsin, Hightower revealed that in 1975 consumers paid a "monopoly overcharge" totaling \$12 billion dollars due to excess profit margins, corporate advertising and salaries.

Hightower, like Dorgan, urged activists to challenge corporate control by drafting and implementing state anti-corporate farm acts, by pressuring governors and attorney generals to enforce anti-trust laws, and by running candidates for Commissioner of Agriculture and Director of the Farmer's Home Administration in their home states.

Underscoring this need, Hightower described the situation in Texas where in the midst of thousands of farm foreclosures, the Texas Department of Agriculture sent back \$800,000 of unspent funds to the state treasury.

Merle Hanson, a grain farmer and vice-president of the U.S. Farmers Association generated enthusiastic support from conference participants when he spoke about the farmers' demand for 90% parity. Farmers currently receive only about 70% parity which places them in a continuous cycle of debt and inevitable foreclosures. This instability, Hanson reported, is caused by the absence of a strong federal price support program. The rapid decline in the number of family farms, 2.8 million today, 6 million in 1945, is the direct result.

Joseph Brooks, President of the Emergency Land Fund (ELF) in Atlanta focused his remarks on the severe problems facing small black farmers in the South. He described ELF's goal of building a county-by-county base throughout the South from which to challenge the agricultural policies and institutions which are so blatantly unresponsive to the needs of minority farmers.

Other major speakers included Beiderman Velasquez, Chairman of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Ohio; Susan Seehler of USDA's Office of Policy Analysis and Budget; Steve Bossi, representing both the National Farmers Union and National Catholic Rural Life; Pat Seckert from Women in Agriculture and the Center for Rural Communities in Massachusetts; Tom Donaldson, a vegetable farmer and Board Chairman of the Agricultural Marketing Project (AMP), and Jesse De La Cruz of National Land for People in Fresno, California.

### Since Nashville, the Agriculture Project:

... has been contacted and will assist groups in eight states who are organizing state-wide agricultural policy meetings.

... will be initiating issue workshops around the country to explore new legislative opportunities and policies to protect farm land from development.

... is producing an *Alternative Legislation Series* making available the most innovative bills and proposals on farm, land and food issues. The Project will also publish a number of policy monographs throughout the year.

For further information on the activities of the Agriculture Project contact Cynthia Guyer at the Conference.

# Women in the Economy

## Legislation Addresses Insurance Inequities

By Ann Beaudry

Reviews conducted over the last four years of state insurance practices have yielded extensive evidence of inequitable treatment and inadequate coverage for women. State insurance commissions have traditionally limited regulation to ensuring the fiscal integrity of insurance companies and to prohibiting unfair trade practices.

Recently, however, model regulations adopted by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC) have prohibited discrimination in the availability of benefits or coverage and the price of insurance on the basis of race, sex or marital status. This model, already adopted in 26 states, was the basis for legislation introduced in the recent session of the Minnesota legislature. H.F. 2194 extended the prohibited categories to include status as a homemaker and prohibited applying different criteria or rates to applicants on the basis of race, sex, or marital status as a homemaker.

Legislation enacted within the last four years in 19 states specifically addressed a major problem of women insurance consumers, the availability of maternity benefits. Colorado's bill, H.B. 1437, as an example, amends state insurance codes to require that all policies of health insurance delivered in the state cover complications of pregnancy.

Proposed changes in the insurance regulations in Illinois focus on a common dilemma of divorced women. They provide for availability of protection for women who have been formerly insured under a joint policy with their spouse. The legislation (Sec. 366d of H.B. 580) provides for continuation of coverage most nearly similar to but not greater than the terminated coverage under the previous policy; it protects the divorced spouse from having to provide evidence of insurability; and it disallows a probationary and/or waiting period before the transfer to the new policy becomes effective. These and other insurance issues are an important component of a legislative agenda designed to promote the economic equality of women. For more information, contact the Women In The Economy Project, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, 1901 Q St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

include disability for normal pregnancy as a disability benefit.

AB 1605—State Employee's Medical Act: State Contributions: State Employees: Disability Benefits: Extends full and part-time state employees non-industrial disability insurance benefits for up to six weeks.

AB 2364—Prisoners: Vocational Training: Mandates that the sex of a prisoner shall not be a reason for preventing assignment to academic or vocational training programs which are being conducted in institutions where there are prisoners of the opposite sex.

## California Women Gain Under Recent Laws

Forty-five bills affecting the status of women were passed by the 1978 California State Legislature. Significant economic gains were made in the areas of insurance, employment, pregnancy benefits, community property and child care. These bills are effective as of January 1, 1979. Some of the most important bills are listed below:

- AB 1915—Labor: Unlawful Practices: Extends provisions of the Fair Employment Practices Act to cover age discrimination.
- AB 1960—Labor: Discrimination Based on Pregnancy: Makes it an unfair employment practice to discriminate in employment on the basis of pregnancy, child birth or medically related conditions; requires employers who provide disability insurance programs for their employees to
- AB 1628—Unemployment Insurance: Tips and Gratuities: Requires tips and gratuities of \$20.00 or more be counted as wages for purposes of computing unemployment insurance.
- AB 1090—Dissolution of Marriage: Establishes procedure for including employee benefit plans as a party in an action for dissolution of marriage.
- AB 284—State Employees: Upward Mobility: Requires all departments and agencies of state government to establish an effective program of upward mobility for minorities and women in low paying occupations as an aid in implementing affirmative action programs.

For more information, contact the California Commission on the Status of Women, 926 J Street, Room 1506, Sacramento, California 95814

## "An Economic Agenda for Women: Policies and Strategies for Change"

May, 1979

Boston, Mass

You are invited to attend this two-day working session

For more information, contact  
Dorothy M. Adams  
Women in the Economy Project

Conference on State and Local  
Policies in the Economy Project  
Washington, D.C. 20009

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## Education

### Innovative Lunch Program Cuts Costs

By relying on local farmers and involving the students and faculty in the food production process, Hazen Public School in North Dakota not only provides its students with a delicious and healthful lunch program—it has also cut its costs considerably.

Hazen students now grind their own whole grain, which is donated to the school by local wheat farmers, operate a meat cutting plant, process whole chickens by the ton, and run their own fruit juice dispensers. Area farmers have been generous in contributing their products, or selling them wholesale, and local business has donated money for such items as a corn shelling machine and a root cellar. Foods with additives, artificial color, and desserts are out. Much of the credit for this self-sufficiency has been inspired by Joseph Crawford, the superin-

tendent of schools there since 1975. As proof of Crawford's success, the school has not drawn on public funds for its lunch program for the past three years.

For information on this unique experiment, write to Joseph Crawford, Superintendent, Hazen Public School, Hazen, ND 58645.

### New School Financing Pushed in Nebraska

A new and progressive way to finance the public school system in Nebraska has been introduced in the State Legislature. Sponsored by Senator George "Bill" Burrows, L.B. 89 proposes to replace the present system of financing public education through property taxes with a broadly based adjusted gross income tax. A 48-page background report on the rationale and economic effects of such a switch, entitled "A Discussion of the Nebraska Educational Local Income Tax (NELIT)", has been written by Burrows' staff to encourage an

in depth consideration of the proposed legislation. For more information on the bill and a copy of the report, write to Senator George Burrows, District No. 30, Rural Route 1, Adams, Nebraska 68301.

### Mass. Bill Requires School Closing Impact Statement

A bill requiring Neighborhood Impact Statements before elementary schools are closed has been introduced in the 1979 Massachusetts legislature. Filed by Reps. David Mofenson and Joseph DeNucci, on behalf of the Newton Citizens for Neighborhood Schools organization, the bill would require that the impact statement describe all alternatives to the closing, their attendant costs, and specific ways the closing would affect the neighborhoods. For more information on the bill, write Brian Yates, Legislative Chairman, NCNS, 1094 Chestnut Street, Newton, MA 02164.

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# Conference Publications



## New Directions in Farm, Land, and Food Policies

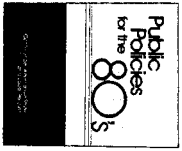
A major new publication of the Conference documenting new policy initiatives on farm, land, and food-related issues. Topics include: **State Anti-Corporate Farm Acts • Direct Marketing • Access to Land and Capital • Protecting Farmland from Development • Graduated Property Taxes on Farmland • City Food Plans • Repealing Food Sales Taxes.**



Each of 18 chapters covers concrete policy alternatives and new legislative proposals, and includes a bibliography and a listing of key organizations to contact for further information and technical assistance. An excellent resource for farmers' organizations, public officials, consumer and neighborhood groups, students, church hunger task forces, and political activists who are working to change agricultural and food policies at the state and local level. **320 pp. \$8, \$14 for institutions.**

## Public-Employee Pension Funds: A Manual for Public Officials and Activists

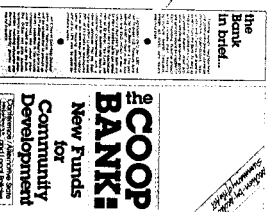
A comprehensive resource book on the subject of redirecting public-employee pension fund capital into socially responsible investment projects. Included are statistics and facts on the size and portfolios of pension funds, and models of new investment strategies in the areas of housing, small business, and economic development. The materials include original articles and reports, speech transcripts, reprints of newly published articles, a glossary of financial terms, and a comprehensive list of resources. **200 pp. \$8, \$14 for institutions.**



**Public Policies for the 80s: Perspectives and Resources for State and Local Action**  
Edited by Lee Webb.  
Major annual publication of the Conference. Includes new policy initiatives on:  
Energy, Tax Reform, Economic Development, and Agriculture • Issue bibliographies on 27 major problems facing state and local government • Key organizations, individuals, and publications for policy-making in the 1980s. Invaluable to public officials and community organizations who hope to take action on crucial public policies at the state and local level. **255 pp. \$10, \$15 for institutions.**

## State and Local Tax Reform: Perspectives, Proposals and Resources (ready in Spring)

Analyses the current state and local tax revolution and the progressive opportunities it provides. Resource section includes people and organizations active in tax reform and their strategies, places to get tax legislation, and bibliographies. **\$10, \$15 for institutions.**



**The Coop Bank: New Funds for Community Development**  
A special four-page report on the Coop Bank Act. Includes a section-by-section summary, legislative history, implementation strategies. **\$50.**

**National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act**  
A reprint of the recently enacted Consumer Cooperative Bank Act which provides a major new source of financing for rural and urban consumer coops. Useful summary included. **\$1.**

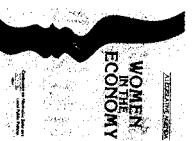


**Industrial Exodus**  
Realistic proposals about what each level of government could do to save jobs and protect communities from plant shutdowns. **30 pp. \$2.50, \$5 for institutions.**



**Model State Public Utility Commission Act**  
Model legislation covering all aspects of utility regulation, including rate-of-return, cost-of-service, rate-of-return, and reporting requirements. Includes a summary and control of regulated utilities. **\$1.00.**

- Running Plants Act.** Ohio and Michigan bills requiring notice of plant shutdowns, relocation or reduction in operation. **\$1.00.**
- Model State Public Utility Commission Act.** Model legislation covering all aspects of utility regulation, including rate-of-return, cost-of-service, rate-of-return, and reporting requirements. Includes a summary and control of regulated utilities. **\$1.00.**
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- Insurance Rating.** Proposed 1978 Chicago ordinance to stop insurance redlining. It provides that insurance companies doing business in the city must agree not to discriminate and to disclose insurance policy renewal, cancellations and rejections by ZIP Code zone. **\$1.00.**



**Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda**  
Edited by Ann Beaudry. Contains current model legislation and program proposals for women to achieve economic equality. Includes information on such topics as: displaced homemakers • domestic workers • rights of pregnant workers • economic protection for homemakers • vocational training • alternative work patterns • state labor laws • upward mobility. In addition, the book includes useful resource lists on specific issues, a general bibliography, and a directory of working women's organizations. **133 pp. \$5, \$10 for institutions.**

**Women in the Economy Conference Report**  
Contains names and addresses of the 200 participants and texts of the plenary speeches. Conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 12-18, 1978, and sponsored by the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies and Cleveland Women Working. **30 pp. \$2.50, \$5 for institutions.**

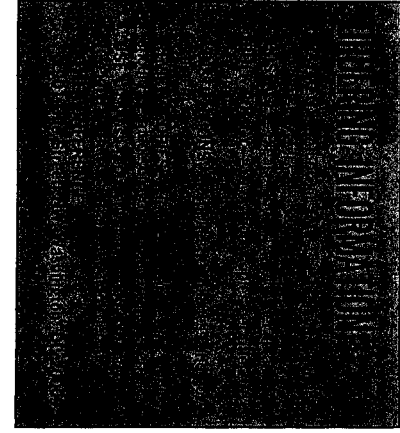
**The Cities' Wealth**  
Programs for community economic control in Berkeley, California, compiled by the Community Ownership Organizing Project (COOP). Details the programs and organizing strategies of the Berkeley Coalition with the City Council over a seven year period. **85 pp. \$3.50, \$5 for institutions.**

## Public Policy Reader

Includes programs and legislative proposals for energy, public enterprise, political organization, economic development, tax reform, health, education, criminal justice, and food, land, and growth issues. **625 pp. \$5, \$10 for institutions.**

## Revenue Strategies for D.C.

A unique action-guide to potential tax strategies, using the District of Columbia as a model. **92 pp. \$1.50, \$3 for institutions.**





# Coop Bank Moves Ahead

By Michael Freedberg

The National Consumer Cooperative Bank is rapidly becoming a reality. Congressional passage last August of the bill which created the Bank has set off a complex implementation process aimed at making the Bank operational by July or August of 1979.

An Interagency Task Force has already developed regulations for the bank in the areas of procedures, eligibility, and technical assistance. The initial board of directors has been selected—six Cooperative representatives and seven federal agency officials—and only needs Senate confirmation before taking office. Moreover, the Office of Management and Budget has appropriated \$40 million for the General Loan Fund, \$10 million for the Self-Help Development Fund, and \$2 million each for the administration of the Bank and for the Office of Self Development and Technical Assistance.

The growing involvement of many low-income, minority and community based organizations in the Bank implementation process has drawn attention to the Bank's potential as a major new community development and neighborhood revitalization financing tool. The Bank's funds could be used to support a wide variety of social services, including housing, energy, food, health, education, legal assistance and even auto repairs, as long as those groups or organizations performing the services are non-profit and work in a cooperative manner.

Because the Bank has a statutory obligation to finance only cooperatives which insure "economic democracy" among their membership, it could provide a needed boost to those institutions offering an alternative to unresponsive corporate decision-making. The Bank's re-

sponsiveness to social and consumer needs is further insured because the borrowing cooperatives are required to purchase voting stock in the Bank as a percentage of loans held.

There are several shortcomings, however, in the way the Bank is set up at this time, and these are the issues that need continued attention by activists around the country. The Bank, for example, makes debt available to cooperatives, not equity, in spite of the fact that the primary problem facing the development of cooperatives, particularly in low-income communities, has been the lack of equity. This policy assumes, incorrectly, that equity for community-based services is available from other institutions.

Because the bank must raise the bulk of its assets through bond sales on the private market, the interest charged on loans from the Bank's general fund could thus well be high—again severely restricting the use of the bank by low-income communities. Another potential hindrance is that the credit standards, as now proposed, are too restrictive. By requiring rigorous past performance, capital, and management criteria, the Task Force regulations effectively eliminate new and emerging cooperatives from the Bank's general loan fund.

Finally, the regional organization of the Bank is in question. At every hearing and public meeting held in recent months, local groups have urged the Bank to decentralize as much as possible. Yet the initial indications are that no major plans are underway for opening local branch offices, as required by the legislation, or for developing a "field staff" capacity.

The fact that many of these problems are still at the planning

stages means that community and consumer groups still have an enormous opportunity to have an impact on how the Bank will eventually work.

Already large numbers of public meetings have been organized throughout the country, sponsored by local, national, private and public organizations. The Interagency Task Force held a series of formal hearings on the Bank legislation in December, and the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policy, in an effort to inform low-income and community groups about the Bank, assisted in international meetings in Cleveland, Atlanta, Chicago, Minneapolis, New York, Boise, Philadelphia, and Jackson, Mississippi, among others.

One of the ideas receiving consideration by such gatherings is the possibility that the Bank could undertake joint ventures using the Urban Development Action Grant Program and the Community Development Block Grant funds. The Bank could also establish creative relationships with local lending institutions, including credit unions, thereby tying Bank funds to monies already located in the community.

The Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies has initiated an on-going Coop Bank Monitoring and Assistance Project. Aimed at insuring that the Bank meets its community development and low-income goals, the Project will closely monitor the Bank's activities, and provide assistance to community organizations interested in applying for Bank loans. For further information contact the Conference at 1901 Que Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. Telephone (202) 234-9882.

# Legislative Initiatives

## Bill to Support Non-Profit Organizations with State Funds Proposed

This year, Kansas has an opportunity to be the first state to adopt a policy of using public funds to support non-profit, community organizations and programs. House Bill 2300, known as the Community Resource Act, would establish a system, through the Secretary of Economic Development, to allocate and distribute grants-in-aid to eligible local organizations. Under this unique legislation, introduced by Rep. Braden with 15 co-sponsors, community groups could apply competitively for the funds allocated for such purposes. The University of Man, located in Manhattan, Kansas, provided background work and research on this new piece of legislation. For a copy of the bill, write to Documents Center, State Capitol, Topeka, KS 66612.

## Bills to Increase Participation in Pension Fund Investment Introduced in Massachusetts

For those interested in alternative pension fund investments, three new bills designed to open up the decision making process to public employees and public interest groups have been introduced in Massachusetts.

... House Act 1273 requires an annual investment report be filed by the state employees and teachers retirement system investment committees. This report would evaluate investment performance with respect to investment yield and safety, secondary economic benefits to the state, economic consequences for individuals of low and moderate income, and the social impact of pension fund investment.

... House Act 1274 would create a state employees retirement advisory committee and a state teachers retirement committee. These two committees would submit investment recommendations to the investment managers of public employee retirement funds.

... House Act 1275 would place a representative from both state pension funds on the system investment committee. For more information on these legislative initiatives, write State Senator Jack Backman, State House, Boston, MA.

