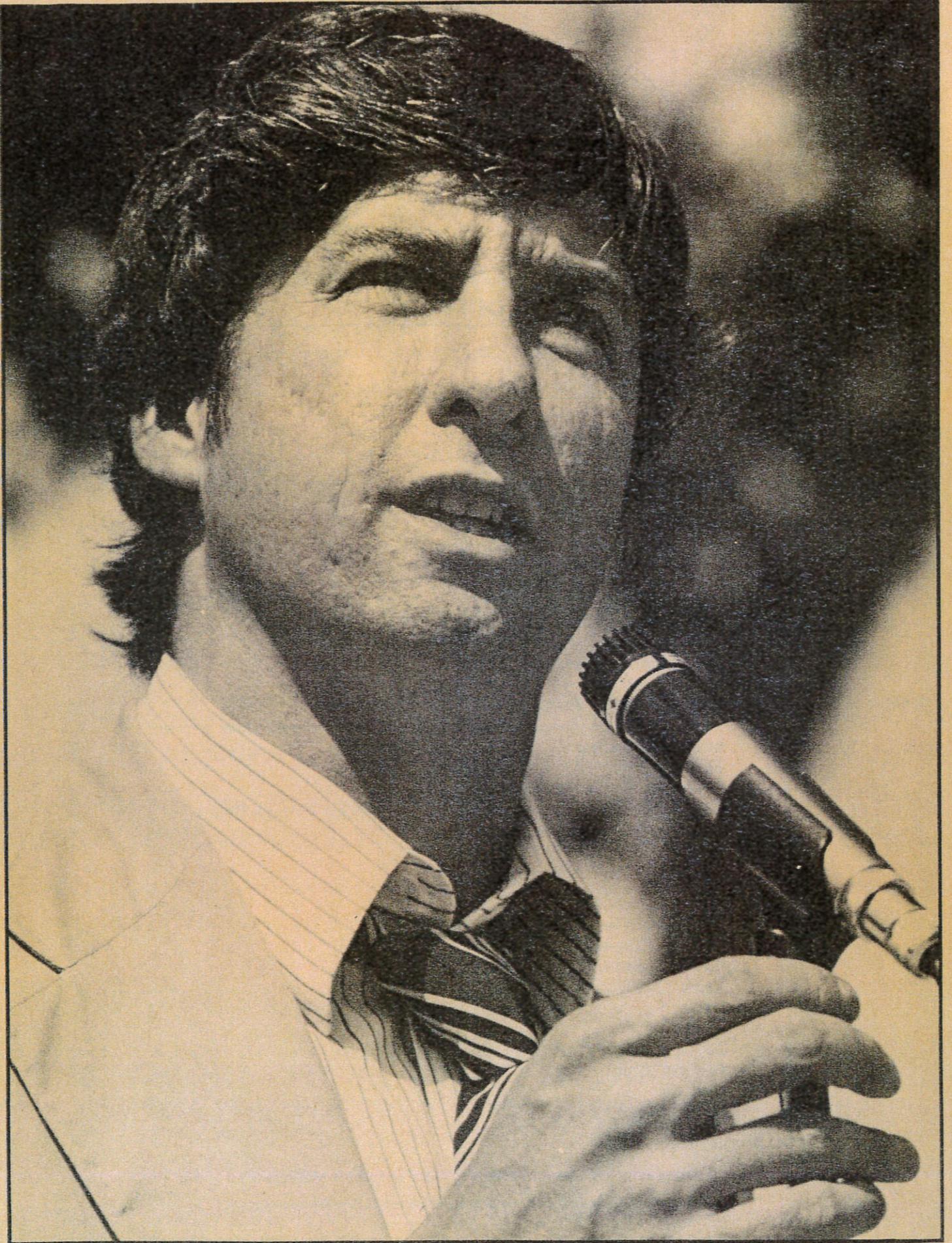


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FUTURE  
OURS**

**TOM  
HAYDEN**

for U.S. Senate Campaign



# Why the Senate, Why Now -

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## From Protest to Political Power

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**M**illions of people are lost in a new American wilderness. The old frontiers are disappearing, old ways are breaking down, old idols becoming tarnished. A majority of people just try to get by, and wonder, is there any hope for the future? In my travels across California, I listen to people who feel all sorts of personal symptoms of our social breakdown:

- A senior citizen in Santa Monica cannot pay the mounting cost of his prescribed medication for epilepsy. A movie producer in Brentwood learns his doctor is retiring because of sky-high insurance premiums. More and more people wonder if they can afford to get sick.

- A Watts family tries eating dog food to stretch the food budget. A family farmer in Fresno abandons his land, one of the thousand each week who must head for the cities. Consumers in Sacramento try to save peaches from rotting, the

same consumers who protested the pouring of milk down sewers the year before.

- Five farmworkers try to make do in three state-owned shacks in Salinas. Los Angeles tenants complain that the government boards up housing. Young couples give up the dream of ever owning a home.

- A printer with 30 years experience, automated out of a job, anguishes over accepting welfare. Students at Long Beach State graduate into 15 percent unemployment. Loggers and construction workers in Shasta shake their heads at 50 percent unemployment, and wonder what will happen in the winter when benefits run out.

### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Hard times are here again. For nearly everybody, it seems. Even people who thought they had the basics of the American dream, and some power over their lives, are starting to lose both.

The Sixties made us look at what the "American Dream" meant for youth, for minorities,

for Vietnam. The Seventies has brought the message home to the "silent majority". Middle Americans find themselves more and more outside the promise and protection of the "Dream". The average family finds that it actually makes less today than ten years ago. The nest eggs built up through thrift and savings are stolen by inflation. Millions of Americans who believed in the system can look forward to an old age of semi-poverty and deep insecurity.

**The signs of permanent economic stagnation are clear.**

**Unemployment** is higher than it has been since the Thirties, far higher than the "official" level of nine percent. Not since the depression have a million Californians lacked work.

**Inflation** has continued without interruption longer than any time in this century. Today, it costs 50 percent more to buy an item than it did in 1967.

**Purchasing power** is declining. Average hourly wages in industry rose 20.2 percent since January 1973, but the Consumer Price Index rose 27.1 percent.

**Credit** is drying up. Banks have loaned out a greater percentage of their deposits than in the period before the 1893 and 1932 depressions.

**Production** is slipping. From 1945-66, production increased at an annual rate of 2.9 percent; but for 1966-75, only by 1.3. By 1982 the Japanese economy is predicted to surpass our stagnant one in output per person.

Individuals are experiencing the frustration of "tightening their belts" but seeing the cost of everything nevertheless rise. The more burdens we carry, the more sacrifices we make, the more things seem to worsen rather than improve.

### THE PRICE WE PAY

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half million acres in the 70's so far — bringing to one-third the amount of fertile California land urbanized.

Burglary and rape increased by 100 percent in the Sixties. More than one-third of our youth are heavy drinkers. Forty percent have been rejected for military service for physical or mental reasons. One half million Vietnam-era veterans have attempted suicide, and 50,000 have succeeded. One million children suffer physical abuse and severe neglect, and one in five of them dies from it.

To make matters worse, our national political leadership is too corrupt to cope with our problems. They lied for years about Vietnam, then about Watergate. They put Martin Luther King on an enemies list and made an ally of South Africa. They have consorted with the Mafia, accepted corporate bribes as a way of life, trampled the Constitution while defending law and order. Individuals within this establishment range from better to worse, from innocent to guilty, but they can be described collectively in only one way — bankrupt.

The people are so disgusted that they refused in record numbers to vote in the last election. According to the Harris Poll, if 55 percent of Americans had confidence in business ten years ago, today only 15 percent do; if 42 percent respected Congress then, only 17 percent do today; if 41 admired the Presidency, only 14 do now.

Yet official Washington's response is business-as-usual. The same old politicians prepare to run for office. Beyond dusting off old programs and older platitudes, they appear more concerned with slipping through the next election than exploring openly the depth of the crisis the country faces.

### A GENERATION OF ILLUSION

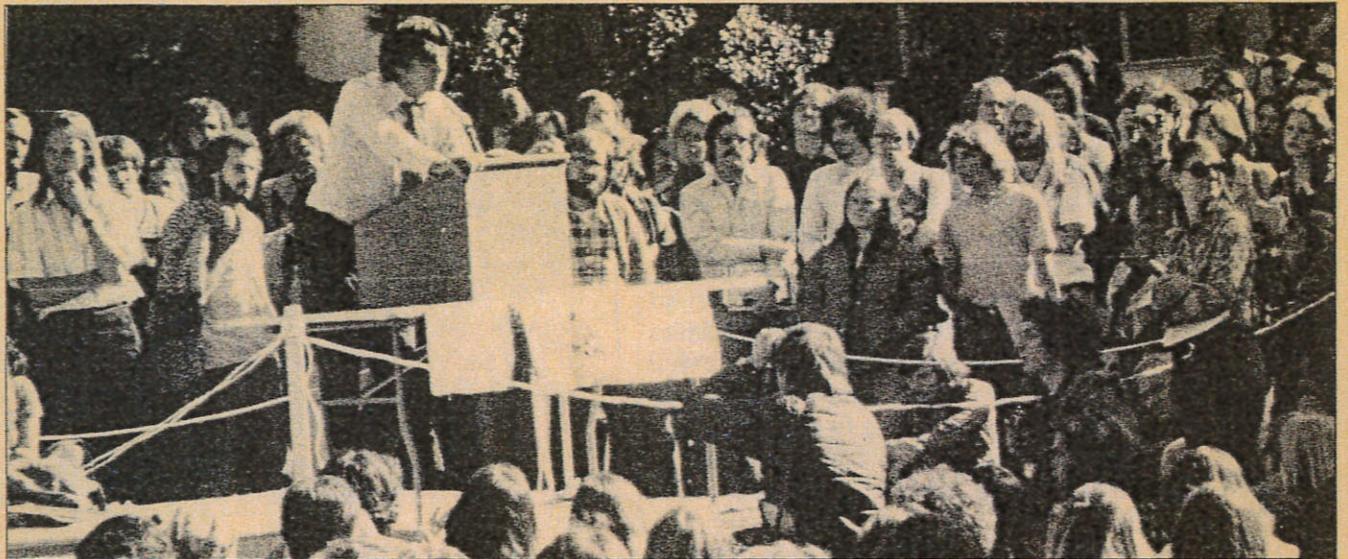
But if these are the worst times in years, they also are potentially the best. Many Americans are just waking up from a generation of illusion. The Indochina War is over at last. The anxieties of the Cold War have greatly declined. The Watergate Administration has been purged. In the wake of all this, Americans are forced to look at the world with clearer, more realistic sight. Most of us realize and accept that we are in the midst of profound changes that will demand much of everyone. Despite bad and dishonest leadership and much confusion and cynicism, people are learning to survive—and to grow—without the old illusions. The demand for turning toward the needs of this country has never been greater.

These changes are due to a great shift in consciousness which began in the Sixties and continues in less-noticed ways in the Seventies.

California was a birthplace of the modern stu-

dent movement. As many as a million Californians stood in the Moratoriums against the war. Thousands of farmworkers and millions of their supporters have been felt from the Central Valley to the State Legislature. Militant Black organizations grew here like almost nowhere else in America. The most powerful environmentalist outcry in recent years came from Santa Barbara in 1969. Youth culture and new lifestyles affected millions here. Women became a political force, as did many smaller groups struggling for their dignity and identity. The Peace and Freedom Party grew to nearly a million registrants in 1967 when the Democrats escalated the war. The California Democratic Council broke with Lyndon Johnson and brought the anti-war movement into the Democratic Party. Genuine opposition candidates like Congressman Ronald Dellums achieved office.

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And, as the Seventies unfolded, housewives were boycotting supermarkets, truckers went on wildcat strikes, loggers started marching on the state capitol, millions in the middle turned angry against the downturn of their living standards. A majority of people began to have a common interest in economic justice. Their protest, or withdrawal, was less visible, less disruptive, but no less real.

Nowadays, it is fashionable to comment on the passing of those movements of the Sixties. A smugness has almost returned to administrators, having weathered the test of their authority. Business writers comment with satisfaction on the seeming acceptance of ten percent unemployment. The campuses are quiet. Ronald Reagan has gone on to higher ambitions, running on his record of "success" in "handling" California. Even Richard Nixon hopes for a comeback.

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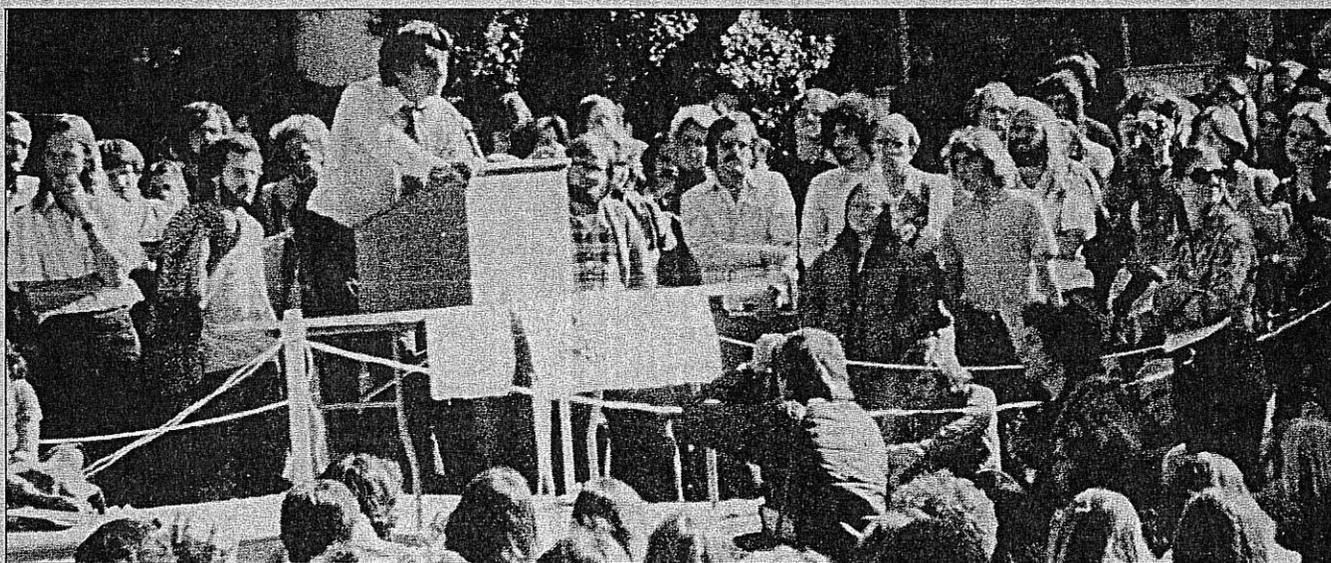
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armed forces, did most politicians start to find their anti-war convictions. The contribution of those politicians in ending the war became extremely important. But it was generally public opinion which did the leading, and political leaders who did the following.

Today I am running for office not so much because I have changed but because times have changed. What were once minority viewpoints have become majority viewpoints. Pollster Louis Harris, for example, wrote in 1973 that the peace movement "succeeded beyond its wildest dreams". In his polls, two-thirds of the American people oppose U.S. support for repressive regimes; oppose CIA intervention in Chile; believe the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer; believe that government is run more in the interests of big business than for the average person. The public's opinion of who is dangerous to the country has changed, too: in 1967 it was black militants, student demonstrators, atheists, prostitutes and homosexuals. In 1973 it was generals who conduct secret bombing raids (67%), politicians who engage in secret wiretapping (71%), businessmen who make illegal contributions (81%), and politicians who use the CIA and FBI for political purposes (88%).

My own life has been vitally affected by these changes in American opinion. I remember at the end of the Chicago trial in 1970, Judge Julius Hoffman said "A fellow as smart as you could do awfully well under this system," and asked if I had any last words before sentencing. I was expecting to spend the next four or more years in prison for my *crime* of opposing the war in the streets of Chicago. The courtroom was a sorrowful shambles. I tried to think what effect my punishment would have. It wouldn't change my views. It wouldn't stop the growing opposition to the war. It would only make more people angry at the Administration for *legally* railroading us to prison. So the punishment was senseless politically, I told the judge. My personal pain, I told him, was at not being able to have a baby, part of the full life I wanted to lead. "Well," the judge scoffed, "the federal prisons can't help you there." "But," I replied, "they wouldn't prevent the birth of a new world either." With those words, I went off to jail. But not for long. Protests and appeals around the country led to our being bailed out in two weeks. The appeal process took over a year before the conviction was thrown out because of misconduct by the judge and prosecutor. There remained only a re-trial on the charges of contempt made by Judge Hoffman. In the fall of 1973, after a two-month trial, I was acquitted of all remaining charges. By that time, I already had a baby, a son Troy, three months old, and I was finally outside the

shadow of the Chicago case after five years of waiting. The Watergate disclosures were starting to reveal just who had been a threat to our liberties and who had not.

**It is a sign of the times that today I am running for the US Senate while those who wanted to put me in prison—Nixon, Agnew, Mitchell, and the rest—are either purged dishonorably from office or have gone to the penitentiary themselves.**

#### AMERICA'S REAL STRENGTH

The conclusion I have come to is that *people are America's real strength*. There have been times when I doubted the human potential of this country. While the Vietnam war escalated and too many tolerated it, while I saw young people arrested, shot and treated as *bums*, while I sat in the Chicago trial waiting for prison—it was not difficult to give up on *society*. But I always re-discovered a basic humanity in the least expected ways. I once feared that our GIs, after killing in Vietnam, would come back wanting to kill peace demonstrators. But most of them came home as confused as those who never went, and a brave number spoke out against the continuing bloodshed. I also feared that the *hardhats* and *Middle Americans* would support the war, but I discovered these were only labels meant to divide and discredit the anti-war protestors. The polls showed that working people who were forced to pay for the war in blood and money were more against it than any other class. They were only critical of the anti-war movement because too many of us attacked their flag, their values, their sense of patriotism with words and deeds of self-destructive frustration.

When several of us with the Indochina Peace Campaign spoke in 90 cities, in 1972, we were moved again and again by individual Americans we encountered—an old man who'd been speaking out against the war since 1954, members of the Birch Society who shared our analysis of Rockefeller, Nixon supporters who switched to McGovern after an hour's conversation, a housewife who cried when she realized that her government had lied to her. Our movement was not isolated and embattled on the fringe as we thought, but instead was flowing through the mainstream, filling up with GIs and vets, former Pentagon officials, POW's, a baby doctor, actors and actresses, gold-star mothers, dissenting Democrats, parents of campus revolutionaries. One of our tour members, Holly Near, put the emotions we felt into the chorus of a song—

*Oh America, I now can say your name  
Without feeling bitter  
Without feeling ashamed*

*I've travelled across your country  
Your villages and your town  
And I've seen some friendly people  
Who turned my head around.*

**This new feeling of faith in no way lessened my criticism of fundamental wrongs in America.** I have not "moderated" my feelings about injustice. I still believe that confrontation with established power is necessary, for power never yields its privileges voluntarily. But my discovery of the capacity of goodness in so many Americans gave me the strength to continue trying to persuade and organize instead of abandoning the process for extremes of despair. It made me a more patient person, believing that the good in all of us can be touched and liberated.

### A LABEL OR A TITLE

I will be called a radical in this election. I wish labelling in politics could never again be resurrected after Watergate, because it always falls more heavily on the dissenters than on the establishment. *The first are labelled, the latter are titled.* You don't see *Watergate ring-leader* to describe Richard Nixon; he is *the former president*. You don't see *suspected wiretapper* before Henry Kissinger's name; he is *the Secretary*. The negative meaning of the term, *radical*, is usually erased after the individual is dead. Tom Paine was hounded through his last years as *too revolutionary* but was made an American hero in following centuries. John Brown was considered a violent fanatic but today is eulogized in the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. Emma Goldman, now one of the most famous and respected women in American history, was labelled *Red Emma* and deported in 1919. Walter Reuther was labelled a *red revolutionary* when he fought for workers at Flint and visited Russia, but today he is a labor statesman. Martin Luther King was a *nigger* and *outside agitator* to millions until after his death when everyone began honoring him.

**It is easy to see the convenience of labels to the establishment.** Labels are used to make certain ideas and people seem frightening, thereby keeping moderate citizens from getting involved in seeing the world a different way. The status quo is protected. Public attention is channeled away from the underlying problems—for instance, poverty and prejudice—and channeled instead toward seeing "the agitators" themselves as the problem. The powers-that-be usually promise that reform is coming but insist that first order must be restored by removing the agitators. But as soon as the agitators are stilled, the status quo resumes once again, perhaps with a few cosmetic changes. Books are

written about the agitators a few years later, sometimes buildings and monuments are built, days are named after them, a few of their ideas are partially carried out. But the pressure for social change created by their energy and vision is defused—usually until a new generation comes along inspired by their ideas.

I have seen this pattern happen, on a more modest level, with the political generation of the 1960's. For instance, the concept of *participatory democracy* which was the original philosophy of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), has been widely absorbed in the rhetoric of many individuals and organizations. The 1972 platform preamble of the Democratic Party and the pronouncements of Common Cause, have been compared to early SDS rhetoric. That is a generally positive development.

But it is mostly words. Even Nixon gave a speech hailing a "second American Revolution" which included the idea of *participatory democracy* (though his revenue sharing scheme was nothing but a bureaucratic reshuffling that involved no participation by people at all.)

**But the ideas of the 60's ought not to be carried out in bureaucratic coffins.** If radical has its original meaning as *going to the root*, then we need more radicals because we are in dire need of getting to the roots of our problems and coming up with alternatives. It is this process which we must encourage in the years ahead. The process of building a *lasting citizen movement* to create ways out of an intolerable status quo.

### OUR PROGRAM IS A DIALOGUE

The first step in this process is not to fall blindly in line behind a candidate—the days of *saviors* should be over—but to start looking for answers, for programs, that connect the individual problems of life with their larger causes in the rules and institutions of society. We are talking about ills so deep that no band-aids can cover and cure them. Only when we understand the social roots of our personal situation will we understand that we are part of a historical process of change. Realizing that, we can all choose to continue being victims and pawns, or we can begin acting as human beings conscious of the possibility of shaping our own future.

The pages which follow contain an analysis of why things have gone wrong and what concretely to do about them. The ideas are offered to the citizens of California as the platform of my campaign, the opening of a dialogue about our future.

My basic message is simple. Let's make the future *ours*. Let's create a government of, by and for the people, not a government for the privileged.

# Government of the Corporations

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“The corporation penetrating in every part of the Union, acting by command and in phalanx may, in a critical moment, upset the government. I deem no government safe which is under the vassalage of any self-constituted authorities.”

—Thomas Jefferson

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**T**he focus of the 1976 election—and beyond—will not be a single issue like Vietnam or Watergate. It is not enough to be simply against something. Instead it is necessary to confront a new reality: the unravelling of America’s power in the world of limits. We must focus now on learning to use the potential abundance *within* our nation in a new way.

The age which is ending is *the American Century*, as TIME called it 30 years ago.

**In military terms**, it has been an age of Vietnam and Korean wars, smaller interventions elsewhere, and the Cold War philosophy. But, after enormous suffering and destruction, it is now clear that we cannot police the world.

**In economic terms**, it was an age of American business dominance over the markets, resources and labor of much of the world. It assumed an unlimited supply of cheap resources and American consumption of one-third of the world’s energy. The foreign investments of our corporations were thought to ensure unending security and prosperity. We now have very real competitors, however, and Third World countries are reclaiming their resources. Our own multinational corporations have invested so much abroad that we are left with run-away shops, depleted industries, rising unemployment and higher prices here at home.

**Domestically**, it was an age which assumed that war and civilian priorities, *guns and butter*, could both be afforded. The result, we now know, is that we must choose one or the other.

**Politically**, it was an age of the growth of bureaucratic central government to manage national security in a *bipartisan* foreign policy. But as the Cold War consensus collapsed in Vietnam, the centralized government became a danger to American freedoms.

**Philosophically**, it was an age in which we knelt before bigness, materialism and profit as ends in themselves.

**The new reality is that we live in a world of limits**, but live by rules which require an unlimited world. It is the collision of the rules of expansion with the walls of reality which we are now going through, a collision which will require a new philosophy.

### **DOING WITH LESS SO BIG BUSINESS CAN HAVE MORE**

In this new situation, the years ahead will see a worsening conflict between the needs of most Americans and the privileges of the top corporations upon whom we once relied. If we continue to support a system of corporate privilege, excessive profits, status symbols and conspicuous consumption for the few, it will be the majority of Americans who will suffer economic decline. Not just those who have been poor all along, but also the middle Americans who played by the rules and believed in the system, now face an economic crisis.

That this is exactly the future as seen by the privileged economic establishment is clear from an editorial in *BUSINESS WEEK* magazine of October, 1974. Concluding that, "It is inevitable that the U.S. economy will grow more slowly than it has," the editorial went on, "**some people will obviously have to do with less . . . indeed, cities and states, the home mortgage market, small business and the consumer will all get less than they want.**"

**"Yet it will be a hard pill for many Americans to swallow—the idea of doing with less so that big business can have more.** It will be particularly hard to swallow because it is quite obvious that if big business and big banks are the most visible victims of what ails the Debt Economy, they are also in large measure responsible for it.

"Nothing that this nation, or any other nation, has done in modern history compares in difficulty with the **selling job** that must now be done to make people accept the new reality." (emphasis added)

The giant corporations are not *tightening their belts* for these lean times. Their overall rate of profit may be falling if measured as a long-term percent of investment. Their options for expanded investment may be drying up. But for now, they aren't worrying.

### **THE STATE OF THE CORPORATIONS**

**Profits are up.** After-tax corporate profits

jumped 16.8 percent in the third quarter of 1975, the largest quarterly gain since 1946. And in 1976, "after-tax profits will show a dramatic turnaround," according to the United California Bank, "principally because undistributed profits will rise from \$39 billion in 1975 to \$55 billion in 1976."

**Executive salaries are good.** The chief officers of Exxon and ITT, for instance, both netted about \$800,000 last year in salaries alone.

**Corporate taxes have decreased sharply.** Twenty years ago the big corporations were providing 25 percent of all federal revenue; in 1973 it was down to 15 percent and falling. While the public made up the difference, ten of the biggest corporations were able to pay no federal income taxes. Although the law has established a corporate tax rate of 48%, loopholes allow most to pay 23 percent, and many of the biggest pay less than 10 percent. Seventy of 215 private utilities, for example, paid no federal tax in 1974, while the average utility paid 1.3 percent, down from 14.7 percent 20 years ago. In California, PG&E paid 1.9 percent tax; San Diego's utility paid 1.1 percent, and Southern California Edison paid 7.5.

**Subsidies** are one form of welfare payment the corporations don't complain about. Studies by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress list between \$63 and \$100 billion in hidden subsidies which "redistribute income to the affluent." In 1974, oil companies got \$10.3 billion in depletion allowances, foreign tax benefits, drilling cost allowances and import quotas. Agribusiness got \$9 billion, defense \$16 billion, aerospace \$8.2 billion, real estate \$15.8 billion—by minimum estimates.

### **CORPORATE CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT**

Behind these privileges is a base of corporate power which is growing. The largest corporations in America, the *Fortune 500*, control 65% of sales, 79% of profits and 76% of the workers in manufacturing. Fifty banks hold half our deposits. *One percent of America owns half of all stock.* Each sector of the economy is dominated by an *oligopoly* of four top firms; they control 99 percent of the auto industry, 96 percent of aluminum, 92 percent of light bulbs, 93 percent of steam engines, 90 percent of breakfast foods.

Watergate highlighted the degree of corporate control of government through the \$50 million raised for Richard Nixon's campaign treasury from the biggest companies. However, a more permanent kind of control is demonstrated by recent revelations that 350 officials of regulatory agencies are from the industry they are supposed to regulate. One hundred officials from chemical or drug

companies, for instance, now decide what drugs to sell and what chemicals to put in food. Of equal importance is a study which found that 70 of the 91 men who directed military and national security agencies from 1950 to 1967 were from the ranks of big business or big banks.

Corporate domination has risen to new levels with the growth of the multinational corporation, which Administration planners see as the wave of the future. In the Fortune 500 rankings, the 15 largest industrial companies in the world are all multinational (eleven of them are based in the U.S., including eight oil companies.)

### THE MULTINATIONALS AT WORK

The classic example of the nature of these firms which operate in several countries and product lines is International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT). *During World War II, this corporation related to both the Nazis and the Americans.* In their German plants, ITT produced Focke-Wulf bombers to attack American convoys at sea. In their American plants, ITT produced frequency direction finders to protect those same convoys. After the war, ITT collected \$27 million in compensation from the U.S. government for war damage to its German factories.

The multinationals' investments in foreign branches has skyrocketed since 1960 from \$3.8 billion to nearly \$20 billion in 1975. There are 425 American multinationals in Singapore alone, where the wages are about 33 cents an hour. South Korea is another important spot for firms like Gulf and Motorola; as the president of Motorola explains, "We can train Korean girls to do the same thing as American workers. They are hungrier and more motivated. **They will work harder for less.**"

**California has been hard hit by the overseas growth of these companies.** Since 1965, for example, over 650 branches of American firms have opened just below the Mexican border where they exploit cheap labor to produce electronic parts and garments. Del Monte has moved its white asparagus operations away from cities like San Jose, where workers might get \$25 a day, to Mexico where wages are under \$3 a day. The cheaper labor cut Del Monte's costs by over 40 percent, but their price of asparagus here remained the same. Americans don't benefit from this kind of arrangement; nor do those who work for starvation wages abroad under dictatorships kept in power by multinational support.

### WHO REALLY BENEFITS

The effects of the multinationals expose the myth that foreign corporate expansion benefits a majority of Americans.

**Jobs are lost.** Run-away shops affect community after community. The AFL-CIO puts the net loss of job opportunities at over one million since 1966. Other estimates go as high as four million.

**Capital is lost.** U.S. banks have increased their overseas assets by 16 times since 1967, to nearly \$150 billion. For the giant banks, a foreign branch can actually represent one-third to one-half their business.

**Technology is lost.** To become competitive, foreign branches of U.S. companies use technology developed in American schools at public expense—from new methods of cutting garments to sophisticated industrial processing. The use of this technology at lower wages means greater profits abroad and depleted industries at home.

**Wages are lost.** Foreign investment has meant a drop of four percent, or \$25 billion, annually in American labor's share of the U.S. national income.

**Taxes are lost.** At a minimum, \$5 billion in tax benefits go to multinationals because of tax and tariff advantages they now possess.

**Underlying it all, power is lost.** The multinational companies are beyond the control of American consumers, American labor and American government regulation. All the countervailing power created against corporate greed—for example, collective bargaining and anti-trust laws are eroded by the transfer of corporate operations abroad. Senator Phillip Hart, chairman of the Senate Anti-trust and Monopoly Subcommittee, has warned: "We have reached a point in this country where in a standdown between a giant multinational corporation and the government, the government would have to withdraw." **And for now and the years ahead, they want more.**

**We are now at a turning point.** Old policies are being replaced with new ones which attempt to deal with the next 25 years or more. What if the future is allowed to remain in corporate hands?

### THE CORPORATE FUTURE: ROAD-MAP TO HARDSHIP AND AUTHORITARIANISM

We can be sure that the future will look like the present—only more so. Those now in power are the same people whose policies brought us Vietnam, inflation, unemployment, environmental destruction, the concentration of power and money, and the wasteful use of land and natural resources. Because their interests still lie in their profits rather than our well-being, we can expect that the future they create will reflect their past performance.

**Corporate control of our future economic**

**priorities** will mean constant levels of high unemployment and job insecurity because they export capital, and invest in labor-saving, profit-maximizing technology. It will mean speed-ups at work, limits on the right to bargain collectively or strike.

It will mean deepening misery for minorities, greater conflict over fewer opportunities, intensified scapegoating and racism.

It will mean continued inflation, because the giant corporations can administer prices in the industries over which they have monopoly control, and can pass on to the consumer their increased labor costs and tax increases. For consumers it will mean a decline of purchasing power. For senior citizens it will mean a nightmare as fixed incomes are devoured.

**Corporate control of housing** means the underdevelopment of housing that most people can afford, the continuation of real estate speculation, and the misuse of land for profitable but wasteful land development.

