

Dreams and Schemes: A Catalogue of Proposals

by DEREK SHEARER

Campaigns won't tell us much about what reform candidates could accomplish, but a look at existing legislative ideas shows what the future can bring.

Compared to elections of the recent past, the 1976 presidential campaign promises to be a little unusual. The incumbent Republican, if he runs at all, is by no means a shoo-in. The Democrats as yet can point to no clear front-runner, except the one who says he will not be a candidate. The new campaign finance laws change the rules of the game by skewing the nominating process toward the left and the right, and by reducing the dependence of major-party nominees on private contributions. George Wallace remains a powerful wild card on the right. And Fred Harris, the former senator from Oklahoma, is rapidly becoming a strong contender on the left.

Could Americans ever elect a left-wing president? If we take "left" to mean a populist like Harris or even a "good liberal" like George McGovern, the notion is not impossible, and if not in 1976 then sometime during the next decade. Those who make up the Democratic party's left flank, despite McGovern's defeat three years ago, are strong. And the failure of conventional middle-of-the-road politicians—let alone a corrupt conservative like Nixon—to do anything about America's pressing economic problems will doubtless make voters more receptive to new ideas and new political faces. A turn to the right—Reagan-Wallace, for example—is possible, but a turn to the left seems equally so.

What a left Democratic president would do once in office, however, is far from clear. It is unlikely that even Harris's campaign will offer much guidance. Presidential candidates in 1976, like presidential candidates in the past, will not run on a detailed program.

Instead there will be "issues"—"The issue is privilege," Harris says, while for Morris Udall "the issue" is ecology and conservation—and there will be platforms. But no party platform since Lincoln's time has actually spelled out what would happen if its candidate won office.

There is one good way to tell what a presidential candidate will do, and that's to look at the ideas and proposals that are already in his political ball park. In 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt ran a campaign that was no more programmatic than the average; when he was elected, he launched the New Deal in all its alphabetized detail. The ideas underlying the New Deal's programs were not simply invented from scratch by Roosevelt's famous Brain Trust. Most had been around a long time, often in the form of existing but unsuccessful legislation whose time had finally come.

In 1976, if a candidate from the Democratic party's left is elected president, the programs he adopts will also, in all likelihood, stem directly from bills and proposals already in existence; in fact a pretty good program can be compiled right now from the best proposed legislation in or around the current Congress. Though most such legislation has little chance of passage at the moment, the fact that 1976 is an election year gives it more than passing interest. As in 1932, a dramatic change in administrations could lead to a dramatic change in the prospects for new policies.

What follows, then, is a kind of catalogue of good legislation: bills, proposals, and model laws.* Taken as a whole, the list is a practical surrogate for the real platform the Democratic party will never write. It

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*Sources and further readings will be found at the end of this article.

indicates what it may be possible to hope for from the elections of 1976.

Then too, the list can be used by voters and party activists to judge candidates, both presidential and congressional: "What is your stand"—you can try asking—"on the Family Farm Act?" Every candidate, from the top on down, should stand on real platforms, not rhetorical ones. It is the job of people concerned with issues to make sure they do.

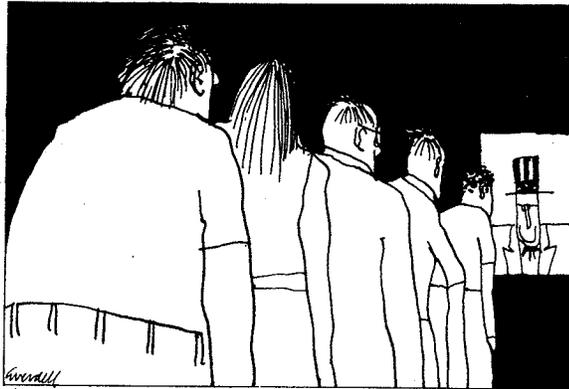
TAX REFORM. Thanks to numerous congressional hearings, articles, and muckraking books (like Philip M. Stern's *The Rape of the Taxpayer*), the inequities of the federal tax system are well known. A 1974 Louis Harris poll found that well over two-thirds of the population believe that the tax system favors the rich. And at the moment, bankers and business advocates, citing a "capital shortage," are lobbying Congress to increase the loopholes for corporations.