## Homemakers Earn Equal Management Rights in Louisiana

Louisiana, which already allows for the homemaker's contribution to be considered equal to that of the wage earner husband, is now going a step further. As of January 1, 1980, a new equal management law (Act 627) will be in effect, guaranteeing equal control by both spouses of the community property. The law will enhance the creditworthiness of the non-wage earning married woman by enabling her to get credit on the strength of her share of the community property. For more information contact the Louisiana Bureau for Women, 580 Lakeland Drive, Baton Rouge, LA 70802.

*The Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies announces the*  
**Fifth Annual**

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE

*Philadelphia, August 3, 4, 5, 1979*

*An important national gathering of progressive public officials and community leaders who use state and local government as a lever for social change.*

*Please write for a detailed agenda and registration information.*

# Legislative Initiatives

## Connecticut Faces New Tax Reform Proposal

The Connecticut Legislature will be debating a fascinating new piece of tax reform legislation drafted by the City of Hartford and Nick Carbone, Deputy Mayor of that city.

In an effort to protect the homeowner in Connecticut's larger and older cities, the legislation would allow a city by ordinance to limit property taxes to 2% of the market value of residential and non-residential property. To make up the lost revenue, the city would then be allowed to impose a "wage and earnings" tax of up to 1%, but no more than needed to make up for lost revenue from the cut in property taxes.

In addition, in order to win support from home owners throughout the state, the bill would also abate any property taxes on individual homes which total more than 5% of total family income.

For more information, contact John Alschuler, Asst City Manager, City Hall, Hartford, Connecticut.

## Required Report on Lost Taxes Proposed in Nebraska

A bill requiring Nebraska's Department of Revenue to produce an annual report on "tax expenditures" has been introduced by Senator Dave Newell. The report would have to estimate all revenue lost to the state through various tax exemptions, deductions or preferential rates.

Warning that "excessive tax expenditures narrows the tax base, resulting in higher tax rates for the remainder of the taxable source," Senator Newell argues that this kind of financial statement would help determine the extent of such tax expenditures, and would thus help create a more progressive tax system. For copies of the legislation, write to Senator Dave Newell, District No. 13, 4027 Bauman, Omaha, NE 68112.

## Campaigns Bar Winter Utility Shut-offs

A national campaign aimed at utility companies has had a number of significant victories recently. The effort to specifically prohibit winter "shut offs" by utility companies, spearheaded by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, has been successful in Wisconsin, Maryland and Minnesota.

Pressure by citizen groups in Wisconsin, led by Utility Consumers United, Legal Action, and others, has resulted in regulations permanently restricting winter shut offs. The rule, in effect, forces the Wisconsin Public Service to declare a winter emergency each year, during which time shut-offs which endanger "human health or life" are illegal.

For the second consecutive winter, Maryland has bent to citizen and labor groups and issued a temporary moratorium on utility shut-offs to residential customers. Hearings are underway to establish permanent rules.

Similarly as a result of Coalition action, Minnesota has issued an emergency moratorium until April 1979. A broad campaign working on the issue included AFSCME, the Farmer Labor Association of Machinists, and the Citizens Utility Coalition.

Coalitions in some seventeen other states are engaged at various levels to prohibit winter cut-offs. Local campaigns focus on getting hearings and introducing legislation on the subject, using press conferences and large public rallies to highlight the need for a change in the rules. For more information on efforts around the country, write to The Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, Room 401, 1800 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

## Madison Mayoral Candidate Offers Progressive Urban Program

Activist James Rowen, in his campaign for Mayor of Madison, Wisconsin, is offering an exemplary progressive agenda to city residents.

Concentrating on housing, economic development and neighborhood preservation issues, Rowen's innovative proposals have won him a large following in the minority, labor, low income and young professional communities. With their support, he finished second in the ten-person primary held in February. The general election is set for April 3rd.

Proposed legislation to deal with the problem of plant closings has created the most controversy for Rowen. In the hopes of bringing more employment stability to Madison, he wants to introduce an ordinance to force corporations to give one year's notice before shutting down a plant, and to pay 2% of their annual payroll into a community preservation fund.

Rowen also wants to introduce an anti-speculation tax on investors who buy and sell rental properties on a short-term basis, and a "work tax" on non-resident workers who use city services.

In housing, Rowen has designed a program to increase homeownership by middle-income city residents. Presently frozen out of ownership by 11% interest rates and down-payment requirements as high as 35%, residents (and groups) would be able to borrow up to a fourth of their mortgage at only 6% interest. Under Rowen's proposal the city would raise the lending money through the issuance of new securities called "Mortgage Assistance Review Bonds" with investors paid back at 5.4% from revenues generated by the program.

Rowen's energy plan for the city includes offering low-interest

## People in Focus



loans to homeowners for the installation of alternative energy systems, and the requirement that all city buildings undergo an alternative energy feasibility study.

To block Rowen's election, banks, utilities, real estate companies and other members of the business community have created the Madison Area Government Education Committee (MAGEC) which is raising money and political support for their own Mayoral candidate, Joel Skornicka.

Rowen, who was Assistant to the Mayor for six years, played an important role in founding the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. For details on the above-mentioned, or other Rowen proposals on health, transportation, recreation, etc., write to Jim Rowen for Mayor, 254 W. Gilman Street, Madison, WI 53703.

## Activist Elected to Utility Board

Running on a platform stressing fair rates, conservation, and responsiveness to citizens, Gray Parther Mary Alice Race was recently elected to a 6-year term on the board of the Omaha Public Power District (OPPD). Race, a longtime critic of OPPD's policies who began her political activism at the age of 65, had been pushing for reform shut-off policies and lifeline rates for three years at the board's meetings. Named to a citizens advisory board on rate structures this past year, she called their

final report a "whitewash" and a "brainwash" by the OPPD managers. She joins a board already used to confrontation. 4 out of 5 incumbent members voted against participation in 1977 to end OPPD's participation in the Fort Calhoun 2 nuclear plant.

For more information on environmental and consumer activism around the utility companies, write to Power Line, 724 Dupont Circle Bldg, Washington, D.C. 20036.

## Tax Assessor Blasts the Corporations in Illinois

Pat Hartley is making things difficult for some of Illinois' big corporations. A tax assessor for the Lockport township, Hartley publicly places the blame for the extremely high residential property tax on the fact that the local Texaco plant and other industrial sites are cheating the taxpayer out of millions of dollars a year. One of the reasons they are able to get away with this, she explains, is because of the inaccessibility of information on the large companies needed to determine the value of the properties.

The Texaco plant, for example, receives electricity, water, and the use of city roads, and yet pays no Lockport city taxes. In 1971, its assessment was dropped from \$26 million to \$16 million. Since industries are not required to reveal cost figures on production, there was no way to challenge the change in assessed value.

Although the Illinois Department of Local Affairs was established to provide fair and just property taxation, Ms. Hartley says there will be little improvement in the situation until the legislative strengthening and then enforces the laws of disclosure and other such regulations.

For more information on this topic, write to the Illinois Public Action Council, 59 E. Van Buren Street, Chicago, IL 60605.

## Tax Commission Scores Interstate Tax Bill

The Multistate Tax Commission recently charged that S. 2173, an interstate tax bill sponsored by Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD) would exempt "substantial amounts" of income of the largest multistate and multinational corporations from state taxes. Among the negative consequences of the bill include a tax enforcement method which even the U.S. treasury has conceded would strain the administrative capability of many states.

The bill would also force the states to entirely exempt dividends which multinational corporations received from their foreign operations. Such provisions would obviously give firms investing abroad a major tax advantage over those investing in the U.S. For a copy of the Tax Commission's statement before the Senate Judiciary Committee, which held hearings on the bill, write to Multistate Tax Commission, Hall of the States, 444 N. Capitol Street, Washington, DC 20001.

## Crime Victimization:

### A Problem for the Urban Elderly

By Patricia Gallagher

As the senior citizens' movement becomes an increasingly organized and outspoken political force, state, county and city governments are responding to the needs and demands of their elderly constituents.

Perhaps the most immediate problem facing the urban elderly is crime victimization, a dilemma of particular significance to older women, 66% of whom live in metropolitan areas, and many of them alone. Their frailty and isolation works against them in two ways; elderly persons alone on the street or in their homes are easier targets, and the consequences of crimes against them are generally extremely serious.

There are a number of ways in which local governments and community organizations are combating such victimization. Some city police departments have programs designed to teach "common sense" crime prevention techniques to senior citizens, and many district attorney's offices offer victim assistance after the crime.

If there are no programs dealing with the problem, local governments can take advantage of the special services offered by the following organizations:

**Neighborhood Watch**, a national program sponsored by the National Sheriffs' Association provides educational materials to community groups and law enforcement agencies for organizing neighborhood people to watch out for each other and each other's property. About 8 to 10 thousand communities currently participate. For more information, write to The NSA, 1250 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

**The National Center for Black Aged** sponsors elderly anti-victimization projects in a number of cities around the U.S. The projects provide escort services for senior citizens to banks and shopping areas, organize daily telephone calls to elderly people living alone, and hold monthly classes in crime prevention. In one of its Washington, DC programs, the project also installs door and window locks

free of charge and works with the District police department in an "Operation Identification" program which places identifying marks on valuables. For more information on these projects, write to the NCAB, 1424 K Street, N.W., 5th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Other resources include: *Design Guidelines for Creating Defensible Space*, by Oscar Newman, a useful publication on crime victimization of the elderly, is available for \$2.95 from the U.S. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. For information on other anti-crime victimization programs for the elderly, see *Serving the Urban Elderly: Strategies for Mayors*, from the U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20006.

Patricia Gallagher, staff member of the Conference, is currently researching a book on the economic problems of older women for the *Women in the Economy Project*.

## MOVING?

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### Campaign Against Public Funds Being Invested in South Africa Scores Victories

State and local governments continue to respond to citizen pressure to cut off financial support to South Africa. To date, the anti-apartheid forces claim the following as some of their most recent victories around the country:

- The Hartford, CT city government recently held hearings questioning the use of its employees' pension funds being invested in South Africa.
- Chicago aldermen have sponsored hearings on the use of city

### Bi-Weekly Monitor's Legislative Activities

The Beacon Hill Update is a 6-page bi-weekly which monitors "State House Activities Affecting Low Income People". Features include a guest column, an update of recent legislation being introduced and how it would affect Boston citizens, and a calendar of public hearings, forums, and legislative meetings for the coming weeks. For a copy, write to The Beacon Hill Update, Room 744 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02108.

### Health News from Texas

Health professionals, elected officials, and activists have a new resource entitled *Texas Health News*. Published monthly by Doctors for Rural America, a physicians' recruiting service, it provides up-to-date information on state and federal health legislation, extracts from over 100 key health publications, guest viewpoints, national health news, and book reviews. Annual subscription rate is \$24. For more information write to *Texas Health News*, PO Box 4647, Austin, TX 78765.

### Sunset Laws Are On the Rise

A report on legislation forcing regular evaluation of state programs and agencies, known as "sunset laws", is now available from Common Cause. Entitled *Making Government Work*, the 121-page report explains how sunset laws increase government accountability, and summarizes the individual bills that have already been enacted in 29 states. For a copy, send \$5 to Common Cause, 2030 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

### New Magazine for City Managers

*Municipal Management* is a new quarterly aimed at both municipal

## Resources

managers and political activists in small communities around the country. Its first issue includes a piece on citizen participation in the local planning process, and an article by a regional planner about such citizen input, its challenges and pitfalls. Subscription is \$16 for an individual or \$25 for an institution or municipality. Write to *Municipal Management*, 39 Pearl Street, Brandon, VT 05738.

### Report on Educational Needs of Disadvantaged Women

An investigation of the educational needs of three groups of disadvantaged women is the focus of a study by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs (NACWEP). Entitled *Neglected Women: The Educational Needs of Displaced Homemakers, Single Mothers and Older Women*, this report grew out of the Council's awareness that in many cases these women have not been afforded access to the kind of education they need to be self-supporting in later life. A list of funding resources available to adult women to continue their education and a bibliography of relevant publications are also included. Single copies of the report are available free from NACWEP, 1832 M Street N.W., #821, Washington, D.C. 20036.

### Participatory Government in Chicago's 44th Ward

Dick Simpson, an activist independent alderman from Chicago, has just published his most recent book on how to create an accountable city government. Entitled *Neighborhood Government in Chicago's 44th Ward*, the book is an excellent "nuts and bolts" guide on how to gain community control over such decisions as local zoning, placement of a new playground, and the number of hours during which senior citizens can ride pub-

lic transportation at reduced rates. An invaluable resource for legislators and activists alike, the book includes articles written by Simpson on the philosophical as well as practical basis for participatory neighborhood government. To order, write to Stipes Publishing Company, 10-12 Chester Street, Champaign, Illinois, 61820.

### Activists Trained in State Lobbying Techniques

Boston's Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPAX) has recently held a 2 part lobbying workshop training session for activists who want to learn more about the workings of the state legislature, and how to influence it. Workshops include basic lobbying tactics, how to find available resources and documents, and how to monitor hearings and executive sessions most effectively. The sessions are free to all CPAX members. For more information on this valuable kind of session, write to CPAX Newsletter, 35 Kingston Street, Boston, MA 02111.

### Resource for Cable TV

Cities facing cable TV franchising and community groups and institutions wanting access to cable channels are invited to seek support and assistance from the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers. The Federation offers a newspaper highlighting current cable developments, contemporary local programming models, legislative and regulatory oversight, regional and national conferences, resource packets including model franchise provisions, funding plans and regulatory recommendations also available. Write: NFCLCP, P.O. Box 882, Dubuque, IA 52001.

## Resources

### Displacement Studies Published

The National Association of Neighborhoods (NAN) has produced a comprehensive handbook entitled *Reinvestment Displacement: HUD's Role in a New Housing Issue*. It provides historical perspective on this complex issue, analyses current urban trends and discusses governmental involvement. For a copy send \$5.75 to NAN, 1612 20th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

The National Urban Coalition has just published a 44-city survey on the effect of private market rehabilitation in city neighborhoods which concludes that displacement contributes to drastic increases in land and housing costs. For a copy of the report, entitled *Displacement—City Neighborhoods in Transition*, send \$4.00 to the National Urban Coalition, 1201 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

### Resource on Community Development for States

The Center for Community Economic Development has just published an important survey and analysis of state economic development programs. *Community Economic Development and the States*, by Carl Sussman and Stephen Klein, is available at the Center for Community Economic Development, 639 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02139.

### Column on Tax Reform Available to Local Newspapers

Local newspapers now have the opportunity to reprint a provocative 600-word bi-weekly column on contemporary tax issues. *Taxes Ranget*, already sent free of charge to hundreds of local papers, is written and distributed by the California Tax Reform Association. Executive Director, Jonathan Lewis, promises that future columns will continue to be "concise, readable, and educational." For copies write to CTRA, 1107 Ninth Street, Suite 915, Sacramento, CA 90814.

### Impact of Proposition 13

Numerous studies, written from academic, economic and legal perspectives, have been made analyzing the impact of California's Proposition 13 on state services. A complete list of such projects and publications is now available for \$2.00 from the Institute of Government Studies, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. For those interested in regular, in-depth coverage on the tax-revolt phenomenon, the monthly newsletter *Tax Revolt Digest* by the Center for Research and Education in Government is available. For more information write to the *Digest*, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.

### States Rated on Tax Equity

The Coalition of American Public Employees recently released a state tax study entitled "Tax Equity in 50 States." The 65-page report shows how state taxes can be made more equitable, and ranks the states on the basis of how equitable their tax systems are. The study ranks the states in the areas of sales, personal income, business and property taxes, as well as general tax administration. Copies of the report are available for \$1.00. Write to the Coalition of American Public Employees, Suite 214, 1126 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

### How to Start Your Own Energy Business

Individuals planning an energy conservation business should first consult the Institute for Self-Reliance's newest publication, *Starting Your Own Energy Business*. The Washington-based group has prepared a study of the supply, demand and marketing problems associated with enterprises ranging from stormdoor installation and cellulose insulation retrofitting to the sales and servicing of solar hot water heating equipment. For more information write to Leslie Toif, IISR, Room 48, 1717 18th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

### Ways & Means

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## Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

# Ways & Means

May-June 1979

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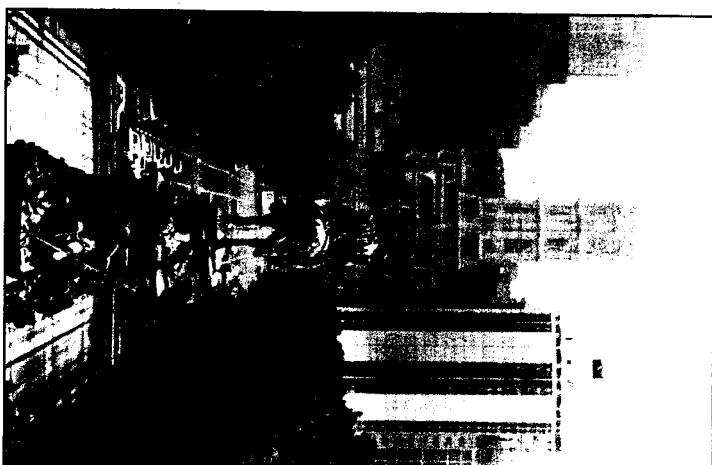
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Looking out towards City Hall, Philadelphia  
Credit: Philadelphia Convention and Visitors Bureau

Over 800 public officials and community leaders are expected to attend the Fifth Annual National Conference in Philadelphia on August 3-5.

Plenary speakers and workshop leaders will be focusing on concrete new programs as well as the problems and opportunities progressives will face in the 80s. See pages 8-12 for Conference agenda and registration form.

# Legislative Initiatives

## Plant Closing Legislation Proposed in Oregon, Massachusetts, and Connecticut

Oregon State Senator Kulon-goski recently introduced a plant closing bill, SB 789, that requires two years advance notification before shutdown and requires owners of such plants to offer it for sale to plant employees. In addition, SB 789 provides for technical assistance to employees wishing to purchase such plants. For more information contact Senator Kulon-goski, State Capital, Salem, OR 97310.

Payment of 15% of the annual payroll into a Community Jobs Assistance Fund to be used for economic development. For more information write to the Senate Commerce and Labor Committee, State House, Boston, MA 02133.

