

Conference on Alternative  
• State and Local Bolides

# Ways & Means

Vol. 3 No. 1

January-February 1980

## In This Issue. . .

Analyzing Nick Carbone's  
Election Loss in Hartford  
p. 3

Electoral Progress in  
Mississippi p. 4

Using Administrative  
Procedures Acts to Make  
Change p. 5

EDA Refunding Holds  
Opportunities for Community  
Development p. 6

States Act to Ease Home  
Heating Crisis p. 8

Pension Fund Survey  
Reveals Positive Trends  
p.9

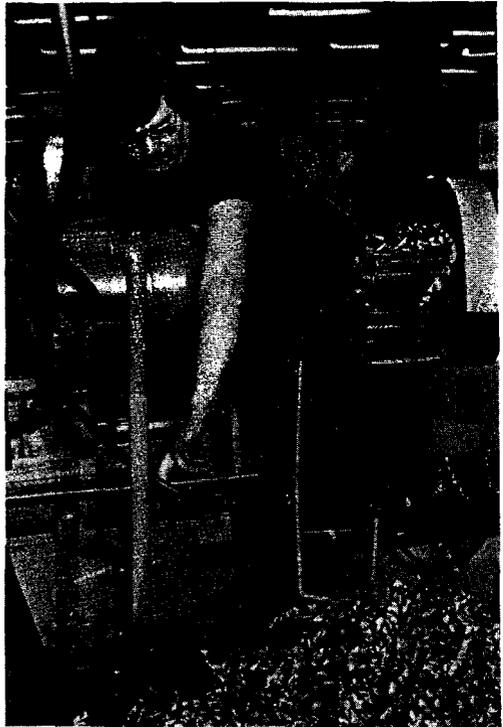


Photo: U.S. Economic Development Administration

Workers at South Bend Lathe saved their jobs by buying out the previous owner. This and many other exciting community-based economic development opportunities could be possible under the provisions of a bill now before Congress. See p. 6 for details.

Despite election losses by well known progressive public officials Dennis Kucinich and Nick Carbone (see story on page 3), lesser known progressives fared well in November. In Cleveland, Ohio Public Interest Campaign program director Jay Westbrook defeated an incumbent conservative for a city council seat. His election, along with that of neighborhood activist Fannie Lewis, assures a strong anti-corporate voice on the council ... In other city council races, Cheryl Roden was successful in her bid for a seat on the Santa Monica City Council despite strong conservative opposition and rent control candidate David Sullivan won a seat on the Cambridge, Mass. city council ... Chapel Hill city councilor Gerry Cohen reports that a number of community activists ran well in North Carolina including Braxton Foushee who led a slate which took five of six council seats in Carrboro and city councilor Harvey Gantt who ran a strong campaign for mayor of Charlotte, the state's largest city; losing the Democratic primary by only 2000 votes. Gerry, unfortunately, lost

in his bid for mayor of Chapel Hill. ... Good news for cooperatives! Former Massachusetts Banking Commissioner Carol Greenwald is expected to be named president of the Coop Bank. Her affirmative action and regulatory policies as banking commissioner were among the best in the country ... Two new progressive community organizations we've recently heard about: Public Interest Campaign, 1520 Western Ave., Seattle, Washington and the New Hampshire People's Alliance, P.O. Box 164, Woodsville, NH. Both groups focus on impacting electoral politics through grass-roots organizing around specific issues ... Former Conference staffer Kevin Johnson has recently been appointed Executive Director of the North Dakota Democratic-NPL (Non Partisan League). Anyone with electoral campaign skills interested in working in North Dakota should contact Kevin at (701) 255-0460 ... And finally, staff members Cam Duncan and Paula Schaedlich have left the Conference to take positions with other public interest organizations in Washington.

70  
PUBLICATION UPDATE

To use a favorite Conference expression, there's a "new direction" in the publications program. We've begun a series of *Public Policy Reports*. The first two in the series are *The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices* by economic development specialist David Smith and *The Shifting Property Tax Burden: The Untold Cause of the Tax Revolt* by tax reform experts Robert Kuttner and David Kelston. For ordering information see page 15.

Next in line are three *Reports* from the Agriculture Project: *State and Local Strategies for the Preservation of Agricultural Land* by policy analyst Joe Belden; *Corporate Farm Reporting Laws and Determining Land Ownership* by our former mid-west field representative Paula Schaedlich; and *Innovative Programs to Assist Beginning Farmers* by Cynthia Guyer and Jay Sherman of die Conference staff.

This succinct and topical new series signals a gradual move away from our "monster" 300-page books. The most recent is our long-awaited opus on tax reform, *State and Local Tax Revolt: The Progressive Challenge*, which is finally going to the printer. With back orders for 500 copies, this 350-page collection of original essays and reprints promises to be as valuable to the tax reform movement as *New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies* has been to the movement for agricultural reform.

The Conference's Coop Bank Monitoring Project has just published the first edition of *The Coop Bank Monitor*, the most comprehensive publication to date on the bank, its primary actors, policies and directions. Individual copies are available for 50¢ from the Publications Department

On the boards for spring are *A Community Organizer's Guide to Public Policy*, two volumes on rent control, and a *Manual on Pay V-Equity*.

—Jim Higgins

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Ways and Means is a bimonthly publication of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. See the Conference web site at [www.waysandmeans.org](http://www.waysandmeans.org) for ideas of previous issues. Indeed, we are a forum for ideas of progressive officials, community organizers, activists, and technical 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 their increasingly complex problems at the state and local government level.

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Subscription prices: \$10, 12Q for institutions. To order, see page 15.

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# The Hartford Election: CHard Lessons For Reformers

by John Alschuler

*On September 11, 1979, progressive city councilor Nick Carbone lost a bitterly contested race for mayor of Hartford. As the leader of the city council and deputy mayor in a "weak mayor" system of government, Carbone ran as the recognized public official who led the city. His opponent was George Athanson who, as the incumbent mayor, ran against Carbone's record.*

*Why did Nick Carbone, a public official nationally known for his strong support of poor and minority people, lose in a city with a large poor and minority population? What lessons can be learned from this election? John Alschuler, Carbone's top aide in Hartford, examines these questions.*

As Hartford's most powerful public official, Nick Carbone fought suburban and corporate interests on behalf of the city's low income and minority population. His defeat indicates how little voters understood about the causes of the conflicts which developed. The electorate, goaded by the media, perceived the antagonism generated by divergent interests as a failure of political leadership. Carbone was attacked at every turn by the suburban dominated *Hartford Courant*, the only daily newspaper in the city. With an overriding concern for open caucuses and cooperation with state and corporate leadership, the *Courant's* editorial board focused on Carbone's tactics and personal style while ignoring beneficial results.

In this environment, Carbone was unable to establish regular and credible lines of communication with his constituency. Tax conflicts with corporations, fights

with file state over welfare benefits, law suits against the state Department of Transportation to increase services to racial minorities, all became the focus of attention. While each of these initiatives directly benefited city

income redistribution and racial equality, held power at a time of worsening income gaps and a standstill in racial progress. City governments cannot influence decisions made on the national level to accept decreased economic

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*The electorate, goaded by the media, perceived the antagonism generated by divergent interests as a failure of political leadership.*

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residents, attention was focused on the process rather than the results.

With the benefit of hindsight, it's clear that there are a number of options which could have been pursued to correct this situation. Carbone could have cooperated more extensively with community agencies. Also, he could have experimented with alternative forms of media such as distributing a regular newsletter. Most importantly, he could have worked to rejuvenate file basic structure of the Democratic Party.

As the campaign results demonstrate, the party organization loyal to Nick Carbone could not credibly communicate to a sufficient number of voters that Carbone's platform coincided with their interests. This was caused by two factors. First, the party had protected an organizational structure which, too often, lacked credibility with the electorate. Underscoring this credibility problem was a massive influx of patronage workers loyal to Carbone's opponent, George Athanson, supplied by the suburban oriented governor, Ella Grasso.

Paying too much attention to the objectives of running the government, and too little to strengthening the government's political base, created the environment in which the media supplanted the party.

Finally, Carbone's government, with its deep commitment to

activity as a strategy for combating inflation. Nor can city officials do more than marginally impact file pervasive legacy of racism in our cities.

While the changes local officials can make to affect income and racial inequity are significant, too often they do not noticeably improve the day to day lives of city residents. Thus, while the Hartford government did as much or more than any government in file country to bring about meaningful change, there were no bouquets to be distributed at election time. Pot holes, high taxes, high unemployment and inadequate schools remained.

Therein lies the dilemma of the Hartford election. The results imply that the strategy of attempting to use governmental authority to extract maximum benefits from the existing social and economic order will encounter severe difficulties as economic conditions further erode the standard of living of American people. Without a means of communicating with an electorate actively involved in a decentralized political process, we must question the long term viability of a local progressivism which cannot offset national political and economic inequities.

*John Alschuler served as assistant city manager for the City of Hartford and is presently active as a consultant both in Hartford and nationally.*

# Progress in Mississippi

by Fred Cooper

Mississippi voters provided some of the biggest election news for progressives in 1979, an off year for most state and county elections. Voters there elected more progressive candidates to state and county offices in the November sixth election than at any other time in recent history. A number of important issues were also raised during the campaign for the first time in the state's history.

The legislative elections were the first under newly reapportioned districts which were redrawn after a 14 year legal battle. Prior to reapportionment, a system of multi-member districts and racial gerrymandering limited black representation in the entire legislature to one member in the House of Representatives. Now there are 15 House members and two Senators, including well known civil rights activist Henry J. Kirksey.

This significant black presence should allow progressives to make the legislature a forum for debate on important social issues for the first time. Activists and community groups working in the legislature will be concentrating on three areas: establishing lifeline utility rates; strengthening tenants rights; and repealing the sales tax on food.

The election of William Winter as governor may also bode well for broadening the progressive arena in Mississippi. Governor

Winter, who is known as a moderate on racial questions, expressed interest during the campaign in developing new approaches to alleviating Mississippi's pervasive housing problems. As part of his legislative program, Winter is expected to push for a state housing finance agency.

On the county level, Bolton Mayor (and Conference Steering Committee member) Bennie G. Thompson won election to the Hinds County Board of Supervisors in a hard fought battle. By doing so, Thompson became only the second black person to be elected to the Hinds County board since reconstruction. His campaign centered on putting an end to "closed" government, increasing county aid for social services, equalizing taxes and modernizing county management.

Long time activist Evan Doss easily won re-election as Clairborne County Tax Assessor/Collector. He campaigned against the local power company's demands for tax reductions. Additionally, blacks were elected to the position of sheriff in Clairborne, Holmes and Marshall Counties.

One of the most exciting campaigns for progressives was the race for the Public Service Commission (PSC). An independent, pro-consumer, anti-nuclear slate was fielded for the three PSC positions. This was the first time

candidates had ever run an issue oriented campaign for the nearly invisible PSC. Sarah H. Johnson, a black city councilwoman from Greenville and activists Linda L. Lewis and Ayres Haxton, all ran well in black communities. The slate, which ran a low budget campaign, was endorsed by many elected officials, including a significant number of black mayors, and one of the state's leading newspapers. Lewis received the endorsement of the militant United League of North Mississippi. Altogether the candidates received approximately 11% of the vote—a commendable showing in Mississippi.

The candidates and their campaign workers are currently discussing the possibility of forming a shadow People's PSC to hold mock hearings on rate increases and deliberate on nuclear questions. The People's PSC would become the focus of a consumer oriented education and organizing effort aimed at impacting the 1980 congressional and 1981 municipal elections, culminating in another attempt at securing the PSC seats in 1983. For more information on the group's plans contact: The Mississippi Anti-Nuclear Political Action Committee (MAPAC), c/o Gordon Gibson, Treasurer, 421 Lynwood Lane, Jackson, MS 39206.

*Fred Cooper is program manager of the Mississippi Institute for Small Towns in Jackson.*

## Tenants 2 Landlords 1

Rent control dominated the ballot in three cities in November. In Baltimore and San Francisco, tenants petitioned the voters to adopt rent control and in Santa Monica, a landlord dominated group petitioned to weaken that city's rent control ordinance. In all three cities, tenants were forced to fight high priced, anti-rent control media campaigns to get their message across.

Baltimore voters approved rent control with 54% of the vote des-

pite the media blitz and solid opposition from the mayor, a majority of the council and all three city newspapers. (Subsequently, a local judge voided the vote by ruling the referendum illegal. Supporters have appealed the judge's finding to the state appellate court which is expected to rule on the case sometime this winter.)

San Franciscans for Affordable Housing suffered a severe setback when their proposal for rent con-

trol garnered only 41% of the vote. Real estate interests from all over the state poured over half a million dollars into that campaign. In Southern California, Santa Monica's Fair Rent Alliance held onto its city's strong rent control ordinance despite a similar media effort to replace the existing law with a weaker version.

In all, real estate interests spent well over \$1 million in the three cities compared to just over \$80,000 for the pro-control forces.

# Citizen Groups Use State Law To Gain New Clout

by Roger Colton

State Administrative Procedures Acts (APAs) provide citizens with powerful tools for demanding public participation and accountability on the part of non-elected public officials. Through aggressive and imaginative use of these laws, citizens can force otherwise recalcitrant policymakers to open up important rulemaking procedures. This applies to both the development of new rules and regulations, and decisions on the applicability of existing rules to specific situations.

Because state agencies are empowered to develop the rules and regulations for laws which they must implement, agency administrators often have a high degree of flexibility in deciding legislative intent. Citizen involvement, through APA prescribed procedures, can influence how these decisions are made.

In Iowa, for example, the state Department of Social Services proposed to adopt a controversial new budgeting procedure for calculating AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) grants which could have adversely affected recipients. Through the state APA, concerned citizens forced the Department to hold statewide hearings on the proposal. In large part due to the outpouring of opposition at the hearings, the state legislature acted to bar the agency from further action on the proposal pending additional study.

Because rules are promulgated for such a wide range of important issues, such as health care, energy, welfare, mortgages, and insurance, activists should be certain to monitor the formal rulemaking procedures of all appropriate state agencies. Usually, APAs require agencies to notify any interested party before rules are promulgated. Some states have developed

publication resembling the *Federal Register* which lists pending rulemaking proposals.

A group can initiate rulemaking

procedures by requesting an agency to hold a hearing on rules it proposes to the agency. In Massachusetts, a citizen group asked the state Department of Public Utilities to hold hearings on its proposal for restructuring electric rates. The group proposed to "flatten" the rates utilities charge their customers to stop the utilities from charging large customers lower rates than residential consumers. After holding hearings on the subject, the DPU commissioners decided to adopt a modified version of the group's proposal.

APAs also require agencies to respond to citizen requests for declaratory rulings. These requests are usually made to force an agency to announce a formerly unspoken policy or clarify an existing policy as it applies to a specific situation. For instance, in Iowa, a citizen group turned to a declaratory ruling procedure when the state Air Quality Commission appeared ready to grant a power plant construction permit prior to performing environmental impact studies. The Commission was asked to rule on the applicability, in that instance, of a law requiring such studies. The agency ruled that the law did not apply, but only after hearings, extensive citizen/agency discourse and a great deal of publicity.

The following year, the group went back to the Commission with an identical request on a different plant, and won. Leaders of the group are convinced that the organized turnout and publicity from the previous hearing caused the commissioners to rethink their interpretation of the law.

This illustrates an important byproduct of using a state APA. It can be a valuable organizing tool. Not only did the group win on the second try, but the hearing process provided a forum for focusing public attention on the problems of power plant expansion.

The applicability of state APAs to situations in which citizens should have a voice is endless. For a copy of your state's administrative procedures act, (except Alabama which has no APA), contact the state attorney general's office.

*Roger Colton is the former director of the Transportation and Environment Project of the Community Action Research Group in Ames, Iowa. He is currently an independent public interest consultant in Gainesville, Florida.*

**Marine Group Forces  
Home Heating Regs**

Their comprehensive home heating oil dealer regulations in their country were just promulgated in Maine as a result of an APA. In an effort to threaten to initiate its own rulemaking procedures under the state's "right to petition" law, the Maine Energy Coalition of Elderly and LOW INCOME citizens forced the state attorney general to issue regulations which protect low income people from discriminatory treatment by fuel dealers.

Issued to do the surest unfair practices of "mini-FITC" law, the regulations provide significant protection to low income purchasers.

FBI dealers are now required to sell fuel to anyone able to pay cash. The cap equivalent deliver small quantities of fuel (20 gallons minimum) to pets, hotly customers in advance of any surcharge. Customers five days before termination of credit and charge no higher than market.

For information, contact:  
**New England Fine Tree Legal  
Insurance, Inc. B. &  
Augusta, ME 04330 (807) 023-2971**

# EDA Refunding Offers Opportunities

by Michael Kieschnick

The imminent reauthorization of the National Public Works and Economic Development Act could present tremendous opportunities for progressive state and local organizations. Because Congress is expected to drastically increase the funding levels for the Economic Development Administration's development finance programs, millions of new dollars could be available for innovative community economic development projects.

The reauthorization bill is currently before a congressional conference committee where significant differences between House and Senate versions in funding levels, eligibility requirements and availability of technical assistance are being worked out. Still to be resolved is the role that community-based development organizations and state and local government agencies will play in the development finance programs. Indications are that these groups will play a significant part in packaging, and possibly administering, some grants and loans.

To maximize this opportunity, interested groups must prepare to act quickly to provide EDA with innovative proposals upon final passage of the bill (which should occur in Febru-

ary). At that time, EDA will be looking for ways to get the funds into communities quickly. The key to using the development finance programs is to offer EDA opportunities to deliver development finance without using its own staff, which will be hard pressed to handle the workload created by the additional funding authorization.

Under the provisions of the act, there could be a wide range of tools available for developing innovative community-based economic development strategies. Capital grants, interest subsidies, loan guarantees, revolving low interest loan funds and equity investments may all be possible.

Generally, there are two approaches to providing development finance capital. The funds can either be used to finance the types of businesses which often have difficulty obtaining financing in traditional capital markets or they can be offered as subsidies to large firms which agree to locate in areas of high unemployment. Strategies can be developed to maximize benefits to the community in both situations.

## Providing Capital Where It Is Most Needed

In most cases, groups interested in community-based economic development should focus on finding ways to provide capital to firms with limited access to traditional sources since they are usually much more responsive to the needs of the community in which they are located.

Three types of firms with capital needs would most benefit from EDA assisted funding: young firms looking for expansion capital; community owned businesses; and worker by-outs of mature firms. Community based investment strategies could be developed around each type of firm using the following guidelines.

Young firms face severe obstacles raising equity and long term capital for expansion, despite recent findings that they create more jobs than any other type of business. The general guidelines for providing capital to these firms is that they need equity far more than they need additional debt. A viable young firm often has early cash flow problems which are only compounded by additional borrowing. There may be two possibilities for providing equity with the

new EDA funds.

By far, the most widely applicable source will be the Title I (economic adjustment grants available to public and private non-profit organizations). Recipients will have the option of investing these funds as equity in young firms. In fact, the guidelines should allow any form of innovative equity financing short of providing direct grants.

If EDA decides to undertake an equity finance demonstration under Title III, areas which are eligible for funding under the economic adjustment guidelines will also be eligible to apply for equity finance funds. In this instance, a wide range of venture capital options would be available for assisting young firms. For example, a Small Business Investment Company (SBIC) could be set up using the EDA funds and a small amount of private capital. The SBIC, in turn, could borrow additional low cost investment capital from the Small Business Administration.

Where Title II loans are proposed, debt should be made to look as much like equity as possible. For instance, a revolving loan fund could be established with the terms structured so repayment begins after several years, thus avoiding start-up cash flow problems. Interest subsidies could also be used to lower the debt service in the crucial early years.

Community owned firms often carry burdens that preclude the possibility of their obtaining commercial

## What is EDA?

Officially established under the National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1955, EDA is now the largest single federal source of community economic development grants and loans. By providing small amounts of public money in "economically distressed" areas, EDA seeks to "leverage" equal or larger amounts of private investment, thereby creating jobs. Increasing the tax base and revitalizing the local economy.

Traditionally, EDA has been viewed as tight-fisted and skeptical about community-based economic development. The agency's reluctance to take risks meant that its limited development financing funds usually went to safe, traditional projects. Aides are hoping that EDA's substantially increased appropriations for this year will mean a more innovative approach.

## The Bill in Brief

There are three substantive titles providing for development tools.

Title I provides for grant funds to public bodied and private non-profit organizations in eligible areas for: (1) up to 80% of the cost of public facilities to create employment and infrastructure capital improvements; (2) revolving loan funds to finance business development; (3) upfront grants of 15% of capital costs to induce private firms to operate in distressed areas; and (4) a variety of development activities in cases of major plant closings and other economic adjustment situations.

Title II creates an expanded development finance program. Under this title, EDA should be able to provide: (1) loan guarantees for businesses

# for Community Development

Unskilled workers and little local demand make them too great a risk for most commercial lending institutions. Assets like community control, which are not considered by commercial bankers, make these firms very attractive for EDA financing.

Investment guidelines for community owned enterprises are similar to those for young firms. Assistance should take the form of equity and loans that look like equity. This includes capital grants, interest subsidies and repayment moratoriums. In this case, interest subsidies may be needed over the course of the entire loan.

Cooperatives could be aided substantially by providing them with 15% capital cost grants available under Title I to leverage the debt of the new Coop Bank. Another innovative approach to financing producer coops would be to use the Title III equity finance demonstration funds to invest in product development in return for royalties on subsequent sales.

Worker buy-outs of mature firms face ideological barriers in obtaining financing from traditional lending institutions. Private investors have little interest in preserving employment in antiquated factories where profits were insufficient for the previous owners. These situations, which almost always occur in economically depressed areas, can become self sustaining given time

and technical assistance. Most frequently, they need short term bridge financing to stay in operation during the transition period in order to keep markets and suppliers. Also, technical assistance is needed to help the new owners determine appropriate modernization procedures and sources of long term capital.

## A Strategy For Subsidizing Large Firms

Some groups may be interested in offering interest subsidies to attract large firms to their area. While some firms do locate in areas of high unemployment, they rarely make locational decision based on subsidies of the size offered by EDA; but they will never turn one down. In order to insure that the host community will benefit from a large firm's presence, performance criteria should be included as part of any large firm development package. This could take the form of a contract which would specify that a certain number of community jobs must be created and maintained as a prerequisite for granting an interest rate subsidy. Failure to create and maintain the jobs would mean automatic return of the subsidy to the development agent.

*(According to EDA spokesperson Jean Young, the agency will be doing extensive outreach to involve state and local, public and private, agencies in their expanded development effort. She suggested that interested groups contact the administrator of the nearest EDA regional office to begin a dialogue on possible involvement in the program.)*

The adjoining list of resource materials and contacts has been compiled to assist interested groups. For information on the current status of the bill and lobbying efforts on behalf of community oriented groups contact: Bob Zdenek, National Congress for Community Economic Development, 1828 L St., NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 659-8411.)

*Michael Kieschnick is a development finance consultant in San Francisco, and is the author, with Beldon Daniels, of "Development Finance for Policy Makers."*

## Resource Material and Contacts

### EDA Programs and Legislation

Bev Milkman

Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, EDA, Room 7800B, 14th and Constitution, NW, Washington, DC 20230 (202) 377-3906

Marc Weiss

Special Counsel for Legislative Affairs, Center for Community Economic Development, 639 Massachusetts Ave. Suite 316, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 547-9695

*Task Force Report on the National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979.* Available from the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, 2165 Rayburn Office Building, Washington, DC 20515 (free).

*A Special Report on the Expansion of EDA: The Resources Being Considered for Economically Distressed Areas.* Available from the Center for Community Economic Development, 639 Massachusetts Ave. Suite 316, Cambridge MA 02139 (free).

*EDA: A Vehicle for Carter's Urban Strategy.* Available from the National Journal, (6/23/79 edition), 1730 M St, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (free).

### Development Finance Possibilities

Bob Zdenek

Public Information

National Congress for Community Economic Development, 1828 L Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 659-8411

Norm DeWeaver

Rural Development Specialist, Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007 (202)338-6310

Paul Pryde

Director, Project on Development Finance, National Rural Center, 1828 L Street, NW, Room 1000, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 331-1258

*Development Finance, A Primer for Policy Makers.* Available from the National Rural Center, 1828 L Street NW, Washington, DC 20036 (free).

*Rural Development Programs.* Available from tie Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007 (\$1.50).

### Possibilities for State Government

Michael Barker

Associate Director, Community and Economic Development, Council of State Planning Agencies, 444 North Capitol St., Washington, DC 20001 (202) 628-5388

*Innovations in State Development Finance and Economic Development: The Challenge of the 1980's.* Both available from the Council of State Planning Agencies, 444 North Capitol St., Washington, DC 20001 (\$9.95 each).

creating or expanding jobs (\$1.8 billion per year); (2) eliminating direct loans where the loan guarantee is insufficient (1.5 billion per year); and (3) subsidizing the interest on guaranteed loans so that the interest costs to a lender are no more than \$50 million per year. The bill limits the size of direct loans to \$1 million per loan and \$10 million per firm. Also, no more than 15% of the total assistance can go to 40 firms with assets of \$50 million.

• Title III provides for technical assistance, evaluation and research programs including provisions for demonstration programs in equity

finance and employee pwn&shp. (\$15 million). Details h&v not yet been worked out. >

## States Act to Ease

by Michael Freedberg  
and Deborah Murphy

This season's political football has been how to help low-income families and the elderly cope with the high price of heating their homes. Major battles have occurred across the country as legislators and governors debated the extent of the problem, and how best to meet the need. As a result, a number of important state initiatives were developed to augment existing federal aid which many believe to be far too little, too late.

While not all are operational, the level of benefits range from \$8 a month in Louisiana to a \$400 grant in Massachusetts. Most of the programs provide between \$100 and \$200 in assistance utilizing vendor payments, two-party checks, direct grants, utility bill reductions or credits, and state income tax credits. In all, a third of the states have special assistance programs for the elderly and/or poor families.

Notable examples of state actions this winter, either through special legislative sessions or administrative initiatives, include:

- New York. The New York State Assembly broke a long deadlock with the Governor when, in a special legislative session, it overrode gubernatorial vetoes to enact two major bills. The first creates a \$22.5 million *State Energy Crisis Assistance Program* which enables people faced with utility cutoffs to receive a grant of from \$100 to \$200 each. The grants are only available to those who have received no other emergency assistance, and whose income is within 200 percent of the federal poverty level—\$13,400 for a family of four. Special services to assist the elderly in applying for the benefits are also provided.

## Heating Crisis

The second bill creates an *Energy Assistance Credit* allowing a \$35 income tax credit to households whose annual income is under \$14,000 with elderly members 65 or over.

In addition, a fuel sales tax exemption was enacted effective October 1, 1980.

- New Jersey. The state enacted a *Lifeline Credit* program aimed at aiding the state's elderly, blind, and disabled who pay their own heating bills, and whose annual incomes are less than \$9,000 for individuals, and \$12,000 for married couples. The credit will be sent to the recipient's utility company, and app-

lied directly to the monthly gas and electric heating bill. Those utilizing propane or fuel oil will not receive the credit on fuel payments, but can still receive credit towards electric and gas bills

- Massachusetts. A bill, recently signed into law by the Governor after some controversy, makes many of the state's elderly and poor families eligible for up to \$400 per recipient in state fuel assistance. Fifteen million dollars was appropriated to aid those families whose incomes are between 125 and 150 percent of federal guidelines.

- Connecticut. In an atmosphere of relative harmony, a special session of the state legislature passed a comprehensive set of initiatives including: \$2.7

### Some Cities Are Helping Themselves

...Mass. is the first...  
...of its nation to...  
...develop a...  
...help weath-...  
...the program...  
...burg...  
...elderly...  
...and...  
...and...  
...and...  
...and...

...ment of Energy funds covered the...  
...costs of materials for moderate...  
...income families and Department...  
...of Housing and Urban Develop-...  
...ment funds paid for the materials...  
...for low-income families...  
...For...  
...and...  
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...and...

15 million in grants to both low-income households not eligible for federal assistance and households with incomes of up to 175 percent of the poverty level with elderly members; bond financing for low-interest heating oil loans; a revolving loan fund for small home heating oil dealers; an increased authorization for the state's energy conservation loan fund; municipal energy "action grants" and rehabilitation loans for buildings threatened with landlord abandonment; emergency assistance for group homes, housing authorities, and municipalities; and regulations restricting dealer fuel shutoffs in multifamily units.

• Maine. Because 90 percent of all homes in the state use home heating oil, a special legislative session was called to respond to the dramatic increase in home heating oil costs. A \$3.5 million low-income assistance program was adopted which provides up to \$180 per homeowner and \$90 for renter households in the form of vendor payments.

While this aid represents a healthy addition to limited fed-

eral payments, the program falls far short of a comprehensive plan proposed by the Maine Energy Coalition of Elderly and Low Income Persons. That group's plan included a short term program of assistance to all 80,000 households in the state at or below 125 percent of federal poverty guidelines; middle income energy subsidies; short term loans for fuel oil dealers; regulatory protection of low-income households; a ban on utility shutoffs; and restrictions on customer service charges.

Longer term recommendations by the Coalition include: a voluntary fuel oil set aside by the state; conversion to kerosene and other alternative fuels; a wood lot program; comprehensive electric rate reform; the creation of a consumer protection agency; and a state bond-financed weatherization program.

*The full program, a possible model for other states, is available from Pine Tree Legal Assistance, Inc., Box 2429, Augusta, ME 04330.*

• Minnesota. In what could have been the most notable state

action this year, the Minnesota legislature drafted a plan early this winter to allocate \$67.7 million of the state treasury surplus to provide emergency energy assistance to the state's poor and elderly. The program would have assisted households with incomes of up to 187.5 percent of the federal poverty level. Unfortunately, the governor, A1 Quie, refused to call the required special legislative session to consider the plan and instead implemented a much more limited version. State assistance now amounts to \$7.76 million to households with incomes of between 125 and 150 percent of the poverty level.

*The Conference Energy Project has just completed a comprehensive review and analysis of state and local energy emergency assistance programs. While flawed, these programs represent an important step forward for local governments. For copies, write: Energy Project, The Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, 4th Floor, 2000 Florida Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009.*

## Economic Development

### Survey Reveals Alternative Pension Fund Investments

by Tom Devine

Preliminary findings of a pension fund survey of 12 states with progressive investment policies, conducted by the Economic Development Project of the Conference, challenge the long held axiom that pension funds must sacrifice profits to invest in socially beneficial alternatives. The five states which have responded so far (Alaska, Kentucky, North Dakota, Hawaii and Oregon), all either have, or are planning, profitable in-state socially beneficial investments. Many of the investments outper-

form common stocks, the traditional pension fund staple.

Alaska's home mortgage and small business portfolio returned 5% more, on an adjusted rate of return, than its common stocks. Kentucky reported that multi-unit project mortgages earned 7.5% and single family mortgages produced 6.3% in 1978 compared to a 4.6% of return for common stocks. Similarly in Oregon, home mortgages earned 9% in 1978 compared to 7% for common stocks.

Both Oregon and Hawaii report that they have financed thousands of home mortgages without a single default. Finally, North Dakota reports plans to profitably invest in solar energy development

Another important survey find-

ing is that four out of the five states reporting allow members to elect their own representatives to pension fund governing boards. In two states, Kentucky and North Dakota, members elect a majority of the board. These elected positions could become an avenue for changing pension fund investment patterns if progressive candidates could win seats.

The Conference will release a resource packet in the next few months with the final survey results, model testimony, a memo on legal barriers to alternative investments and a model state statute.

*For more information contact Bill Schweke of the Economic Development Project.*

# Women In The Economy

## Low Wage Workers Make Gains

The movement to organize low wage women and minorities has gained momentum in the past few months. Most significant is the AFL-CIO's formal recognition of the important role women and minorities should play in unions—both as potential members and within the federation's leadership.

The adoption of a resolution at its biennial convention urging its affiliates "to adopt the concept of equal pay for work of comparable value in organizing and in negotiating collective bargaining agreements" was a major breakthrough. Subsequently Howard D. Samuel, president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department and Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women announced that the AFL-CIO will undertake a major drive to organize women workers.

In a departure from tradition, the AFL-CIO also announced the creation of a special 15 member committee which will explore ways to expand the federation's executive council to include women and more minorities. Combined, these three actions represent a greatly increased commitment by the AFL-CIO to organizing low wage women and minorities.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is continuing its investigation into job classification systems and their relation to pay discrimination. The Commission will hold a hearing sometime this winter in Washington, DC to "identify the extent of the problem of depressed wages of jobs held largely by minorities and women and establish if these depressed wage rates are in fact the result of forces which include discrimination."

For more information on the EEOC hearing contact: Frederick K. Dorsey, Director, Office of Policy Implementation, Room 4002, 2401 E St, NW, Washington, DC 20506 (202)634-7060.

Also, as a followup to the October comparable worth conference, the Women in the Economy Project will release *The Manual on Pay Equity* in early spring. This 150 page reader, which includes proceedings from the conference and contemporary writings on the subject, will be a valuable resource for anyone interested in organizing women and minorities. To order, contact the Women in the Economy Project at the Conference.

## Film Depicts Women's Workplace Organizing

What can the 43 million working women who face potentially fatal hazards every day do to protect their health? Non-unionized electronics industry workers in California are forming health and safety committees and testifying at state and federal government hearings. Women office workers in a small local union are petitioning the federal government to investigate pressing job related hazards.

These, and many other examples of concrete steps women are taking to reduce job hazards, are documented in a new 57-minute color film, *Working for Your Life*. Filmed in over 40 workplaces, including mines, construction sites and factories, *Working for Your Life* is now available from the Labor Occupational Health Program at the University of California in Berkeley.