The **Tax Justice Act of 1975** is a legislative proposal to reform the federal tax system by closing all the loopholes that allow wealthy individuals and corporations to avoid paying their full share of taxes. The provisions of the bill have been drawn up by representatives of local tax reform organizations around the country, working with lawyers and economists from the Nader-affiliated Tax Reform Research Group and Taxation with Representation, a public interest organization of professional tax experts. Together these groups have formed the National Committee for Tax Justice.

Among the many loopholes the Tax Justice Act would close are: the special treatment accorded capital gains; the oil depletion allowance and other tax breaks for the industry; accelerated depreciation provisions for business machinery and real estate; foreign investment loopholes; the tax-exempt status of state and municipal bonds; the 7 percent investment tax credit; "tax-loss" farming; and inheritance tax avoidance schemes.

These tax preferences cost the Treasury billions of dollars every year, dollars that are made up by higher taxes on wage earners. The argument of the tax reformers is that loopholes—"tax expenditures," Harvard professor Stanley Surrey has labeled them—should not be used to determine policy; if the government wants to encourage a particular set of activities (home ownership, for example, or new investment), it should allocate subsidies directly as part of the regular budgetary process, not covertly as part of the tax system. That way, appropriations would be subject to normal congressional scrutiny, and the tax system would levy an equitable burden on all.

FULL EMPLOYMENT. In the spring of 1944, President Roosevelt delivered an address to Congress titled "An Economic Bill of Rights." Foremost among the rights FDR outlined was the right to a decent-paying job. The concept—that the government should guarantee a job to every person ready and willing to work—was embodied in the first drafts of what later became known as the Employment Act of 1946. The bill was drastically watered down by conservative forces led by Senator Robert Taft (R-Ohio), however: the word "full" was removed from the title, and the government

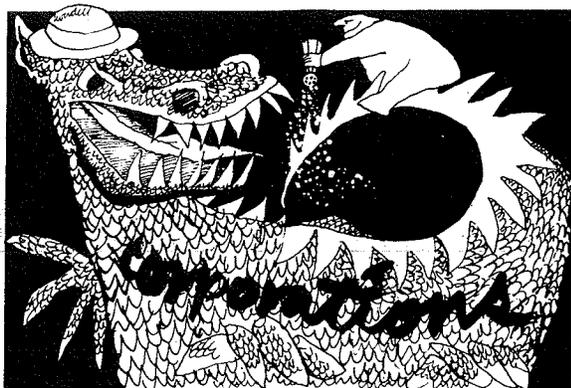


was only required to pursue "maximum" employment. Since that time, the definition of acceptable unemployment has continually crept upward. Today, many economists contend that 5 or 6 percent unemployment is, in fact, full employment.

The **Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act of 1975**, introduced by Congressman Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), would make full employment the law of the land. (One of the bill's key drafters is Professor Bertram Gross of the City University of New York, who helped draft the first employment bill in 1945.) The act would transform the U.S. Employment Service into the Job Guarantee Service. The president would be required to provide Congress with a full employment budget listing areas of domestic need and specifying public and private programs to meet these needs. Drafters of the bill, including former Council of Economic Advisers member Leon Keyserling, argue that full employment will not be inflationary because the increased employment will create more goods and services for people to buy—and, thus, supply will rise as fast as demand.

CONTROLLING CORPORATIONS. Since the late nineteenth century, reformers' favorite strategy for controlling corporate power has been embodied in the antitrust laws. By now, the limitations of the strategy should be clear. Despite nearly a century of antitrust

cases, numerous key industries in the American economy are dominated by a few giant firms that effectively control both their supplies and their markets. Alternatives, or at least supplements, to the anti-trust approach are needed.



One strategy, proposed by Ralph Nader and his associates, is to require that all large corporations be chartered by the federal government. Now, companies can shop around the states to find the one—usually Delaware—with the fewest requirements. Federal chartering, in contrast, would impose a uniform set of rules and regulations on all American corporations. Nader would include four major provisions in these rules:

- 1 Corporate democracy. The controlling body of the corporation would be opened up, both to shareholders and to public interest groups. This would include mandatory public representatives on the board of directors.
- 2 Strict antitrust standards. No corporation would be permitted to retain more than 12 percent of an industry.
- 3 Corporate disclosure. A corporate information center would provide regular data on firm ownership; on the environmental impact of the firm's activities; on the earnings of subsidiaries; and other data needed to evaluate the company's public performance and effect on society.
- 4 Rights of employees. The Bill of Rights would apply within the corporation: "whistleblowers" would be protected by law, and employees could not be fired simply for criticizing the company or exercising other constitutional rights.