A bill requiring Connecticut businesses to warn the state before they move or lay off employees was approved by the General Assembly's Labor Committee in early March. Known as the "turn-away shop" bill, the measure would require a business to give notification of plans to relocate at least 90 days before it moves, and 30 days before it plans a major layoff of workers. Although the penalty for disregarding the law would only be a \$100 fine, business lobbyists have vowed to fight the bill. For more information on the bill, write to its sponsor, State Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, State Capitol Bldg., Hartford, CT 06103.

## Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

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Washington, DC 20009  
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**Ways & Means** is a bimonthly publication of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. Since the Conference was founded in June 1975, it has provided a major meeting place and forum for ideas of progressive elected officials, community organizers, political activists, and technically trained experts interested in alternative policies and programs at the state and local level. In addition to holding an annual national meeting, the organization holds frequent regional, statewide, and issue conferences which focus on the increasingly complex problems facing state and local government today.

Subscription prices: \$10, \$20 for individuals. To order, see center fold.

Please request permission to reprint.

## California Bill Calls for New Provisions for Investing Pension Funds

California State Senator Steroty has introduced legislation creating a Public Investment Task Force that would consider changes in that state's public retirement fund investment policies. The Task Force would develop a new strategy for the investment of public employee pension fund assets—consistent with prudent management—but providing for greater in-state investment in housing and economic development. The Steroty bill would require the investment of at least 15% of the retirement fund portfolio in California residential mortgages. For more information contact John Harrington, 616 25th Street #2, Sacramento, CA 95814.

## Attention Non-Profit Groups

Kansas has just passed a bill that calls for the use of public funds to support non-profit, community organizations and programs. It was signed into law by the Governor in April. The next step is to pass an appropriations bill so that the funds can begin to be disbursed. For copies of this excellent bill, known as HB 2300, write to the Documents Center, State Capitol, Topeka, KS 66612.

## Progressives Gain in Berkeley Elections

In a major political victory for progressive forces, candidates for mayor, city council, auditor and school board backed by the Berkeley Citizens Action (BCA) were elected in that city's municipal election of April 17th. Progressives now hold 4 out of 9 seats in the city council. Also a victory was the 2-1 passage of the public initiative calling on the city of Berkeley to withdraw its funds from banks doing business with South Africa.

# Fighting Inflation: A State's Plan for Action

## By Derek Shearer

Although inflation is a national and international economic problem requiring policy moves in Washington, there are a number of actions that states can take on their own to counter the effects of rising prices. Here is what an anti-inflation package might look like on the state level.

### Health Insurance

States can enact their own system of comprehensive state health insurance with built-in cost controls. There is ample precedent. In economic terms, a state like California is bigger than many countries that have excellent health insurance systems, including Sweden and Norway. And just across our northern border, the Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Act, which was passed in 1961, has become a model for the entire country of Canada.

### Public Auto Insurance

There is no reason why each state, through the Department of Motor Vehicles, could not offer low-cost, no-fault insurance to drivers when they renew their licenses. Three provinces in Canada have already adopted their own low-cost, no-fault auto insurance policies, and have found that the service has been cheaper, swifter, and more efficient. And, by requiring that the insurance premiums be invested locally, more jobs would be created.

### Consumer Coops

Already, citizens in every state save money on food, lawyers, optical supplies, travel and car repair by shopping at consumer cooperatives—enterprises owned by the customers who shop there. A state co-op development agency could be established and staffed with organizers, educators and experienced business people, to provide assistance to union locals, PTAs, senior citizens groups and other

community organizations wishing to start their own co-ops.

There is a new national supply of capital available for co-ops—a National Consumer Co-op Bank—which will be loaning up to \$1 billion to such enterprises over the next ten years. If the state government set up a small co-op development agency, the opportunity to take advantage of this federal money would be enhanced.

### Farmer's Markets

Direct marketing of food from farmers to consumers, which eliminates the cost of the middle-man, is an excellent way to cut food costs. In Honolulu, for example, the city government sponsors weekly open-air markets on city-owned land, where food must be sold at wholesale. More than 25,000 Honoluluans shopped in these Markets last year. In Pennsylvania, the state department of agriculture set up about one dozen "fairgame" farmers' markets around the state, and since 1975, nearly \$14 million in agricultural products have been sold.

### Tax Reform

There are a number of tax reforms that each state could enact. One is a split-roll property tax system, under which business and income-producing property is taxed at a higher rate than private homes. Such a system exists in Minnesota already, and was recently established in Massachusetts by referendum.

In addition, the state income tax could be made fairer by closing tax advantages. A tax on intangible wealth—such as stocks and bonds—could also be enacted. With federal reporting requirements and IRS computers, a wealth tax would not be difficult to administer, and it might include a generous exclusion (say up to \$50,000) so it does not penalize the middle-income family.

## Energy Conservation and Public Energy Corporations

States can do a lot to save consumers money on their energy bills. One step, already taken by the city of Davis, California, is to enact strict energy conservation standards for all new construction, and where it's feasible, for existing apartments.

The state could support RUCAGs—Residential Utility Consumer Action Groups—which would represent consumer interests and fight for lower energy costs. It is also possible to get into the energy business directly, by creating a state-owned energy corporation to purchase oil and gas, and to develop existing energy resources on state-owned land.

### Protection of Renters

Keeping rents down is another anti-inflationary step. Renters can fight rent inflation, however, only if they have the legal standing to do so. One answer is to enact a comprehensive renters' bill which would include provisions against evicting tenants for complaining or organizing. In New Jersey, landlords are required by law to give every tenant a state-printed booklet which lists their rights as renters. In Madison, Wisconsin, a new rental regulations board requires a landlord to negotiate with tenants when a majority have organized a tenant's union. (See p. 14 for article on recent victory for renters' rights in Santa Monica.)

Another factor in the rising cost of single-family homes is speculation, which could be discouraged by enacting a stiff capital-gains tax for the short-term purchase and sale of homes.

Derek Shearer is a visiting lecturer at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and a member of the Conference Steering Committee.

# ACORN Plans for the '80 Elections

By Madeleine Adamson

While the Democratic Party held its national mid-term convention in Memphis in December, community organizers from around the country were holding a meeting of their own just six blocks away. The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) timed its first national convention purposely to coincide with the Party meeting. One thousand ACORN delegates from fourteen states assembled to approve a nine point "People's Platform", and then marched together to deliver it to the Democrats. The two actions marked the opening round of ACORN's national political strategy for 1980 and beyond.

The ACORN platform decided upon in Memphis would guarantee the right of every person to the basic necessities of heat, light, health care, decent housing and employment, through provisions such as lifetime utility rates, national health insurance, and a doubling of federal housing programs. It calls for action to end redlining, save family farms, and close tax loopholes. Finally, it includes a plank calling for full representation of low and moderate income people in all institutions which affect their lives, including the Democratic Party.

The issues are familiar but the Platform is unique. It is based on the experience of ACORN's more than 20,000 low and moderate income family members who have addressed these issues at the local and state levels over the last eight and a half years.

The basic concepts embodied in the Platform will be further developed through a process of local group meetings, culminating in a second national conference in St. Louis at the end of June 1979. At that meeting, ACORN members will discuss, debate, and vote on the specifics of a final platform, and consider options for advancing

that platform in the 1980 elections. ACORN is no stranger to political action. While most community organizations have avoided direct involvement in electoral politics, ACORN has considered elections an important arena in which its constituency can expand and exercise power. Since its founding in Arkansas in 1970, ACORN has formed parallel ACORN Political Action Committees (APACs) to endorse and work for political candidates.

With the Memphis convention, ACORN took its first step into national politics. Its strategy for 1980 revolves around putting the People's Platform on the agendas of both national political parties.

ACORN intends to run members as delegates to both Party conventions, particularly in caucus states where community organizing techniques are most applicable. Employing tactics already used successfully in local elections, ACORN will pressure local, state and national candidates to publicly endorse the ACORN Platform.

In addition, ACORN plans to develop a broad base of support for the Platform among other convention delegates and other organizations. The emphasis will be on issues, not candidates. The objective is to build the movement, not elect the President.

ACORN Chief Organizer Wade Ratlike defines the 1980 campaign in terms of "testing the political waters." If ACORN is successful in using the Platform as an organizing tool both to expand its own base and make alliance with community, labor and church groups, it may well be the force to contend with in 1984.

Madeleine Adamson is ACORN's representative in Washington, D.C., and is editor of Just Economics, a bi-monthly publication for organizers published by the Movement for Economic Justice.

## Tax Abatements under Attack

By Lee Webb

Tax abatements—that is, property tax breaks to business—are under increasing attack from public officials, citizen organizations, and academics from around the country. They argue that the widespread practice of granting abatements to big business and industry does not increase jobs, and instead places unfair tax burdens on the citizenry.

Few people have listened to such criticism over the past decade, waiting instead for the increase in job opportunities, the economic growth, and the lower taxes promised by the business community. These dividends have failed to materialize, however, and there is now a growing public understanding that such tax breaks, in fact, bring higher taxes, lower public services, and few new jobs. With states and cities embroiled in self-defeating competition, the only real winners turn out to be the businesses themselves.

Those critical of the practice, now strengthened with new studies and statistics bolstering their arguments, have grabbed the initiative around the country:

—The city of Boston's practice of granting tax abatements to office building developers through quasi-legal "golden handshake" agreements is under increasing attack from citizen groups led by Massachusetts Fair Share. These advocates, Fair Share argues, are forcing Boston homeowners and small businesses to make up the tens of millions of dollars in taxes that the office buildings don't have to pay.

—The city of St. Louis, Missouri has been giving tax abatements to almost every new building constructed in the downtown area. City Alderman Bruce Sommers and various neighborhood and community groups are demanding an investigation of the program, claiming that the existing abatements are unfair.

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## Agriculture

### Farmers in California Sue for Job Loss

By Joe Belden

State government's role in promoting mechanized large-scale farming is under attack in California. Nineteen farm laborers there are suing the state, in the form of the University of California, for funding research that results in forcing thousands of agricultural workers out of their jobs. Prepared by California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA), the lawsuit contends that highly mechanized farm machinery developed by university researchers has displaced thousands of farmworkers, and threatens to displace many more. Mechanized harvesting in the state's tomato industry alone has led to unemployment for 32,000 workers.

The lawsuit asks for an injunction prohibiting university research on farm mechanization projects that would, with no public purpose, aid narrow agribusiness interests, displace farmworkers, or contribute to the decline of the family farm and the deterioration of rural areas. Although a number of reports have already documented how such mechanization has been harmful to interests of consumers, low and moderate farmers and farm laborers, the California lawsuit is one of the first concrete attempts to stop it.

The land grant university/research complex has long operated with little public scrutiny, although it spends \$1.2 billion of the public's money every year. That money has primarily gone to subsidize the very large farmers and agribusiness corporations. It has often neglected the dwindling majority of small and moderate sized family farms.

Somebody may be saving (or making) money with mechanization, but it is apparently not the consumer, and it is certainly not the farmworker. Between 1964 and 1975, for example, retail prices of machine picked processed toma-

atoes went up 111 percent, while prices of all processed fruits and vegetables rose only 76 percent at retail over the same period. 85 percent of California's 4,000 canneries tomato farmers were forced out of business by the development of a large scale harvesting machine, according to California Agrarian Action, an advocacy group who is also party to the suit.

Another area of concern touched upon by the lawsuit is that of conflict of interest on the part of the University of California's board of regents. One regent, for example, owns 3,000 shares of stock in the Del Monte Corporation, the world's biggest food processor. Al Meyerhoff, regional counsel for CRLA, points out that the regents have refused to disclose their financial holdings as requested by the state Fair Political Practices Commission. "We believe," says Meyerhoff, "that the conflict of interest we identified may only be the tip of the iceberg."

This lawsuit raises issues that are of concern to all public officials and advocacy groups involved in trying to protect the small farmer, and could be used as a model for similar actions in other states.

CRLA lawyers, in fact, are planning a number of strategy meetings with groups in other states interested in filing similar lawsuits. In a complementary vein, a bill has already been drafted by California Assemblyman Art Torres, that would require social impact studies of proposed mechanization research and provide benefits for displaced farmworkers.

For more information on the above lawsuit, write to CRLA, 115 Sansome Street, Suite 900, San Francisco, CA 94104.

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## Foreign Ownership of Farms Under Attack in Colorado, North Dakota

The Colorado Assembly is considering a bill (HB 1144) which requires disclosure of ownership when farmland is held by corporations having specified alien stockholders. Failure to file with the state or other violations of the proposed regulations would result in the land reverting back to the state. For more information, contact Representative Burns, House Committee on Agriculture, State Capitol, Denver, CO 80203.

In North Dakota, both the House and Senate have voted to limit foreign ownership of farmland. House Bill 1209 bans non-resident aliens from purchasing farmland in North Dakota, but includes an amendment permitting Canadian citizens to acquire up to 80 acres in the state. Land currently held by non-resident aliens would be permitted to continue with that ownership through a "grandfather clause" in the bill, but would have to be sold within three years by the property heirs. Current non-resident alien ownership of farmland would have to be reported annually to the State Commissioner of Agriculture.

The bill now goes to Conference Committee. For more information contact House Documents Room, State Capitol, Bismarck, ND 58505.

## North Dakota Offers Incentives to Sell Land to Beginning Farmers

Two bills giving financial incentives to landowners to sell or lease land to beginning farmers were signed into law by North Dakota's Governor Arthur Link March 23. The first bill, HB 1306, exempts inherited income received by a landowner who has sold property to a beginning farmer from the state's income tax. The second, HB 1475, allows a landowner selling land to a beginning farmer to exempt half of the income he receives up to a maximum of \$50,000 from his state income tax.



## Behind the Vote in Cleveland

By Paul Ryder

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

Tom Johnson  
Mayor of Cleveland  
1901-1909

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

At stake was the survival of the only big-city public utility in the country operating in direct competition with a private utility, the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (CEI). Also at stake was the city's \$925 million anti-trust suit against CEI for sabotage, price-fixing, and other "anti-competitive" practices. The income tax increase was crucial, as failure of the measure would have led to public employee layoffs, service cutbacks, and the likelihood of the state takeover of city finances.

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

It was the black vote, which comprises 30% of the voting public, that helped make the difference. In past elections, Cleveland voters have often found themselves divided by race. Only six months ago, for example, 67% of black Clevelanders voted to recall Mayor Kucinich, while 57% of the whites opposed the recall. This winter's campaign could have witnessed the same racial split; the media, both white and black, were encouraging "personality" conflicts between Mayor Kucinich and black City Council President George Forbes. Forbes is a long-time spokesman for big business in Cleveland.

As the campaign began, nearly all observers thought that the sale

### Abatelements Attacked

*continued from p. 4*

ments will cost the city \$500,000 in lost taxes over the next twenty-five years.

In Detroit, Michigan, widespread opposition to a proposed tax break for General Motors is being organized by Councilman Ken Cockrel.

In New York City, progressive city council members and neighborhood organizations have initiated a campaign against tax abatements to office construction. A recent report by the City Comptroller, for example, revealed that the city may have needlessly granted more than \$56 million in tax breaks to blue-chip corpo-

of Municipal Light was a foregone conclusion. It was supported by CEI, Cleveland Trust, the Greater Cleveland Growth Association (Chamber of Commerce), the *Plain Dealer*, the *Cleveland Press*, the black-owned *Calt and Post*, all three TV stations, the City Council leadership, and both major political parties.

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

When the election day came, 64% of Cleveland's voters rejected the sale, and 68% voted to increase the income tax. In the black community, 50.4% joined with 70% of the whites, and in City-Councilman Forbes' own ward, the sale passed by only 163 votes. Personal rivalries and racial divisions had given way to economic considerations.

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

1977 study by the U.S. Library of Congress entitled *Patterns of Regional Change*. After examining state and local incentives to attract industry, the report concluded there was "no evidence that these programs have had any significant impact on locational choice."

Lee Webb is the Executive Director of the Conference.

*The Conference now has an 85-page manual Tax Abatelements: Resources for Public Officials and Activists. It includes the work of the academic critics, and reports of successful and ongoing campaigns against abatements. (See Publications page).*

## Fifth Annual National Conference An Agenda for the 80's

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

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

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

This year's conference takes place at a critical time. Inflation increases, while unemployment remains high; people demand more gov-

ernment services while they also demand substantial tax cuts; government and public employees are on the defensive, as are the corporations and special interests. It is a critical time, but it is also a time of substantial opportunity for progressives who can define new alternatives and mount broad-based coalition efforts.

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

Lee Webb  
Executive Director

Ann Beaudry  
Associate Director  
Conference Organizer

### Conference Steering Committee

Chair—John Alschuler  
Assistant City Manager, Hartford, Connecticut

Ira Arlook  
Director, Ohio Public Interest Campaign

Marion Barry  
Mayor, District of Columbia

Tom Bates  
State Assembly, California

Bob Borosage  
Director, Institute for Policy Studies,  
Washington, D.C.

Joseph Brooks  
President, Emergency Land Fund, Atlanta, Ga.

Nicholas Carbone  
City Council, Hartford, Connecticut

Bill Dodds  
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Director, Progressive Alliance

Regis Groff  
State Senate, Colorado

Mel King  
State Representative, Massachusetts

Ruth Messinger  
City Council, New York City

Miles Rappaport  
Boston Staff Director, Massachusetts Fair Share

Patricia Roach  
City Council, Dayton, Ohio

Peter Shapiro  
County Executive, Essex County, New Jersey

Derek Shearer  
Economist, California

David Smith  
Technical Development Corporation, Boston, Mass.

Bennie Thompson  
Mayor, Bolton, Mississippi

# National Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies

3/4/5 August 1979 Philadelphia-Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

## FRIDAY, 3 AUGUST 1979

### 8:00 a.m. REGISTRATION OPENS

Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr College

### 10:30 a.m. OPENING SESSION

#### Welcoming Remarks

John Alschuler, Assistant City Manager, Hartford, Connecticut; Chair, Conference Steering Committee

#### "Stagnation: The Crisis of the 80's"

Gar Alperovitz, Co-director, National Center for Economic Alternatives

#### "Stagnation: What Implications for the State and Local Agenda?"

Heather Booth, Director, Midwest Academy, Chicago  
Joe Brooks, President, Emergency Land Fund, Atlanta

### 12:00 LUNCH

### 1:30 p.m. WORKSHOPS

Proposition 13's: Who Wins? Who Loses?  
Plant Closings: Strategies to Protect Workers and Communities

County Government: An Important Arena for Progressive Politics  
Race and Politics: Can We Unite Progressive Constituencies?