For rental or sale information contact: LOHP Films, 2521 Chandler Way, Berkeley, CA 94720 (415)642-5507.

## Empowering Union Women

The Coalition of Labor Union Women has begun an 18 month project that will document and publicize information on women as union leaders. The project, entitled *The Empowerment of Union Women*, will issue a handbook with specific action programs including a how-to section on running for office and a resource section listing training and education programs for union women.

Anyone wishing to comment on the subject should contact: Elyse Glassber, Project Director, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Center for Education and Research, Inc., 15 Union Sq., New York, NY 10003 (212) 777-5330.

## UAW Proposes Changes in Michigan

An action plan for Michigan's state government has been published by the United Auto Workers' Community Action Program. The *1979-1980 Michigan UAW-CAP Program for State Government* details UAW positions on broad range of social issues including health care, energy, unemployment compensation, education, crime, insurance, housing and transportation.

Each issue is described in a separate section of the 42 page booklet with an update of its current status and specific recommendations for either legislative or executive action. Proposals range from creating an office of Public Advocate to police the activities of government agencies to improving the forms used in Small Claims Court.

For copies contact: Edie Van Horne, UAW CAP, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48214.

# Legislative Initiatives

## OBanking Disclosure Act Threatened

The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act is in trouble. Congress must renew the legislation this year and the banking industry is going all out to kill it. This powerful opposition, combined with the anti-regulatory climate in Congress, may make passage of a new bill difficult.

When passed in 1975, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) was the first significant change in banking legislation in 40 years that did not originate from within the banking industry. Its passage was a major victory for hundreds of grassroots organizations whose members had been struggling for years to gain adequate information about the lending policies of banking institutions in their communities.

The current act requires lenders to prepare annual lending reports and make them available to the public. Community organizations and public officials can use this hard data to determine the number, dollar value and location of real estate loans for each lender within a community. Lending practices are then challenged if the data reveals discriminatory patterns.

Supporters will introduce a bill in the House this month to make the act a permanent law. In addition to the current reporting requirements, the new bill requires local lenders to: use a standard form for disclosing lending data; report on a common date; and make their HMDA report publicly available through a local public library or federal regulatory agency. The Center for Community Change, National People's Action and the National Training and Information Center are coordinating the effort to push the new bill through Congress.

Anyone interested in learning more about HMDA or working to preserve federal disclosure requirements should contact Allan Fiahebin at the Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave.,

NW, Washington, DC 20007  
(202) 338-6310.

Four valuable new publications, which will be of interest to anyone involved in disclosure requirements and neighborhood reinvestment, are *Home Mortgage Disclosure Act and Reinvestment Strategies*; *Assessing Community Credit Needs*; *Local Reinvestment Strategies*; and *Neighborhood Reinvestment Strategies*. All are available from the Office of Neighborhood Development, HUD, 451 Seventh St., SW, Washington, DC 20410

## Federal Programs To Increase State & Local Energy Role

Because of proposed federal legislation and expansion of existing programs, state and local governments should play an increasingly important role in national energy planning and policy development. These initiatives, which are primarily in the areas of conservation and renewable energy resources, could present important opportunities for fashioning progressive energy policies.

The Community Energy Efficiency Act (CEEA) is of major interest. The bill, S. 1892, would enable local governments to apply for "action grants" establishing energy conservation and renewable energy programs at the local level. CEEA, which incorporates a number of similar legislative proposals, would authorize approximately \$5 billion over a five year period to aid cities, towns, counties and regional bodies. Activities would include disseminating conservation information (particularly to low income people) and reassessing the impacts of land use controls, zoning ordinances, building codes and transportation on energy conservation.

Grants under the act would be available for planning and capi-

tal projects. Local governments would be required to establish citizen advisory committees and provide grants to neighborhood groups. Congress is expected to enact the bill sometime this year.

Congress has expanded the state Energy Extension Service to all 50 states. Begun as a pilot program in 10 states, the Service provides basic "how to" conservation information to individual energy users through universities, cooperative extension services, state energy offices, and other local institutions. Grants to states under this program will total \$25 million in 1980.

The Comprehensive Community Energy Management Program provides assistance to local governments for developing comprehensive energy conservation and management plans. The Department of Energy's Office of Community and Building Systems funded 17 cities in 1978 for a two year planning effort and will expand this program in 1980.

## Voters Support Farmers in Two States

Rural and urban voters united in both Texas and King County, Washington to support ballot initiatives aimed at preserving agricultural land and family farms.

Texas passed a constitutional amendment which would guarantee loans to qualifying beginning farmers. The enabling legislation had previously been approved by the legislature, but the appropriation required ballot approval.

King County voters overwhelmingly approved a \$50 million bond issue earmarked for farmland preservation. The county can now purchase development rights from farmers who might otherwise sell their land for non-agricultural purposes.

For more information write: Ron Ruttler, Texas Farmers Union, 800 Late Air Drive, Waco, TX 76710, and Office of the County Executive, King County Courthouse, Seattle, WA 98104.

# Resources

## National Tenant Rights Group Formed

A new national tenant rights coordinating group was formed recently in Newark, N.J. At a conference convened by the New Jersey Tenants Organization, the Metropolitan Council on Housing and the California Housing and Information Organization, representatives from over 50 tenant groups agreed to form the National Committee for Rent Control. The committee will map out an ongoing strategy for a nationally coordinated campaign focused on rent control and other tenant rights issues.

According to spokesperson John Atlas, the committee's first tasks will be to set up a national tenant information network and develop plans for a permanent national tenant organization. Other plans include drawing up alternative tenant rights and housing policies, and mounting a congressional lobbying effort to freeze rents should wage and price controls be reimposed.

Participants could not agree on a strategy for impacting the 1980 presidential election. Some of the larger organizations wanted to inject tenant issues into the campaign, but others felt strongly

that the group shouldn't use its scarce resources for that purpose.

Rent control has experienced a national resurgence in the past few years. Some form of rent control exists on a state or local level in nine states and the District of Columbia. In 17 others, rent control proposals are under consideration, according to Atlas.

*For more information contact: The National Committee for Rent Control, 380 Main St., East Orange, NJ 07018 (201)678-6778.*

## A Guide to Massachusetts State Government

*"Who's Who in the King Administration—A Citizen's Guide to Public Officials"* succeeds in making the state government of Massachusetts accessible to the average citizen. This handbook, recently published by the Policy Training Center in Cambridge, MA, provides thoroughly researched profiles of 256 key individuals. Organized by executive office, *"Who's Who"* includes biog\*

ographies, job descriptions, years in state service, photographs, and self-described goals. An index in the back lists individuals in alphabetical order as well as by subject area. In addition to bring a resource for anyone "doing business" with Massachusetts state government, the handbook is an excellent model for groups planning similar efforts in other states.

*Copies of "Who's Who" are available for \$2.00 each or by bulk order of 10 or more at \$1.50 per copy from: The Policy Training Center, 4 Nutting Road, Cambridge, MA 02138.*

## The Case Against Nuclear Power

Legislators and activists interested in learning about the dangers of nuclear power will find *Accidents Will Happen: The Case Against Nuclear Power*, published by the Environmental Action Foundation, a particularly valuable resource. This easy to read compilation of articles covers the spectrum of problems with nuclear reactors including reactor technology, industry financing, effects of radiation on humans, nuclear energy's relationship to civil liberties, the anti-

nuclear movement and waste disposal.

*Accidents Will Happen* presents a strong, reasoned case against future development of nuclear power, concluding with a section highlighting energy alternatives such as increased conservation efforts and expanded use of renewable resources.

*Accidents Will Happen* is \$2.50 in bookstores. Bulk orders can be arranged through Harper & Row, 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022.

## Iowa's New Agriculture Unit

Small farmers in Iowa have a new ally. State Attorney General Tom Miller recently created this country's first farm division within Iowa's Department of Public Safety. Formed largely as a result of a Miner's interest in encouraging the small and family-sized farm, the Division will protect farmers from fraud, advocate in their behalf in legal forums, and enforce Iowa's farm regulatory procedures.

Specifically, the Division will both the Iowa Family

>> of typical limits corporate ownership of farm land, and the Iowa Non-Resident Alien Ownership Act which restricts Iowa land to foreign agricultural interests. The Division is also promoting legislation to make state loan guarantees available to the small farmer.

*For more information, contact Neil Hamilton, Iowa Department of Justice, Farm Division, State Office Building, New York, Iowa 50319 (515) 261-1111.*

# Resources

## r Conferences, Conferences, Conferences

The Coalition of American Public Employees (CAPE) will host a conference on *State of Vocal Spending Limitations in the Era of Recession* on March 24 in Washington, DC. A payoff for lifting the conference will banow spending limitation battles are won and lost. The group is offering a "war stones" library conference with examples of non-combat and radio spots and information which have been used by effective campaigns. In addition, the group is looking for information on other campaigns are organized.

For further information on the data collection and registration contact Steve Rabin, CAPE, 1126 16th St. NW, Suite 214, Washington, DC 200036 (202) 223-22675.

■ *See page 29*

The Conference's Energy Project will hold a national energy conference in May. The conference will focus on promising innovations in state and local energy policy. Special areas of concentration will include the impact of energy policy on low income consumers, financing con-

servation and renewable energy technologies, and new federal initiatives which will expand the range of options available to local policy makers.

Details will be announced in the March-April *Ways & Means*.

The Progressive Alliance and the Environmental Law Institute, in cooperation with the Conference, will sponsor *The Regulatory Controversy: The Case of Health and Safety* on March 7th and 8th in Washington, DC.

This conference will focus on the current debate over regulatory policies, including the use of cost-benefit analysis, and will examine efforts to restrict the activities of regulatory agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Conference registration is \$25 per person for private, non-profit organization and \$85 for all others. For more information contact Rachel Pohl at (202) 452-4804 or write the Conference.

## Big Business Day-1980

A consumer labor coalition which includes Ralph Nader, economist John Kenneth Galbraith, UAW president Douglas Fraser and Commercial Workers international president William Wynn have announced plans to focus on big business domination government on April 17—"Big Business Day—1980." The group is organizing in communities throughout the country to hold teach-ins, debates and mock trials of corrupt corporations to expose corporate abuses and discuss alternatives. The Corporate Democracy Act, which is intended to make corporations more accountable to their constituencies, will be introduced in Congress on the "Day" as the centerpiece of the what organizers hope will be an ongoing effort to increase corporate accountability.

For further information contact: *Big Business Day, 1346 Connecticut Ave., Washington, DC 20036 (202) 861-0456.*

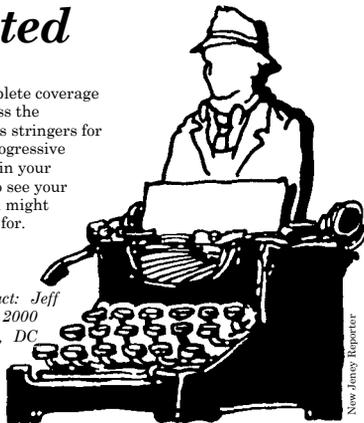
## Plant Closing Packet Announced

The Economic Development Project has compiled a packet of materials for activists and public officials concerned about plant closings. The packet includes: a memorandum describing the status of federal and state plant closing legislation; a table summarizing the principal features of eleven state bills; an annotated plant closing bibliography; a treatment of the history and strategy of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (written by OPIC); and a section-by-section summary of the National Employment Priorities Act of 1979 and the Employees Protection and Community Stabilization Act of 1979. For a copy, send \$5.00 to the Publications Department at the Conference.

## Help Wanted

In order to provide more complete coverage of state and local activities across the country, we need people to act as stringers for *Ways & Means*. If you follow progressive policy development and politics in your state or region and would like to see your name in print occasionally, you might be just the person we're looking for.

For more information contact: Jeff Tryens, *Ways & Means*, 2000 Florida Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009.



Now, Jenny Reporter

# 1979 Ways & Means Index

	Issue Page No. No.	Usue Page No. No.
<b>AGRICULTURE</b>		
2-4-5 Banned in Oregon (*)	1:2	
Bank of North Dakota Makes Loans to New Farmers (*)	1:2	
Family Farm Coalition Moves Ahead	1:4	
Direct Marketing: Bumper Crop for Fanners and Consumers	1:5	
Progressive Legislation for Family Farmers	2:2	
Food Banks Feed the Hungry (*)	2:4	
Small Farmers Squeezed Out by Abuse of Reclamation Law	2:4	
Illinois Study Exposes Corporate Land Holdings (*)	2:16	
Foreign Ownership of Farms Under Attack in Colo., N. Dakota	3:5	
ND Offers Incentives to Sell Land to Beginning Farmers (*)	3:5	
Farmworkers in California Sue for Job Loss	3:5	
Activist State Senator Aids Farmers in Alabama	3:14	
Resource Ideas for Rural Development Programs (*)	3:15	
Saskatchewan Farm Policies: Lessons for the U.S.?	4:6	
Two States Approve Multi-State Grain Marketing Compact (*)	4:6	
Iowa Bans Corporate Ownership of Farmland (*)	4:6	
Bill Would Give Tex. Farmworkers Col. Bargaining Rights	4:7	
Two Reports Highlight Accelerating Loss of Farmland (*)	4:15	
Conference Highlights Problems of Beginning Farmers (*)	6:6	
Ag. Preservation Bill Increases States' Options	6:6	
<b>ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT/ECONOMY</b>		
Coop Bank Moves Ahead	2:10	
Resources on Community Development Credit Unions	2:16	
Fighting Inflation: A State's Plan For Action	3:3	
Resource on Community Development for States (*)	3:16	
Cleveland Becomes First City to Use		
CRA to Promote Urban Revitalization	4:5	
Neighborhood Groups Expand Use of CRA	4:5	
The Progressive Potential of Small Businesses	6:4	
Coop Bank a Reality (*)	6:11	
Strategies for Community Economic Development (*)	6:14	
<b>ELDERLY</b>		
Seniors Gain at State and Local Level	1:14	
Crime Victimization: A Problem for Urban Elderly	2:14	
Reverse Mortgages Help Senior Homeowners	3:13	
Minnesota Studies Problems of Poor & Elderly Women (*)	4:14	
<b>ELECTIONS/GOVERNING</b>		
In Wake of Jarvis-Gann, Progressives, Republicans Win	1:7	
Women Candidates' Problems Addressed	1:11	
Survey Analyzes Female Participation in Public Life	1:11	
Berkeley Progressives Score November Victories	1:12	
Victory in Saskatchewan is Sweet (*)	1:12	
New Magazines Focus on State and Local Governments	1:16	
Madison Mayor Candidate Offers Progressive Urban Programs	2:13	
Sunset laws Are on the Rise	2:15	
Participatory Government in Chicago's 44th Ward (*)	2:15	
New Magazine for City Managers (*)	2:15	
Progressives Gain in Berkeley Election (*)	3:2	
ACORN Plans for the '80 Election	3:4	
Behind the Vote in Cleveland	3:6	
Getting Involved in the Local Budget Process (*)	3:15	
Seattle Passes First Police Spying Legislation	4:4	
Chicago's City Elections: A Report on the Aldermanic Races	4:13	
New Right Takes Aim at State Legislatures	6:5	
<b>ENERGY</b>		
Precedents for Hydroelectric Projects May Be Set (*)	1:2	
Campaigns Bar Winter Utility Shut-Offs	2:12	
Activist Elected to Utility Board (*)	2:13	
How to Start Your Own Energy Business (*)	3:16	
Utilities Give Way Under Pressure in Kentucky (*)	4:11	
Penn. Legislature Responding to Nuclear Accident	4:12	
Anti-Nuclear Initiatives Spread	4:12	
SolarCal Council Proposes State Energy Plan (*)	4:13	
Study Shows Mass. Could Save Millions in Energy Costs	4:15	
VPIRG Warns of Shut-Down Costs	4:16	
Portland Develops Comprehensive Alternative Energy Plan	4:16	
Group Pushes Minority Involvement in Renewable Resources (*)	6:10	
California Officials Lead in Solar Initiatives	6:12	
State Nuclear Actions Continue	6:12	
High Income Utility Users Found Most Wasteful (*)	6:12	
<b>HOUSING/LAND USE</b>		
Virginia Acquires Corporate Land By Condemning It (*)	1:2	
Consumer Advocates Elected on Renter's Rights Platform	3:11	
Minnesota Bill Would Protest Families With Children	3:15	
Public Access to Land; New Roles for Local Governments	4:7	
Bill Would Reduce Urban Displacement in Mass.	4:11	
DC City Council Passes Condo Conversion Moratorium	4:11	
Options for Curbing Condo Evictions	6:3	
Condo Hotspots	6:3	
Recycling Vacant Property (*)	6:10	
Coalition Moves to Strengthen San Francisco Rent Control	6:11	
<b>JOBS</b>		
Minimum Wage to Rise in DC	1:11	
Kentucky Civil Rights Act	1:11	
Youth Job Council Proposed in Masa. (*)	3:15	
State Prevaling Wage Laws Threatened	6:5	
Public Officials Censure J.P. Stevens	6:11	
<b>ORGANIZING</b>		
Detroit Movement Has Roots in Political Campaigns	1:12	
Activists Trained in State Lobby Techniques	2:15	
Five Community Organizing Campaigns Evaluated	4:15	
New Haven Community/Labor Alliance:		
Case Study in Coalition Power	6:13	
<b>PENSION REFORM</b>		
Activists Urge Redirection of Pension Funds	1:6	
Pension Fund Resources from SBOC and IPS (*)	1:10	
Bills to Increase Investment Participation Introduced in Mass.	2:11	
Campaign Against S. Africa Investments Scores Victories	2:14	
Bill Calls for New Pension Fund Provisions (*)	3:2	
<b>PLANT CLOSINGS</b>		
Plant Closing Legislation Focus of Citizen/Labor Groups	2:3	
Plant Closing Legislation Proposed in Ore., Mass., Conn.	3:2	
More States Move on Plant Closing Legislation	4:2	
Plant Closing Legislation: A State-by-State Survey (*)	4:14	
<b>TAX REFORM</b>		
State and Local Tax Reform: Congress Could Help	1:3	
Repealing State Food Taxes	1:4	
Tax Reformers Make Advances in Mass., Ohio	1:13	
Required Report on Lost Taxes Proposed in Nebraska (*)	2:12	
Conn. Faces New Tax Reform Proposal	2:12	
Tax Commission Scores Interstate Tax Bill (*)	2:12	
Tax Assessor Blasts Corporations in Illinois	2:13	
Tax Abatements Under Attack	3:5	
Impact of Proposition 13 Studies Compiled (*)	3:16	
States Rated on Tax Equity (*)	3:16	
Tax Reformers Seek to Publicize Loopholes	4:3	
States Battle Mining Companies Over Severance Taxes	4:10	
Tax Break for Renters	6:4	
Tax Shifts to Homeowners Key to Tax Revolt	6:7	
Business Tax Breaks: A Habit Hard to Kick	6:11	
The Last Entrepreneurs Bid for Business	6:16	
<b>WOMEN</b>		
Women Candidates Problems Addressed (*)	1:11	
Survey Analyzes Female Participation in Public Life (*)	1:11	
California Women Gain Under Recent Laws	2:6	
Legislation Addresses Insurance Inequities	2:6	
Homemakers Earn Equal Management Rights in Louisiana	2:11	
CETA-Eligible Women: A Neglected Majority	3:13	
Women's Rights in Colorado	3:15	
Penn. Takes Lead in Implementing ERA	4:4	
Women Organized to Demand Economic Justice	6:8	
Comparable Worth: A Key to Success	6:9	
(*) Indicates articles ISO words or less		
Issue 1—Jan/Feb		
Issue 2—Mar/Apr		
Issue 3—May/June		
Issue 4—July/Aug		
Issue 6—Nov/Dec		
Stories available at \$1.00 per copy		

# 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 Guyer, 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 (February 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 Kucinich, how his administration resisted corporate dominance of City Hall and why he lost in his re-election bid.  
*Edited by Dan Marschall with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign (January 1980) 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.  
 \$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 Schweike. (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 (of OPIC) and Lee Webb (May 1979) 85 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

**Tax Abatements: 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 of OPIC 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 Ridgeway (July 1979) 218 pp.*  
 \$9.95; \$14.95 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.  
*Ed Kelly of OPIC (1977) 30 pp.*  
 \$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

**Developing the Public Economy: Models From Massachusetts**  
 Detailed analysis of current state policies in job creation, tax reform, employment, redlining, plant relocation and targeting public investment. Contains both policy proposals and descriptions of specific programs.  
*Edited by Bob Schaeffer and Pat McGuigan (1979) 208 pp.*  
 \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

**The Shifting Property Tax Burden: The Untold Cause of the Tax Revolt**  
 Comprehensive analysis of the shifting property tax burden from commercial to residential and its effect on the "tax revolt." Includes case studies of ten states.  
*Robert Kultner and David Kelston (January 1980) 80 pp.*  
 \$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

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# What is the Sound of One Toothpick Leveraging?

Does the business community have any intention of becoming actively involved in hiring and training the "problem" unemployed? The National Center for Jobs and Justice (NCJJ) addresses this and other important issues in its recently published report, *Leveraging with a Toothpick: The Carter Administrations Private Sector Strategy for Job Creation*. The report provides an historical outline of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and a critical appraisal of its "new" private initiatives.

When Congress reauthorized CETA in 1978, it shifted the focus from public service to private sector employment and training for the hardcore unemployed. As a result, public service employment levels were cut drastically, forcing many cities to seek out alternatives to CETA funds to maintain their programs. Advocates of the private sector strategy claim the shift will produce permanent jobs, thereby combatting unemployment and increasing tax revenues. This report, however, argues that private sector involvement in alleviating structural unemployment historically has been half-hearted, at best. The report points to the National Alliance of Business JOBS program of 10 years ago and the 1977-78 HIRE program. Both offered government financed

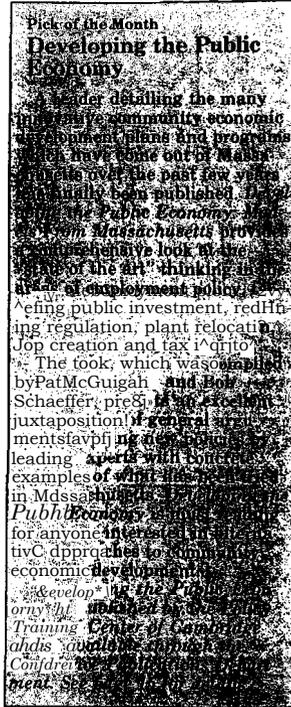
incentives to participating businesses but provided few signifi-

cant jobs and traipigh opportunities for individuals most in need.

The current CETA has two private sector programs designed to offset cuts in public service employment, the Targeted Job Tax Credit (TJTC) and the Private Sector Initiatives Program (PSIP). TJTC provides a 50 percent tax credit to employers for each employee hired from seven target groups. PSIP authorizes the establishment of a Private Industry Council in each prime sponsor area to involve the private sector in local employment and training programs. The study found that hiring goals had not been achieved and that progress was further hampered by administrative and personnel difficulties.

What is the bottom line? The report concludes that the private sector should be involved in the critical task of employing and training the structurally unemployed, but not through additional voluntary incentives and subsidies. Instead, the report argues that government should force businesses to provide training and jobs to the hardcore unemployed as a prerequisite to obtaining government contracts.

*"Leveraging with a Toothpick" is available for \$3.00 per copy from the National Center for Jobs and Justice, 1605 Conn. Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009.*



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# Ways & Means

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## In This Issue...

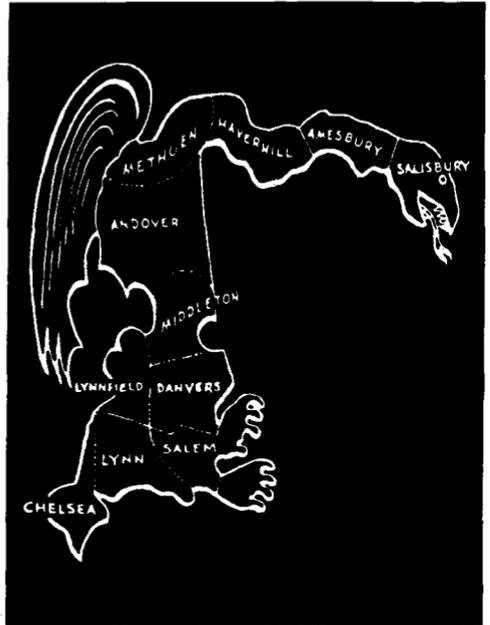
Finding Connections  
Between Plant Closings and  
Racial Discrimination p. 3

Coal Tax Advocates Seek  
To Protect Recent Gains p. 4

Alaska Breaks New Ground  
in Natural Resource  
Taxation p. 5

Special Feature:  
Congressional Reapportionment  
Battles Brewing in  
State Legislatures p. 7

Cities Test Alternative  
Energy Conservation  
Policies p. 13



Artist's conception of a gerrymander

Even before Governor Elbridge Gerry's manipulation of a Massachusetts legislative district in 1812 became known as gerrymandering, legislative reapportionment was highly political process. Congressional districts will be reapportioned as a result of the 1980 census and all signs indicate that conservatives are poised to score major victories in their efforts to control the reapportionment process. See page 7 for the complete story.

*Sixth National Conference*  
*Set for July 18-20* See p. 11 for details

While organizations in many states are just waking up to the fact that state legislative races are all important in reapportioning congressional seats, Texas groups have mounted a campaign to elect enough progressives to the state House of Representatives to make Representative John W. Bryant of Dallas Speaker of the House. As speaker, he would oversee the highly political reapportionment process — Fellow Texan, Jim Hightower is preparing for the May 3 Democratic primary in his quest for a seat on the Texas Railroad Commission as well.

The odds are now "very strong" that North Dakota Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan will run for Congress and that his assistant, Kent Conrad will announce for tax commissioner. . . . Another North Dakotan planning to make a move is Representative Rick Maixner who is planning to run for a seat on the state Public Service Commission. . . . Conference steering committee member Peter Shapiro, who is the Essex County Executive in New Jersey, is facing a possible recall challenge from "party hacks" unhappy with Shapiro's reform measures according to aide Peter Shuchter. . . . Another steering committee member, Jim Bowen, was recently appointed assistant secretary of state in Wisconsin. Jim has also recently edited a nuclear reader called *Time Bomb* for the Progressive Foundation. . . . Two longtime figures on the Boston organizing scene

have made major moves. Mass. Fair Share lobbyist Judy Meredith has been named co-director of the National Center for Jobs and Justice replacing Bert DeLeeuw who has gone to work for the Citizens' Party. And Tom Corrigan, also of Fair Share fame, has joined the Connecticut Citizen Action Group as co-campaign director. . . . In Chicago, Midwest Academy assistant director Karen Hiomas has moved up to replace director Heather Booth who became director of the Citizen Labor Energy Coalition late last year. . . . A coalition of groups concerned about the hazards of uranium mining and usage has recently formed. For information contact Paul Robinson, Box 4524, Albuquerque, NM 87106. . . . Two articles of interest to neighborhood activists: "The Deceptive Consensus on Redlining" by Peter Marcuse appeared in the October (can that be 6 months ago!) *American Planning Association Journal* which articulates the need for a total reinvestment strategy, and survey results of what former state insurance commissioners do for a living, which appeared in the March *Consumer Reports*, showed that a third of all immediate past commissioners work in the industry. ■. And finally a correction, in the last issue we reported that *Development Finance: A Primer for Policymakers* was free from the National Rural Center. It costs \$4. <sup>A</sup> .

Publications Worth Noting

A number of new publications, and a few oldies, have come to our attention lately which deserve mention. Many of them provide access to the wealth of resource information available for state and local public officials and activists. Probably the best of these is *The Workbook* (Southwest Research and Information Center, Box 4524, Albuquerque, NM 87106) which provides descriptions of different periodicals and resource materials in dozens of issue areas.

*Periodicals-By-Mail* (A Periodical Retreat, 336/s So. State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104) lists over 70 alternative "worthwhile periodicals" not obtainable on newsstands.

A write-up of the 25 best citizen publications (including *Ways & Means*) appeared in the January-/February edition of *Citizen Participation* (Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, Medford, MA 02155), a new publication dedicated to improving the quality of citizen participation.

One of the best new state government oriented publications we've seen is *Capitol Comment* (Pine Tree Legal Assistance, Legislative Office, 39 Green St., Augusta, Maine 04330). It provides information on "state house activities affecting low income people."

Finally, two tried and true newsletters worth noting. *Cape Update* (Coalition of American Public Employees, 112616th St, NW, Washington, DC 20036) provides valuable insights into the tax revolt and other national issues affecting public employees. *Conserve Neighborhoods* (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1785 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington DC 20036) is chock full of nuts and bolts information on neighborhood issues. The last edition, for instance, carried an excellent piece on managing traffic on neighborhood streets, an age old neighborhood nemesis.

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*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. Please request permission to reprint.

Contributors to this issue:  
Eric Hirsch

# Plant Closings: A Civil Rights Issue of the 80's

by Gregory D. Squires

Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the effect economic dislocation has on racial minorities. While other consequences such as the drain on municipal budgets, reduced family earnings, increased divorce, alcoholism, and even suicide rates, have been widely documented, connections between racially discriminatory employment practices and "runaway shops" have yet to be addressed.

Over the past 20 years, several dimensions of the economic dislocation issue have adversely affected racial minorities. First, minority population increases have occurred in precisely the same areas which have experienced economic decline and stagnation—central cities and the Northeast.

Also, minorities are concentrated in occupations and industries which have been hardest hit by uneven economic development. And finally, corporate relocation overseas, which adversely affects all American workers, hits minorities particularly hard because they own a disproportionately small share of equity in American business.

A few examples illustrate the discriminatory implications of corporate relocation and uneven development. When a St. Louis laundry reduced its inner city operations and opened 13 suburban outlets between 1964 and 1975, minority employment dropped from 75% to 5%.

Upon moving its Detroit operation to a facility in Ohio, a plastics manufacturer offered salaried employees, most of whom were white, assistance in finding new jobs. Hourly employees, all of whom were black or Mexican, received no such aid. When the Detroit plant closed, 40% of those who lost their jobs were minority, while just over 2% of those employed at the Ohio plant were

minority.

If these developments could be justified as natural responses to a free market, perhaps they could be viewed as inevitable and ultimately beneficial. But research has shown, to the contrary, that a number of non-market factors, including lifestyle preference of executives, mismanagement, and overt racism contribute to capital mobility and economic dislocation.

A particularly important non-market factor is government. Tax programs artificially expedite the decline of older businesses and communities. Right-to-work laws encourage plant flight from minority areas. And zoning restrictions keep minority housing out of areas of industrial growth.

Though no regulation expressly addresses the question of discriminatory relocation practices, civil rights attorneys have argued that a corporate move which has a disparate impact on minority employment violates federal equal employment requirements (e.g. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Order 11246 and the Civil Rights Act of 1866) unless the employer can demonstrate an overriding business necessity for the move. And even then, it is argued, those employers must take steps to mitigate adverse impacts.

Actions could include providing transportation services, or allowances for travel, to a relocated plant, pressuring realtors and local officials to comply with fair housing laws, providing housing accommodations, considering less discriminatory sites or reconsidering the move altogether.

Regulations which assure non-discrimination and affirmative action when corporations move could constitute one important part of an overall strategy to combat plant relocations. State and federal proposals calling for advance notice, severance pay, contributions to community development funds, and employee

takeover would more directly lead to the public participation and economic rights of workers required to effectively fight the deleterious consequences of dislocation.

Because of the position of minorities in the American economy.

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*The civil rights community cannot afford to ignore questions of economic rights.*

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these economic development initiatives must be considered civil rights bills. The civil rights community cannot afford to ignore questions of economic rights. Similarly, those concerned with adverse policy implications of capital mobility can gain moral, as well as political, advantages by recognizing the civil rights implications of these issues and developing a closer alliance with civil rights advocates.

*Gregory Squires is a researcher/writer for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.*

• • •

The Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is examining the minority employment records of companies which have recently shutdown and others which relocated or expanded between central cities and suburban communities in the state, and between Illinois and other states. Specific policy recommendations will be offered upon completion of the research later this year.

For more information contact: Gregory Squires, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 230 So. Dearborn, Rm. 3280, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 353-7371.

*March/April Ways & Means, page 3*

# Natural Resource Taxation

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*In the past, the economies of entire states have been built on the extraction of one natural resource only to collapse when the resource was depleted. To counter the devastating effects of such a collapse, a number of states have developed programs to collect a portion of that wealth through severance taxes and other programs to be reinvested in their economies. Two of the leading states in that effort are Montana and Alaska.*

*In this issue, Conference economic development specialist BUI Schweke reports on a recent severance tax conference in Montana. And development finance expert Belden Daniels reports on the exciting natural resource taxation policies being developed in Alaska.*

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## Conference Focuses On Protecting Severance Tax Gains

by Bill Schweke

For over a century Montana's economy was built on the extraction of copper. Now the copper is largely gone and little is left to show for it but huge slag heaps and gigantic pits. So when skyrocketing oil prices stimulated large scale coal development, the Montana legislature remembered history. In 1975, it passed the stiffest coal severance tax in the nation.

The tax serves three purposes. First, part of it is spent to help cover the costs of schools, highway maintenance, land reclamation and municipal services necessitated by the exploitation. Second, part of the tax is invested to diversify the economy. And a third portion of the tax will be saved for later spending and investment.

Since 1975, five other western states have developed similar, albeit weaker, taxes on coal and other non-renewable resources.