Federal chartering, in the Nader proposal, would be administered by a new independent agency. As Nader himself is quick to point out, a weak, industry-dominated agency would defeat the bill's purpose; the agency would have to guarantee citizen access and

nonbusiness representation on the board, and it would need strong powers of enforcement. Mark Green of Nader's Corporate Accountability Group has drafted a **federal chartering bill** to accomplish these ends.

Another approach to controlling corporate power—complementary to Nader's legal strategy—is to set up countervailing public economic power in the form of competitive public enterprise. The federal government would purchase controlling ownership in a firm in each major industry. The government-owned firm would provide the public with accurate data on the industry, and it would serve as a "yardstick" for judging the performance of private firms. In addition, the public firm could pioneer new approaches favorable to consumers, forcing the private firms to follow its lead.

Senator Stevenson's FOGCO bill (see below) embraces such a strategy for the energy industry. Congressman Henry Reuss (D-Wisc.), chairman of the House Banking Committee, has gone on record supporting government purchase of a major bank. Nader has endorsed the concept of competitive public enterprise in the auto and insurance industries.

In all cases, the enterprises would be public corporations, exempt from civil service, with publicly appointed directors. Enterprises like this have run successfully for years in Canada, England, Sweden, France, and Italy. Here, they could be structured to maximize consumer and worker participation in management, and they could serve as models for democratizing the private sector.

ECONOMIC PLANNING. A bill introduced by Senators Humphrey and Javits, the **Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act of 1975**, has set off a minor controversy in Congress and in the press, with a number of business leaders attacking the bill as the first step toward a Soviet-style command economy. The business conservatives shouldn't worry. The bill is mild, and, as it now stands, relatively ineffective. It establishes a three-person economic planning board to forecast the overall needs of the economy, primarily in terms of output. Every major corporation's planning department already engages in precisely this kind of activity.

The European experience with informational planning mechanisms of this sort indicates that publicly owned firms are a sine qua non for the planning system to be useful. Without public firms in the leading sectors, the planning board's information is invariably inaccurate and out-of-date. And if the planning board suggests a plan of action, it is better off requesting the public firm to adopt it than trying to induce or coerce private firms into adopting it.

ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

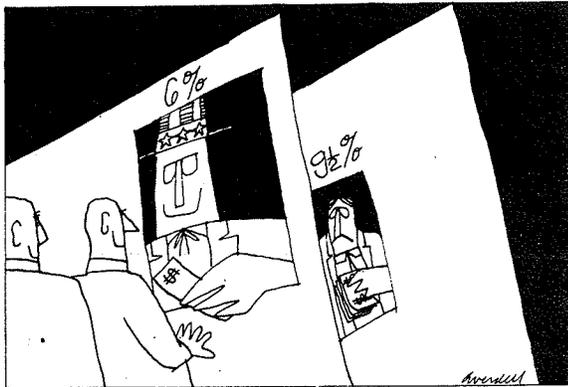
In 1936, Marquis Childs, a columnist and reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, wrote a book called *Sweden: The Middle Way*. The book described the success of Sweden's cooperative enterprises and immediately sparked the interest of President Roosevelt, who established a presidential commission to study European co-ops. Around the same time, a strong cooperative movement had arisen in California. In 1936, Congressman Byron Scott (D-Calif.) introduced a bill to establish a bank for co-ops; the bank would make loans to both consumer and producer cooperatives. But business opposition to the concept dampened Roosevelt's enthusiasm, and the bill died in committee.

The present economic downturn has renewed Americans' interest in cooperatives—large numbers are springing up all around the country—and the idea of a national bank for co-ops has been revived. Working together, Ralph Nader and the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. (a national federation of co-ops) have drafted a bill establishing the **National Cooperative Development Bank**. "It is proposed that Congress draw on its experience with the Farm Credit System to build a new co-op credit system that will serve low and moderate-income families and others," says Stanley Dreyer, president of the Co-op League. "Such a system is strongly needed to attract and build new businesses and industries."