The Economics and Politics of Rent Control  
Reinvestment and Displacement: Successful Local Responses

Corporate Tax Abatements: The Political and Policy Issues

Stopping Food Inflation: State and Local Approaches  
How Progressive Campaigns Can Use the Media

Case Studies in Progressive Economic Development: Massachusetts, Hartford and Madison

The European Experience with Coops: Lessons for the National Consumer Coop Bank  
Organizing Around Occupational and Environmental Health and Safety

### 3:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS

Federal Resources: Developing Neighborhood-based Community Development Plans  
Women and Minorities: Critical to the Future of Organized Labor

The Crisis in Health Costs: What States and Cities Can Do

Innovative Approaches to School Finance Reform

Redlining Revisited: Taking on the Insurance Industry  
Preserving Agricultural Land: Tax and Planning Strategies

New Financing Sources for Alternative Energy

Defense and Nuclear Plant Conversion: Protecting Workers' Interests

National Consumer Coop Bank: New Opportunities for Cooperatives

State-wide Citizen Organizations: Where Does This Strategy Lead?

Cable TV: Giving the Public Access

Progressive Policies Without Public Expenditures: The Need for Structural Reforms

### 5:00 p.m. RECEPTION

### 8:00 p.m. BUFFET DINNER

### 8:00 p.m. PLENARY SESSION

"Progressive Alternatives to the Corporate Agenda"  
Loni Hancock, Regional Director, VISTA, San Francisco

Dennis Kucinich, Mayor, Cleveland

Tom Hayden, California Campaign for Economic Democracy

Ken Cockrel, City Council, Detroit

## SATURDAY, 4 AUG. 1979

### 9:00 a.m. CONCURRENT PLENARY SESSIONS

#### "Strategies to Meet the Attack on Human Services"

Art Torres, State Assembly, California  
Ruth Messenger, City Council, New York City

Earl Craig, Director, Urban Coalition of Minneapolis

#### "The Crisis in American Agriculture: Opportunities for Progressive Change"

Jim Hightower, Editor, Texas Observer  
Cynthia Guyer, Coordinator, Agriculture Project, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies

Michael Figures, State Senate, Alabama  
Victor Ray, Assistant to the President, National Farmers' Union

#### "The Progressive Response to the Tax Revolt"

Vera Katz, State Representative, Oregon  
Lee Webb, Director, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies

Tom Bates, State Assembly, California  
Michael Ansara, Director, Massachusetts Fair Share

### 10:30 a.m. WORKSHOPS

Community Strategies for Prevention of Crime and Police Brutality

Preventing Economic Dislocation: Recommendations from the European Plant Closing Study Group

How Local Government Can Work Through Neighborhoods: Success and Problems

State and Local Taxation of Corporations: Making Them Pay Their Fair Share

Controlling Energy Inflation: Meeting the Needs of Low and Moderate Income Consumers

Political Campaigns: The New Technologies

Development Finance Institutions: Evaluating the Progressive Track Record

Public Policies for the Handicapped

The Rise of the Sunbelt: Growth, Economic Development and Jobs

How to Build a Successful State/Local Tax Reform Movement: Four Case Studies

The Progressive Alliance: Its Programs and Strategy

Urban Mass Transportation: Providing Services to the Inner City

### 12:00 LUNCH

### 1:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION

"The 1980 Presidential Campaign: Perspectives and Issues"

George Poulis, General Vice-President, International Association of Machinists

Carolyn Lucas, Boston Vice-President, Massachusetts Fair Share

Michael Harrington, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee

### 3:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS

Controlling the Housing Market: Limiting Speculation and Profits

The Demise of Big City Political Machines: What Potential for Progressive Politics?

Strategies for Building New Alliances Around Farm, Land and Food Policies

Public Assistance: Reforming Welfare and Social Service Programs

Services for Seniors: Innovative State and Local Programs

Unaccountable Public Authorities: What Can Be Done? Cleveland and New York: Case Studies in Corporate Domination of City Economies

State and Local Approaches to Anti-Discrimination and Affirmative Action

Proposition 13's Impact on Labor: Implications for Citizen/Labor Tax Reform Coalitions

How to Lobby State Legislatures

Developing a Comprehensive State Energy Policy

### 4:30 p.m. RECEPTION

## SUNDAY, 5 AUGUST 1979

### 9:00 a.m. PLENARY SESSION

"New Elements of A Program for the 80's"

Ann Beaudry, Associate Director, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies

Ira Arlook, Director, Ohio Public Interest Campaign

Bryon Dorgan, Tax Commissioner, North Dakota

### 10:30 a.m. WORKSHOPS

Federal Initiatives to Stimulate State/Local Tax Reform  
Cities and Suburbs: A Fair Share of Regional Wealth  
The Emerging Demographics—Minorities, the Elderly and Women: Implications for Progressive Politics  
Beyond Three Mile Island: What States and Cities Can Do to Control Nuclear Energy

Youth And Jobs: Policies and Programs of the State and Federal Level

New Strategies for Labor Organizing

Preventing Corporate Control of Agriculture and Land

Strategies for Property Tax Relief

Employee-Owned Coops: The Potential of the National Consumer Coop Bank

Progressive Public Officials as Managers: Meeting the Needs of Constituent and Public Employees

Public Pension Funds: New Capital for Economic Development

Politics in California After Proposition 13  
Developing a Comprehensive State Agriculture and Food Policy

### 12:00 LUNCH

### 1:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS

Linking the Jobless to Jobs: Policies for Employment and Community Stabilization

New Revenue Policies for States

Community-based Strategies to Finance Low-Income Housing

Emerging Progressive Politics in the South

Food for People: Innovative City Programs

Rural Development Policy: Outside Industry vs. Local Initiatives

Strategies Against Apartheid: Pension Funds and Corporate Social Responsibility

The New Right: Right Issues, Wrong Program

Progressive Utility Regulation: Protecting Consumer Interests

Community Reinvestment Act: How Cities and States Can Use It

Limiting Corporate Control of the Energy Industry: Building Alternative Institutions

Tactics and Strategy for Referenda and Initiatives

### 2:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION

"Independent Politics: Strategies for Progressive Change"

Marion Barry, Mayor, District of Columbia

Douglas Fraser, President, United Auto Workers

### 4:00 p.m. CONFERENCE ENDS

# REGISTRATION INFORMATION FIFTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

3-4-5 August 1979  
Philadelphia-Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

## Registration:

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

## Accommodations:

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

## Child Care:

Children 3 months to 5½ years old can register at a day nursery located on the edge of the campus. Pre-payment and advance reservation are required no later than July 6, 1979. The nursery is open daily from 7:30 a.m.-5:15 p.m. and the cost is \$2 per hour per child.

## Registration Form

Return to: National Conference, 1901 Q St., NW,  
Washington, DC 20009.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

POSITION / ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

(Home) \_\_\_\_\_

(Work) \_\_\_\_\_

REGISTRATION FEE \$35

HOUSING \_\_\_\_\_

Single room at \$25 per night for \_\_\_\_\_ nights.

Please indicate which nights:

☐ Thursday

☐ Friday

☐ Saturday

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

(Check must accompany order—payable to The Conference)

### CHILD CARE

I would like to reserve a space(s) for my \_\_\_\_\_ child(ren).

Please indicate which days: ☐ Friday

☐ Saturday

☐ Sunday

# Conference PUBLICATIONS



## New Directions in Farm, Land, and Food Policies

A major new publication of the Conference documenting new policy initiatives on farm, land, and food-related issues. Topics include: **State Anti-Corporate Farm Acts • Direct Marketing • Access to Land and Capital • Protecting Farmland from Development • Graduated Property Taxes on Farmland • City Food Plans • Repealing Food Sales Taxes.**

Each of 18 chapters covers concrete policy alternatives and new legislative proposals, and includes a bibliography and a listing of key organizations to contact for further information and technical assistance. An excellent resource for farmers' organizations, public officials, consumer and neighborhood groups, students, church hunger task forces, and political activists who are working to change agricultural and food policies at the state and local level. **320 pp. \$8, \$14 for institutions.**

## Public-Employee Pension Funds: A Manual for Public Officials and Activists

A comprehensive resource book on the subject of redirecting public-employee pension fund capital into socially responsible investment projects. Included are statistics and facts on the size and portfolios of pension funds, and models of new investment strategies in the areas of housing, small business, and economic development. The materials include original articles and reports, speech transcripts, reprints of newly published articles, a glossary of financial terms, and a comprehensive list of resources. **200 pp. \$8, \$14 for institutions.**

## State and Local Tax Reform: Perspectives, Proposals and Resources (ready in Spring)

Analyzes the current state and local tax revolution and the progressive opportunities it provides. Resource section includes people and organizations active in tax reform and their strategies, places to get tax legislation, and bibliographies. **\$10, \$15 for institutions.**

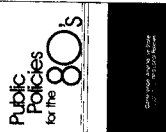
## New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies A Time for State and Local Action



## Public Policies for the 80s: Perspectives and Resources for State and Local Action

Edited by Lee Webb.  
Major annual publication of the Conference. Includes new policy initiatives on:

Energy, Tax Reform, Economic Development, and Agriculture • Issue bibliographies on 27 major problems facing state and local government • Key organizations, individuals, and publications for policymaking in the 1980s. Invaluable to public officials and community organizations who hope to take action on crucial public policies at the state and local level. **255 pp. \$10, \$15 for institutions.**



**The Bank in Brief...**

**COOP BANK**  
New Funds for Community Development

A special four-pg. report on the Coop Bank Act. Includes a section-by-section summary, legislative history, implementation strategies. \$50.

**National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act**  
A reprint of the recently enacted Consumer Cooperative Bank Act which provides a major new source of financing for rural and urban consumer coops. Useful summary included. \$1.

**INDUSTRIAL EXODUS**  
Communities Moving to New Locations

Realistic proposals about what each level of government could do to save jobs and protect communities from plant shutdowns. 30 pp. \$2.50, \$5 for institutions.

**INNOVATIVE LEGISLATION SERIES**

**Running Plants Acts**  
Ohio and Michigan bills requiring notice to affected employees and communities before any industry shutdown, relocation or reduction in operation. \$1.00.

**Model State Public Utility Commission Act**  
Model legislation covering all aspects of utility regulation: commission composition, jurisdiction, enforcement, and reporting requirements dealing with ownership and control of regulated utilities. \$1.00.

**Advisory Neighborhood Commissions Act of 1975**  
Legislation creating "ANCs" to guarantee citizen input in District of Columbia self-government. \$1.00.

**Massachusetts Community Development Finance Corporation**  
Massachusetts legislation creating a public corporation to invest in not-for-profit community development businesses. \$1.00.

**Solar Act**  
A model proposal for a public solar energy authority designed to encourage use of solar energy on every building feasible and to speed commercialization of solar electricity. \$1.00.

**Insurance Redlining**  
Proposed 1978 Chicago ordinance to stop insurance redlining. It provides that insurance companies doing business in the city must agree not to discriminate and to disclose insurance policy renewals, cancellations and rejections by Zip Code zone. \$1.00.

## Women in the Economy:

### A Legislative Agenda

Edited by Ann Beaudry. Contains current model legislation and program proposals for women to achieve economic equality. Includes information on such topics as: displaced homemakers • insurance equity • domestic workers • rights of pregnant workers • economic protection for homemakers • vocational training • alternative work patterns • state labor laws • upward mobility.

In addition, the book includes useful resource lists on specific issues, a general bibliography, and a directory of working women's organizations. 133 pp. \$5, \$10 for institutions.

### Revenue Strategies for D.C.

A unique action-guide to potential tax strategies, using the District of Columbia as a model. 92 pp. \$1.50, \$3 for institutions.

### Tax Abatements: Resources for Public Officials and Activists (May 1979)

Up-to-date resource manual containing extensive overview material, the work of the academic and public interest critics, the business position, and reports on successful and on-going campaigns against abatements. 80 pp. \$5, \$7.50 institutions.

### Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Activists (May 1979)

Includes analysis of the problem, model state and Federal legislation, reports on citizen/labor campaigns in Ohio, Ill., Mass., and Penn., and discussion of European programs and policies. 83 pp. \$5, \$7.50 institutions.

### The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices

A special report by Massachusetts economist David Smith proposing new analytic tools and concepts for evaluating public intervention in the economy. 20 pp. \$2.50

### Tax Reform and School Finance for the Children:

A Policy Reader (Feb. 1979)  
A resource manual assembled and edited by the California Tax Reform Association. Includes chapters on tuition tax credits, alternative revenue sources, revenue allocation, and analysis of Prop. 13. 116 pp. \$6.50

### Tax Equity in the Fifty States

A special study prepared by Diane Fuchs and Steve Rabin for the Coalition of American Public Employees (CAPE) analysing each states' sales, personal and property tax policies with extensive state-by-state statistical material. 65 pp. \$2.50

### Equity for Farm Women: Proposals for Estate Tax Reform

Discussion and collected resources on the effect of federal and state inheritance tax laws on farm women. 20 pp. \$2.50

# CETA-Eligible Women: A Neglected Majority

By Jane Fleming

The stark statistics which reflect the position of women in the economy has forced policy makers at the federal, state and local level to take the employment needs of women more seriously. Women comprise a substantial, permanent part of the U.S. labor force, yet they remain a neglected majority of the under-employed, unemployed, and economically disadvantaged. The figures speak for themselves:

- Since 1950, the number of women holding jobs has more than doubled, rising from 18 million to 42.1 million. By 1977, 56% of all women over sixteen were in the workforce.

- In 1977, women earned only 59% for every \$1 earned by men. This gap has widened in recent years. In 1955, the ratio was 64% to \$1.

- In all fields, women are concentrated in low-skilled, low-paying jobs. Nearly 80 percent are in clerical, sales, service, factory or plant jobs.

- Women make up 50% of the "discouraged" workers who have given up looking for a job, and 63% of the 16 million Americans living below the poverty line.

- Many women are doubly vulnerable because of race discrimination. 50% of all black families headed by women live below the poverty line, as compared to 26% of all white female-headed families.

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

In an effort to address these inequities, new regulations were written into the 1978 CETA reauthorization law. Under the new guidelines, prime sponsors (or

recipients) of CETA funds must serve eligible persons equitably according to age, sex, race and national origin. Women are now specified as one of the "significant segments" of the population to be served by CETA programs. Further, the law specifies that community-based organizations, including those serving women, must participate in CETA planning, programming and evaluation.

The new guidelines require the elimination of sex stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment (sex, parental status, lack of child care) from CETA programs and activities, and emphasizes the development of non-traditional job opportunities. To comply with these new and stronger provisions, Prime Sponsors will have to identify the employment needs of CETA-eligible women and develop effective programming to meet them.

The 1978 CETA law gives public officials, CETA administrators, and advocacy groups somewhat more leverage to insure that women receive a fair share of CETA services. State and local policy makers have the responsibility to closely monitor those groups which receive CETA funds, to make sure they are complying with both the letter and the spirit of the new regulations. Women's employment organizations can assist public officials in these efforts by providing technical assistance to the Prime Sponsors in the areas of recruitment, training and placement of women in non-traditional occupations.

Jane Fleming is Co-Director of Wider Opportunities for Women Inc., based in Washington, D.C. WOW provides technical assistance to public officials on CETA programs in their state, and has published a guide to employing women in non-traditional jobs entitled Working for You. For more information write to WOW, 1649 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

## Reverse Mortgages Help Senior Homeowners

Although older home-owners hold over \$90 billion in home equity in the U.S., many of them do not have enough to live on, even with social security and retirement benefits.

A solution that a number of states are trying on a limited basis is the "reverse mortgage loan", which turns home equity into current income. The system enables an elderly homeowner to contract with a bank or lending institution for a loan based on the value of the house. The bank pays the loan back to the homeowner either in installments or in a lump sum. When the house is sold, or the owner dies, the property reverts back to the bank.

Currently, there are reverse mortgage programs operating in Cleveland, Ohio; Portland, Maine; and Buffalo, New York. Each is being used on a limited basis. California and Connecticut have passed legislation to allow state-chartered lending institutions to offer reverse mortgage loans, but no such loans have yet been made.

The Wisconsin Bureau on Aging is undertaking a study of the benefits and possibilities of reverse mortgages, and will sponsor a conference on the subject May 21st and 22nd in Madison. For further details, contact Ken Scholen, Reverse Mortgage Project, Wisconsin Bureau of Aging, 110 East Main, Room 220, Madison, WI 53703.

## Community Development Course Offered

A four-day course on community development will be given at Harvard University starting June 11. Taught by noted economic development specialist Belden Daniels, it will examine case studies of local, state and federal community development ventures. For information write to Harvard Graduate School of Design, Gund Hall, Cambridge, MA 02138.

## Activist State Senator Aids Farmers in Alabama

After almost fifteen years of working with poor, black farmers in the south, Michael A. Figures was elected Alabama's third black state senator last November. Figures' campaign for state office was supported by such progressive organizations as the Non-Partisan Voters League, the Alabama Democratic Alliance, and the Ministerial Conference.

Figures, a civil rights lawyer and activist, was one of the founders of the Emergency Land Fund (ELF), an organization established in 1971 to provide legal, financial and technical assistance to black landowners.

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

- Figures is planning to introduce legislation to protect small family farms threatened with mortgage foreclosures. One proposed bill would extend the redemption period during which a farmer can arrange re-financing of his debts. Figures also wants to help financially troubled farmers by allowing banks to foreclose on only part of the farmer's property.

- Another proposed bill relates to changing the partition sales law, which allows one heir of an estate to force all other owners to sell the property. Figures calls this law a "violation of equal protection." In addition, the current practice of lawyers getting 10% of the sale price is "illegal and grossly unfair" says Figures, as it gives them a strong incentive to locate heirs and

Michael A. Figures  
State Senator, Alabama



persuade them to file suit for the property. Corporations and large agribusiness interests are often the beneficiaries of such sales. Figures' legislation would give family members first option to buy out any one holder who wants to sell, and would cut off the 10% incentive fee for the lawyers.