**Corporate control of agriculture** means higher food prices because the competitive market is undermined while corporate food distribution adds the price of packaging and advertising to food. It means lower quality food as monopolistic food producers strive to lower their costs with technological and chemical gimmickry.

**Corporate control of transportation** means that efforts to create feasible alternatives to the automobile will be blocked to save the giant auto companies—that pollution, traffic, waste, accidents and costs to consumers will not be reduced. Since cheap forms of mass transit are less profitable they won't be developed.

As long as the future is made for and by the major banks and corporations, we can expect that our chances for fulfilling personal lives will become less and less. The money and services our cities need will continue to dry up—leading to increased misery for people forced to live in the central cities and a continued upward spiral of fear in our streets. For those who can find work, the work available will not make full use of their training, talents and energies.

This cycle of horrors is what BUSINESS WEEK means with the admonition that, "Cities and states will have to do with less."

Corporate control of our energy future means California will be turned into an energy colony for corporate America. We can expect to see continued reliance on polluting, wasteful forms of energy production as the largest corporations, the energy companies, would be sure to use their great political and economic influence to preserve the present, highly profitable, patterns of energy use, and to

resist the development of alternative, decentralized sources over which they would have less control.

Corporate control of our energy future already is underway with the deregulation of the price of natural gas. The monopolies are blackmailing a timid Congress into accepting higher prices which may amount to \$110 billion through 1985. Corporate control is the reason utility rates are rising by hundreds of millions to finance Exxon and Atlantic Richfield's search for new energy supplies off Alaska. Corporate control guarantees that if they strike it rich with public financing, the public will receive nothing but first rights to buy at whatever price they can gouge out of us. Corporate control means that consumers are being turned into stockholders without stock. Corporate control means that the Outer Continental Shelf can be leased away by the public to oil companies at scandalously low bids, then sold back at scandalously high prices. Corporate control means that California is being stampeded into accepting, subsidizing and insuring nuclear power plants which are expensive, wasteful and dangerous except to their private investors and government officials. Corporate control will lead to the elimination of the crucial gains made by California's pioneering environmental movement.

**Corporate control of foreign policy** will mean continuing the path of the Cold War and Vietnam, modified only slightly by the limits of our power.

It insures that we will not learn the real lessons of the Vietnam war, but instead continue to intervene as we are now doing in Portugal and Angola. It means the threat of nuclear war will continue to hang over the human race. It means the CIA will still carry out secret policies of sabotage and violence without the knowledge or consent of the American people. It means the gap between the have and have-not nations will widen to explosive extremes.

## THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Corporate control means continued high levels of military spending. It means the peacetime defense budget will continue to climb even during peace. It means new *families* of weapons will be budgeted decades ahead. It means America's productivity, research and development, tax dollars and human resources will continue to be locked up in military companies. *It means California's economy will still be saddled with a military albatross which creates few jobs per dollar, but contributes to inflation by flooding the market with wages but not purchasable goods.* It means constant cost-overruns because the companies have no incentive to keep prices down, as Sidewinder missiles go up 99

percent, MK 48 Torpedos 109 percent, Navy hydrofoils 81 percent, personnel carriers 54 percent, between 1975 and 1976 alone.

**Corporate control will insure guns over butter.** The billions for Vietnam were billions diverted from other possible needs. One month's spending for that war would have financed the complete education of 100,000 scientists; or paid the full costs of all annual police services in America; or financed the annual food bill of 10 million hungry Americans. While two-thirds of federal research and development money came from the Pentagon, other needs were growing. The need for new doctors was 50 percent greater in 1970 than the total graduating class, and the need for teachers was dramatized by finding that 23 million of the nation's adults lack the literacy needed to read the newspaper or job applications.

**Control by the military-industrial complex creates distortions and undermines the competitive strength of our economy.** The flight of the multinationals overseas is proof that aside from the military sector, American industry has become stagnant. Its growth prospects are dim, because the resources needed for productivity have been assigned to the war economy. While our armed forces protected West German and Japanese societies, their scientists and engineers went to work improving their civilian economic productivity—at our expense. **America now has to import the high-technology goods which are the key to innovations.** Imports of chemicals rose 80 percent in the Sixties, non-electrical machinery 600 percent, electrical equipment 700 percent, transport equipment 680 percent.

In the steel industry, 18 percent of the domestic market is served from abroad. In civilian electronics the percentages are even higher: 100 percent of our tape recorders, 85 percent of our radios, 60 percent of our stereos, 35 percent of our TV sets. Key technological sectors face chronic problems of neglect. Telephone service is worsening. There are shortages of engineers for power plants. Our crumbling railroad system permits a top speed of 70 miles per hour from St. Louis to Chicago, while the Japanese and French are running trains at 250 miles per hour.

**Corporate control of our foreign policy will benefit no one except the multinationals, as long as profits last. For us, it will mean the destruction of our once productive industrial system.**

#### AT WHAT PRICE

Corporate control means a loss of individual freedom. If Americans are going to do with less, and accept unpopular foreign policies, new forms of repression will be required. As BUSINESS WEEK

points out about its *selling job*, "There are grave doubts whether the job can be done at all." Historian Arnold Toynbee, filled with years and compassion, lamented that "democracy will be unable to cope with approaching economic problems . . . and that totalitarianism will take its place."

**Corporate control means having less democracy instead of more.** It means more schemes like those of Nixon, Mitchell, Huston and others to create a centralized, computerized police-control apparatus over law-abiding American citizens on "enemies lists." It means police numbers increasing at twice the rate of population growth. It means federal funds for new technological police improvements jumping from \$63 million in 1969 to \$886 million in 1975, thus diverting technology from more human needs. It means as many as 5,000 personnel in local "red squads", 3,200 FBI agents in "counter-intelligence" programs, unknown numbers of armed forces intelligence personnel and CIA operatives.

It means less freedom for Americans to assemble, to form unions, to enter controversial organizations, to maintain the privacy of their opinions. It means that instead of wider legal forums for debating alternatives to our present problems, opinions will be polarized, labelled and scapegoated. Instead of greater opportunities for peaceful change, it means greater dangers of repression and rebellion.

It means that communities will have less and less control over their own development. It means that the social investments that are needed to ensure health, safety, education and the general well-being of the people will take second place to the drive for profit-oriented capital investment.

It means we will depend on the willingness of these corporations to supply us with the essentials we need to live, with the means of pleasure, relaxation and employment, at prices and on terms that they decide. This not only means an unhealthy dependency, but it is a profound danger as well. When we express discontent at these misplaced priorities, as inevitably we will, we will find the interests of these companies incompatible with democracy itself.

**That is not the future we should accept in 1976. We must control the future and make it ours.**

#### CALIFORNIA: THE CUTTING EDGE

*"California is at the cutting edge of industrial development and consequently leads the way . . . National trends are anticipated here and are frequently more extreme in their impact."*

—Lt. Governor's Task Force/Economic Planning

California is the cutting edge of the future. If we cannot prevent it, the corporate future will strike us first and hardest. If we find an alternative, we will influence the nation.

The grimness of the future described in these pages is something that most Californians would have instantly rejected as impossible 15 years ago. For then, most Californians were still involved in the myth and reality of the last frontier of American expansion—the boundless frontier, the endless march of progress, the invincible genius of American *know-how* to do anything it set out to do.

**Indeed, the myth of the West is still very much alive.** Some almost miraculous quality of promise has lured millions of us to California, away from homes and roots. This lure has been a continuation of the same surge that populated this continent with 17th century Spanish explorers visualizing an *island paradise*, Easterners hoping to strike it rich in El Dorado Country during the Gold Rush, Midwesterners and Southerners drawn by the magnetism of Hollywood. Large numbers of us found enough of what we were looking for to stay. People really have gone from rags to riches, found land and natural beauty, a freer environment, a more healthy climate.

In recent years, however, *fewer people have been journeying to California.* More have been departing. A San Francisco bank analyst reports that "A California poll taken in 1971 indicated that almost one-third of the population would leave the state if given a chance."

**Something has changed.** The contrast between the dreams we were nurtured on and the reality in which we live has become too stark to be ignored. **The frontier is closed,** and we are now forced to deal with the backlash of the economic machinery that built it. We have become technologically over-developed and socially under-developed, number one in nuclear bombs but not first in health, environment, race relations or security.

**When one-third of our people are ready to leave the state, when one million remain permanently unemployed, when two-thirds live in air basins which have not met national air quality standards, it is time to take a new look.**

The only unlimited frontier of the future is not in California gold fields, not in Asia, not in Outer Space beyond the moon. **The only unlimited frontier lies in improving the quality of our own lives.**

## GOING TO THE ROOTS

To begin to develop this new frontier, we must return to California's roots that are at least as deep as the quest for private wealth. They are the root of democracy, the root of rebellion, the root of innumerable struggles of countless groups of people for a decent life and fair play.

**The seriousness with which this campaign is being taken by the people of California is a symbol of the strength of this democratic heritage today.** Most people are willing to consider genuine change in our society. Many are ready to act on it. Many more are willing to vote for someone who is determined to raise the issue of basic economic and political change to the level of state and national debate. Together, we are a force that can develop an alternative to the nightmare our corporations are planning for us.

**Our first task is to develop ways to break the power of the corporations to impose their priorities upon us.** It will be tough. Our multinationals today are beyond the bargaining power of labor, the demand power of consumers, the tax and regulation power of government agencies. *The centralized government intertwined with these corporations is beyond the present power of the voters.*

**But it can be done.** The very power of the multinationals is their greatest weakness. They are finding it increasingly difficult to raise the capital needed to maintain their privileges from consumers and taxpayers. If workers cannot bargain for decent wages, they are increasingly reluctant to perform. Corporations are finding unprecedented levels of distrust in their motives and efficiency.

The key is for us to make a new *affirmation of democracy* as our most basic heritage. *We need a new commitment to greater democracy at all levels.* Employees need greater power at the place of work. Consumers need greater power over the distribution of goods and services. Citizens need power over development. We all need power over our lives.

**Our campaign is about using the power we have already gained to gain more power.** It is part of a new democratic movement in American life which is already developing solutions to the problems we face. It represents a path whereby we can rebuild the California of our dreams.

California has an alternative to the future planned by its corporations. That alternative lies with its people. Without power, people have no direction, hope, or dignity. With it, they can do anything.



# Government of the People

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“Government is instituted for the protection, safety and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any man, family or class of men.”

—Mercy Warren, 1788

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**I**f we and our children are to have a hope for decent and fulfilling lives, then the hold of the giant corporations over our economy, our politics, and our common life must be broken. We can no longer expect that the “business-as-usual” operation of our economy will provide us with the work, the food, the shelter, the health care, the education that human beings need for “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

But I am not running for the U.S. Senate simply to replace Big Business with Big Government. I do not believe that the way to block corporate power is by trusting the Federal

Government to take care of us. First of all, the history of reform in America tells us that large concentrations of wealth and economic power can stop, distort or take over a process of reform—especially when that process is directed by politicians and experts in Washington. The power of wealth can subvert reform by lobbying incessantly; by using crude and subtle bribes; by controlling the regulatory commissions established to control them; by funding lavish media campaigns that distort the purposed effect of reform; and by waging interminable legal battles to block reforms in the courts. And most fundamentally, the big banks and corporations can defeat reform efforts by slowing down the economic machine—by refusing to invest if they don’t like the conditions set on their operations, even though these conditions are legislated by a democratic process and are designed to improve the people’s well-being.

But even if it were possible for the reform we need to be legislated at the top, I do not think such reform can and should be relied on to meet our needs. People have every reason to doubt that

government bureaucracies and Federal investments are going to provide a better future than corporate bureaucracies and Wall Street investments. Neither "Wall Street" nor "Washington" pursue goals that promote the well-being of the people.

### TOWARDS TRUE SELF GOVERNMENT

The professional politician claims to speak for the people and wants the people to support him. I am running for the U.S. Senate because I want to help people *speak for themselves*, because I want to support people *taking action for themselves*. I am running because I believe the time is ripe for an **organized** quest for self-government, and that campaigns such as ours can greatly aid this quest. I am running because I believe that *we can use the office of U. S. Senator to promote democratic action*. I am running because I think the government can help create the means of self-government rather than destroy them.

I am running because I believe that there is hope for breaking corporate domination over our common life and our future. That hope lies in the possibility that people who don't have the power of wealth behind them will unite and organize to protect their interests and demand their rights.

### A NEW POLITICAL MAJORITY

For the first time in a generation, it is realistic to envision the majority of Americans coming together as a new political force. For a long time, after World War II, it seemed that the majority of Americans felt satisfied with the status quo, that only minorities saw "business as usual" as oppressive and potentially disastrous. Today, the sense that things are falling apart is shared by those who have believed in the system.

**A majority is ready for basic change.** This is reflected not only in opinion polls, but in the kinds of organized grassroots action evident in recent years. Political protest once was limited to the campuses and ghettos. Today, "Middle Americans" organize to protest meat prices, utility rate hikes, public employee lay-offs, childcare cutbacks, nuclear power plants, environmentally destructive land developments, arbitrary rent increases, redlining of neighborhoods, unsafe working conditions—and innumerable other threats to everyday security and well-being. This groundswell may not seem as dramatic as the protest actions of a few years ago and often doesn't make headlines. But the search for new answers includes a wider range of people and issues than it did in the Sixties.

**A new majority coalition, a force for greater democracy and change, is being born.** It seeks new rules to replace those that have broken down, new

ways to organize the economy, the cities, the political structure. We have embarked on this campaign for the U. S. Senate as a means of aiding the creation of this new force.

### BUILDING AN ALTERNATIVE

**First**, campaigns such as ours force those who seek change to develop a **positive program** based on the shared interests and common sense of the majority. It's no longer enough to be simply against the status quo, for people are rightfully seeking answers beyond protest. It's no longer enough to stand for traditional New Deal-welfare state programs, for people have ceased to trust promises of security that are combined with the centralization of power in corporate and government bureaucracies. There's nothing like a political campaign, where you have to communicate with and persuade the dubious and the indifferent, to force critics and activists to think positively and creatively about social solutions.

What we are presenting here, then, is a contribution to the search for new answers in the years ahead. We have tried to draw on the experience and thinking of many of the groups and individuals in California and around the nation who have been struggling, in their particular areas of concern, for basic reform; in trade unions, farmworker organizing, women's liberation, consumer protection, environmentalism, tenant's rights, healthcare, tax reform, community self-government, social service, affirmative action, civil liberties, alternative institutions, electoral reform, and the peace movement. We've tried to draw these and other streams of policy and program together—and put them in a framework so they can be heard, tested and discussed by the wider public. Hopefully, through our campaign both the overall need for an alternative to corporate control and the specific policies that might create that alternative can be debated in a wide variety of arenas: in Democratic Party clubs, in unions, churches, community organizations and civic groups, in the media—and by other candidates as well.

**Second**, in addition to program, the most pressing need of the new political force is for **organizational strength. This campaign is dedicated to building a lasting political organization that will go on whether I am elected or not.** It will be an organization whose base is in the precincts, workplaces and towns that are reached during the campaign. It will be an organization with thousands of people who have had the experience, as a result of this campaign, of talking not just to themselves (a common failing of reformers) but to anyone willing to listen, and of learning how to operate an efficient

grassroots campaign. It will be an organization that hopefully has been able to reach out to the millions of people in this state who no longer believe in the system, but who have turned off to any kind of political action out of a sense of powerlessness or futility. For unless these millions—most of whom are members of the generation born since World War II began—pay attention, register, vote and take political action at every level, then we will have lost our chance to achieve decent lives in the future.

### OPENING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

**Third**, the program and organization we are helping to build through this campaign can have a major **impact on the Democratic Party** in California and nationally. I believe that the Democratic Party is a logical arena for the new populist forces. I believe that the majority of Democratic activists in California will support the kind of program we are presenting. Moreover, the Democratic Party rank-and-file in California is composed of nearly *six million* people who are suffering most from “business-as-usual” and who would benefit most from a reinvigoration of democracy. These millions include most industrial workers, most minorities, most public employees, most issue-oriented middle class people, many small business people. They can be reached by independent candidates and programs.

I don't believe the Democratic Party hierarchy represents this rank-and-file. The hierarchy tends to be a more exclusive club, dominated by corporate lawyers, and others who have little in common with the rank-and-file. Nor does the elite have the power to control voters or block independent campaigns like ours. Moreover, the party leadership, like most Americans, is uncertain and divided about the right direction for the country; consequently, despite its relatively “elitist” cast, many in the leadership are open to pressure from below.

The anti-war movement, minorities and women succeeded considerably in opening the Party during the late Sixties and early Seventies. Today, the same kind of rank-and-file movements for basic economic reform and a new integrity have the potential of *opening the Party even further* to new leadership and new program and new, more democratic ways of doing politics. At the same time, those movements must hold fast to their ideas and independence so as not to become simply a respectable opposition limited to the confines of the Party.

The anti-war movement did not succeed by giving politicians the leadership. It succeeded by a **combined struggle** in the streets, in community organizing and electoral politics as well. This

independence and variety of action will be crucial to sustain for movements now and in the future.

**We face a dangerous situation in 1976.** One element, symbolized by Reagan and Wallace, if elected will attempt a violent counter-revolutionary policy abroad and repression at home. Another element, traditional liberals and moderates, will enact only limited welfare state measures, bringing on more bureaucracy and greater public frustration.

Our movement is the emerging alternative to these traditional reactionary and moderate patterns. The key place to put forth alternatives is the Democratic primary where the voters can make their choice without fear of losing to the Republicans. The Democratic primary is the opportunity to shape something better than “lesser evils.” By building organizational strength in the Democratic Party we may be able to check the worst tendencies in American politics, we may be able to change the terms of political debate, we can, at a minimum, veto candidates and policies that we know lead toward disaster. Beyond that, the future decade is hard to predict. The Democratic Party could shift to the right, forcing our movement to create a new vehicle. Or the Party could divide from the weight of its internal conflicts. For now, however, we should put forward the vision of a grass roots Party in which activists work with their elected officials to struggle both for new programs and to democratize existing ones—a Party in which activists are not content to go back to business as usual after an election. A Party that is both a movement *and* a major means for maintaining the country's democratic values in the face of entrenched corporate power.

### A CAMPAIGN OF EXPRESSION AND INVOLVEMENT

**Fourth**, this campaign aids the growth of democratic reform by making the vote meaningful **as a form of protest and expression.** *A vote for Tom Hayden for US Senate is a vote against corporate power and privilege, a vote against business as usual, a vote for economic justice.* For millions of people who find no way of publicly expressing their discontent, who can't take to the streets or speak their minds, voting for a candidate who represents a clear break with the status quo can be effective. The more votes I get, the harder it will be for the professional politicians to ignore the demand for full employment, for adequate health care, for protection of living standards, for real equality and justice.

**Fifth**, this campaign can help by being an on-going source of **aid for grassroots action.** Already, the campaign has supported farmworker

organization and other unionization drives; it helped organize consumers to oppose the infamous ARCO deal; it is helping to register voters so that local public interest candidates can win. By fundraising, by the loan of campaign staff, by the mobilization of campaign workers, and so on, we believe an electoral campaign is a logical, and very useful instrument for people to aid causes and struggles that aren't directly affected by the outcome of the election itself. We want to break down the separation that is traditional in American life between "conventional" electoral politics and the "unconventional" politics of the picketline, the protest rally, the boycott and the strike. We think all these forms of action are vital to the process of democratic action, and should be seen as mutually supportive, rather than mutually exclusive.

### **MAKING THE OFFICE OF U. S. SENATOR A SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE**

I want to open up the exclusive government club by a *citizen action approach* to politics. I want to use the office of U. S. Senator to help people *speak and act for themselves*.

- **Services.** I will bring government closer to the people by opening community-based U. S. Senate offices all over California, staffed by Nader's "public citizens" and other skilled organizers. They will form community councils to advise on matters of policy and services. The staff will attend community meetings, answer relevant mail, deal with grievances, and check on whether federal dollars are getting to the people. A California Senator now gets nearly \$900,000 for staff expenses; for that amount, almost 100 organizers could be hired instead of the few who now work for high salaries in even higher priced buildings.

I will also organize in Washington a staff of the most skilled activists and resource people from all backgrounds of California life; they will rotate every two years or so to stay in touch with the grass-roots.

- **Going to the People.** I will carry the issues to the people through as many hearings and forums in California as possible. I would like to ask the chairman of Exxon in public hearings, for example, if he really needed an \$800,000 salary in 1974 in order to maintain his rugged individualist spirit; or Pentagon officials why the military budget has to rise in peacetime. Too many hearings are only publicity gimmicks, or only involve established leaders talking to themselves in hotel rooms. Public hearings must provide the community people the widest possible chance to be heard and felt.

- **Campaigning.** I will commit myself to helping other candidates for public office, in California and around the country.

- **Strengthening local organization.** I will try to

get resources, services, and maximum support to organizations of community people, workers, seniors, women, and minorities who are usually neglected except during campaigns.

- **Exposure.** A U. S. Senator is in a position to obtain information about how power is being used and abused by public officials. Most of the time, abuses of power are known about within the "club" but concealed from public view. For example, J. Edgar Hoover's abuses were known about for years before they were revealed; so were many of the repressive and illegal activities of the CIA; so were many of the forms of corporate corruption of the democratic process that came to light as a result of Watergate. I want to use the Senate office as an *early warning outpost*--to alert the people to potentials for police state and corrupt practices and to other abuses of the public trust.

- **Legislation.** There are several major bills now before Congress that clearly have the support of the majority of Americans and which lack only a few votes for passage--bills that will help protect the living standards of working people. Most important of these is legislation creating a national healthcare program and legislation guaranteeing the right to employment. A first priority in office will be to work together with state and national coalitions to pressure for passage of these bills. Only a combination of popular demand and congressional activism will secure their passage. In general, as a legislator, I believe that working together with citizen action groups to support reform legislation is more important than relying on the operation of parliamentary maneuver.

### **MAKING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WORK FOR US**

Beyond these essential legislative beginnings, I want to bring to Washington a new conception of the role of the Federal Government. The way that the Federal Government uses its power must be fundamentally changed: instead of creating programs and plans from Washington that are divorced from people in communities, and that build up insensitive and wasteful bureaucracy, **the Federal Government must become an underwriter and guarantor of community power, of grassroots democracy, of the rights of workers and consumers.**

I, along with many others, have been struggling to formulate strategies for how the power of the Federal Government can be freed from corporate domination and how that power can be used to enable people to democratically govern themselves. In the pages that follow, we have tried to outline several policy proposals or strategies that would aid such a process. These are the basic premises and

principles that, in the last quarter of this century, would have to guide a strategy that was truly serious about creating "government of, by and for the people.":

- **Every member of this society ought to have the right to work, to adequate health care, to decent housing, to an education that maximizes his or her potential, to an adequate diet.** As long as the giant banks and corporations control our economy, it will not be possible for these essential needs to be met for all the people.

- We need, therefore, to develop new public institutions and mechanisms that enable people to find the capital to meet their needs. This will require fundamental shifts in government spending and taxation policies and new institutions for allocating credit and financing economic activity.

- We need to create a **grassroots economic planning process**, so that communities and regions can meet social needs, provide decent work and use land and resources rationally. It is economically possible for communities and regions simultaneously to conserve resources and energy and develop job-creating means of meeting the people's basic needs.

- We need to make a decisive break with the *war economy* and with institutions and ideologies of militarism and empire building, so that our economy can be geared to peaceful production and our political life freed from the threat of militarized repression.

- We need to provide legal frameworks to encourage people who lack the power of wealth to organize in defense of their interests, and participate effectively in the decisions that affect them. This entails on the one hand creating new kinds of legal protection for the rights of workers, consumers, tenants, and other groups to organize. It entails, on the other hand, insuring that the principles of civil rights and civil liberties embodied in our Constitution are neither crudely nor subtly erased by new forms of economic, bureaucratic or technological control.

### CHALLENGING THE MYTHS

In the following pages we have inventoried a large number of new ideas and concepts that help solidify each of these strategic directions. Tying all our thinking together has been a quest for two interrelated goals--to reduce bureaucratic and corporate control over our lives, while at the same time to increase the social capacity of groups, neighborhoods, communities and regions to actually meet the needs and solve the problems that people experience in their everyday lives. I want to challenge the myth that there are no new concrete ideas for basic reform, that nothing positive can be

done, that only the established centers of power have the wherewithal to shape the future. I want to show that, using our common sense, we can envision new policy frameworks, new laws, new rules that would make government of the people more possible. This is not a finished program; these instead are proposals that need debate, analysis, criticism and reformulation in the spirit of the town meetings of two centuries ago.

## An Economic Bill of Rights

"Even if we grant that the American has freed himself from a political tyrant, he is still the slave of an economical and moral tyrant."

—Henry David Thoreau

**Our economic security cannot be left to the monopolies whose main interest is their own profit, not our welfare.** To overcome our powerlessness in the modern market place the political protections of the original Bill of Rights must be extended: **we need an Economic Bill of Rights.**

Franklin D. Roosevelt was the last American political leader to make such a call. In his final message to Congress in 1944, the President acknowledged that our "political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness." He proposed a "second Bill of Rights," including decent jobs, decent wages, freedom from monopoly power, a decent home for all, adequate medical care, good education and "protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment."

Thirty years later it is our responsibility to fulfill and then go beyond Roosevelt's message. We cannot accept the irrational and cruel notion, once again becoming politically fashionable, that this richest of all countries cannot afford to meet the basic security needs of its people.

But we cannot achieve Roosevelt's vision without going beyond the New Deal reforms which the Roosevelt era introduced. Those reforms aided the victims of economic hardship and discrimination. But they also created remote Washington bureaucracies and left private corporate power subsidized and sacrosanct.

**The question of tomorrow is not big government versus small government, not more spending or less spending, but how to create a democratic and efficient government that serves the public interest rather than the interests of the few.**

An Economic Bill of Rights can only be achieved by consumers and workers beginning to

think of themselves as the makers of their own economic history. Neither the corporations nor the government as now constituted will meet our economic needs.

We are expected to work in plants and offices, shop in the supermarkets, pay our taxes and borrow at the banks, but we have no say over fundamental economic decisions. We are told to trust those decisions to supposed economic wizards who speak an incomprehensible language. In the face of combined inflation and unemployment, for example, these geniuses can only create new words like "stagflation" as if the economy was a workshop for linguistics. They cannot acknowledge that the basic problem of our economy is not technical but political: the uncontrolled market power of the banks and corporations. To overcome our own powerlessness in the modern marketplace, *we need to move toward democratic control of our economy.*

The following is an agenda of American needs in employment, health, housing, education, transportation, communication, environment, and energy. These proposals recognize that all Americans ought to have these needs met as a matter of right. And at the same time, every proposal recognizes that these needs will not be met unless and until American citizens have new power as producers and consumers.

## Full Employment

Full employment is the key to any economic recovery program. A planned fully productive economy is the only possible way to insure jobs for all and at the same time control inflation. Americans need to be guaranteed a decent job at a decent wage as a matter of right.

*No level of unemployment is acceptable because of its disastrous effects on our people and the economy.* Achieving full employment requires a national commitment to new priorities now blocked by corporate power. Jobs for all citizens will result from an effort to start meeting our needs for health, housing, transportation, energy, a clean environment and education. We can move forward without increasing government spending or the taxes of those who are now taxed to death, by closing tax loopholes and reducing military spending and other subsidies of privilege. We can consider it a public works program to rebuild America.

**The Humphrey-Hawkins Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act** now before Congress is a first step in the direction of guaranteeing a decent job for all. Under this Act every American able to

work would be provided a job opportunity instead of welfare. The Act redefines full employment as a "situation under which there are useful and rewarding employment opportunities for all adult Americans willing and able to work." The bill provides for:

- Local planning councils to define potential employment projects in their area.

- A Full Employment and National Priorities Budget, debated on and passed by Congress, which would be used for conservation and development of natural resources, adequate health care for all, decent housing for every family, mass transit construction, promotion of small business and competitive private enterprise and the elimination of poverty.

- A Full Employment Service which would make the Federal Government the "employer of last resort." Existing stopgap programs in work experience, a work incentive, and manpower programs--rarely leading to jobs after training--would be replaced by real job opportunities.

**The cost of a program such as provided for in the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act would be less than what we now pay to keep people unemployed.** But with productive jobs for all we would save more than money. Crime rates would decline; useful goods and services would result; cities would gain tax revenues. Competition over fewer and fewer jobs between Americans of different ages, races, sexes, and occupations could end, and there could be meaningful affirmative action programs to insure jobs and skills at every level for women and minorities.

Passage of the Full Employment Act is impossible without a public demand, a committed Congress, and a Democratic President. I will fight for increased public service employment, improvement of unemployment benefits, and maintenance of welfare services. I will fight any attempts to scapegoat the poor or make up budget deficits by taking vital income and services from the needy, the minorities, the elderly.

The 1960's liberal programs which promised so much--*a war on poverty*--and delivered so little were not designed to end poverty. Their purpose was to placate the rebellious poor, to put a bureaucratic lid on ghettos and Barrios. Nothing shows more clearly the danger of trying to postpone problems with palliatives than the terrible results we are reaping today--Watts is worse off economically and the middle level taxpayers revolt against having to pay for programs that produce nothing.

## Health

Health care is a basic need that must be

guaranteed as a right for all Americans, rather than remaining a privilege limited to those who can afford its spiraling cost.

I support the *Health Security Act* sponsored by Senator Kennedy and Representative Corman as the first step toward solving our national medical crisis.

The Health Security Act would extend coverage to most of the 40 million Americans without private medical plans. It would pay for most personal health care services; both inpatient and outpatient hospital services; home health care, optometry and podiatry services; and would include pilot projects for home care for chronically ill or disabled people.

This is the only health bill with any-cost control provisions to prevent reckless expansion by hospitals or nursing homes, runaway fees for doctors, and unchecked profits for health-related industries. It is important that these cost controls be strengthened so that national health insurance is not simply a government subsidy of bloated fees, salaries and profits.

**Some in government today claim we cannot afford this legislation.** But how can it be said that the richest country in the world cannot afford the health care of its people? If we are honestly concerned about inflation we must cut the extravagant profits of our current private medical system. We are already spending \$100 billion annually for inadequate health care, a 100% increase in this decade. This increase is due more to private greed than public welfare. In all areas of the medical field profits are enormous. Doctors' fees rose 13% and hospital costs rose 14% in 1974. *Insurance companies are booming*; they are raising premiums as much as 400% this year, driving even the affluent doctor into crisis. Hospitals and nursing homes have expanded three times faster than the population and now thousands of our hospital beds are empty. The drug companies are one of our three most profitable industries, spending far more on advertising than on research and development. It is from these areas of profit, privilege and waste in the medical-industrial complex that cuts in medical costs should come. Then we will be able to afford national health insurance.

But the Health Security Act, needed as it is, must be considered only as a first step. What is needed is a revolution in attitudes towards medicine. The notion of medical care as a lucrative occupation must be replaced by a commitment to the public interest. Graduating medical students must move further than from UCLA to Brentwood; they should instead go out into the communities where their services are needed. Greater emphasis on

preventative medicine is required and community control over health facilities is necessary. A national health service which puts doctors on salary instead of "fee-for-service," needs to be developed.

Moving in this direction, Congressman Ron Dellums of California, working with health advocacy groups around the country, has drafted the National Health Rights and Community Service Act. Under this bill health facilities would be administered and controlled by elected boards, representing consumers and health workers. Community, regional, and national health boards of similar composition would oversee the system. A National Institute of Pharmacy and Medical Supply would determine the quality and price of drugs and other medical supplies. Medical schools would be gradually transformed into comprehensive *health worker* schools, enabling students to move from one level to another, such as from orderly to nurse or from nurse to doctor. Research priority would be given to preventive medicine, including such neglected areas as occupational health.

**We can no longer tolerate the lack of adequate medical care for our people.** Over 30,000 babies die unnecessarily each year; thousands die for lack of emergency services; we are far behind other countries in maternal mortality, male life expectancy, rate of heart disease and other indicators of health quality. One in five Californians live in areas which are grossly underserved by physicians. The poor and the elderly always have been deprived of decent care, and now even middle class people cannot afford to get sick. It is high time that we defeat the private interests which have allowed the health of our people to become so neglected.

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## Housing

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That so many millions of Americans live in sub-standard housing at a time when so many in the building trades are unemployed is a national disgrace.