On February 8-9, the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies sponsored a gathering of over 100 public officials, policy experts, citizens and representatives from farm, labor, Indian and public interest groups in Billings, Montana to consider the future of severance taxation. Participants at **Natural Resource Taxation: New Strategies for Public Finance, Environmental Protection, and Economic Devel-**

**opment** quickly learned that despite recent successes in passing strong severance taxes, the continued existence of this economic safeguard remains an open question.

Montana Governor Tom Judge and U.S. Senator Max Baucus (D-Mont.) both appeared before the group to warn of conservative attempts to weaken severance taxes. Governor Judge told of a court case, in which Texas officials are appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court to rule Montana's severance tax in violation of the interstate commerce provisions of the Constitution.

Texas, which uses Montana coal for power generation, is also fighting strong severance taxes in Congress. Senator Baucus reported that Texas congressional representatives have formed a coalition of coal consuming states in Congress to push for federal legislation restricting severance tax levels on federally-owned and Indian lands.

North Dakota Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan reported on the political situation in his state where conservatives weakened North Dakota's severance tax during the last legislative session. He said that further attempts by coal, and possibly oil, interests to weaken the tax are expected this year.

Conference participants also looked at the positive side of severance tax by: assessing the

strengths and weaknesses of state coal taxation in Colorado, North Dakota, Wyoming and Montana; learning more about investment policies for severance tax funds; and developing strategies and coalitions to preserve and extend severance taxes to cover all non-renewable resources.

The conference was a major step toward creating a united stand among western coal producing states to thwart attempts to weaken severance taxes. Working together representatives from such groups as the Northern Plains Resource Council, Montana Farmers Union, Dakota Resource Council, Montana Democratic Central Committee, Powder River Basin Resource Council, Northern Rockies Action Group, Environmental Information Center and the Wyoming Outdoor Council laid the groundwork for future cooperation.

As a follow-up to the meeting, the Conference will publish a reader on natural resource taxation edited by Montana State Senator Tom Towe.

*Bill Schweke is the Economic Development Project coordinator at the Conference.*

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*As we went to press, UJS Representative Phil Sharp (D-Indiana) and Sam Devine (R-Ohio) unexpectedly (with one week's notice) called a hearing on HR 6625, a bill restricting severance tax levels. The bill which is before the Subcommittee on Energy and Power of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has eighteen co-sponsors and would restrict the power of state governments to set severance tax rates.*

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# Alaska Breaks New Ground On Resource Recovery Policies

by Belden Daniels

States, municipalities and Native American nations sitting on oil, natural gas, coal and other non\* renewable energy deposits are learning to play hardball with multinational corporations involved in resource extraction. These local governments have developed methods that force the giant corporations to return a portion of the wealth derived from the sale of these resources to strengthen and diversify local economies.

Nowhere is this effort more in evidence than in Alaska. With one of the largest oil and natural gas finds in the world in Prudhoe Bay, Alaskans are pushing the limits to learn how to make the most of their here-today-gone-tomorrow resources.

Alaska's entire history is one of boom-bust exploitation by outsiders. First came the fur trappers, then the silver and gold miners and now the oil and gas companies.

Today's exploitation differs little from that of previous eras. For instance, during the construction of the \$10 billion Alaska oil pipeline, 70% of the paychecks issued to workers never even cleared a local bank. They were simply mailed to a "foreign" bank in the "lower 48." There was no multiplier.

It could be argued that the development of Prudhoe Bay has caused irreparable social dislocation and created vast increases in state and local costs while the benefits have gone primarily to multinationals and people outside the state.

Alaska has sought to maximize the economic benefits from the extraction of the gas and coal. Towards this end the state government has aggressively pursued both an ownership and a tax strategy: it puts out leases on its own lands on a competitive bid

basis; it takes a royalty on all oil produced; it has a substantial oil severance tax; and oil company property is taxed. The combination of these four sources of income produced approximately 80% of all state revenues in fiscal 1979. In fiscal 1980, those revenues are expected to increase from \$333 million to \$1.2 billion. By 1984, they will increase to \$4.4 billion.

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*During the construction of the \$10 billion Alaska oil pipeline, 70% of the paychecks issued to workers never even cleared a local bank.*

---

Negotiating the revenue is only half the battle. In many ways, deciding how to use the funds is much tougher. The state has three options: consume, invest or save. Alaska is now struggling to develop a program to creatively use the funds for all three options without catching any of the diseases associated with these options: The Dutch Disease; the British Disease and the Alberta Disease.

The Dutch Disease is one of consumption. It occurs when state expenditures are allowed to rise to meet increased revenues. Then when the resource runs out, as the gas did in Holland, the state is left with extraordinarily high social overhead expenses and no more income to pay for it. Alaskans, instead, are trying to invest part of their wealth so it will be available in the future.

In doing so, they must avoid the British Disease—propping up large dying enterprises. The British government has been supporting dying enterprises for years, with

disastrous economic results. Alaska, looking ahead to the day the oil runs out, is creating a network of new development banks to invest in the diversification of Alaska's economy. The Alaska Renewable Resource Corporation (affectionately called "the Ark"), for instance, receives 5% of oil funds to invest in the start up and expansion of renewable resources such as fisheries, agriculture, aquaculture and renewable power sources.

But every economy has a limit to how much can be soundly spent or invested. The balance must be saved. Recognizing that the oil companies are earning a 21% rate of return on investment, the Alaskans want to be careful not to catch the Alberta Disease. Alberta is Canada's Alaska. The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund has grown from nothing to \$7 billion in three years. Unfortunately, the Fund is producing a zero percent net real rate of return.

Alaska must measure up to the standards of prudent world class institutional investors (for instance, Harvard earns 7% on its endowment) if its savings are to be useful when the oil runs out. However, keep in mind that no financial investment is as valuable as the resource still in the ground.

Alaskan local governments have also negotiated successfully with the multinationals. Almost the entire tax base of the North Slope Borough, the largest Eskimo settlement in the world, comes from the Prudhoe Bay oil company property tax. The borough has learned to use zoning and environmental protection laws to negotiate economic concessions.

These are first steps, but they suggest possibilities for aggressive states, municipalities and Indian nations in the "lower 48."

*Belden Daniels, a lawyer and former international banker, teaches at the Department of City and Regional Planning at Harvard. He is currently designing development banks in Alaska, Indonesia and California.*

## Conferences To Foster State And Regional Coalitions

*The Conference Agriculture Project will sponsor three conferences during the next three months focusing on a broad range of state and local agricultural policy issues.*

• On the weekend of April 11-13, the project will sponsor *Seeds of Change: Building a New York State Food Policy* at the State University of New York in Albany. The three major objectives of the conference will be: developing a strategy for public education; building new coalitions; and planning legislative action.

• On the last weekend in May, May 30-June 1, the Agriculture Project will co-host a regional Conference on *Progressive Farm Labor Policies* in conjunction with the Idaho Migrant Council and the National Association

of Farmworker Organizations. Persons concerned with farm labor policies in Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Washington, Oregon, Montana and Wyoming are invited to attend.

• On June 6 and 7, the Agriculture Project will co-sponsor, with the Oregon Food Action Coalition, *A People's Conference on Food and Agriculture Policy* in Salem, Oregon. The goal of this conference is to help build a state-wide coalition of public officials and members of farm, labor, environmental, church and citizen groups to develop progressive food and agriculture policies for Oregon.

*For more information on any of these conferences contact Cynthia Guyer or Maggie Kennedy at the Conference (202) 387-6030.*



C. John Urban

March/ April Ways & Means, page 6

## Maine Ag Bill Most Important In 50 Years

The Maine legislature is considering what advocates believe to be the most important piece of agricultural legislation in that state in 50 years—the Maine Agricultural Development Act of 1980. Passage of this act would make rural and agricultural development the keystone of the state's economic development plan.

The Department of Agriculture would be radically reorganized and streamlined under the plan to change it from its current status as a regulatory agency to one involved in advocacy and agricultural promotion, particularly for small farms. Specific elements of the bill include creation of a loan guarantee program to assist new farmers, financing for direct market efforts, and creation of a departmental capacity to aggressively promote Maine farm products.

The bill is a product of widespread citizen involvement and cooperation on the part of both the executive branch and many members of the legislature. Twelve hearings were held and four committee reports prepared by a special legislative committee before the bill was drafted. A recent legislative hearing on the act drew support from all aspects of the agriculture industry.

Although a significant number of conservative legislators have balked at supporting the bill due to its \$600,000 price tag, the Food and Farmland Commission which drafted the bill, maintains that increased production and marketing as a result of the department's reorganization will far outweigh the costs.

*Information provided by Chaitanya York of the Maine Consortium for Food Self-Reliance. For more information contact Mr. York c/o CHES, Richards Lane, Freeport, ME 04032 (207)8654338.*

# CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT: THE BREWING STORM

## State Legislatures Hold The Key

by Tom Bonnett

*The November, 1980 state legislative races will have a lasting effect on national politics throughout the decade. The political direction of an array of progressive issues spanning urban, labor, environmental, consumer and women's concerns could be altered dramatically as a result of these elections. In addition, the extent of minority representation in Congress will be determined for the next ten years.*

*How could these races be so important?*

*They are critical because state legislatures will reapportion congressional districts following the 1980 census, causing most existing districts to change in the process. These altered congressional boundaries could, if artfully drawn by conservative state legislators, severely weaken the political voice of the large cities in setting national priorities, reduce even further the present small number of black and Hispanic members of Congress, and seriously reduce the number of progressives elected to Congress in the future.*

*continued on page 8*

## What Is Reapportionment?

The U.S. Constitution requires that a national census be taken every ten years and that the membership of the U.S. House of Representatives be apportioned to the states according to their population. When the preliminary results of 1980 census are reported on January 1, 1981, legislative leaders and party organizations in most states will begin to study how congressional district lines could be redrawn to reflect population changes since 1970. The reapportionment process, unless challenged in court, must be completed before the 1982 congressional elections.

The only legal standard for reapportioning congressional districts is the "one-person, one-vote" principle established by the Supreme Court. But modern computers with sophisticated data banks can create literally hundreds of different combinations, each with very different political ramifications which conform to this basic standard.

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## Undercounting Adds To Urban Woes

The Joint Center for Political Studies estimates that 7.7% of the black population was not counted by the 1970 census. Undercounting the 1980 census would reduce congressional representation from specific urban areas, as well as the distribution of congressional seats among the states. It is, therefore, especially important that urban progressives work with their city officials to prevent undercounting and to ensure an accurate population count during the 1980 census. This is particularly important since over 100 federal programs which distribute over \$50 billion to local governments and communities are keyed to census population figures.

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## Political & Racial Gerrymandering

Reapportionment is often used by a party, or other political group, to increase its influence or to weaken the influence of an opposing party or group. For instance, the Republican dominated legislature in New Hampshire has, since 1891, drawn a vertical line between its two congressional districts to split the Democratic votes of its two largest cities, even though they are only ten miles apart.

Often the majority party in a state draws congressional district lines in order to encompass the largest possible concentration of voters of the minority party in relatively few districts. While this strategy gives the minority party a few "safe" seats, it enables the majority party to capture more than its share of remaining district seats. For example, the reapportionment plan drawn by Illinois Republicans in 1971 enabled them to win 58% of the state's 24 congressional seats in 1972 while receiving less than a majority of the congressional vote statewide. This was achieved, quite simply, by apportioning the heavily Democratic Cook County vote into a small number of congressional districts.

Perhaps one of the most widespread abuses of the reapportionment process is "racial gerrymandering." Congressional district lines are drawn to deny blacks and Hispanics a clear political voice. This process is most pervasive in the South and Southwest, but it occurs throughout the country.

Racial gerrymandering has been quite effective. Consider that while 15% of the U.S. population is black, only 3% of Congresspeople are black. Hispanic representation is even lower. With 9% of the total population, Hispanics hold 1% of congressional seats. These statistics hold true for state legislatures as well. Blacks hold only 3.8% of all state legislative

seats. In Alabama, where the population is 25% black, the legislature is only 11% black. Hispanics have traditionally been excluded from proportional representation in Texas where both legislative lines and county boundaries are gerrymandered.

## Who Wins, Who Loses

According to preliminary estimates, the following 18 states are expected to gain or lose congressional seats after the 1980 census due to population changes:

States Projected to Gain Seats	States Projected to Lose Seats
Florida (+3)	New York (-4)
California (+2)	Illinois (-2)
Texas (+2)	Ohio (-2)
Arizona (<+1)	Pennsylvania (-2)
Colorado (+1)	Massachusetts (-1)
New Mexico (+1)	Michigan (-1)
Oregon (+1)	New Jersey (-1)
Tennessee (+1)	South Dakota (-1)
Utah (+1)	
Washington (+1)	

With the exception of South Dakota, all of the states losing congressional seats are in the Northeast and Great Lakes regions. The states gaining seats are in the south and west. The reapportionment of congressional seats, consistent with the "one-person, one-vote" principle, reflects the continuing population shift from the "frostbelt" to the "sunbelt" since the 1970 census.

## Intrastate Population Shifts

Of equal or greater importance to progressives will be reapportionment caused by intrastate population shifts. Most urban states have experienced significant declines in central city populations and equally strong growth in surrounding suburbs.

According to the latest estimates from the Census Bureau, 80-90% of the urban congressional districts have lost population since 1970. In New York City, all but one of the city's 18 congressional districts lost population, seven districts in Chicago and Los Angeles each lost population and five in both Philadelphia and Detroit experienced losses. To conform to the "one-person, one-vote" standard, these urban districts will either have to be combined with neighboring districts or splintered apart to form completely new districts.

The manner in which these lines are redrawn, and by whom, should be of utmost importance to anyone concerned with liberal, as well as urban, representation in Congress. In a general sense, this population trend means that people are moving from traditionally Democratic areas (large cities) to traditionally Republican strongholds (suburban and rural areas). More specifically, it means that in conservative controlled

legislatures urban representation could be weakened if small sections of inner-city districts are combined with large numbers of suburban voters.

## Who's Organizing?

The political possibilities of reapportionment were seen early by the Republican Party and conservatives. In 1978, the Republican National Committee spent over \$2 million to support candidates for state legislative offices compared to nothing by Democrats. The principal objective of the Republicans appears to be control of state legislatures so they can redraw congressional districts to their advantage. One Republican strategist estimated that "if the right 90 legislative seats are picked up, it could translate into a gain of as many as 35 congressional seats."

To raise additional funds, the Republicans created a new national political action committee

known as GO-PAC, an organization not covered by federal election laws.

According to a recent *National Journal* article, "GO-PAC intends to use the money in 1980 state legislative campaigns to support only challengers, not incumbents, and only in states where the GOP has a realistic chance of capturing control of the legislature from the Democratic Party." The executive director of GO-PAC was quoted as saying that the organization plans to assist between 700 and 800 challengers this year and hopes to win 300-400 seats.

Right wing organizations are putting major commitments of time and money into state campaigns as well. Their primary interest is in defeating liberals, but they also see a conservative dominated reapportionment process as one of the by-products of their efforts.

Some of the right wing organizations targeting state legislative campaigns are: the National Conservative Political Action Committee; the Fund for a Conservative Majority; the Public Service Research Council Political Action Committee; LIFE-PAC; and political action committees of the Right to Work Committee and the National Rifle Association.

Republicans have made impressive electoral gains in state races in recent years. In 1978, they gained 275 legislative seats. And, while they control only 28 state legislative chambers now, Democratic majorities in many other chambers are narrow. A gain of 26 Republicans distributed among specific legislatures would bring 12 more state legislative chambers under Republican control in 1980. A gain of 125 Republican legislators in specific states would bring 25 new chambers under Republican control.

## Who's Not?

In contrast to the extensive, well-financed plans of the Repu-

*continued on page 10*

### Popillfitnri Loss By District

District and City	Present Member	Party	Percent Population Loss
1 NY 21st (New York)	Robert Garcia	D	39.1
2 MI 13th (Detroit)	James Digen	D	28.7
3 OH 51st (Cleveland)	John Stoen	D	24.9
4 NY 12th (New York)	Stanley Chi	D	20.4
5 MO 1st (St. Louis)	William Clay	D	19.3
6 NY 37th (Buffdy)	Henry	D	18.7
7 NY 19th (New York)	Charles A	D	18.5
8 IL 8th (Chicago)	Dan Rostenkowski	D	18.1
9 MN 5th (Minneapolis)	Martha Sabo	D	17.3
10 MI 1st (Detroit)	John Conyers	D	16.5
11 PA 14th (Pittsburgh)		D	16.7
12 PA 3d (Philadelphia)	sssfca##	D	15.5
13 NJ 10th (Newark)	Peter Rodino V	D	15.8
14 IL 1st (Chicago)	Bennett Stewart	D	15.2
15-NY 14th (New York)	Frederick Rich	D	15.0
16 MD 7th (Baltimore)	Barren Mitch Q	D	14.4
17 IL 7th (Chicago)	Cardiss Collins	D	13.1
18 GA 5th (Atlanta)	Wyche Fowler	D	12.9
19 IL 11th (Chicago)	Frank Annunzio	D	12.6
20 PA 1st (Philadelphia)	Michael Myers	D	12.5
21 KY 3d (Louisville)	Romano Mazzoli	D	11.7
22 MD 5d (Baltimore)	Barbara Mikulski	D	11.6
23 MI 16th (Detroit)	John Dingell	D	11.8
24 OH 20th (Cleveland)	Mary Rose Dakar	D	11.3
25 MO 3d (St. Louis)	Richard Gephardt	D	10.5
26 NY 16th (New York)	Elizabeth Holtzman	D	10.5
27 MO 5th (Kansas City)	Richard Bolling	D	10.1

Combined average ADA, COPE, and Congressional Black Caucus rating of this group in 1979 was 78%.

## States With Vulnerable\* Margins in Legislative Chambers'

State	Vulnerable Party	Contested Margin	Party of Controlling Chamber	D-R	Other Chamber	Governor	# of Congressional Districts
Alaska	Dem.		H	25-14	R	R	1
Delaware	D		S	13-8	R	D	1
Illinois	D		H	89-88	D	R	24
Illinois	D		S	32-27	D	R	"
Maine	D		H	77-33	R	D	2
Minnesota	D		H	77-73	D	R	8
Montana	D		H	55-45	D	D	2
New Jersey	D		H	44-36	R	D	15
Ohio	D		S	18-15	D	R	23
Oregon	D		H	34-25	D	R	4
Pennsylvania	D		S	27-23	R	R	25
Washington	D		H	49-49	D	D	7

Total Congressional Districts Affected 112

State	Party	Contested Margin	Party of Controlling Chamber	D-R	Other Chamber	Governor	# of Congressional Districts
Alaska	Rep.		S	11-9	D	R	1
Arizona	R		S	16-14	R	D	4
Colorado	R		H	38-27	R	D	5
Delaware	R		H	21-20	D	D	1
Idaho	R		S	19-16	R	D	2
Indiana	R		H	54-46	R	R	11
Iowa	R		S	28-22	R	R	6
Kansas	R		S	21-19	R	D	5
Maine	R		S	19-13	D	D	2
Montana	R		S	26-24	D	D	2
New Hampshire	R		S	13-11	R	D	2
Pennsylvania	R		H	102-100	D	R	25
Washington	R		H	49-49	D	D	7
Vermont	R		H	79-69	R	R	1

Total Congressional Districts Affected 74

\* In which a switch of 6 House seats or 4 Senate seats would give the opposing party control of that chamber

can Party and the New Right, the Democratic National Committee has planned few activities to assist state legislative candidates this fall. Their primary thrust will probably be several issue and strategy workshops in different regions for state legislative candidates. More importantly, the DNC has no definite plans to establish a political action committee to counter the Republican GO-PAC.

### The Battlegrounds

The margin by which Democrats or Republicans control many state legislative chambers is very narrow. Control of at least 26 of the nation's 99 legislative chambers will be up for grabs during the 1980 election. In 14 states, the margin of control is so small that a switch of three seats would put the current minority party in power.

Vulnerable Democratic majorities (in which a switch of six House or

four Senate seats would change the party in power) exist in 11 states containing 112 congressional districts. Republican majorities are vulnerable in 14 states containing 74 congressional districts. (See above chart for a complete listing.)

Reapportionment could be dramatically affected by which party controls these chambers. In Pennsylvania, for example, a switch of 3 seats in the Senate from Democrat to Republican would give the Republicans complete control over reapportionment, if they maintain their current margin of control in the House.

Control of these legislatures will have a tremendous effect on the politics of the 80's. The fate of the many progressive national reforms may well be predetermined by these elections and the congressional reapportionment which will follow.

*Tom Bonnett is a former Vermont state legislator currently enrolled at the University of California.*

### For More Information

Groups working on reapportionment include:

Joint Center for Political Studies, Eddie Williams, Director, Suite 539 1426 H. St. NW, Washington, DC 20005 (202)638-4477.

Congressional Black Caucus, 306 House Office Bldg., Annex, 300 New Jersey Ave., SE Washington, DC 20515 (202)225-1691

National Conference of State Legislatures, Andrea Wollock, Special Assistant 1405 Curtis St, Suite 2300, Denver, CO 80202 (303) 623-6600.

Common Cause, Bruce Adams, Issue Development Director, 2Q30 M St., NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 833-1200.

Republican National Committee, 310 1st St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 484-6500.

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the

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on

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**July 18/19/20, 1980**

**University of Pittsburgh  
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- Energy
- Farm, Land and Food
- Employment
- Human Services

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Pre-registration must be received by July 1. See other side for details.

*March/ April Ways & Means, page 11*

# REGISTRATION INFORMATION ' SIXTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

July 18/19/20, 1980  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

## Registration:

(Registration begins at 8 a.m. on Friday.)

Pre-registration fee (payment received before July 1): \$40

Registration fee (after July 1): \$50

Registration fee includes participation in all Conference sessions, workshops and activities.

*Partial registration fee scholarships are available.*

*For information contact Ann Beaudry at the National Conference no later than July 1.*

## Accommodations:

Double rooms and a limited number of single rooms are available on the University of Pitts-

burgh campus. Rates include breakfast, lunch and dinner each day, served in the college dining hall. Price is \$38 per night for single rooms and \$25 for double rooms per night. Tickets for individual meals are available for those not staying on campus.

## Child Care:

Child care will be available for children of those attending the conference. Advance registration is required no later than July 1. Specific details are available upon request

*Know anyone else who might be interested in the conference? Let us know and we'll send them an invitation.*

---

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## Registration Form

Return to: The Conference  
2000 Florida Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Position/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City----- State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (Home ) \_\_\_\_\_ (Office)-----

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*Check must accompany registration—payable to The Conference*

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Single room at \$38 per night for \_\_\_\_\_ nights.

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- Friday  Saturday  Sunday

Names and ages of children:

## Alternative Energy Policies Tested By Cities

Ever hear of a municipal solar utility? What about a Model Energy Development Demonstration District? Or a Solar Investment Protection Certificate? They are some of the new concepts cities and towns have developed in an ongoing effort to reduce our dependency on gas and oil. These concepts, along with a few other innovative ideas, are detailed below:

- Six California communities have received \$55,000 in grants from the Department of Energy to study the feasibility of municipal solar utilities. Bakersfield, Santa Monica, Oceanside, Palo Alto, San Dimas, and Ukiah will study ways a solar utility can meet specific community needs through financing, marketing, and training.

Each city will study a different approach, with Santa Monica, for example, planning a utility to implement solar in multi-family housing and Bakersfield planning to train neighborhood groups in solar installation.

For further information, contact Eileen Cohn, Special Advisor to Commissioner Ron Doctor, California Energy Commission, 1111 Howe Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95825 (916)920-6816.

- In response to citizen protests and prodding from the Renewable Energy Resources Commission, the Austin, Texas city council abandoned plans for a shopping mall/convention center complex in its redevelopment district and instead designated the area a Model Energy Development Demonstration District (MEDDD).

Renewable resources commission member Ray Reece says that the MEDDD will be used to test alternative energy technologies for the city utility and develop low cost solar housing. Passive solar units will be mandated for new construction.

In addition to this ambitious

project, the Commission has studies underway on a range of alternative energy policies, including consumer protection, building code revisions, and energy based neighborhood economic development

Contact Freeman Irby, City of Austin Electric Dept., P.O. Box 1088, Austin, TX 78767 (512) 397-1586 for more information.

- The Cincinnati, Ohio planning commission is studying a solar protection ordinance which would guarantee access to the sun for residents with solar energy systems. The *Solar Investment Protection Ordinance* would enable residents to acquire "Solar Investment Protection Certificates" from the city. The certificate would create a negative easement on the property of the bearer, and would make interference with access to sunlight a public nuisance. The proposed ordinance contains information on the contents of both solar certificate applications and approvals, and describes recom-

mended procedures.

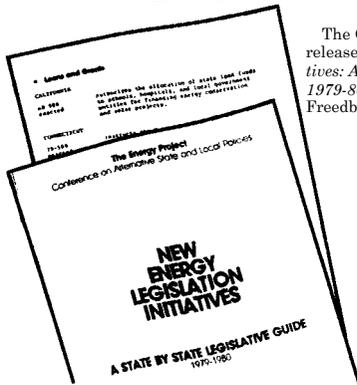
For further information, contact Erwin Hoffman, City Planning Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202 (513) 352-3471.

- Northampton, Massachusetts recently initiated a city-wide program of energy conservation workshops with a new twist. *Button Up Northampton* (similar in most respects to the Fitchburg, Massachusetts program described in the January/February *Ways & Means*) is offering discount coupons for weatherization materials to residents who participate in energy conservation workshops. The 25% off coupons are financed by local stores selling weatherization materials. City officials are currently assessing the effectiveness of the program's first round which ended in February.

In addition to local support from businesses and the mayor, ACTION has provided stipends for workers to assist elderly and handicapped people in implementing conservation measures in their homes.

For further information, contact Harry McDonough, Northampton City Hall, 212 Main Street, Northampton, MA 01060 (413) 586-6950 Ext 254.

## Looking For The Latest In Energy Legislation?



The Conference Energy Project has just released *New Energy Legislation Initiatives: A State by State Legislative Guide, 1979-80* by Julie Slavet and Michael Freedberg.

Chapters include:

- Encouraging Conservation and Energy Efficiency
- Developing Renewable Energy Resources
- New Institutional Vehicles
- Regulating the Utilities

The guide is available from the Conference Publications Department for \$3.95.

March/April *Ways & Means*, page 13

# Legislative Initiatives

## CLEC Oil Tax Proposal Advances

Members of the Connecticut Citizen Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC) have scored a major victory in their fight for equitable energy policies by convincing Governor Ella Grasso to include CLEC's oil tax plan in her FY80-81 budget. The CLEC proposal, which would tax the gross receipts of companies engaging in refining, transporting, and marketing petroleum products in the state, would affect the 21 companies that refine, as well as sell, petroleum products in the state.

The governor's action is the culmination of a six month organizing and lobbying effort by CLEC. The group's first victory came when the governor called a special session of the legislature last November to consider CLEC generated proposals to aid low and moderate income people faced with rising home heating oil costs.

Many of the proposals were passed and signed into law including a grant program for families not eligible for federal assistance, a revolving loan fund for small home heating oil dealers, and regulations restricting dealer fuel shutoffs. CLEC's oil tax proposal, however, was referred to committee, effectively killing it for the session.

Undaunted by the legislature's failure to pass file bill, the group organized a second round of actions which culminated in Governor Grasso's acceptance of the proposal as part of her budget.

Grasso's proposal would set the tax rate at 1% of gross revenues, significantly lower than the original 1.5% proposed by CLEC. Organizers are hopeful that the higher tax rate will be substituted for Grasso's 1% proposal during the legislature's budget deliberations.

The oil companies have not stood idly by as the proposal has taken shape. Some oil company executives have threatened to withdraw their "product" from the state if the tax is enacted and others have warned that the tax will be passed directly on to consumers.

CLEC believes that oil will continue to be marketed in the state and that the oil companies will have no choice but to absorb at least part of the tax in order to remain competitive with distributors not affected by the tax. They cite examples of natural resource taxes in other states where companies continue to operate competitively as proof that the state will not be cut off.

*For more information on Connecticut CLEC, contact Miles Rapoport, Connecticut Citizen Action Group, Box G, Hanford, CT 06106 (203) 527-7191.*

## Resources

### Legal Services Attorneys Set Sights On Job Training

Last spring, a group of legal services attorneys, and others interested in job training, convened at a Jobs Seminar to discuss the failure of such federal jobs programs as CETA and WIN to benefit the low income community. The group also considered possible strategies to force bureaucracies to shift their emphasis towards those most in need of jobs.

A comprehensive overview of the issues discussed at the seminar has recently been published by the Legal Services Institute. Editor Russ Murray explains why legal services attorneys should become involved in the issue and details many of the problems which might be encountered, such as learning to work with unions. Each of the existing

federal programs is examined critically for ways it has failed to provide training for low income people.

The Jobs Seminar was convened as part of a larger Jobs Project sponsored by the Research Institute on Legal Assistance of the Legal Services Corporation. The goals of the project are to: provide information on job programs; develop strategies for making them more accessible to poor people; create a network of legal advocates working on employment issues; and provide education on the relationships between job issues and more traditional legal services.

*For more information on the Jobs Project and its job training publications contact: Russ Murray, Legal Services Corporation, 733 Fifteenth St., NW, Washington, DC 20005.*

### New Roles For State Gov't In Dev. Finance

*Innovations in Development Finance* by Lawrence Litvak and Belden Daniels examines how state governments can intervene in capital markets to enhance state economic development. This study looks at the role of capital in economic development, examines possible ways state governments can influence capital allocation, and provides examples of successful, and not-so-successful, state financing mechanisms.

The report is part of a series published by the Council of State Planning Agencies. Other publications include *State Taxation and Economic Development: The Challenge of the 1980's*. Additional reports are planned.

*Reports are available for \$9.95 each from the Council of State Planning Agencies, Hall of States, 444 N. Capitol St, Washington, DC 20001.*



# 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 Guyer, 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 (February 1980) 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 Kucinich, how his administration resisted corporate dominance of City Hall and why he lost in his re-election bid.

*Edited by Dan Marshall with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign (January 1980) 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.

\$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.

*D&vid 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 Schucke. (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 (of OPIC) and Lee Webb (May 1979) 85 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

**Tax Abatements: 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 of OPIC 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 Ridgeway (July 1979) 218 pp.*  
\$9.95; \$14.95 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.

*Ed Kelly of OPIC (1977) 30 pp.*  
\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

**Developing the Public Economy: Models From Massachusetts**

Detailed analysis of current state policies in job creation, tax reform, employment, redlining, plant relocation and targeting public investment. Contains both policy proposals and descriptions of specific programs.

*Edited by Bob Schaeffer and Pat McGuigan (1979) 208 pp.*  
\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

**The Shifting Property Tax Burden: The Untold Cause of the Tax Revolt**

Comprehensive analysis of the shifting property tax burden from commercial to residential and its effect on the "tax revolt." Includes case studies of ten states.

*Robert Kuttner and David Kelston (January 1980) 80 pp.*  
\$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

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# Campaign 80

## Look Out Democrats— Here Comes ACORN

While the national press focuses on the race between Carter and Kennedy for the Democratic nomination, ACORN, a national citizen action group, and its affiliate, the ACORN People's Platform Committee, are putting forward a different agenda for the Democrats—more representation for poor and moderate income people within the party. The campaign, known as ACORN 80, is aimed at forcing the Democrats to "create a national commission to investigate means of achieving full representation for low and moderate income people within the Democratic Party."

ACORN groups in 20 states are challenging party leaders to open the delegate selection process for this year's convention to poor and moderate income people. Recently in Arkansas, ACORN challenged the procedures established by the Arkansas County Democratic Party for selecting delegates as racially discriminatory and in violation of the democratic one person-one vote principle.

ACORN is also sponsoring resolutions, during local caucuses and conventions, calling for creation of a national commission to investigate the problem. During the Iowa caucuses in January, an ACORN sponsored resolution calling for creation of the commission passed in 77 precincts.

Simultaneously, the ACORN People's Platform Committee is, for the first time, sponsoring candidates for delegate positions to the

national convention where they hope to raise the representation issue. While ACORN 80 has little chance of winning a large number of delegate seats to the convention, they are a force to be reckoned with. Unlike most other progressive citizen action groups, ACORN has traditionally endorsed candidates through its political action committee and many of its members are "old hands" at electoral politics.

The culmination of the ACORN 80 campaign will be a convention of 3000 ACORN members in New York at the same time as the Democratic convention. According to an ACORN organizer, the group is planning to make its presence felt at the Democratic convention if their proposal for representation is not taken seriously.

*For more information contact ACORN, 628 Baronne, New Orleans, LA 70113 (504) 376-7151.*

## Almanac of Virginia Politics Available

Everything you ever wanted to know about Virginia legislators and more is contained in *The Almanac of Virginia Politics*. This 210 page guide is crammed with political information on the 140 senators and delegates of the Virginia legislature, including key votes, socio-economic profiles of each person's district and legislative histories of key bills each legislator has sponsored.

Authors Flora Crater, Elizabeth Vantrease and Meg Williams, all long time political activists, created a public interest advocate's

gold mine in a state known for its conservatism. If they can do it, activists in other states should be able to follow suit.

*Copies are available from The Woman Activist Fund, Inc. 2310 Barbours Road, Falls Church, VA 22043 for \$6.70 per copy.*

## Guide Details Campaign Resources

Looking for ways to run an effective campaign for state representative on a tight budget? Is a member of your organization campaigning for city council or mayor? If so, you can't afford to be without the *1980 Guide To Campaign Resources*. This timely eight page pamphlet lists over 40 publications which can help you or your candidate get elected. General topics include media, polling campaign techniques, and understanding the electorate.

Editor Bob Schaeffer, of Citizens for Participation in Political Action in Boston, also gives advice on planning a successful campaign and choosing a campaign consultant. This is one of the best overviews of what's available for running an affordable campaign we've seen. According to Schaeffer, most of the publications are readily available in any large public or university library. In addition to the guide, Massachusetts residents will receive a special supplement on Massachusetts elections when ordering.