Figures wants to make certain that rural areas get fair treatment from utilities. Those who live in remote areas are discriminated against by the utility companies in the form of higher rates and poorer service. "Electricity is as vital as food," Figures argues, and if people receive food stamps to pay for food they cannot afford, they should be given assistance to pay for high utility expenses.

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

For more information on these legislative initiatives, write to Senator Michael Figures, 1407 Davis Avenue, Mobile, AL 36601.

## Consumer Advocates Elected on Renters' Rights Platform in Santa Monica

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

While the average turn-out in previous city council elections has been 20%, the interest generated by the two candidates and the rent control initiative turned out over half the voting population.

The successful ballot initiative, Proposition A, calls for the enactment of rent control and establishment of an elected rent control board. The law will roll rents back to April 1978 levels, provide tenants with new rights such as regulations on "just cause" evictions, and require that all condominium conversions be approved by the elected rent control board.

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

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

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

## Legislative Initiatives

### Youth Jobs Council Proposed in Massachusetts

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

### Minnesota Bill Would Protect Families With Children

Minnesota House Representative Janet Clark has recently introduced a bill that would help protect families who are being discrimi-

nated against in the rental housing market because they have children. HS 1012 would amend the Minnesota Human Rights law to prohibit discrimination on the basis of children in advertising, renting or terminating the lease of rental housing units. For a copy of the bill, contact the Council for the Economic Status of Women, 400 SW, State Office Bldg., St. Paul, MN 55155.

### Who Owns California?

Amidst growing reports of foreign investors seeking big profits and tax shelters in California real estate, the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) has proposed legislation requiring immediate public disclosure of such investment. CED's Chair Tom Hayden proposed the bill, declaring "economic democracy requires that Americans know whether the country is being sold out from under their feet." For copies of the proposed bill, write to CED, 304 S. Broadway, Suite 501, Los Angeles, CA 90013.

## Resources

respectively, write to National Rural Center, 1828 L Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

### Resource Ideas for Rural Development Programs

Public officials and community organizers seeking financial support or technical assistance for rural areas should note two handbooks recently published by the National Rural Center. *Resource Guide for Rural Development* is a 148-page manual assessing government and private funding sources for rural programs and projects. It also has an extremely valuable section explaining how to apply for federal grants.

A second publication, *Private Funding for Rural Programs*, focusses entirely upon foundations and other private sector resources available. For copies of these publications, which cost \$5 and \$2

## UPCOMING CONFERENCES

### National Teach-In on Inflation and the Economy

On June 26 and 27, the COIN Campaign (Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessary) will hold a national Teach-In in Washington, D.C. on a progressive program to fight inflation in the necessities of life—food, energy, housing and health care. William Wimpinger, Doug Fraser, Ralph Nader, and Gar Alperovitz will be among the speakers. For information write to COIN, 2000 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

### National Black United Fund Holds June Conference

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

### Getting Involved in the Local Budget Process

A 50-page citizen's action guide entitled *Citizen Involvement in the Local Budget Process* has recently been published by the Center for Community Change in Washington, D.C. The guide focuses on how citizens can intervene in the budget process, and describes the normal local budget process step-by-step. It places particular stress on the four keys to effective work: strong organization, homework, early intervention in the budget process, and involvement in public hearings. The citizen's action guide sells for \$1.50 and is available from the Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20007.

### Women's Rights in Colorado

The Colorado Commission on Women has recently published a handbook for women entitled *Survival and the Law for the Colorado Woman*. Covering a wide range of issues, including employment rights, credit, public assistance and health care, it should prove to be a useful model for other states' women's commissions. Copies are available free from the Commission on Women, 1525 Sherman Street, Room 600-C, Denver, CO 80203.

## Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

# Ways & Means

July-August 1979

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

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

For copies of the *Alternative Organizations of Production*, send \$18.50 to the Center for Economic Studies, 457 Kingsley Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94301. (Individual chapters may be purchased separately.) For a copy of William Lundberg's book, send \$2.73 (which includes postage) to Consumers Cooperative Publishing Association, 841 Pomeroy, #20, Santa Clara, CA 95051. Quantity discounts are available.

### Portland, OR, Develops Comprehensive Alternative Energy Plan

The City of Portland has released a discussion draft of a new proposed energy policy which focuses on energy conservation and the use of renewable energy resources. It estimates that, if implemented, the policy will save 80 per cent of the city's energy usage by 1995—a savings of some \$162

### VPIRG Warns of Nuclear Shut-Down Costs

The Vermont Public Interest Research Groups (VPIRG) recently published a report on the problems of decommissioning of nuclear power plants entitled *The Final Shutdown: VPIRG White Paper on the Decommissioning of the Vermont Yankee*. This one-of-a-kind analysis explores the inevitable contamination from nuclear plants that are shut down, and the enormous costs of cleaning them up. It also focuses on the failure of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to issue definitive guidelines on plant decommissioning.

VPIRG is distributing the report to state officials, especially to members of the Vermont House of Representatives who are now considering a bill (H 363), which would establish a panel to begin planning for the eventual decommissioning of Vermont Yankee. The panel would be given the authority to require the plant to set aside funds for decommissioning purposes.

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

### Learning from Abroad

State and local policy-makers should take note of two recent publications that describe and evaluate European policies and institutions. Martin Carnoy's and Derek Shearer's *Alternative Organizations of Production: Appli-*

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### New Group Defends Rights of Prisoners and Juveniles

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

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

For more information write to IES, 1806 T Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

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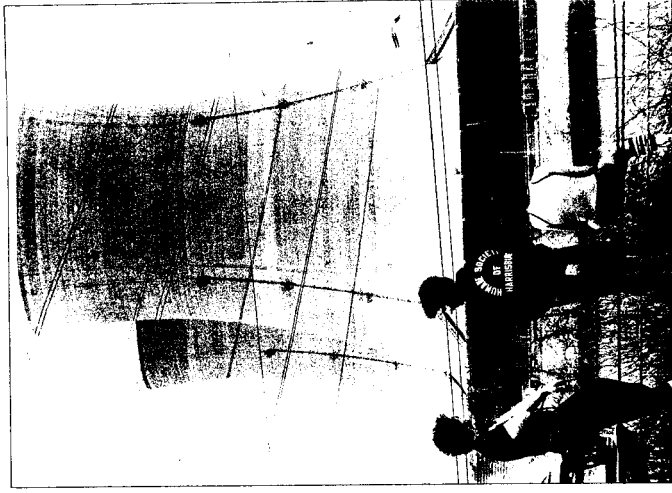
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The Three Mile Island nuclear accident has spurred an outpouring of new legislation from state legislatures, aimed at stopping or controlling nuclear plants. See article on p. 12.

Photo Credit: Critical Mass



## Plant Closings

### More States Move on Plant Closing Legislation

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

New Jersey Assemblyman Richard Codey, confronted with the closing of the largest employer in his district, is working for the passage of a plant closing bill (A061), which requires one year advance notice of the dislocation of business concerns. It also authorizes financial assistance from the state to affected communities. Employers who fail to provide the required notice face criminal fines of up to \$25,000.

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

Representative Friederman from

Rhode Island has introduced a bill (79-4-5264) which requires two years advance notice, a severance benefit of one week's salary for each year worked (which is paid by the employer), and employer contributions to a Community Assistance Fund in the amount of 10% of the last annual wages.

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

For copies of the New Jersey bill, write to Assemblyman Richard Codey, 269 Main Street, West Orange, NJ 07062. For copies of the New York legislation, write to Senator Martin Connor, Room 415, State Senate, Albany, NY 12244. For the Rhode Island bill, write to George Nee, Rhode Island Workers Union, 371 Broadway, Providence, RI 02909. For a copy of the Pennsylvania bill, write to Julius Euklein, AFL-CIO, 212 North 3rd Street, Harrisburg, PA 17101.

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

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# Tax Reformers Seek to Publicize Loopholes

By Frank Domurad

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

To bring this massive and indirect drain on state funds under control, many lawmakers have called for the introduction of tax expenditure budgets. Currently, four states require such reports on an annual or biennial basis. They are California, Maryland, North Carolina, and Wisconsin.

- In California the Department of Finance must prepare a tax expenditure analysis every other year for inclusion in the governor's budget. This document lists tax expenditures according to rather broad categories and estimates their ultimate cost to the state treasury. It also provides in certain instances a general commentary as to their history and effectiveness.

- In Maryland the Department of Budget and Fiscal Planning issues an annual report entitled Tax Revenue Reductions. This budget simply enumerates without comment or explanation the various tax expenditures in existence and the revenue loss which they entail.

- In North Carolina, the tax expenditure report prepared by the Department of Revenue is even more sparse. The Department is mandated to list all tax expenditures on an annual basis, but does not have to provide cost

estimates if the funds for such calculations are not available.

- Wisconsin's Summary of Tax Exemption Devices, issued biennially by the State Budget Office, is probably the most complete and helpful. Although it does not include property tax exemptions, it does provide comprehensive account of all other tax expenditures, including cost estimates and detailed descriptions as to their purpose and function.

Three other states are currently debating the introduction of such tax expenditure budgets. In Nebraska, L.R. 17, sponsored by Senator Dave Newell, has been accepted by the unicameral legislature and is awaiting the governor's signature. It would not only list each individual expenditure and supply a cost estimate, but would also make recommendations for terminating or "sun-setting" particularly ineffective tax subsidies.

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

Finally, in Minnesota, Representative John Clawson is drafting a bill to provide that state with its own tax expenditure analysis.

While tax expenditure budgets in and of themselves will not necessarily lead to tax reform, they are definitely a step in the right direction.

What has made tax expenditures

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Frank Domurad works at the Tax Reform Research Group, 133 C St., S.E., 20003.

## October Conference To Focus On State and Local Taxation of Business

The Multistate Tax Commission and American University will be sponsoring a two day conference on state and local taxation of business on October 12-13, 1979 in Washington, D.C. The conference will bring together public officials and others interested in exploring how business tax policy is made and administered, and how such policy affects decisions concerning economic development.

For more information, contact Rosape, Fuchs and Associates, 1325 E Street, NW, Suite 1242, Washington, D.C. 20004, (202) 783-2503.

# Neighborhood Groups Expand Use of Community Reinvestment Act

By Jeff Zinsmeyer

The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) is proving to be an effective organizing tool for community organizations. The CRA allows banks and savings and loan associations to be legally challenged on whether they are meeting the credit needs of their community. An increasing number of neighborhood groups are now using the Act successfully, in both "traditional" and innovative ways. In other cases, the mere existence of the Act is forcing banks to negotiate changes in their lending policies.

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

In a similar action, a Legal Services Corporation in San Bernardino, California has forced a savings and loan association to open an inner-city branch. The bank agreed to open the new facility when Legal Services agreed to drop its CRA suit challenge against the banks' plan to build a new branch in a nearby wealthy community. Los Angeles Legal Aid has developed a new and important application of the Act—breaking up a racially discriminatory contract-sales scheme in south central Los Angeles. Every year, hundreds of low-income primarily black homeowners in central Los Angeles face possible loss of their homes through foreclosure on lien contracts. Although the savings and loan association which was the target of the challenge was not directly involved in the original lien contract scheme, it did purchase the liens from housing contractors and other fast-talking home renovators. Often credit information was falsified, giving the appearance of a good loan when purchased by the S&L. If a loan went into default, the S&L would sell the mortgage back to the contractor, who would foreclose on the property and evict the residents. Often, the contractor then resold the property at a considerable profit.

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

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

continued on p. 11

## Pennsylvania Takes Lead in Implementing ERA Amendment

Pennsylvania, one of sixteen states to pass Equal Rights Amendments to their state constitutions, has developed an ambitious legislative agenda to implement its new amendment.

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

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

Five other bills sex-neutralize sections of the Administrative Code which affect state agencies, making technical changes in the language of the Public Welfare and Liquor Codes, and provide that unemployment and occupational compensation be distributed to widowers of working women just as they are to widows of working husbands.

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

## Seattle, Washington Passes First Police Spying Legislation

By Kathleen Taylor

The Seattle City Council just passed an historic ordinance that is designed to control the intelligence activities of the city's police department.

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

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

The ordinance, in brief, prohibits the police from gathering information either on people's lawful political and community activities, or on their religious beliefs. If such information is necessary to complete a legitimate criminal investigation, the police officer must give his superior officer detailed proof that the subject of the investigation is reasonably suspected of having committed a crime, and that the information sought is relevant to the case.

An independent auditor, appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by the City Council, would review all authorizations, conduct random audits of police files and make public reports about police department compliance with the ordinance. If the auditor finds that information has been illegally obtained, the subject of that information would be notified. Police intelligence operations in Seattle were uncovered in 1975, when the press revealed that the

## Cleveland Becomes First City to Use CRA to Promote Urban Revitalization

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

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

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

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

For copies of the agreement, write Jack Nicholi, Economic Development Commission, City Hall, Cleveland, OH 44114.

## Saskatchewan Farm Policies: Lessons for the U.S.?

**By David Miner**

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

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

Since the Saskatchewan Land Bank is the first program of its kind in North America, it has been necessary to constantly re-evaluate the policies of the Commission.

Consequently, over the nearly seven years of operation, many policy changes have been introduced.

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

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

Among those who have shown keen interest are the Australian Council of Rural Youth, who organized for me, as the Vice-Chairman of the Saskatchewan Bank, a six week tour of their country. Many influential farm and political organizations in Australia endorsed the principles of the Saskatchewan program, and the Federal Minister of Primary Industry and the government of Victoria have promised to introduce a similar program by 1980. There has also been a great deal of interest shown in the land bank concept by other Canadian provinces and many of the agricultural states in the U.S.

Other initiatives toward protecting the family farm by the province of Saskatchewan include:

... The Farmstart Corporation, which loans money to developing farmers for the establishment of livestock enterprises;

... The Saskatchewan Farm Ownership Board, which is responsible for administering the Farm Ownership Act of 1974, an act that controls non-agricultural corporations and non-residents who are in the market for farmland.

... The Agricultural Implementation Board, which mediates disputes between farmers and implement companies regarding supply of repair parts and/or service. The board assesses compensation where loss or damage was incurred through breach of warranty or failure to supply repair parts and services.

*David Miner is the Vice-Chairman of the Saskatchewan Land Bank Commission. For a copy of the original act, passed in 1972, and for more information on the Commission and its services, write to the SIBC, Administration Bldg., 3085 Albert Street, Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 0B 1, Canada.*

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## Public Access to Land: New Roles for Local Governments

**By Cynthia Guyer**

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

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

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

• The Oakland Department of Community Development gave a community group affiliated with TPL \$45,000 a year to maintain existing urban gardens. The city funds are also used to develop new garden sites on abandoned lots.

• The Newark, New Jersey City Council joined the city's Real Estate Commission in setting up a special auction for TPL in which vacant lots assessed at up to \$3,500 were sold for approximately \$200 each. This was the first time the city government had used the "restricted auction process" for a non-housing project. The open-space sites are now owned and managed by land trusts involving neighborhood groups.

• As a result of the success of the Newark project, the State of New Jersey approved an Open Space Bond Issue in 1977. The state government is now able to channel funds directly into community-based, non-profit land trusts. Be-

lieved to be the first financing mechanism of its kind, the Bond Issue sets a precedent for increased state support of neighborhood rehabilitation projects.

• New York City's Department of Parks and Recreation, at the request of a coalition of community groups from the South Bronx and TPL, received a \$1,000,000 federal grant for capital improvements on fourteen open-space sites. Ten are now operating under community land-trust ownership.

In addition, The Trust for Public Land helps communities gain public access to land in rural areas.

In California, for example, local citizens discovered that the state had appropriated \$1 million to purchase land for a state park along the coastline. Concerned about the increased use of such ecologically fragile land, TPL and the citizens' group began to work together with California Assemblyman (now State Senator) Barry Keene to offer a concrete alternative to the development of a state park.

Their efforts resulted in the passage of landmark legislation (AB 3008) in 1978, whereby the state appropriated funds to the California Coastal Conservancy, a quasi-governmental state agency. The Conservancy was in turn authorized to make grants totalling \$100,000 to the Humboldt North Coast Land Trust to acquire land in areas previously designated as the state park.

This bill, like the successful New Jersey Open Space Bond Issue, set an important precedent in providing local non-profit groups with state funds to buy land for public use and the "common good."

For public officials and community groups interested in starting their own urban revitalization efforts through the community land trust model, TPL has published an excellent *Citizen's Action Manual* that explains, step-by-step, how to gain neighborhood support, where to look for available space,

which government agencies to work with, and what steps are necessary to gain public access to vacant land. It also lists valuable resources, publications, and neighborhood groups that are involved in such activities. For a copy of *Citizen's Action Manual: A Guide to Recycling Vacant Property in Your Neighborhood*, send \$2.40 to the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. (The order # is 024-016-0010-1).

For more information about services provided by Trust for Public Land, write to TPL, 82 Second Street, San Francisco, CA 94105.

*Cynthia Guyer is the Coordinator of the Agriculture Project at the Conference.*

### Bill Would Give Texas Farmworkers Collective Bargaining Rights

Texas farmworkers could get the basic rights of collective bargaining and union representation if a new bill introduced by Texas State Representatives Tony Garcia and Paul Moreno is passed. The proposed Texas Agricultural Labor Relations Act (HB 227), is modeled after a similar act passed two years ago in California with Governor Jerry Brown's support.

The United Farmworkers and other progressive organizations are increasingly turning to state legislatures for such assistance because the federal National Labor Relations Act of 1935 excluded agricultural workers from its protection.

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

For more information on the new bill, write to the Office of Representative Tony Garcia, PO Box 2910, Austin, TX 78769.