Nader points out that Commerce Department programs such as the Small Business Administration are hostile to co-ops and refuse to lend them money. The National Co-op Development Bank, in contrast, would be specifically designed to lend money to such cooperative ventures as credit unions, housing, health-care, food, child-care, and other co-ops, and to other user and producer-owned enterprises (excluding those able to borrow from the existing Farm Credit System). In addition to loan funds, the bank would operate a special "self-help development fund" to make equity (investment) capital available to co-ops in low-income areas. The bank's branches would provide technical and management assistance to users, and each would have an advisory board composed of co-op members and experts. Under the plan the bank would be capitalized at \$1 billion, be mandated to lend up to \$10 billion in the beginning and \$20 billion after five years of operation.

Another major proposal designed to stimulate noncorporate economic development is a bill to create a **National Community Development Banking System**. Introduced by Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), the bill was drafted

by the Center for Community Economic Development, a Cambridge agency that works closely with community development corporations (CDCs). CDCs are enterprises owned by the people in a defined geographical area (usually rural or inner-city) that start and run



profit-making enterprises for the residents' benefit.

The premise underlying the Kennedy-Javits bill is that the antipoverty programs of the 1960s, as well as various programs designed to stimulate "black capitalism," were failures. Communities around the country fought with each other for federal grants from a bewildering maze of agencies; and the grants, when obtained, were too short-lived to stimulate economic development. Black capitalism, when successful, propelled a few lucky minority entrepreneurs into the middle class but left most people untouched.

According to Belden Daniels, one of the drafters of the Kennedy-Javits bill, only strategies that develop entire communities at a time can eliminate poverty. Poor communities are like colonies, he says: their labor is exploited, what little capital they have is sucked out for investment elsewhere, and their most able members are co-opted into the mainstream economy. Providing loans to these communities, he adds, is not enough. CDCs need a vast infusion of equity capital, which only a development banking system can provide.

Under the Kennedy-Javits plan, the CDCs would also gradually build up equity in the bank itself, ultimately making it user-owned. And the bank would provide technical assistance and management training to CDCs as part of the equity investment package.

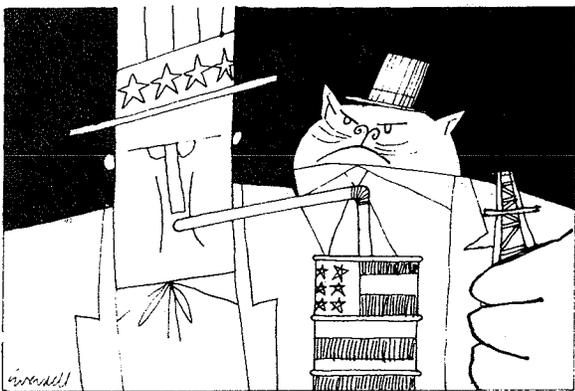
ENERGY. More than 50 percent of America's fuel lies on federal land, most of it unexploited. This is a public resource, the development of which should be controlled by a public body.

During the energy crisis of 1973, Senator Adlai Stevenson (D-Ill.) authored a bill—cosponsored by Senators Kennedy, Hart, McGovern, and Mondale—

to establish a **Federal Oil and Gas Corporation** (FOGCO). The corporation would be mandated to develop oil and gas resources on federal lands, and it would be headed by five presidential appointees. Like the Tennessee Valley Authority, FOGCO would be an independent government corporation exempt from civil service.

The idea of a federal yardstick corporation in energy is not new. A 1926 *New Republic* article first proposed the idea for America, in conjunction with the situation in the Tennessee Valley. European countries—Italy and France, for example—have successfully run publicly owned oil and gas companies for years. And in the summer of 1975, Canada created its own federal oil and gas corporation.

FOGCO, in addition to developing energy resources according to publicly determined criteria, would give the government direct and dependable data on the drilling, pumping, refining, and marketing of oil and gas. This would make it possible for the government to judge the performance of the private companies more accurately than is now possible, since most of the relevant information now comes from the companies themselves. The bill is, however, only a partial solution to the energy situation; in the long run, America needs a coherent energy policy that stresses the development of alternatives to fossil fuel such as solar power.



Another major reform bill in the energy field is a model **public utilities commission act** now being drafted by the staff of Senator Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.)—who, with his aide Vic Reinemer, is the author of *Overcharge*, an excellent study on how electric utilities exploit the public. The new act will mandate certain uniform policies and structures for state utility regulatory commissions. Its provisions are based both on suggestions from public interest and community groups and on an investigation of the best state utility

commissions undertaken by Lee Webb of Goddard College.