*For a copy, send 75¢ postpaid to the CPPAX Education Fund, 35 Kingston St, Boston, MA 02111.*

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# Ways & Means

Vol. 3 No. 3

May-June 1980

## In This Issue ...

Michigan's Anti-Recession Fund  
Brings State Budget Relief, p. 3

Housing Management Pro-  
grams in New York City Provide  
Alternatives to Abandonment,  
p. 4

Connecticut Campaign to  
Equalize Wages Wins  
Important Victories, p. 6

New York Groups Set  
Food Policy Priorities, p. 8

Sixth National Conference  
Workshops Announced, p. 9



Recession means that state and local governments will have to meet increased demands for public services with fewer tax dollars, in this issue, noted economist Roger Vaughan describes an anti-recession program which could help public officials prepare for these inevitable downturns in the economy. See *article 611-a3*.

Progressive Congressional candidates are off and running! In Boston, long time liberal spokesperson State Representative Barney Frank is making a bid for outgoing Congressman Robert Drinan's seat. . . Mark Green of Congress Watch will try to oust Cong. William Green of Manhattan's East Side, and former Consumer Federation of America Executive Director Kathleen O'Reilly is running for the Michigan's Second Congressional District seat currently held by Republican Carl Pursell. In West Virginia, state senators Pat Hamilton and Si Galperin are running for the 2nd and 3rd Congressional District seats respectively. Galperin has long been a progressive leader in the West Virginia Senate. . . Hoping to step into the state senate is energy activist Bob Wise. As the leader of West Virginians for Fair and Equitable Assessment of Taxes, Wise is running on a platform aimed at restructuring the state's energy policies. . . Vermont's aggressive attorney general, Jerry Diamond has announced for governor, while fellow Vermonter Will Hunter will attend law school rather than seek re-election to the state legislature. . . New York City Councilwoman Jane Trichter has resigned

her seat to become national Vice President for Public Relations of Planned Parenthood. . . Jim Hightower's defeat in the recent primary election for Texas Railroad Commissioner has confused political pundits. Hightower ran a populist campaign aimed at garnering votes from traditionally disenfranchised groups, including Hispanics, yet he lost in the heavily Hispanic Rio Grande Valley while winning in the more affluent Houston, Dallas and Ft Worth. Hightower's extremely close finish, almost 48% of the vote, was "a great encouragement for progressives all over Texas" according to one observer. . . Nancy Kleniewski reports in the *May Democratic Left* that DSOC members scored substantial election victories this spring. In Michigan, Phil Ballbach was elected to the Ingham County (Lansing area) Commission and Pete Murdock and Harold Baize were re-elected to the Ypsilanti City Council. In Chicago, Miriam Balanoff, Woody Bowman, Carol Braun and Barbara Currie were elected to the Illinois Assembly. Also, Boston activists John McDonough and Mike Schippani were part of progressive ward committee slates which successfully challenged

the Kevin White machine. . . Two Ohio Public Interest Campaign staffers have been appointed to city boards: Cincinnati OPIC Director Reggie Boyd was named to the city's Full Employment Task Force and Youngstown Area Director June Lucas was appointed to the Mahoning Valley Economic Development Corp. . . For a look at what President Reagan might do to domestic programs, get a copy of the CPPAX first year Report Card on Massachusetts Governor Edward King, a Reaganesque Democrat who has been embroiled in controversy since taking office. (One dollar from CPPAX, 35 Kingston St., Boston MA 02111). . . Associate Director Hulbert James has left the Youth Project to start a minority organizing training center in Washington. The center will train organizers, provide on-site consultations and convene senior organizer seminars to discuss particular issues. . . State Representative Mel King recently received the prestigious ADA Roosevelt Award for achievements in progressive social action in Massachusetts. . . Fair Share's commitment to progressive social change was reaffirmed when its members voted to oppose racism of all kinds. . . The recent Conference report on Congressional Reapportionment, which was excerpted in the last *Ways & Means*, has received wide media attention including a feature story in the *New York Times*. Copies of both the report (\$6) and the *Ways & Means* reprint (25¢) are still available. . . For an exhaustive look at New Jersey's legislative districts see the 1980-81 *New Jersey Political Almanac* (The Center for the Analysis of Public Issues, 16 VanDeventer Ave., Princeton, NJ 08540—\$3.50). . . Next time someone tells you their vote doesn't count, tell them about the recent special County Commission election in Tompkins County, New York where a conservative Republican, who had been appointed to temporarily fill the seat, was declared the winner of the special election by the Republican controlled council after a tie vote. If the Democratic candidate had gotten one more vote and won, the Democrats would have had a majority of seats on the council and gained control of scores of county jobs. . . And finally, Agriculture Project Coordinator Cynthia A. Guyer is leaving the Conference after two and a half years.

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*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. Please request permission to reprint. Contributor, to this issue: Matt Broad

# Michigan's Anti-Recession Fund; A Model For Other States

by Roger J. Vaughan

While many states are just beginning to feel the effects of the current recession, Michigan has already been hit—hard. Because the economy is so heavily dependent upon the auto industry, a bellweather for economic trends, revenues for this fiscal year are well below last year's. Fortunately the state developed a countercyclical fund in 1977 which will help it stave off the full impact of the recession for at least another year. Known as "the countercyclical employment and revenue fund," this innovative program could be the basis for similar programs in other states.

Today, most states depend on the federal government to provide assistance in recessionary times, even though an analysis of federal economic policy reveals that those programs are usually ineffective. By developing countercyclical programs in cooperation with local governments, states could accumulate revenues during times of greater than normal economic growth, to finance budget and economic stabilization programs during recessionary times. In Michigan, the state will have accumulated approximately \$275 million over the past two "fat" years which will be transferred to the general fund in the upcoming "lean" fiscal year.

Ideally, stabilization funds for a combined state/local program would come from four sources:

**State Contributions**—Contributions from a State's general revenues would be triggered automatically by the performance of the economy. When local economic growth was strong and revenues large, contributions would be large. During a weaker period, contributions would decline and shrink to zero whenever growth fell below normal.

**State-Local Borrowing**—In those states where it is permissible, bonds would be issued during periods of low interest rates for capital projects to be undertaken when the local construction sector enters a recession.

**Local Contributions**—Local jurisdictions would pay into the fund during periods of economic growth in order to draw on it during recessions. Direct participation by cities would insure that the funds meet local needs and encourage fiscal responsibility by local governments.

**Federal Contributions**—A fourth source of state and local countercyclical funds is the federal government. Rather than continuing to rely on its existing erratically funded countercyclical programs, the federal government should distribute grants each year among states according to their own contributions, with some allowance for local fiscal effort.

The nature of the fund would encourage the development of countercyclical capacity at the local level and improve fiscal responsibility. States and cities would learn that good times are not the norm, and that cutting taxes and adding new programs during a cycle peak, such as 1979, severely impedes their ability to react to a recession. Bob Kleine, Director of the Michigan Office of Revenue and Tax Analysis, reports that the fund contributions "stopped the state from building in new programs which would have further increased the budget."

The countercyclical fund should have three major goals: 1) reduce idle capacity in construction and manufacturing; 2) provide jobs for the cyclically unemployed; and 3) maintain public services. These goals would be met by fund expenditures in three program areas.

**Public Works**—Funds for capital expenditures would be released by increases in the local rate of unemployment in the construction sector (the group most sensitive to recessions). Projects undertaken should be consistent with the long-term development needs of the area, not special "make-work" projects.

**Public Employment and Training**—Those most seriously affected by recessions are workers who have difficulty finding "good jobs" even during times of low unemployment. They are the least likely to be covered by unemployment insurance or to benefit from public works jobs. Most need special public employment and training programs.

Expenditures for this employment and training component would be triggered by the number of eligible participants. When the eligibility pool, which would consist of welfare recipients, long term unemployed and new labor market entrants, reached a certain threshold, funds would be

allocated among prime CETA sponsors according to their share of the state's eligible participants.

**Anti-recessionary Fiscal Assistance**—Revenues would be granted to augment both state and local public service budgets. Allocations would be determined by the level of contribution made to the fund, with some allowance for difference in fiscal conditions. Release of funds would be triggered by quarterly economic indicators. Loans would also be provided to those jurisdictions suffering from a combination of sharply fallen revenues and increased social service expenditures.

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*The countercyclical fund in Michigan averted "a disaster."*

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Michigan's fund is indexed to real personal income and the state unemployment rate. "Payins" to the fund are triggered whenever the state's real personal income is over two percent greater than that of the previous year. When the annual adjusted personal income is lower than the previous year's, revenues are transferred out of the countercyclical fund into the general fund. Economic stabilization programs, which include both public works projects and public service jobs, are triggered whenever the quarterly unemployment rate exceeds eight percent.

The countercyclical fund in Michigan averted "a disaster," according to Bob Kleine. Most states and municipalities will not be as fortunate during this recession, but, with proper planning, state and local governments can develop countercyclical programs to take some of the sting out of future recessions.

Roger Vaughan is an assistant vice-president in the Economics Division of Citibank in New York. He is the author of *State Taxation and Economic Development and Inflation and Unemployment. Surviving the 1980s*, published by the Council of State Planning Agencies.

May-June 1980 Ways & Means, page 3

## New Approaches To Public Ownership Of Housing:

by Michael Freedberg

In most American cities, public acquisition through tax foreclosure is the last stage in the abandonment of privately owned multi-family apartment buildings. Once acquired, a building is either dilapidated to the point of being uninhabitable, or it is sold at public auction to a new owner who allows the building to continue to deteriorate. New York City has implemented a number of innovative management and community ownership approaches which provide an indication of what else can be done once properties enter the public domain.

Traditionally, New York acquired buildings only after owners were over three years in arrears on tax payments. Not only were buildings often in poor condition, but many were disposed of at public auction only to reappear on the delinquent rolls under a new owner. To break this cycle, the city council passed Local Law 45, allowing the city to take title to property after only one year of tax delinquency.

By taking ownership early, city officials have been able to acquire buildings which are still partially occupied and in relatively good shape. Rather than just return these buildings to the market, the city has developed programs which improve some of the salvageable housing stock. With different combinations of public/private management and ownership, these programs illustrate how the breakdown of the urban private rental market can provide a springboard for community involvement in, and ownership of, housing.

Funded this year with over \$40 million in Community Development Block Grants, these initiatives include:

- **Community Management Program (CMP)**—Through this, the oldest of the alternative management programs, the city contracts with community-based, non-profit housing groups to manage and upgrade city-owned occupied buildings in which there are active tenant associations. Rents

are used to pay maintenance and operating costs, while CDBG monies cover extraordinary repairs, operating deficits, administrative staff salaries, and, in some cases, moderate rehabilitation. The rehab is undertaken by the community group, providing job training for local residents in the process. After two or three years, the buildings are usually sold to the tenants as coops, for \$250 an apartment. If the tenants do not wish to buy, the building can be purchased by the community group.

- **Management in Partnership Program**—similar to CMP, Management Partnership is aimed at smaller, less experienced community groups. In this case, the city contracts with a management company to train and assist the community organization in administering the buildings.

- **Tenant Interim Lease (TIL) Program**—Under TIL, organized tenant groups living in city-owned buildings sign an 11-month, renewable lease with the city allowing them to manage and maintain their buildings using rental income. The interim lease gives them general control of the basic management and maintenance of the building, but requires the city's permission to evict tenants or restructure rents. Small amounts of CDBG funds are used to supplement the buildings' rents for major repairs and emergencies. Since tenants are required to operate the buildings almost exclusively from

rental income, rent collection levels are usually much higher in TIL buildings than in those directly managed by the city.

During the "interim" period, tenants are exempt from paying property taxes and fire insurance (paid by the city), thus providing a temporary cushion. Once again, tenant ownership is the goal. After the 11 month period, the tenants are given the first option to purchase, at \$250 per coop apartment.

- **Joint City-Housing Authority Program**—This is the city's first major effort to revitalize deteriorating city-owned housing surrounding public housing projects. Under the program, the city either contracts with the NYC Housing Authority for management and rehabilitation of occupied city-owned buildings or it sells vacant properties to the Authority which operates them as conventional public housing after substantial rehabilitation.

- **Sweat Equity Loan Program**—The city has developed a one percent, 30 year mortgage program for vacant, city-owned buildings. This loan covers rehab costs and purchase price (again at \$250 per unit) of buildings where cooperative owners are willing to contribute "sweat equity" during the construction process.

A novel "sweat-contractor-sweat" approach is used, in which tenants undertake much of the up-front demolition work and the finish carpentry, painting and flooring, with a professional contractor

## The New York Experience

doing the more difficult mechanical trades. This is a significant advance over traditional sweat equity approaches which required (perhaps unrealistically) that tenants do all the work themselves.

The city has two other more conventional programs: the Private Ownership Management Program, which utilizes private management firms, and the "7A Leasing Program," oriented toward buildings acquired by the city which were previously in court ordered receivership. Under the 7A program, the city continues the receivership status of the building by signing short term leases with building administrators.

ALTERNATIVE MANAGEMENT BOX SCORE (2/80)		
Program	Unoccupied Units	Occupied Units
Community Management	1,130	1,627
Mgt. in Partnership	235	564
Tenant Interim Lease	634	4,670
City/Housing Authority	383	938
Private Ownership Mgt.	371	1,700
7A Leasing	35	844
<b>Total Units</b>	<b>2,788</b>	<b>13,171</b>

Despite their success, alternative management and ownership programs face an uncertain future in New York. Serious administrative and financial problems have yet to be resolved. For instance, the city's Board of Estimate is often reluctant to approve the \$250 sale price of coop apartments to tenants, especially in neighborhoods with rising property values. Wendy

Faxon, administrator of a TIL management training program, says that recent maintenance and energy cost increases, combined with federal CDBG cutbacks, "could jeopardize the whole thrust of these innovative programs."

In addition, housing activists are not convinced that city officials are committed to this alternative approach. The bulk of city-owned, multi-family units are still sold at private auction; a practice activists feel could ultimately lead to destruction of the housing stock.

In order to monitor and advocate improvements in the acquisition and disposition of city-owned properties, the Task Force on City-Owned Housing was formed under the sponsorship of Councilmember Ruth Messinger. "On the positive side," says Sandy Beyer, Task Force Director, "almost 30 percent of all occupied units owned by the city are under alternative management (see accompanying box), but serious questions remain about the future of the vast majority of buildings which are managed directly by the city." The group opposes private auction of all large, multi-unit buildings and is proposing, instead, a public corporation which would assume ownership.

*Michael Freedberg is the Coordinator of the Conference Energy Project and was previously active in New York City self-help programs.*

## Self-Help Resources

In order to assist tenants attempting to successfully manage and own their own buildings, the New York Department of Housing Preservation and Development commissioned a set of publications known as the Homesteader's Handbook Series. The seven handbooks, which focus on the many technical aspects of rehabilitating and managing small multi-family buildings, are an excellent resource for self-help groups in other cities. Handbook topics include: buying a city-owned building; performing a feasibility study for community based rehab; construction management for community based rehab; bookkeeping in self managed buildings; and general building management.

Prepared by the Urban Homesteading Assistance Board, the guides present detailed information on each issue area covered. For instance, the *Guide For Tenants Who Manage Their Own Buildings* includes a sample lease, a tenant association membership agreement, model rent notices and a detailed budget.

For more information contact: William Eimicke, Department of Housing Preservation and Development, 75 Maiden Lane, New York, NY 10038.

Another useful publication is *Housing: Self-Help and Reinvestment Resources* published by the Citizens' Energy Project. It describes over 125 organizations and printed resources in the areas of self-help housing, housing and neighborhood rehabilitation and reinvestment, urban homesteading, cooperative housing, community economic development, and housing design alternatives.

Resources covered include successful community programs for recycling existing housing stock, low-income housing programs, government-sponsored programs (usually carried through by local groups), technical assistance groups, national networking organizations and dozens of useful magazines, newsletter and books.

The 22 page guide is available from the Citizens' Energy Project, 1110 6th St. NW, Washington, DC 20001 for \$1.80 prepaid.



# Connecticut Moves To Equalize State Wages

by Jeffrey Tryens

In 1977, the Connecticut Permanent Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) investigated clerical work in Connecticut and found widespread sex segregation and wage discrimination among state employees. Today, Connecticut is on the verge of becoming one of the first states to implement a statewide job reclassification in order to equalize wage disparities between higher paying male dominated job classifications and female dominated classifications of comparable worth. The ongoing campaign responsible for this important policy change provides an excellent case study for groups interested in similar issues in other states.

After exposing the inequities in the system with its initial study, the PCSW successfully recommended in 1977 that the legislature implement a career development program for women in low wage, segregated job categories. Upon realizing that this did not resolve the basic inequity of low pay for existing job classifications, the PCSW turned to "objective job evaluation" as a tool to achieve pay equity (equal pay for work of comparable value).<sup>1</sup>

The PCSW, with the support of the AFL-CIO and the Connecticut State Employees Associations (CSEA), went back to the legislature in 1979 with a bill, SB1298, proposing that the state personnel division develop an ongoing system to evaluate jobs objectively. With labor's support, the bill was reported out of committee favorably, but immediately ran into serious opposition. Fearing that such a measure would be too costly, administration officials quickly had the bill redrafted into a study of the issue. By working with the administration to achieve a compromise, the PCSW saw that the bill was again modified to include implementation criteria and a \$30,000 budget.

Even though that bill, as passed, represented a typical "half-a-loaf" legislative solution, it was a key victory for the PCSW. A state sponsored study gave pay equity advocates a "legitimate" forum in which to press their demands. More importantly, the base of support for job reclassification broadened considerably during the fight for passage of

the bill. By the time the study began, a broad based coalition of clerical workers, union representatives, legislators, and community people was in place to influence its outcome. To no one's surprise, consultants hired to perform the study reported a significant level of internal inequity in the state's classification system.

The coalition immediately introduced a bill into the legislature calling for a state-wide reclassification of jobs based on objective criteria. After some modification, the bill passed both the senate and the house.

To augment the legislative effort, the Connecticut State Employees Association (CSEA) Clerical Council will push for a July 1, 1980 implementation date for clerical reclassification when their contract

negotiations re-open this fall. The CSEA has also filed a \$38 million damage suit against the state for past discrimination against women workers. This court option will be pursued if the combined legislative and bargaining strategy fails.

*For more information contact: Sue Swartz, CSEA, 760 Capitol Ave., Hartford, CT 06115 or Susan Bucknell, Connecticut Permanent Commission on the Status of Women, 6 Grand Street, Hartford, CT 06115.*

The *Manual on Pay Equity* (see ad on page 15) contains the complete story on the Connecticut Campaign as well as details on every other effort currently underway to resolve structural pay inequities based on sex discrimination.

## Other State Studies

Listed below are other states in which substantial efforts are underway to develop legislative remedies aimed at redesigning public sector classification and compensation systems to raise wages for female dominated occupations.

### Washington

The Nation's first comparable worth study, completed in 1974, found female dominated jobs were paid 20% less than male jobs of comparable value. A campaign is now underway to implement study findings.

Contact: Helen Remick, 1212 NE 89th Ave., Seattle, WA 98115

### Michigan

Comparable worth study underway, due for completion by September, 1980.

Contact: Sandra Guernsey, Office of Women and Work, Michigan Department of Labor, 309 N. Washington, Box 30015, Lansing, MI 48909.

### Minnesota

Comparable worth study, completed in 1978, documented wage inequities, but consultants recommended few changes. State

employees currently working for re-evaluation.

### Nebraska

Pilot study completed in 1978 documented severe job segregation. Legislation pending for a comprehensive study and implementation of a uniform system of job evaluation.

Contact: Anne Patrick Trombley, Legislative Council, State Capital, Lincoln, NE 68509.

### Wisconsin

A legislative committee has funded 1978 requiring "equal pay for work of equivalent skills and responsibilities when assigning a classification to pay range." State classification changes in 1979 triggered employees union law suit and over 1000 clerical grievances. Cases pending.

Contact: Louise Trubeck, Center for Public Representation, Inc., 520 University Ave., Madison, WI 53703

### New York

The legislature has funded the Center for Women In Government to design a comparable worth study of state employees.

Contact: Nancy Perlman, Center for Women in Government, SUNYA, Room 302, Draper Hall, 1400 Washington Ave., Albany, NY 12222.

## Newsletters, Newsletters, Newsletters

An annotated listing of solar and appropriate technology funding sources is featured in the April, 1980 issue of the *Gl-hits Newsletter*, published by the California Office of Appropriate Technology. The directory describes assistance available to energy inventors, small solar and renewable resource businesses, and solar projects. Also included is a list of resource publications on solar energy, grants and other related topics.

If you're particularly interested in solar/AT funding, you'll probably want the full report—*State and Federal Funding for Solar/Appropriate Technology Activities*.

Both publications can be obtained free by writing *Funding Report*, Office of Appropriate Technology, 1530 Tenth St, Sacramento, CA 96814.

For a comprehensive update of community energy efforts across the country see the February/March issue of *The Energy Consumer*. Besides reporting on work in progress in 18 communities, the newsletter contains a 16 page community energy resource guide with listings for energy conservation, solar, economic development, and consumer protection.

To receive *The Energy Consumer*, write the Office of Consumer Affairs, U.S. Department of Energy, Room 8G082, Washington, DC 20585.

Two of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau's recent informational bulletins should be of special interest to activists and state officials working in the energy area. *Public Service Commissions Today* (79-1B-1) details selection methods and compositions of state public service commissions (psc); describes different psc regulatory powers; lists and describes state consumer advocacy agencies; and summarizes the organization, functions and responsibilities of the Wisconsin PSC.

*Gasohol, State Incentives* (79-1B-3) summarizes the gasohol incentives enacted in 19 states, and describes Wisconsin's gasohol legislation and proposed administrative rules for gasohol.

Both bulletins are free from the Legislative Reference Bureau, State of Wisconsin, 201 North, State Capitol, Madison, WI 53702.

## Study Shows States Lacking in Conservation Efforts

A recent study by Common Cause rated 27 states unsatisfactory on their energy conservation efforts. Of the remaining 23 states, nine were rated excellent, five good and nine (plus D.C.) fair. *The Path Not Taken: A Common Cause Study of Energy Conservation* identified 14 "critical" steps that states should take to develop a successful conservation program. Common Cause surveyed each state's policies on solar energy, conservation, recycling and gasohol. They also examined utility rate reform, in-house energy conservation, vehicle efficiency programs, and forecasting abilities of each state energy office.

Valuable information is provided on state energy budgets, legislative agendas, and other energy programs. Also included is an extensive index of model state law's and policies, such as the California PUC's decision on Pacific Gas and Electric's cogeneration policies, the Oregon and Connecticut mandatory container deposit laws, and Wisconsin's solar grants legislation.

*The Path Not Taken* (pp. 138) is available free from Common Cause, 2030 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 833-1200.

## Shaping Up the Utilities

If understanding the utility "rating game," "getting even," and "playing to win" appeal to you, then you will find the Environmental Action Foundation's new *Rate Watcher's Guide* a valuable resource. EAF's utility expert Richard Morgan outlines the whys and hows of utility rate structures and explains utility economics. The author provides legislators, concerned citizens, and energy activists with a firm grasp of how to design alternate rate structures and how to organize to implement changes. By sharing the experiences, ideas, and resources of "veterans" of rate reform battles, *The Rate Watcher's Guide* provides the reader with strong arguments for restructuring rates to encourage conservation.

*The guide* (pp. 108) is available from Publications, Environmental Action Foundation, 724 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, DC 20036 for \$4.95 plus 604 handling.

May-June 1980 Ways & Means, page 7

## State Energy Update

• Minnesota The legislature enacted an omnibus energy bill appropriating \$5 million over two years to supplement home heating bills and fund grants of up to \$50,000 to cities and counties under a new Community Energy Planning Grants Program. The bill also establishes an Energy Conservation Information Center and a state Alcohol Fuels Information Center, and it authorizes a study of a possible state biomass center. Another provision of House Bill File 1710 is a pilot program to demonstrate the feasibility of utility involvement in energy conservation improvements.

For more information, contact Janel Bush, Office of the Senate Counsel, 480 State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55101 (612) 296-4394.

• Vermont Over a dozen energy bills were enacted during the 1980 session. In response to overwhelming consensus to ban uranium mining, during March town meetings, the legislature passed a bill requiring approval by the governor and the legislature for any mining to take place. A similar bill was enacted which requires approval for the storage of low-level nuclear wastes within the state. After a six-year struggle, the legislature enacted a measure to restructure the state Public Service Board, reorganizing it into a quasi-judicial board with a separate department handling utility regulation, planning, and public advocacy.

For more information, contact Robbie Harold, State Energy Office, State Office Building, Montpelier, VT 05602 (802) 828-2393.

## Developing A New York Food Policy

### Activists Launch Food Campaign

Two hundred farmworkers, consumer activists, farm organization members, neighborhood leaders, state representatives and other public officials met in Albany on April 11-13 to begin the difficult process of building a state-wide food coalition in New York—a state with both an urban reputation and a large agriculture based economy. Participants, at *Seeds of Change: Building a New York State Food Policy*, which was sponsored by the Agriculture Project of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, focused on developing a broader understanding of food issues in order to create a legislative platform for the newly formed New York State Food Coalition.

The opening session of the conference provided an overview of the global-to-local connections within our food system. With presentations by Roger Hickey, Director of the COIN Campaign (Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities) and Harris Gleckman of the United Nations Office of the Centre of Transnational Corporations.

The focus then shifted to a critical analysis of New York's agriculture and food policies. New York City Councilmember Ruth Messinger outlined several new programs in Manhattan to address the problem of food price inflation and its effect on low-

income families and individuals living on fixed incomes. Other speakers included Mike Myers of the Mohawk Nation; Dennis Lane of the Mutual Aid Project in New York City; Atchudta Bakr of the Uhuru Coop in New York City; and Gail Shaffer, Executive Director of New York State's Rural Affairs Council.

The final session provided a forum for the seven regional leaders of the food coalition to present the results of each of the regional gatherings and to highlight direction and activities of future work.

For a copy of the conference agenda and list of participants, write to the Agriculture Project.

### Legislative Committee Tackles Food Policy

The New York Assembly has formed a special legislative subcommittee to develop a comprehensive state food policy to "assure every consumer informed access to quality food at affordable prices." The Agriculture Committee's Subcommittee on Food, Farm and Nutrition Policy, the only one of its kind in the country, was created after a regional task force found that, in spite of the many state and federal food programs in operation, no comprehensive food policy existed nor was there a mechanism for establishing one.

The committee has six major goals: 1) revitalize the agriculture industry; 2) increase the productivity of family farms and cropland; 3) improve the instate food distribution and marketing network; 4) increase the effectiveness of federal food programs; 5) encourage consumer nutrition and food policy education; and 6) increase community participation in all aspects of food policy development.

With a staff of four, the subcommittee is able to research and draft legislation on a broad range of issues aimed at protecting and developing New York's food system and resources. Bills for aiding farmers and distributors include proposals to: reform the property tax structure, establish a direct marketing program, fund a commodities information exchange, establish a direct farm-to-school purchasing program and provide technical assistance to food businesses in obtaining state economic development funds. Consumer oriented bills include: state financing for a WIC-type nutrition program, state reimbursements for school breakfast and lunch programs, and enactment of emergency food programs.

For more information contact the New York State Assembly Subcommittee on Food, Farm and Nutrition Policy, 99 Washington Avenue, Room III, Albany, New York 12210. (518) 455-5203.

### Food Crisis Petition Brings Results

Abandoned food stores have become a common sight in America's inner cities. For the beleaguered low-income residents of these communities, grocery shopping, a previously simple task, has become an event requiring great ingenuity and fortitude. Last fall, representatives from over 20 California inner-city community organizations formed a coalition and petitioned Governor Jerry Brown to exercise immediate leadership to alleviate this crisis in the "salad bowl" of the nation.

The Governor responded by forming the Food Crisis Task Force which met with representatives from the petitioning organizations.

As a result, three community self-help programs were established. The first, Inner-City Food Coop Teams,

provides communities with technical assistance and financial advice in setting up food cooperatives. The program is jointly administered through the community organizations and the state's five coop teams.

The second, Direct Marketing, provides technical assistance to the communities by contacting farmers who will supply produce, and helping them cut through the red tape associated with direct marketing. Also, the program will award \$10,000 grants to the 10 community organizations submitting the best proposals for making direct marketing work.

The final program, Community Gardening, empowers community people to "do for themselves" in a very fundamental way—growing their own food. The state identifies available urban land, helps to locate the equipment needed for getting started, and provides technical assistance—the

community supplies the peoplepower and creativity.

For more information, contact Public Advocates, Inc., 1535 Mission Street, San Francisco, California 94103 (415)431-7430.

### Minnesota Tightens Farm Ownership

Minnesota recently enacted a bill that will tighten up the state's anti-corporate farm statute (HF 1814). Previously, only family farm corporations and certain "authorized farm corporations" could legally own farmland in the state. The amendment, authored by Representative Buzz Anderson, does a loophole by requiring the majority of stockholders of "authorized farm corporations" to reside in or be actively engaged in farming within the state.

## Supervisors Tie Zoning to Soil

With 90% of the county's 570 square miles devoted to production of corn, soybeans and other grains, the Black Hawk County Board of Supervisors in Iowa has developed a new approach to controlling urban sprawl. They enacted an ordinance that ties zoning decisions to the productivity of the soil. Using the U.S.D.A. "relative productivity of soils" index, known as the Corn Suitability Rating (CSR), county officials decided that all soils with a CSR of 70 and above (potentially

yielding at least 115 bushels of corn per acre) should be preserved. As a result, 69 percent of the county will remain in agriculture and 31% will be available for appropriate development.

For more information, contact *Sonia A. Johannsen, Chair, Board of Supervisors, Black Hawk County, Court House, Room 201, Waterloo, Iowa 50703 (319)291-2416.*

### Agriculture Project, Coordinator Position Available

The Conference is accepting applications for the position of Agriculture

Project Coordinator. The Coordinator is responsible for both the political and programmatic direction of the Project and for the overall coordination of Project activities. These include operating the "Clearinghouse on Alternative Legislation"; organizing conferences/seminars throughout the county; coordinating development of Project publications; working with a 2 or 3 person staff, fundraising, and planning and administering the Project budget.

Applicants should send a resume, a cover letter and a list of four references to *Cynthia Guyer at the Conference before May 27.*

## National Conference Workshops Announced

The Sixth Annual Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, set for July 18-20 in Pittsburgh, will focus on five broad policy areas: Housing, Human Services, Employment, Energy and Food. Workshops and plenary sessions will address technical and programmatic policy questions in each area, their political implications and organizing strategies.

### Scheduled Workshops

#### HOUSING

Community Stabilization: Strategies to Counter Displacement  
Tenants' Rights and Rent Control  
Expanding Home Ownership Opportunities for Low-Income Residents  
Condominium Conversions: Controlling the Epidemic  
The Dilemma of Public Housing  
The Dynamics of Neighborhood Change in the 80's  
Innovative Rehabilitation Strategies: Community Models  
Introduction to Development Finance: New Sources of Capital for Housing  
Public Intervention: Alternatives to the Private Housing Market

#### HUMAN SERVICES

Decentralizing Human Services Delivery: Neighborhood Empowerment?  
Deinstitutionalization and Community Care  
The Future of Public Hospitals  
Health Planning: The Role of State and Local Health Departments  
A Comprehensive Approach to Support for Troubled Families  
Financing Public Schools: The Problems and Alternatives  
Strategies to Meet the Attack on Human Services  
Community Strategies for Prevention of Crime and Police Brutality  
Services for Seniors: Innovative State and Local Programs

#### EMPLOYMENT

Plant Closing: Strategies to Protect Workers and Communities  
The Youth Employment Problem: Education, Training and Jobs

A supplementary set of workshops will address pragmatic "process" issues including organizing a statewide community organization, developing effective political campaigns and using the media. This year's conference will also include time for participants to organize regional caucuses and schedule workshops on topics of special interest.

Hosted by the University of Pittsburgh Women's Center, *Cynthia Vanda, Director.*

*Ways & Means* subscribers will receive complete information on the conference within a few weeks.

#### Occupational Safety and Health

Economic Planning: Jobs in the 80's  
CDCs, Coops and Community Based Enterprises: Case Studies in Job Creation  
Equity in the Job Market: Affirmative Action Hiring and Comparable Worth  
Allocating Capital: Strategies for Full Employment  
Controlling Inflation: The Case for Wage and Price Controls  
Changes in the Workforce: The Future for Organized Labor

#### ENERGY

Introduction to Financing Alternative Energy Development  
Local Conservation Strategies for Low and Moderate Income Consumers  
Job Training Programs in Conservation and Solar  
Alternatives to Monopoly Control of Energy  
Energy Policy and Environmental Control: The Role of Local Governments  
Developing a Comprehensive State Energy Policy  
Role of Utilities in Promoting Conservation and Solar  
State and Local Initiatives to Control Nuclear Energy  
Energy Coalitions: Building a Constituency at the Local Level

#### FARM, LAND AND FOOD

Employment in Rural Areas  
Land for People: Alternatives to Corporate Control of Land  
Food for People: Community Programs to Fight Food Inflation  
Development Finance and New Sources of Capital for Farmers  
Developing a Comprehensive State Food Policy  
Food for People: Innovative State and Local Programs  
Agricultural Land and Energy Development

## PUBLIC INVESTMENT

California-Assembly Bill 1342, which would permit members of the state retirement system to acquire housing loans at sub-market rates, is expected to pass the legislature. Also, Governor Jerry Brown has created a Public Investment Task Force to evaluate the investment policies of state and local public retirement and investment funds. At the same time, he called on the state three major public investors, the state university, the teachers retirement system and the public employees retirement system to use their holdings to vote against both apartheid in South Africa and the continuing development of nuclear power.