The California housing industry--traditionally one of our major suppliers of jobs--is in shambles. The United California Bank predicts only 150,000 new housing starts in 1976. This is only 60% of the 281,000 starts recorded just four years ago. Employment in the construction industry has fallen by 50,000 in the past two years.

This sharp drop-off in the building industry occurs at a time when our need for adequate shelter is rising. The California Land Use Task Force has estimated that we need to build 952,000 new homes between 1974 and 1978. Meeting that goal alone would create 430,000 jobs, according to economist Patrick Heffernan.

The California Department of Housing and Community Development estimates that we need to rehabilitate another 700,000 units and replace a further 300,000 units of sub-standard, overcrowded or run-down housing.

*The need for low-cost housing is particularly acute.* The Land Use Task Force also reports that the present 60,000 units of public housing in the state can only absorb three percent of the households which meet the income requirements, and that an estimated 600,000 new low-rent housing units need to be built.

**The fact that this most fundamental of human needs--an adequate place to live--is beyond the reach of so many of our citizens is an obscenity.** We must move immediately on several fronts to change it.

- **We need new housing construction.** We have built only 58 percent of the 2.6 million new low and moderate cost units that were authorized by the Nixon Administration for the 1969-74 period. In addition, urban renewal destroyed hundreds of thousands more houses than were replaced. It is estimated that the gap left by 1.1 million unbuilt houses cost 2 million jobs.

A commitment of \$1 billion annually to housing through federal and/or private banking loans, would go far to achieving the goal of providing every Californian with a decent home. Were it put into a federally-financed down-payment fund, for example, for people who can otherwise finance a home but cannot afford a down payment, 88,000 new units a year would be generated in California.

- **Reclamation and rehabilitation of existing dwellings in rural and urban areas must be undertaken.** Nixon called for the rehabilitation of 595,000 abandoned or substandard units during his years in office. But only 313,000 were improved. Thousands of houses are abandoned in a single day, usually in urban areas. Rehabilitation offers the chance to improve the entire environment using existing resources.

- **Restructuring the city environment for the handicapped.** An estimated 12 million Americans have disabilities which limit the kind of work they can do. These handicapped include 250,000 in wheelchairs, two million orthopedically impaired children and five million cardiac cases. Architectural barriers, thoughtlessly incorporated into houses and buildings, have in effect denied education, employment, and recreation to these citizens. Modifying existing structures to make buildings accessible to these citizens will produce greater access for them and more jobs for others.

- **Interest rates must be lowered.** Experts agree

that the outrageously high cost of buying even a modest home is due to the high cost of borrowing money. William Ewold of the American Institute of Architects, for example, estimates that only 32% of the cost of a home is for building and utilities while 43% is for financing with the remainder for land and taxes.

- **"Red-Lining" must be abolished.** It is ironic that in Los Angeles, the center of the savings and loan industry, one million residents are unable to obtain home loans in the community where they live, while the savings and loan companies hold a half a billion dollars in deposits. I would work to see that all lending institutions have **anti-red-lining provisions** and that they be required to make a full **disclosure** of where their mortgage loans go geographically.

Incentives for socially responsible private lending practices are also needed. For instance, if a lending institution places a certain amount of its assets--such as one percent--in "public policy" loans, it should be able to subtract that amount from the present 16.5% of deposits required to be on reserve in the federal banking system.

- **There must be property tax relief for small homeowners.** This must be done in the context of new spending priorities and of changing the burden of taxation to those most able to pay.

- **A tenants' Bill of Rights must be enacted.** Tenants are entitled to a uniform mechanism for redressing grievances without the fear of facing arbitrary eviction. They should be entitled to opportunities for shared ownership in return for rent and maintenance. All publicly aided housing must provide avenues towards tenant-council management with options for ultimate tenant ownership.

- **We need to move towards a community ownership policy.** The Federal Government should provide funds to local governments for the purpose of supporting cooperative housing. Local government should obtain land to keep in trust, purchasing it with bonds or pension funds. The property could then be leased to non-profit housing cooperatives for building or rehabilitation. In this way, greater community spirit would be generated, housing developed, and private speculation sharply challenged.

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## Education

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**The right of every person to develop his or her full potential should be the goal of our educational policy.** Today, however, our schools are organized primarily to reinforce the established structure of privilege in the society at large.

Children of upper income parents attend

beautifully equipped classrooms, receive intensive preparation for higher education, attend the leading colleges and so are prepared to inherit the occupations and life-styles of their parents. Very few children of low income background get the chance to enter this elite "track." At the other extreme, children from poor and minority backgrounds attend under-funded, poorly equipped schools, in which they are handled more as inmates than as future citizens. They are systematically discouraged from pursuing serious educational goals, and instead are prepared to accept a view of themselves as useless and inferior. Meanwhile, in the great middle class, most children are placed in educational settings designed mainly to prepare them to accept the values and roles set by the corporate and bureaucratic status quo. They experience the curriculum as largely irrelevant to purposes they can understand, and the school experience as too often authoritarian or competitive.

There seems little in American education that prepares people for a variety of economic opportunities, or to become thinking, critical citizens, little that prepares them to value intellectual and artistic activity, little that provides them with a sense of their own positive worth and their potential for growth, expression or insight.

A conventional answer to the school problem has been to argue for freezing or reducing financial support to the schools, 'since taxes are too high and the schools don't work anyway.' In other words, the traditional American idea that free public education is a right and its enhancement is a high social priority is now under attack. There is little question that the freezing or lowering of school budgets will make the schools worse, as class size increases, facilities deteriorate, and many special programs that have begun to make a difference are phased out.

#### A NEW PERSPECTIVE

There is a totally different way to view the problem and promise of education. If education is the process of self-development, and if we regard the opportunity for self-development as a basic right for each individual, then we ought to be increasing our social investment in education. All children should have an equal right to attend comfortable, well-equipped attractive schools. If the number of school children is declining, this should be viewed as a great opportunity to steadily reduce class size, so that increasing attention can be paid to the education of the individual child. If large numbers of young people have the eager desire and the training to teach, this would be viewed, not as a problem of "overqualification" but as an opportunity to reduce teacher-pupil ratios, bring fresh blood into

teaching, and increase educational opportunity. If our private goods-producing sector of the economy is laying off more workers, this should be viewed not as a crisis of under-employment, but as an opportunity to expand the view of education to include people of all ages and backgrounds as learners and teachers, and to change our view of the life-cycle so that education becomes a normal experience at many stages of life.

It will take time before our society measures its worth in terms of the personal growth of all its members rather than the economic growth of the leading corporations. But we can begin to move in that direction by developing policies that accomplish the following:

**First**, change fundamentally the methods of school financing so that moderate income homeowners don't have to foot the spiralling costs. We must plug tax loopholes, reallocate the defense budget waste, and force corporations to pay more of the costs of education from which they benefit. Educational investment should go toward reducing class size as a higher priority than raising administrators' salaries, developing expensive hardware and the like.

**Second**, federal financial aid programs should be expanded so that all people qualified for higher education can afford to attend. The increased talk of basing grants and loans on "merit" rather than need must be resisted. Almost four million students now depend on educational opportunity grants, loans, work-study programming, and veterans' aid. These programs must be protected.

**Third**, steps should be taken to insure that school funding really conforms to recent court decisions, requiring equalization of expenditures for rich and poor districts.

**Fourth**, there must be no slackening in affirmative action programs for minorities and women in higher education, especially when there has been so little progress so far.

**Fifth**, we must realize that "busing" is not an educational issue. It is fundamentally a question of racism, the denial of equal educational opportunities. When a school board has so avoided desegregation that a court must order busing, that order must be obeyed. The results in terms of improved education for minorities and better race relations are real though marginal. When and if we get past the busing issue, the inadequacy of our whole educational system will remain.

#### DECISIONS TO BE MADE

*To change the content of education we will need a national discussion of our real priorities.* Everyone ought to be confronted with questions

like--do we really want to invest more, as a nation, in advertising, in cosmetics, than we do in education? Shouldn't we have an "educare" program, similar to **medicare**, that would create a national fund for workers to receive educational benefits? Shouldn't there be more decentralization of schools so that teachers, parents, and students can cooperatively find new educational approaches? Isn't expanding education a very good way to find meaningful future jobs for unemployed college graduates and defense workers?

To answer these questions, **there must be a transformation of the educational system from within, giving greater decision-making power to community groups, teachers, and students.** This question of power in decision making is more relevant than the present debate between "more" or "less" spending on education. The elimination of waste can only come when college presidents get out of their mansions and country club lifestyles, and when we recognize that administrators should not be getting two or three times the salary of the elementary school teacher who does the tough classroom work. Nor will education be **relevant** until those receiving it have some voice in shaping its content to their needs.

Boards of trustees and administration staffs should be dominated by educators and the concerned public, not by industrial, banking, agribusiness, and military representatives. Students should participate in decision-making at all levels of education affecting them, including student participation in collective bargaining. University investment decisions should be made in accordance with standards of social responsibility and not simply profit. All federal aid programs should include stringent provisions for greater input by the community and teacher groups than is now the case.

What passes for education in America too often suppresses truth. Only when we speak truth to power will we begin to take back control over our own consciousness and our educational process.

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### Child Care

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*"We have a social responsibility to our children because they are our future."*

--Tom Hayden

Children are the future of any society, and it is our responsibility to provide the best possible child development programs. We need childhood development and day care centers available for every child that needs these services. Such centers need the participation of parents in decision-making; community control will insure education and training that meets the needs of our children.

Today nearly half our nation's mothers are working; *26 million children have working mothers.* For 12 million children, women head their households; five million children's only parent is in the labor force. In spite of the obvious need for child care, government allocations have been totally inadequate. Millions of women could lead fuller, more productive and satisfying lives if their children were assured of good child care programs. Instead, they perform unpaid household work or remain as a low-wage reserve labor force. Making child care available would be threatening to an economy based on a limited "primary" work force and an abundant, cheap "secondary" force.

I would join the efforts of Senator Mondale and others to require the Federal Government to provide childhood development and day care centers in communities, with community participation in decision making.

As the economic crisis worsens, cutbacks threaten the already inadequate child care programs now in existence. These cutbacks at all levels, including colleges, must be vigorously opposed.

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### Food and Agriculture

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The powerful giant conglomerates which dictate the policies of California agriculture *must* be broken up. We should return to family farms and encourage cooperative farming as the most efficient, productive, environmentally sound and nutritious means of food production.

**Today, multinational corporations have taken over farming. In the twenty years between 1950 and 1970 California farms more than doubled in size and fell by half in number.**

A holiday dinner this year might include a mushroom appetizer from Clorox, lettuce from Dow, tomatoes from Gulf and Western, turkey from Ling-Temco-Voght, carrots from Tenneco and juice from Pacific Lighting.

Del Monte's power in California and elsewhere is a good example of what agribusiness means: in 1974, Del Monte had sales of more than \$1 billion from 55 farms in 15 states and nine foreign countries; they can afford to spend \$16 million a year in advertising alone, guaranteeing a monopoly at the supermarket. The chief executive earned a salary of \$438,000 while the farmworkers who work the land rarely make enough money to subsist on.

The food we are sold is becoming *less and less nutritious* and appetizing. The U. S. Department of Agriculture estimates that only half of American households have "good" diets by official standards. The high level of sugar, fat and chemical additives in

our food is there because the conglomerates care for their own profits more than our nutrition. And their monopoly power over production and distribution of food insures that competition against them is impossible.

How much do we pay for their non-nutritious and oft-times poisonous food? A lot. *Food prices shot up by 50% in the years between 1973-1975 when most consumers were hardest hit.* The higher prices were not passed on by small farms; of the \$125 billion Americans spent for food in 1974, \$60 billion went to food processors, distributors, middlemen and retailers. The cost of processing and packaging is higher than the food in the package.

The food monopolies cost consumers 40c of every dollar they spend at the checkout stand according to Senator Phillip Hart. The Federal Trade Commission found in 1972 that monopoly power in 13 food industries cost consumers \$2.1 billion more than they should have paid. Fifty food companies made 75% of the entire industry's profits. The corporations' power is insured by their close connection with the regulatory agencies of the government. The Secretary of Agriculture is from Ralston-Purina; 22 out of 52 top Food and Drug Association officials in 1974 had worked for the interests they are supposed to be "regulating."

**Small farms are still the best form of agriculture.** According to a 1973 Department of Agriculture study: "when we examine the realities we find that most of the economies associated with size in farming are achieved by the one-man, fully mechanized farm." The optimum size for a California vegetable farm, according to a 1972 USDA report is *440 acres*, yet the average size of corporate farms is 3,206 acres, or eight times greater than efficiency dictates. Nevertheless, small farms are driven out by these conglomerates at a national rate of *1000 per week*. The number of California farms are declining at a comparable rate. In 1950, there were 110,000 farms in this state. Twenty years later there were only half that number.

- *Any reform must begin by ending the "welfare" subsidies we pay to these giants in violation of the law.* A clear California example is in the Westlands Water District in the heart of the San Joaquin Valley. With 600,000 acres, it is the largest district ever to receive water at a nearly 90 percent subsidy by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation. Under the 1902 Reclamation Law, subsidized water is supposed to go to farmers with no more than 160 acres. Owners may irrigate excess lands (more than 160 acres) with Federal water if they promise to sell excess land in ten years at pre-war prices and in 160 acres-or-less parcels.

Yet, the largest "farmer" in the Westlands Water District, Southern Pacific, irrigates 110,000 acres obtained through grants 90 years ago. The other big "farmers" are Standard Oil of California, Texas-based Anderson-Clayton, and the Boston Ranch of J. G. Boswell. The holdings of these and other giants are "divided" into fictional parcels in order to qualify for millions of dollars in water subsidies. *Taxpayers provide 80% of the water costs.* Similar control by the giants exists in the Imperial and Coachella Valleys.

Corporate farming in California is apparently possible only with vast amounts of government-subsidized water. This not only puts taxpayers' money into the pockets of corporate farmers, but requires enormous amounts of expensive energy from utility companies for pumping water hundreds of miles, at temporarily low contract prices. But when the contracts run out in the 1980s, the utilities have told the state to expect a **four to five-fold price increase.**

The alternatives available now to the Department of Water Resources are either nuclear power or a share in the environmentally-damaging coal-fired power complex in Utah, in the heart of the Southwest's national park region.

The state doesn't like these choices and neither do we. The solution, however, is more complex than simply how to continue powering the state water projects. **It lies in forcing corporate farmers to pay a fair price for their water** and to conserve the water they use through the installation of more efficient irrigation systems.

- Another problem related to water in California is the urbanization of prime farm land, land that requires only a minimum of irrigation and energy. Instead, urbanization should be confined to more barren acreage of the kind that corporate farming currently raises to agriculturally productive levels only through the extensive and expensive use of irrigation.

Protecting California's most important agricultural resource, her rich soil, from land speculation requires close cooperation between federal, state and local governments. In the long run, we must realize that water like land, is a finite resource.

- There are other direct ways to help small farmers and consumers. Support should be given to the **Family Farm Act**, introduced by several Senators and members of Congress, **which would exclude large conglomerates from farming.**

**A national Cooperative Bank should be created**, as proposed by Ralph Nader, to provide the capital loans needed for small farming enterprises. No small enterprise today can compete against

California farms which have average capital investments of \$400,000 and up.

**Farmworkers should be supported in their efforts to unionize,** led by the United Farm Workers, and to form producer cooperatives.

**Consumers should be represented on all state and federal agricultural boards.**

Only in such ways will California live up to its potential as a breadbasket for America and the world, instead of a tax shelter for the corporate rich.

## Environment Protection— The Green Collar Revolution

*"There are more jobs in protecting the environment than in destroying it, and a whole lot more enjoyment."*

—Tom Hayden

One of the greatest corporate myths of our time is the notion that environmental protection threatens jobs. Our energy corporations have invested huge sums of money in propagandizing the public on this theme. In fact, *environmental protection has already become a major source of new jobs.* Environmental protection jobs, moreover, not only put people to work: they also conserve energy and protect our precious national heritage.

The Los Angeles Times recently editorialized that environmental-control-related-employment has been one "of the few areas of job strength during the recent recession." Russell Train, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality put it even more clearly, saying that the performance of the pollution control industry "provides a forceful rebuttal to the thesis we must choose either a healthy economy or a healthy environment."

The second largest public works program in the nation today is the construction of sewage treatment equipment to meet the standards of the Clean Water Act. Currently, more than 200,000 people build, operate, and maintain waste water facilities across the country, and industry leaders predict this may reach half a million by the end of 1976. Ironically a shortage of trained personnel keeps several thousand treatment plant jobs vacant, despite record numbers of people seeking jobs.

Here in California, one air pollution equipment manufacturer reports order backlogs of over \$200 million. This represents 8000 new jobs, part of 65,000 the EPA predicts will be available in air pollution control next year (now threatened by the recent Supreme Court decision weakening the Clean Air Act). According to the EPA, over a million jobs would be created by a national effort to

meet all current environmental standards.

The EPA also conducted a painstaking industry-by-industry study to determine how many jobs would be curtailed by such an effort. Fewer than 100 plants were found to have closed as a result of Federal environmental regulations last year. The EPA's "Early Warning" job protection system predicts the maximum impact of pollution control programs will be 125,000 jobs—**half** the minimum number of **new jobs** that will open up in present programs. To date, fewer than 20,000 workers have been displaced by federal environmental protection regulations and most of those quickly found work in the same industry. Clean Air Act amendments supported by a coalition of labor and environmental groups would protect those few workers who were laid off and not quickly rehired by other firms.

According to the President's Council on Environmental Quality, the national spending last year for environmental protection raised the Consumer Price Index a mere one half of one percent. Fuel price boosts accounted for 7 times the consumer inflation. The CEQ also estimates that spending the \$194 billion required to meet environmental standards would raise the Consumer Price Index less than 2% with spot price increases under 10%. In return, Americans would receive a billion dollar bargain in better health and lower medical costs, lower occupational injuries, less pollution damage, and more abundant crops.

Restoring the urban environment holds even greater job potential. Studies by researchers at the Sierra Club and the University of Illinois show that a shift of Highway Trust fund dollars to building workable transit systems would provide a net gain of 33,000 jobs annually and a savings of 87 million barrels of oil. Over 8000 jobs await full funding of the Department of Transportation's meager \$5.9 billion transit request.

**The "Jobs vs. The Environment" controversy does not stand up under close scrutiny once the emotion is cleared away.** Protecting the environment and restoring the quality of life in America is a matter of dollars and of priorities. How we spend the dollars and set the priorities, or allow them to be set for us, must be based on a careful analysis of our needs and the full ramifications of available options.

Factual myths and outdated assumptions that interfere with this analysis must be jettisoned so we can get on with the work our country needs most.

## Fishing

*"We should farm the ocean, not scavenge it."*

—Tom Hayden

California is the center of the largest commercial fishing industry in the nation. The growth of this industry is crucial to the health of the whole world. Yet the volume of fish landed in California has dropped by almost half since the peak years of the 1930's. The huge, high-seas "purse-seine" fleet based at San Pedro has declined from 114 vessels in 1940 to about 40 today.

Foreign fleets and foreign imports have become competitive with American ones. Most of the fish Americans eat come from imports. California processors in many cases move to Samoa or Puerto Rico because of cheaper labor.

But most important, American and foreign fisheries combined are harvesting only *about one-fifth of the fish resources* available on an annually renewable basis off this country's shores, according to a Government Accounting Office study. For every pound of trawled shrimp, for example, five to ten pounds of unwanted fish are caught and thrown back to sea. There is no market for these fish because they lack "brand name recognition." The fishing industry and the processors lack the ability to successfully distribute their full catch.

But there is another market, a **human one**. Millions of people are hungry even though the oceans may contain more than enough protein to feed them. *There has to be a crash program to revive the fishing industry so it can cultivate and harvest the ocean for humanity.* Just what kind of program it should be is now under debate in the Senate Ocean Policies Committee. Some of the essential elements must surely include:

- **Aid to the commercial fishermen**—loans for new harvesting and processing equipment, for new producer cooperatives, and a new advertising "pool" to sell less-known fish to the consumers.
- **Conservation.** The vitality of the industry will require the most careful management to restore and maintain fish species, and kelp beds, at "optimum yield" without the danger of over-fishing. This should include special protection for marine areas designated as critical by the Coastal Commission and State Department of Fish and Game.
- **Pollution.** Strict enforcement of anti-pollution laws will be necessary to prevent the dumping of wastes in the ocean and its tributary rivers which either kill or contaminate whole species.
- **Ocean farming.** Aquaculture now produces most of the mollusks on the West Coast, and should be dramatically expanded with government support.
- **Worldwide ocean fishing.** U.S. policy should be to work cooperatively towards international ocean management through the United Nations and

gatherings like the Law of the Sea Conference. California fishermen should be protected from the raids of foreign fishing vessels.

## The Forests

*"Reagan used to say,  
'Seen one redwood, you've seen them all.'  
I say, seen one lumber baron,  
you've seen enough."*

—Tom Hayden

Almost half of California's 100 million acres are forest lands. Half of that is parks and wilderness, and the other half—about 17 million acres—are commercial forests. Ranging mostly over the far northern part of our state, they may be the most productive forest lands in the world.

They are also very profitable. Timber barons accumulated their territory during the scandalous land giveaways of the past, and today vast conglomerates control the forests. California's barons are led by the Shasta Company with 479,000 acres, Boise-Cascade with 303,000, Georgia Pacific with 278,000, Sunkist with 192,000—and the Los Angeles Times with 145,000.

These barons must place the maximum harvest of timber, and therefore maximum profits, ahead of any other consideration, including the preservation or reforestation of timber as a future resource or thing of beauty.

Therefore they are inclined to clear more trees than necessary or desirable, are indifferent to environmental consideration unless pushed, and are slow to regenerate logged areas. One result is that California's mountains are endangered by erosion, seemingly at a rate faster than that of new soil formations. Another result is that many fish are threatened with death, since logging operations clog streams with debris or remove vital shade.

**The timber conglomerates are fueled by the tax laws which treat timber income as capital gains.** This loophole favors the big corporations which can take advantage of it, and according to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, it "gives almost nothing to the small woodland farmer."

The U.S. Forest Service, which theoretically controls logging in the state's beautiful national forests, is widely considered to be a sales agency for the big companies. The Forest Service is required to contract logging rights to the highest bidders. Even with the will, they would lack the manpower and sanctions necessary to make companies preserve forest resources.

Small independent timber companies have little power against the conglomerates. Loggers are faced with declining jobs and long seasonal layoffs

on the one hand, and are driven to fight against environmentalists for survival on the other.

- There must be tax and anti-trust actions to break up the timber barons' monopoly control.

- The Forest Service must be given the power to create penalties which will deter loggers from violating standards.

- Reforestation must become a mandatory policy, to preserve the timber resources and natural beauty of tomorrow.

- Woodcutters should be guaranteed a decent wage, and aided in developing cooperatives.

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## Transportation

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*"We should stop the tyranny of Detroit and start a new California joyride."*

—Tom Hayden

A rethinking of our transportation system is long overdue. We live in an energy crisis and in air so polluted by the automobile and other sources that each year 10,000 Los Angeles citizens are advised by their doctors to leave the city.

In the inner cities, one-third of the residents don't own automobiles and are cut off from employment which has moved to plush offices and industrial parks outside the city limits.

Last year Californians swallowed up 9.9 billion gallons of motor and aviation fuel—17 times the quantity consumed by India, a nation with 27 times California's population. Some 44 percent of the energy consumed in California is accounted for by transport.

**Public transportation is the only alternative.** Its critics say that it will never pay for itself. But those with a vested interest in maintaining the primacy of the automobile fail to mention that freeways aren't free either. For example, CALIFORNIA TOMORROW estimated that the cost in 1970 of the freeway system in California's five southern counties was about \$17.8 billion or \$2,865 per car (including the costs of smog and driver's time during peak traffic periods).

The building of freeways has also encouraged the flight of the affluent and of jobs to the suburbs. As a result there has been an erosion of the tax base in the cities and the destruction of housing for that segment of the population which can least afford it and is least able to find new housing.

There was a time in this country when most roads were financed by tolls, but a commitment was made to give the public free access to them. The same commitment should and must be made to the public's right to transportation.

**Automobiles should be taxed on a realistic basis,** in proportion to their size, weight and gas

consumption. Those who wish the privilege of using private transportation rather than public transportation should be made to pay for it. The revenue generated from these taxes would go towards funding public transportation systems.

**The highway lobby must be checked.** The political and economic power of the oil companies, the automobile companies, the tire companies and the construction companies have all fought the funding of transportation alternatives to the private car. Since 1956, more than \$200 billion in federal, state, and local taxes has been spent on highway construction. In that same period, less than \$50 billion has been allotted to all other forms of transportation.

- I will push for immediate termination of the Highway Trust Fund, under which gasoline tax money is locked into highway construction. Instead gasoline tax money at both the state and federal level should be put in the general fund and allocated according to overall spending priorities.

- But this money should not be used solely to fund capital intensive, highly mechanized systems like BART in San Francisco. Instead, *we need to organize transit systems that creatively involve human beings and mesh a variety of transportation forms:* buses, trolley-jitney cabs, individual transit movers, efficient high speed trains. And bicycles—bikeways should be built to go everywhere in California that cars now do. Transit systems should be controlled at the local and regional level, with democratically elected boards of directors.

- We should nationalize and modernize the railroads. The alternative is bailing out Penn Central, providing public subsidy while allowing the railroads to remain under private control. The new public rail system would not be run just like a private corporation, since a transportation enterprise has to take social needs into account. Providing adequate rail commuter service, for example, might not be profitable by strict business criteria; but there are public benefits such as reduced auto traffic and correspondingly less pollution, fuel use, and loss of life through accidents. A fast train is estimated to require only one-eighth as much energy per passenger mile as an airplane; and using railroads for long-haul freight service and short-haul passenger travel could cut by half the energy now used on the freeways.

- 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 aid Pan Am, a likely possibility, 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.

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## Communications

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*"Let's end the era of commercials."*

—Tom Hayden

Modern media exerts an awesome influence upon our lives. And yet the ordinary citizen has virtually no control over its content.

The changes which the medium of television has wrought on our political system is overwhelming. For example, television has produced the phenomena of "the media candidate," a star system where a candidate is judged more on charisma than the content of a program. This is something even more insidious than the candidates that used to be cranked out by the old time political machines.

But electronic media not only wields tremendous influence over our political life, it also holds the same tremendous power over the *buying and thought patterns of our people*. By the time a child graduates from high school she or he will have spent more time in front of the tube than in school. Television to a large extent educates our young and is often the only companion of our senior citizens.

**Americans' eating habits have been altered by commercial media.** We have been bombarded with misleading advertising, promoting food laden with sugar and artificial ingredients. We have been told that personal happiness comes from a bottle of aerosol spray. If only we have the right smell, we will find love and contentment.

Advertising has distorted the creative possibilities of TV because writers are forced into a mold fashioned to meet the needs of the frequent ads. Violent dramas like police shows with a thrill positioned before every commercial break have come to dominate programming. *Corporate control of the airwaves also limits the news and in depth documentaries that are put on.* Only rarely can TV or radio investigate a controversial public issue without fear of angering advertisers.

Corporate control also effectively limits direct programming by women, Blacks, Chicanos, and other groups.

The solution is not more governmental regulation—but to **free media from the bonds of commercialism**. While continuing the struggles to make the existing networks meet the public interest in programming and affirmative action in hiring, we must go even further.

- There should be a *publicly-supported* television and radio network free from the bonds and pressures of commercialism—one that is responsible to the people rather than the corporations. The cost of the network can be financed by a user tax on television and radio sets similar to that levied in the United Kingdom and Australia. If each family payed a TV user tax, which would amount to a cost less than that of a year's subscription to a metropolitan daily newspaper, \$2.5 billion would be available for programming. This is more than the three commercial networks combined currently spend on their programming.

- **We need more community control over programming.** Cable technology provides new opportunities for community-oriented programming. A few cities such as San Bruno, California, already have municipally owned cable stations. Other cities such as Palo Alto, Los Angeles and Sacramento are studying the concept. Cable facilities should be owned by cities and regions, with strong public access provisions and facilities available for private groups to produce local shows.

- **There should be aid to alternative press.** Of the 1500 cities with daily papers, 96 percent are served by single-owner newspaper monopolies. In the few cities where alternative weeklies have appeared, they are difficult to find. There should be anti-trust action attempted against the monopoly press coupled with a federal loan program to cooperatively-owned weekly papers across the country.

- All advertising should be eliminated from children's TV shows as proposed by the public interest group, Action for Children's Television.

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## The Arts

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*"Art belongs to the living, not to museums."*

—Tom Hayden

The public's interest in art is great, but its access to cultural opportunities is limited.

A 1974 Harris poll revealed that large numbers of Americans are interested in the arts and are willing to support them financially. Two-thirds of the population said they would pay an extra \$5 in taxes annually for support of the arts and almost half were willing to chip in \$25 in taxes if the monies were used to maintain and operate cultural facilities such as theatre, music and art exhibitions. Fully one-third would pay \$50 per year in higher taxes for such purposes.

Yet the arts in America are instead supported—and controlled—by the wealthy and large corporate interests. Since 1957, for instance, the Ford

Foundation has displayed its appreciation of the arts with a tidy \$260 million in grants while the Rockefeller Foundation threw in \$68 million and the Mellon Foundation gave \$43 million.

This allows the arts to survive, but at immense social cost. The rich not only use the arts to gain prestige, valuable investments and tax shelters, but they also impose their style and taste on what becomes "acceptable." Nelson Rockefeller went so far as to have Diego Rivera's mural, which he commissioned, chipped off the lobby wall of the RCA building in Rockefeller center because Lenin was depicted in a heroic manner.

The wealthy retain their control of the arts not only by means of money, but also because of the widespread belief that government involvement leads to censorship. While this fear has foundation it also shuts off the immense liberating potential of positive government action for the arts.

In the 1930's, for example, the Federal Theatre Project created cultural progress which is still felt today. Many art teachers and artists got their first breaks in WPA programs and the legacy of their work can be seen in murals in government buildings constructed during the period. The sensitive work of such photographers as Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange are a tribute to these government programs.

**Such a renewal of government support for the arts is needed today.** But instead of simply subsidizing the same kind of art now supported by private patrons, it should **support the efforts of people to develop and regain control of their own cultural resources.** We should have the funding and the artistic assistance to celebrate our own lives, with artists as the facilitators of a democratic cultural regeneration.

- **The government contribution to a national arts program should be increased.** The money should go, nationally and regionally, for art commissions or museum and symphony boards which are broadly representative of artists from all walks of life and experience. California, the most populous state, spent only one nickel per person for the arts in 1973-1974, or \$1,025,000. That made California 25th among the other states in its support of the arts.

- Federal manpower funds (CETA) should go partly to hire artists to work in the community, making whole neighborhoods come alive with murals and sculpture gardens.

- **Artists' rights must be protected.** Artists are taxed unfairly, lack the benefits which corporations offer their employees and lack most basic security enjoyed by other workers. Support should be given to the **National Resale Royalty Bill**, for instance, to correct the injustice of artists having their works

resold for thousands of dollars with no benefit to themselves. Copyright laws as well should protect artists against the loss of reproduction rights.

- **National policy should spread arts and culture beyond the isolated confines of museums, galleries, concert halls, and theatres.** Support should be given to art in public places. Community art centers, for example, in renovated theatres and churches, are preferable to massive investments in downtown cultural complexes. Newly-constructed public buildings should have one percent of construction cost ear-marked for artistic enhancement of the structure. An outreach program should take art and artists into inner city neighborhoods and rural areas which presently have little or no access to the arts.

An entire **arts industry** could be created from existing and regenerated talent in California. Contact with and training in the arts should begin at an early age. Art schools should be expanded. With proper support for the arts and artists, there is no reason why many more people will not choose the enrichment of life as their vocation, making California the scene of a democratic renaissance rather than a plastic and concrete nightmare.

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## A Public Energy Policy

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To understand the energy crisis we must realize that the energy needs, values and goals of most Americans are *directly opposed* to those of the giant production and utility companies who dominate our country's energy decisions.