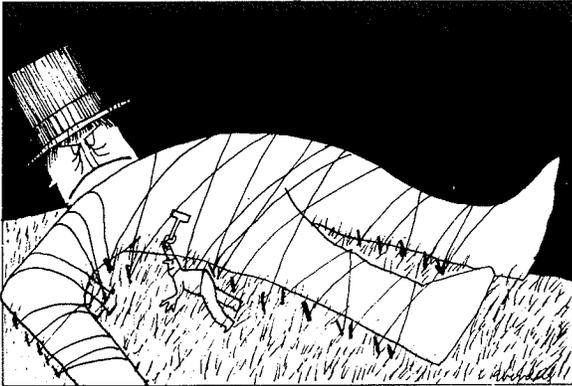
Among its provisions are: strict conflict-of-interest codes to prevent commission employees from shifting back and forth between the energy industry and the commissions; controls over utility company financing; a permanent office of consumer complaints and a permanent consumer counsel to represent consumer interests before commissions; control over the location of power plants; prohibitions on shut-offs and deposit requirements; and opening up of the hearing process, including free provision of transcripts to participants.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE. Rising food prices do more than anything else to shrink the average American's dollar. The price of a farm product is affected by weather, commodity speculation, middleman profits, export and import policies, government price supports, the cost of fuel and fertilizer, and interest rates on farm loans. Increasingly, farming has become agribusiness. During the 1960s, for example, 2,000 family farms went out of business *each week*.

What can be done? One approach is to eliminate distribution and packaging costs as much as possible (currently, middleman costs amount to 60 cents out of every food dollar). The **Farmer-Consumer Direct Marketing Act of 1975**, introduced by Congressman Joseph P. Vigorito (D-Pa.), instructs the Department of Agriculture's Extension Service to stimulate direct marketing of food by sponsoring conferences, providing technical assistance, and working with land-grant colleges and county agents to develop programs.

Another approach is the **Family Farm Act**, sponsored by Senator James Abourezk (D-S. Dak.). This bill would amend the Clayton Antitrust Act to prohibit nonfarm corporations with \$3 million or more in assets from engaging in agriculture. Such corporations presently engaging in agriculture would have to divest their farm operations within five years of the act's passage.

The bill is backed by the National Farmers Organization, the National Farmers Union, the National Sharecroppers Fund, and an assortment of other small farm and consumer organizations. Hearings have been held on several occasions in the antitrust and small-business subcommittees of Congress, but the bill has never been reported out. Interestingly, North Dakota has had such a law on the state level since the 1930s, and—though there have been violations—it has effectively kept corporate agriculture out of the state. A Kansas anticorporate farm law, dating back to 1931, prohibits corporations with more than ten shareholders from owning or operating more than 5,000 acres of farmland in the state. Enforcement in this case, however, has been lax.



Still a third approach is typified by the **Reclamation Lands Authority Act**, originally sponsored in the House by Congressman Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wisc.) and then-Senator Fred Harris (D-Okla.). This bill would set up a land transfer mechanism to redistribute land in federal reclamation areas (several million acres in 17 western states). A new Reclamation Lands Authority would buy up all holdings over 160 acres and all land held by absentee owners in federal irrigation districts (all such holdings are technically illegal under the 1902 Reclamation Act, but the Bureau of Reclamation has been loathe to enforce the law, and an effective transfer mechanism has been lacking). The Reclamation Lands Authority would then resell or lease the land to small farmers and co-ops.

TRANSPORTATION. Not long ago, a congressional study revealed that General Motors, in cooperation with Firestone Tire and Standard Oil, systematically bought up electric trolley systems in major American cities during the 1930s and 1940s, then ripped up the tracks and replaced the trolley cars with GM buses. The study, titled *American Ground Transport* and released by the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, also documents GM's monopoly position in the production of railroad engines. As a result of the study, Senator Kennedy introduced the **Ground Transport Act**, which is designed to change GM's dominant position in transportation by breaking off the firm's bus and railroad engine facilities into separate companies.