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# Conference PUBLICATIONS

## New Publications

### Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders

Union leaders, public officials, community leaders and professional advisers will find this book a valuable resource in understanding the problems of plant closings and runaway plant closings and the most effective ways to deal with them. Included are the most informative magazine articles, essays, policy reports and press clips on the causes of plant closings and the organizing and legislative strategies to prevent them. Very useful for course adoption and union education programs.  
*Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb (May 1979) 85 pp.*  
**\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions**

### Tax Abate- ments: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders

One of the major reasons why property taxes are so high is because of the tax abatements, or special deals that corporations wrest from local governments. Tax Abate-ments is an up-to-date resource manual that details not only the various types of abatements, but the tactics public officials, community leaders and labor unions have successfully used to fight them. Excellent for course adoption and trade union education programs.  
*Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb (May 1979) 80 pp.*  
**\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions**

### Reclaiming Our Future: A Citizens Conference on the Crisis of the Industrial States—

"Mad as hell," 1,200 trade unionists, community leaders, senior citizens and public officials met in Columbus, Ohio, April 1979 to fight recent corporate actions that have devastated communities throughout the industrial states.  
Sudden plant closings and

corporate tax breaks were the main topics as nationally prominent speakers and workshop participants hammered out legislative and community responses to the corporate offensive.  
This is the official conference report. Included are the major speeches (Doug Fraser, William Wirtz, James Farmer, Bishop James Malone and press others), photographs, press clippings, background text, notes and leaflets, an excellent resource for public officials and activists working to break corporate control of community development.  
*Edited by Don Marshall with the assistance of Camille Kelly (July 1979) 180 pp.*  
**\$7.95; \$9.95 Institutions**

### The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices

This short paper introduces public officials and policy analysts to a new conceptual tool for analyzing the impact of public and private economic decisions. The author outlines his concept of "the public balance sheet."  
*David Smith (June 1979) 20 pp.*  
**\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions**

## Public Policy

### Public Policies for the '80s: Perspectives and Resources for State and Local Action

Public officials, community leaders, professors, students—anyone who is interested in government will welcome this extremely useful book. This is a virtual encyclopedia of ideas and resources on public policy issues. There is an in-depth analysis of public policy controversies and ideas in the fields of energy, economic development, state and local tax reform and agriculture. Nationally recognized experts have prepared bibliographies of books, organizations and publications on the 27 most critical problems facing state and local governments. Finally, an extensive resource section identifies names, addresses and telephone numbers of over 4,000 organizations and individuals making or influencing public policy at the local level. An excellent reference book for every local government.  
*Edited by Lee Webb (1978) 245 pp.*  
**\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions**

## Tax Reform

### State and Local Tax Revolt: The Progressive Challenge

This new book stands as one of the first comprehensive guides to state and local tax issues, and what can be done about them. It contains a bibliography of state and local tax "hot spots" and "booms" of taxes, explaining the basic problems of justice and fairness.  
*State and Local Tax Revolt brings tax reform issues into focus. It details what tax reformers have done, and plan to do. It is a virtual encyclopedia of specific workable reform proposals.*

It's 29 chapter titles include: The Property Tax, California: The Lessons, Circuit Breakers, Community Organizing and Lobbying, Taxing Land Speculation, Tax Exempt Property, Estate and Gift Taxes, Sales Taxes, Taxing Corporate Profits, Taxing Business, Providing Property Tax Relief. Each section has been written and edited by a nationally known progressive tax expert. Included are original articles, clippings, and memos prepared in tax reform campaigns.

The major theme is that tax reform comes in all shapes and sizes. There is no one solution. Every state, county, and city is different. This book will help everyone see the direction they should be moving. This book is a must for state and local public officials, neighborhood and community organizations, citizen groups, trade union educational programs, professors, students and libraries of all types.  
*Edited by Dean Tipps and Lee Webb (August 1979) 500 pp.*  
**\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions**

### Tax Equity in the Fifty States

How regressive is the tax structure of your state? How does your state rate against the other 49? This special report by the Coalition of American Public Employees rates all states by presenting

extensive state-by-state statistical tables on sales, personal and corporate income taxes.  
*Diane Fuchs and Steve Rubin (May 1979) 65 pp.*  
**\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions**

### Tax Reform and School Finance: A Policy Reader

How to finance education is a controversial issue in nearly every community. The passage of Proposition 13-type legislation will greatly affect schools and education. This extensive resource manual was prepared for a California manual conference, but is equally useful for public officials and citizens interested in school financing in any state.  
*Edited by California Tax Relief Association (Feb. 1979) 116 pp.*  
**\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions**

## Agriculture

### New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies: A Time for State and Local Action

New Directions is an excellent source of advice, ideas and information on farm, land, and food issues. Each of 17 chapters describes actual working programs and identifies specific policy and legislative proposals for change. Chapter titles include State Anticorporate Farm Acts, Direct Marketing, Access to Land and Capital, Protecting Farmland Through Planning, Tax Policy, and State and City Food Plans.

An excellent resource for farm and consumer organizations, public officials, students, church groups and activists interested in dramatic changes in America's farm and food policies.  
*Edited by Joe Belden, Gibby Edwards, Cynthia Guyer, Lee Webb (January, 1979). 320 pp.*  
**\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions**

### Women: Proposals for Estate Tax Reform

One of the major causes of the disappearance of the family farm is state and federal estate tax laws. Because legal ownership of farms is often vested solely in the husband, women are especially victimized by estate taxes if the husband dies. *Equity for Farm Women* explores clearly

and objectively how estate tax laws discriminate against farm women, and what steps states and the federal government must take to end this discrimination.  
*Edited by Ann Beaudry (May 1979) 29 pp.*  
**\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions**

## Cooperatives

### The Coop Bank: New Funds for Community Development

Prepared for wide popular distribution, this four-page pamphlet is from the Coop Bank, the Coop Bank. It includes a legislative history, current status and a section-by-section summary of the Act.  
*(Updated June, 1979) 4 pp.*  
**\$5.50**

### National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act

The Coop Bank can be one of the most useful development tools for trade unions, churches and community organizations. For your reference, the complete text of the hard-to-find Act is reprinted in full.  
*(August, 1978) 16 pp.*  
**\$1.00**

## Community Development

### Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment

How are energy conservation, housing and economic development programs to be financed? An excellent position-bility is public employee pension funds. *Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment* is a comprehensive resource book detailing ways public pension fund assets can be redirected to socially useful investments. Chapter titles include: Overview of the Problem, Legal Questions, Current Portfolio Management, Political and Institutional Obstacles. Also included is an excellent bibliography of financial and investment terms.

An extremely useful volume for public officials, economic development specialists, public employee unions, public interest groups and academics.  
*Edited by Lee Webb and William Schaefer. (July 1979) 280 pp.*  
**\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions**

What can be done about plant closings and runaway plant closings? This concise booklet outlines an action program for state and local government. A classic study widely used by labor and community organizations.  
*Ed Kelly (1977) 50 pp.*  
**\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions**

## Women

### Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda

Women in the Economy is the first complete book to not only describe the serious economic problems facing women today, but also to detail the legislative efforts at the state and federal level to solve these problems.

Chapters in the book include Displaced Homemakers, Insurance Discrimination, Domestic Workers, Pregnant Workers, Homemakers Economic Protection, Vocational Training, Alternative Work Patterns, and State Labor Laws. Useful resource lists on women's organizations and a general bibliography complete the book.  
*Ann Beaudry with Mary Coyne (1979) 152 pp.*  
**\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions**

## Energy

### Energy-Efficient Community Planning: A Guide to Saving Energy and Producing Power at the Local Level

How does your town plan to fuel its future? More high-priced oil? Nuclear power? Or will it find some eye-opening, innovative alternatives in *Energy-Efficient Planning*—a timely book about a handful of forward-thinking American cities and towns that are using comprehensive conservation programs and alternative energy systems to save and produce more power at the local level.

Cities and towns examined include Davis, California; Northridge, Colorado; Seattle, Washington; Hartford, Connecticut; Burlington, Vermont; and others. Extremely valuable for town planners, government officials, engineers, architects, consultants, community activists.  
*By James Ridgeway (July 1979) 218 pp.*  
**\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions**

## Industrial Exodus

What can be done about plant closings and runaway plant closings? This concise booklet outlines an action program for state and local government. A classic study widely used by labor and community organizations.  
*Ed Kelly (1977) 50 pp.*  
**\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions**

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# States Battle Mining Companies Over Severance Taxes

By Cam Duncan

The debate over the coal severance tax has recently become a major political issue in the Northern Great Plains states. States in the region are finally coming to realize that their non-renewable energy resources, such as coal and oil, are not only capable of producing home heat and gasoline for citizens, but, through severance taxes, can also produce significant amounts of revenue for state treasuries. A severance tax is a tax on natural resources literally being "severed" from the earth.

Recently, North Dakota, Montana and Colorado have enacted severance taxes to force coal companies to pay part of the escalating costs of energy development. According to North Dakota Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan, they were the first states to say, "Yes, we'll accept our obligation to develop our coal for an energy-hungry world, but first we are developing a tax system that will prevent the creation of an environmental dumping ground or an economic glass house when the development is over."

According to the Congressional Research Service, severance taxes earned \$2.2 billion for state governments in 1977, or more than three times the \$686 million earned in 1970. Although legislators have historically believed severance taxes deter energy development, the 1977 figures reveal their increasing willingness to force mining corporation to pay their share of energy production. The figures also prove that the mining companies continue mining operations in spite of the taxation.

While rising energy costs have focussed attention on the value of minerals, proponents of severance taxes stand by their original arguments for the levy.

"You are severing from the

ground an irreplaceable resource forever lost for future generations," says Sen. Joe Schiefelin, co-sponsor of Colorado's first coal severance tax, passed in 1977. "You should replace that resource with another resource, that is, money."

North Dakota has the simplest severance tax system—each ton of coal is taxed at a fixed rate of 85 cents, adjusted quarterly to the Consumer Price Index (CPI).

In Wyoming, a number of taxes totalling 10.5 per cent are levied against the total value of coal production. Wyoming coal is valued at the time of extraction, before preparation and loading.

The 80 per cent tax on coal in Montana is the highest. The tax for a recent quarter, for example, averaged \$1.65 per ton.

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

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

Responding to the legislators' concern about the rising rate of inflation, Towe suggested a percent-

age tax based on the F.O.B. price as an alternative to adjusting the tax to the rate of inflation every year. He then asserted that Montana could now be financing its entire budget from severance tax revenues if the state had established a severance tax program when the copper mining industry began.

Despite Towe's testimony, the Republican-dominated North Dakota legislature voted to roll back the state's severance tax rate from 97 cents to the present 85 cents per ton. More importantly, the escalator clause, which adjusts for inflation, was reduced from one cent for each one point rise in the CPI to one cent for each four point rise. State Tax Commissioner Dorgan called the decrease the "sell-out of 1979 in North Dakota."

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

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

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

## D.C. City Council Passes Condominium Conversion Moratorium

The Washington, D.C. City Council voted last month to place a 90-day moratorium on all condominium conversions in the District, provoking outrage from the local real estate industry. The move would halt the conversion of at least 116 projects containing some 9,000 units—but would exempt any project in which tenants agree to buy and convert the property themselves.

The moratorium is part of an effort to discourage the displacement of large numbers of low-and moderate-income tenants that is taking place due to a rapidly increasing rate of condominium and cooperative conversions. Approximately 1 out of 10 of the 130,000 rental units expected to be converted nationally to homeownership in 1979 will be in Washington, D.C., at an average sales price of \$67,000.

The moratorium follows a series of legislative proposals, including two bills (3-134 and 3-140) introduced by Councilwoman Hilda Mason, prohibiting the eviction of any tenant for a period of three years after conversion, permitting unlimited occupancy by tenants 65 years of age or older, and pro-

continued from p. 5

## Use of Community Act Expands

Bank has increased its in-city lending from \$100,000 before the challenge to over \$2 million.

In other cities, groups are using the CRA as a spur to serious discussions with lenders about community credit needs.

• In Chicago, for example, the Pilsen Planning Coalition for Community Development signed agreements with local lenders to provide financial support for a

hibiting conversion when the vacancy rate is 5 percent or less. The moratorium bills call for the creation of a study commission that would propose permanent laws to preserve rental housing in the District.

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

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

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

For more information write to C/LEC, Ken Dupre, 850 South Fourth St., Louisville, KY 40203.

Resource Center, to make all lending forms and advertising bilingual, and to hold quarterly meetings with community members.

• Under pressure from Greater New York Against Investment Discrimination (AID), the Greater New York Savings Bank recently increased its loans for single family dwellings in the city from \$4 million to \$24 million.

• Similarly in Kansas City, Missouri, a coalition of community groups has obtained an agreement from a savings and loan association to originate \$500,000 worth of single family mortgages and \$100,000 in rehabilitation and home improvement loans each year in a

## Bill Would Reduce Urban Displacement in Massachusetts

In an effort to reduce displacement of low-income neighborhood residents by state-supported urban development programs, Massachusetts State Rep. Mel King and Senator Joseph Timilty have introduced the Neighborhood Stabilization Act, (H 5236). Developed by the Social and Economic Opportunity Council, the bill requires priority allocation of state housing subsidies, CETA job training programs and other resources in communities where state urban development projects are planned.

Not only does the bill require women, minorities and local residents to be hired to work on such projects, but also calls for the establishment of a Citizen's Review Committee to insure that neighborhood concerns about displacement and other issues are addressed in state projects. The bill was recently approved by the Urban Affairs Committee. For a copy of the legislation, write to Michael Kane, SEOC, 294 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02108.

nearby, low-income neighborhood.

- In Indianapolis, several lenders have agreed with one group to form a reinvestment task force composed of citizens and lenders, and are considering whether to fund the task force to visit other cities to study successful reinvestment strategies.

Jeff Zinsmeyer is a staff member of the Center for Community Change, a Washington, D.C. group which monitors and encourages the use of the Community Reinvestment Act. For more information on the CRA, write to Allen Fishbein, CCC, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20007.



## Nuclear

### Pennsylvania Legislature Responding to Nuclear Accident

By Mark B. Cohen

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

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

Other legislative proposals that are being introduced would:

- mandate the Pennsylvania consumer advocate to appear before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and to pay for such appearances;
- give the Public Utility Commission oversight power for all state nuclear facilities;
- place consumers on the boards of all utilities;
- require utilities to prove that shut-downs of 90 days or more were not the result of poor management, in order to allow costs for repair in the rate prices;
- require Metropolitan Edison to seek approval from the General Assembly and the Governor for future rate increases;
- and establish a Power Plant

the initial development costs" of any nuclear plant.

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

Much of the states' response to Three Mile Island, however, focused on safety and evacuation plans, and insuring that there is adequate monitoring of radioactive emissions from individual plants.

A number of states sought to place the siting of nuclear plants under direct local control. New Hampshire's House Bill 671, for example, would require local approval of the proposed nuclear plant's location, and in Colorado a bill has been introduced requiring a county-wide referendum on the proposed siting of a radioactive waste management facility within any county. The Consumer Alliance for Responsible Energy in Arizona has filed an initiative petition that would limit the construction and operation of nuclear power plants in the state.

Some states introduced legislation increasing the utility's liability in the event of an accident, and limiting the extent to which costs can be passed on to the consumer. Georgia enacted House Bill 420, for example, which requires bonds from the utilities to assure funds in the event of accident, abandonment, or insolvency.

For more information on state and local nuclear legislation, contact Critical Mass, 122 C Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003, or Elizabeth McCarthy, Office of State Programs, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Washington, DC 20055.

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## Chicago's City Elections: A Report on the Aldermanic Races

By Dick Simpson

While people around the nation are well aware that Chicagoans elected their first woman Mayor over the Machine incumbent this Spring, few have turned their attention to the less publicized results of the city's aldermanic elections. It was here, at the ward level, that some progressive changes took place.

Chicago's fifty-member City Council, the largest in the nation, has been dominated by either the Republican or Democratic Machines since the Chicago fire of 1871. The outgoing City Council, which served from 1975-1979, had 45 regular Democrats, 3 Independents, 2 vacancies, and no Republicans during its last year. Under both Mayor Daley and Mayor Bianchi, Machine control was nearly absolute. From April 1975 to April 1978, 441 major ordinances introduced by the two Mayors passed. In contrast, only 53 were passed from administration aldermen, and a mere 3 of the 112 proposed by independent aldermen became law.

Machine control of the Council was thus guaranteed before the elections were held. As a result, twenty administration aldermen were reelected without an opponent, and another eight received more than 60% of the vote.

The Blizzard of '79 changed political attitudes, however, electing not only Mayor Byrne but forcing run-off elections in ten wards because no aldermanic candidate obtained a majority vote. In the final result, eight progressive or "Independent" aldermen were elected, and there was a dramatic shift in the balance of power in the city council as a whole.

Many of the Machine aldermen elected in 1979 were younger, more liberal, and more pragmatic than their predecessors. Since 1971 two previous rump factions had formed, named by the press "The Coffee Rebellion" and "The Reluctant Rebels". These more inde-

pendent-minded and power hungry groups have now grown in size to just short of a majority of the City Council when aligned with the eight Independents. Thus, while the "old guard" still has the power to maintain the general status quo, their hold on the Council is shaky and can be overcome on individual issues.

In this new climate in which the power is less monolithically centralized, there is room for maneuvering and for passage of some of the 200 pieces of major legislation offered by Independents over the past eight years which have languished in committees.

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

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

In my ward, the 44th Ward, we were able to elect Bruce Young, a long-time community activist and Executive Director of Hull House, who pledged to continue our community's eight year tradition of Neighborhood Government experiments.

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

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His election is seen as a liberation of the west side Black community which has been dominated by the Machine since it moved into Chicago. Alderman Davis also has expertise in community health programs, a subject little considered in previous Chicago City Councils. In short, while the 1979 elections did not bring to power a totally progressive Chicago government, they were a giant step forward, and progressive legislation is expected to be introduced and passed in numbers not seen before.

*Dick Simpson, a former Alderman of Chicago's 44th Ward, is a professor at the University of Illinois in Chicago, and author of a number of books and articles on progressive city politics.*

### SolarCal Council Proposes State Energy Plan for California

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

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

For further information, contact Ronald Lipton, SolarCal Council, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814.



# The Impact of the Progressive Victory in Berkeley

By Leonard Goldberg

Berkeley's progressives finally won a major victory in April city elections, after years of electoral frustration marked by occasional victories and significant defeats. Berkeley Citizens Action (BCA), the coalition organization of the left, succeeded in electing its first mayor, three out of four vacant council seats, an auditor, and two out of three school board seats. While BCA still does not control a majority on either the council or the school board, the election results substantially increase the capability to implement progressive programs in that city.