The people of California, our children and our children's children can survive only through a drastic change in energy policy. We must develop a public energy policy which:

- **Takes the lead in creating a new American life style based on energy conservation,**
- **Calls for solar energy and other alternative sources,**
- **Develops ecologically sound transitional programs,**
- **Pushes for public control of future energy development through the formation of new, elected, public agencies,**
- **Opposes existing exploitation by energy corporations, particularly in nuclear energy, and opposes de-regulating the price of natural gas.**

### CONSERVATION: ESTABLISHING A NEW DIRECTION

For many years American energy corporations have deliberately encouraged, even forced, the squandering of energy. The more oil, coal or natural

gas we used, the more the energy corporations could sell us, the larger and more powerful they became. **The policy of promotional pricing (utility companies' charging lower rates to bigger users) was designed to sell more oil; the building of poorly insulated ticky tacky housing over the past 30 years sells more heating (or cooling) fuel; the commuting patterns developed for us over the last decades, where housing is built in suburban and exurban areas, while work-places are located miles and miles away, sells more oil; the supplanting of labor-intensive industries (like leather working) by energy-intensive technologies (like plastics) sells more oil.**

For the energy companies to urge us now to "kill-a-watt" or take fewer baths, implying our wasteful habits have created the problem, is the height of manipulation. *The burden of reversing the present wasteful and polluting energy policies must rest on the utilities and corporations whose policies created our present energy problems.*

We ought not accept the three percent annual rate of growth in energy use projected by the utilities, oil companies and Administration officials. At such rates we would be using 180 quadrillion BTU's of energy annually in the year 2000, as opposed to the 75 quadrillion consumed in 1973—more than doubling the rate of energy consumption. **We should invest in conservation, not wasteful expansion.**

Starts in this direction would include the following:

- **"Promotional pricing" should be immediately eliminated** and the present pricing system should, in fact, be inverted—with the largest users paying the highest per unit rate. A national "lifeline" rate should also be instituted, insuring a fixed low rate for minimal energy users—those low-income consumers who use energy sparingly to heat and light their homes, and cook their food.

- **Re-design of new housing and re-insulation of existing houses** would drastically cut fuel consumption for heating and cooling. The housing industry is now ailing, but over the years its "cost cutting" techniques have resulted in houses which require more energy to maintain, and less labor to build. Thereby they have increased profits, and created unemployment for thousands in the building trades, and further wasted energy. People could now be put back to work re-insulating the leaky little boxes and building the kind of new housing that is energy-conserving and that takes more skilled hands to create.

- **Mileage efficiencies of cars can and should be doubled.** Again, it is not the lead-footed American driver who is responsible for the waste (and carnage)

on our highways, but the oil companies' "junior" partner—the auto industry—which chooses to produce, promote and sell inefficient gas-guzzling lemons. Present technology permits doubling of auto fuel efficiency in 10 years. By 1985, although there might be 50% more cars on the road, we could use 25% less gas than at present.

- **We need a national re-examination of our wasteful industrial patterns,** which have substituted high energy consumption for intensive use of labor. The rate of growth in energy use projected by the utilities and oil companies assumes the substitution of their oil for our labor in the production of needed goods and services. We must re-order these priorities: in industry and agriculture, it is possible to maintain and increase our output by putting more people to work and burning less fuel. Our GNP must be unchained from its dependence on physical and chemical energy, and creatively linked to the unlimited human energy so abundant in our country.

It cannot be stressed enough that **new conservation techniques and equipment are already "off the shelf."** That is, the technology is with us today. In the commercial sectors for example, Charles Berg of the National Bureau of Standards estimated for SCIENCE magazine that energy savings of 30% are possible in industrial processes, and have already been surpassed in some plants.

The pay-off is not only energy savings, but **immediate jobs.** The Energy Policy Project report, **A Time To Choose,** points out that a dollar invested in manufacturing and installing conservation equipment produces as many as seven times the jobs as a dollar in off-shore oil or expanded electric utilities.

**Energy conservation does not mean living less well.** It does mean reducing our emphasis on status symbols and conspicuous consumption, on motorized golf carts, electric toothbrushes and jacuzzis, whirlpool baths, the "pleasures of life" which don't bring happiness. The quality of life can be improved without the present quantity of possessions. According to Ford Foundation analysts "our 1973 living standard could have been provided with nearly 45 percent less energy."

UC Berkeley's energy conservation expert, Lee Schipper, argues that we could reduce the energy required for manufacturing by 1/3, for homes and office operation by 40%, and in transportation by 20-40%—without lowering our standard of living. We will generate new jobs in the process, and reduce pollution.

#### **CALIFORNIA: SOLAR ENERGY CAPITAL FOR THE WORLD**

An urgent priority is crash development of

solar, geothermal, tidal and wind energy as permanent alternatives to the fossil fuel we now depend on. Solar energy systems, the most advanced of the four, *are already practical*, even commercially competitive with conventional systems. The roadblock is that the oil companies and the government are stalling on development. As an Arco executive explained, "there is no money in the sun."

What is needed is stepped-up government research into solar and other permanent energy sources, more lending to small businesses which have developed solar equipment, the retrofitting of old buildings and the fitting of new ones with solar technology. **California could become the capital of a new solar energy industry.** In addition to the concentration of sunshine we are blessed with, we also have an abundant concentration of necessary electronics and aerospace talent and potential.

Both Project Independence and the Ford Foundation energy reports show that by 2025, a combination of solar and other alternative energy sources with careful conservation, can provide virtually **all** our non-transportation energy needs. Tests show that solar heating and cooling systems alone could already meet from 40% to 80% of California's energy needs for buildings, and as much as 25% of the total national energy requirements by 2,000 A.D.

### THE PROMISE OF SOLAR ENERGY

**The pay-off is not only in oil savings, but in 8 million new jobs nationwide—twice** the number projected for the development of nuclear power and 20 times the jobs projected for all coal mining in the nation. If California fulfills its logical role of becoming the solar energy capital of the nation, it could see 95,000 new jobs by 1980 and \$2 billion in annual sales, according to Project Independence.

The cost of developing solar energy is far less than for nuclear energy. Experts, such as Allan Hirshberg of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, peg the current price at \$5-7,000 per residential building, all of which can be paid off by energy savings during the first 10-15 years of the building's life. This contrasts with the \$1 billion plus subsidy being handed out to the nuclear power industry this year by the Energy Research and Development Agency (ERDA) in direct research grants, and the millions more in military research into nuclear power.

The jobs created by an immediate application of solar energy for space heating and cooling will be concentrated in the manufacturing and construction industries. These are jobs which do not require years of technical training, and can be filled now by Californians who are presently out of

work—such as steel workers, electricians, plumbers and carpenters. Firms best suited for the construction and installation of solar energy systems are small ones employing 50-100 persons and serving their local community.

This in turn lends itself to local controls, such as those exercised by community-elected public energy districts in the state of Washington.

Looking toward the next generation of technology our aerospace engineers and technicians need to be put to work immediately to develop solar systems capable of generating electricity for home and commercial use. Several California research centers are currently experimenting on the photovoltaic cell method. But Project Independence experts list six types of solar technology, ranging from heating and cooling which directly use the sun's rays, to exotic plans to generate electricity from temperature differences created by sunlight falling on the oceans. We must now drastically increase our research emphasis on all of these technologies.

Solar energy is what keeps living things (including people) alive. Its proper and judicious harvesting and utilization is an affirmation of our learning to maintain complex, industrial societies in harmony with the forces of the universe. Solar energy is an alternative to continuing to base human existence on the rape of the earth's resources, the despoiling of land to wrest fossilized life from the bowels of the earth, and the accompanying showers of dust and dirt which destroy the very air we breathe.

Because California has for so many years meant smog—a deadly clash of people and their environment—we in California must take the lead in converting our energy sources from death to life. In doing so, **we must fight the corporate myth that such alternative sources of energy as solar are at odds with our economic needs.** To the contrary, they represent a brighter future than we can otherwise expect.

### ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

Besides solar, there are additional permanent sources of energy we should be exploring. Wind is a functioning energy source in France and is practical not only for California but also for the Atlantic Coast and the Great Lakes Region. *Wind may provide 2 quadrillion BTUs of energy per year by the next generation (1990).* Equipment to harness the wind would create 1.5 million jobs and save nearly 8 million barrels of oil every day for 20 years.

Corn husks and other agricultural waste can be transformed into fuel in sufficient quantity to eliminate the present need for imported oil, according to a recent paper presented to the

American Nuclear Group by a General Motors research team.

It has been estimated by federal agencies that small cities (50,000-200,000) could produce all the electrical power their citizens need by pyrolytic conversion of their garbage and sewage wastes. Not only would this process solve the increasing problem of waste disposal, but it would free these cities from dependence on the utility companies. Municipally owned and operated pyrolytic conversion plants, in fact, provide a model of how the energy needs of our society might be met—they are cheap, efficient, environmentally respectful, and responsive (through the political process) to the needs of the people being served.

During the interim decade while the solar industry is created, and other alternatives are developed, I will support oil and natural gas production on shore, on both public and private land, including the Naval Petroleum Reserve in Alaska and the Naval reserves at Elk and Buena Vista Hills in California. Two-thirds of the oil which has been discovered in this country is still in the ground. Much of the technology needed to bring this oil to the surface is available, but it is presently classified or bottled up. The U. S. Energy Research and Development Administration should increase research efforts towards this end, and if the big oil companies will not cooperate, we should turn to small drillers and wildcatters with federal support.

One of the most effective methods for "secondary recovery" is water-flooding, which has been used at the Wilmington field in Long Beach. Steam is pumped into injection wells to thin out thick oil deposits, and water-flooding then drives the oil into receiving wells. According to the WALL STREET JOURNAL, the Wilmington field has yielded 500 million barrels of crude oil since 1958, in addition to 1.2 billion barrels produced by conventional methods over the same period, and "waterflooding is expected to produce another 600 million barrels from the field." Thus we have a dramatic example of the effectiveness of these methods here in California.

Research into techniques for "tertiary" recovery of oil should also be supported. This kind of recovery involves the use of heat, alcohol, carbon dioxide and various other chemicals to "loosen" the oil in place. The "target" is over 300 billion barrels of crude oil, the equivalent in yield of 30 Prudhoe Bays.

### THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

**I support the 1976 Nuclear Safeguard Initiative now before California voters.** There are aspects of the initiative with which I disagree, such as the two-

thirds requirement for legislative approval of safety mechanisms. But faced with a yes-or-no choice on the ballot, there can be no question of the need to stop the manipulation and stampeding of the public towards nuclear power.

Nuclear power is the key element in the Ford Administration's National Energy Plan, coupled with immediate development of strip mined coal and off-shore oil. But these three sources are enormously capital intensive, especially nuclear; *they create relatively few jobs for the dollars invested.* In addition, nuclear generation and Outer Continental Shelf oil take 5-10 years to bring on line, while conservation and solar power can begin showing results in a year or less. **In other words, the National Energy Plan—and its nuclear cornerstone—will produce the most pollution, cause the most health problems, take the longest to deliver, cost the most, and generate the fewest new jobs of the alternatives studied by the Administration.**

On its own terms, nuclear power is far from being the cheap power source as its advertisers have claimed. The present investment of \$100 million is predicted to "blossom into \$1 trillion by the turn of the century," according to the LA TIMES of November 9, 1975, which also noted that "construction costs have increased ferociously and now stand at about \$1 billion per plant, as opposed to \$200 to \$400 million for an equivalent fossil-fuel plant."

*Development of nuclear power also would deprive the people of California of water badly needed to increase agricultural production.* The same TIMES article reports that "Water requirements to cool the waste heat are also enormous: one estimate has put the total of 340,000 acre-feet per year (equal to **one-third** the entire annual flow of the State Water Project) if all the currently proposed inland plants in California used the 'wet tower' cooling systems."

And now the nuclear industry, the utilities, the oil companies and the Administration are pouring millions of dollars into a propaganda campaign directed at the citizens of California. The familiar litany of threats is dragged out—that without nuclear power we will have neither jobs nor energy. No mention is made of the real alternatives of energy conservation and stepped-up development of solar and geothermal sources. And instead of dealing with the very real questions of safety, the pro-nuclear forces have continued irresponsibly to minimize the problem.

*There has been a generation of official cover-ups concerning nuclear power every bit as serious as those exposed during the Vietnam War and*

*Watergate. The same officials in the Atomic Energy Commission who promoted nuclear energy were responsible for assuring the public of its safety.*

They, and their colleagues in industry, have deliberately minimized questions about safety: protection against accidents, one of which could kill as many Americans as died in the Vietnam war; the impossibility of disposing of radioactive wastes, which will gradually pollute the earth as never before; the fact that wastes produced by nuclear energy can be relatively easily converted to nuclear arms. Having acted evasively towards these questions, they still have the unbelievable corporate gall to ask the public to pay the lion's share of the insurance involved.

Californians are honestly concerned with finding answers to their energy problems, including answers which might include certain risks.

With further research nuclear energy may indeed provide an additional energy source to the environment. But in this time of distrust of all public officials, Californians are right in refusing to accept being blackmailed into putting nuclear power in their backyards.

The Nuclear Initiative, if passed, will help safeguard us from possible disaster. It is a stop-gap measure, to allow us the time for the research and development needed to safely harness the atom—particularly via fusion rather than fission.

#### NATURAL GAS PRICE DE-REGULATION

**The issue of de-regulating the price of natural gas is every bit as important as the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was to the Vietnam War, and the cost to taxpayers will be every bit as great as the billions that went down the drain in Indochina.** De-regulation not only opens the door to an escalation of oil company profits and consumer disaster, it also commits us to diverting our resources and priorities away from our cities, our environment, our social needs for the rest of this century. We absolutely cannot give the oil companies the profits they want and have anything left over to improve the quality of our own lives.

The de-regulation question is a cutting edge of the oil companies effort to come home after 30 years of foreign energy development. They expect a diversion of over *one trillion dollars* from other sectors of our economy to subsidize their operations of the next 15 years. Their vast lobbying campaign for de-regulation, and their threats of shortages if they don't get their way, is aimed at establishing a precedent for doing away with regulation over other energy areas.

*To support the oil monopolies on de-regulation is to cave in on the most basic question of privilege in the energy crisis. The attempt to de-regulate*

natural gas prices has been resisted by a broad coalition of Senate liberals, including Senator Cranston, and by the California Public Utilities Commission.

The final bill for consumers as a result of the Senate version of de-regulation will be *at least \$112 billion* over the next years, according to one Senate study.

Instead of yielding to oil company blackmail, price controls should be maintained, including the opportunity for a reasonable return for the big oil companies. If they want more, the government should turn toward the smaller independents or even consider going into business for itself.

#### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF

**The Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act of 1953 should be repealed.** This law has allowed control of the energy and other natural resources of this vast offshore area (equal to over one-third the total onshore land area of the US) to fall into the hands of giant oil companies, instead of the people of this country, to whom these resources are a birthright. In the words of David Freeman, director of the Ford Foundation energy project and former head of the President's energy policy staff, "**The nation does not need to bribe the oil companies to develop the resources owned by the public . . . Only in America do the people sell their oil in the ground at a fixed price and buy it back at skyrocketing prices.**"

It is not enough to "amend" the leasing procedure to include environmental safeguards and a royalty rate higher than the 16.5 percent now paid to the Federal Government. We must realize that **leasing itself is wrong**, and should be replaced by a policy of **continued public ownership with contracting** to independent companies to determine the extent of resources and problems of production.

The present law creates a leasing system whereby big oil companies "bribe" the Interior Department with large cash "bonuses." In return, this handful of powerful men obtain exclusive rights to the rich oil and natural gas deposits our people so desperately need. While we pay foreign producers exorbitant amounts for almost 40 percent of our fuel needs, these rapacious energy lords "sit on" these resources, waiting for "additional incentives to produce." In other words, a high "ransom"—in the form of deregulated natural gas prices and decontrolled oil prices.

**It is now time for the American people to take full control of their energy destinies and eliminate "leasing" of the valuable oil, natural gas (and eventually geothermal and hard mineral) resources under the Outer Continental Shelf.** The public should keep control of the OCS, develop a new body

to explore its resources, contract for development with independent companies, and subject the whole process to a completely open, public form of decision-making.

Development of the OCS should only take place if and when there is clear evidence that California and the nation will suffer without OCS oil and no alternatives exist. Presently, California is a net exporter of petroleum. We are also making preparations for receiving Alaskan oil for shipment to the Midwest, while Southern states' natural gas is kept in the ground until prices increase. The impact on California in air pollution and oil spills from tankers will be severe, the jobs created very few. Exploration of the OCS should be separated from production drilling. The national policy should encourage the U.S. Geological Survey or California's Energy Commission to perform the necessary drilling to determine just how much oil is in the OCS. Then it should be held in reserve until it is needed, the technology exists to develop it safely, and a fair return is guaranteed to the people of California and the nation, whose oil it is.

#### DEMOCRACY AND ENERGY

A new energy policy based on conservation and development of new energy sources can only come about when control over the energy policy of California and America is placed in the hands of public agencies made directly accountable to the people. *The solution is a publicly-controlled energy industry in which the public bodies contract:*

- with small drilling firms, geophysical exploration companies, and independent oil explorers for the development of oil, natural gas and coal on public lands;

- with numerous small firms for energy conservation implementation;

- with enterprising investors and developers for solar, wind, and geothermal resource development;

- with all types of agencies and firms, public and private, for energy-related environmental clean-up and monitoring projects.

These efforts would create hundreds of thousands of jobs at a time when jobs are so crucial to the economic and social recovery of the nation.

How can we move toward this new policy? As a first step there are bills before Congress which deserve support. These vertical and horizontal divestiture bills begin to get at the crucial problem—the monopoly of the giant energy companies. A good vertical divestiture law would break up monopoly control of all phases from production to transportation to refining to marketing. A horizontal divestiture law would limit firms to one energy source instead of the present pattern of oil

companies buying into alternative energy resources.

But history has shown that breaking up the large companies' control in these ways is not enough. Although John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Trust was shattered by Supreme Court decree in 1911, for example, it has re-emerged today stronger than ever.

#### PUBLIC CONTROL OF ENERGY

We need to push for the formation of new public bodies to ensure public control of our energy development. The kinds of public entities needed include: (1) A U.S. Energy Corps, which would democratically manage our resources; (2) A National Energy Financing Board, to fund new public energy development; (3) An Energy Supply Corporation, to serve as a supplier of last resort.

- A U.S. Energy Corps, with a publicly elected board of directors, would work together with regional energy corps with directors elected by the people living in areas affected by corps projects including representatives of labor, consumer and environmental groups. Such regional boards would thus be sharply different from present superficially "public" federal bureaucracies where industry lobbyists are intermingled with former industry officials.

The first task of a U. S. Energy Corps would be to carry out a thorough resource assessment of all public lands now under federal control, onshore and off, including geophysical evaluations and deep hole drilling. *All information obtained from that effort would be on the public record.*

The U.S. Energy Corps would contract out with some of the over 700 independent drilling contractors now operating in the U.S. to prepare environmental impact statements.

Such statements would be prepared along with the assessments of the amount of resources in a given area. After publication of the data, public hearings would be held on all phases of development and production. The most environmentally dangerous, as well as those lacking energy potential, would be withdrawn from consideration. The proposed areas to be developed would then be published. Each state containing any of the remaining areas could veto development at a referendum held 60 days after publication of the list. At that referendum, the citizens would know where all facilities would be sited and exactly what impacts they would be facing.

The Energy Corps would use a "net profit sharing" formula for development, based on the resource potential and technical problems in each area. A rich area for natural gas, for example, with little technical obstacle, might call for a 90 percent public share. A difficult shale area might be split 50-

50. The federal government would put up an identical share of the costs for each project. No joint bidding would be allowed by the 25 largest oil companies and no firms would be allowed to hold more of the private share in any formula.

All refineries, pipelines, power plants, transmission lines, slurry lines, etc., would have been planned and publicly discussed at the exploration and environmental impact stage. They would be built only upon clearance by a "one stop" *Siting Council*" composed of the required agencies if on federal land. As David Freeman writes, "The remaining open spaces in the US can no longer be considered automatically available for industrial development to suit the convenience of the utilities and the oil companies. The prime missing link in the government's environmental programs is to develop a decision-making process by which the public can decide what areas are to be preserved and where development is suitable."

In these proposals, the entire developmental and production process would be decided in a series of public meetings immediately after exploration.

Each of the several U.S. Energy Regions would have elected boards including labor, consumer and environmental members to coordinate energy policy.

- **A National Energy Financing Board**, composed of representatives of the regional boards and others appointed by the President and Congress, would be empowered to make loan guarantees and to fund new public energy development.

Congress would not only retain the powers of allocation and investment, but would exercise oversight over the new boards as well as the Energy Corps.

- **Finally, the federal government must be the "supplier of last resort" if we are to have energy security.** We need the assured capacity to obtain and deliver energy, instead of the present crisis where new energy is developed or supplies are held back until the price is right.

The government would form an **Energy Supply Corporation**, which would: a) buy energy from abroad; b) auction off the oil imported into this country to the most efficient refiners; c) insure the development of a "strategic reserve" to protect against crisis. *Without this new agency, American citizens will be constantly vulnerable to oil company pressure for profits leading to their collaboration with foreign suppliers carrying out boycotts.*

The creation of such new public bodies is an alternative to false nationalization. Nationalization at this point would only merge the present corporate and federal bureaucracies in a false front of public

ownership masking continued corporate privilege. Instead we need new goals—energy conservation and new energy sources—and a decision-making process that assures informed and decentralized public participation.

#### A CASE IN POINT

An example of desirable de-centralized participation in energy planning is already in operation in Washington State, in the form of locally-elected Public Utility Districts (PUD). The PUD in tiny Lewis County freed the county's residents from utility domination in 1936 by setting up its own facilities for electricity generation and distribution. Today, it has a \$2 million budget and gives \$250,000 in revenue back to its citizens every year. By 1967 locally-elected PUDs were supplying electric power to 280,000 Washington residents, and putting the profits back into the community.

What would become of the giant oil companies under this plan in which energy decision-making is done by a variety of federal, regional, and local bodies? The major oil companies, stripped of their monopoly grip and tax privileges, would be free to participate like any other firms in contracting to develop the public's resources.

More likely, however, they will be fiercely resistant to these new ways of shaping our energy destiny. Their success in resisting will only last so long as they are able to manipulate enough Americans into fearing that energy shortages require greater profits and privileges for the corporations.

All signs, however, suggest that more and more Americans are realizing that their anxieties are being created and exploited by the oil companies and the government. The day may be closer than many pundits think when the American people will be ready to take their energy future into their own hands.

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## The Question of Government Spending Does Progress Have A Price?

"There is a political feudalism where a dynasty has the trappings of a parliamentary system but manipulates it for the benefit of the ruling class. Revolution in the 20th century means rebellion against another kind of feudalism—economic feudalism. The U.S. should promote democratic

revolution against these conditions of economic feudalism."

—William O. Douglas,  
Supreme Court Justice

**The raging political debate about government spending usually casts liberals as the "spenders" and conservatives as "prudent." But there is an alternative to these stereotyped positions—we can achieve economic justice without increasing the tax burden on the average person.** If we move toward new, human priorities and re-organize the economy along democratic lines, the actual cost of government for the individual would go down.

The corporate inability to generate jobs and a healthy economy drove *public social welfare* payments from \$52.3 billion in 1960 to \$242.4 billion in 1974. *Income security* alone increased from \$18.3 billion in 1960 to \$84.4 billion in 1974. The taxpayer was forced to pay for this, however, instead of corporations who created the problem. **Individual taxes rose from \$41 billion to \$119 billion over this period, four times more than corporate taxes, which only increased from \$22 billion to \$39 billion.**

The present budget, in other words, allows corporations to continue exporting jobs and avoid paying taxes, while the taxpayer is forced to subsidize those who are "left over" from the corporate economy. To simply increase the tax burden on citizens to pay for inefficient government programs will only perpetuate joblessness, inflation and frustration.

On the other hand, we cannot be misled by popular calls for *less spending* which can only lead to social disaster. There were 24.3 million Americans living below the official "poverty level" in 1974. Reducing government spending under present corporate priorities will only increase the hardship of millions and leave society more deeply divided. To continue with permanent unemployment and planned wastefulness will mean a lower quality of life for everyone who wants to walk the streets, send their children to school, and enjoy a sense of personal security.

#### TAPPING THE ENERGY OF THE PEOPLE

Our greatest national resource is our people. That resource is being squandered by a system which leaves ten million out of work and millions more only marginally employed.

**We have the money within our existing \$395 billion federal budget to give the unemployed productive work.** Such job-creating money, moreover, is not welfare or make-work. By directing

our funds toward productive work in areas like housing or mass transit, we will be creating a healthier economy and reducing inflation. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show, for example, that it costs \$15 billion to employ one million people. The AFL-CIO has demonstrated that each one million employed, reducing the unemployment rate by over 1%, increases our federal revenues by more than \$16 billion. Such an increase in productive goods and services helps to reduce inflation, increase government revenues, and further stimulate production.

We also have thousands of community, consumer and labor groups which have demonstrated the ability to administer job-creating programs far more efficiently than existing corporate and federal bureaucracies. My own experience in the peace and anti-poverty movements demonstrated time and again that local groups know how to stretch a dollar, cut costs, and use money productively in ways that executives and bureaucrats cannot even imagine.

**The problem now is that we do not use existing budgetary resources in ways which tap the energy and imagination of our people.** Doing so is what this campaign is about, and ultimately what our government must be about.

**The Nixon Administration's "revenue-sharing," for example, is a textbook example of how not to use government resources to tap the energies of people.** It marked the decline of categorical programs which had begun, even slightly, to shift the distribution of resources in the cities to those who needed them. Instead, it transferred resources to big-city political machines and the comfortable in suburban areas who, Government Accounting Office studies indicate, often included frills like golf course improvement in their expenditures.

**Current revenue-sharing must be completely re-examined by Congress.** If it is to be continued, there must be specific requirements for citizen participation in the decision-making process, stronger civil rights enforcement provisions, guarantees of greater benefits to low-income communities, and better data than the inadequate census now provides.

*The goal of reforming both revenue-sharing and categorical programs is the same: to provide local, democratic, responsive forces with the budgetary resources to implement local economic recovery programs around an Economic Bill of Rights.*

Once this principle is accepted, we can find within the existing federal budget the resources necessary to bring about full employment, health care and housing at prices people can afford, in addition to the rest of our pressing social agenda.

## FINANCING PARTICIPATION

The key pools of capital in which to look for the funds necessary to finance such a program are:

• tax loopholes • the military budget • reserve requirements of member banks of the Federal Reserve system and • income security resources such as welfare and unemployment benefits.

We need to begin collecting billions for the public treasury by *closing tax loopholes*. As spelled out in a subsequent section, the tax loopholes are easy to summarize. President Ford's budget includes \$16.6 billion in loopholes which, in budget language, are referred to as *tax expenditures*. Economist Phillip Stern estimates that the real extent of loopholes is much greater: *over \$70 billion in 1972*. Needless to say, these loopholes are not breaks for the average taxpayer. **They are more like welfare payments for the rich.** Closing the loopholes would gain badly needed money without increasing taxes by one cent for the overwhelming majority of Americans. Even using the minimal estimate of \$16.6 billion, the closing of these loopholes would have created well over one million jobs this year alone.

The next step should be to transfer billions from the Pentagon budget to civilian production. Pentagon spending is the most wasteful, inflationary kind of government spending. It ties up resources which are vitally needed in other areas. It brings about a stagnation throughout the economy. The President's Fy 1976 war budget is \$94 billion. Many critics have proposed cuts ranging from \$15 billion to \$50 billion. These proposals are taken up in a later section.

**A third step should be an emphasis on public priorities in the use of money now deposited in private banks.** The government should press private lending institutions to extend credit for public priorities. The Federal Reserve Board, for example, currently requires member banks to keep 12-16.5% of their demand deposits in reserve. The Center for Corporate Priorities estimates that if the reserve requirement was reduced by one percent in return for banks investing in public-priority areas, a flow of \$1.75 billion to \$3.5 billion would be stimulated. The Center also points out that if, for example, our banks and savings and loan associations were required to invest two percent of their total loans in low-income housing, it would result in \$17.4 billion being devoted to this end. Once again, the result would also be more than a million new jobs.

A fourth step away from government waste would be to shift the rising costs of welfare and income security to spending for useful work: this shift would not reduce spending directly. But it would mean that now-wasted resources in the federal budget get used to stimulate productive jobs,

which would stimulate other economic activity, thereby generating new tax revenues and decreasing the federal deficit.

**We can build the kind of America we want without more government spending, without more taxes for the average person.** But we can only do so if we are willing to change our priorities, confront the centers of tax privilege, and see that our resources reach the people they are meant to serve.

## Military Spending

"The spirit of this country is totally adverse to a large military force"

—Thomas Jefferson

**The American war economy is an albatross left by the Cold War. It is inconsistent with a new and peaceful foreign policy.** It is inflationary. Its job potential is declining. It swallows research and development talent badly needed in civilian industry. *We need to confront the sacred cow of Pentagon spending.*

## PUTTING DEFENSE IN PERSPECTIVE

**The budget for war can responsibly be cut by tens of billions of dollars.** We do not need our present "overkill" capacity which permits the Pentagon to plan on being able to destroy the Soviet Union as many as 25 times over. Nor do we need the kind of armed forces designed to wage long Vietnam-type wars of occupation. These are the policies of military empires, not democracies.

The legitimate defense needs of America include *the ability to deter any military attacks* on our territory proper, a similar ability *to protect carefully-defined allies*, and for *international peacekeeping forces*. Americans from time to time should reevaluate these needs, especially the question of our changing alliances.

**All these legitimate needs can be met with a much lower level of military spending than the \$100 billion of 1976.** Senator George McGovern projected a detailed \$54.8 billion budget for 1973 (when Washington's was \$83 billion). Senator William Proxmire proposed a cut to \$70 billion for the same year, while the Brookings Institution proposed \$72 billion. Professor Seymour Melman proposed an even lower figure, \$29 billion, as providing "an adequate measure of military security" for 1974.

**For the year 1976, a peacetime budget truly protecting U.S. national security could be one half the Administration's, or about \$55 billion.** This estimate, by defense expert Earl C. Ravenal of

Johns Hopkins University, would be three and a half percent of our Gross National Product, a percentage comparable with most other industrialized countries. It would include eight land divisions (six Army, two Marine), 19 tactical air wing equivalents (11 Air Force, four Marine, four Navy), six carrier task forces sustaining two forward carriers, a sufficient nuclear deterrent on bombers and submarines, and forces of 1,350,000 troops (420,000 ceiling for Army; 420,000 for Air Force, 370,000 for Navy; 140,000 for Marines). Carried out gradually, such a plan could even be reversed if war or other unexpected developments occurred.

The point, however, is not to debate the exact size of a cut in the military budget, but to encourage *Congress to challenge the Pentagon's dominance of spending priorities.*

### THE ECONOMICS OF MILITARY SPENDING

America needs the billions which could be saved from the Pentagon budget to spend on our neglected "security needs" at home. National security, Senator Stuart Symington has pointed out, has three aspects: weapons, a healthy economy, and a government with popular support. We are strong in the first case, but otherwise growing weaker. We are like an armored giant, powerful on the outside but gripped with illnesses on the inside.

The weight of the Pentagon armor has begun to fall heavily on California, the state with the largest percentage of military contracts. In spite of billions spent here, there has been *no stable pattern of job growth* in the past, and there will be none in the future. California aerospace employment has been through three up-and-down cycles, with peaks in 1962-63, 1967-68, and 1974. The Vietnam peak of 1967-68 was the highest, that of 1974 the lowest. But each of the booms has been followed by a depression in which employment has levelled off to around or below 1961 levels (400,000-450,000 jobs).

We cannot afford this kind of national defense. There are more jobs possible in civilian production than in the military with its high emphasis on technical gadgetry. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study has shown that for every 60 jobs generated by Pentagon spending, an average of 100 jobs can be created in the civilian economy. That means one billion dollars would create 51,952 jobs in defense, as opposed to 57,656 jobs in private home construction, 60,120 jobs in public housing, 70,000 jobs in repairing the railroads, or 88,995 jobs in VA hospitals.

Seymour Melman's studies show that 800,000 potential jobs in civilian sectors have been lost by the waste in this year's Pentagon budget.