Minnesota—The legislature has adopted ten measures which should make the state's pension fund invest

ments more socially responsible. Recommended by the Minnesota Project, a public policy research group, they include a request from the legislature to the state investment board to invest in state-based small businesses, future consideration of a small business authority and increased accountability for the state investment advisory council.

Massachusetts—The senate ways & means committee has recommended a set of standards to the state investment committee for deciding which companies do business with South Africa in order to exclude them from receiving certain state investments. Nebraska—The legislature's banking committee has recommended that it adopt a resolution calling for disinvestment of state funds in U.S. firms doing business in South Africa.

## HOUSING

Maryland—The legislature has enacted enabling legislation to allow Montgomery County to levy a 4% transfer tax on condominium conversions. The tax, if approved by the county council, will be used to construct new rental units and provide financial assistance to tenants.

New York—A bill introduced by Housing Committee Chair Edward Lehner, which would require that a majority of tenants agree to purchase their units before a building could be converted to a cooperative, has reached the floor of the Assembly where it is expected to pass.

## TAXES

Connecticut—Major oil companies doing business in Connecticut will be paying a 2% gross revenues tax come FY 1981. Originally proposed by the Connecticut Citizen Labor Energy Coalition, the tax was passed as part of the governor's budget proposal. Tax proponents, expecting court action against the tax by the oil companies, were able to include language in the bill which will make legal action difficult.

Ohio—Now that the Fair Tax Initiative has cleared the courts, supporters are lobbying the legislature to enact the bill before the legally mandated June 27 deadline. If the measure, which shifts the tax burden off low and middle income people onto higher income individuals and corporations, is not enacted, supporters say they will have no trouble collecting the necessary signatures to qualify the initiative for the November election. Other States—Up to 14 states could be considering property tax limitations, five income tax reductions, and seven state and local spending limitations according to the Coalition of American Public Employees.

*(For a complete listing write Steve Rabin, CAPE, 1126 16th St, NW, Suite 214, Washington, DC 20036.)*

## AGRICULTURE

Maine—The Maine legislature has enacted, and the governor signed into law, a bill reorganizing the present Department of Agriculture. The new Department of Agriculture, Food and Rural Resources will act as an advocate for agriculture rather than simply a regulator.

*For more information on any of these issues contact the Conference.*

## Fighting Displacement

The phrases "victorian architecture," "lovely brownstones," "luxurious condominiums," and "urban pioneers" usually mean one thing to low income inner-city residents — TROUBLE! Whenever a neighborhood becomes desirable to the middle and upper-middle class, poor people are soon displaced. In response to this problem, groups in this country and overseas have developed resources to help people threatened with displacement understand and fight this phenomenon. Some of them are:

- National Displacement Prevention Project—Sponsored by the National Association of Neighborhoods, the prevention project is involved in three ongoing activities. First, researchers are investigating displacement in 13 cities and will develop policy recommendations as a result of their findings. The group has also completed a draft of an anti-displacement handbook detailing legal and legislative remedies which should be published later this year. Finally, the group is planning a June demonstration in Washington to bring attention to both urban and rural displacement

*For more information contact Joe Giloly or Mary Ish, National Displacement Prevention Project, 1651 Fuller St NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 332-7766.*

- Massachusetts Neighborhood Stabilization Act—Low Income Planning Aid of Boston has developed

an interesting legislative approach for curbing displacement. They've proposed legislation which would amend the state's environmental impact process to require a Neighborhood Stabilization Plan for neighborhoods near proposed large scale project. It would require job set-asides for neighborhood residents and mandate a role for neighborhood groups in development related decisions.

*For more information, contact Michael Kane, Low Income Planning Aid, 2 Park Square, Boston, MA 02116 (617)426-4363.*

- We Will Not Be Moved—This slide/tape uses a working class neighborhood in Cincinnati threatened by displacement to illustrate the conflicts which arise when a neighborhood is "in transition."

*Available for \$35 per rental from Community Media Productions, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, Ohio 45406 (513)222-0170.*

WOOLLOOMOOLOO—This Australian film highlights an innovative strategy developed in Sydney by labor organizations and community groups to thwart destructive urban renewal. The major building trades union adopted the tactic of banning its members from working on any project which might cause displacement in certain specified areas.

*Available for \$75 per rental from ICARUS, 200 Park Ave. South, Room 1319, New York, NY 10003 (212) 674-3375.*



# PUBLICATIONS

**Capital and Communities: The Causes and Consequences of Private Disinvestment**

A groundbreaking study providing new documentation and analysis of the extent of plant closings in this country and the rising levels of joblessness and economic dislocation caused by unrestrained capital movement. The authors assess the extent of capital mobility and the social costs of unregulated private investment decisions.

By **Barry Bluestone** and **Bennett Harrison**; co-published with the *Progressive Alliance*. (June 1980) 50 pp.  
\$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

**Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders**  
(May 1979) 85 pp.  
\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

**Industrial Exodus**  
*Ed Kelly* (1977) 30 pp.  
\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

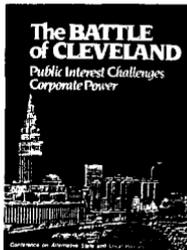
**The Last Entrepreneurs: America's Regional Wars for Jobs and Dollars**  
*Robert Goodman* (December 1979) 250 pp.  
\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

**The Cities' Wealth**  
(1978) 85 pp.  
\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

**Tax Abatements; Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders**  
(May 1979) 80 pp.  
\$4.95; 6.95 Institutions

**Economic Democracy: The Challenge of the 1980s**  
*Martini&arnoy and Derek Shearer* (May 1980) 430 pp.  
\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

**Developing the Public Economy: Models From Massachusetts**  
(1979) 208 pp.  
\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions



**The BATTLE of CLEVELAND: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power**

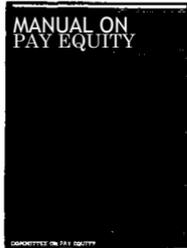
Thorough examination of the corporate/public interest conflict in Cleveland with emphasis on the election of Mayor Kucinich, how his administration resisted corporate dominance of City Hall and why he lost in his re-election bid.  
*Edited by Dan Marschall with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign* (March 1980) 180 pp.  
\$7.95; \$9.95 Institutions

**Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment**  
(July 1979) 180 pp.  
\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

**The Shifting Property Tax Burden: The Untold Cause of the Tax Revolt**  
*Robert Kuttner* (January 1980) 80 pp.  
\$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

**Manual on Pay Equity: Raising Wages for Women's Work**

Thorough review of the "equal pay for work of comparable value" movement; legislative initiatives, litigation, news of organizing campaigns, comparable worth studies, collective bargaining update and the latest research. Includes proceedings from the October 1979 Washington Conference on Pay Equity, extensive resource listing, and guides to action.  
*Edited by Joy Ann Grune in cooperation with the Committee on Pay Equity* (May 1980) 230 pp.  
\$9.95



**Moderate Rent Control: The Experience of U.S. Cities**  
*John Gilderbloom* (May 1980) 60 pp.  
\$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

**G Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda**  
(1978) 133 pp.  
\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

**State and Local Tax Revolt: New Directions for the '80s:**

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* (June 1980) 300 pp.  
\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

**The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices**  
*David Smith* (June 1979) 20 pp.  
\$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

**New Energy Legislation Initiatives: A State-by-State Legislative Guide 1979-1980**  
(May 1980) 110 pp.  
\$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

**New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies: A Time for State and Local Action**  
(January 1979) 320 pp.  
\$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

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## Dangers of Spending Limitations

As the country slips deeper into recession and economic downturn, the campaign to limit government spending has become the illusory answer. While proponents argue the need for economic growth, they ignore the importance of government spending and fail to mention how low-income taxpayers will suffer as state and local government services are cut back. The Coalition of American Public Employees has published an excellent organizers manual containing a comprehensive collection of articles, essays and analyses relating to the politics and economics of limitations and ways to fight back. *Limiting Government: Ties That Bind* will be invaluable to any group or public official concerned about the dangers of tax and spending limitations.

*Limiting Government: Ties that Bind* is available for \$5.00 from The Coalition of American Public Employees, 1126 16th Street, N.W., Suite 214, Washington, D.C. 20036.

## City Program Attacks Commercial Decay

City officials in Baltimore, Maryland and Jersey City, New Jersey have developed a common sense "shopsteading" approach to commercial revitalization which could be duplicated in other cities with substantial vacant commercial property. In shops tea ding, the city sells commercially zoned, dilapidated property for a nominal fee of \$100 to a prospective buyer. The new owner, submits a detailed financial and personal statement to the city agreeing to restore the property and operate the business for a pre-determined minimum amount of time—two years in Baltimore, five in

Jersey City.

Benefits to both parties are substantial. The business person not only receives a low cost, rent free property but also has access to federal low interest loans for store rehabilitation. In Baltimore, the Commercial Revitalization Environmental Assistance Loan will provide up to \$50,000 at seven percent interest.

Shopsteading advantages to cities include stabilizing neighborhoods, stimulating both public and private investments and adding additional tax revenue generated by the once deteriorated property.

The success of the shopsteading program depends on its integration into a specific economic development strategy. Available shopsteading areas must show considerable potential for development and successful marketing of goods.

For more information on the Baltimore Program contact: Kathleen Deasy, Shopsteading Coordinator, Office of Neighborhood Commercial Revitalization, Department of Housing and Community Development, 222 E. Saratoga St., Room 707, Baltimore, MD 21203.

## "Exiled" Women Fight Back

Governor Edward King thought he was ridding himself of a bunch of bleeding heart liberals when he fired the members of the Massachusetts Women's Commission last year. Little did he know that his actions would unite progressive women from all over the state under a common banner—the Womens Commission in Exile. Now in its second year, the Commission in Exile shows no signs of disappearing. The group has held conferences, developed legislation, lobbied and created an excellent newsletter called *Progress* in an effort to

represent the interests of women of all races in the state.

The group will be holding a conference in conjunction with the Women in the Economy Project and Nine to Five in October entitled "Raising Women's Wages in Massachusetts: Strategies for Comparable Worth."

For a subscription to the Newsletter and more information, write Women's Commission in Exile, 59 Temple Place, Room 612, Boston, MA 02111.

## Boulder Initiates Housing Price Control Plan

The town of Boulder, Colorado, always open to innovative ideas, is pursuing a small experiment in price controls on moderate-income housing.

In 1977, Boulder passed the state's first growth ordinance, the Danish plan, which limited developers to 450 units per year, less than 2 percent of Boulder's population. Working on a point system, developers compete for points by building a certain amount of low to moderate income housing. However, the system proved to be flawed. Some people were buying "cheap" units and immediately selling them for up to \$25,000 profits; defeating the purpose of the program in the process.

To rectify the situation, the City Council passed an ordinance stating that newly constructed moderate-income housing may be sold only for the price charged plus the value of all major improvements and a percentage equal to the increase in the Boulder median income since the time of purchase to the time of sale. For the near future, city officials believe that few homes will be affected. According to city planner Miles Silverman, only about 40 units will be built under the program in the next few years.

Information from the New York Times.

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# Ways & Means

Vol. 3 No. 4

July-August 1980

**Making Residential  
Conservation Service  
Programs Work, p. 3**

•

**Tenant Activists Form  
National Tenants  
Union, p. 4**

•

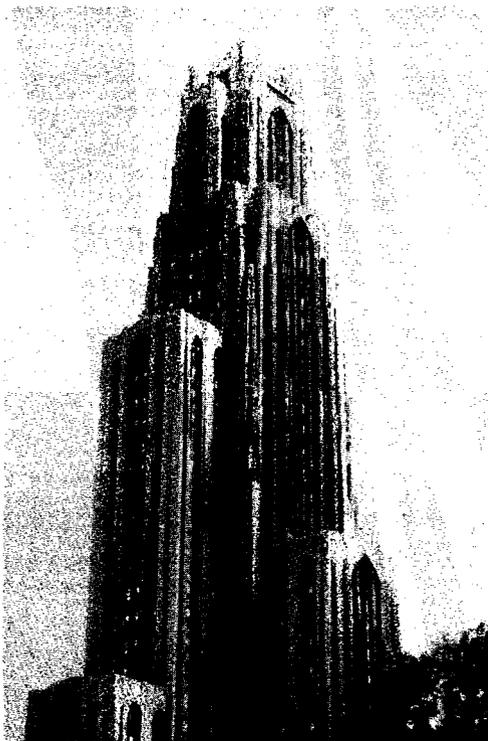
**California Rent Victory  
Signals New Tenant  
Power, p. 4**

•

**600 Convene in Pittsburgh  
For Sixth National  
Conference, p. 6**

•

**New Ideas in Energy  
Legislation, p. 8**



*University of Pittsburgh's Cathedral of Learning*

Six hundred progressive public officials and activists gathered in Pittsburgh on July 16-20 to plan future directions for state and local policy and discuss the national political mood. See story on page 6.

Steve Srethlar

**W**ith Reagan holding a commanding lead in the polls and the possibility of a conservative controlled Congress looming on the horizon, progressive action at the state and local level could take on greater significance in the next four years than ever before. Some signs indicate that things aren't as bad on those levels as they are nationally. West Virginians recently nominated four strong progressive Democratic candidates for the state senate and in the process turned out three powerful, conservative incumbents including the senate president. According to Senator Si Galperin, candidates Bob Wise, Jean Chace, Homer Heck and Bob Holliday will greatly affect the political atmosphere in that state, if elected. The voters also rejected conservative Democrat Harley Staggers, Jr. for progressive candidate Pat Hamilton in the 3rd Congressional District ... In North Dakota, the state Democratic ticket will have a decidedly progressive bent. Besides nominating Conference steering committee member, Byron Dorgan for Congress, the Dems. endorsed State Rep. Rick Maixner for public service commissioner, Fargo attorney Alice Olson for attorney

general and populist State Insurance Commissioner Byron Knutson, who is seeking a second term. Even the Republican ticket in that state is said to be moderate ... Steering committee member Pat Roach is making a serious run for mayor of Dayton, Ohio ... In Poukeepsie, NY, newcomer Charles Dumas is a Democratic candidate for the state senate ... Community activist Virgil Hill, also new to the electoral arena, is running for Congress in Missouri ... And, a second progressive is running for Cong. Robert Drinan's seat in Massachusetts. Besides Barney Frank, who we mentioned in the last issue, state Rep. David Mofenson, a long time supporter of children, seniors, and low-income and handicapped people is in the race ... In California, energy activist John Geesman, who was recently confirmed as head of the California Energy Commission, is facing a major drive in the state legislature to weaken the commission. Led by pro-nuclear, pro-business Californians for Energy and Economic Balance, anti-commission forces are attempting to split the commission in two, and severely restrict its plant siting powers ... Two local elections

worth noting—SEIU member Peter Ashe is shaking up the San Francisco Retirement Board by forcing the board to open its investment procedures to public scrutiny. And Bob Knox won a bitter campaign for Alameda County Treasurer-Tax Collector. The main issue in that California county race was also investment policy ... John Lewis, former Director of Domestic Operations at ACTION has been appointed Director of Community Affairs at the National Consumer Cooperative Bank. Lewis is also a former director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee ... Steering committee member Derek Shearer's book, *Economic Democracy: The Challenge of the 80's* is a major hit, even the august *Wall Street Journal* gave it coverage ... Another "statewide citizen action organization" has been born. Under the directorship of Mass. Fair Share alumnus Jeff Blum, the Pennsylvania Public Interest Coalition became a reality last month. The group is concentrating on organizing around economic issues, such as plant closings ... Figures recently released by the Census Department show that there are 79,912 state and local governments in the US headed by 490,265 popularly elected officials. That's about one elected state and local official for every 500 people in this country. North Dakota leads the list with a per capita ratio of one official for every 36 residents... Seattle, Washington is the site of the world's first rent control campaign with international ramifications. It seems that Canadian bankers, who have money invested in Seattle housing stock are pouring money into the real estate industry's effort to stop the rent control initiative on that city's November ballot... Ice cream freaks take heed! Utah State Senator Art Kimball has introduced a resolution asking the state to place severe restrictions on the sale of ice cream claiming that the general malaise caused by overeating the frozen delight "presents a serious threat to the very fiber of family relationships" ... On a more serious note, the publishing date of this issue was delayed to allow coverage of our national conference. The person responsible for the success of that conference and all our previous national conferences, as well, Associate Director Ann Beaudry, is leaving the staff after four years. There is no question she will be missed.

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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 minded 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 11. Please request permission to reprint.

Contributors to this issue: Steve Secler, Carol Lin.

# State and Local Action Needed to Realize Utility Reform Potential

by Mitchell Rosenberg and Annette Woolson

-paying for energy has become a serious problem for many households, but few have made the improvements to their homes and apartments needed to realize substantial, long-term savings. In the face of steep fuel price increases, exhortations from government leaders, and the spread of useful conservation information, the weatherization of this nation's existing housing stock proceeds at a rate of less than 4% per year. The Residential Conservation Service (RCS) is potentially the most important Federal initiative, yet, to encourage conservation in the residential sector.

The RCS was mandated by the National Energy Conservation Planning Act of 1978. Under its rules, regulated gas and electric utilities are required to provide a group of conservation services to residential customers living in one to four-family homes. (A recent amendment of the law will extend the conservation service requirements to multi-family, agriculture and small commercial structures, as well.) These services are designed to make it less risky, expensive and time consuming to choose the most efficient conservation and renewable measures for a particular house and to have them installed. Briefly, the utilities must

- 1) provide eligible customers with home energy audits to determine cost-effective conservation measures;
- 2) help audit customers engage contractors to install conservation measures;
- 3) help audit customers obtain loans to finance the installation work; and
- 4) inspect a specified proportion of installations made under the auspices of the program.

A lead agency in each state (in most cases the state energy office or public utilities commission) is responsible for writing a plan to coordinate utility RCS activities. They must also specify, within the framework of the Federal law, which program costs the utilities may spread to all customers through the rates and which may be charged to program users.

Whether or not significant energy savings are realized as a result of the program depends on how RCS is implemented on the local level. Although most states have already

written their implementation plans, many points of access remain for concerned activists and public officials.

Perhaps the most effective way to influence a local RCS program is to link state and local government and community organization energy programs with the technical resources of the utility company. Experience from nearly one hundred utility conservation programs across the country, and especially from four states where utilities have conducted RCS-type programs, suggests ways to integrate these programs so that the potential benefits of RCS are achieved and equitably distributed.

To date, most of the impetus for this type of cooperation has come at the local level. In Rochester, New York, for example, the Nineteenth Ward Project, a community development group, has solicited requests for audits door-to-door among low and moderate-income homeowners. The group also provides the audits, using CETA workers trained by Rochester Gas and Electric. Their response rate has been 35 percent, compared to one percent experienced by audit programs in similar areas.

In the public sector, Portland, Oregon, which boasts an exemplary municipal energy program, aggressively promotes energy conservation and provides public education. As a result, requests for audits from Pacific Power & Light, which runs an RCS-type program along the entire Oregon coast, are running twice as high in Portland as in the rest of their service area.

At the state level, the lead agency can request utilities to cooperate with government and community groups. In California, the energy commission recently adopted an RCS plan which "strongly urges" utilities to work with local governments and community organizations, whenever practical, to provide outreach and audit services.

Another approach is requiring RCS involvement in already existing government subsidized home improvement programs. For instance, Hartford, Conn., Warren, Rhode Island, and New Bedford, Mass., all require energy audits before HUD subsidized 312 and Community Development

Block Grant home improvement loans are approved. Cost-effective measures including insulation and heating plant repairs must be incorporated in the rehabilitation plans whenever necessary. Since most of these programs are aimed at low income residents, the mandatory audits help focus the RCS

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*RCS is potentially the most important Federal initiative to encourage conservation*

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program on what are often the area's most energy inefficient homes, while making distribution of RCS benefits more equal.

Several states, including California, Missouri and New Mexico, have set up advisory boards involving consumer and community representatives, as well as utility and business representatives, to work on the state plan. These advisory groups can continue after the plan is implemented, acting as a program review committee.

A potentially very important avenue for RCS oversight is the careful establishment of utility performance criteria. Since public utility commissions will be responsible for approving program cost pass-throughs in most states, utilities could be required to meet certain performance standards as a precondition for approval. While no such requirement exists now in any state implementation plan, there are precedents for this type of action.

This article touches on just a small number of the consumer and community development issues and strategies raised by RCS. For more information, contact the lead agency in your state; the U.S. Department of Energy, Office of Consumer Affairs, Room 8G031, Washington, DC, 20585; or the RCS Project, Technical Development Corporation, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108.

*Mitchell Rosenberg is the project manager of the RCS Project for the Technical Development Corporation. Annette Woolson is a research assistant for the County Energy Project at the National Association of Counties.*

# Tenants Rights

*One of the emerging new constituencies of the 1980's will be tenants. Similar in many ways to the earlier civil rights and women's movements, tenants are beginning to think of themselves as "tenants" with common problems and political purposes. Authors Peter Dreier and Cary Lowe describe recent events which mark important turning points for the tenant movement.*

## National Tenants Union Founded

by Peter Dreier

More than 300 tenant activists from around the nation met at Cleveland's Case Western Reserve University on June 20-22 for the founding convention of the National Tenants Union. The delegates, representing 50 cities in 25 states, vowed to make "tenants rights" a major issue in the 1980's.

The formation of the NTU follows a three year upsurge of tenant activism and "tenant consciousness" nation-

wide. The movement has been fueled by several factors: skyrocketing rents, the lowest vacancy rate in the postwar period, displacement of low and moderate income tenants by the "gentrification" of older neighborhoods, and the prohibitively high cost of a single family home.

In every major urban area, tenants are engaging in a variety of activities to deal with these growing problems. The momentum for rent control is

becoming widespread. Tenants and neighborhood groups have emerged to fight condo conversions. In some areas, groups are reforming archaic landlord-tenant laws. Other tenant groups are concerned with tenant control issues such as taking over abandoned buildings through sweat equity programs and forming tenant councils in public housing. Some of the more powerful tenant groups have elected tenant advocates to public office.

While tenants have been focusing on developing strength at the local, and sometimes state level, the real estate and banking industries have been operating unchecked at the national level. For instance, the National Rental Housing Council bankrolls expensive anti-rent control campaigns, provides legal and technical assistance to local land lord groups fighting

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## Tenant Power Turns Back Landlord Referendum in California

by Cary Lowe

The stunning June 3 defeat of Proposition 10, a landlord inspired anti-rent control measure, by the California tenant movement is a testament to the growing power of tenants. Faced with a solid coalition of real estate interests fueling a \$6 million media campaign, the tenant movement managed to handily defeat the measure by a 65%-35% margin.

Proposition 10 is the latest chapter in the ongoing struggle over tenants rights in California. The combined strength of California's consumer and tenant organizations has turned back three previous landlord attempts to ban local rent control through state legislation. Recognizing that rent control was gaining public legitimacy, the landlord groups devised a proposal which they sought to present to voters as a reasonable compromise form of rent control.

Far from being a compromise, Proposition 10 was a blatantly pro-landlord measure which would have required a referendum on future rent laws, assured landlords rent increases that kept pace with the rise in the consumer price index, weakened pres-

ent eviction protections and authorized unlimited rent increases for new tenants. Moreover, it would have placed these requirements in the state Constitution making them immune to legislative amendments.

The campaign was a classic media battle, fought primarily over the television and radio airwaves and through newspaper headlines. To counter the massive real estate war chest, the tenant side led by the Campaign for Economic Democracy, the California Housing Action & Information Network, and the Golden State Mobile Home Owners League utilized the FCC Fairness Doctrine to successfully demand over a million dollars worth of free radio and television time to respond to the industry.

One of the keys to the campaign's success was the tenants' ability to point out the fraudulent nature of Proposition 10. Throughout the campaign, tenant representative emphasized that the measure had been placed on the ballot through fraud and that the campaign was predicated on obvious lies. This strategy proved highly successful, especially in con-

vincing a majority of voting homeowners to oppose the measure.

The magnitude of the victory was a dramatic demonstration of the increasing political clout of housing consumers. While the question of how the tenant movement and its allies can move forward on an affirmative action strategy has yet to be resolved, it seems clear that victories in the legislative arena are possible. These could include stronger tenants' rights laws, increased appropriations for housing subsidies, and stricter requirements for local governments to encourage development of affordable housing.

In California, Tom Hayden of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, and other housing activists, have begun reaching out to housing investors and developers to solicit suggestions for changes in current laws and policies which inhibit housing production. The initial responses have been favorable, generating hope that California may be witnessing the birth of a new political force that could successfully campaign for long term solutions to the housing crisis.

*Cary Lowe is the director of the California Public Policy Center, and former statewide coordinator of the California Housing Action & Information Network.*

tenant organizations, lobbies in Washington, and develops propaganda which creates an ideological climate against government regulation of the private housing industry.

The formation of the NTU reflects the growing awareness of the need for a national organization to both support local and statewide tenant activities and to pressure Congress, HUD and other federal agencies for pro-tenant legislation. A recent example of the need for such coordination was provided at the conference by one of the organizers of Baltimore's successful rent control initiative. Rich Gatto explained how his organization wasted considerable time and energy developing campaign literature, finding "academic experts" to legitimize pro-rent control arguments, and learning to orchestrate a successful campaign strategy. A national organization could have provided samples of literature used in other campaigns, found "experts" to provide testimony, given advice on how to run the campaign, and raised money from national sources.

Conference delegates, one quarter of

whom were black and Hispanic tenant leaders, also discussed other possible directions for the NTU. These included a nationwide "tenants day" with simultaneous public events in cities across the country, targeting particular cities for rent control drives, and promoting an omnibus "tenants rights" bill in Congress to dramatize the plight and power of tenants. Such a bill could include provisions protecting tenants against evictions; income tax deductions for tenants which reflected their share of a landlord's mortgage interest and property tax payments; increased grants for tenant-controlled cooperatives; restructured subsidy programs to channel funds through community organizations; and a National Tenant-Landlord Relations Act to protect tenants who are organizing.

For more information contact *Shel\*terforce* at 380 Main Street, East Orange, NJ 07018.

*Peter Dreier teaches sociology at Tufts University and works with Boston-area housing and tenant organizations.*

## Rent Control Resource

The Housing Study/Action Group of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee has recently published a 13 point comprehensive housing policy for the District of Columbia that should be read by anyone concerned about developing political support for equitable municipal housing policies.

*Rent Control and the Supply of Rental Housing in the District of Columbia* brings the reasons for the rental housing crisis into clear focus and provides what its writers claim to be low cost corrective measures that can be enacted on the local level. Besides providing good arguments for rent control and condominium control, the report proposes such innovative measures as leasing public land to housing developers, enacting a wind-fall profits tax on condominium conversions and passage of a tenants equity act.

Copies of the 27 page report are available for \$2.00 from Rick Rybeck, 415 5th St. SE, Washington DC 20003.

# Resources

## Alternatives to Service Cutbacks

New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger has recently offered a set of proposals for raising enough additional resources to offset the proposed human services cuts scheduled to go into effect this year. In her report,

*Where the Money Is Parts I and II*, Messinger offers a plan to reconstruct the city's debt, collect back taxes, and tax the \$1 billion World Trade Center in order to avoid major cutbacks in essential services.

Included in Part I is an analysis prepared by the Campaign to Reorder City Priorities which details the impact of New York City's J-51 and 421 (a) tax incentive programs. Designed to increase the housing supply and stimulate economic growth, these laws save corporations \$100 million/year in tax payments according to the report

In Part II of *Where the Money Is*, Messinger cites alternatives to cutbacks in essential services. Her six major proposals, which could yield as

much as \$200 million for services, are aimed at special interest groups who, she says, should pay their fair share.

Included in this 29 page resource are excellent reports on tax incentive programs detailing the J-51 and the Industrial Commercial Incentive Board Programs, and proposals on restructuring the city debt and revising corporate income tax to include the insurance industry which is the only sector of the city's economy exempt from corporate taxation.

Copies of *Where the Money Is: Part I and II* are available from Ruth Messinger, Councilwoman, 66 West 66th Street, New York, NY 10024.

## Governing Without Spending

With a tightening economy, it now seems more important than ever for

cities to consider their full range of options in dealing with neighborhood housing and economic development problems. A report released by SRI International and the Urban Consortium entitled *Rediscovering Governance: Using Nonservice Approaches to Address Neighborhood Problems* catalogues examples of how local governments can use their regulatory, taxing, administrative, legislative, and collaborative powers to encourage neighborhood stabilization and revitalization.

Besides providing ideas for "nonservice" tools as alternatives to spending, *Rediscovering Governance* offers policy examples of ways cities can involve the private sector, community groups and individuals in decisions affecting their community.

*Rediscovering Governance* is available for \$2.00 from the Publications Distribution Section, Public Technology Inc., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington DC 20036.

As Ronald Reagan was giving his acceptance speech at the Republican Convention, GOO progressives were gathering at the University of Pittsburgh for the Sixth Annual Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. The coincidence did not go unnoticed. Speakers and participants focussed on meeting the challenge represented by Reagan and his right wing supporters. Hard times were predicted. Unity was prescribed. Creation of an alternative vision of the future was the order of the day.

Excerpts from four of the plenary speeches are presented below. (For a listing of workshops see the May/June Ways & Means.)

### Steve Max Midwest Academy

... In the late 1960's, I, and many of you here, decided that what had been wrong with the movements of the previous decades was, in fact, too much vision and not enough practical day-to-day work on specific issues of government and of organization. We were the people who made the decision that it would be our job to attend to those specifics.

We were right then and we're right today, but our decision was made during a period of unprecedented growth and stability. Now we're in a long period of decline. Not just during this recession but beyond it to the next recession and to the next inflation and beyond. We have based our activities, many of us, on a philosophy somewhat akin to that of traditional trade unionism which says that the existing order is here to stay, but we can protect ourselves from it.

The existing order is not here to stay. Signs of disintegration are everywhere from the closing of steel mills to the Utter in the streets. The right wing knows it, the reUgious fundamentalists know it. In their own goofy way, even the Moonies know it. Not only do they know it, but they all say it. We, the progressives, who should know it better than anyone, don't say it. At least not on the job ...

A few years ago the right wing could only say one word, "communism". Now they've learned to say "family," "law," "work," "strength." We talk about declining block rate structures, disinvestments, progressive taxation. We have proposals that will save people thirty-six dollars a year. And that is just what we need to be doing find what we need to be saying, but it doesn't address the general malaise which people everywhere feel; we feel. It's too short run, too sanitary, to be the whole of a program.

We need to project a vision for the 80's and the 90's which people will feel is worth working and fighting for. We have to make the future as understandable as the past seems to be. Our organizations must become the champions of the social and cultural values to which our constituents so desperately cling in times of economic instability. There is nothing inherently reactionary about stability and security unless we abandon those age-old needs to the ministrations of the right.

### Gar Alperovitz Center For Economic Alternatives

We are truly in a new economic peril. What I mean by that is the kinds of inflation, the kinds of unemployment, the kinds of energy dislocations that we are experiencing are not, in my judgment, going to be turned back easily. I don't think we are going to see a return to normalcy. The reason for that is that the kinds of problems that this

## Sober Planning For The 80's & Beyond



Conference participants included (clockwise from lower left): Frankie Lappe, author; Tom Bates, California Assembly; Ruth Messinger, New York City Council; NoO Hamilton, Iowa Attorney General's Office; Jay Sherman, National Family Farm Coalition; Joe Brooks, Emergency Land Fund; Jim Hightower, author; Joann Hale, Love Canal Homeowners Association; Hulbert James, Research/Education Action Center.

economy and virtually every major advanced industrial capitalist nation in the world is facing are in fact qualitatively and drastically different from the kinds of solutions that the range of politics now being talked about can possibly address.

Let me give you an example. You can cut the budget all you like and it will do nothing about energy price rises of 63% last year. You can tighten the money supply, but what that does is raise the cost of housing and reduce investment in housing at the same time you need to expand the supply to solve the inflation in housing. When there is a world food shortage that raises the price of food in this country, it does not help to create a recession. When the health care system is dominated by the members of the medical profession, and costs shoot forward at inflationary rates irrespective of a recession, irrespective of budget cutting, irrespective of raising interest rates, the old

fashioned ways of solving inflation cannot work ...

There is no way to solve that problem unless we are prepared to plan to solve it. That means we had better get serious about what new industries we need whether they be solar, or electronics, or mass transit, or rebuilding of railroads. We can build a list. We know what we need. We must plan to put the jobs where the need is. That's the only way to do it ...

### Ruth Messinger New York City Council

... If we intend to survive in a decade when our constituencies are the targets and our gains may be rolled back, we need to intensify and broaden our organizing efforts. We need to know our issues and their fullest fiscal, social, and political implications. We need to understand

what it is in the right wing arguments against abortion, for the romantic family ideal, and against women in the labor force that are catching the public's attention. And we need to develop our arguments to counter theirs.

When the powers that be blame lower levels of employment among women, minorities, and teen-agers on their recent entry into the job market, suggest that we can't afford to invest in their education, training or employment, and implicitly or explicitly urge that they stay home, we could simply insist that as a matter of justice and fairness they have equal employment opportunities. But I suspect we will do better if we argue from the facts. That women need jobs to avoid dependency and poverty. That men who are told there will be more money for them if women stay home will find out that is dot true. That *familiga* in our society can ill afford a loss of income. That guaranteed wage equity and available child care are more desirable goals.