Berkeley's new mayor, Gus Newport, was a controversial BCA nominee who was given little chance of defeating two-term mayor Warren Widener. Newport, a progressive black, was relatively unknown outside of political circles before the election, and received divided BCA support at its nominating convention. While the BCA council candidates were better known, their electoral base was potentially weakened by another progressive "neighborhood" candidate in the race. From this difficult beginning, however, an aggressive campaign successfully elected former Councilmember John Denton, Planning Commissioner Veronika Fukson, and former auditor Florence McDonald to the City Council. Also voted in with BCA support were Anna Rabkin as city auditor and Anna DeLeon and Jeannie Rucker as members of the

sympathetic but wary councilmembers for a majority vote, but their internal leadership may be weakened because of the retirement of Lon Hancock after eight years on the council. Moreover, the city administrator has left, and the city administration is demoralized and, in many cases, incompetent.

Some of these problems, however, can be turned to advantages. Berkeley citizens were fed up with an expensive and inefficient administration which, if cleaned up, will give the progressives a great deal of credibility. The lack of renter benefits from Proposition 13 has given public support to any movement towards rent control or rent stabilization. And even the lack of money can help the progressives clean out the old administration and use economic policy in a creative way. Meanwhile, Newport should have some initial flexibility, since he has very few enemies and a great deal of good will on his side.

In the past, the actions of the Berkeley left have, for lack of real power, been symbolic or reactive. The recent elections, however, have significantly increased the opportunity to implement some real, positive changes. It will be a testing time in Berkeley of the strength and coherence of its progressive movement.

Leonard Goldberg is the legislative assistant to California Assemblyman Thomas H. Bates, who represents Berkeley and Oakland.

women and the rest of the state's population.

For a copy of the report, write to the Council on the Economic Status of Women, Room 400 SW, State Office Bldg., St. Paul, MN 55155.

## Plant Closing Legislation:

### A State-by-State Survey

A useful packet of resources on proposed plant closing legislation in

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## Minnesota Studies Problems of Poor and Elderly Women

A study of the economic problems facing poor and elderly women in Minnesota has been published by that state's Council on the Economic Status of Women. Entitled *Minnesota Women: Income and Poverty*, the 36-page booklet offers numerous charts and statistics that show the disparity in housing, wages, education and training between such

## Study Shows Massachusetts Could Save Millions on Energy Costs

An energy conservation program which would create 2400 direct new jobs and save the state \$80 million in energy costs over the next ten years has been developed by Massachusetts Fair Share. In their report, "Retrodollars Not Petrodollars", Mass Fair Share shows how an aggressive retrofit program in state buildings would create jobs, lower taxes, and cut government waste in local municipalities.

The program would involve conservation projects in 3,000 state buildings, paid for with state bond financing. The projected yield would be 45% in energy savings. In any one year, the cost of the bond repayments would not exceed the energy savings—and no net increase in the state budget is envisaged.

Copies of the report are now available at the conference. Please see publications centerfold for order information.

## Land Ownership in the South

An excellent resource on the problems of land ownership in the south is "Our Promised Land", a special issue of *Southern Exposure*. The issue covers the growth of agribusiness, tax policy for land use, and community-based economic development models in the south. The 250-page report includes profiles on land ownership trends and natural resource production for each state.

For a copy of "Our Promised Land", send \$8.50 to *Southern Exposure*, PO Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

## Report Explains Inflation in Los Angeles

A booklet documenting and explaining the reasons for the rise in prices on necessities in the city

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of Los Angeles, California, has just been published by the Center for New Corporate Priorities. Entitled *Inflation in Los Angeles, The Skyrocketing of Necessities*, this unique report makes concrete policy recommendations on how to combat the spiral of high prices in the areas of housing, food, health care, and energy. The study includes a useful bibliography on articles, reports, legislation, and city ordinances relating to the issue.

For copies of *Inflation in Los Angeles*, send \$5.00 to the Center for New Corporate Priorities, 1801 S. La Cienega Blvd., Suite 208, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

## Two Reports Highlight Accelerating Loss of Farmland

A major problem facing state and local governments is the escalating loss of prime agricultural land. Between 1967 and 1975, over 8 million acres of farmland were irreversibly lost to urban sprawl, highways, dams, and industrial development.

The Northeast-Midwest Institute has released a background report which discusses the impact of this problem on the economies of northeast and midwest states, and summarizes the various methods being utilized by states and localities to address the problem. Free copies of *Conserving the Nation's Farmland*, by Jon Clark, are available from the Northeast-Midwest Institute, 3589 House Annex No. 2, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Another study on the dramatic loss of farmland was recently issued by the Maine Consortium for Food Self-Reliance. *The Report on the Loss of Farmland in Maine* details the various preservation techniques being proposed and implemented by state and local governments across the country. For a copy of the report, send

\$1.50 to Bill Seretta, Coordinator, Maine Consortium for Food Self-Reliance, c/o Richards Lane, Freeport, ME 04032.

## Five Community Organizing Campaigns Evaluated

Organizing strategies and communities used in five different communities are evaluated in a new publication of the ACORN-affiliated Institute Training Center. Among the campaigns analyzed in the 32-page report is an anti-redlining effort in St. Louis, a campaign to get school tax exemptions for senior citizens in Houston, and a renters' rights campaign in Reno, Nevada. Each article takes the reader step-by-step through the project, analyzing its organizational strengths and weaknesses.

For copies of the report, send \$3.00 to the Institute Training Center, 628 Baronne, New Orleans, LA 70113.

## Internships

The Conference is now accepting applications for fall semester full- and part-time internships. Interns will do research, help staff organize seminars and conferences, and provide administrative support. Interns generally choose to work with one of the following issue areas on which the Conference focuses: state and local tax reform, energy, women's economic issues, pension funds, and economic development alternatives.

Letters of application should include the candidate's interests and objectives; the dates s/he will be available; how much times s/he will be able to devote to each week; and a resume or other statement of relevant research and academic or work experience.



# Resources

## The Last Entrepreneurs Bid for Business

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

In *The Last Entrepreneurs*, author Bob Goodman describes the frantic bidding war that went on between states to land Volkswagen's U.S. assembly plant. One mayor ran a full page open letter to Volkswagen in the *Wall Street Journal* saying, but in hand, "We want you so much, we'll let you write your own ticket." Pennsylvania, the "winner" of the battle, paid dearly. Loans, abatements, construction, training programs and other incentives totalled well over \$100 million.

Both Goodman and Jerry Jacobs, author of *Bidding For Business*, argue convincingly that something has to be done to de-escalate this bidding war.

Jacobs develops his arguments from the results of an exhaustive nationwide survey of business incentives. He looks at the use of industrial development bonds and tax incentives and concludes that the danger exists that states will be forced to continue to increase incentives merely to keep

up with competition until they find themselves in a precarious financial situation. Jacobs presents a list of recommendations for checking the continued growth of business incentives. They include: state

## Pick of the Month

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

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

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

## Ways & Means

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



**We've Moved!**

monitoring and regulation of municipal industrial development activities; mandated public hearings before any special concession is approved; and elimination of the tax free status of pollution control and industrial development bonds.

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

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

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

*The Bidding War* by Jerry Jacobs is available from the Public Interest Research Group, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 415, Washington, DC 20036 for \$10.00 for groups and \$5.00 for individuals.

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# Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies

# Ways & Means

November-December 1979

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

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

**Jim Hightower's** quest to become a Texas Railroad Commissioner was boosted by a well-received barnstorming tour of the state last month, not to mention by the more than \$100,000 raised so far. . . . Meanwhile long time Conference supporter Hartford City Councilor Nick Carbone lost a hard fought battle for mayor and will be out of elected public office for the first time in ten years. . . . Derek Shearer reports that real estate interests have poured \$250,000 into this month's initiative to gut rent con-

## Publications Update

Regular *Ways and Means* readers will note the absence of the usual 2-page publications center-fold. Rather than signaling a scaled-down publications program, the abbreviated one-page list that appears on page 15 signals the advent of our new 50-title *Resource Catalog* soon to be mailed to active subscribers. . . .

Prominently featured are two Conference "best sellers": *Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment and Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials, Trade Unionists and Community Leaders*. . . .

*New Strategies for Investment* has come at a time of great interest among public officials and members of the financial community in the potential for using the \$130 billion in public employee pension funds to meet America's pressing social and economic problems. . . .

As the book illustrates, a change in portfolio management could provide capital for such needs as inner city housing rehabilitation and small business development without jeopardizing rates of return or depleting pension assets. . . .

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

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

## To Our Subscribers

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

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

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

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# Options For Curbing Condominium Evictions

By Jeffrey Tryens

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

Condominium conversion is big business. In 1977, 70,000 rental units were converted. This year close to 150,000 will become condominiums. While most of these are part of the middle and upper income market, they have a serious impact on low and moderate income renters. . . .

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

Elderly people of all income levels are particularly hard hit by the process. Many either can't or won't make the substantial downpayment to purchase the right to remain in an apartment which they may have occupied for years. Finding a suitable replacement and moving is often a serious hardship for them. . . .

Public officials wishing to act to resolve these displacement problems can choose from a number of public policy options: . . .

**Pass a moratorium on condominium conversions.**  
This is often the first step a city takes giving local officials time to work out a more permanent solution. . . .

**Enact a vacancy rate "trigger."** An ordinance can be passed that brings new condominium conversions to a halt when the city's vacancy rate falls below a certain percentage. Vail, Colorado, for instance, has a 5% trigger. . . .

**Require tenant approval.**  
Some cities require the developer to get approval from a certain percentage of the tenants in a targeted building before proceeding. The inherent problem with this approach is that converters often coerce tenants into approving the deal. . . .

**Require tenant purchases.**  
Some cities require that a certain percentage of tenants must agree to buy into the project before conversion can proceed. West Chester County, New York requires a 40% participation rate. . . .

**Provide for low income units.** A city council can vote to require the converter to provide a certain percentage of low income units in each project. Fifteen



percent of all converted units in Marin County, California, for example, must be reserved for low/moderate income families. A few jurisdictions require condominium converters to allow elderly people to stay in their apartments for life as rentpayers. . . .

**Provide for tenants' right of first refusal.** An ordinance can give tenants the right to match any developer's best purchase offer before conversion can proceed. California requires building owners to give tenants 60 days to match any offer before the building can be sold. . . .

In response to a flurry of local activity restricting conversions, real estate interests have developed the Uniform Condominium

Conversion Act. This "model" state statute, which would supersede local ordinances, provides only nominal protection for tenants. In Pennsylvania this bill was introduced at the same time tenants were winning a conversion moratorium in Philadelphia. See *Condo*, p. 10

## Condo Hotspots

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

**Philadelphia**—The Philadelphia City Council recently passed an 18 month moratorium after a whirlwind six week campaign by the Council of Tenant Associations of Southeast Pennsylvania. **San Francisco**—San Francisco's Affordable Housing has put a rent control initiative on the city's November ballot which would not allow conversions unless 80% of the tenants commit to purchase their apartments. No evictions of non-buyers would be allowed. . . .

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

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

# Economic Development

## The Progressive Potential of Small Businesses

By Bill Schweke

Progressives in state government should work to develop methods to assist small businesses. Faced with technological change, energy shortages, government regulations, high interest rates and corporate power, small business owners are taking out their frustrations on government, complaining bitterly of high taxes and government interference.

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

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

involve energy conservationists, minorities, entrepreneurs, and others.

Programs which would begin to address this issue include:

**Increasing the availability of long-term debt and equity capital.** The greatest obstacle facing small businesses is lack of access to capital.

Massachusetts and Connecticut have addressed this problem by creating product development corporations to provide financing for innovative companies and products. In South Dakota a community development corporation was set up by the State Economic Opportunity Office and the Northeast South Dakota Community Action Program to provide financial and technical assistance to small scale, community-oriented businesses in a ten-county area. And Alaska is creating a set of development finance institutions to direct a portion of its massive oil income into developing new fishing, agricultural, and forestry enterprises. The first of these, the Alaska Renewable Resources Corporation and the Alaska Commercial Fisheries and Agricultural Bank have been approved

## Tax Reform

### Tax Breaks for Renters

By Cam Duncan

The built-in bias against renters in both state and federal income tax codes has recently been challenged. Traditionally, income tax codes have prevented tenants from deducting property tax payments from their income taxes, even though they pay property taxes through rent payments. This inequity costs the nation's 25 million renter households over a billion dollars per year. Reform attempts have been made at the state and federal level to change this inequity.

Six states now have provisions in their income tax laws specifically applying to renters. Arizona allows a credit equal to 10 percent of rent paid with a maximum credit of \$83 per year.

Indiana allows an adjusted gross income tax deduction for rent up to \$1500 per year. Wisconsin just enacted an income tax credit of 12 percent of rent constituting property tax.

California gives renters a credit of \$37. Hawaii gives a credit of \$20 times the number of exemptions, provided that the taxpayer's income is under \$20,000 and rent is over \$1,000.

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## New Right Takes Aim At State Legislatures

By Will Hunter

In almost every state this year, progressives battled well organized attempts to pass broad ranging conservative legislation or repeal progressive statutes. Drives calling for constitutional conventions on right-to-life and tax limitations led the way, followed by attempts to pass right-to-work bills and repeal prevailing wage laws.

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

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

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

Many of these groups got their start at the state level. For instance, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) made its first political contributions to conservatives running for the legislature in Virginia, Kentucky, and Louisiana in 1975. More than half of the candidates NCPAC assisted with money and campaign advice went on to win. NCPAC has done so well in these efforts that it plans to devote hundreds of thousands of dollars (much of

it raised by direct mail wizard Richard Viguerie) to state races in 1980.

Although NCPAC's reputation is based on its well known efforts to unseat progressive incumbents in Congress, much of its success stems from its state level activities. Executive Director Terry Dolan points out that state campaigns are a good place to try out new techniques at low cost and state legislatures are a good place to find future candidates for Congress.

NCPAC has little interest in substantive state legislative issues, but other New Right groups are actively involved in promoting conservative legislation at the state level. The National Right to Work Committee (RTWC) was active in more than two-thirds of the states in 1979. Most often this Virginia-based group supported passage of right-to-work laws, but part of its \$6.2 million budget went to related activities such as denying bargaining rights to public employees.

In this crusade, the RTWC is joined by another Viguerie-funded group called the Public Service Research Council (aka Americans Against Union Control of Government) which is actively engaged in lobbying state legislatures and contributing to legislative campaigns.

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), which has tried to block ratification of the District of Columbia Voting Rights Amendment, is a group of some 700 state legislators from all 50 states who exchange ideas and strategies on the full range of New Right issues.

In many of these efforts, like the drive to repeal prevailing wage laws (see accompanying article), the New Right has been partially successful.

See *New Right* p. 14

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## State Prevailing Wage Laws Threatened

By Lee Webb

Construction unions are one of the prime targets of the New Right. Of the 40 states with little Davis-Bacon acts, 25 considered bills this year to weaken or repeal this protective legislation requiring contractors to pay prevailing wage on state funded construction projects.

While most of these efforts have been defeated, a repeal bill passed in Florida and Alabama's legislature voted for repeal effective in mid-1980. Weakening legislation also passed in Colorado, Connecticut, New Mexico and Wyoming and in four other states, a governor's veto was necessary to protect prevailing wage standards.

In Utah, for example, a powerful coalition, organized by the newly formed anti-union Utah Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), narrowly missed repealing Utah's Little Davis-Bacon Act. The ABC led a repeal drive, in conjunction with the League of Cities and Towns, the Association of Counties, the State Chamber of Commerce, and the School Board Association, that came within one vote of a vote of passage. Only a vote by the Utah Senate to sustain the Governor's veto of the repealer saved the Act.

In addition to the usual lobbying tactics, the Utah ABC relied on studies supplied by other state ABCs, friendly contractor/legislators on key committees and a highly publicized visit from tax slasher Howard Jarvis. Later they circulated a report on their efforts to other states to assist in similar campaigns. Similar patterns of conservative coalition building and interstate cooperation are seen in state after state.

This challenge can be met if See *Prevailing Wage* p. 14

# Agriculture

## Ag Preservation Bill Increases States' Options

By Robert C. Weaver

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

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

*Readers from p.4*

Recently has gone unheeded in Washington. In response to increasing pressure for renter tax relief, several Congressmen have introduced bills that would allow renters to deduct a portion of rental property taxes from their federal income taxes. H.R. 834 (Rep. Lester Wolff, D-NY) allows the renter a federal income tax deduction for 25 percent of his or her rent. H.R. 1841 (Rep. Robert Dornan, R-CA) and H.R. 2191 (Rep. Herbert Harris, D-VA) would give renters a credit against their federal income tax for 25 or 30 percent, respectively, of their share of the property tax. Readers may write to the Tax Project of the Conference for Copies of the New York, Arizona or Wisconsin laws on renter's tax relief.

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

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centives to Community Gardens; Removing Taxes on Food; Con-serv-ing Energy and Adopting New Technologies; Protecting Farm Workers; and Pesticides.

*Legislative Update 1979* can be purchased for \$2.50 from the Conference Publications Department.

## Conference Highlights Problems of Beginning Farmers

New government programs aimed at helping the beginning farmer were the focus of the *Supporting Beginning Farmers Conference* held September 20 in Minneapolis. Approximately 80 legislators, farmers, agriculture officials, Farmers Union leaders, activists and journalists attended.

The day's highlights included in-depth review of three programs: the Minnesota Farm Security Program which guarantees loans to beginning farmers; the North Dakota Beginning Farmers Assistance Act which provide tax incentives for selling land to new farmers; and the Saskatchewan Land Bank which leases land to beginning farmers at reduced rates.

Workshops explored problems and possible solutions to access to land and capital for beginning farmers. Speakers included: Curt Sorteberg of the Iowa Farmers Union; Jim Fuglie of the North Dakota Department of Agriculture; Minnesota State Representative Willis Eken; Montana State Senator Tom Towe; Gene Westrom of Communicating for Agriculture and David Miner of the Saskatchewan Land Bank Commission.

The conference marks the first in a series of Agriculture Project conferences focusing on critical food, land and farm issues around the country.