It is hypocritical for the critics of government spending to neglect the Pentagon budget, the most

inflationary form of public spending. Pentagon dollars flow into the economy without creating any goods and services which can be purchased. Interlocks between the Pentagon and defense contractors are so close the competition is reduced to virtually nothing. Cost-plus-profit contracts encourage unending cost overruns.

As a result, **the more we spend for defense, the less defense we get.** The President of Ling-Temco-Voght (LTV) himself has explained how and with what result, "... the unit cost of new aerospace products has consistently increased by a factor of four every ten years... One can show that in the case of a fixed defense budget, if this trend persists, we are only 62 years from the day when our Navy and Air Force will each consist of a single airplane."

All the inflation-producing processes in procurement and budgeting must be ended. The Pentagon contractors must be taken off welfare.

### THE POSSIBILITIES OF RE-CONVERSION

There is a vast civilian market awaiting conversion from military spending. The range of neglected needs is well illustrated by the Economic Report of the President for 1969, which studied plans for new spending after the Vietnam War and proposed \$40 billion of new public programs were needed yearly. The list included:

PROGRAM	COST (in 1970 billions)
Education	\$7 billion
Health	3.8
Nutrition	1.0
Jobs, Manpower	2.5
Social Security	9.5
Economic	
Development	2.2
Crime	1.0
Environment	1.7
Natural Resource	
Development	1.4
Urban Development	5.5
Transportation	1.0
Science & Space	1.0
Foreign Aid	1.0

This \$40 billion capital outlay (\$50 billion in 1975 terms) would hire approximately four and a half million persons directly. With a multiplier of two, that would mean **nine million jobs**, exactly the number of Americans officially unemployed today.

The kinds of alternatives to aerospace spending in California with a real market potential include, according to Melman, automation in offices, process industries, piece-parts manufacturing, traffic and railroad controls, aviation support equipment, and so forth. The airframe industry can

produce civilian aircraft, prefabricated housing, railroad cars, monorail systems, electric road vehicles, and new commercial ships.

In fact, California aerospace firms themselves list many alternative markets in their promotional literature. These include:

- **Anti-pollution products:** activated carbon treatment systems for solid wastes, filter systems for smoke emissions, satellites which detect pollution and blight.

- **Energy-related products:** solar energy and geothermal power products.

- **Transportation and engine systems:** Brayton gas turbine and continuous shifting combustion engines, lean burning internal combustion engines, throttle devices, transit rail gear boxes, rapid transit bus and car production.

- **Medical products:** X-ray surrogates, voice-controlled wheelchairs, decontaminators.

- **Housing:** pre-engineered structural steel for non-residential buildings, electric frames, pre-fab housing units.

In short, California productivity could meet our key needs by developing a solar energy industry, rapid transit, housing, ships, even steel mills—with the resources now going into defense and aerospace.

#### A BLUEPRINT FOR TRANSITION

**We need a conversion-planning program to shift from a war economy to a peacetime civilian economy, while protecting the jobs and economic security of the communities affected.**

The result of a peaceful foreign policy and a turn to domestic priorities need not be unemployment. Today millions of Californians are hostages of the Pentagon.

**Conversion is practical.** Official studies in 1968 and 1969 showed that of 127 occupations in California aerospace, the skills in 121 were possible to transfer to civilian industry with only six months of retraining.

**A Defense Industry Employees Bill of Rights, like the GI Bill, has been proposed to protect the affected workers.** In Melman's proposal, it would include: one year of occupational retraining, income maintenance for one year, family relocation costs, health insurance, moratoriums on loans and credit, and new loans, for anyone employed in the war economy for at least one year.

**The government can assist in the adjustment process, as the Office of Economic Adjustment in the Pentagon already does.** This agency aided 61 communities in recent years which lost 82,000 jobs through military cutbacks, and was able to gain back 162,000 new jobs.

**Conversion plans must be required of all**

**companies.** Long ago Walter Reuther proposed that 25 percent of a war contractor's profits be set into a government trust fund to carry out conversion planning and pay benefits to the jobless.

**The conversion plans should be developed by joint committees** composed of management, labor and the communities affected.

The top level management of certain firms may have grown too incompetent through years of Pentagon "welfare" to really compete in the civilian market place. If so, they will not survive against existing or new civilian firms. But that would only result from accepting the rules and results of the present economic system, from which these military giants are now shielded by public subsidy. If management needs retraining in the competitive system, let it begin.

**The dislocations of a conversion program are less than the price we now pay by locking our energy, resources and productivity inside a military machine which bogs down our whole country.** The cry to "let us beat swords into plowshares" should at last be taken to heart in California.

## Tax Justice

"They who feel the benefit ought to feel the burden"

—John Dickinson, 1768

**The corporate rich must pay their fair share of taxes.** *In order to dramatize this issue Congress should hold hearings, calling upon the corporate gentlemen from Ford, Lockheed, Honeywell, American and Eastern Airlines, American Electrical Power and Allstate Insurance to explain how they managed to pay no federal income taxes in 1974. Or we could hear the executives of Occidental, Chase Manhattan, Mobil and McDonnell-Douglas explain how they came to pay less than ten percent.*

**The public needs greater exposure to the tax injustice our system supports.** Only then can an alternative to scapegoating the minorities be developed, and Congress receive the necessary mandate to close the loopholes of privilege.

#### CLOSING THE LOOPHOLES

- **The present statutory rate of 48 percent federal income tax for large corporations should be enforced.** Corporations now are paying less than 25 percent in real terms. According to Senator William Proxmire, if there were no tax loopholes the **same amount of revenue** could be generated **while cutting income taxes in half.** Nearly \$40 billion yearly, or 15 percent of the federal budget, is "spent" in tax subsidies.

**Corporations should be forbidden to pass on higher taxes or higher costs to consumers.** Stockholders, not consumers, should bear the burden of corporate development, thus creating an incentive against waste, inefficiency and corruption.

- **All tax and tariff advantages which encourage the overseas flight of multi-national corporations must be ended.** The taxation of overseas operations should be consistent with domestic tax rules.

- Tax the undistributed foreign earnings which currently are untaxed as long as they are held or invested abroad.

- End the 14 percent tax cut for corporations doing business outside the United States but in the Western Hemisphere.

- Repeal the tax breaks for foreign subsidiaries of American companies set up to export American goods abroad. Called DISC's (Domestic International Sales Corporations), their income is now taxed at capital gain rates, which are one-half the normal rates.

- End the "overall limitation" shelter on foreign tax credits. Corporations now credit the amount of foreign taxes they pay against their U.S. tax bill. The "overall limitation" lumps all foreign taxes and income, instead of itemizing it country-by-country. This permits companies doing business in a country with a high tax rate to average their taxes against another country's lower rates.

- End the treatment of foreign fees and royalties as "taxes" which companies deduct from their US tax liability. This especially benefits the oil companies who treat any oil price increase as a credit against US taxes.

- Repeal sections 807 and 806.30 of the tariff code, which permit corporations to assemble products abroad and only pay duty on the cost of foreign labor.

- Change the banking laws to prohibit capital exports for corporate mergers or speculation abroad.

- **All individuals with equal incomes should be equally taxed.** Presently income from wages and salaries is taxed at a higher rate than income from dividends. There is no reason to favor coupon clipping over hard physical labor. It is estimated that some \$10 billion in capital gains goes untaxed every year.

- **The progressive income tax should be restored.** Regressive property and sales taxes are supposed to be counter-balanced by progressive income taxes. But instead, the doubling of social security taxes since 1960, plus the growth of loopholes, have led to the virtual disappearance of the "progressive" character of the tax system. The net effect is that all Americans now pay about the

same proportion of their income in taxes.

- **Budget reform: Congress should be able to provide the American people with a true accounting of where their money goes. The jungle of jargon hiding tax privilege must be cut through.** The Treasury Department should provide information on all tax expenditures, with a breakdown of the real costs and real benefits. The total cost of "government housing," for example, should include all tax and mortgage interest deductions as part of the "cost" in the budget statement.

**The struggle for tax justice will become more intense as Administration and corporate officials use the *capital shortage* to demand the lowering of taxes on privileged groups. The middle class will be taxed more heavily to raise capital for corporate investment and to contribute to the shrinking public treasury. The poor and minorities will be increasingly scapegoated, their services cut as the result of taxpayers' revolts.**

The alternative to this specter of bankruptcy is a fairer distribution of wealth which can only be created with basic re-organization of the economy. *There is a capital shortage within the framework of the present system of corporate profit, investment and expansion. The giant corporations cannot pay higher taxes by their rules of growth.* Therefore they must be re-organized to be more socially responsible. Since corporate expansion is of declining use for the majority, and since the same majority cannot afford greater tax burdens, it is to the overhauling of our economy that we must turn for answers.

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## Economic Democracy

"The corporation has absorbed the community. The community must now absorb the corporation. A stage must be reached in which each is for all and all is for each."

Lincoln (Nebraska) Farmers  
Alliance, 1890s

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*Economic democracy is the name I would give to the new system which must be created out of the chaos and injustice of today.* None of our hopes can be achieved unless we begin to restructure our economy so the people can plan their own future, workers can begin to control and get satisfaction on the job, and consumers can shape services and distribution to their needs.

**Economic democracy is the only genuine alternative to the twin perils of corporate control or**

**government bureaucracy.** We need to overhaul our institutions, particularly our economic ones, **from the inside** instead of letting them exploit or regulate us from the outside.

This direction is a logical one for Americans to take at this point in our history. *We are living through a new phase of what BUSINESS WEEK calls "a conflict as old as the American republic: the conflict between a political democracy and a capitalist economy."* The American revolutionaries of 1776 were themselves a coalition of groups with conflicting economic interests who clashed over the concept of a Bill of Rights. From that point forward, the needs of capital were continually in conflict with labor and minorities. But the ability of capitalism to grow, first across the continent and then the globe, provided a material prosperity which softened the conflict. Having a political democracy, it was possible for reform in voting rights and labor relations to be achieved which also cushioned this clash of interests.

As we have seen, however, the era of easy expansion is ending. So is the history of Americans benefiting from the growth of corporate power. The corporations cannot solve unemployment and inflation, and they themselves are out of public control. **The conflict of the future is between the needs of the majority and the privileges of a few.** The conflict between democracy and corporate power will tend to sharpen more and more.

**Economic democracy is the only resolution which will preserve our heritage of self-government.** It recognizes that the marketplace of Adam Smith is no more, and therefore seeks to provide workers and consumers with new power against monopoly. It recognizes further, that government cannot *manage* the corporate economy without creating a crushing corporate state. Therefore, *economic democracy seeks to transform government so that people can act in direct and decentralized ways to shape their destiny.*

Millions of Americans have already begun to see the dangers and possibilities. A recent Hart Poll, for example, reported that 33 percent of the public "believe that our capitalist economic system has already reached its peak in terms of performance," while only 22 percent believe that it "has not yet reached its peak." 58 percent believe that "America's major corporations tend to dominate" the federal government. Even more significantly, 66 percent agree that people don't work as hard as they could "because they aren't given enough say in decisions which affect their jobs." 44 percent support public ownership of oil and other natural resources, 74 percent support a plan whereby consumers in local communities "are represented on the boards of

companies that operate in their local regions." 52 percent support a plan "in which employees determine broad company policy." 66 percent would favor working for a company that is employee-owned and controlled.

It remains to be seen, of course, if public opinion will coalesce around specific programmatic versions of economic democracy quickly enough to keep up with trends toward corporate and government authoritarianism.

**What is clear now, however, is that only through economic democracy can we avoid our present pell-mell rush toward authoritarianism and the political and economic chaos it will provoke.**

What follows are some proposals for what economic democracy should look like. *The proposals are not complete, not detailed, but are intended to spark debate about new economic directions.*

#### **CONTROLLING OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE**

**To control our future, it is necessary to plan for it.** We cannot have guaranteed work for all, energy conservations, environmental protection, new industries and cities without a national framework for economic planning.

**We must recognize as obsolete the free market notion that countless individual investment decisions will lead to the best possible future.** Virtually all markets, from natural resources and agriculture to manufactured goods to credit and exotic technology are controlled by a few giant corporations and/or marketing organizations. And all of these organizations plan: plan how to maximize their profits, plan how to control their markets, plan how to manipulate demand, plan how to influence and control the agencies that are supposed to regulate them. **The question that confronts us in 1976 is not whether there will be planning, but whether the American people will begin to demand effective control over the planning process. The question is not whether to plan, but planning for whom and by whom.**

**The future is being planned.** The question we face every day as we drive through the smog that is engulfing our cities or curse the flimsy, planned obsolescence of the products we buy in the store, is whether we are willing to continue to let General Motors and similar organizations do the planning for us.

But if we are going to do the planning, how are we going to do it? Most Americans distrust planning and planners. *What we have seen of "public" planning has not been encouraging.*

**First, it has usually been bad planning—from**

urban renewal, to transportation planning, to agricultural planning we have seen policies that have been short-sighted, unimaginative and frequently disastrous.

**Second, public planning has usually not been very "public"** as the experts found it more convenient to wheel and deal behind closed doors rather than solicit community input from the beginning. We have witnessed the spectacle of public planning agencies becoming as swollen with power and contempt as corporations and just as unresponsive to the needs of ordinary people.

**Third, public planning has usually benefited large private or elite interests and not the public.** Thus the national Highway Trust Fund effectively endorsed the effort of General Motors to make the private automobile the only practical means of transportation for most Americans. And "urban renewal" consistently benefitted large developers and speculators while dislocating millions of Americans.

So we have a right to be skeptical of any proposal that sees planning as a panacea. But we have the responsibility to see that unless we are willing to let General Motors plan for us, we must find ways to create public control over the crucial economic decisions that will shape the future of our communities and our country.

What we are talking about then is a *dramatic departure from the kind of planning that is going on in the society today*. We are talking about a *frontal assault on the rhetoric of our "leaders" who tell us that decisions regarding the economy or foreign policy are too complicated for us to understand and must be left to the experts*. We are committing ourselves to the creation of new institutions that can involve people and overcome the widespread feeling that we don't have the capacity to govern ourselves. *Anything less than this will leave power in the hands of the elites, will allow reform efforts, as in the past, to be subverted and ultimately turned to serve the interests of the corporate power centers.*

*We have confidence in the competence of people to make the vital decisions governing their lives*. We believe that given the time and the power workers could create safe, productive interesting work environments for themselves. We believe that given the opportunity they would choose to make useful, needed, durable products rather than the shoddy, environmentally contaminating junk that they are often forced to manufacture today. In short, we believe that there is enormous creative energy in our people to choose and innovate that has been made into a mockery by an economic system that considers choice as being between twenty different wrappers on the same inferior product.

## THE MEANS FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

There is currently one prominent piece of planning legislation in Congress, the National Economic Planning Bill proposed by Senators Humphrey and Javits. Unfortunately, the legislation incorporates much of what is already wrong with public planning. It limits planning mainly to the collection of information about long-range economic and energy trends. This data may be helpful to Congress in evaluating policy alternatives, but really effective planning must include incentives and/or sanctions to encourage corporations to meet social needs. And who shall do the planning? The Humphrey-Javits Bill includes a centralized bureaucratic machinery that saps states, cities, and local communities of any real power.

*What is needed instead is a process which includes public hearings which begin at the local and regional levels and is ultimately approved at the national level. Regional planning commissions should include members appointed by elected officials as well as members elected by the public. The commissions should investigate economic needs, levels of unemployment, long-range growth trends, educational and retraining needs; make their studies public; provide for public hearings; insure public participation by all sectors of the community; determine the economic priorities of their region; and include an efficient appeals procedure.*

Representatives of the regional planning agencies should be combined in a *National Citizen Planning Agency* which would have department-like status in the Federal Government and whose policy and funding would be approved by Congress. In contrast to the social welfare departments now appointed from the top down by the President, this planning agency would be "appointed" from the local levels, a far more democratic and regionally-controlled institution than any other in Washington.

## CONTROLLING CORPORATIONS

**The Fortune 500 corporations must be brought within the democratic rule of law.** Having grown beyond the constraints of free market forces, they must be regarded as public institutions accountable to everyone.

Over the past 50 years, neither anti-trust laws or regulatory agencies *have been effective* in curbing the growth of corporate power. Perennial calls for more stringent enforcement of these laws, even sincere attempts, have been unequal to the enormous power of the corporations to peddle influence and to exert pressure. Consequently, *it is necessary to create a much broader arsenal of weapons with which to attack their entrenched*

power. Key to this is shifting the conflict from small, easily isolated, understaffed regulatory agencies to the base of people most intimately involved with corporations; the people who work for them and the people who use their products.

- **Corporate democracy.** *The Constitution and the Bill of Rights must be extended to the executive suites of the corporate office buildings.* As a first step and a minimal demand, employees should have control over conditions effecting their health and safety. Employees must have the rights of free speech, assembly and organization fully protected, as well as rights of due process against arbitrary firing. Mechanisms must be created whereby employees, shareholders and the general public can recall managers, change by-laws and other policies in order to insure that corporations serve the public's interest.

Directors and chief executives of banks and corporations using public funds (Federal Reserve loans, ERDA grants, subsidies) should be subject to the same restrictions on advertising, stock ownership, political activity and employment that public agency officials are subject to. This would prohibit interlocking directorates, self-serving advertising and political gifts.

- **Full disclosure.** *The need to "open the books" grows more apparent with each day's revelation about secret contributions, bribes, deceptive accounting techniques, and collusion with the CIA.* Shareholders, employees and the general public need disclosure of the earnings of all corporate subsidiaries, identity of owners, composition of employees by race and sex, and consequences of management decisions.

- **Limits on size and scale.** *No corporation, public or private, should control more than 12% of its sector; the percentage defined as the beginning of monopoly by a Presidential Task Force.* Nor should corporations be allowed to become conglomerates controlling a variety of other product lines outside one sector of the economy.

- **Consumer Protection.** All products should be tested for safety, meet air-pollution standards, and be assured to do what they are supposed to through product liability and warranties to the consumer.

- **Community Safeguards.** *Communities should be assured protection against the run-away shop, pollution costs, and higher servicing costs which corporations often arbitrarily leave behind.* Corporations should make public agreements with local officials concerning these local responsibilities, and should guarantee one-year "deposits" to protect the incomes of employees affected by corporate departures.

## COMPETITIVE PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

Since the public is already putting out the money and absorbing the risk of many corporate adventures, we should consider going into business for ourselves, or at the very least demanding control proportionate to the amount of subsidy or capital outlay that we make to companies.

**The most critical area for public economic enterprise is in energy.** *Other possibilities include publicly owned banks, insurance companies, railroad and transportation lines, communications and community-controlled utilities,* to list only the most glaring areas of failure of our corporate system. Public enterprises have several advantages: First, they enter vital areas of human need which private enterprise considers "unprofitable." They provide a competition yardstick to measure the performance of private companies. They often provide cheaper services; e.g., public power. Their books are open to public inspection. Their exploration of resources is open to public verification. Their directors can be elected or are appointed by public officials, who are elected to office. In addition, public enterprises could provide a vehicle for experimentation with corporate democracy—providing models and examples on which to build.

Public enterprise is the transitional institution between the anti-trust tradition and a truly democratic economy. Where anti-trust fails, especially on the national level, new public enterprises must be created, both to compete with the private monopolies and to open the way to different economic policies. Public enterprise should be the incubator of a new, more responsive economic order beyond the albatross of private monopoly.

But public enterprise must not simply begin where the private corporations have failed ("lemon socialism," as Ralph Nader calls it). It must also begin with changing the attitudes of the young people in our schools of business, public administration, medicine, teaching, and law. Admissions and academic policies must encourage the growth of a new class of students **committed to the public interest**, instead of to working for absentee investors and the greatest possible economic reward.

## SMALL BUSINESS

**Small-scale business and farming is being steadily undermined by monopoly policies, and can only flourish in the context of a democratic economy.**

The effectiveness of small business is in the *quality of services.* There is no substitute, for

example, for the neighborhood grocery store or restaurants, theaters, and retail stores, where the owners live in, know and are responsive to community needs.

The second value of small enterprise is individual invention and breakthrough. Many new products and services begin with individual or small-group initiative and development.

The third value is in "economy of scale." In agriculture, for example, both federal studies and common sense show that smaller farms, cared for by real farmers, are more efficient than those farmed by conglomerates like Tenneco.

There must be a *loan program*, with government guarantees, to small businesses, which today often pay twice the rate of giant enterprises. For example, the 1942 estate tax exemption of \$60,000 must be amended. It now prohibits the owners of many family businesses and farms from passing the enterprises on to their children.

**Federal regulations and paperwork must be reduced for small businesses**, which lack the batteries of lawyers and accountants available to the giants.

## COOPERATIVES

**The cooperative sector of our economy can and should grow in response to the overwhelming power of corporations over consumers.**

Cooperatives are an important American tradition. They are a logical step beyond the limits of family-run business, yet a more democratic alternative than giant corporations. It is logical for cooperative organizations to grow both in distribution (the Berkeley based Co-op markets, "Food Conspiracies") as well as in production (the farmworkers cooperatives in the San Joaquin Valley). In addition, co-ops could play a vastly expanded role in service areas such as schools, health care, aid to the disabled, community legal services, etc. The democratic, self-help aspect of co-ops make them potentially very important in reorganizing top-down service sectors of the economy that today victimize clients rather than involve them.

## PUBLIC CONTROL OF CREDIT ALLOCATION

Many of the programs and enterprises we talk about have been nearly strangled to death by the lack of credit. Small business, farms and cooperatives, women and minority-owned enterprises, small homeowners, community development corporations and low income communities are denied credit again and again. When money is available, it usually carries with it stringent restrictions and high interest rates that

force a concentration on profitability and cheapness as opposed to any other value.

**We must begin to develop our own institutions of credit which serve the needs of the people rather than corporate wealth.** For most of us banks represent mysterious, incomprehensible institutions that perform some exotic function beyond the simple services which we require of them. But the fact of the matter is that banks are simply institutions for the accumulation and distribution of resources according to certain principles. **For giant American banks there is one guiding principle—maximum profit with minimum risk.** Naturally this priority predisposes banks to finance their corporate brethren (who dominate their boards of directors) rather than more risky or humane enterprises. If the new institutions we are talking about here are to begin to provide a real alternative to the corporate economy, *we need institutions of credit that are chartered specifically to serve their growth and development.* What follows are a series of proposals that would move us powerfully in that direction.

- **The Federal Reserve Board must be made accountable to Congress.** The Board must make economic forecasts and financial information available to Congress. *Interest rates must be approved by Congress.* The preponderant number of bankers on the Board should be replaced by public and consumer representatives, and the present 14-year terms should be shortened to five.

- **The top banks and savings & loans must be made accountable to the public interest.** There should be *full disclosure* of investment decisions. There must be strict *limits on speculative investments* which fuel overseas conglomerate expansion. Public members should be appointed and/or elected to the national boards and branch offices. *Guidelines to socially responsible investment* should be developed by Congress, and the tax and investment power of the Federal Government should be used to encourage banking decisions in the public interest. The enormous amount of the public's money held in banks should not simply fuel private investment and speculation. It should be used for urgent public investment needs like housing.

- **Immediate Congressional hearings are needed to consider creation of public banks at both federal and state levels.** If fundamental reform of the big banks proves impossible, there is the alternative of depositing existing public funds in a new public banking system.

For example, a National Development Bank could be part of any attempt to diversify ownership in corporate America. Through regional offices,

such a federally owned bank would provide money to state and local governments to meet enormous needs in the public sector for mass transit, housing, pollution control and waste management, and for schools. Loans and technical assistance would be available to groups of workers and unions wishing to purchase the companies in which they work. Money would be loaned to state and municipally owned banks, and to state and municipal governments to finance acquisition of private utilities. Most importantly, such a public bank would provide credit to the public enterprises competing with, and providing yardsticks of cost and efficiency for, the monopolized sectors of the economy. *A National Development Bank is not an untested possibility.* Such banks exist in several Western European democracies, and the state of North Dakota has had a successful state-owned bank for several decades. **A National Cooperative Development Bank should be established as an adjunct to the National Development Bank.** It would lend money to such cooperative ventures as credit unions, housing, health care, food and child care, and to other user and producer-owned enterprises. In addition to loan funds, the bank would operate a special self-help development fund to make investment monies available to co-ops in low-income areas. The banks' branches would provide technical and management assistance to users, and each would have an advisory board composed of co-op members and consultants. A bill to establish such a bank is being drafted by a group that includes Ralph Nader and the Co-op League of the United States.

#### A WORKABLE VISION

This program does not undo all of the many distortions and misplaced priorities that have been created in corporate America by the multinational corporations and international banks. But it is a coherent program which moves us toward a democratic economy within the framework of our democratic political structure. It could not be enacted alone by one Democratic Senator against the wishes of the elected officials already in office. But it could be enacted if hundreds of men and women of all races, creeds, and colors were to join me in running for office in the next few years. *It is a vision worthy of our greatest efforts, and it is workable.*

Inevitably, spokesmen for the multinational corporations will attempt to discredit this program by trying to attach one or another negative label to it. **But there are no labels to describe it except as a democratic, pluralistic economy which is totally compatible with our democratic government.** There

is no "inherent contradiction" between a democratic economy and a democratic government, as there is between political democracy and multinational corporations.

Whatever labels opponents try to attach to this program, I agree with Ralph Nader: "I don't care what word you use. Just tell me, is it thoroughly democratic?"

## Towards A Humanistic, Peaceful and Democratic Foreign Policy

"I am an anti-imperialist. I am opposed to having the eagle put its talons on any other land."

—Mark Twain

#### PRINCIPLES FOR A NEW FOREIGN POLICY

Our new foreign policy should revolve around five principles. **First, it must be humanistic,** concerned with reducing the suffering of people instead of trying to prop up corrupt governments.

**Second, it must respect the right of self-determination,** including the right to choose revolution and socialism, instead of focusing on military intervention.

**Third, it must seek peace,** through reducing armaments and the gap between have and have-not nations, instead of a nuclear arms race and interference in the Koreas, Vietnams, Chiles, and Angolas of the world.

**Fourth, it must be democratic,** carried out with the consent of the American people after full Congressional debate—rather than by secret Executive action.

**Fifth, it must be of both economic and social benefit for all Americans,** not a constant drain of public blood and taxes for the benefit of narrow economic or bureaucratic interests.

**The American people are ready for such a foreign policy after thirty years of the Cold War.** According to Louis Harris, Americans are on the brink of a *New Humanism* in foreign affairs. Nearly two-thirds would give up meat one day a week to feed hungry children, or the fertilizer from their lawn to grow crops in other lands. Nearly the same percentage disagreed with President Ford's destabilizing the Allende government in Chile. Public confidence in the CIA is at an all-time low.

These public attitudes are the more remarkable since *few political leaders have had the courage to defend new directions.* It has been the peace

movement and the natural awakening of Americans, not political officials, which must be credited for the thaw in Cold War thinking.

*This new, broad-ranging condition for peace should now define a new agenda of foreign policy goals.*

### RE-DEFINING OUR GUIDELINES

We should be working with forces of change such as progressive, nationalist governments, or even revolutionaries, rather than trying to suppress them by propping up dictatorships.

**The pastime of defending corrupt regimes simply because they are "anti-communist" must be ended.** The \$5 billion which, according to Senator Alan Cranston, goes to 57 "tyrants around the world" must be phased out. All forms of technical "military assistance" and "public safety" programs to control dissidents—like the \$100 million spent for Taiwan's police force—should end.

**All U. S. intervention in Angola must be terminated. This is the clearest proof that the Executive Branch cannot be expected to learn the lessons of Vietnam and the Cold War.** For twenty years we indirectly helped Portugal fight its dirty colonial war in Angola, groomed a pro-Western Angolan group in case of independence, and built up the economic interests of Gulf Oil. Only when Soviet and Cuban assistance emerged for one Angolan side in 1975 did Angola become defined as a *crisis*. Americans learned about yet another war from the headlines, not from a Congressional debate. Once again we are aligned with the most unpopular and reactionary elements, the South African mercenaries. Once again we are spending hundreds of millions never properly authorized by Congress. Now is not the time to go in deeper, but to get out completely. The Congress must wrest authority from the CIA and Administration, and close down all direct or indirect American operations in Angola.

*We who fought the British only 200 years ago, and so recently learned the British lesson ourselves in Indochina, ought to realize we have nothing to fear from free people throwing off the yoke of dictatorship.* Not only are such policies ineffective, they are immoral and impossible to reconcile with democratic values. *We should also have sympathy with all people struggling for their political and economic independence, rather than thinking of the world strictly in "great power" terms.* This includes even the people of Puerto Rico, who not only are economically and racially exploited in our cities, but oppressed in their homeland by multinational corporations and U.S. military bases as well. We must take to heart the United Nations

subcommittee finding of Puerto Rico as a U. S. colony, and support the right of self-determination.

**That many new nations follow a socialist economic path should neither surprise nor upset the average American.** The only form of rapid economic development from conditions of backwardness is through public or common ownership of production. Foreign investment keeps backward countries dependent and exploited, and the native ruling classes of such countries generally are too small and corrupt to be a central force for development. Where the ruling elites have large amounts of wealth, as in the Persian Gulf and parts of Latin America, development may sometimes surge upward. But it finally leads to a widening gap between the elite and the vast majority of their people.

**Without basic revolutionary change in the under-developed world, our foreign aid will always be wasted on reactionary rulers or our own multinational corporations.** But with basic change, not only would aid finally get to the actual people who need it, but we would be able to trade on a mutually productive basis with more popular governments.

**To finally end the Cold War and open a new chapter of history we should extend appropriate diplomatic recognition and intensify economic and cultural contacts with the People's Republic of China, Cuba, North Korea, Albania, and most importantly, with the new governments of Indochina.**

Our government continues a negative policy towards Indochina, including a trade embargo and vetoing Vietnamese admission to the U.N. We should instead begin making human contact with the Vietnamese we kept *faceless* for so long. *We should help with the rebuilding of the countries our government bombarded for so long.* We might begin with cultural visits, as we did with the Chinese through "ping-pong diplomacy." In seeking to normalize relations we will make it easier to settle any remaining questions concerning our missing-in-action, and begin a new period of reconciliation and respect.

### A SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**I support the right of Israel to exist.** Few people have survived genocidal assault on the scale attempted against the Jews. In a world where small people's cultures and religions are facing absorption or destruction, Israel has a special symbolic importance.

**I believe America has a continuing obligation to help Israel exist in peace and dignity.** This obligation includes whatever level of military

assistance is necessary to deter or rebuff an attack from any quarter. This level of aid should not be used by the U.S. to manipulate or control Israel's policy.

**There also must be a new initiative for peace in the Middle East**, transcending passions and stereotypes, aimed at reaching a political settlement based on mutual recognition of the rights of both Israeli and Palestinian to live in dignity.

*U.S. policy is approaching bankruptcy. Strategies which originally protected Israel now threaten its isolation and even its existence.* New strategies only bow to the economic power of corrupt Arab oil owners, or define peace as a permanent state of military tension. Some American Jews voted for Nixon in 1972 against their more humane values because Nixon seemed to be more pro-Israel. But was he? Is the Middle East crisis better today, or is the crisis deeper? *Traditional formulas must be questioned.*

On the Israeli side, **the notion of avoiding treatment of the Palestinian issues as a political question must be reconsidered after October 1973.** In that war, the Arabs showed greater strength than ever before, and Israel's human losses were the equivalent of 100,000 American dead. Continued avoidance of the political aspect of the Palestinian question can only lead to another war, one that will surely bring even greater human, social and economic damage to all parties, including Israel.

On the Palestinian Arab side, **the notion of replacing Israel with a "secular democratic state" must be rejected as well.** Israel has a right to exist. It will fight to exist, perhaps even to the level of atomic weapons. The idea of a "secular democratic state" will always be opposed by the people of Israel. The Palestinian side must accept this reality and thus, the reality of Israel.

If these notions are changed, a political settlement can be envisioned. But before negotiations can begin, other deeply held diplomatic notions will have to be modified.

**The Palestinians will have to make clear their acceptance of the State of Israel**, and be willing to accept outside guarantees, including U.S. military aid, of that sovereign right to exist.

**Israel will have to accept the Palestinian question as a political one**, rather than simply one of refugees deliberately manipulated by Arab governments to keep a state of war alive. After the 1974 Rabat Conference when all Arab governments recognized the PLO's "legitimate rights," the Israeli hope of Jordan absorbing the Palestinians all but disappeared.