I would suggest we avoid the pitfalls of being set against each other and having our interests defined as antagonistic. We must go beyond our best single issue organizing efforts and be prepared to work together at the local and national levels, in grassroots groups, unions, and our own campaigns on the goals that are common to all of our constituencies.

### Julian Bond Georgia State Senate

... (W.E.B.) DuBois predicted that the single problem of the twentieth century would be the problem of color line. In the eighty years of this century, the struggles of black Americans have heightened. These have been years of great legal struggles in the courts, complimented by extra-legal struggles in the streets. We've won rather impressive gains at lunch counters, in movie theaters, polling places, at bus stations. The fabric of legal apartheid in the United States began to dissolve.

What had its origins as a movement for civil rights has now largely become a political and economic movement. Black people are winning public office and power in numbers only dreamed of before. But, despite an increase in the number of blacks holding public office, despite the ability we have won over the last two decades to sit and eat and ride and vote in places that used to lack black faces, in a very real way, in the middle of the first year of the decade of the 1980's, we find our condition unchanged.

It is almost as though we are climbing a molasses mountain dressed in snowshoes, while everyone else rides a rapid ski lift to the top. Now, the ski slopes are more treacherous, the molasses melting into mud—a Sargasso Sea of joblessness for many and hopelessness for many more.

Now more than ever we need a revival of the partnership of black and white that wrote the civil right laws in the 1960's in the streets of Selma and on the sidewalks of Birmingham. We need, first of all, an economic bill of rights. We need to continually promote the notion that there are no acceptable tradeoffs between inflation and unemployment or between defense and those programs that make this society worth defending. Those who have borne the heaviest burden of inflation—the unemployed, the poor, the elderly, the handicapped, minorities—must not be asked to sacrifice again and again through severe cuts in programs designed to ease their burden. The fight against inflation demands equality of sacrifice, not the sacrifice of equality ...

For complete information on available transcripts and tapes write Jeffrey Tryens c/o The Conference.

## Looking For A Good Idea?

*Now is the time to begin finding good legislation to file during the 1981 session. Some of the best sources are bills which have passed in other states. Below are important conservation, low income, and renewable energy bills that have been enacted this year in 8 states.*

### Arizona

**HB 2184** requires that solar energy features be considered in new state buildings; defines the duties of the director of the state solar energy fund and establishes standards for solar thermal collectors and solar domestic hot water systems.

### Colorado

**HB 1264** authorizes income tax credits for conservation and renewable energy expenditures; and authorizes an investment tax credit for solar and wind property.

**SB 114** exempts electric powered motor vehicles from state taxes and fees; and prohibits insurance companies from discrimination against electric car owners.

**SB 116** initiates a one-year program to determine the feasibility of a state-wide program to convert solid waste to fuel.

**SB 131** establishes the Office of Energy Conservation and appropriates \$145,000.

### Indiana

**HB 1197** allows two parties to negotiate an easement for sunlight.

**HB 1393** requires a feasibility study to be done for solar energy in new building construction.

**HB 1360** authorizes a tax credit for solar and wind energy systems; creates an Energy Development Board and an Energy Development Fund with appropriations of \$1 million for 1980-81.

### Kansas

**SB 789** prohibits gas and electric utilities from discriminating against customers using any renewable energy source; and authorizes the State Corporation Commission to allow a higher rate of return on investments by a public utility for producing energy from a renewable resource or causing conservation by customers.

### Minnesota

**HF1710** authorizes community

energy planning grants; provides grants of \$5 million for residential heating assistance and \$20 million for energy assistance; authorizes \$9 million for weatherization grants; and establishes an Energy Conservation Information Center.

**HF 1996** permits the sale of industrial development bonds for alternative energy projects.

### Omnibus Tenant Energy Bill Proposed

An energy conservation bill, under consideration this year by the Massachusetts legislature squarely addresses the problem of tenant energy conservation. The "Multi-Unit Energy Conservation Bill" would:

- establish an energy code, setting minimum energy efficiency standards for multi-unit buildings;

- provide for energy efficiency tests at the request of landlords or tenants by the Residential Conservation Service, a federal program effective next winter. Audit costs would be rent deductible for tenants of any landlord refusing to sign up for an audit

- authorize a \$30 million general obligation bond to assist landlords in financing weatherization through interest subsidies, grants, and loan insurance

- establish a service to assist landlords and tenants in making their buildings more efficient.

Sponsors estimate that the program would create 3,600 new jobs within five years and save the state \$6 million in reduced unemployment and administrative costs.

The bill did not pass this year but it is an excellent model for groups wishing to push similar legislation in other states.

For further information contact the Energy Project at the Conference

### Mississippi

**HB 819** creates the Mississippi Energy and Transportation Board; and requires the Board to prepare 1) a state energy and transportation plan, 2) a state energy resource policy, and 3) a state energy conservation plan.

### New York

**A5C** provides financial incentives and reduces impediments for the plan-

ning and construction of resource recovery plants.

**S841C** exempts small private non-utility alternate energy producers from numerous state permit and approval requirements; and requires regulated utilities to purchase excess power and provide backup power at fair and reasonable rates.

**S3035E** requires sellers and lessors of residential unite to provide potential purchasers and tenants, who will be responsible for utility bills, with complete heating and cooling cost information for the previous two years upon request.

**S981F** requires installation and durability warranties on solar systems.

**S846B** expands the state Home Insulation and Conservation Act by including solar and wind energy projects in the home energy audits and low interest loans provided by the utilities.

**S9682** expands the role of the State Research and Development Authority in energy conservation by granting greater financial ability; permits the Authority to issue tax exempt bonds to finance coal conversions, renewable energy and cogeneration facilities, and energy conservation projects.

### Rhode Island

**H 7402** allows a non-refundable state income tax credit for residential, and industrial/commercial applications of active or passive solar systems and wind systems.

**H 7354** allows landlords an income tax credit for investments in qualified energy conservation items.

**H 7359** allows energy grants to elderly homeowners and renters who cannot take advantage of existing tax credits; and appropriates \$300,000.

**H 8222** expands the loan authority of the state Housing and Mortgage Finance Corporation to allow for residential energy conservation improvement loans.

**H 7492** allows the Public Building Authority to include the costs of solar equipment in the development of capital projects.

**H 7830** requires the development of energy performance goals and minimum energy standards for all new state-owned and leased buildings.

For more information on any of these bills, contact the Conference Energy Project

## Oregon Voters Support Renewable Energy

Oregon voters recently ratified a state sponsored renewable energy development program by a wide margin. By supporting Ballot Measure 3, voters authorized the state to create a \$300 million bond issue to finance low-interest loans for solar and other renewable energy projects. The Oregon Department of Energy, in conjunction with a citizen advisory committee, is formulating the rules and regulations for the loan program.

State energy activists are currently circulating petitions to get a number of other energy-related initiatives on the November ballot. Three would limit nuclear development in the state, while a fourth, the Renewable Energy Development Act Initiative, would activate Article XI-D of the Oregon Constitution, allowing citizens to elect a three-member Energy Development Commission to sell bonds, develop energy supplies, wholesale electricity, and lend for renewable energy and conservation projects.

For further information, contact Portland Sun, 628 Mill Street, Portland, OR 97214 (503) 239-7470,

## Power to the ... (State & Local) People

The May-June issue of *Public Power*, the official publication of the American Public Power Association, contains a series of interesting, informative articles, and studies, on public power issues of special concern to state and local officials.

"Why Munis Live Or Die," by consultant Bethany Weidner, explores the factors involved in determining which side wins in battles over public versus private ownership of a municipal utility. Another valuable feature highlights innovative programs and activities being pursued by public utilities, in such areas as solid waste resource recovery, solar heating and cooling, load management, cogeneration, district heating, and residential

energy conservation.

Other articles explain the new Federal Energy Regulatory Commission rules on cogeneration, explore the Life-line rates issue, and assess the impact on electric rates of the 1978 Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act.

*Public Power* is available from APPA, Suite 212, 2000 Virginia Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20037 (202) 342-7200.

## Study Cites Renewable Energy Examples

The Washington-based Center for Renewable Resources has released a survey of 2000 community energy self sufficiency projects. *Shining Examples: Model Projects Using Renewable Resources* highlights 150 of the projects in 14 different categories: agriculture; cities; commercial; community; education; financing; housing; industrial; institutional; legislation; low income; outreach; state; and utility.

Among the most interesting projects cited are utility financed solar hot water heating system program by the Tennessee Valley Authority, the creation of a Solar Mortgage Corporation in California, a program funding renewable energy projects in Montana that relies on coal severance taxes for its financial support, and the installation of solar water heaters in Puerto Rican low-income communities.

*Shining Examples* is available for \$6.95 from the Center for Renewable Resources, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 46&6880.

## Maryland Moves to Protect Whistleblowers

by Simone Otus

Maryland recently became the second state in the nation to pass legislation protecting government "whistleblowers" from official retribution for their actions. As public employees who disclose information about government activity which is illegal, inefficient, wasteful or harmful, whistleblowers have traditionally paid a high price for their fidelity to the public trust. Many have seen their careers destroyed as a result of their actions.

The Maryland law officially protects any employee who acts on a "reasonable belief" that mismanagement, violation of a law or regulation, abuse of authority, gross waste of funds or a specific hazard to the public exists. The state Secretary of Personnel is empowered to bring sanctions against any manager who attempts to take reprisals against an employee for disclosing information either publicly or privately. (A measure passed in California last year offers protection only to those whistleblowers who tes-

tify before a special joint legislative committee.)

The law does not require any investigation into the underlying charges of wrongdoing. To remedy this obvious weakness, Delegate Joan Pitkin, who sponsored the original whistleblower legislation, plans to offer an amendment to the law during the next legislative session to create an independent authority to investigate allegations.

While this measure will not result in widespread changes in government practices, or even frilly protect whistleblowers, it is an important reform which should be considered by activists in other states.

For more information about whistleblower protection, write the Government Accountability Project, Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Que Street NW, Washington DC 20009.

*Simone Otus is a research assistance at the Government Accountability Project.*

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## \*CONSERVATION ^ALTERNATIVE

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This handy compendium of Ways & Means reprints on renewable energy policy is available free, upon request, to Ways & Means readers.

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# Legislative Updates

## OIL TAXES

Connecticut—The oil companies have won the second round in the battle over who will pay the recently enacted 2% gross revenues oil tax but the war is far from over. According to Connecticut Citizen Action Director, Miles Rapoport, a lower court decision that the companies could pass the tax directly onto consumers is being appealed by the state and will go to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

New York—That state's new oil tax is also under attack in the courts by the oil companies. At stake in New York is a transit aid package for New York City. If the courts rule that the tax can be passed directly onto consumers, the law will be automatically null and void, meaning \$200 million in transit aid will be lost.

Philadelphia—Gulf Oil and Atlantic Richfield have each agreed to voluntarily contribute \$22 million to the city treasury in lieu of a 10¢ per barrel refinery tax. Tax sponsor Councilman James J. Tayoun says he will reintroduce the tax bill next year.

## TAX INITIATIVES

Ohio—With the legislature's failure to pass the Ohio Public Interest Cam-

paign's Fair Tax Initiative, supporters have begun collecting signatures to put the question on the November ballot. A major coalition of citizen groups and unions has been organized to push for passage of the measure.

Massachusetts—Progressive forces in the state have been unable to develop a coalition to fight the Proposition 2Vi tax cut proposal. With public opinion running strongly in favor of the measure, a successful campaign to defeat 2Vi will be "extremely difficult" to pull off even if potential coalition members work out their differences.

Utah—The Coalition Opposed to the Sales Tax on Food (COST-OFF) has collected enough signatures to place the issue on the November ballot. According to a recent poll, 50% of those polled oppose the regressive food tax.

## CORPORATE TAX

The U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that states can tax the out-of-state income of corporations doing business in their state. The affirmation of the unified tax approach concludes a long standing battle progressives have had with major corporations to force the companies to

open their books to inspection by state auditors for taxing purposes.

## PUBLIC INVESTMENT

Nebraska—State Senator Ernest Chambers is pressuring the Nebraska Investment Council to comply with the anti-South Africa resolution passed by the legislature which urges the Council to withdraw state investments from companies doing business with that country.

## CONDOMINIUM CONVERSIONS

Massachusetts—A weak condominium conversion bill, which would have restricted communities' from passing stronger local legislation was stopped in the legislature by House Speaker Thomas McGee after intense lobbying by community groups.

## RENT CONTROL

Seattle—Renters and Owners Organized for Fairness (ROOF) have collected the necessary signatures to place a rent control on the ballot this fall. The measure, which would restrict condominium conversions and establish eviction controls as well as control rents, has drawn massive opposition from banking and real estate interests.

## UTILITIES

Montana—The Montana Public Service Commission recently ordered two power companies to provide lifeline rates (a fixed fee which is low: than normal rates) for essential amounts of gas or electricity for certain natural gas customers. Residential, commercial, small industrial, school and government customers will receive a 25% discount on the first 15,000 cubic feet of natural gas used during each of the four winter months.

Michigan—The Michigan Energy Coalition has won passage of the first electric lifeline bill in the country to recognize family size as an energy consumption factor. The bill eliminates monthly service charges, limits rate increases for a lifeline block and allows adjustments to the lifeline structure for households with space and water heating and other necessary uses which require more electricity.

Wisconsin—A Citizens Utility Board (CUB) has been set up by the legislature to work on behalf of utility users in rate-setting, regulatory, and legislative matters. CUB will be funded by voluntary contributions from utility consumers.

For further information on any of these issues, contact Jeffrey Tryens, c/o the Conference.

## Alabama Law Helps Blacks Keep Their Land

Alabama's New Heirs Property Law is helping blacks protect their land from the major cause of black land loss—partition, sales. Traditionally in Southern States, one heir of an estate can force all other heirs to sell the property at public auction often resulting in black heirs losing their land to more affluent white buyers.

The Alabama statute, which was sponsored by Senator Michael Figures, protects those heirs who don't wish to sell their property rights by giving them the first option to buy out any dissident heirs at a purchase price determined by a judge. They pay for only the portion of file rights that are being sold, rather than having to purchase the entire parcel.

The new legislation also abolishes the provision of the partition law which awarded 10% of the auction proceeds to the attorney handling the negotiations. In the past, some attorneys looked for ways to force heirs to

auction the land.

Senator Figures says the statute is working well Citing cases where black-owned land has been saved as a result of the law, he contends that this type of legislation will have a significant impact on keeping black-owned land in black hands.

Although no other southern states are currently considering reform legislation similar to Alabama's, Edward Pennick, Executive Director of the Emergency Land Fund, a group devoted to preserving black-owned land, says he hopes to see similar reforms passed across the South.

For more information contact Emergency Land Fund, 564 Lee Street SW, Atlanta, Georgia 30310. The Emergency Land Fund and its sister organization, the National Associate of Landowners, provide landowners with economic and educational support in order to enable them to keep their land.



# PUBLICATIONS

□ **Corporate Flight: The Causes and Consequences of Economic Dislocation**

A groundbreaking study providing new documentation and analysis of the extent of plant closings in this country and the rising levels of joblessness and economic dislocation caused by unrestrained capital movement. The authors assess the extent of capital mobility and the social costs of unregulated private investment decisions.

By *Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison*; co-published with the *Progressive Alliance*. (October 1980) 50 pp. \$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

□ **Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders**  
(May 1979) 85 pp. \$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

□ **Industrial Exodus**  
*Ed Kelly* (1977) 30 pp. \$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

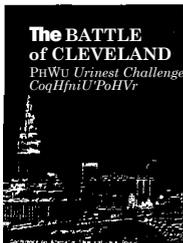
□ **The Last Entrepreneurs: America's Regional Wars for Jobs and Dollars**  
*Robert Goodman* (December 1979) 250 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

□ **The Cities' Wealth**  
(1978) 85 pp. \$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

□ **Tax Abatements: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders**  
(May 1979) 80 pp. \$4.95; 6.95 Institutions

□ **Economic Democracy: The Challenge of the 1980s**  
*Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer* (May 1980) 430 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

□ **Developing the Public Economy: Models From Massachusetts**  
(1979) 208 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions



□ **The Battle of Cleveland: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power**

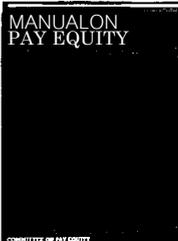
Thorough examination of the corporate/public interest conflict in Cleveland with emphasis on the election of Mayor Kudnich, how his administration resisted corporate dominance of City Hall and why he lost in his re-election bid. Edited by *Dan Marshall* with the assistance of *The Ohio Public Interest Campaign* (March 1980) 180 pp. \$7.95; \$9.95 Institutions

□ **Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment**  
(July 1979) 180 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

□ **The Shifting Property Tax Burden: The Untold Cause of the Tax Revolt**  
*Robert Kuttner* (January 1980) 80 pp. \$3.05; \$5.95 Institutions

□ **D Manual on Pay Equity: Raising Wages for Women's Work**

Thorough review of the "equal pay for work of comparable value" movement; legislative initiatives, litigation, news of organizing campaigns, comparable worth studies, collective bargaining update and the latest research. Includes proceedings from the October 1979 Washington Conference on Pay Equity, extensive resource listing, and guides to action. Edited by *Joy Ann Grune* in cooperation with the *Committee on Pay Equity* (May 1980) 230 pp. \$9.95



□ **Moderate Rent Control: The Experience of U.S. Cities**  
*John Gilderbloom* (May 1980) 60 pp. \$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

□ **Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda**  
(1978) 133 pp. \$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

□ **State and Local Tax Revolt: New Directions for the '80s:**

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* (June 1980) 300 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

□ **The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices**  
*David Smith* (June 1979) 20 pp. \$2.95; \$4.95 Institutions

□ **New Energy Legislation Initiatives: A State-by-State Legislative Guide 1979-1980**  
(May 1980) 110 pp. \$3.95; \$5.95 Institutions

□ **New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies: A Time for State and Local Action**  
(January 1979) 320 pp. \$9.95; \$14.95 Institutions

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## Creating Jobs the Community Way

*Making CETA Work* by Scott Bernstein and James Pitts and-27ie *Working Poor: Toward A New State Agenda* by David Gordon are excellent and comprehensive resources for manpower planners and policymakers.

*Making CETA Work* looks at the federal jobs program from a community-based point of view. The authors carefully examine the CETA legislation, analyzing what it can and cannot do to strengthen neighborhood economies. Detailed information is provided on how to assess community needs and capacities and establish guidelines for actually planning CETA projects. *Making CETA Work* also presents case studies of CETA-financed neighborhood development and looks at the promise and limits of appropriate technologies. Lastly, the guide lists CETA related resources and examines the new CETA regulations in depth.

*The Working Poor* elaborates a broader context for understanding the role that community-based institutions can play in job creation and training. Gordon disputes the conventional wisdom that government subsidized private sector job creation efforts should aim at creating as many jobs as possible, arguing instead that most economic development policies must be shaped to provide "good jobs" as well.

*The Working Poor* reviews the economic literature regarding current employment problems, focusing particular attention on why the economy does not generate enough good paying jobs with decent working conditions. Gordon concludes that a community-oriented approach is more likely to create decent employment opportunities and proposes a number of state policy measures for promoting community-controlled economic development.

*Making CETA Work* (pp. 55) is available from the Center for Neighborhood Technology, 570 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois 60606

for \$4.00. *The Working Poor* (pp. 90) is published by the Council of State Planning Agencies, Hall of the States, 444 North Capitol Street, Washington, DC 20001 and costs \$8.95.

## Anti-Militarism Campaign Underway

Spurred by successes in San Francisco and Madison, a peace initiative committee is organizing a campaign to place resolutions on the November ballot in cities throughout the country condemning increased military spending. The group, known as the Campaign for the Jobs With Peace Initiative (sic), urgently requests that activists start local campaigns in their communities.

For more information contact Campaign for the Jobs With Peace Initiative, 2990 22nd St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

## Politics In The 80's

If you are interested in what politics might look like in the next decade, you will find *Political Power Changes in the 1980's* useful. Published by the United Auto Workers National CAP Department, this 14 page pamphlet examines the emerging power of the New Right, the possible effects of congressional reapportionment and new constituencies for the 1980's.

Copies may be obtained from Hank LeCayo, Director, UAW-CAP, Solidarity House, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, MI 48214.

## Evaluating Property Tax Relief Proposals

*Property Tax Relief* by economist Steven David Gold is a comprehensive introduction to the property tax system including the many property tax relief measures such as circuitbreakers and property classification changes. It describes the shifts in property taxation over time and among states;

provides case studies of five property tax revolt in Michigan, California, and Iowa; examines the role that government user charges could play in financing relief; and looks at mechanisms for dispensing relief to different types of property. The book provides an excellent summary of the technical literature on the subject, and accurately analyzes the varying strengths and weaknesses of alternative policies.

*Property Tax Relief* is available for \$29.95 from Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 125 Spring Street, Lexington, Massachusetts 02173.

## Minorities in Cal. Gain Representation

The twenty year drive by blacks and Hispanics for greater representation in government has been at least partially successful according to a University of California study. By examining city employment and election results in 10 northern California cities, the authors of *California City Politics: Changes in Representation* were able to compare the number of minority officials and employees in each city with the proportion of minorities in the city's population. These "parity ratios" were then used to measure progress toward equal minority representation.

Authors Rufus P. Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall and David H. Tabb found substantial progress in seven cities including San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose and Sacramento. After analyzing the reasons for changes in representation, the authors conclude that, while gains have been substantial, serious underrepresentation still exists and increased black and Hispanic influence is not guaranteed in the future.

Copies of the report (pp. 9) are available from Public Affairs Report, Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Information from National Civic Review, March, 1980.

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# Ways & Means

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## In This Issue ...

**States Pioneer  
Programs to Aid  
Neighborhoods p. 3**

•

**Local Governments Aid  
Energy Co-ops p. 5**

•

**Shift to Service Sector  
Economy: New Challenge  
For Progressives p. 6**

•

**National Conference to  
Consider Local Alternative  
Energy Futures p. 7**



Greenmarket, Inc.

State support for consumer co-ops, such as Greenmarket in New York City (shown above) is growing. Eleven states either have, or are developing, programs to aid in their development. Ann Evans of California's Cooperative Development Program reports on state efforts in California and elsewhere. See story on page A.

**N**o matter who wins the presidential election one of the almost certain fallouts will be a significant increase in conservatives elected to Congress and to state offices. But still the election news isn't all bad. Besides the much publicized Democratic congressional nominations of Massachusetts state representative Barney Frank and Rep. James Shannon in the face of opposition from the Catholic Church, other liberal and progressive candidates are making strong showings. Consumer activist Scott Skinner has won the Democratic nomination for Vermont Attorney General. Former VISTA volunteer and Kansas assistant attorney general Dan Watkins is the Democratic nominee for a key congressional seat in that state. In Iowa, progressive county supervisor Lyn Cutler is in a tight congressional race with a "moral majority" millionaire for a seat targeted by conservatives, and leading liberals Senator Tom Harkin and Rep. John Culver, both targeted for defeat by the Right, have made strong showings in recent polls. Also, Washington state se-

nor *Jim McDermott* recently defeated the conservative incumbent governor, *Dixie Lee Ray*, for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination ... A coalition has finally come together in Massachusetts to oppose the libertarian inspired Proposition 2 tax cut proposal. A key member of the Vote No on Number 2 committee is long time Conference participant *Bob Schaeffer* who will be coordinating involvement by public interest and human services constituencies... A recent study by the Media Access Project documents what many progressives have known for a long time—corporate money is buying referendums. Using data from three 1976 Colorado initiatives, the "public interest communications law firm" found a direct correlation between corporate mass media targeting and voting margins. (For further information contact *Deborah Costlow* at (202) 232-4300...). And finally, a correction: *Alternatives to Service Cutbacks* can be obtained from New York City Councilmember *Ruth Messinger*, City Hall, New York, NY 10007 rather than the address reported in the July-August issue.

## Studies in Pension Fund Investments

The controversial issue of "social investing"—transforming pension funds into community and economic development funds—is the focus of a new series of publications from the Conference's Economic Development Project entitled *Studies in Pension Fund Investments*.

Four monographs in the series are now available at \$9.95 each.

*Investing In Ourselves: Strategies for Massachusetts* by *Shelley Metzbaum* and *Edward Coltman* analyzes the possible impacts of innovative investment strategies on the state's public pension funds and describes in detail how pension assets could be redirected into housing, small businesses, family farms, energy conservation, and other useful investments.

*Packaging Housing Mortgage Loans: Strategies for California* by *John Harrington* examines the practicality of investing California's massive public pension funds in home mortgages for state residents and demonstrates that such investments are prudent and beneficial to the state's economy.

*Social Investments and the Law: The Case for Alternative Investments* by *Michael Leibig* is the first study to make the case that socially sensitive pension fund investments are not only legally permissible, but in certain cases legally enforceable. The paper also includes a detailed examination of relevant judicial decisions, regulations, and legal requirements, as well as addressing the central legal arguments of alternative investment opponents.

*Investing in Minnesota: A Proposal to Use State Moneys for Maximum Benefit* by *Thomas Tripplet* of the Minnesota Project analyzes the asset holdings, portfolio objectives, and decision-making process of the Minnesota State Board of Investment which is responsible for investing more than \$4 billion in public funds. The report outlines the history of this body, analyzes the legal framework in which it operates, elaborates new criteria for the strategic investment of state funds, and recommends tools for implementing this new investment philosophy. Lastly, the study summarizes the recommended actions that have passed the Minnesota legislature

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*Ways A Means* is a bimonthly publication of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. Since the Conference was founded in June 1976, 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 institutional. To order, see page 11.

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Contributors to this issue: *Scott Hempling*, *George Lehman*, *Craig Sundler*, *Michael Totten*.

# Neighborhoods Come Of Age

by Maureen Ferris Pepson

In recent years, more than a dozen states have created programs to aid neighborhoods. The programs vary widely and most are still in the development stage. Many states are uncertain how to develop neighborhood-based programs, as state governments traditionally have dealt almost exclusively with cities, counties, and other local governmental entities. Similarly, most neighborhood organizations have little experience in dealing with their statehouses.

However, states do have resources and authorities beyond what is available to local communities. States also have flexibility to a much greater degree than the federal government in developing programs tailored to the specific needs of their cities and neighborhoods. Thus, states potentially can be a major resource for the neighborhood conservation movement. Programs now being pioneered by such states as New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Missouri could serve as models for other states.

Louisiana and Missouri are exploring how existing state programs can help neighborhoods. Louisiana's Department of Urban and Community Affairs recently began a Registry of Neighborhood-Based Organizations in which groups can be listed by sending in their charters, objectives, bylaws and other organizational materials. This roster is circulated to all state agencies, which are required to inform groups about specific programs appropriate to their needs. The department also hopes to establish a full technical assistance program to help community groups implement neighborhood-based revitalization projects.

Missouri recently organized a Neighborhood Commission. Comprised of 23 neighborhood and business leaders, the commission is charged with reviewing all state programs and evaluating their usefulness for neighborhoods, reviewing and supporting legislation affecting neighborhoods, and developing a statewide urban revitalization strategy.

Missouri is also using its state tax laws to aid neighborhoods, providing a state tax credit of 50 percent and, in

special cases 70 percent, for corporate donations of cash, materials or in-kind services to community programs operating in poor areas. This state tax credit was first introduced by Pennsylvania's Department of Community Affairs in 1967 and has since been adopted in Indiana. Michigan recently enacted a similar program, but the state provides cash rebates of up to 50 percent instead of tax credits, allowing smaller businesses to participate. (ed. note - some neighborhood activists believe that funding should go directly from the state to neighborhood groups to eliminate corporate "strings").

Pennsylvania's Department of Community Affairs also works with community-based organizations, from social service agencies to neighborhood groups, giving them management assistance with budgets, internal organization, program planning and related matters. This office also provides cash grants to community organizations that can administer senior citizen, youth, or other needed programs. The office also has proposed a new Community Conservation Program, pending before the state legislature, to provide neighborhood groups with technical assistance in developing preservation and housing improvement programs in low-income communities.

New Jersey provides both grants and technical assistance to communities through its Neighborhood Preservation Program, established in 1978. To be eligible, a local government and citizen advisory board must develop a mutually acceptable workplan for improving the community. Projects can include tree plantings, park development, street paving, housing improvement and paint-up programs—whatever they agree is needed to improve a target area. If their application is approved, the community receives between \$30,000 and \$100,000. Local governments must hire a full-time coordinator to assist with the projects and commit available local and federal funds to a project. In conjunction with the grants, NPP staff offer technical assistance to both local government and neighborhood groups. Communities can apply for refunding

each year provided they meet performance standards and submit a new workplan. Presently, 27 communities participate in NPP, and many have found that the program has sparked neighborhood groups and attracted local lending.

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States potentially can be a major resource for the neighborhood conservation movement.

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In addition, many states including Minnesota, Wisconsin and Massachusetts, are using their authority to issue tax-exempt housing bonds to provide below market rate funds for housing rehabilitation and economic development programs, often run through local lenders or city governments. (Congress currently is considering placing certain restrictions on the states use of tax-exempt housing bonds).

State aid for neighborhoods is a slowly blossoming effort. With neighborhood and other community-based organizations receiving increased federal and local attention, however, the states may not be far behind. The Council of State Community Affairs Agencies (COSCAA) has worked with several states to develop neighborhood programs and it recently published a compendium of state programs.

For information about neighborhood-oriented programs, groups can check with their state's Department of Community Affairs, Housing and Community Development Department or related agencies.

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*Maureen Ferris Pepson is a staff writer for Conserve Neighborhoods, a newsletter of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C. This article originally appeared in Conserve Neighborhoods.*

# State Support For Consumer Co-ops Grows

By Ann Evans

State governments are beginning to awaken to the benefits of establishing support programs for consumer cooperative development. Stimulated by the passage of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act, public officials and staff, together with coop representatives, in ten states are using the language and rationale of the Co-op Bank Act to gain backing for the support which cooperatives have a right to expect.

The six states with the most well developed programs, which are setting the pace for the rest of the country, are:

**California** With official involvement since 1976, CaUfomia leads the nation in actively promoting consumer cooperatives. The state Department of Consumer Affairs' Co-op Development Program, the first of its kind in the county, was created to advise consumers on how to form food co-ops. It was created at the same time this state began a strong effort to develop methods to help farmers to market crops directly.

Besides providing general information, education and technical assistance on co-op development and legislation, the Program coordinates co-op related activities of other state agencies and has a special outreach program for inner city co-op development. The Inter-departmental Cooperative Coordinating Committee consists of the six state agencies which are involved with producer, consumer, worker or housing cooperatives. It coordinates and influences state policy with respect to co-op development. The Inner City Food Co-op Technical Assistance Team was recently formed to help primarily low income inner-city groups start co-ops.

Because California's program is not legislatively mandated, a major task in the future is to institutionalize the program to assure its permanence.

For more information contact: *Co-op Development Program, Department of Consumer Affairs, 1020 N St, Rm 501, Sacramento, CA 95814.*

**Michigan** Spurred by the creation of the Co-op Bank, the Michigan Task Force on Consumer Cooperatives is working to implement recommendations made in an October, 1979 report to Governor Li an Milliken. The Task

Force, which was appointed by the Governor to facilitate the growth and development of Michigan consumer cooperative is working in three general areas: 1) providing training on coop development to low income groups; 2) recommending changes in state laws which are detrimental to co-op development, particularly in the areas of sales tax licensing and securities registration; and 3) consumer education. (As part of its consumer education effort, the Task Force has succeeded in having a section on cooperatives added to public school teaching curriculum guidelines.)

The federal Community Services Administration is funding the Michigan Bureau of Community Services which provides staff to the Task Force to assist in developing cooperatives in low income communities.

Contact: *Chris Steele, Bureau of Community Services, State Secondary Complex, 7150 Harris Dr. Box 30015, Lansing, MI 48909.*

**New Jersey** The Department of Human Services has institutionalized New Jersey's coop development program to a certain extent by assigning a civil service employee to the task. One staff person works part-time distributing films and other information, including a directory of all New Jersey consumer co-ops.

Contact: *Marc Grobman, Coordinator, Office of Food and Nutrition Advocacy, Department of Human Services, Box 1237, Trenton, NJ 08625.*

**New York** Direct marketing is currently the focus of New York's co-op development efforts. The Cooperative Extension Service has a full-time, but temporary, employee working to use consumer cooperatives for direct marketing purposes. In addition to providing technical assistance, the Direct Marketing Program has recently released a film about food cooperatives in New York entitled "It Works For Us."

Contact: *David Handwerker, Direct Marketing Specialist, Cornell University, Cooperative Extension, Consumer Education, 11 Park Place, New York, NY 10007.*

On March 25, Consumer Affairs Committee Chair Assemblymember Jose Serrano introduced AB 11193. This bill appropriates \$80,000 to the

New York State Consumer Protection Board to promote the growth of consumer cooperatives.

Contact: *Linda Valenti, New York State Consumer Protection Board, 99 Washington Ave., Albany, NY 12210.*

**Missouri** The Cooperative Extension Service is also the focus, along with the state Division of Community and Economic Development, of coop development in Missouri. With a U.S. Department of Health and Human Services grant, the Division has sponsored numerous statewide and regional conferences on several aspects of consumer cooperatives.

Contact: *John NoUer, 344 Heames Building, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65221.*

**Wisconsin** The Cooperative Extension Service in Wisconsin has a special branch for cooperatives known as the University Center for Cooperatives (UCC). UCC has recently begun to focus on emerging cooperatives as a priority for their practical education programs. Also, they are developing a masters degree program in cooperative studies.