A publication based on the conference will be available in December. To order write the Conference Publications Department.

## Tax Shifts To Homeowners Key To Tax Revolt

By Robert Kuttner and David Kelston

The great taxpayer revolt of 1978 has been popularly characterized as a protest against the rising size and cost of government. There is, however, more to the story. Government expenditures generally grew at a slower rate during the middle and late Seventies than at any time during the previous decade.

Moreover, property taxes, the focus of the tax revolt, have declined as a percentage of personal income in most states since 1972. The big change, however, was in who paid them. Nationwide the share of property taxes paid by business has dropped while residential property taxpayers have paid an increasingly larger share. In fact, business property taxes have dropped from 20.3% of total taxes in 1957 to 12.1% in 1977.

The shift in tax burden from commercial and industrial property onto homeowners is largely the result of four distinct but related trends. First, the market value of homes has risen in most states substantially faster than the value of commercial and industrial property. Even in those areas that reassess only at the time of sale, rising housing prices translate into rising taxes more quickly because homes sell more often than businesses.

Second, homes and businesses are assessed under different formulas. In many states, homes are assessed according to their market value, which has risen much faster than inflation, while commercial and industrial properties are assessed according to income generated. Moreover, where so-called business personal property—manufacturing equipment and inventory—is taxed, it is often taxed according to its depreciated value. Thus homeowners have paid sharply in-

creasing taxes based on rising market values, while business taxpayers have been assessed and taxed according to a much more stagnant tax base.

Third, many states and local governments are engaged in a competition with each other to attract industry by granting tax concessions. Tax abatements are a favorite. In some cities, such as St. Louis, Cincinnati, and New York, little new commercial construction has occurred in recent years without tax abatement. Since, by definition, nearly all existing structures will eventually be replaced, this practice guarantees that in future years commercial properties as a class will be paying a declining share of tax.

Fourth, a series of recent state court decisions struck down the tradition of assessing homes at a lower fraction of actual worth than businesses. Typically businesses were assessed at a higher rate on the theory that income-producing property could afford to pay more. This primitive approach to tax equity was legal in most states.

In the late Sixties, courts and legislatures began to press for comprehensive equalization of assessment ratios. These mandates for uniform assessment ratios stripped the local assessor's office of its traditional function of keeping homeowners' assessments within politically tolerable bounds.

It is also worth pointing out that the property tax burden has been shifting to residences at a time when an ever greater portion of the net worth of low and middle income Americans is in the investment in their homes. As a consequence, most of the wealth owned by ordinary people is taxed at increasing rates.

Politically, it is quite significant that the two states which adopted perhaps the most draconian limits on the property tax in 1978—California and Idaho—

also experienced very significant tax shifts. In California the share of property tax paid by single family homeowners rose from 32% in 1973-74 to 44.3% in 1978-79. In Idaho the percentage rose from 24% in 1969 to 44.5% in 1978.

Tax shifts can be mitigated through the implementation of new public policy. The three most popular means are a homestead exemption, a residential circuit breaker or a classified property tax system. A homestead exemption excludes a portion of the value of a residential property from taxation. Circuitbreakers usually provide a refund when the property tax on a home exceeds a specified percentage of a person's income. Classification assesses or taxes different types of property at different rates. All of these devices, separately or in combination, enable lawmakers to control the distribution of the property tax load and prevent tax shifts.

Other actions policymakers can take include:

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

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

*Robert Kuttner is a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. David Kelston is a student at Harvard Law School.*

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# Women Organized To Demand Economic Justice

## Massachusetts Women Take The Lead

officials provided a stunning display of the scope and vitality of the women's movement in Massachusetts when they gathered at the Massachusetts State House to discuss policies and programs aimed at improving the economic situation of women. Organized by the Women in the Economy Project and 9 to 5, Boston's Organization of Women Office Workers, **Women for Economic Justice in Massachusetts** addressed a wide range of issues including state budget priorities, corporate employment practices, health rights and equal access to housing.

Seven hundred office workers, poor women, neighborhood activists, union leaders and public

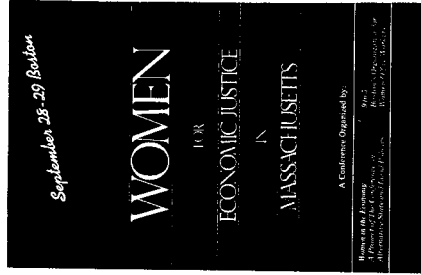
### Women in the Economy Project

The Women in the Economy Project was organized by the Conference in 1978 to encourage the development of progressive policies that promote the economic welfare of women. At the same time, the Project is working to create a nationwide network of public officials, women's organizations and advocacy groups to support and implement these policies.

**Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda and Equity for Farm Women: Proposals for Estate Tax Reform** were the first in a series of publications which will focus on specific proposals for solving women's economic problems. Upcoming publications will address pay equity for women and problems confronted by female single heads of households.

Last year a national women's conference was held in Cleveland to kick off the nationwide net working effort. **Women for Economic Justice in Massachusetts** was the Project's first state level conference. Others will be held in coming months.

For further information contact Joy Ann Grune at the Conference.



Friday night plenary speakers (l to r): Conference Associate Director Ann Beaudry, 9 to 5 Chair Pat Cronin; YWCA Director Sherry Brown; and former Mass. Banking Commissioner Carol Greenwald.

future cooperative activities.

One of the most positive developments was a commitment by 25 participants in the "Women and Budget Priorities" workshop to continue to work with the women's legislative caucus to change state budget priorities. Subsequently members of the group have met to draft legislation in areas including displaced homemakers, emergency housing assistance and expanded treatment programs for alcoholics.

**Women for Economic Justice in Massachusetts** was one of the first statewide events of its kind. It demonstrated that the sentiment exists among progressive officials and members of grass roots organizations for broad based coalitions around women's economic issues.

## Comparable Worth: A Key to Success

*Comparable worth, or equal pay for work of equal value, is a serious, but little understood, public policy question for the 1980s. Women's organizations and unions are turning to comparable worth as a way of strengthening the economic position of women workers by reducing the overall pay gap between male and female workers. Much of this pioneering work has taken place in the public sector. The comparable worth concept holds that all workers with comparable jobs, as measured by a predetermined set of criteria, should be paid the same wage regardless of job classification. In this case, it means that women in female segregated job categories, such as secretaries, should be paid the same wage as men in comparable male dominated categories.*

*Major efforts are underway to implement comparable worth through precedent setting studies of occupational wage rates, legal suits and collective bargaining. Eve Johnson highlights a number of these important activities.*

by Eve Johnson

The Washington State Council 28 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) was one of the first groups to recognize that work done by men was better paid than comparable work done by women. In 1974 the Council was instrumental in efforts to

persuade Governor Dan Evans to provide funds to determine the equity of state pay scales for work of comparable value. The study focused on 121 job classifications and examined each on the basis of four criteria: degree of accountability; required knowledge and skills; mental demands; and working conditions.

Results showed that jobs dominated by men were paid, on the average, 20% more than those jobs of equal value held predominantly by women.

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

Activity has not been limited to classification studies. Unions and others have tried to achieve implementation through the courts as well. In Denver, Colorado a group of publicly employed nurses brought suit complaining that nurses were paid less than workers in male dominated job categories when they had equal or greater responsibilities. Essentially the judge ruled that the nurses were correct, but that ruling in their favor would create social and economic upheaval for which he was not prepared to assume

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

*Eve Johnson is the National Coordinator of Women's Activities for AFSCME.*

responsibility. He ruled against the nurses maintaining that equity must be sought through the legislative process.

The International Union of Electrical Workers brought one of the best known private sector cases against Westinghouse in Trenton, N.J. The union argued that Westinghouse systematically devalued positions held by women on the basis of social and economic judgements which bore no relationship to quality of work. Again, the court sidestepped the issue and the decision is now being appealed.

The collective bargaining process is one of the unheralded methods for redressing inequities in pay policy. In Humboldt County, California AFSCME Local 1684 requested a study of clerical pay in 1977. The county Human Rights Commission reported that 53 percent of employees were women whose average biweekly wage of \$355.31 compared unfavorably to the male average of \$527.71. The Commission recommended reclassification of several clerical positions. This year the union/county negotiations include a proposed clause on pay equity.

The federal government has also taken an interest in comparable worth. The Women's Bureau of the Labor Department has CETA funds available for developing ways to implement equal pay for comparable work as well as for research on the subject. And the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has requested the National Academy of Sciences to study the issue. Their preliminary report surveys job evaluation procedures noting several problem areas.

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

*Eve Johnson is the National Coordinator of Women's Activities for AFSCME.*

# Resources

## Recycling Vacant Property

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

*Citizen's Action Manual* is available from the U.S. Government Printing Office: #024-016-00100-1 for \$2.40 per copy.

## Coop Bank Publications Available

Four new publications on the National Consumer Coop Bank designed to maximize the bank's potential as a financing source for innovative, community based cooperatives are available from the Conference. *The Self-Help Development Fund: Will It Promise Be Realized?* (\$6.00)

outlines how the bank might use its Self-Help Development Office as a creative, development finance tool, particularly in low-income communities. *The Coop Bank and Housing* (\$2.00) describes the bank's potential for supporting neighborhood-based housing programs focusing on the twin problems of abandonment and displacement. *Energy and the Coop Bank* (\$2.00) argues that the bank can play an important role in financing energy cooperatives. *Low Income*

*Cooperatives and the Coop Bank: Critical Policy Questions* (\$4.00) analyzes the Federal Interagency Task Force's proposed rules and regulations as they affect low income cooperatives. For copies of these publications or for general information on the bank, write the Coop Bank Monitoring and Assistance Project at the Conference.

## New Group Pushes Minority Involvement in Renewable Resources

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

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

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

For further information on MORE, contact Kay Cooper, Center for Renewable Resources, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

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## Of Belts and Bullets

Urban activists and union leaders will soon have a new public information weapon at their disposal with the release of "Tighten Your Belts, Bite the Bullet," a 60-minute color film about the crisis of America's cities.

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

An advance screening drew an enthusiastic crowd at our recent Philadelphia conference. For rental information write City Crisis Film Group, 192 Broadway, Rm 708, New York, NY 10038.

## Condos from p. 3

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

*Jeffrey Tryens is the editor of Ways & Means.*

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# Legislative Initiatives

## Coalition Moves to Strengthen San Francisco Rent Control

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

Last November, San Franciscans rejected a rent control measure 107,000 to 96,000. But the issue didn't die. Pressure continued to rise as landlords increased rents in spite of significant Proposition 13 generated property tax savings. As a result, the board of supervisors passed a rent control law in June.

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

The SFAH proposal would:

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

For additional information contact San Franciscans for Affordable Housing, 12 Valencia St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 864-6413.

**Innovative Legislative Series**  
*Runaway Plants Acts*, Ohio and Michigan bills, \$1.00  
*Model State Public Utility Commission Act*, \$1.50  
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*Massachusetts Community Development Finance Corporation*, \$1.00  
*Solar-Cal*, \$1.00  
*Insurance Redlining*, Chicago, 1978, \$1.00  
*Community Economic Development Assistance Corporation*, Massachusetts, 1978, \$1.00  
*Farm, Land and Food Policy*, A summary of 13 innovative bills and acts, \$1.00  
*Legislative Update 1979*, Comprehensive 27-page summary of state agricultural legislative initiatives coded by state and issue area, \$2.50

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

## Public Officials Censure J.P. Stevens

Officials in three states have taken action against J.P. Stevens and Co., Inc. in recent months. The Los Angeles City Board of Public Works branded the textile firm an "irresponsible bidder" at a day long hearing on Stevens' alleged labor law violations. The action prohibits the firm from entering into contracts or subcontracting with Los Angeles for two years or until they comply with state and federal labor laws.

The state of California took similar action against Stevens earlier this year after a legal review conducted by the Industrial Relations Board turned up incriminating results.

In Connecticut, a statute banning state contracts with labor law violators was enacted. The legislation, known as the J.P. Stevens bill, prohibits the company from doing business with the state for three years or until it complies with the National Labor Relations Act, Massachusetts

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chusetts included a reference to J.P. Stevens and Co. in the state budget prohibiting any state business with the company as of July 1 for one year.

## Business Tax Breaks: A Habit Hard to Kick

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

Specifically, 15 states have authorized property tax exemptions or abatements for such diverse purposes as commercial fishing vessels and the renovation of commercial facilities. Fourteen states have enacted tax deductions or credits. And, sales tax exemptions aimed at specific business-oriented endeavors such as equipment manufacturing have been passed by 19 states. Exemptions such as these shift the sales tax burden squarely onto the necessities.

For a copy of CAPE's latest report on tax legislation write: Steve A. Rabin, Coalition of American Public Employees, 1126 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.

## Coop Bank a Reality

The newly established National Consumer Cooperative Bank is due to make its first loans in March, 1980. With the recent confirmation of its thirteen-member Board of Directors by the U.S. Senate and Congressional appropriations for FY 79, the bank has moved into its final "implementation" phase: establishing lending policies and procedures, adopting final rules and regulations, and hiring staff. (See p. 10 for new Coop Bank Publications)

## California Officials Lead in Solar Initiatives

By Michael Freedberg and Julie Slavet

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

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

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

The West Side Community Development Corporation is using solar energy as an innovative community development tool in San Bernardino's low-income neighborhoods. Using an array of government programs, the CDC has established a vocational school to train CETA employees in solar manufacturing, retrofitting, and weatherization. Thirty low-income units are slated for solar retrofitting and plans are underway for a solar-powered industrial park. Also, the group is planning to convert a 24-unit motel into a "Section 8" solar-heated elderly housing cooperative.

The Solarcal Council, a state body, has established a local government commission made up of 40 solar-oriented local officials. The commission plans an aggressive strategy to encourage solar activities at the town, city, and county level.

The California Energy Commission's newly released *Toward an Alternative Energy Path For California* contains a section on solar initiatives which outlines a multi-level strategy to achieve maximum solar usage by 1990.

Options being considered include low interest loans and grants to encourage low-income participation; a solar plan for renters; policies encouraging competition in the solar industry; and expansion of the state's solar tax credit. Contact the California Energy Commission, 1111 Howe Ave., Sacramento, CA 95825 for copies, first copy free, \$5.80 for each additional.

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

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

## High Income Utility Users Found Most Wasteful

Utility rate reformers will be interested in a survey by the Ohio Office of the Consumers' Counsel which reported that high income residential electric users use a disproportionately higher share of the state's electricity. After surveying 4000 customers of Ohio's seven largest utilities, the state consumer agency found that families with incomes exceeding

\$25,000, while representing 18% of the sample, used a whopping 35% of the electricity consumed. High consumption was closely correlated with single family dwellings and ownership of a large number of appliances.

The counsel's office will be analyzing the survey data to develop rate proposals. For more information contact: William A. Spradley, Ohio Office of the Consumers' Counsel, 137 East State Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

## State Nuclear Actions Continue

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

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

Connecticut and nine other states have laws prohibiting the construction of new nuclear reactors until a safe disposal method is found: a virtual ban on nuclear power plant construction.

In New York, a ban on siting a permanent waste repository within the state without statutory approval by the Governor and the legislature was passed.

Also in August, New York released the state's 15 year Energy Master Plan—which included no future plans for nuclear reactors. Oregon passed a ban on the issuance of nuclear reactor siting permits until November 1980 and until the Oregon DOE completes a Three Mile Island accident study to consider and prevent similar problems.

# New Haven Community Labor Alliance: Case Study In Coalition Power

By Barbara Richards

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

Less than two years ago, the CLA did not exist. Today, it is challenging economic priorities on both a state and local level. The Alliance grew out of a prolonged strike at Yale University by the Federation of University Employees in the fall of 1977. Community leaders were asked to support the strike based on a common adversary, Yale.

Successful settlement, after a large community supported rally, led to the creation of a permanent organization. The CLA now has 35 member groups including the New Haven Central Labor Council, 12 union locals, and minority, peace, activist, neighborhood and tenant groups. Financing is provided largely through a five cent per member monthly assessment paid by each member organization.

The successful candidates might not have happened without the work of the issue committees, the backbone of the CLA. Using the Alliance's broad base of support, the committees have been able to:

- Force the school board to hire 50 union cafeteria workers to prepare school lunches locally to replace imported "TV style" dinners;
- Convince the incumbent mayor to hire a consultant, chosen by the CLA, to recommend socially

responsible ways to invest the city's pension fund;

- Raise the issue of using part of Yale's resources to aid the local economy;
- Lobby the state legislature to seriously consider and nearly pass a bill to regulate runaway shops.

These issues were translated into specific demands for support presented to the mayoral candidates. Each candidate was asked to agree to:

- Support a capital outlay budget to aid the school lunch plan;
- Support CLA priorities for socially responsible pension investment;
- Serve on the CLA-Yale negotiating committee;
- Testify in favor of runaway shop legislation during the next session of the state legislature.

Coupled with these larger demands were a series of positions relating to neighborhood issues, such as improved garbage collection and a better housing court, which the candidates were also asked to endorse. The combined strategy of preparing the groundwork by raising issues and putting candidates on the spot by scheduling the event well in advance proved successful.

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

The long range goal of the CLA is to build an organization which will allow low and moderate income people to work on a wide range of issues. This is reflected in the Statement of Principles which includes demands for full employment, more equitable distribution of local,

state and national resources; broadened citizen participation in public policy at both government and private institutions; and strengthened civil liberties; and an end to discrimination.

Members of the Alliance would like to see efforts to build community-labor coalitions take place in other cities. The organization is prepared to help interested individuals or organizations in that effort. For more information call the Alliance at (203) 865-3999.

Barbara Richards is the Executive Director of the Community Labor Alliance and a member of the New Haven Board of Selectmen. She has recently decided to not run for re-election in order to devote herself full-time to building the CLA.

## Conference Internships Available

The Conference is now accepting applications for spring semester full- and part-time internships. Interns will do research, writing, assist in organizing seminars and conferences and provide administrative support. Positions are available in the following areas: tax reform, women's economic issues, energy, agriculture, alternative economic development, and *Ways and Means*.

Letters of application should include the candidate's interests and objectives; the dates s/he will be available; number of hours per week s/he can devote; and a resume or other statement of relevant experience. For more information contact Mary Hunton at (202) 387-6030.