*It is terribly difficult for many to imagine even diplomatic contact with the PLO, elements of which*

*have committed unjustifiable acts of terror against innocent people. It must be intolerable as well for many Palestinians to imagine contact with Israelis who have bombed their camps.*

But the alternative over the next twenty years is also difficult to imagine. How long will the Middle East arms race remain *stable* before it explodes in war again? How will a lengthened military stalemate ever turn towards reconciliation and peace? How many will die, at what economic cost, with what prospect of gaining a settlement later?

**Negotiations are not negotiations unless they are between adversaries**, between people who have hated each other enough to kill. Negotiations are not love-matches, not alliances. Negotiations do not require enemies to become friends. *They require that enemies decide to co-exist and resolve differences by peaceful means.* Above all, they require that all parties recognize the futility of achieving their original goals by armed attack. This necessary futility must be reflected in an even balance of forces, including outside forces; hence, the need for a *certain level of continued U.S. aid to Israel.*

Thus, the answer to the question of "negotiating with the PLO" has to be along the lines proposed by Abba Eban: "... we will have dialogue with **any Palestinian representation** that accepts Israel's status as axiomatic, that accepts resolutions 242 and 338, which talks about Palestine in addition to Israel, and not about Palestine instead of Israel. **Anybody who takes that policy we should be ready to talk with.**"

American Jews are going through the greatest turmoil over the Middle East in a generation. In this process, political leaders must listen and empathize, while also encouraging new steps and directions.

**Political leaders must never descend to the level of "politician" in the presence of controversy**, leaning on easy cliches and traditional passions. Israel does not need superficial American politicians who give only pro-forma statements of support as long as opinion polls make it comfortable for them to do so. History shows how quickly such "support" can disappear in times of adversity.

The effort to be **with** people and at the same time question traditional assumptions is the task in the years ahead. *Israel needs American friends who are actively engaged in the search for peace*, who make their principles clearly known, and who will not abandon principles supporting Israel's existence no matter how tough it gets in the years to come.

The outcome of such an honest, principled

relationship might be peace. The alternative is a steady descent to tragedy.

### **BUILDING A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER**

**The role of U.S. multinational corporations creates a potential new unity between the American people and the people of underdeveloped countries.** On the one hand, Americans benefit less and less from the overseas flight of these companies. On the other hand, the growth of strong sovereign power in the developing world would dry up many of the narrow profit incentives which attract the multinationals away from the U.S. If South Korea, for example, was an independent and sovereign land instead of a dependent market and cheap labor source for U.S. and Japanese corporations, Motorola would be less likely to export its operations there. The result would be more jobs at home and more freedom in South Korea.

**For this reason, the U. S. Congress should support the U. N. in its current intensive study of the impact of multinational corporations.** The United Nations is considering information sharing, joint bargaining, common tax and pricing strategies and other means to protect members' resources from the invasion of the multinational. We in turn should carefully consider supporting such measures.

Congress should also sympathetically consider the proposals of the developing countries at the United Nations for a "*new international economic order*." Economic and technical aid should be channeled through regional "development authorities." A new international currency, independent of the dollar, the yen or the mark, would be issued by an institution like the International Monetary Fund. A fixed relationship should be set between the price of raw materials and manufactured goods to protect the underdeveloped countries from ruinous inflation. Environmental and population control can also be developed in the context of re-ordered economic priorities.

Finally, all the imagination and skill of America should be given to searching for new answers—like solar energy and ocean farming—to the world energy and hunger problems, instead of exploiting these problems by using oil or food as "weapons." *We should be looking for new ways to improve productivity, heal the sick, and feed the hungry on a global basis.*

In summary, **changes in power relationships between the haves and have-nots are the most important factors in economic development. Foreign aid is nearly useless if it is not used by regimes truly trying to help the majority of their population.** Efforts to prop up military juntas lead only to worse

situations later. *If we divorce ourselves from the narrow interests of American generals, businessmen and the CIA, there is nothing a vast majority of Americans have to fear from a revolutionary development.* For example, we spent twice as much on the Vietnam War as we did on all foreign aid programs to the rest of the world combined since 1945. What if we instead had recognized Ho Chi Minh's new government in September 1945, traded our manufactured goods for their rice and coal and given a modest amount of economic-technical aid? Vietnam would be a better society today, and we would have saved 50,000 American lives, \$200 billion American dollars, and a generation of false priorities. Those today who prefer continuing the old ways, because the alternatives are less "popular", ought to ponder the Vietnam experience and ask whether we can afford such disasters ever again. **We need the courage in government to abandon forever the policies which led us into Vietnam. We owe it to our dead and to our children.**

### **ENCOURAGING PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION**

**We cannot move to a new foreign policy without a new assessment of Soviet intentions.** For thirty years the Soviet Union has loomed in the American imagination as the foreign threat which required high levels of military spending, the CIA and conventional forces abroad, witch hunts and enemy lists at home. Even since detente, this image has been invoked in response to the Soviet presence in the Middle East, Africa, West Europe, Indochina.

**There are legitimate grounds to criticize and worry about the Soviet Union.** Its state is dominated by a fossilized bureaucracy. Its citizens lack fundamental liberties, particularly of assembly and speech. It holds a grand vision of itself as the "center" of communist and revolutionary movements, leading to direct intervention in Czechoslovakia and a paternal heavy-handedness towards smaller socialist countries or movements. Its role as the industrial-scientific center of the socialist countries also creates a "division of labor" working against the economic independence of its allies. Its KGB is active at home and abroad; its navy sails the seven seas.

**But such criticisms in no way justify our current level of military spending.** The Soviet Union's negative qualities have been systematically exaggerated to justify every item of the Pentagon budget, and to postpone for a generation dealing with urgent domestic priorities.

Looked at without the sunglasses of the Pentagon, *the Soviet Union is far less a "threat" to*

*American well-being than it seems.* It is largely a status quo power, concerned with overcoming its vast internal problems. It has experienced two world wars as a plague on socialist construction—30 million Russians died in World War II alone—and is profoundly concerned with avoiding another. Its aid to revolutionary movements has been limited mostly to weapons, supplies and technicians. Its people see its military intervention in Eastern Europe as a defensive pre-occupation with borders, arising out of a history of invasions, and have shown little taste for direct military intervention elsewhere. *Russian soldiers have seen little real action, while American soldiers have suffered one million casualties in Korea and Indochina.*

Within the Soviet Union there are currents in favor of peace, reduced military spending and domestic priorities; these currents are strengthened by similar currents in the U. S., and are weakened to the extent that hawks prevail in Washington.

These facts all argue for a stronger American detente policy with a far greater emphasis on cutting back the arms race. Even if skeptics here doubt the intentions of the Soviets, *it still remains true that exaggeration of the Soviet threat has caused wholly unnecessary levels of military spending.*

**No Soviet threat can justify 100,000 U. S. troops still in Asia and ten American divisions in Western Europe** (at a \$14 billion cost, according to Senator Proxmire). Nor can it justify a B-1 bomber at a projected cost of anywhere from \$25 to \$50 billion, counting support costs, nor most of the other expensive weapons the Pentagon wants to saddle us with through the 1980's.

**Not only are these armaments unnecessary to a new foreign policy, they are irrational even in their own terms.** We have an overkill capacity sufficient to blow up the Soviet Union many times over. The Pentagon's definition of effective "deterrence" is the ability to destroy 25 percent of the Soviet population (50 million killed) and 50 percent of its industry. We now have enough protected nuclear weapons to destroy that percentage of Soviet society at least 20 times over, and 36 times by some estimates.

#### **A NEW APPROACH**

If we are "falling behind the Russians" in weaponry while their economy is less productive than ours, then the Pentagon must be guilty of malfeasance in management. (By Senator Proxmire's figures, for example, the new U. S. F-14 will cost as much as \$20 million per plane while the roughly comparable MIG-23 costs little more than \$1 million in U. S. dollars.)

- We should not deal with the Soviet Union by

**supporting the Thieus, Batistas, Pinochets and Francos of the world. We should lead the industrialized countries in genuine respect for human rights and economic assistance.** Detente should not mean a mutual stabilization of arms spending by the Pentagon and Kremlin. We should insist on the goal of **arms reduction** and challenge the Soviets to follow our example.

- **We should remove at least one-half our troops from Western Europe,** beginning immediately, with more reductions planned in the years ahead. Our European friends should pay more for their own defense instead of having us pay for it while they invest their savings in their own economies. The savings, direct and indirect, would be over **\$10 billion** per year.

- **We should reduce our "nuclear overkill" capacity.** According to Senator Proxmire, "we could save \$4 billion a year and still have enough weapons to blow up the world many times over." Isn't that more than enough?

- **We should stop fueling the arms race before we become the new "merchants of death."** Congress should have the power to control all foreign arms shipments, instead of the President. These programs which soared to \$12.4 billion in 1975-76, should be sharply reduced.

What have we done to move toward the 1961 U.S.-Soviet goal of the "speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament"? Can anyone except perhaps the officials of the Pentagon and Lockheed deny that we can do more?

**Congress should form a special committee to hold public hearings on disarmament, investigate and press for every conceivable U. S. unilateral initiative which can be safely taken, and press for a United Nations debate.** A phased disarmament proposal should be developed in great detail, along with the security and confidence-building measures inevitably required. There must be a revival of this kind of thinking before the nuclear arms race becomes further institutionalized under rhetoric of detente.

Most liberal Democrats, including many who opposed the Vietnam War in later years, *failed to advocate such new departures in the wake of the Indochina War and the beginning of detente.* Instead of taking the opportunity for a reassessment, *they defended the B-1 bomber for "strategic" reasons, hiked the military budget, and offered no alternative to the Administration rhetoric about "Soviet advances."* They chose power politics and images of strength as if to serve notice on the Soviet Union that we were not "weaker" after Vietnam. No such lesson is going to

be believed in the Soviet Union or anywhere else; on the contrary, such a lesson only suggests we are following the same foolish premises that locked us into Cold War intervention in the first place.

**The next California Senator has to stand up against these bankrupt Cold War doctrines and the massive military-industrial interests which continue, like a mindless machine, to perpetuate them.**

### **DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY DECISION—MAKING**

**Above every other consideration, foreign policy must be democratic.** It must not be decided in secrecy by Executive bureaucracies, then carried out with our dollars, our lives, our reputation. It must be carried out with public participation and consent, at the very least with open Congressional hearings.

Congress began to exert its potential power over foreign policy in the final years of the Indochina conflict. *Now it must go further. Congress must end the dominance of the generation of permanent corporate bureaucrats who brought American foreign policy to bankruptcy.* Richard Barnet has found that of the 91 men who directed the State and Defense Departments, the armed services, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the CIA, from 1950 to 1967, 70 were "from the ranks of big business and high finance." During the same two decades, he found that only 399 men (and one woman) occupied our key national security jobs. Their influence is maintained through such elite clubs as the Foreign Policy Association financed by the Rockefellerers.

**This narrow caste must be thrown out and replaced with a new generation of appointed officials,** including persons who opposed the Vietnam War, from all backgrounds in American life, who will be directly responsible to the elected government. Why not a Ralph Nader as Secretary of Defense?

**New standards of personal accountability should be drawn in Congress for government officials,** swearing them against engaging in unnecessary secrecy and aggressive war. A step in this direction is HR 8388, drafted by Rep. Robert Kastenmeier.

**Congress must organize itself for maximum public participation in debate over foreign policy.** The "classification" system must be overhauled in keeping with the principle of the *public's right to know*. Decisions should be made in open hearings, not in closed-door dealings between a Congressional hierarchy and its counterparts in the Executive Branch.

### **REPLACING THE CIA WITH A REAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**

**The first priority in making our foreign policy democratic is to stop the CIA from continuing its present covert activities.** The CIA has become the nation's chief foreign policy instrument, used by Presidents to circumvent the will of Congress and the American people in every corner of the globe. **We cannot even begin to speak of a democratic foreign policy until the President no longer has such an instrument.**

**We cannot have a secret government, secret police, and secret foreign policies in a democracy.** *The CIA is more of a threat to our democratic way of life than a defender of it.* For 28 years it has been conditioned to think of itself as outside the law. It has spied on more Americans, from Presidents to protestors, than any known foreign intelligence agency. While representing "law and order" it engaged in "Operation Chaos" to subvert the constitutional rights of our peace and civil rights movements. Worse, it has participated in assassination plots against foreign leaders, and directed mass repression and assassination programs such as "Operation Phoenix" in South Vietnam.

It would be naive to have confidence that those remaining in the CIA can be "reformed" into supporting an open, democratic, post-Watergate atmosphere. Even as they are exposed for past illegalities in Africa they are discovered anew in Angola.

**The CIA must be abolished. It is time to start over.**

*The root cause of the corruption of the CIA has been the Cold War foreign policy of the United States.* More than two-thirds of the funds allocated for CIA personnel and operations have been used for "covert operations", political and military actions rather than the collection of intelligence. These secret operations were aimed mainly at propping up right-wing dictatorships (Batista's Cuba, Thieu's South Vietnam), or overthrowing progressive nationalist governments (Iran, Guatemala). Besides aligning the United States with dictatorships throughout the world, this doctrine corrupted the intelligence gathering process.

**The "intelligence" arm of the CIA has not been objective.** It is committed to a conspiratorial concept of reality. It is committed to covert military action in defense of this world view. Such commitments distort the agency's ability to see the world as it is. The CIA's intelligence arm becomes an "advocate" which bends facts to pre-existing assumptions. This explains its failure to forecast the 1968 Tet Offensive in Vietnam, where it was

committed to under-estimating NLF strength to give optimistic reports to Congress.

### **ESTABLISHING CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL**

**Congress must select a Special Prosecutor to deal with the acts of the CIA which were crimes when committed.** The Rockefeller Report lists numerous wiretaps, break-ins, infiltration and spying on domestic organizations. In addition, the Church Committee has turned up new evidence of conspiracy, perjury, and other crimes. It is outrageous to turn these issues over to the Justice Department without the supervision of a Special Prosecutor appointed by Congress, since the Justice Department shielded the CIA from domestic prosecution for 28 years.

**Congress must charter all intelligence agencies with clear responsibilities to the public and clearly prohibit covert action at home and abroad.**

**Congress must overhaul its oversight function** to include greater watch-dog powers, open hearings, and public records.

**To guarantee that the preceding actions do not result in meaningless reform, the Congress should replace the CIA with a new agency.** This agency's founding statute, annual budget, personnel functions, and methods of operation should be strictly limited to intelligence gathering. The new agency should have strict Congressional control built into it, entirely divorced from the Pentagon.

We need intelligence on the weapons possessed by other countries. We need to know where conflicts may break out which will radically change the international balance of power. We need to know the most cost-effective, least wasteful means of national defense. We need intelligence where we have commitments, as in the Middle East. We need this information without any contamination from those with vested interests. **Members of Congress must have truly independent information or they will be at the mercy of the "military intelligence" analysts seeking to bloat the Pentagon's budget**

## **Crime in the Streets and Suites**

"Whatever the apparent cause of any riots may be, the real one is always want of happiness. It shows that something is wrong in the system of government that injures the felicity by which society is to be preserved."

—Tom Paine, 1792

**The approximately six billion dollars spent annually on law enforcement, which results in over**

**nine billion arrests each year and the jailing or supervision of approximately 1.3 million offenders on any given day in America's prisons, has not lessened the growth of crime in the United States.** What is needed are measures, many of which are outlined in other parts of my program, dealing with the root causes of crime. At the same time there must be developed a creative response to the interim problems faced by the society, while economic and social injustice is ended.

Of the seven basic crimes which make up the Index Crimes in the United States, almost all, as Ramsey Clark noted, have as their main purpose "*to obtain money or property.*" Seven-eighths of these crimes are crimes against property, and *only one-eighth are crimes against a person*, with many of those being committed in the process of obtaining property. (Half of all crimes are committed by persons under 21, where the unemployment rates are highest, particularly in the minority community.)

**Thus the so-called "crime problem"--centered as it is on getting property--cannot be divorced from the economic and social problems addressed by this campaign.**

Even the crimes of violence are derived from the same economic and social ills. Studies indicate that up to 85 percent of all murders occur within families or amongst acquaintances. Two-thirds of all aggravated assaults occur within a family or among neighbors and friends. Even rape is committed more often than not by a person known to the victim (approximately 70 percent). *Thus, even the crimes not directly associated with property and considered crimes of violence occur in reaction to the disintegration of the family and neighborhood, a phenomenon resulting from the social and economic conditions imposed on the people of this country.*

However, **the problem of crime today is very real**, and it must be addressed even while an attack is launched against its root causes. A number of new and creative programs should be undertaken while existing law enforcement practices are either changed or, in some cases, abolished. A new approach to crimes in America should include:

**1. The restoration of public confidence in the American principle of equal justice before the law by holding the rich as well as the poor accountable for crimes.**

While crime in the streets receives the major focus of public attention, crime in the suites runs largely unchecked, draining this country's wealth and resources through schemes of tax evasion, price fixing, embezzlement, swindling and consumer fraud. As one former attorney general pointed out:

“one corporate price-fixing conspiracy criminally converted more money each year it continued than all of the hundreds of thousands of burglaries, larcenies, or thefts in the entire nation during those same years.”

*Each year bank embezzlements by white collar criminals cost this country ten times more than bank robberies.* As one California judge recently remarked, “the law must be collar-blind as well as color-blind.”

**Congressional hearings should be opened immediately** to probe and publicize the extent of criminal behavior in the business community and its unholy alliance, in many instances, with organized crime and government. Federal prosecutions should be initiated, where appropriate. *The same U. S. Attorneys' offices around the country which were mobilized to handle thousands of prosecutions for draft resistance in the 60's should now turn their attention to the more pressing problems posed by white collar crime.*

**Congress should strengthen the penalties for corporate bribery and other illegal means of influencing the political process.** The penalties in the cases of “laundered” contributions have been simply too small to deter such crime in the future. The penalties should include the “impeachment” of corporate executives to prevent their return to the offices they abused.

If these kinds of steps are taken, without respect for status or privilege, it will be much easier to deal with the more familiar “crime in the streets.” **If the law is repressive and one-sided, a message of lawlessness, a culture of rip-offs, is bound to spread through the whole society.**

**2. The termination of prosecutorial immunity held by various public officials, who for over 25 years have conducted a systematic campaign of crimes and harassment against progressive segments of the American population. Reparations should be paid to victims of governmental crime.**

Official or governmental crime is another blight eating away at the principle of equal justice before the law. Every day come new disclosures of crimes, violations of civil rights, abuses of office, and harassment of innocent citizens by holders of public office. *We should not rest content with the showcase trials surrounding Watergate.* All who hold public office must be put on notice that they are paid to serve, not tyrannize, the public.

Charles Colson, Nixon's former counsel, pled guilty to a violation of the Civil Rights Act for sending a single article to a Detroit newspaper in an attempt to disparage Daniel Ellsberg. He promptly received a jail sentence. What of the scores of FBI agents involved in the notorious COINTELPRO

program and the CIA operatives who executed the CHAOS program against activists? Not a single indictment has been forthcoming, and the Attorney General and Directors of the FBI and CIA even move to defend and justify these actions.

**What is immediately needed is the appointment of a Special Prosecutor's Office whose sole function would be the investigation of offenses carried out from the sanctity of public office.**

Until the sanctions of the criminal law are made to apply *equally to all*, no claim can be made by the government for public respect and confidence. As pointed out by Justice Brandeis approximately 50 years ago: “Our Government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the Government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy.”

**3. The reallocation of resources by law enforcement agencies to deal with the real problems of crime, as opposed to their present use for the containment of various social and political forces.**

Approximately 500,000 state and local law enforcement personnel, together with approximately 25,000 federal officers in the FBI and other investigative agencies, are charged with the primary responsibility of enforcing our criminal laws. Their annual funding now exceeds \$6 billion, with the Federal Government investing an additional \$1.25 billion through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). *These resources, however, have not been uniformly directed against the real problems of crime prevention, but have been wasted on fanciful programs designed to contain whole segments of the population who are not criminal but are engaged in political activity.* Thus, the FBI in one office utilized 40 percent of its personnel in controlling the activities of antiwar activists, 14 percent against draft resisters, and only one percent against organized crime. Recent disclosures indicate that the Los Angeles Police Department assigns twice the number of personnel to “intelligence” as it does to investigation of burglaries. The paranoid and myopic view of the community shared by some law enforcement officials has led to the development of programs designed to cope with forthcoming food riots, potential criminal activity by blacks through the maintenance of records known as the “Alpha File” on school children, and the attempted construction of an electronic fence between California and Mexico to detect incoming migrants.

Police should concentrate their efforts on murder, rape, armed robbery, organized crime, and

consumer fraud. *They have no right and no reason to become a political police force pursuing dissenters or those whose lifestyles they oppose.*

By prohibiting the expenditure of resources for so-called "political intelligence" and "national security" investigations, not only will law enforcement be curtailed in its unconstitutional operations, but a substantial amount of our limited resources in this area will return to the traditional role of police activity. **I would propose a blanket ban on the use of federal funds for political intelligence and related operations of law enforcement personnel in all federal and local departments.**

**In addition, the LEAA funding must be subjected to close Congressional scrutiny and control.** President Ford now seeks \$7 billion for the coming five years to operate this program. In the past it has been a police pork barrel and has funded the purchase of computers and hardware, machine guns, tanks, drone aircraft and infrared spy equipment. *In short, the Federal Government has encouraged programs of community control by local and state police departments as opposed to crime prevention.* Congressman Rodino seeks to add a statutory requirement that 20 percent of these funds be used for the criminal justice system, as opposed to police departments. This does not go far enough. I would propose a sweeping revision of all LEAA programs with the intention of focusing its resources on the development of creative alternative to the criminal justice system, such as community courts or rape crisis centers.

Since 1968 the federal government has granted over \$5 billion to state and local police through LEAA. In the coming five years an additional \$7 billion will be allocated. *We have come a long way toward developing a national standing army out of our police departments, equipped with the implements of war and motivated by a SWAT mentality.* The coming few years will be crucial in saving this country from a possible network of control, now only in the initial stages of development. *Nothing short of our basic liberties are at stake.*

**4. The end of the alienating process by which the criminal justice system, through the judicial, prosecutorial and public defender bureaucracies, attempts to deal with the accused "downtown."**

The present criminal justice system needs institutional reform. Bringing the accused to an intimidating downtown courtroom where an alienating process is continued and heightened has been counterproductive. The courts, the prosecutors, the public defenders, as well as the public, are disillusioned and frustrated by the

current operation of that system. No public interests are served; the evils sought to be corrected are intensified.

**We need to return the problem-solving process to the community.** All crimes involve socially related problems beyond the victim and the offender. Each case raises questions dealing with unanswered problems in the neighborhood and community. To take those cases downtown not only alienates the accused but divorces the community from the underlying problems and renders it powerless to protect itself.

It is for this reason that I propose utilizing federal funds to establish community courts. These courts will be set up in neighborhoods and staffed and run by the community itself. Each case will involve not only a trial but a discussion whereby the real problems are addressed and dealt with.

Legal scholars and observers of the criminal justice system have already called for these reforms. The new process has been best summarized by Dean Dorothy Nelson of the University of Southern California Law Center: "Instead of social distance between judge and disputant, there would be an emphasis on the bond between responsible members of the same community. Rather than having narrow rules of evidence, the neighborhood center would encourage wide discussion so that all tensions and viewpoints relevant to the issues of a case could be discussed. Instead of trying to assess blame retrospectively, the emphasis would be on resolving problems by consensus. Rather than a courtroom studded with symbols of power, which tend to intimidate and inhibit participants, proceedings would take place in familiar neighborhood surroundings."

**In short, we need to consider a radically different approach to crime.** The "law and order" notion of vengeance on the law-breaker has failed, but so has the more liberal notion of not dealing with crime except as a by-product of poverty and racism. We must find a new way to deal with crime on the spot while also addressing its root causes. *Community-based programs might help us begin to think of aiding the victim of crime, and involving the criminal in the process as much as possible.* Now enormous resources are devoted to capturing and putting the criminal away, and little is done to compensate the victim.

One step to consider might be the creation of a *theft insurance company*, operated by the state similar to workmen's compensation. This body could compensate the victim and have the power to recover the cost from law breakers by finding them a job and taking part of the wage as an alternative to jail.

**5. The end of repressive programs and practices of law enforcement which have as their objective, not the alleviation of crime or the furtherance of justice, but control over the community and the deterrence of protest and dissent.**

The following laws, programs and practices of the criminal justice system should be modified, abolished or rejected in favor of a more just and humane approach to crime:

- **The Criminal Justice Reform Bill, known as Senate Bill 1, which would legislate Richard Nixon and John Mitchell's repressive philosophy into a permanent legal structure, must be rejected.** However, much needed overhauling of our federal criminal codes should proceed. Such a review could begin with the recommendations made by the Bipartisan National Committee on the Reform of Criminal Law which was chaired by former California Governor Edmund Brown, Sr.

- **The undemocratic grand jury system should be thoroughly reformed.** The system now is a rubber stamp for prosecutors, no longer the shield against government power it was originally intended to be. In recent years the Justice Department has used "special" grand juries with new power to intimidate witnesses into giving information. *The system has become a closed affair* where witnesses lack lawyers and transcripts, and can be jailed for non-compliance for up to 18 months without a jury trial. In the words of California Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk, "In its raw state, the proceeding raises the specter of the Star Chamber: the prosecution is able to 'dry run' its case in secrecy, and the jurors are able to do little more than rubber stamp the recommendation of the district attorney."

Key hearings on grand jury reform will be held before Congress in 1976. Important reforms which should be passed include: *the witnesses' right to counsel in chamber, access to transcripts, prohibition of "use" immunity and other techniques to force testimony or jail witnesses, and finally, limits on contempt sentences to under six months.*

- **All FBI, CIA, IRS, and other investigative agencies should be prohibited by law from engaging in "counter-intelligence" and other essentially political investigations against American citizens.** Congress should unequivocally go on record not just through the passage of amendments to appropriations laws, but the enactment of a new crime and administration code barring further intrusion into the private and political lives of law-abiding Americans. Additionally, *past victims should be compensated* for harm and injury already sustained at the hands of governmental agencies.

- **The conditions of confinement in penal institutions must be thoroughly reviewed with the**

**goal of ending the inhumane incarceration of offenders in favor of more creative programs designed to rehabilitate and restore people to the community.** Too many people are in prison who are no danger to persons or property, but are learning how to be better criminals, or being explosively frustrated by arbitrary conditions. *Prisoners should have their human rights respected.* Additionally, there must be an absolute ban on forced psychiatric and medical experimentation on inmates in penal and psychiatric institutions.

- **Crimes without victims should be reviewed and decriminalized.** Harassment against individuals on grounds of "sexual preference" should be ended by legislation. Use of marijuana and all drugs, should be discouraged but not by police harassment and criminal sanctions which have been deeply counter-productive.

- **Police departments must be democratically re-organized to create greater public confidence in law enforcement.** Departments which antagonize whole communities, are dominated by one ethnic group, fail to discipline their own ranks and allow the growth of corruption, are departments which few citizens will fully trust. *Fundamental reform mandating community input into policy and services is needed.*

- **"Gun Control" efforts must address the basic causes of crime and violence.** The California initiative to ban private handgun ownership is to be encouraged in spirit but carefully questioned as to result. A "ban" on handguns would lead to a greater black market in these deadly weapons. Proposals to ban them on the streets, to cite another example, ignore the fact that most shootings occur at home. Confiscation proposals are impractical without police occupation of communities. Mandatory penalties for crimes involving handguns ignore evidence that even capital punishment has little effect in reducing violence. Until we grapple with the sources of violence in America, sources so deep that even our little children learn to hold a gun with their fingers before they can hold a conversation, gun control will remain an impossible dream.

- **The assassination investigations of the past decade must be reopened.** The most recent polls indicate that 45 percent of all Americans believe not only that conspiracies were involved in the killings of the Kennedys and Dr. King, and in the shooting of George Wallace, but that these conspiracies were related. Until these doubts are resolved no leadership can make a serious claim to legitimacy. The crates of evidence relating to the John Kennedy assassination locked up in the U.S. Archives, the ten

classified volumes on Robert Kennedy's killing and the other still secret data pertaining to the King assassination and the Wallace attempt must be reopened to careful scrutiny and analysis.

Congress should create a *special investigative unit* to re-examine the evidence, with broad subpoena powers and full authorization to examine still-classified materials held by the CIA and FBI. Before completion, its report should be circulated and subjected to a careful critique by those who have come forward in the past to raise the questions that now plague America. Only after the completion of that dialogue should the final report be issued answering all questions that have been raised.

The special unit's work, however, should go beyond re-examination of these four cases. **Still unanswered are questions surrounding the killings of Malcolm X, George Jackson, Fred Hampton, Whitney Young and others.**

Recent revelations that official agencies of government such as the CIA were seriously considering the use of assassinations abroad, while the FBI was fomenting violence at home, requires that the suspicions surrounding all these deaths of leaders hostile to this government be answered.

## Making Democracy Work Protecting the Right to Organize

"Full opportunity for full development is the unalienable right of all. He who denies it is a tyrant, he who does not demand it is a coward, he who is indifferent to it is a slave, he who does not desire it is dead. The earth for all the people!"

—Eugene Debs, 1904

The government must be forced to encourage the rights of people to organize and protect their interests. In American history, the most positive role the Federal Government has played has been when it was *made to protect the rights of disadvantaged people to organize*. During the Depression, Congress' passage of the Wagner Act enabled workers in major industries, after decades of struggle, to establish strong unions. During the Sixties, civil rights and voting rights legislation passed by Congress enabled Southern Blacks, after

generations of struggle, to organize effective grass-roots organizations, to register and vote with some protection against the terror of local officials. During the Sixties, the Community Action programs passed by Congress provided a framework for people in urban poverty areas to organize for direct participation in community development. Even though federal and local officials blocked effective participation of the poor, the political effectiveness of minority groups was in fact improved by the programs. *Here in California, the passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act is a similar positive act by government*, finally providing a legal framework for farmworkers to organize democratic unions and bargain collectively.

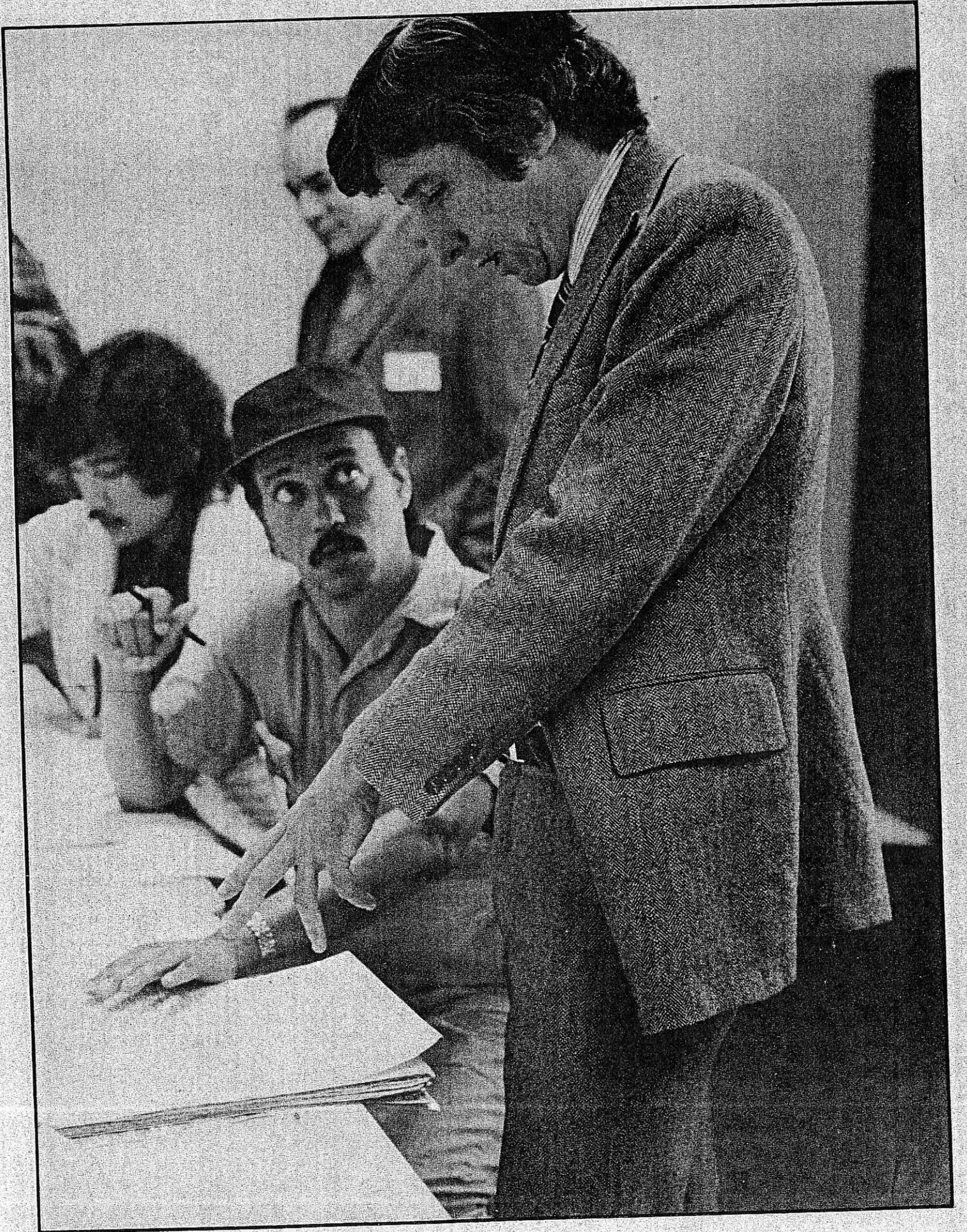
But the protection of law for the right of groups to organize and speak and defend their interests against entrenched economic and social power *remains woefully incomplete*. In a number of key areas of economic life people organize for struggle but are repeatedly blocked from achieving justice because such guarantees are lacking. And even in the area of labor relations and voting rights, where important victories have been won and new rights institutionalized, major gaps remain. Here are some important examples of how such rights need to be developed and extended.