Contact: *University Center for Cooperatives, 524 Lowell Hall, 610 Langdon St, Madison, WI 53706.*

These programs, and those less well developed in Arkansas, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, represent significant progress in government support for co-op development. Yet, none touches the level of program support for farm cooperatives given by states in the thirties or the current level of support given in Canada. There, provincial cooperative development departments combine the regulatory, licensing, technical assistance, and promotional functions to effectively coordinate and concentrate the impact of the government's support. California is preparing a plan for such a comprehensive program at the request of Governor Jerry Brown. If the plan is adopted, it will be a model for public policy in support of the people's business.

*Ann Evans is the manager of the Cooperative Development Program for the California State Department of Consumer Affairs and is editor of JAM TODA Y, California Journal of Cooperation.*

# Energy Co-ops: A Growing Role For City And County Governments

By Michael Freedberg

Consumer energy cooperatives are gaining recognition as an important means for achieving significant energy savings, both through reducing the cost of fuel to consumers and providing low cost conservation programs. The new National Consumer Cooperative Bank is supporting their development through loans, "capital advances" and technical assistance. Many federally mandated Residential Conservation Service programs are including co-ops in their implementation plans. And state energy offices are providing information and technical assistance aimed at developing energy co-ops. Local government can also play an important role in this process.

In cooperation with already existing participants, local governments can coordinate the creation and expansion of energy co-ops by assisting groups in writing grant proposals, "packaging" loans from different sources, enacting legislation to encourage co-ops and providing financial support. For example:

- The Town of New Paltz, New York helped local residents form a wood buying cooperative after the New York State Energy office pointed out the need for such an organization as part of an area energy assessment. With the town's assistance, the Ulster Energy Cooperative obtained financing for a bulk wood purchase program, which allowed many local residents to cut heating costs by 20%.

- In Washington, D.C. the city government has developed an innovative proposal for a city-wide coopera-

tive aimed at providing assistance to low and moderate income consumers. The cooperative will begin with bulk fuel/home heating oil purchases and expand to weatherization and conservation services to its members in conjunction with the utility-run Residential Conservation Service program. A revolving loan fund is planned, involving membership fees, financing from the Co-op Bank, and federal grants.

In addition, the District's Energy Unit envisages an energy business cooperative which would provide equipment, materials and technical services to new and existing energy-related small and minority businesses.

- Seattle, Washington is developing a coop model, involving city block-sized consumer cooperatives which will receive loans from the Coop Bank for conservation and solar installations. The local utility, Seattle City Light, a leading proponent of solar and conservation, will assume the debt service on these loans, based on the savings realized through reduced capital investment needs.

- In Santa Cruz, California, both the city and county officials are working with an area credit union and local citizen organizations to explore ways of forming a consumer owned "solar utility" cooperative. The solar utility would provide solar services, installing solar collectors for example, to area consumers. Officials are exploring a wide range of possible government involvement including funding some part of the utility, operating it as part of a city department and coordi-

nating priority processing for solar utility permit requests.

A number of states, notably Arkansas, Michigan and California, are also implementing statewide co-op education and development strategies which include energy co-ops. In Massachusetts, the state Community Development Assistance Corporation (CEDAC) is providing direct technical assistance to a Boston consumer weatherization cooperative which will purchase insulation materials in bulk for low-income members.

Other kinds of energy co-ops which can be assisted by state and local governments include: alcohol fuel production, marketing, and purchasing; solar leasing; small scale waste recycling; and even low-head hydroelectricity. Worker-owned and producer energy cooperatives can also be assisted by providing start up capital, long-term loans and technical assistance in loan packaging, marketing and business management and organization. In addition, by targeting a percentage of municipal and state procurements from these businesses, the market for cooperatively-produced energy goods and services can be expanded.

*For more information on energy co-ops including how to apply to the National Consumer Cooperative Bank for a loan, contact BUI Schuecke, Energy Co-op Technical Assistance Project, 2000 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 387-6030.*



David Cain  
from U/ENR Action

# Capital Mobility And The Shift To The Service Sector

by Karen Nussbaum

*A key issue facing progressives is corporate disinvestment in older industrial cities. In a speech before the Sixth National Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, Karen Nussbaum, Director of WORKING WOMEN, National Association of Office Workers, urged those concerned with corporate disinvestment to join forces with progressives organizing service sector workers. Excerpts from that speech appear below.*

In Youngstown, Ohio, in 1977, the Lykes Corporation announced the closing of Youngstown Sheet and Tube. Five thousand production jobs were lost. Lykes bought the steel plant in 1969, attracted by its profitability. In the next eight years, the conglomerate drained Sheet & Tube of its profits to finance more profitable acquisitions which included the Coastal Plains Insurance Company.

Last year, U.S. Steel announced it was dosing plants and mills in eight states. The retrenchment was one of the most sweeping in the industry's history, in spite of high demand for steel in the previous two years. Five months later, U.S. Steel announced that it was building a 54-story office building in downtown Pittsburgh.

When you look at trends like this, you can see a fundamental shift going on in the economy. A shift away from manufacturing and towards the clerical and service sectors. And this shift is systematically lowering the standard of living of the American family.

Fifty years ago half of the workforce was employed in manufacturing. Today, service sector jobs account for two-thirds of all employment, and clerical work is the largest job category. Most of these jobs are held by women.

What does this shift mean for the economy and the workforce? The expansion of the service sector means the growth of low-paid, low-status, unorganized employment.

Those of us concerned about economic democracy must address both sides of the phenomenon: we must prevent the social irresponsibility of the wave of disinvestment in manufacturing and we must organize the workforce in the expanding industries to win a decent standard of living.

The shift to the service sector affects women in particular because it relies on taking advantage of female labor to keep labor costs low and profits high.

But don't make the mistake of pigeonholing this as a "women's" issue.

Organizing women working in the clerical and service industries is as important to the progressive movement of the 1980's as the organization of industrial workers was in the '30's. And though it is of great importance beyond being a "women's" issue, this organizing will indeed be led by women, adding to its significance...

Today, I want to talk about three major elements of the business strategy to shift to the service sector and to lower the standard of living for working people. These elements are: job segregation; increased use of part-time employment; and automation of tile office.

Job segregation is the major mechanism for reducing the bargaining power of certain workers. Employers will pay low wages without fear the workers will go elsewhere—because they have nowhere else to go. Clerical work is a prime example.

Job segregation for women in clerical industries has actually increased in the last decade. There is now a higher proportion of women concentrated in the lowest paying jobs.

Pay has stayed unnaturally low. Many female clericals earn poverty level wages. Last year, one in three fulltime women clerical workers earned less than \$7,800. In cities across the country, we've found fulltime bank clericals who are eligible for food stamps.

To further enhance the profile of service industries, employers are increasingly turning to part-time and temporary employment to avoid paying decent benefits and to bypass unions.

In manufacturing, 10% of workers are part-time. In banks and insurance companies, though, a quarter of the workforce works part-time. And in the health and retail industries, the figure is an astronomical high of 55% to 75% part-time or part-year.

The implications of part-time and temporary work are not hard to divine. These workers are rarely paid benefits and often aren't eligible for regular salary increases. They usually are excluded from collective bargaining units. And they create a permanent condition of instability within the workforce, making organizing more difficult.

The current trend in office automation make all these problems even worse. New technologies are being applied in ways which deskill and devalue the work, and provide means for greater management control. Workers produce more but earn less money. Work-places are restructured to eliminate jobs, reduce variety, dosing off opportunities to advance...

As service industry employers are bought out by conglomerates, their ability and will to keep their workforce low paid and unorganized is strengthened. We may think we've got an easy target when we organize against American Druggist Insurance Company at their headquarters in upstate New York—only to find we're up against Armco Steel.

As the conglomerates and giant corporations continue to acquire service companies, it will be increasingly dear that those of us fighting *disinvestment* and those of us fighting the negative features of service employment are both taking on big oil, big steel, high finance, and the giant multinationals...

The historic conditions which have brought about the shift to the service sector also create the basis for organizing, especially for the millions of office workers in tide country. In the 1930's, industrial workers were low-paid; an immigrant work-force concentrated in the single largest job category working in the expanding and most profitable sectors of the economy. And they were unorganized.

These conditions are true today for female clerical workers. Women are the low-paid, "immigrant" workers of our generation. They are concentrated in the single largest job category, and they work in the most profitable industries.

The key element needed to ignite these factors is building a common identity among women office workers as a group—taking the problems out of the realm of individual complaints and into the arena of competing interests between employers and employees—building a movement of office workers.

I believe the 1960's will be for clerical workers what the 1930's were for industrial workers.

*Karen Nussbaum is Director of WORKING WOMEN, National Association of Office Workers and a leading spokesperson for organizing officeworkers.*

## Local Alternative Energy Futures: Developing Economies, Building Communities

December 11-13, 1980  
Stephen F. Austin Hotel Austin, Texas

The Energy Project of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies announces a major national conference for state and local officials, policy activists, citizen organizations, community and neighborhood groups, and community leaders. This first major gathering after the 1980 presidential election will focus extensively on strategies to mobilize resources at the state and local level for conservation and renewable energy policies. The conference will examine, in particular, energy policy and planning on community and economic development.

Working sessions will include:

- Utility initiatives in conservation and solar
- Public Sector financing mechanisms
- Involving the private sector
- Local mandates—incentives and constraints

- Community economic development

Workshops will include:

- Problem markets: multi-family, rental housing
- Low income energy strategies
- Innovative financing mechanisms—pension funds, trust funds and severance taxes
- Small business—access to capital
- Energy coops—new ownership options
- Organizing local coalitions—learning from the past
- Critical energy issues in agriculture
- Lobbying your legislature
- Using the media
- Drafting legislation—innovative state and local programs

For more information contact Becky Glass, at the Conference.

*Ways & Means subscribers will be receiving a complete agenda.*

passive solar water heaters per day. The heaters were produced at a materials cost of only \$140 each.

The NCAT sponsored four county study by the Winter Garden Regional Energy Planning Commission emphasized creating local jobs and energy sources by constructing low cost solar water heaters and harvesting mesquite to burn in woodstoves and caliche (sandstone) to use as a building material.

Already the success of Crystal City has spread to nearby Coloni as del Valle where 100 solar heaters of the Crystal design were built for \$85 using recycled materials. In Brownsville, the CAP program is planning to duplicate the Crystal City solar heater factory.

For more information contact Roberto Garcia, City Manager, Crystal City, Texas (512) 374-3478.

## Illinois Funds Low Cost Solar Projects

Fifteen Illinois communities are conducting projects under a new low cost solar energy demonstration program to install solar systems in low income neighborhoods and train local workers in low cost solar technology construction techniques. Funded by a \$100,000 state appropriation "to research and develop alternative energy sources," the state Institute of Natural Resources (INR) recently awarded grants of up to \$800 to agencies and community organizations already involved in low income housing rehabilitation or weatherization.

The funds will be used to construct solar greenhouses, vertical wall collectors and window box collectors in low income neighborhoods throughout the state. Through the demonstration approach, INR hopes to dispel some of the myths regarding high costs and technical complexities of solar systems. Grantees, which are mostly community development departments and community action agencies, are expected to provide continued support for the program to generate additional solar applications and educational activities.

For information about the program, contact Allen Elrod, Solar Section, Illinois Institute of Natural Resources, 325 West Adams, 3rd Fl., Springfield, IL 62706 (217) 785-2800.

## Crystal City Comes In From The Cold

In 1977 the Lo Vaca Gathering Co. (LVGC) turned off the gas on the entire rural community of Crystal City, Texas. The 8000 residents were forced to face the winter with no gas for cooking or heating. The shut off was the culmination of a two year legal battle between city officials and LVGC over escalating utility rates.

The City, as franchiser for the community, had argued before the state utility regulatory commission, as well as the state and federal courts, that its 20 year contract to buy gas at a fixed price of \$.36 per thousand cubic feet had been violated when LVGC increased the rate to \$1.87. LVGC's argument that the city did not have a fixed price contract prevailed in the courts and Crystal City found itself \$800,000 in arrears.

The decision came down hard on residents, where 65% of the people have incomes under federal poverty guidelines and 85% of the housing stock is substandard. But the political

defiance of city officials appears to have generated new sources of energy with hopeful side benefits.

The immediate stop-gap measure was to utilize a \$300,000 Community Services Administration (CSA) grant to provide propane tanks to residents. But with propane prices as high as LVGC gas, the officials decided to develop renewable resources as well. CSA provided the Zavala County Economic Development Corp. (now called Community Assistance for Self Help - CASH) with a \$5000 grant to install 950 army surplus woodstoves at \$25 apiece.

The following year a \$200,000 grant from the National Center for Appropriate Technology (NCAT) initiated a low cost solar hot water program and a four county energy assessment with assistance from non-profit Maximum Potential in Building Systems (Max's Pot), a factory was set up on a shoestring budget of \$2500 that allowed CETA workers to produce four

# Legislative Updates

## Plant Closings

Rhode Island - Three pieces of plant closing legislation died in committee last session, but the strongest bill will be rewritten and reintroduced in the 1981 legislature. The new bill, entitled "The Notification and Community Assistance Act," will be re-drafted by the Rhode Island Coalition To Save Jobs, a project of the Community Labor Organizing Committee. Representative Zygmunt J. Friedemann has agreed to sponsor the legislation which includes one year advance notice, severance benefits, employer contributions to a community assistance fund, continuation of health insurance, mandatory public hearings on every plant closing, and the establishment of an Employee and Community Assistance Administration.

Oregon - An employee ownership bill, introduced by Senator Ted Kulongoski, died in the business-dominated Trade and Economic Development Committee last session. However a new bill, Employment Stabilization Act of 1980, drafted by the Portland based Plant Closure Organizing Committee, will be introduced in the 1981 session. The bill provides for advance notification, severance benefits, investigations of imminent plant closings, and employee/government buyouts.

California - A strong plant closing bill requiring advance notification of relocations, closings, and substantial lay-offs; severance pay; and the creation of a community assistance fund, died in committee when the legislative session came to a close on August 29. Plans are underway to reintroduce a similar bill next year. Hearings on plant closings are currently being held by the Industrial Relations Committee. The first took place on September 8 in Los Angeles with four more scheduled at other locations throughout the state.

Illinois - A plant closings bill, introduced by Representatives Miriam D. Balanoff and Glenn V. Dawson, was voted out of committee favorably this year but went down to defeat on the floor. Organizing efforts to build stronger grassroots and legislative support for a new plant dosing bill are in the works. The Illinois Public

Action Council, a state-wide coalition of labor and citizen groups, is redrafting the new bill as well as running a "Job Loss Campaign" that will push for stronger plant dosing legislation. Also, a conference of trade unionists, public officials, and activists is planned for November to educate citizens throughout the state and to mobilize support on plant dosing issues.

## Nuclear

Texas - University Mobilization for Survival in Austin is preparing a campaign to pass an alternative energy/anti-nuclear initiative during the city elections in April. The proposed measure would require the city-owned utility to withdraw all funds from a south Texas nuclear project and require that all future additional energy capacity be developed through alternative/renewable sources. The initiative would also enact a strict energy conservation building code for both residential and commercial structures and eliminate declining block rate pricing replacing that with a lifeline provision and a peak load pricing program.

Maine - A measure to dose down Maine's only nuclear plant and to ban the construction of others was defeated on September 23. The campaign to defeat the initiative raised \$1 million, ten times as much as the grassroots movement that grew up around the measure. Supporters of the initiative argued that the lost capacity could be replaced with conservation, hydro-electric power, and co-generation of electricity by industrial plants using their waste heat.

Massachusetts - Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAJC) has collected the necessary signatures to place the question of nuclear power development on the ballot in many local electoral districts. The initiative, while not binding, is a strongly worded anti-nuclear, pro-renewable energy mandate to local legislators to vote accordingly.

Other States - Residents of Oregon and South Dakota will decide in November whether to restrict future

nuclear plant construction within their states, and the question may be on the ballot in Missouri, if supporters get enough signatures. Washington and Montana will have measures on their November ballots to restrict nuclear waste disposal within their borders.

## Housing

California - The Los Angeles City Council has voted to renew the City's rent control law for another year, holding annual rent increases to 7% in 1981, and establishing criminal penalties for flagrant landlord violations of the law. However, an effort to eliminate vacancy decontrol, a provision which allows landlords to indiscriminately raise rents for new tenants, was defeated.

Massachusetts - The state recently began a \$1 million demonstration program to purchase condominiums for elderly persons who would otherwise be displaced by conversion.

District of Columbia - In June, the District of Columbia passed the "Family with Children Equal Rights Act of 1980," which prohibits housing discrimination against families with children. A similar law was passed in Santa Monica, California last year.

## Agriculture

California - Butte County residents will have an opportunity to vote for an initiative in November which will preserve prime agriculture land and slow the pace of urban development. Under the proposal, suburban and industrial development next to farm land would be permitted only if it doesn't diminish agricultural productivity. The measure will also prevent "leap frog" development, which places unfair strain on already existing urban services.

Massachusetts - The state allocated an additional \$5 million for their "Purchase of Farmland Development Rights" program, now totalling \$15 million. Under the program, farmers voluntarily sell the right to develop their land to the Commonwealth, thus ensuring that the land will always remain in agricultural production. The farmer retains all other rights of ownership.

## Innovative Policies For Funding State Environmental Programs

by David Jones

**E**nvironmental programs, like all forms of social spending, are subject to the budget-cutting affecting the legislators who vote for their appropriations. State ecology programs whose immediate impact is neither widespread nor widely felt may be especially vulnerable to budget cuts or even deletion.

To ensure long-term funding for environmental programs, a number of states have developed innovative financing mechanisms.

**Personalized License Plate Fees** — Since 1970 the State of California has channeled nearly \$13 million in revenues from the sale of personalized license plates into the Environmental Protection Program Fund. The heads of the California Resources Agency and the Business and Transportation Agency recommend allocations for specific environmental projects and studies for inclusion in the Governor's budget. Each grant must be approved by the Legislature during its yearly budget review.

In California's 1979-80 fiscal year the system generated over \$8.4 million. The projects funded—carried out by state and local governments and a few nonprofit organizations—have included the purchase of ecological reserves, air pollution and soil erosion

studies, and various environmental education programs. Oregon and Washington State operate similar programs.

**Income Tax Check-Offs** — Colorado residents may check off a box on their income tax forms, allocating any portion of their income tax refunds to the Nongame Wildlife Cash Fund. Administered by the state Division of Wildlife, the check-off has raised over \$1 million since enabling legislation was passed in 1977. The Division works to save endangered species of nonhunted wildlife, protect nonendangered species, and promote "nonconsumptive uses of wildlife" (for example, photography and bird-watching).

**Special Funds** — The Wisconsin Fund establishes a statutory formula which sets aside general purpose revenues for three state programs. The 1977 law provides for a "two-line" appropriation system. The state uses the formula to reserve a specific dollar amount for the Fund. The Wisconsin legislature then allocates the money to individual programs administered by the state Department of Natural Resources.

Of the \$61.7 million generated in fiscal year 1978-79, all but \$1.7 million was appropriated for "point source

water pollution abatement" (pollutants discharged into water from easily-ascertained sources). The Fund also provides grants for programs to combat "nonpoint source" water pollution and establish solid waste disposal facilities.

These programs could be replicated in most other states. In fact, given their success, progressives might investigate earmarking other funds from state fees for specified purposes.

• Information on California's customized license plate fee program may be obtained from the Resource Agency, Office of the Secretary, 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento, CA 95814.

• For more information on the Colorado Nongame Wildlife Cash Fund, write the Department of Natural Resources, Division of Wildlife, 6060 Broadway, Denver, CO 80216.

• Single copies of a 1979 report on the Wisconsin Fund Environmental Grants Program can be obtained by writing the Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, State Capitol, Madison, WI 53702.

*David Jones is Coordinator of the Diffusion Project at the Center for Study of Responsive Law in Washington, D.C.*

## Resources

### Condo Conversion Studied

Concern over the impacts of condominium conversions has finally come to national prominence in the past year. Congressional hearings were held, articles appeared in scores of major newspapers and magazines, HUD released a major report on the subject and groups all over the country introduced measures in their cities to control or stop conversions. Two new reports have recently been issued which should aid groups involved in working to control this phenomenon.

The Urban Consortium *Information Bulletin on Condominium Conversion Controls* analyses different aspects of condo conversions including consumer protection, tenants' rights and displacement of renters. The authors also present a discussion of the different approaches now being applied to

resolve problems caused by conversions. While no new long term solutions are offered to the problem of displacement, particularly that of low-income and elderly households, it does furnish an overview of current housing supply and demand dynamics to explain the underlying causes. Displacement is characterized as an income problem which has become a housing problem. Recommendations for new Federal housing policies and initiatives dealing with consumer abuses and tenants' rights issues are presented. The publication also lists information resources and a selected bibliography.

Copies of the bulletin (pp. 61) are available from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 20402.

*Condominium Conversion in Fairfax County, Virginia*, is a comprehensive report reviewing the issues surrounding condominium conversions in Fairfax County. The report includes discussion of the reasons for the lack of new multi-family rental unit construction and the increases in condo conversion in the County. The document furnishes possible solutions for maintaining existing rental housing, promoting construction of new rental units, and minimizing the adverse effects of conversion on tenants.

For more information contact Ronald B. Mallard, Director, Fairfax County Department of Consumer Affairs, 4031 University Dr., Fairfax, VA 22030.

# Resources

## Feeling the Effects of Energy "Independence"

Coalition leaders' recent U.S. Energy Information Administration report and the drive to increase production in 46 mining areas brings attention to the face with the increasing dependence on massive extraction of mineral resources for the U.S. and industrial conversion from oil. Three recent publications by coal activists and public officials concerned about the effects of these massive extractions are:

*Energy Development in the Western United States: Impact on Rural Areas* by Steve Murdock and Larry Leistriz which provides a survey of the social and economic impacts of such development. This comprehensive volume examines present resource production and makes projections for future development. *Energy Development in the Western United States* contains extensive tables of demographic data, energy production data and current and projected incomes and expenditures of government agencies. By Praeger Publishers, 383 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10017, (pp. 363X 1979).

*Economic and Fiscal Impacts of Coal Development: Northern Great Plains* by John Kentilla and Anthony Fisher presents an econometric forecasting model for the economic and fiscal impacts of coal development. Using this model, the authors make quantitative estimates of the economic, demographic, and fiscal effects of coal development over the next 20 years. Detailed estimates of tax revenues and government expenditures under different demographic and coal production conditions are included. By Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 1978, (pp. 208).

*Taxation, Mining, and the Severance Tax* by Karl Starch presents an overview of the relationship between several types of mining taxes and examines the rationale for imposing a severance tax. This pamphlet also discusses the impact of different types of taxes on the production of mineral resources. Extensive tables describing types and rates of severance taxes in coal producing states are included. By U.S. Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Mines, Information Circular #8788, 1979, (pp. 65).

## Resources for Fighting Tax Inequities

Public officials and concerned citizen groups involved in fair taxation issues will be interested in two recent New York PIRG publications. *Assess Us As You Will: A Study of Residential Property Tax Assessment in the City of Syracuse* labels the residential property tax practices in that city inaccurate and unfair. By documenting the systemic overassessment of lower valued homes, PIRG argues that the city is making home maintenance and improvement difficult for low- and moderate-income homeowners, hurting local businesses and negatively affecting the community at large. The study documents the scope of the assessment inequities and offers several possible explanations for them.

The *NYPRIG Homeowner's Guide to Property Tax* is an excellent beginner's resource for understanding the tax system. Detailed instructions are provided on how to check assessments, determine if they are fair, and challenge them if they are not. The guide includes a section on filling out a complaint form with a handy worksheet as an aid.

For copies of *Assess Us As You Will* (\$3.00) and *Homeowner's Guide to Property Tax* (\$1.50), write NYPIRG Publications, 5 Beckman Street, Room 1000, New York, NY 10038.

## ENERGY CONSERVATION RESOURCES

*Energy Conservation Resources* is a selected listing of books, newsletters, journals, and magazines—as well as regional and national energy research, lobbying, and advocacy groups involved in state and local conservation programs. The Energy Project of the Conference has prepared this comprehensive resource guide to assist interested legislators, policy makers, and activists to gain an overview of the potential for energy conservation policy development at the local, state and federal level.

*Energy Conservation Resources* (20 pp.) is available for \$2.00 from the Publications Department

## HUD Publishes Revitalization Guide

Neighborhood revitalization starts at home, according to a recent publication of HUD's Office of Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations and Consumer Protection. *Neighborhoods: A Self-Help Sampler*, tells of energetic individuals inventing dramatic solutions to neighborhood problems.

The *Sampler* details successes in six areas: "getting started" (planning and fundraising), housing rehabilitation, economic development, arts and culture, neighborhood improvement and social services. Projects range from tool-lending libraries to canning cooperatives to artists' industrial park."

Featuring extensive quotes from activists, the *Sampler* includes "how to" guides for replicating each project. Appendices describe federal programs, technical assistance groups, money sources and practical publications.

Copies of the report can be purchased for \$5.50 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. (Stock Number 023000005594)

## Property Tax & Municipal Finance Reform

The Ontario New Democratic Party has developed a proposal addressing the twin problems of property tax and municipal funding entitled *Proposals For Property Tax and Municipal Finance Reform*. The proposal would be implemented over a five year period and is designed to restructure the tax system to reflect ability to pay. Under the plan tenants would receive credit for property taxes and all special reductions for corporate and individual taxpayers would be eliminated.

To carry out the proposal a new assessment system would be implemented which would substitute income, corporate, and other progressive taxes for local property taxes and a land speculation tax would be added.

Copies of the proposal (pp.14) are available from the New Democratic Party, 301 Metcalf St., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K2P1S2.

# nnraiMKi ONS



**Corporate Flight: The Causes and Consequences of Economic Dislocation**

A groundbreaking study providing new documentation and analysis of the extent of plant closings in this country and the rising levels of joblessness and economic dislocation caused by unrestrained capital movement. The authors assess the extent of capital mobility and the social costs of unregulated private investment decisions.

*By Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison; co-published with the Progressive Alliance. (Oct. 1980) 32 pp.*  
\$3.95; \$7.95 Institutions

**Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders**  
*(1979) 85 pp.*  
\$4.95; \$6.95 Institutions

**Plant Closings Briefing Book: Issues, Politics, and Legislation**  
*(1980) 70 pp.*  
\$4.95; \$9.95 Institutions

**Industrial Exodus**  
*Ed Kelly (1977) 30 pp.*  
\$2.95; \$5.95 Institutions

**The Cities' Wealth**  
*(1976) 85 pp.*  
\$3.95 \$7.95 Institutions

**Tax Abatements: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders**  
*(1979) 80 pp.*  
\$4.95 \$9.95 Institutions

**Economic Democracy: The Challenge of the 1980s**  
*Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer (1980) 430 pp.*  
\$9.95 \$19.95 Institutions

**Developing the Public Economy: Models From Massachusetts**  
*Edited by Pat McGuigan and Bob Schaeffer. (1979) 208 pp.*  
\$9.95 \$19.95 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 Kucinich, and why he lost in his re-election bid.

*Edited by Dan MarschaU with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign (1979) 180 pp.*  
\$7.95 \$15.95 Institutions

**Public Employee Pension Funds: New Strategies for Investment**  
*(1979) 180 pp.*  
\$9.95 \$19.95 Institutions

**State and Local Tax Revolt: New Directions for the '80s:**  
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 (June 1980) 380 pp.*  
\$9.95 \$19.95 Institutions

**The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices**  
*David Smith (1979) 22 pp.*  
\$2.95 \$5.95 Institutions

**New Initiatives in Energy Legislation: A State-by-State Guide 1979-1980**  
*(1980) 110 pp.*  
\$3.95 \$7.96 Institutions

**The Shifting Property Tax Burden: The Untold Cause of the Tax Revolt**

*Robert Kuttner (1980) 80 pp.*  
\$3.95 \$7.95 Institutions  
P Manual on Pay Equity: Raising Wages for Women's Work  
Thorough review of the "equal pay for work of comparable value" movement: legislative initiatives, litigation, news of organizing campaigns, comparable worth studies,

collective bargaining update and the latest research. Includes proceedings from the October 1979 Washington Conference on Pay Equity, extensive resource listing, and guides to action.  
*Edited by Joy Ann Grune in cooperation with the Committee on Pay Equity (1980) 230 pp.*  
\$9.95

**Moderate Rent Control: The Experience of U.S. Cities**  
*John Gilderblom (May 1980) 60 pp.*  
\$3.95 \$7.95 Institutions

**Women in the Economy: A Legislative Agenda**  
*(1979) 133 pp.*  
\$4.95 \$9.95 Institutions

**New Directions in Farm, Land and Food Policies: A Time for State and Local Action**  
*(2nd edition, Aug. 1980) 320 pp.*  
\$9.95 \$19.95 Institutions

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# Resources

## LAND/PLANNING

The Trust for Public Land, a nationwide land-conservation group will be providing training and technical assistance to neighborhoods in land acquisition techniques. The Trust will present 40 two-day workshops in such areas as land trust incorporation, open space management, fundraising, and acquisition of surplus public land.

Contact: Peter Stán at (212) 563-5959.

*The Growth Revolt: Aftershock of Proposition 13* is a study of the recent trend which has emerged in California for Communities to control growth through the initiative and referendum process. The report summarizes each initiative or referendum, provides information about the vote and spending, and highlights the public debate.

Contact: Office of Planning and Research, 1400 Tenth St., Sacramento, CA 95814 (916) 445-4831.

## PENSION FUNDS

*Pension Funds and Ethical Investment* by the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP) finds that pension fund managers could divest a major portion of their securities held in companies deemed unethical without suffering significant loss or added risk. The study encourages four distinct strategies ranging from voting each proxy to divesting from all offending corporations.

Contact: Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011 (212) 691-8550, variable prices.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Growing economic concentration and government policies are making small businesses an endangered species, according to *Small Business: New Directions for the 1980's* released by the National Center for Economic Alternatives (NCEA). The report finds that small businesses promote innovation, fight inflation and produce the greatest number of jobs. Recommendations

include increased enforcement of anti-trust laws, loosening of tight Federal Reserve policies, special loan rates, tax breaks and increased R&D. (45 pp)

Another NCEA study, *Absentee and Local Ownership of Maine Manufacturing*, concludes that local ownership may be the key to creating more jobs in Maine. The study finds that smaller, Maine-owned businesses create more jobs than branches of absentee-owned corporations and are less likely to lay off workers or close operations in tight financial times. The report concludes that Maine should support the expansion and growth of Maine-owned firms rather than trying to attract outside firms with state tax breaks and subsidies. (30 pp)

Contact: National Center for Economic Alternatives, 2000 P St, NW, Washington DC 20036.

*Who Runs New Mexico?* is an impressive series of 32 reports, 23 corporation profiles, and a booklet detailing the power structures in New Mexico by New Mexico People & Energy. The report finds that power is distributed in several categories—resources, industry, financial, governmental, and land, each tied to outside interest groups which control much of New Mexico's economy.

Contact: New Mexico People and Energy, Box 4726, Albuquerque, NM 87196 (505)266-5009.

## DISPLACEMENT

The National Urban Coalition has released a catalogue, *Neighborhood Transition Without Displacement* aimed at preventing displacement of long-time residents from neighborhoods undergoing renovation. The booklet provides case studies, and details local and federal government protections and subsidies which citizen groups can use to stop displacement. It also contains information on forming housing co-ops and furnishes an extensive bibliography.

Contact: National Urban Coalition,

1201 Conn. Ave., NW, Washington DC 20036, 117 pp., \$6.00.

HUD's recently released *The Conversion of Rental Housing to Condominiums and Cooperatives: A National Study of Scope, Causes and Impacts* provides detailed information on the volume and location of conversion activity and reviews who buys and who doesn't and its effects on the community. The controversial study reports that 366,000 rental housing units have been converted since 1970. The report and two appendices contain municipal ordinances, state statutes, and an annotated bibliography.

Contact: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington DC 20402.

## ENERGY

The Institute for Ecological Policies' *Energy & Power in Your Communities: How To Analyze, Where It Comes From, How Much It Costs, and Who Controls It*, is specifically designed for community groups with few resources needing short, easy projects to produce dramatic findings about their community energy system.

Contact: Institute for Ecological Policies, 9208 Christopher St, Fairfax, VA 22031 (703) 691-1271, 135 pp., \$7.50.

His Subcommittee on the City of the House Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs is calling for a halt to urban sprawl with its excessive energy consumption. *Compact Cities: Energy Saving Strategies for the Eighties*, maintains that suburban sprawl is splattering industry across the countryside, devouring farmland at a dangerous rate and wasting energy at every turn. Several strategies are offered to preserve communities and farmland by encouraging energy efficiency.

Contact: Chery Summers, House Subcommittee on the City, 604 Annex, 1 HBO, Washington DC (202)225-2495.

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# Wry & Means

## Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies

Vol. 3 No. 6

November-December, 1980

### Alternative Energy Futures for the 80's: A Resource Guide

By Michael Totten

Cities are experiencing a "balance of payments" crisis. This year, in the average American city, total energy expenditures will exceed \$1000 per resident. Yet, only 15% of those energy dollars will be recycled back into the local economy, typically through taxes, wages, salaries, profits and dividends. This situation has been brought about by traditional federal and corporate energy policies which assumed that centralized electrical generating plants and synthetic fuel operations were the only answer to displacing foreign imports. Increasingly, local planners are finding that more promising answers may be found by treating the local community as an "energy producer."

Because the U.S. economy was built upon cheap energy resources, most of our buildings, factories, and transportation carriers were designed with little regard for efficiency. Now, in this time of fiscal belt tightening, measures to tap these pools of energy waste are becoming more and more attractive.

- Voters in New Jersey recently approved a \$50 million bond issue to improve the energy efficiency of state buildings, institutions, and educational facilities. This energy conservation bond issue is expected to reduce the state government's energy consumption by 15%.