Currently too, Congress is considering a variety of proposals for some form of public control and ownership of the railroads. All the proposals so far suffer from a common defect: they treat specific problems like the bankrupt Penn Central without planning for a national rail system. In addition, most continue the tradition of providing public subsidy while allowing

the railroads to remain under private control. This amounts to socializing the losses of the railroads and privatizing the profits from the reorganized entity.

A more sensible alternative, as Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers has advocated, is to nationalize the railroads. The public rail system would not be run just like a private corporation, since a transportation enterprise in particular has to take social needs into account. Providing adequate rail commuter service, for example, might not be profitable by strict business criteria, but there would doubtless be benefits in terms of reduced auto traffic and correspondingly less pollution, fuel use, and loss of life through accidents. Writer Michael Harrington is currently drafting a model **railroad nationalization bill** for introduction in Congress.

In other transportation areas, such as airlines, the following principle should apply: no subsidy without a quid pro quo of public control. This means that if the federal government were to subsidize Pan Am (to take a likely example), it would receive in return an equity position in the company and seats on the board of directors. This would allow the public, whose tax money is being used, to be represented in the company's policy decisions—and to determine, for example, whether the company should continue to be run on a losing basis or should be allowed to sink (since whether the taxpayers should subsidize business travel and vacations for the wealthy is at the least an open question).

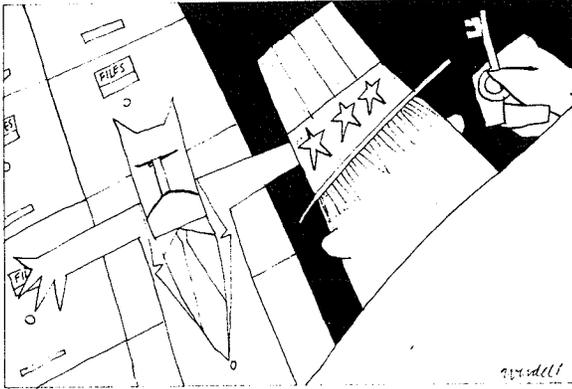
The same principle should apply to shipping. If taxpayers are asked to subsidize the shipping industry, as they have been for decades, the public should get a return in the form of some control and a share of the profits.

BANKING AND CREDIT. New banking institutions such as the National Cooperative Bank and the Community Development Bank mentioned above, as well as at least one publicly owned competitive bank, would go far toward reforming the banking system. Other reforms that have been proposed would help make the system more open and more accountable to the public.

Congressman John Burton (D-Calif.) has introduced a bill to broaden representation on the Federal Reserve to include nonbanking members. Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke (D-Calif.) has introduced an open disclosure bill that would require all financial institutions to reveal the geographic locations of their loans. Burke's bill is designed to fight the practice of "redlining" inner-city areas by opening loan practices to public scrutiny.

In addition, the National Consumer Law Center has drafted a comprehensive model **consumer credit act**.

It includes such provisions as: complete and open access to an individual's own credit records; ceilings on interest rates for installment plans; and full disclosure of finance charges.



In other countries, notably in Western Europe, central banks allocate credit to priority areas such as housing. Congressman Henry Reuss recently introduced a bill along these lines, the **Lower Interest Rate Act of 1975**. The bill instructs the Federal Reserve to increase the money supply by 6 percent and to allocate credit to "priority areas." These areas were described as "essential and productive capital investment, normal operations of established business customers . . . low and middle-income housing, small business and agriculture, and State and local governments." Also, Congressman Wright Patman (D-Tex.), former chairman of the House Banking Committee, introduced a bill titled the **Credit Allocation Act of 1975**, which instructs the president to channel credit into noninflationary priority areas similar to those in the Reuss bill. The president may alter the reserve requirements of banks whose loans and investments fall too far out of the national priority areas (for example, speculative real estate ventures).

Nader and other critics also call for strict conflict-of-interest laws that would prevent employees of the House and Senate banking committees and of the bank regulatory agencies from joining private banks for at least five years after leaving government service.

COMMUNITY CONTROL. One of the most far-reaching legislative ideas for community control of governmental functions is called the **Neighborhood Government Act of 1975**.

Sponsored by Senator Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), the act provides a tax credit for individuals who allocate up to 80 percent of their federal tax payments to a locally controlled neighborhood government corporation. "Rather than the neighborhood government de-

pending on the generosity of the central government," says Hatfield, "the neighborhood controls the purse strings." In arguing for the bill, Hatfield cites the experience of communities like the Adams-Morgan area of Washington D.C., which have thriving neighborhood councils and enterprises.