### TENANTS

Despite a long history of efforts by tenants to organize to protect themselves against exorbitant rents, arbitrary landlord practices and poor services, tenants' rights are very limited. Insofar as people must obtain shelter by renting it from someone who is interested in profiting from real estate, and insofar as the supply of affordable housing is limited, people are at the mercy of power that is often—and often inevitably—mercenary.

**Tenants should have a legally protected right to organize unions, to establish collective contracts with landlords, to undertake rent strikes when contracts are violated, to insure the provision of adequate services without fear of reprisal, and to purchase their housing cooperatively if landlords want to sell.**

Where federal funds are used, Congress can empower communities to establish popularly-elected *neighborhood housing administrations*. Such boards could establish fair rental prices, adjudicate landlord-tenant grievances and encourage the formation of housing cooperatives. Congress could also establish a revolving credit fund to insure availability of capital for the purchase



or development of cooperative housing.

### CONSUMERS

Consumers of public utilities need rights to organize, including the right to criticize company policies, the right to respond to company promotional materials in billing mailings, the right of access to company subscriber mailing lists, the right to organize so that consumer-cooperative ownership of utilities can be attempted.

Consumer organizations, Ralph Nader, Congressman Toby Moffett and others are pushing for *Residential Utility Consumer Action Groups* (RUCAGs) as a start in the direction of these new rights. RUCAGs would be funded by a check-off, an opportunity on the utility bill to make a voluntary contribution. The utility would be obliged to pass these total contributions on to an organization governed by a consumer-elected Board. The RUCAG could hire full-time staff to represent consumer interests at utility commission hearings.

The RUCAG would challenge rate increases, unnecessary expenses such as advertising, wrongful inclusions in the *rate base* (the amount of equipment on which a rate of return is to be paid), mindless projections of growth, etc. *The law says the "rate of return" must be fair to both investor and consumer, but utility commissions are now thoroughly biased in favor of the utility companies.*

**Other concepts of consumer rights need to be developed.** Mechanisms for consumer representation on corporate boards could be found. Neighborhood price commissions could be empowered to investigate pricing practices of supermarkets, service practices of car and appliance repair shops, operations of loan companies and credit agencies. *Employee rights to "blow the whistle" on corporate practices that damage consumers without fear of reprisal should be protected.*

### CREATING GRASS ROOTS EXPERTISE

**Government should strengthen and expand the concept of providing professional services for grass-roots organizations.** In addition to public funding of legal services, similar grants should be available so community, worker and consumer groups can have access to planners, accountants, rate engineers, economists, architects—or any other consultants needed for effective protection of interests against those who can afford to hire these skills. *Government funded research with policy implications should include requirements for effective grass-roots dissemination of findings and for effective training of "paraprofessionals" in technical skills relevant to policy planning.*

### LABOR

**The purpose of labor laws should be to make it easy for workers to join unions if they choose, to engage in efficient collective bargaining procedures, to protect themselves from arbitrary company practices, and to strike if necessary for better conditions.**

Instead labor law remains full of holes and enforcement shortcomings which prevent effective organizing. *Less than one-quarter of American workers belong to unions.*

**The National Labor Relations Board should be reformed.** The Wagner Act of 1935 is not fulfilling its original purpose. The NLRB should be aggressively investigating and enforcing the law in cases of unfair labor practices, instead of just waiting to respond to individual union complaints. The Board should be protecting workers against being discharged for joining or organizing unions. Delay after delay granted for company appeals only subverts union elections and collective bargaining.

**The profit should be taken out of delays by employers.** When a union wins an election there should be a sanction levied against employers if they delay the case at any stage. Elections should be held within a seven day period after petitions are filed, as the Wagner Act originally provided, before the Taft-Hartley law allowed for delays. The NLRB should define an employer's delays, or refusals to grant a union shop clause, as presumptively bad-faith bargaining.

**Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Law should be abolished.** Repeal of this section would insure a national standard of collective bargaining under a union contract and would end the practice of industry moving to the "right-to-work" states.

**Public employees should have the right by law to form their own unions,** have an agency shop, engage in collective bargaining and, if necessary, go out on strike. These are rights which have belonged to workers in the private sector for years. Extending them to the public sector would encourage an orderly resolution of inevitable disputes.

**Firefighters and police also should have the right to form their own unions and engage in collective bargaining.** If an agreement cannot be reached in the collective bargaining process, the employer and employee should submit the dispute to binding arbitration. There must be federal and local legislation to insure these rights.

In addition to strengthening rights to unionize and bargain collectively, *new provisions for worker participation and control should be envisioned.* Workers should have control over job conditions that affect their health and safety. They should have guarantees of free speech, including the right to

publicly criticize company policies that damage the public interest. Workers and communities should have the right to participate in corporate decisions to close down or move local plant operations. Workers should have the right to decide if they want to have elected representation in management decision-making bodies and on corporate boards of directors.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

In addition to providing institutional frameworks for grass-roots organization, Federal power can be creative when it underwrites the civil rights of minorities. *When government legitimizes rights and creates legal machinery for their enforcement, it strengthens and gives focus to the attempts of minorities to organize in order to protect their interests and the achievement of justice.*

**All forms of discrimination have to be continually combatted.** The gains for which people demonstrated, suffered and died in the last 20 years must be preserved against backlash, strengthened and much improved. A U. S. Civil Rights Commission report catalogs the obstacles:

"Public schools are not yet desegregated; national origin groups are denied equal educational opportunity through failure of school officials to take their language needs into account; minorities are discriminated against in the provision of municipal services; the actions of local government officials perpetuate discrimination in housing and other areas; reapportionment schemes threaten to dilute the minority vote; minorities are prevented from the intelligent exercise of their right to vote through lack of assistance in a language they can understand; and entrance requirements for public employment disproportionately exclude minorities. Recent court cases also show discrimination of estates, education, voting and unemployment compensation."

**Senior citizens, the handicapped, and gay people also will be denied their equal opportunities until civil rights laws are rewritten to include them and enforced so that their rights are fully protected.**

## REFORMING THE POLITICAL PROCESS

- **Universal Voting Rights:** *There should be a universal voter registration system, using postcards to register people for federal elections.* Incentives for states and cities to use the postcard system should be included, as well as protections against fraud.

- **Census Undercounting:** *The methods of census-taking must be thoroughly reformed to prevent discriminatory undercounting.* The current system results in under-representation of minorities

in the drawing of political boundaries, and the loss of funds from social programs which are based on population counts. The U. S. Civil Rights Commission says 1.8 million blacks—or 7.7 percent of the black community—are not counted, and the uncounted numbers of Spanish-speaking citizens may be even higher.

- **Political Campaign Reform:** The power of corporate and special interests to pollute politics with money has been reduced by campaign reform laws at the national level and in California. *We have to build on these measures, correcting the built-in tendencies of such laws to protect the incumbent.*

**We must begin by recognizing that no reform can adequately deal with the power of wealth in a society of extreme gaps between classes.** Wealth determines the opportunity to *rise* into a political career, wealth creates its own multiplying connections, wealth creates its own legitimacy with opinion makers.

But there are many ways to strengthen the political potential of the less powerful elements of society. Among these are *partial public financing of candidates* for the House, Senate and perhaps other offices, if there are provisions to insure that a candidate has mass support (reflected, for instance, in a certain number of names on petitions). Right now, there's no hope that a shop steward or neighborhood leader could be elected to the Senate, not for lack of support, but solely because of a lack of funding.

*It is also important that expenditure limits on incumbents be reduced,* so that challengers can offset the many hidden subsidies that go with incumbency. The \$1.4 million *limit* on California Senate primaries all but eliminates effective challengers.

*Contribution limits are also vital.* Perhaps the \$1,000 maximum federal contribution is too low since challengers with new ideas often need a handful of affluent supporters. But the idea that unlimited money poured into referendums and candidacies is a "right of free speech" is a ludicrous blank-check for special interests. Contribution limits also have the value of forcing all candidates to broaden their base of popular support by looking for smaller contributors.

*An independent agency to enforce election laws is crucial,* especially one with its primary thrust being the investigation of complaints from challengers.

- **Unshielding the Bureaucrats/Civil Service Accountability:** The public should have greater ability to bring complaints and damage suits against civil servants for irresponsible actions. At present, civil servants are much too shielded by the doctrine



of "sovereign immunity" which protects them from direct accountability to the citizens they serve.

- **Community control of essential services:** There should be public representation on the boards of utilities. Neighborhood and citizen participation in welfare, service, economic development, and revenue sharing programs should be vastly strengthened and guaranteed.

- **The Right of Initiative and Recall—Citizens' Tools for Self-Government:** There should be national legislation promoting direct democracy through a process of initiative and recall. Instead of

depending solely on the decisions of elected representatives, citizens should be able to write their own statutes and vote them into law, as has happened with the coastal and election reform initiatives in California. In addition, by exercising the right of recall, citizens would have a way to cast an effective vote of "no confidence" in an elected official. **These rights should be guaranteed,** provided that a certain percentage of signatures are collected on petitions, and in the case of national elections, the signatures are collected in a certain number of states.

## REALIZING GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

**Grass-roots democracy and self-government depends fundamentally on the development of democratic ferment among the people themselves.** Beyond the proposals sketched here for self-organization and new rights, I can envision an exhilarating spread of initiative in which people increasingly feel confident enough to take responsibility for governing the institutions that affect them, in which the sullen mixture of submission and rage that is now so widespread would be replaced by relationships *based on cooperation, equality and openness.*

People should have a voice in and access to what is shown on TV; patients should have a voice in the operation of medical institutions; students at all levels should be able to participate in the governance of educational institutions; newsworkers should have a strong voice in the policies of newspapers and magazines they work for; inmates in mental hospitals and prisons should be able to participate in making the rules that govern them; clients in welfare bureaucracies, servicemen in the armed forces, and anyone else subject to bureaucratic control of their daily lives should be able to form unions; communities and neighborhoods should be able to check forms of outside intervention that threaten basic well being and identity.

In general, rights of participation, of dissent, of institutional due process, of access to records, of collective bargaining ought to be in a continual process of formulation, of recognition, of realization. **A government predicated on protecting democratic ferment would enable us to finally fulfill the real American dream; that of creating a nation composed of responsible individuals living in self-governing communities, operating responsive institutions.**

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## Civil Rights and Affirmative Action

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**The last decade has seen the rise of groups among our people whose legitimate rights and needs have been continuously violated and neglected.** As a result of their increasing organization, racial minorities and those discriminated against because of their sex, age, or physical handicaps, have gained some recognition for their grievances, and in a few cases have made gains in their fight for economic and political justice.

**Basic to their continuing problems is the economic stagnation our nation faces. As unemploy-**

*ment rises and there are fewer and fewer jobs, competition increases between black and white, men and women, young and old.* In these times of economic crisis, groups who have faced centuries of discrimination stand to lose even their token gains of the last ten years.

**Affirmative action in employment and education must go forward and be strengthened.** Enforcement problems will require direct minority and community involvement. Compliance must be maintained by cutting off federal funds, bringing lawsuits or closing down facilities.

*Formation of a National Employment Rights Board should be seriously considered,* with the authority to enforce a single federal statute which protects citizens from employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, and handicapped status. This single board would consolidate several agencies in the enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, amended to include age and handicapped status. Its focus should be on elimination of patterns of discrimination against large classes of people, instead of individual grievances. It should have the authority to initiate action without depending on individual complaints; to have cease-and-desist authority, including the power to order back pay or affirmative action with goals and timetables; to bring suit; to debar contractors or subcontractors, terminate grants, decertify labor unions, and revoke federal licenses, subject of course to appeals. The US Civil Rights Commission supports legislation along these lines.

**Affirmative action possibilities go backwards when the economy is in decline.** Workers with legitimate and hard-won claims to security should not lose their jobs. Nor should the cycle of "last-hired, first-fired" be allowed. Calls for work-sharing, or reduced work hours to keep everyone working, are only compromised resolutions of the problem. As long as the business cycle is permitted its ups and downs, the conflicts will worsen. *The only long-term solution is to put the problem in the context of planning for full employment.*

In addition to the problems faced by minorities in employment opportunities, they have been discriminated against by most institutions of our society. *To undo the damage of centuries we must look closely at every area in which their problems lie.* A special section of this program has been devoted to the needs of some of our most disadvantaged citizens: Native Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Women, Seniors, Gays, Disabled and Vets. If America is to keep faith with its original spirit, or recover it now, these groups must not be denied.

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# Equality and Justice

**O**ne thrust of this program is to describe an economic crisis which affects a new majority of people, not simply the age-old victims of discrimination and poverty. The opportunity now exists to unite a massive coalition in behalf of economic justice and democratic government.

But not everyone in the coalition feels the crisis in the same way. Many face some kind of discrimination in addition to the common economic problems they share with others. Hardship and the burden of sacrifice falls on some more than others, because of race, sex, age, class or handicaps. They have less to begin with, and face double and triple the obstacles of others.

**The established powers try to exploit these differences** to make different groups sink into competition instead of fighting together against an unjust situation. Or official strategies will include concessions to one group in order to prevent

the growing unity of all. In the movement to abolish slavery, for example, women were told to postpone their own feminist demands. In the populist movement, the question of racism was never resolved. Today established labor leaders often are pitted against women and minorities over questions of seniority and affirmative action. *With economic recession, such tensions will mount.*

**Therefore, a successful program for the future will have to exercise the utmost care in balancing the common interest of all with the specific interest of each.** Although many of the problems raised in the following pages are discussed more fully in other sections, our program would not be complete without special sections detailing the specific needs of women, minorities, seniors, labor and other groups so affected.

In the Bicentennial there is no more important place to begin than with the needs of the original citizens of this continent.

## Self-Determination for Native Americans

"They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land and they took it."

—Chief Red Cloud, Oglala Sioux

The trail of broken treaties has never ended for the native American peoples. The poverty and powerlessness of their lives, both on and off the reservations, stand as a constant reminder that they are still blatantly and paternally abused. Today Indian people are making valid demands for sovereignty, land, and respect.

They do not need a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) which wastes millions of dollars in its arbitrary rule over the reservations. Congress should convene a special group to abolish the BIA and replace it with genuine protection for the land base of the Tribes and meaningful guarantees for the health and welfare of Indian people.

This special group should commit the United States to observance of the *treaty rights of Indian people*, and in every way restore to them their legal rights to tribal self-government, independent of Washington-based bureaucracies. Where lands cannot be returned to their tribal owners, financial compensation must be made. *The rights of Indian people to participate in and celebrate their own cultures must be protected*, including the right to educate their children in their own languages.

## Chicano Community

(Excerpts from a pamphlet authored by the Los Angeles County Mexican American Committee for Tom Hayden for U.S. Senate.)

The Hayden Campaign pledges itself to the following minimum program for Chicanos:

- full effective civil rights for the Mexican American community;
- strengthening of community and neighborhood government;
- waging a continuous struggle to combat discrimination against Mexican Americans;
- fighting for economic justice for the Mexican American community;
- support of the United Farm Workers of America and the unionization of all Chicano workers;
- fighting against the Rodino bill, supporting

efforts to secure justice for the undocumented workers, and fighting to end mass deportations;

- equality and respect for the Spanish language and Mexican culture; education in Spanish and English in all areas of significant Spanish-speaking population; federal support for Chicano education programs, kindergarten through college; support for the arts;

- ending all discrimination in hiring, promoting and firing;

- fighting for the rights, benefits and respect of Chicano senior citizens.

**Not only does the country as a whole face serious problems, the Mexican American community in particular is going through hard times.** This is the largest minority in California and along with the native American, the oldest. *Mexican Americans are suffering severe unemployment and high taxes and prices.* Funding for many programs is being cut. Educational opportunity is bad, as well as health service. Mexican Americans still *do not have fair political representation.* Worse, there is scapegoating against the community and cruel deportation drives. *In all areas of life and culture Mexican Americans are discriminated against.*

**It's time for a change.** Change can come about by building up citizen organization, by forming community alliances, by people working together. Let's talk about important issues that affect our everyday lives and Tom Hayden's ideas on the issues important to us in the Mexican American community.

### FULL AND DECENT EMPLOYMENT

**Depression level unemployment is already stalking the Mexican-American community, and is worsening every day.** Welfare and unemployment programs are inadequate, and the "war on poverty" ended in retreat to the status quo.

**The Hayden campaign supports the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act,** sponsored by Cong. Augustus Hawkins, which would guarantee work to every citizen. This bill is the first step towards an economy planned for full employment. Every person should have the guaranteed right to a decent job, by law.

### SECURITY AND OPPORTUNITY ON THE JOB

For the lucky ones that have jobs we should make sure they receive a decent income, a minimum wage. *People with jobs should not be discriminated against because of age, sex, race or nationality.* Union rights should be protected and extended. Workers also have a right to be promoted according to their skill and not be discriminated against in a promotion. Meaningless require-

ments for jobs should not be allowed. We need legislation in all these areas.

### AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

*While seeking to create a full employment economy with opportunities for all, there should be no delay in affirmative action programs in education and employment.*

- **Educational opportunities must be increased.**

The University of California system today has a very low Chicano enrollment, and the number of students in EOP programs is down by one-half from the 1974 total. Chicano faculty and staff in colleges and universities must be increased as well.

- **Job opportunities for women must be opened.** Mexican American women are trapped in dead-end occupational positions where they are exploited as women and as workers. Chicanos and Chicanas in the food processing industry are continually forced to do the heaviest work, the most backbreaking jobs, under the rule of agribusiness giants like Del Monte. Women garment workers are underpaid and suffer poor job conditions.

- **The State Personnel Board must be restructured to include greater numbers of Spanish-speaking people.** Mexican Americans in all sectors still face needless obstacles to employment such as irrelevant requirements for job positions, i.e., high school diplomas for factory jobs.

**The problem with affirmative action is lack of enforcement mechanisms.** Agencies such as the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, with over 300 high salaried attorneys, are making token progress at best, and there must be more direct Mexican American participation. Another answer may be to establish *community-based and staffed complicity agencies with jurisdiction over all educational institutions and corporate employers.* These agencies, funded by such departments as HEW and Labor, would have the power to act against non-compliance by cutting off federal funds, bringing law-suits, or "close-downs."

Thousands of qualified Mexican Americans have been excluded from civil service jobs in federal, state, city and local agencies because of discrimination. *For example, although the Spanish-speaking comprise over 6% of the population in the United States, they hold only 3.2% of the 2,700,000 federal jobs and many Mexican Americans who have been able to enter the civil service system have been blocked from the top jobs.*

Few positions are held by Spanish speaking people in the 7,000 federal super-grades. The picture is not much better in the 12 million state and local government jobs.

There are substantial numbers of Mexican Americans qualified and willing to enter government service and enjoy the benefits received by millions of other Americans.

### COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND LAND

*Who gets money and who decides where the money goes? In part it is a question of credit.*

**A serious capital shortage for Mexican Americans exists in the public sector.** The Small Business Administration and government contracts should be used to stimulate a capital flow to small businessmen and co-ops. Out of \$120 billion in federal, state and local contracts in 1974 alone, only .07 percent went to minority businessmen. These forms of discrimination and economic denial must be stopped.

**Over one million Los Angeles citizens, mainly Chicanos and Blacks, live in neighborhoods that are "redlined,"** that is, written off as bad lending risks by the savings and loan and banking institutions. Federal legislation must end this economic strangulation. *Federal, state and city funds now placed in financial institutions should be used as leverage to change redlining practices.* Charters should be reviewed and made to include anti-redlining requirements. Lending institutions should be allowed to tap a percentage of the funds now deposited in the federal reserve system if they agree to make "public interest" investments in housing and small businesses in capital-starved areas. The location of loans by neighborhoods should be made a matter of public disclosure to citizens who deposit their savings in banks and other institutions. Now money deposited in East Los Angeles finds its way into housing mortgages in Palos Verdes and Beverly Hills. *We must break the control banking and lending institutions have over the economy.*

In the rural areas, government aid loans are equally necessary for agricultural cooperatives like those functioning in parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Farmworkers have the experience, skill and interest to organize a cooperative system of agricultural production but lack the power and the initial capital. *Both farmworkers and small farmers are squeezed by the monopolies. Today California farmland belongs to such giant outsiders as Southern Pacific, the Bank of America, and Tenneco.*

The 1902 Reclamation Act limited government subsidized water to family farms with under 160 acres. Homesteading laws should be re-examined to see if land can be distributed once again. With a new vision for rural America, and

some credit, the farmworkers and a new generation of family farmers could substitute for the agribusiness giants who today farm California for tax write-offs and exploit labor and the consumer.

### JUSTICE FOR THE FARMWORKER

**The Hayden campaign gives its full support to the organizing and the boycott of the UFW and to their effort to implement California's new farm labor law to preserve and make effective and equitable the Agricultural Labor Relations Board.**

Too many were lulled into believing the farm labor crisis had been solved by passage of the new law. In fact, the law would never have been passed without a generation of struggles, and it will never be implemented without more struggle. The law is a major step towards recognizing the rights of farmworkers to have unions of their own choice. *But the battle for a free choice of unions, the battle for good contracts, is just beginning.* The UFW is opposed by the immense power of California Agribusiness and the Teamster Unions. Only a greater awakening of public support will balance the scale.

Hundreds of affidavits testify to the intimidation exercised by growers and Teamsters during the recent elections. UFW organizers have had immense problems in getting on to the ranches to speak to the workers, in providing Spanish-language explanations, in securing responses to their complaints of unfair labor practices. The new state Agricultural Labor Relations Board has been slow in moving and remote from the immediate problems of farmworkers; instead of being an agency whose task is to help workers, it has helped the growers.

Governor Brown, who made this legislation possible, *must insure that it is implemented.* Walter Kintz, director of ALRB operation, is responsible for the inadequate enforcement so far and therefore should be replaced. The staff must move aggressively on unfair labor practice complaints, seek prosecution of violators, and be continually present in the fields.

**The Hayden campaign is dedicated to supporting the continued organizing drive of the UFW, including the boycott.** The cause of the UFW is not only a great cause of labor, not only a great cause of Chicanos, but it symbolizes the kind of dedicated social movement which is necessary to bring about any social change in America. The task of elected officials is not to remain aloof from such movements, nor to substitute parliamentary maneuvering for ongoing struggle, but to **get behind and help the growth of the movement in all possible ways.**

### THE UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS AND THE RODINO BILL

*In the years of economic crisis ahead, the Mexican American community will be threatened with a reversal of the gains of recent years. There is an increased danger of scapegoating.*

**The Rodino Bill makes a scapegoat of the "illegal alien" under the guise of penalizing employers who hire them.** All that is required of the employer is a signed statement from the employee attesting he or she is lawfully in the U.S., thus shifting responsibility to the worker. Where the employer does not want to hire Mexican Americans for reasons of racism, the bill also provides a convenient means to that end. The fines for employers knowingly hiring "illegals" are insignificant. In sum, the bill allows employers to either refuse to hire Mexican-Americans (or Asians) or to hire them as strikebreakers and cheap labor. The unemployment and deportation which would follow would leave the families, including the children born in the U.S., without parents and without means of support other than going on welfare.

**The "illegal alien" is not responsible for unemployment in California.** The "illegal aliens" are an easy scapegoat because of their lack of organization and power. If we really want to discuss illegal aliens, let us discuss who profits from them. Let us discuss U.S. corporations, and federal tax and tariff laws, which result in run-away shops and over 600 low-wage factories just south of the Mexican-U.S. border! **Let us realize that this California land once was part of Mexico.**

Drop the stereotype phrase "illegal alien," and speak instead of *justice for the undocumented worker.*

There is little evidence that the undocumented worker takes large numbers of jobs from U.S. workers. For instance, a six-month government project this year to replace aliens with jobless citizens was a total failure. The Immigration Service deported 2,154 aliens from Los Angeles, but the state could not get employers to accept help in looking for other workers. According to the LOS ANGELES TIMES (7/4/75) account, "both federal and state officials maintain that employers who use the illegal aliens want workers who can be exploited, and it is easier to take advantage of illegals who work for less money than most Americans are willing to accept."

Nor is the myth that aliens take vast amounts of welfare supported by serious investigation. A five-month study this year showed that of 14,000 new welfare applicants in Los Angeles County, only 56 were illegal aliens, and only two were really ineligible for aid under present state law. (LA TIMES, 7/1/75).

A just approach to the Rodino Bill and its scapegoating of illegal aliens would include the following:

- *No use of existing social agencies to report on aliens* and thus act as arms of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

- *Preservation of existing programs*, such as One-stop Immigration Service, which help undocumented workers.

- *An end to the cruel policy of deportation raids.* We do not need former Vietnam generals like Leonard Chapman to come home as head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and raid the Mexican American community. Charges of corruption and collusion with employers made against INS should be fully investigated. Essential functions which INS performs, like health check-ups, are fine but we do not need a military solution to problems which are social and economic.

- *Legalization of the status of those undocumented persons and their families who have been here for at least one year*, who are working and paying taxes, and who have no serious criminal record.

- *A crackdown on violations of minimum wages and health and safety laws.*

- *National legislation against strikebreaking.*

- *A new U.S. immigration policy*, ending the bias in favor of the Eastern over the Western Hemisphere. The ceilings should be equalized: now the Eastern quota is 170,000 and the Western is 120,000. The family preference system of the Eastern policy should be extended to the West. It should be possible, as it was for the Cuban refugees, to file for adjustments in status without having to leave the U.S.

These policies would be steps to stop discrimination in immigration and employment. They would end the conditions which encourage employers to create a "secondary labor pool" of low-paid, defenseless workers. They would put an end to the clandestine world of fear now surrounding many people. They would make it possible for the undocumented worker to stand up for his or her economic rights like any other worker. *Solving the problem of undocumented workers being used as scabs would be of immense help to the organizing drive of the United Farmworkers Union.*

## EDUCATION

**Education in Chicano communities is poor.**

It is poor because of a lack of funds and because of discrimination against teachers from the Chicano community. It is poor because of a lack of proper training for teachers and because of a lack of proper educational materials for Chicano children. The Los Angeles Unified School District, contain-

ing more Mexican American youth (90,000) than any other in the U.S., had Title VII bilingual programs for only two percent of its students in 1973-74. In the same school district, fully 30 percent of the students are of Mexican descent but less than five percent of all certified teachers are of Mexican descent.

Teachers and parents are ignored by school administrators, and there is measurable teacher discrimination against Chicano children. Teachers praise Anglo students 36 percent more than young Chicanos, according to one classroom survey. The results of this "foreign" educational system are devastating. A five year federal study found a "systematic failure of the educational process." Four out of ten Chicano students fail to graduate from high school. Every year thousands of lives are sentenced to poverty at an early age.

Educational reform for Mexican Americans must include the following premises:

- The language and culture of Mexican Americans should be a basic part of the educational process from kindergarten through grade 12.

- There should be an increase of Mexican Americans in educational decision-making at all levels, both within the schools and by parents and community groups.

- Mexican Americans should be supported at all levels of education, including college, university and technical training.

- Federal, state and local governments must provide funds for the education of Mexican Americans.

- There must be an increase of Title I and VIII (ESEA) funds specifically, and a general increase in the allocation of these funds to Chicano communities.

- The arts and cultural life of the Mexican community must be supported. Mexican American artists and art must be a part of our national art program.

- There must be a thorough change in education. Practices like "ability grouping" (where slower learners are segregated off into separate groups) and ratings based on IQ tests (which are seriously distorted by language and cultural differences) must be replaced with greater concern for the development of whole and creative children.

## CHICANAS

**Mexican American women need jobs and affirmative action. They need a low cost, community controlled system of child care. Chicano women face an ominous example of scapegoating—forced sterilization.** Affidavits filed against the Los Angeles County Hospital show that consent forms in English are thrust on Spanish speaking mothers, often

at the time of childbirth. Women thinking they are to receive some form of birth control device are instead sterilized.

## VETERANS

**Chicanos went off to war with the praise of the President; they returned to unemployment, drugs and inadequate economic and educational opportunities.** Chicano veterans are not receiving the attention they deserve from the government. Chicanos should not be first in winning the medals of war and last in line for urban jobs. *The Tom Hayden* campaign favors improved benefits for veterans, and a process of discharge upgrading, as well as amnesty for those other young men who resisted the war and have lived in exile for years. It is time to heal the differences of the Vietnam-era generation.

Mexican American veteran organizations deserve more of a voice in national veteran programs.

## YOUTH

The Tom Hayden campaign recognizes the severe youth problems that confront the Mexican American communities. A 40 percent school drop out rate and massive unemployment have produced increased violence and self-destructive acts among youth of various neighborhoods. The campaign further understands that this violence is a direct outcome of the continued poor economic, political, and social status of the Chicano community.

The Tom Hayden campaign rejects and condemns the philosophy of suppression that was recently advocated by Los Angeles County Sheriff Peter Pitchess in dealing with youth "gangs." Sheriff Pitchess announced the formation of anti-gang units at eight selected sub-stations and spoke of "rousting" youth gang members in order to keep them from killing somebody. **There is an inherent danger to all citizens of the unconstitutional approach advocated by Sheriff Pitchess.**

Instead, we call for massive positive and constructive federal intervention in support of the following alternatives.

- **Youth centers** with an emphasis on education (such as remedial reading), recreational needs, and community participation should be created and encouraged to develop programs relevant to each center's surrounding neighborhood.

- **Enough recreation centers and parks should be built to be accessible to every home.** They should encourage the participation of all segments of youth and include recreational outings and sports programs.

- **Legislation such as the Hawkins Full Em-**

**ployment Bill**, which includes summer employment, part-time jobs for students, and meaningful job training programs, are necessary and overdue.

- **Increased educational options**, like those described in previous sections, are essential.

## TOWARDS POLITICAL POWER

*In California, Mexican Americans are at least 16 percent of the population. They are 12 percent of the voters. But they are only 0.7 percent of elected officials—including one Congressman, two state senators out of 40, four assemblymen out of 80. Los Angeles, with a Mexican American population of over one million, has no Mexican Americans on the City Council and no representatives on the Board of Supervisors.*

**This blatant exclusion is fostered by inadequate federal census procedures** which affect districting and government grants; by political gerrymandering; by voting procedures traditionally explained in English, and many other devices. Undocumented workers are prevented from voting even though they pay taxes (and now can vote in farm labor elections). *Reform on all these fronts is critical. The census must be improved.* The New Voting Rights Act recently passed must be examined carefully to see if in fact it only is a modest improvement.