- In California, six cities are establishing municipal service utilities (MSUJs), financed by municipal bonds. The MSU's will provide conservation services and lease solar water heaters.

- The City of Oakland, California is considering a plan to finance a cogeneration facility in conjunction with the local utility to reduce electric costs by converting waste industrial heat into steam.

Five years ago, when pioneering cities such as Davis, California, Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington began looking for ways to cut energy costs, very little information was available from which to estimate local potential. Today, extensive data bases have been created, sophisticated energy savings prediction models have been developed and a broad range of energy "production" alternatives exist. By using these tools effectively to gather information and identify energy efficiency opportunities, local communities can save energy while building stronger economies.

### Making the Case for Energy Efficiency

***JOBS AND ENERGY, THE EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF NUCLEAR POWER, CONSERVATION AND OTHER ENERGY OPTIONS*** by Steven Bucksbaum and James Benton.

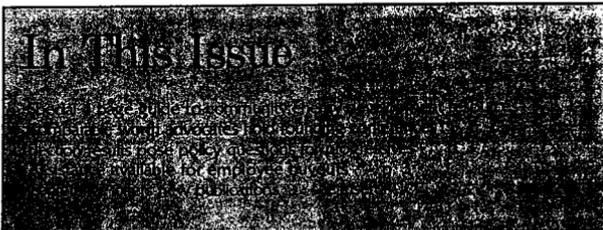
The Council on Economic Priorities' *Jobs and Energy* is the most ambitious and comprehensive study to date comparing the local benefits of conservation

and solar to more traditional forms of energy development. By comparing cost effective conservation and solar technologies with the cost of importing fuel oil and developing a proposed two unit 2300 unit megawatt nuclear reactor in a two county area of Long Island, N.Y., researchers found that a \$4 billion investment in conservation and solar technologies would save consumers between \$7 and \$11 billion, or roughly \$5,800 to \$8,400 per household, over that same time period (Actual savings would be considerably higher since energy prices have increased at a rate eight times higher than that assumed by the authors.)

The study, which was limited to currently accepted technological modifications in the residential sector, found that the conservation/solar scenario was a far greater generator of both local and national jobs than conventional energy investments. CEP's strategy, after accounting for reduced employment in the energy supply industries would create 10,000 to 12,000 new jobs in Nassau and Suffolk counties, and an additional 10,000 to 12,000 jobs in other parts of the country. Noting that the Nassau/Suffolk region contains one percent of the U.S. population, the authors suggest that more than one million jobs would be created if this strategy were implemented nationwide.

Contact: Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth St, New York, NY 10011, 1979, 300 pp, (212) 691-8550.

continued on page 4...



# People

Even though the national elections have been widely interpreted as a conservative mandate, a preliminary sample of state legislative races indicates that progressives across the country held their own or made gains. In West Virginia, where two "very conservative" new congressmen were elected according to State Senator Si Galperin, four new progressive senators Bob Wise, Robert Holliday, Jean Chace and Homer Heck will probably team up with six progressive incumbents to control the state senate. In Arizona, pro-choice candidates Marsha Weeks, Lela Alson, Cal Holman, Richard Kimball, Jacques Steiner and Peter Kay all beat conservative challengers to win. In Massachusetts, progressives increased their representation with the election of Senators Pat McGovern, Martin Riley, and George Bachrach and Reps. Susan Schur, Tom Gallagher and Cecil Hicks. In Minnesota, Reps. Carolyn Rodriguez, Karen Clark and Rev. Earl Haugue added to the progressive ranks. Winners of other important races in dude Sen. Michael Schwarzwalber, Ohio; Sen. Tom Serrani,

Connecticut; Rep. May Neuberger, New York; and Assembly member Richard Robinson, California... Jim Hightower, who was narrowly defeated in his race for the Texas Railroad Commission earlier this year, has written an excellent think piece on his race and what it could mean for other campaigns. For copies, send \$2.00 to The Hightower Committee, 1604 Brackenridge St., Austin, TX 78704... VISTA Director Marge Tabankin has moved on to become the Executive Director of the ARCA Foundation... Two Washington "public interest" editors have made important moves in recent months—former *People and Taxes* editor Ann Witte is now editor of NYPIRG's *Agenda* and former *CAPE Update* editor, Steve Rabin, has gone to work for the Kamber Group, a labor oriented consulting group... Please let us know what you think of *Ways & Means*' new format. We changed it to provide more in-depth coverage on one topic in each edition and to lower the cost enough to allow us to distribute it to a much wider audience than we have in the past.

JT

## Pay Equity Advocates Hold Founding Conferences

The National Committee on Pay Equity, a new national coalition, held its founding convention in Washington, DC on October 24, 1980. Keynote speakers included Carin Clausa, Solicitor of Labor/Department of Labor; Daniel Leach, Vice Chair of the EEOC; and Winn Newman, General Counsel for IUE and CLUW and Chair of the ADA Executive Committee. The Committee, a coalition of labor, women's and civil rights organizations, is dedicated to ending structural wage discrimination against women and minority workers.

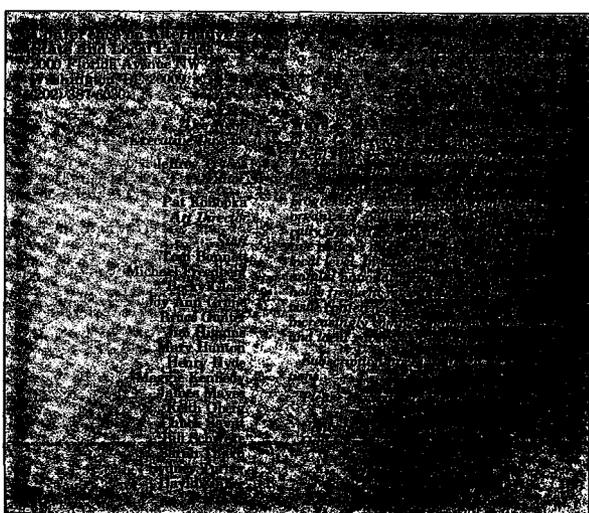
Board members include: National Committee on Household Employment Working Women; AFSCME; Women's Legal Defense Fund, Business and Professional Women's Foundation; American Nursing Association; CLUW and the National Hook-Up of Black Women. Eight task forces will develop technical and educational materials and services.

Contact: National Committee on Pay Equity, Rawlalt Resource Center, 2012 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington DC 20036

A Massachusetts comparable worth campaign was kicked off at "Raising Wages for Women's Work: Strategies for Comparable Worth in Massachusetts,"\*\* a conference held at the Boston YWCA, October 18, 1980. The Massachusetts Women's Commission in Exile and the Women in the Economy Project organized the event to promote and coordinate the growing number of pay equity activities in the state. Speakers included: Massachusetts State Senator Sharon Pollard, IUE Counsel Carol Wilson, AFSCME Women's Program Administrator Andrea DiLorenzo, and EEOC Attorney Virginia Waters.

State legislators and the Women's Legislative Caucus are now designing a legislative strategy while unions, lawyers and others are investigating new litigation and organizing opportunities. To date, almost 40 organizations have signed a comparable worth resolution encouraging efforts to raise women's wages and the state AFLCIO has supported a similar initiative.

Contact: Women's Commission in Exile, 59 Temple Place, Room 612, Boston, MA 02111.



# Election Results Muddy Policy Waters

By Tom Bonnett

The state and local policy implications of the recent elections are still unclear. Federal budget cuts could decimate many important programs. On the other hand, more non-categorical money flowing from the federal level could give progressives new opportunities to develop innovative policies on the local level. Or federally regulated programs could be turned over to states in large numbers. One outcome of the election is clear—much of the action is moving back to the state and local level and much of it will be partisan.

Many observers had expected the Republican Party to enjoy the same kind of victory in state legislatures that they experienced in the U.S. Senate. Particularly in light of its much publicized emphasis on state races, 200 seats out of approximately 6000 races must be considered a modest increase. In 1978, when no national elections were contested, the Republicans gained 275 seats.

Generally though, the gains made this year by the Republicans were strategic. The GOP maintained and strengthened its control of 29 of the 30 legislative chambers it formerly held and gained

control of another five, including chambers in three of the country's most populous states—Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania. Specifically, the Republicans gained control of the Ohio Senate, the Illinois House, the Pennsylvania Senate, the Washington House and the Montana House.

Republicans also made a number of important gains in other states. In Illinois and Washington, the GOP not only took control of the House, but came within one seat in both states of taking the Senate. In Indiana, Republicans solidified what had been tenuous control of the House and Senate, and in New Mexico, they gained 11 seats, coming within two seats of a majority. Impressive gains were also made in North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Utah and Connecticut, where Republicans took 18 additional House seats.

While Democrats did not lose as many seats as might have been expected, significant gains were almost non-existent. Democrats did not gain control of a single new chamber. The closest they came was picking up one seat in the Alaska Senate to tie the Republicans with 10

seats each. Besides coming close in Alaska, Democrats came within one seat of winning the Maine Senate, solidified their control of the Minnesota House by gaining three seats and made dramatic gains on Republican majorities in both the Delaware and Vermont Senates.

When the 1981 legislative sessions begin, Democrats will control both chambers in 28 legislatures, Republicans 14 and seven will be split between the two parties. While many legislative issues are not decided along party lines, one very important one—congressional reapportionment—often is.

Because state legislatures will reapportion congressional districts following the 1980 census, causing most existing districts to change as a result, each party has a major stake in controlling the process. In general, the Republican gains will strengthen their position nationally with control of chambers in Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania where dramatic population shifts will force drastic redistricting.

Tom Bonnett is a former Vermont state legislator.

## New Federal Resources for Employee Ownership

By Corey Rosen

State and local officials interested in fostering employee ownership of business can contribute their support in a variety of ways: public agencies can provide technical assistance in management and financing; CETA can be tapped to retrain workers; local governments can supply "bridge" funding during the transition to employee ownership; and regulations can be modified to remove constrictions. Now several new resources are available for furthering employee ownership.

On July 2, President Carter signed the Small Business Employee Ownership Act which provides the Small Business Administration with the authority to make loan guarantees to employee trusts either for the purchase of a business or as a mechanism to finance new growth in an expanding business. The trusts may be part of employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs) or other

employee ownership plans. In general, the law requires that the stock financed through the SBA loan guarantee be voting stock. SBA can guarantee up to \$500,000 in loan authority.

Both Houses of Congress also passed legislation providing clear legislative authority for the Economic Development Administration to provide loans for employee buyouts of companies meeting other EDA criteria. Essentially, EDA makes financial assistance available to companies or community development agencies located in areas of economic distress, a criteria encompassing most of the country. Both grants and loans are available. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has agreed to make its Urban Development Action Grant Program available for employee ownership. Last summer a major grant under this program went to the Rath Packing Company in Iowa

with 2500 employees. Grants are made to local community groups which then loan the money to an employee trust to buy the company.

The Farmers Home Administration has also established a favorable policy towards employee ownership, through its Business and Industrial Loan program. Direct and guaranteed loans are made to businesses located in cities with fewer than 50,000 people located in non-standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

Finally, the National Consumer Cooperative Bank is setting aside 10% of its resources for producer cooperatives including worker-owned co-ops.

Persons seeking further information about these programs should contact the appropriate agencies or Corey Rosen, National Center for Employee Ownership, 4836, S. 28th St., Arlington, VA 22206 (703)931-2757.

Corey Rosen recently left the Senate Small Business Committee to found the National Center for Employee Ownership.

**AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE ALLEN-WARNER VALLEY ENERGY TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC ANALYSIS** by Daniel Kirshner.

This recent study of a coal development plan proposed by two California utilities found that a similar investment in increasing energy user efficiency and developing alternative sources of energy would result in a \$500 million savings to consumers over a 12 year period. The Environmental Defense Fund uses a computer simulation to compare the costs and benefits of "end-use" efficiency measures (insulation, storm windows, etc.) and alternative energy developments such as geothermal, cogeneration, wind and biomass with two coal projects proposed by the utilities involving extraction, transportation and conversion of the coal into electricity.

The EDF proposal considers a wide range of renewable resource options and encompasses a large, diverse area. Unfortunately, it does not assess the employment potential of the different options. However, the nature of the alternative investment proposal suggests that a significant number of jobs would be created under that scenario.

An earlier EDF analysis found that the energy needs met by nine of 10 nuclear and coal plants proposed by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. could be met by shifting to alternative energy sources at lower cost. EDF's studies have been so successful that more than 25 state public utility commissions have requested EDF to study utility proposals in their states.

Contact: Environmental Defense Fund, 2606 Dwight Way, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415) 548-8906, July, 1980, 165 pp., \$10.

**PLANNING FOR ENERGY SELF-RELIANCE: A CASE STUDY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**, David Morris, Project Manager.

This is one of the best reports available for illustrating how cities can offset an energy balance of payment deficit through local energy "production." Author David Morris, of the Institute for Local Self Reliance, and a team of researchers found that the District of Columbia imported over \$500 million in 1977 and "exported" over \$400 million in energy payments (excluding the federal government). By tracing the money flows that returned to the local economy, the researchers determined that only 134

of every energy dollar returned to the city.

The study assesses the potential for conservation, resource recovery, solar energy and transportation efficiency improvements in the residential, commercial/institutional, and industrial sectors and concludes that the energy use in the District of Columbia could be cut in half through a joint public/private investment of \$500 million over a seven year period.

The Institute has recently issued a draft report for a similar study of Baltimore, Maryland.

Contact: Institute for Local Self Reliance, 1717 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 232-4108.

**THE FRANKLIN COUNTY STUDY** by the Franklin County Energy Project

Officials in Franklin County, Massachusetts began examining alternative energy futures in 1975. At that time, the county exported \$24.5 million for imported fuels: an amount equal to the total payroll of the area's top 10 industries. Comparing a number of forecasts for energy growth in the county, they found that each household would spend at least \$6,000 for all energy needs by the year 2000. In the report, "High Energy Potential," which was assisted by a DOE grant, assesses the county's renewable potential and finds that wind energy alone, if properly harnessed, could produce more electricity than the county presently consumes.

Contact: Mari Cherniak, Franklin County Energy Project, Box 54B, Greenfield, MA 01301, 600 pp., \$12.



**THE BIG SWITCH, A PLAN TO SAVE NEW YORK** by Leonard Rodberg and Geoffrey Stokes

Manhattan has over 100 people per acre, a density more than 12 times that of the average U.S. community. Nonetheless, as outlined by this article, New Yorkers possess enough energy efficient opportunities and renewable resources to provide at least half of the nearly 200 million barrels of oil equivalent they consume each year at a cost of \$5 billion. The authors propose a one billion dollar per year investment in creating a New York City conservation and renewable energy industry. This would create 15,000 direct jobs and an additional 30,000 indirect and induced jobs.

Contact: Leonard Rodberg, Public Resource Center, 1747 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 483-3321.

**ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS** by Hampshire College

Can a small town become energy self-sufficient? According to this study, not only can Northampton become self-sufficient, but local energy related employment can also be increased by 70%. Researchers found that residents expended \$25.8 million for imported fuel in 1977 with only 12% of the funds respend within the community. The \$22.7 million which flowed out of the community was greater than the combined payrolls of the town's 7 largest industries. By considering a wide range of indigenous renewable resources, the authors predict that even using conservative estimates the project would net \$40 million in savings while increasing local energy employment by 70%.

Contact\* National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, 5285 Dirt Royal Road, Springfield, VA 22161, printed copy - \$11, microfiche \$3.

**How To Do It**

**COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY ENERGY MANAGEMENT PROGRAM (CCEMP)**

Funded by the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE), CCEMP is the largest and most comprehensive effort now underway to aid local communities in developing methodologies for assessing

and harnessing local resource potential. Twenty-two communities, both urban and rural, are participating in a multi-year process to set long range energy conservation and production goals, develop guidelines and methodologies for assessing local potential, and create an implementation plan.

With the help of the Argonne National Labs, a federal research facility, public officials, planners and citizen groups in each city have developed long range goals and objectives which are being translated into policy and management choices.

Participants in this pilot program include: Philadelphia, PA; Seattle, WA; Wayne County, MI; South Florida Regional Planning Council; Brookfield, VT; and the Kankakee Iroquois Regional Planning Council, IL. Case studies will be prepared for each of the areas upon completion of the process; nine are currently available.

Contact: Jerry Duanne, DOE/Conservation and Solar Energy/Office of Buildings and Community Systems/Community Systems Division, 1000 Independence Ave. SW, Washington, DC 20585 (202)252-9395.

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**A GUIDE TO SOFT ENERGY STUDIES** by David Brooks and Sean Casey

Modeled after Amory Lovins' path-breaking study *Soft Energy Paths*, Brooks and Casey describe the basic principles of a soft energy study for regional areas. They take the potential user through detailed step-by-step "end use" analyses of demand options for each community sector and then describe supply options. Emphasis is on cost effective measures, with no attention focused on employment impacts or multiplier effects on the community when developing local resources. A joint research project, funded by the national government, is assessing the renewable resource potential of each of the Canadian provinces.

Contact: Alternatives, Trait University, Peterborough, Ontario, Canada K9J7B8 Summer/Fall, 1979.

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**COUNTY ENERGY PLAN GUIDE-BOOK: CREATING A RENEWABLE ENERGY PLAN** by Alan Okagaki with Jim Benson.

The *CEP Guidebook* is an "organizing tool" for assessing the potential for conservation and solar to displace conventional fuels by the year 2000 on the

county level using elementary math techniques. One major problem that has been noted by several reviewers is that only a few dozen cities are coterminous with counties. The authors admit that the planning guide is only a first step and refinements in locating more relevant data sources and analytic techniques will evolve with practice. More than 100 county studies are now in progress by a variety of local groups.

Contact: Institute for Ecological Policies, 2908 Christopher St. Fairfax, VA 22031 (703) 691-1271, July 1979, price varies.

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**MAKING SENSE OUT OF DOLLARS: ECONOMIC ANALYSIS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT** by Eva C. Galambos and Arthur F. Schreiber.

This book contains exceptionally lucid presentations on all aspects of local economic decisionmaking. The volume breaks down the economic base of local economies, explains employment and business diversity, and discusses the balance between a municipality's import and export sector. A particularly strong section on cost-benefit analysis of community projects should prove valuable to energy analysts involved in policymaking. For those involved in issues of economic efficiency and equity this book is probably the best place to start.

Contact: National League of Cities, 1620 Eye St. NW, Washington, DC 20006, November, 1978, 140 pp., \$10.

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**EMERGENCY ENERGY PLANNING MANUAL** by Abbie Page.

In light of continuing uncertainties regarding oil imports, many communities may have to quickly shift to local energy resources in the event of a severe oil shortfall. The manual can be utilized by local officials and planners to estimate the number of barrels of oil equivalent that can be "brought online," at what cost and in what time frame.

Contact: Abbie Page, Mitre Corporation, Bedford, MA 01730 (617)271-2000, available Spring, 1981.

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**CREATING JOBS THROUGH ENERGY POLICY: A GUIDE TO RESOURCES FOR DECISIONMAKERS** by Meg Schacter.

No issue has caused more controversy in the energy debate than jobs. A main source of support for the construction of

nuclear power plants came from the belief that it created abundant jobs. From a variety of studies it now appears that conservation and solar investment could provide far greater number of jobs when direct, indirect, and induced numbers are tallied. Meg Schacter's volume is a compendium of useful resources for assessing the employment impact of one energy investment compared to another. "Serious study of this compendium," she notes, "may eliminate some of the need for consultants... (and) professional economists". Common energy models and available data bases are listed, as well as a cost-benefit analysis framework developed by the author. The book is a tool for evaluating such tradeoffs as: "Should a city subsidize investment in solar energy or continue to rely on existing conventional energy sources."

Contact: Government Printing Office, Washington, DC Stock number 061-000-00329-1, July 1979.

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**RENEWABLE ENERGY RESOURCE AND TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT** by Steve Weisman et al.

This three part volume provides a complete inventory of renewable resources in a three county area of upstate New York. Using the guide, which also includes a renewable energy technology handbook and a technology assessment workbook, public officials, planners, developers and home builders can better site buildings and energy facilities, plan transportation networks and guide future development.

This guide is an excellent model for groups interested in developing local renewable energy assessments and provides a good description of how energy inventories can be used and managed with appropriate technologies.

Contact: Steve Weisman, Southern Tier Central Regional Planning and Development Board, 531Vi Bridge St, Corning NY 14830 1978, 170 pp., \$9.

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**PHILADELPHIA SOLAR PLANNING PROJECT**

In addition to the Philadelphia Comprehensive Community Energy Management Program efforts, the Philadelphia Solar Planning Project is involving local universities, private consulting firms and local governments in assessing the maximum achievable potential of conservation and solar for the city. Under a grant from the U.S. Department of Energy's SUNACT (Solar Utilization Applied

continued on page 6 . . .

to Cities and Towns) program planners are preparing detailed working papers on policy, financing, zoning, audits, markets, neighborhoods, applications costs, building codes, economic impact and utility impact.

Contact: Frank DeServio, Office of Solar Application for Buildings, Rm 56-070, 1000 Independence Ave. SW, Washington, DC 20585.

## Keeping Up WHH New Developments

### SOLAR ENERGY INFORMATION DATA BANK (SEIDB)

This newly created national clearinghouse was authorized by Congress to provide solar information to local officials and community leaders. Under the auspices of the Solar Energy Research Institute, the data bank distributes an extensive annotated bibliography on the thousands of studies and reports available, both in "hard copy" and microfiche. Reading lists are available on community energy planning and case studies in community energy planning.

Contact: SERI/Information Systems Division, 1617 Cole Blvd., Golden, CO 80401.

### FEDERAL ENERGY DATA INDEX (FEDEX)

FEDEX is a computerized data base created by the Office of Energy Information Services, Energy Information Administration of DOE. Documents, indexed down to the table and graph, cover actual and projected information on energy resource reserves, production and consumption, and related economic information for national, state, and regional levels.

Contact: Shelly Prosser, Office of Energy Information Services (EI-612), 1726 M St., Rm 240, Washington, DC 20461 (202)634-5594.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT CONSER- VA HON PROGRAMS

His DOE Office of Conservation and Solar Energy program is a central reference point for local government energy literature and model energy planning techniques. An annotated bibliography will be available January, 1981.

Contact William J. Raup, Local Government Conservation Programs, Institutional Conservation Programs, DOE/CS, Mail Stop 2H027 1000 Independence Ave. SW, Washington, DC 20505 (202)252-2335.

### PRESIDENT'S CLEARINGHOUSE ON COMMUNITY ENERGY EFFI- CIENCY (PCCEE)

Established in 1979, PCCEE compiles and disseminates information on local efforts to increase energy efficiency. The group provides information on local codes and ordinances enacted to promote solar energy and conservation and energy efficient land planning and transportation projects. Literature is available on renewable resources and energy efficient designs for residential, commercial, industrial and transportation applications. A quarterly newsletter, *Community Energy Efficiency*, is also available.

Contact: President's Clearinghouse, Suite 185, 400 North Capitol St. NW, Washington, DC 20001 (800)424-9040.

### AMERICAN PLANNING ASSOCIATION, ENERGY PLANNING DIVI- SION

Established six years ago, the APA's Energy Planning Division publishes a quarterly newsletter which includes case studies on state and local energy planning efforts. Their network includes over 600 professionals involved in energy planning at the federal, state, and local levels. Also, an energy planning directory is available to assist planners with technological and policy-making information.

Contact: APA Energy Planning Division, Box 172, Vienna, VA 22180 (703) 827-7040, \$15 annual dues.

### NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT ENERGY PROJECT

Founded by Environmentalists for Full Employment, the NCFE Energy Project will be a clearinghouse for information on jobs and energy. An analysis of over 70 studies examining energy-employment-economic growth relationships was released in February.

Contact: Cliff Aron, NCFE, 153616th St NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 347-5590.

### CITIZEN'S ENERGY PROJECT

CEP publishes both a newsletter and periodical briefs on specific topics concerning local energy development. The group plans to release a major compendium of community projects by the end of 1980.

Contact: Ken Bossong, CEP, 1110 6th St. NW, Washington, DC (202) 387-8998.

### THE ENERGY CONSUMER

DOE's Office of Consumer Affairs publishes this bi-monthly newsletter to keep the public informed about federal energy programs. The February/March, 1980 issue has a valuable state-by-state guide to the types of assistance which are available for community energy projects.

Contact: DOE/Office of Consumer Affairs, Room 8G082, Washington, DC 20585, free.

### COUNTY ENERGY PLAN NEWS- LETTER

James Benson, author of the County Energy Plan Guidebook, publishes this newsletter to both aid individuals performing county energy plan projects and provide information on the IOO such efforts proceeding throughout the nation.

Contact: James Benson, Institute for Ecological Policies, 9208 Christopher St., Fairfax, VA 22031 (703) 69M271, subscription fees vary.

### SELF RELIANCE

This bi-monthly newsletter of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance (ILSR) is a prime source of information on innovative neighborhood programs, community financing mechanisms, and energy efficiency and renewable resources information applicable to the local level. It is one of the best sources of information on resource recovery and ideas on small energy enterprises.

Contact: ILSR, 1717 18th St NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 232-4108, \$8 for individuals and \$15 for institutions, annually.

*Michael Totten is the newly appointed Director of the President's Clearinghouse on Community Energy Efficiency.*

# Legislative Update

## TAXES

Ohio—Ohio's "Fair Tax Initiative" which would have reduced taxes for homeowners, renters, seniors, family farms, and small businesses by closing corporate loopholes and increasing income taxes on large corporations and wealthy individuals, lost 3 to 1. Opponents spent \$3.6 million to defeat the measure, more than twice the amount spent on any other statewide initiative election in Ohio's history. The citizen/labor coalition which formed to pass the measure will continue, focussing on stopping anticipated cuts in social services and fighting a proposed regressive sales tax.

North Dakota—Voters increased the oil extraction tax from 5% to 11 1/2% earmarking the revenue for school aid and personal income tax credits. Public education also got a boost when the voters approved a constitutional amendment creating the Coal Development Impact Trust Fund, which requires that at least 15% of any coal severance tax be placed in a trust fund administered by the state Board of Universities and School Lands.

Oregon—Oregon voters adopted a 6% severance tax on oil and gas, with the revenue going into a common school fund.

Massachusetts—A ballot measure which proposed to cut property taxes by up to 70% by limiting them to 2 1/4% of the market value passed 3 to 2. The Vote No On Question Number 2 Committee had forecast that services would be slashed drastically because the state cannot afford to pick up a larger share of local costs as California did when Proposition 13 passed.

Connecticut and New York—On October 30, attorneys for Connecticut and New York appealed lower court rulings that states could not prohibit oil companies from passing state oil taxes on to customers. A ruling is expected from the Second Circuit Court of Appeals soon.

Michigan—Michigan voters turned down three separate tax-cutting proposals. The most conservative, known as the "Fish Amendment" would have reduced property tax assessments to 50% of the 1978 levels, limited increases to 2% a year, and required 60% voter approval for any new tax increases. The second measure would have shifted the funding base for schools from property to income taxes. The third measure which was sponsored by the legislature and the governor, would have shifted \$800 million in taxes from property to income taxes and

increased the sales tax by 1.5%.

Nebraska—A constitutional amendment was approved granting the legislature the power to offer property tax exemptions for energy conservation and alternative energy improvements.

Other States—Voters in six states, Arizona, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, and Utah, soundly defeated carbon copies of Proposition 13. However, in Missouri, Montana, and Arkansas tax cutting or spending limit proposals were approved. West Virginians passed an amendment to increase senior homestead exemptions from \$5,000 to \$10,000 and extend eligibility to the disabled. And New Jersey property taxes were reduced for seniors owning mobile homes.

## HOUSING

Colorado—A proposition that would have allowed homeowners to transfer their old mortgages to new buyers failed. Currently, owners are required to pay up old mortgages first, so that lenders can take advantage of higher present interest rates. Major lending institutions opposed the measure. Supporters claimed the measure, called F.A.I.R. Amendment ("Fight Against Inflationary Rates"), would have made it easier for people to buy homes.

California—The governor signed into law a bill which permits the Board of Administration of Public Employees' Retirement System to utilize the retirement fund to provide home loans to current members. Loans are only available for homes within the state and recipients must use tire home as their residence.

Washington—A Seattle rent control initiative sponsored by the Renters and Owners Organized for Fairness (ROOF) lost by a 2 to 1 margin. The measure would have allowed a once a year rent increase based on half the consumer price index. More money was spent on opposing this measure than any other statewide election in Washington's history.

## NUCLEAR

Oregon—Oregon voters approved a measure that will effectively stop construction of new nuclear plants. The measure requires state-wide voter approval of site certification for new plants, and requires applicants to certify in advance that facilities for permanent waste disposal are available.

Washington—75% of the voters in Washington approved a proposition banning the importation and storage of radioactive wastes in their state, except for those used for medical purposes.

Missouri—Missouri voters defeated 3 to 2, a proposition to prohibit the operation of nuclear power plants in that state until a federally licensed storage site is available for nuclear wastes.

Montana—A measure to ban the dumping of radioactive waste in the state lost by a slim 2,100 votes out of 325,000 reported.

South Dakota—A comprehensive measure to prohibit nuclear waste dumping, ban uranium mining and milling, and require voter approval for construction of new nuclear plants, was narrowly defeated 51% to 49%.

Massachusetts—In Massachusetts, a nonbinding, but strongly worded, anti-nuclear and pro-renewable energy proposition passed in about half of the state Senate districts which had the measure on their ballots.

## VOTING RIGHTS

Washington D.C.—Frustrated by the reluctance of state legislatures to adopt the D.C. Full Voting Rights Amendment, residents approved an initiative to hold a constitutional convention to directly appeal to Congress for statehood.

Minnesota—A constitutional amendment which would have allowed the public to legislate through statewide initiatives and referenda was narrowly defeated.

## JOBS

Voters in Oakland, California, Detroit, Michigan and parts of Massachusetts went against the pro-defense spending mood of the country represented by the Reagan vote by approving an initiative aimed at reducing federal military spending. The Jobs With Peace Initiative, which "demands" that Congress cut federal military spending and use the funds instead to provide jobs and services, has now been passed by over 1/1 million voters according to Seth Adler of the San Francisco based Committee to Implement the JWP Initiatives. The group plans to target 20 additional cities in the next two years.

## A Citizen's Guide to Creative Planning

Prom time to time every organization faces the often difficult task of developing new goals and purposes. An informative guide published by the Citizen Involvement Training Program, a project of the University of Massachusetts, focuses on ways citizen organizations can improve program planning and coordination in their community. *Planning For A Change* offers hypothetical situations, case histories and group exercises that explore topics like determining who should be involved in planning, developing program ideas and brainstorming guidelines. CITP's self study guide is one of a series of manuals outlining a program of planning exercises to facilitate personal and organizational growth.

*Planning For A Change* is available for \$6.00 from the Citizen Involvement Training Project, Room 138 Hasbrouck Building, Division of Continuing Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003

## NAN Creates Neighborhood Noise Group

Noise abatement has been a local issue in many urban areas for years. Groups have fought airport noise, truck noise, construction noise, even bus noise. The National Association of Neighborhoods, recognizing that noise is an increasing problem in our society, has formed the Quiet Neighborhood Self Help Project, thus creating a national focus for the issue.

The project provides "technical information and assistance, organizing capacity and opportunities to

share ideas" to neighborhood organizations working to resolve noise problems. Neighborhood Noise Information Centers have been set up in Newark, NJ, Philadelphia, PA, Brooklyn, NY and Cairo, IL. And a monthly newsletter, *Quiet Neighborhoods*, provides information on resource materials and reports on successful policies and strategies for reducing noise.

For more information contact Quiet Neighborhood Self Help Project—National Association of Neighborhoods, 1651 Fuller St. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

## Housing Demolition Fee Used to Assist Tenants

The city of Seattle has adopted an innovative new ordinance regulating the demolition of residential housing units by imposing license fees, which are then deposited in a "Low-Income Housing Replacement Fund." These funds are used only for costs related to production of low-income housing. The demolition fee is based on a percentage of the replacement costs which range from 3% for single family homes in low density neighborhoods to 20% for multi-housing units in commercial and business zones. The ordinance also requires owners to pay relocation assistance payments to tenants, as much as \$1000, for low-income tenants, displaced by demolition or a change in use. Tenants are further protected by a provision which subjects owners who violate the law to criminal penalties.

For further information contact: Councilmember Michael Hildt, Seattle City Council, 11th Floor Municipal Building, Seattle, WA 98104.

## Two Years After Prop. 13

Three key human services programs in California have been cut by approximately one third of their total budgets since the passage of Prop. 13, reports the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) in its report, *Second Year Impact of Proposition 13 on Human Services: Part I. Sampling 13 counties*, author Paul Terrel, found General Revenue Sharing expenditures down 42.5%; Title XX expenditures down 328%; and Substance Abuse expenditures down 29.5% since July 1, 1980.

Part II of the study, by Jade Stump and Stan Weisner (still in progress) will contain two case studies conducted in San Francisco and San Diego further exploring the effects of cutbacks on clients. Part I is available for \$4.50 from NASW, 231 Millbrea Ave., Suite 207, Millbrea, CA 9043ft

## NY PIRG Develops New Agenda

New York PIRG has a new magazine *Agenda for Citizen Involvement* will cover citizen action aimed at affecting public policy in New York and in Washington. In its premier edition, *Agenda* reported on toxic chemicals in upstate New York, the dangers of a nuclear power plant near New York City, a self-help solar project and ways to fight utility increases. 'It isn't the type of involvement that is important—but the involvement itself according to *Agenda*.

Subscription rates are \$15.00/year (10 issues); seniors \$10.00. For more information write *Agenda*, 5 Beekman St, New York, NY 10038.

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