As an interim step, a revitalized Economic Development Administration in the Department of Commerce could disseminate information on community and municipally owned enterprises such as electric-power authorities.

WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY. In recent years, the subject of democratizing the workplace has received some attention from the media, and small-scale experiments have been established in a number of places, both here and abroad. But except for a report issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare titled *Work in America* (1973), little has been done at the federal level.

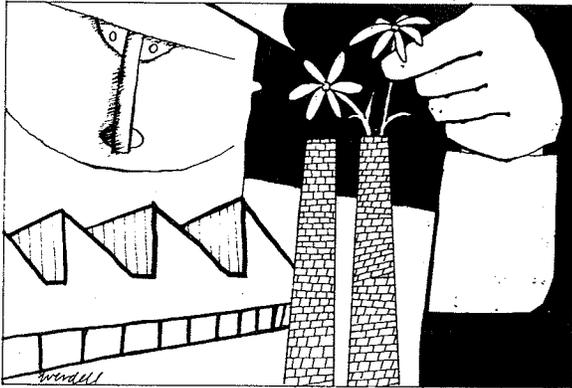
In 1972, Senator Kennedy introduced the **Worker Alienation Research and Technical Assistance Act**. The bill is modest, but it takes some steps toward opening a national debate on humanizing jobs and democratizing workplaces. It would provide funds, for example, for research on subjects such as flexible work hours, reduced working days, profit sharing, job rotation, worker participation in decision making, redesigning jobs and production processes, autonomous work groups, and work-related educational and training programs. Information gathered would be disseminated to workers, unions, companies, and state and local governments. The hope would be to stimulate further experimentation and pilot programs in workplace democracy.

Kennedy's 1972 bill asked for \$10 million; it should now be increased to at least \$25 million. The bill would be a good start toward encouraging public awareness of practical alternatives to current work arrangements.

HEALTH CARE. Congress is currently considering a number of bills to establish some form of national health insurance. These would change the way health care is paid for, but they wouldn't affect the actual delivery of health services. Much more comprehensive is the **National Health Rights and Community Service Act**, drafted by Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) in conjunction with health advocacy groups around the country.

Under the plan, health facilities would be administered and controlled by elected boards, composed half of consumers and half of health workers. Community, regional, and national health boards of similar compo-

sition would oversee the system. A National Institute of Pharmacy and Medical Supply would determine the quality and price of drugs and other medical supplies.



Fee-for-service practice would be replaced by salaried group practice. Medical schools would be gradually transformed into comprehensive "health worker" schools, with a combined curriculum allowing students to move from one level to another. Also, users of the health service would be served by a National Legal Rights Commission that would provide free legal counsel on health-related matters; this would ensure a right of redress for dissatisfied patients and perhaps prevent the growth of a bureaucracy insensitive to patients' rights. Research priority, under the act, would be given to preventive medicine, including such currently neglected areas as occupational health.

The act would be financed by heavier taxes on corporate profits and personal wealth.

WHOLE CLOTH. Taken together, the programs outlined here provide a detailed image of a possible political future. Most go beyond the traditional categories of left and right. Traditional conservative principles like decentralization are combined with traditional radical principles such as the desirability of public ownership. What counts are operating results, not labels. Whether the system is called "socialist" or "capitalist" is not as important as whether or not it is thoroughly democratic.

Those who are Democrats, in short, should be democrats as well. The party should advocate a pluralist society in which the economic units—regardless of who owns them—are as democratic as the governmental units, and in which workers, consumers, and citizens have access to, and control over, the institutions around them. Right now, corporate power is the dominant reality that shapes American society. No one should think that changing this reality will be easy, but the programs outlined here are at least a solid beginning.

NOTES AND SOURCES

Tax Reform

For copies of the Tax Justice Act, write: National Committee for Tax Justice, 1609 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest, Washington D.C. 20009.

Full Employment

For information on the coalition that is organizing support for the Hawkins-Humphrey bill, write: National Committee for Full Employment, 15 Union Square, New York, New York 10003. The committee publishes the *Full Employment News Reporter*.

The single best source of detailed information on full employment is the special issue, "Planning for Full Employment," March 1975, of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Single copies, \$4, from: AAPSS, Business Office, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

Controlling Corporations

Useful references include: *Corporate Power in America*, edited by Ralph Nader and Mark Green (Grossman), and *Where the Law Ends: The Social Control of Corporate Behavior*, by Christopher D. Stone (Harper & Row).

"Beyond Antitrust," by Peter Barnes and Derek Shearer, *New Republic*, August 9, 1974, makes the case for competitive public enterprise.

Copies of the federal chartering proposal can be obtained by writing: Mark Green, Center for Study of Responsive Law, P.O. Box 19367, Washington D.C. 20036.

Economic Planning

The experience in Western Europe and the need for a substantial public sector are discussed in *Modern Capitalism*, by Andrew Shonfeld. The most recent useful survey article is "National Planning in Western Europe and Japan," by Roy Bennett, *Social Policy*, May-June 1975.

Senator Humphrey has placed a great deal of information in the *Congressional Record* in support of his national planning bill. Write his office in the Senate Office Building, Capitol Hill, Washington D.C.

Alternative Economic Development

FDR's interest in co-ops is described in the excellent study, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly*, by Ellis W. Hawley (Princeton University Press, paperback).

Copies of the National Cooperative Development Bank proposal can be obtained from: The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1828 L Street, Northwest, Washington D.C. 20036.

A report on the proposed National Community Banking System is available from: The Center for Community Economic Development, 5 Upland Road, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140.

Energy

On FOGCO, write Senator Stevenson's office in Washington for background material, and for information on the Model Utilities Commission Bill, write Senator Lee Metcalf's office.

The best recent book on energy policy is *New Energy* by James Ridgeway and Bettina Connor (Beacon Press). *The Elements*, published by the Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Que Street, Northwest, Washington D.C. 20009, provides up-to-date information on energy issues.

Food and Agriculture

The single best book on the subject is *Eat Your Hearts Out*, by James Hightower (Crown Publishers). Hightower is the director of the Agribusiness Accountability Project.

A useful newsletter is published by James McHale, the innovative director of agriculture of the state of Pennsylvania. Write: Department of Agriculture, Weekly News Bulletin, 2301 North Cameron Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 17120.

Transportation

Bradford Snell, staff counsel for the Senate Subcommittee on Anti-trust and Monopoly, is completing a book on transportation, to be published by Alfred A. Knopf in early 1976. For details on the Ground Transport Act, write to Snell, c/o the Subcommittee, Senate Office Building, Washington D.C.

Copies of Michael Harrington's proposal for nationalization of the railroads can be obtained from: The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 617, New York, New York 10003.

Banking and Credit

The single best source is the newsletter, *Long Term Notes*, published by the National Task Force on Credit Policy, 1516 Westwood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90024.

Useful general references: *The Dollar Barons* by Christopher Elias (MacMillan); and *The Banking System: A Preface to Public Interest Analysis*, available for \$15 from The Public Interest Economics Center, 1714 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington D.C. 20036.

The staff of the House Banking Committee has produced in recent years a number of excellent surveys of banking and credit policy around the world.

Community Control

A clearinghouse for ideas and literature on decentralization of government, the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, 1717 Eighteenth Street, Northwest, Washington D.C. 20009, has a library and technical consultants, and it publishes useful bulletins. Also, see *Neighborhood Government* by David Morris and Karl Hess (Beacon Press).

The newsletter, *The Public Works*, published by the Community Ownership Organizing Project, 349 Sixty-second Street, Oakland, California 94618, reports on what cities are doing to control their economic affairs.

Workplace Democracy

The Kennedy bill and the issues it raises are discussed in "Worker Alienation," hearings before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, July 25 and 26, 1972.

The best single source of material on workplace democracy can be obtained from: The Program on Self-Management, Uris Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. They publish a newsletter, *People for Self-Management*, and sponsor an annual conference. Papers from the last conference are available; write for a price list. The next conference will be held in Washington D.C. in 1976.

Health

Congressman Ron Dellums's office has copies of the health bill, and can put you in touch with local health groups. Source: *Organizing for Health Care*, (Swallow Press) is a comprehensive directory of health activist groups.

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From the Reader of the Conference on Alternative State & Local Public Policies held June 10-13, 1976 in Austin, Texas. The reader was edited and compiled by Derek Shearer, California Public Policy Center Los Angeles, California and Lee Webb, Professor of Public Policy, Goddard College Plainfield, Vermont.

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