A special Justice Department task force should be created to look into all forms of political exclusion of Mexican Americans, and to propose judicial and legislative remedies. Reform of the Hatch Act to allow political activity by government employees would liberate those activists now silenced by their jobs in poverty programs and social agencies.

*Greater community control of services—education, law enforcement, housing inspection—would be a major step towards building local power and with it important political effects.*

But greater development of organization and political leadership in the Chicano community—which entails struggle on all levels including electoral politics—can bring about the changes so long overdue. *The privileged groups with vested interests in the status quo will never yield without struggle—as the college EOP program and the new farm labor law clearly show.* The growing struggle from the campuses to the barrios to the fields, and now to the professions, is bound to go forward, swelling with thousands of newcomers.

**The Tom Hayden campaign hopes to join an alliance working for the goals stated above. In Mexican American communities, we want to work with Mexican American organizers and coalitions, and we invite those organizers to take leadership roles in questions concerning the campaign as a**

whole. We hope our campaign will come to strengthen the organizations, movements and progressive candidates in the Mexican American community, now and in the future.

### OUR GOAL

**Together, we can rewrite the history of conquest and exploitation which shaped the Chicano people's history in this state and the whole Southwest.** We can awaken many millions of minds to a new reality—not that of the dominant Anglo civilization, not a false integration into a “melting pot” which never existed, but *a new society of the rainbow, people of all races and cultures finally grouped in harmony, peace and economic justice.*

## Black Community

At a Christmas gathering of senior citizens in Watts, I gave a speech attacking “Scrooge in the White House,” and promised to fight for poor and oppressed people. At my table afterwards, an older gentleman leaned over, politely, and said it wouldn't happen. He recalled growing up in Louisiana when Governor Huey Long called for “sharing the wealth.” The white people this man worked for said Huey Long wouldn't live two weeks—“not with talk like that. And sure enough, he didn't live, and neither will you if you really mean it.”

*Since Huey Long, the list of dead populists, progressives and black leaders has grown. The numbers of blacks who have voted, demonstrated and rebelled without much result is in the millions.*

Admittedly, there have been some gains. Historic court decisions and legislation have passed. Millions of southern blacks live in a safer, desegregated environment, and have voted over 1000 blacks into regional offices. Blacks also have become mayors of several of the largest cities. Thousands have been educated as effective professionals working for their people's interest.

**But these changes are not enough to keep hope and expectation growing, not enough compared to the sacrifices made. The underlying conditions are tending to worsen. We still live under a government which makes an ally of South Africa and an “enemy” of Martin Luther King.**

Ten years after the uprising of 1965 a Los Angeles County Grand Jury concluded that conditions “are worse than they were at the time of the Watts revolt” (L.A. TIMES, 12/29/75). According to this official report: “We are told that 58 percent of the population in Compton is on some form of public assistance today as compared to only 24 percent in the Watts area ten years ago” . . . “Crime in Compton has reached the unbearable

level” . . . “Graduates of schools there are, on many occasions, functionally illiterate.”

*And in the face of these scandals, what did the Grand Jury call for? Another study! The reconvening of the McCone Commission, which already studied Watts ten years ago, “to study the current acute problems of inner-city minority needs.”*

This is where some of us came in. Louisville 1975 resembles Little Rock 1954, except now the courts are backpedalling on school desegregation. Social scientists hold fashionable debates over whether blacks are genetically inferior. Moderate politicians conveniently forget blacks while conservatives try to scapegoat them. The “poverty programs” of the Sixties are being cut, even the crumbs going back to the master's table.

In this cruel context, any “gains” are bound to seem hollow or token. The right to vote has not included the right to decide the range of choices. **Political power has not included economic power.** Even the political takeover of city governments has been mainly a takeover of the underdeveloped areas which white business leaves behind.

**Nothing will really challenge this state of affairs but a resurgence of the black movement itself.** Leaders have been killed, organizations have been destroyed, destructive rivalries have prevented unity, activists have been swallowed into *non-political* bureaucratic jobs. But the people have their ways of resisting, to get beyond the heavy shadow of past leaders, to raise a new generation. *The movement is not dead. America's cities are only in the quiet before a new storm.*

In the meantime, what can a political campaign like ours accomplish? First, we can raise fundamental questions of racism and poverty which have become “unfashionable” for most politicians. We can organize against the cruel cutbacks in education, employment and services which are happening because of the silence of those politicians. With the likes of Wallace and Reagan defining so many issues on the national scene, and with Democratic “liberals” turning against government spending, there must be a strong alternative force created rapidly. There needs to be a new alliance saying that the needs of people come before the privileges of the few. *At its cornerstone, the alliance must have the needs of the minorities, the poor, the women—those held down the most—but it should reach outward with an appeal to all workers and consumers who are facing tough times and who are ready to demand economic justice.*

### JOBS

Passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill is an urgent priority. The Urban

League estimates unemployment among Blacks to be over 25 percent nationally, and over 40 percent in the ghetto and among teenagers. Employers follow the policy of last hired, first fired for those lucky enough to work. And there is every indication that this bleak picture is becoming permanent.

### AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The Federal Government today is virtually ignoring equal employment opportunity for minority workers. In a report released last July, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded that the Federal Government has failed to enforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which makes it unlawful for employers to discriminate in hiring. We should consider enacting the Commission recommendation that affirmative action enforcement be consolidated into a single agency, with the authority to terminate federal contracts, decertify unions, and deny federal licenses to any employer who has not complied with discrimination laws.

### UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND WELFARE

In the time it takes to create a fully productive economy, we must be certain that the unemployed and disadvantaged are provided for. Unemployment compensation benefits must be extended to cover those unable to find work, such as the 602,000 black workers ineligible for unemployment compensation under the present system.

**Our view must be that welfare recipients are human beings to be respected, not people who are irrelevant or outside the productive economy.** While it must be recognized that there is no way to finally create a "decent" welfare system, we must maintain income subsidy payments at dignified and humane levels until our goal of a full employment economy is achieved. Invasions of privacy, frustrating red tape and forced work requirements should be opposed. But these are only interim measures. *We must overcome the welfare crisis with programs of job development, child care, and strong anti-discrimination policies in education and hiring.*

### BUSINESS AND CREDIT

**We must also make a national commitment to developing black-owned businesses,** through more funding and affirmative action in granting federal contracts. The Small Business Administration should decentralize its operations and appropriate more significant amounts to productive enterprises. *We must have more community control over how and where federal money is spent for the development of minority businesses.*

### EDUCATION

**The national effort to provide relevant and productive education for minorities has failed.** Elementary and secondary schools have failed to give minority students the learning skills necessary to go on to college or find decent jobs after graduation. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare spent \$7.2 billion for education in 1975 and will spend \$7.4 billion in 1976, about half of which goes to elementary and secondary schools. Most of this federal aid is intended to help inner city schools and disadvantaged students, yet a study done by the Institute for Policy Studies has found that "federally-funded programs provide substantially less funds for urban areas than they should get, based on their share of total enrollment and poverty children." The study also noted that direct aid to disadvantaged children is not closely monitored and is not being used properly to provide special instruction as intended.

**As a first step, then, we must create greater community control over the billions of federal dollars spent for education and insure its most productive and socially-responsible use.** Furthermore, we should be certain that the vocational programs—which H.E.W. funds at \$600 million annually—are benefitting black participants who are in need of technical training. A study of federal manpower training programs in 1974 found that of black participants in all training programs, 57.8% were in work experience training programs "having a limited emphasis on the acquisition and development of marketable occupational skills," and only 15% of black participants were enrolled in job skills programs. These abuses of federal programs must stop and be redirected to aid minority workers in achieving the skills necessary to secure lasting and productive employment.

**In addition, we must be certain that grants and scholarships under the Higher Education Act and veterans' programs go to those with the greatest financial need,** and that blacks desiring college education have easy access without the obstacles of high tuitions and other expenses.

### BUSING

**The heated debate about busing has distorted the search for quality education,** and now the government and courts seem to be turning their back on the 1954 decision to desegregate the schools. *This is nothing less than an accommodation to racism,* occurring at a time when civil rights forces are relatively weak and economic recession is heightening racial tension. **The issue of busing is ultimately an issue of racism.** When a school board has so avoided desegregation that a

court must order busing, that order must be obeyed. At the same time, busing will be heading into a dead end unless supplemented by breakthroughs in jobs, housing, and better schools. Finally, all this will mean only a slight improvement in the quality of education. It will mean greater opportunity for schooling which is becoming less relevant for most people. Our long-range concern should be that education be geared to meet the needs of a productive and humane society.

## HOUSING

**Twenty-five years after it became the stated goal of Congress to provide a decent home for every American, we still face a housing crisis,** a crisis which most directly hurts lower-income groups in our major cities. The Los Angeles Planning Department has determined that there are 77,000 housing units severely deteriorated and another 300,000 which are substandard. Of those units in the worst condition, 73% are occupied by blacks and chicanos. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has found that the Department of Housing and Urban Development has failed to prevent discrimination in housing, particularly in suburban areas. As business and industry continue to move more and more jobs out to the suburban areas, it is essential that blacks have easy access to housing in those areas with the greatest employment and educational opportunities. **Affirmative action must be initiated by H.U.D.** to strike down discriminatory zoning laws which prevent federally-subsidized housing.

**In the inner cities, we must commit ourselves to a program of rejuvenating housing and living conditions.** A national strategy for the **rehabilitation** of deteriorating and abandoned older houses could provide thousands of housing units yearly and revitalize inner city areas. New construction for middle and lower income families would not only provide decent housing, but create thousands of jobs and aid the sagging home construction industry.

*We should also establish guidelines for metropolitan-wide marketing systems for the sale and rental of real estate to eliminate discrimination in marketing practices, a system which now results in resegregation of urban area.*

And redlining, the practice of discriminatory mortgage lending, must be abolished. **I would require full disclosure by lending institutions of where their mortgage loans go geographically.** Their charters should also include anti-redlining provisions, and incentives for socially-responsible lending should only be encouraged.

Providing good housing at reasonable costs helps solve many related problems, such as equal

education opportunities, proximity to job opportunities, greater community cohesion and a commitment to making our cities liveable and healthy. Along with better housing priorities must come more adequate urban transit to insure access to job centers, more child care assistance, and greater community control over the delivery of services and the distribution and marketing of food and other essential goods.

## REVENUE SHARING

One of the principal methods for funding local and state projects has been the general revenue sharing, enacted in 1972, which annually provides more than 30 billion dollars to 39,000 states and localities. After a few years experience, however, **it is clear that this program has failed to provide improved conditions and opportunities for minorities.** The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has found that discriminatory hiring practices and racial bias in the delivery of benefits exists in programs funded by revenue sharing, with little enforcement by the Federal Government to correct the situation. The Congressional Black Caucus stated that "under the Nixon Administration, general revenue sharing became a political weapon to shift the locus of decision-making to units of government less responsive to social needs of poor minorities."

*It is up to the Congress to make sure general revenue sharing is in compliance with affirmative action requirements, that federal revenues are used to create jobs and productive enterprises which will benefit the poor and minority Americans, and that specific requirements for citizen participation in the decision-making process be enacted.*

## POLICE AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

**Police should concentrate their efforts on murder, rape, armed robbery, consumer fraud, and organized crime.** More attention must be paid to the victims of violent crime, rather than the undue and counterproductive energy put into police surveillance and investigation of "victimless" crimes. The Los Angeles Police Department, for example, has a "red squad" intelligence unit which is larger and better funded than its unit for homicide and armed robbery. *Such senseless law enforcement priorities, and the laws that encourage them, must be changed.*

**Flagrant misuse of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, a federal agency, must be halted.** The money should go to rape crisis centers, community courts and rehabilitation centers, and other efforts to improve the criminal

justice system, rather than to the computerized intelligence and military gadgetry which is leading us toward an unacceptable national police force.

**In the Senate, I will support the Grand Jury Reform Bill**, sponsored by two members of the Congressional Black Caucus, John Conyers and Charles Rangel. The bill will provide for the protection of constitutional rights in the grand jury system, which is now little more than a "dry run" for prosecutors, rather than a protection from arbitrary acts of government as it was intended to be. *I would also support prison reform legislation to aid rehabilitation efforts*, especially those efforts that are community-based and directed toward the goal of aiding the community itself. Through a system of half-way houses, job training, community reparations work and other innovative programs, we can reverse the vicious tide of senseless incarceration and the high rate of return to prison.

**We also need an extension and upgrading of legal assistance programs for the poor.** We need to make police protection and services more responsive to the needs of the people, we should have more decentralized, community oriented control and review of law enforcement capabilities and personnel. In August of 1975 I called for immediate hearings with full community participation into Chief Ed Davis' conduct of office in Los Angeles, in order to address the problem of police conformity with the requirements of responsible civilian government. We must assert our right to hold public officials and agencies accountable at all times.

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## Asian American and Pacific Peoples

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**Discrimination against Asian Americans and Pacific peoples takes many forms and is a serious blight on our national life.**

- **Unemployment.** Since the revision of immigration laws in 1965, immigration from Asia and the Pacific has dramatically increased, particularly in the Korean and Filipino communities. Many of these people are unskilled (by Western industrial standards), and many have language problems which keep them from reaching the potential job market. More must be done to help them overcome these barriers and obtain lasting and secure employment.

- **Underemployment.** Many Asian and Pacific professional people, particularly in the health sciences, are denied access to certification and forced to find subsistence jobs in order to survive. Licensing procedures must be re-examined, along with instituting more programs to assist foreign

professionals.

These employment obstacles can be overcome by effective affirmative action, bilingual employment resources, and job skills training. Further, the Rodino Bill, which is an ill-considered attempt to scapegoat immigrant minorities for job shortages, must be defeated.

- **Housing.** Behind the quaint facade of a Chinatown or a Little Tokyo is the reality of cramped, overcrowded housing and shops and restaurants for tourists that for the most part are only marginally profitable. Instead of alleviating this situation, redevelopment projects too often destroy communities and create serious problems for dislocated seniors. Such redevelopment should be replaced by community-controlled projects able to maintain cultural identity while providing decent housing for those who need it.

- **Education and Social Services.** California is far behind in employing a fair number of Asian Americans and Pacific peoples as teachers and school administrators. *Affirmative action is needed immediately.* We must also overcome the serious neglect of Asian American culture in school curricula. Social service agencies must include Asian and Pacific Americans with the appropriate language skills in order to insure that those citizens who are not receiving the benefits they are entitled to because of language barriers will, in the future, have access to the full range of social services available.

- Asian and Pacific peoples of entirely different national origins and cultures are commonly lumped together as one indistinguished group — "Orientals" or "Islanders." Inadequate census data, such as the complete omission of statistics on the number of Samoans and Guamanians in the United States, has denied them their fair share of public services. If genuine affirmative action and a fair distribution of social services are to be successful, we must drastically improve our census capabilities.

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## Labor

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(The following is a pamphlet entitled, "Towards Justice: Tom Hayden Addresses the Labor Movement." It has been published and distributed by the campaign.)

**The 1976 elections are very crucial to the future of this country.** The politics of the past have failed to solve our social and economic problems. *We need new bold answers and programs.* Many Americans, frustrated with the old programs are looking for solutions from the right — the Reagans and Wallaces. I am running for the Democratic

nomination for the U.S. Senate in the June primary election because I feel that it is up to those of us with progressive ideology to provide the people with new, creative solutions to the problems of unemployment, inflation, crime, economic insecurity, and political corruption. The people are ready to move beyond traditional programs, and if we don't fill this void the reactionaries will. *The labor movement has been in the forefront of the progressive movement in this country and that is why I'm seeking your support in my campaign.*

As I have been traveling around the state I have made an effort to meet and talk with people from all parts of the labor movement. I've spoken with central labor councils and local unions. I've picketed with machinists in San Diego and Los Angeles. I've supported public employees in Santa Clara County in their right to unionize and strike. I've marched with farmworkers all over the state. And I've talked with hundreds of unemployed workers. *Everywhere there is the same concern: "When are politicians going to do something for the working people?"* My program and my campaign answer that question. Now!

**Unlike my opponent John Tunney, I will not simply be offering you promises during an election season,** then disappear to Washington for five years until I need your vote again. We have already begun **working and organizing** for such programs as full employment, national health insurance, closing corporate tax loopholes, collective bargaining for public employees, safe working conditions, and fighting oil monopolies.

**The fight against the oil monopolies is already in full gear.** We have focused the campaign's energy on exposing and stopping the Arco-Exxon scandals. We were the first to call on consumers to send their utility bills to the Public Utility Commission to protest those ripoffs. By drawing attention to the ways oil monopolies are exploiting the public, our campaign, along with consumer groups, may help stop these scandalous deals. And this same rising public anger can stop deregulation of natural gas which oil monopolies, Tunney, and the Republicans want.

*If elected I will continue these fights, using much of my Senate staff budget to set up offices around the state which will work closely with union locals and consumer groups on a day-to-day basis. I will not only vote right; I will fight right as in the tradition of the great organizing struggles of the past.*

At this point, the key problem is to educate and build coalitions to fight for the human needs of the people of this country. I would like to outline my thinking on some of the issues that are of great

concern to the labor movement.

## FULL EMPLOYMENT

**We fully support the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act,** which has been introduced in the House by Rep. Augustus Hawkins and in the Senate by Sen. Hubert Humphrey. This bill would require the President and Congress to develop a national plan to put all Americans to work in achieving our national priorities. If passed, this bill would require the President to submit a program to reduce unemployment to the temporary level of 3% or less within 18 months. The federal government would become the employer of last resort, and anyone unemployed could go to court and demand a job.

**Our pursuit of full employment is not limited to supporting that bill.** We feel that the federal government should initiate accelerated public work programs, increase public service employment and aid to the cities, and become more involved in the construction of low income housing, development of mass transit systems, exploitation of new sources of energy, railbed repair, and rehabilitation and expansion of our health services. There need to be construction grants for sewers and waste treatment plants, as well as rehabilitation of our inner cities.

**We must also explore ways of improving the quality of work.** A shorter work week, with at least double time for overtime, will create millions of jobs as well as improve the quality of life of the workers. We should begin investigating plans to put workers and consumers on the boards of large corporations and governmental agencies.

## WE CAN AFFORD IT

In our quest for full employment, we can't be sidetracked by those who say that federal spending is not the solution. According to government studies, every 1% reduction in unemployment means a \$16 billion cut in the federal deficit. We can begin to pay for full employment programs by implementing a fiscal program **that redistributes the economic burden.** Let me cite a couple of examples. Sen. William Proxmire's study reveals that each year \$95 billion of taxpayers' money is given over to corporate interests such as Lockheed and Penn Central, in the form of federal subsidies. Let's cut off those subsidies. Sen. Phillip Hart has pointed out that prices would come down 20% if we enforced the present anti-trust laws.

By lowering the interest rate, we can stimulate construction, creating more jobs. Furthermore, we need legislation to stop the export of American jobs by multinational corporations. *We should repeal sections 807 and 806.30 of the tariff code which*

*permit multinational corporations to assemble products overseas and only pay duty on the cheap cost of foreign labor.*

**There needs to be a reordering of national priorities** by eliminating wasteful inflationary Pentagon spending, reconverting defense industries to socially useful construction without eliminating jobs.

**The problem of unemployment is not insoluble.** It is a question of priorities. My priority is the economic well-being of the American worker in a peacetime economy.

#### **NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE**

**I support the Health Security Act of 1975,** introduced by Senator Kennedy and 16 other Senators. This legislation asserts that health care is a right for all Americans, not a privilege for those who can afford its current runaway costs. The Kennedy bill would eliminate the private insurance companies and go beyond the Medicare and Medicaid subsidies to the private sector.

**Despite being one of the original co-sponsors of this bill, John Tunney has changed his mind and is now in opposition to it.** Of course, he has gone back and forth in this fashion on many issues, but I am particularly outraged at this betrayal, and his arrogance toward the basic needs of working people.

*How can we possibly say, here in the wealthiest country in the world, that we cannot afford a national health care program? Tunney argues, for example, that we must pay higher energy prices by deregulating the price of natural gas — a concession to the oil companies which Ralph Nader estimates will cost consumers \$50 to \$60 billion in the next 5 years. Why are we always able to afford health care for the Pentagon and oil executives, but never able to provide for millions of Americans who literally cannot afford to get sick?*

The Kennedy bill would be an important step forward in this vital area of social welfare. Passage of this legislation would have a positive result in individual and family security beyond calculation. We cannot afford to postpone having a national health security system. We must change our spending policy priorities in the direction of human need instead of institutional greed.

#### **COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES**

**I fully support the right of public employees to form their own Unions, have an agency shop, engage in collective bargaining and, if necessary, go out on strike.** There should be both federal and state legislation to ensure these rights.

Firefighters and policemen should also have the right to form their own Unions and engage in collective bargaining. If an agreement cannot be reached in the collective bargaining process, the employer and employee should submit the dispute to binding arbitration. Again, there must be federal and local legislation to ensure these rights.

#### **OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY**

I support legislation that would tighten the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act (and Cal-OSHA) by requiring stricter health and safety standards and providing greater power for workers to enforce those standards. We should be moving towards workers monitoring and enforcing their own working conditions, both as a way to solve the health and safety problem and as a way of democratizing our economy.

Every year 15,000 people die from accidents on the job; 50 people a day. 100,000 people die yearly from diseases acquired on the job and 500,000 people develop new job-related diseases and conditions. *That's just the tip of the iceberg.* A recent study at the university of Washington found that 1 out of every 4 workers had symptoms of occupational disease. Extended nationally that would mean 21 million workers suffer from job related illnesses. And 89% of those illnesses are never reported. *Here in California the figures are staggering.* From January 1974 to May 1975, 996 California workers were killed on the job; from January 1974 to September 1974, 200,518 workers were reported disabled.

The purpose of the Occupational Safety and Health Act (and Cal-OSHA) is that: "every employer shall furnish employment and a place of employment which are safe and healthful for the employees therein." The facts point out just how ineffective this law has been. The standards governing the health and safety conditions are just not strict enough and there is very little power to enforce those standards.

**We cannot afford to play politics with the lives of working people in this country.** The only way we are ever going to guarantee a safe and healthy work environment is when the workers themselves exercise control over their working conditions and can monitor and enforce the health and safety laws. We need to provide for real worker health and safety committees that are financed by the employer and provided with the necessary equipment to monitor their work environment. These committees would ensure that workers had the right to:

1. Refuse to do unsafe or unhealthy work until the problem is corrected;

2. Strike over health and safety problems that are not promptly corrected;

3. Regular health testing paid for by the company but controlled by the employees and their unions;

4. Transfer from jobs that aggravate health problems without loss of pay; and

5. Receive information about the hazardous substances used in the workplaces.

It is only when we have stricter standards, tougher penalties, and put workers in control of enforcing these standards will we begin to solve the tremendous occupational health and safety crisis that we face today.

### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

It is time for a full scale review of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to eliminate the bureaucracy and red tape that allows employers to use the law to hinder organizing and union activity. The purpose of the NLRA and NLRB should be to encourage organizing and collective bargaining. Yet, too often delays in NLRB proceedings are used to undermine the rights of the employees.

To begin correcting this situation we need to amend the NLRA to *take away any financial advantage from employers who delay NLRB proceedings*. If a union wins an election that has been delayed by the employer the NLRB should be empowered to award the concerned employees retroactive benefits consistent with the other union contracts in the same geographical area. Perhaps we should require elections be held within a specified period of 7 to 14 days after a petition has been filed.

*When employers are found to be engaging in unfair labor practices their federal funds should be withheld or cut off.*

I am also in favor of repealing section 14-B of the Taft Hartley Law. Repeal of this section would ensure a national standard of collective bargaining under a union contract and would end the practice of industry moving to the "right to work" states.

### CONSTRUCTION SITE PICKETING

**Building trades workers deserve the same rights to picket during a strike that are accorded other workers.** I support legislation that would allow construction workers the right to picket a multi-employer job site.

Congress should override Ford's veto of this important piece of legislation.

### WE CAN WIN

**As we build our campaign, we will continue to hit hard on the issues stressing human need over corporate profit.** We will meet with more people

throughout the state, explaining our program and building support. I am addressing myself particularly to the labor movement, because you have always been concerned with social and economic justice.

My campaign is building a new alliance — young and old, labor and environmentalist, even defense workers and peace activists. This process of change is already happening. The shocking upset which we will score in the primary will increase our strength and support tenfold, and give us an overwhelming initiative against whomever the Republicans nominate to defend their indefensible economic status quo.

**It can be done!**

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## Women

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(Excerpts from an address by Tom Hayden to the West Los Angeles Chapter, National Women's Political Caucus, October 22, 1975.)

**If it were not for women standing up against castigation, taking their own destiny in their hands, this would be a far worse country.** There would have been none of the breakthroughs that have come in jobs, education, discrimination, political power, and changing consciousness. There would be no Equal Rights Amendment passed by 34 states. Angela Davis and Joan Little would not be free. There would be no Bella Abzug, no Elizabeth Holtzman, no Pat Shroeder, and no Yvonne Braithwaite Burke in congressional offices in Washington.

**Though women have traditionally worked for other people's causes, they have just as often been left alone to work for their own.** The 1881 "Message to Future Generations" of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony reads almost like a diary of the 1960's.

"Our liberal men counseled us to silence during the war, and we are silent on our own wrongs. They counseled us again to silence in Kansas and New York, lest we should defeat Negro suffrage, and threatened if we were not, we might fight the battle alone. We chose the latter and we were defeated . . . but standing alone we learned our power; we repudiated men's counsels forevermore; and solemnly vowed that there should never be another season of silence until women had the same rights everywhere on this green earth as men."

**The power and privilege bestowed on men will never be transformed by persuasion alone.** The awakening of women will include struggle and pain for men as well, but out of such inner turmoil can come a better way of life for us all.

The inter-relation of the male conquering

complex and the reduction of women to subdued objects is not good for anyone, from the Secretary of State to Playboy Bunnies. It leads to both subtle and overt violence, economic and social subjugation. This subject-object relationship is expressed not only between people, but through everything from our films to our foreign policy, and with disastrous results. The ending of this relationship can be the beginning of an effort to improve the quality of our lives instead of the size of our personal egos.

The Louis Harris polls show that since the beginning of the contemporary women's movement, women have become a more progressive political force than most other groupings. For instance, in his 1973 *ANGUISH OF CHANGE*, Harris noted:

- "In October, 1969, when anti-war demonstrators had their moratorium marches, men stood 50% to 35% opposed to the protestors. Women went on record 43% to 40% in support of the demonstrations."

- "By nearly every measure, women were more opposed to Vietnam than men."

- "... in 1972, women were more than 10 percent more opposed than men to increasing spending on defense research and development."

- "... women tended to show a greater sympathy toward progress for blacks than was the case among men."

- "... by 60% to 29%, a sizeable majority (of women) simply denied the proposition that 'winning through competition is one of the greatest experiences in life.' A majority of men disagreed."

- "In the process, women crossed that invisible barrier between harboring their thoughts to themselves and a new-found willingness to express their views to the outside world—not as Democratic or Republican, not as suburban or small-town residents, not as older or younger people—but first and foremost as women."

### **BUILDING A COALITION**

**I approach you as an ally of the women's movement, not your projected leader.** We need alliances because it is impossible for any movement to achieve its goals alone.

**An agenda of women's issues must begin with the recognition that we are facing worsening economic conditions.** Unemployment, inflation, decline of services such as health care, cannot be changed without an economic and social recovery program that goes beyond the New Deal in structural reform. *We need a national commitment to new, human priorities instead of the albatross of Pentagon spending,* and we need tax reform to make the giant corporations and banks pay their fair share. We need full employment through public

works and service programs, and we need to guarantee people jobs instead of welfare. Until this happens, the tensions between social groups over shrinking economic opportunities and security will increase. The limited but real gains of women in the labor force and in education will be constantly threatened with erosion, and new demands are more likely to be rebuffed. *It is therefore a dual problem; we have to protect and extend the legislative gains of the women's movement while restructuring the whole system to create greater opportunity for all.*

**Women are still part of what economists call "the secondary labor market,"** the pool of low paid, unorganized workers most victimized by discrimination. A majority of women are confined to occupational ghettos, mostly in clerical and service jobs, receiving at best two-thirds the pay of men, and an average of one half, with fewer benefits and fewer chances for promotion. Additionally, millions of working women are doing house work and raising children for no pay or economic benefits at all.

**In California, greater numbers of women are in the labor force than nationally,** but since job opportunities are slow in diversifying, their condition has worsened in this decade. In 1970, 42.2% of California women were in the labor force. Well over half were in clerical or service work. Concentration in these job ghettos is increasing. Marilyn Power Goldberg, Berkeley economist, has made an important proposal for job restructuring which should be implemented in the public and private sectors.

- **JOB RESTRUCTURING** involves two proposals. Most important is (a) the proposal for "job pairing" where a bridge out of dead-end jobs is built and more meaning in work created. This proposal would restructure work from within. Women would start doing more of the supervisor's work and gain experience on-the-job, enabling them to move up to higher decision-making responsibilities. The second proposal is for (b) "job sharing" whereby two or more people can share the same job so that each works less than full-time in order to be with their families, travel, or go to school. This would relieve job pressure and allow more people to work.

- **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION EFFORTS MUST CONTINUE.** As proposed by Rebecca Mills, a women's advocate in San Francisco, women should be added to the California Plan, which contains the federal guidelines regarding enforcement of anti-discrimination in federal contracts. Until this is done, there will be no affirmative action requirements for women in apprenticeship programs, as there now are for

minorities. Affirmative action must be strictly enforced in the educational system as well, as called for in Title IX of the 1972 Higher Education Act and the 1974 Women's Educational Equity Act.

**Women should be involved in planning and monitoring all such programs.** The impact of moving women into better positions should be borne by employers, not by male workers struggling to maintain job security through seniority. Affirmative action advocates should be in the forefront of demanding full employment, so as to lessen tensions with threatened male workers.

• **INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND ACTIVITY BY WOMEN ARE CRUCIAL.** Credit for obtaining and improving housing should now be made available to women under the New Equal Credit Opportunity Act. Credit for women in business should be made available as well. **Government contracts, purchases and grants** should go in fair proportion to women-run establishments and organizations. **Unionization and job power** for secretaries, clerical and domestic workers should be strongly encouraged.

• **A REVIEW OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN SOCIAL SECURITY MUST BE UNDERTAKEN.** Only 36% of women are covered by pension plans, while 52% of men are. *Women are penalized in pension benefits for living longer!* Women's lower lifetime earnings mean lower benefits, and often women can collect more benefits as a widow of a male employee than they can for themselves. There should be Social Security contributions for women who have worked in the home, and some compensation for retiring women whose low benefits reflect discrimination in wages. There should also be unisex actuarial tables. This has to take place in the context of reforming the entire pension and Social Security structures.

• **"WORKWOMAN'S COMPENSATION" and UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE:** *Women should not be denied unemployment payments for being pregnant* since federal guidelines rule out pregnancy as grounds for refusing employment or firing. This inequity should be addressed in the context of a complete overhaul of the irregular system of unemployment insurance and workman's compensation. Ultimately the concept of "workwoman's" compensation has to be accepted to make benefits available to women injured working in their homes.

• **COMPREHENSIVE CHILD CARE MUST BE INCLUDED AS A PRIORITY.** One out of every three women with pre-school age children works, and their 6 million children vastly outnumber the 900,000 spaces that now exist in licensed child-care centers. The Federal

Government should fund community controlled childhood development and day care.

• **THE HEALTH OF AMERICA IS IN CRITICAL SHAPE,** and the special needs of women will be denied until we pass a national health insurance program. Women are not likely to be covered by employee plans or veterans' benefits. Less than one-half of all women have any insurance for pre-natal visits, child delivery or hospital care. Preventive medicine is needed to deal with cancer, the leading cause of death for women between 30 and 55, and diabetes, whose victims are 2/3 female. Women are often over-hospitalized as well and given needless drugs and operations to maintain the present profit-oriented medical system. I support national health insurance of the kind proposed by Senator Kennedy, with amendments to insure greater consumer control of costs.

**Abortion**—I am opposed to legislative prohibitions against abortion. Until there is universal consciousness and responsibility for birth control, abortion will continue as a fact of life. The rich will have it done expensively and carefully, the poor will submit themselves to the danger of exploitative practitioners or home remedies. I am opposed to legislative restrictions on abortion which only serve to penalize poorer women.

**Pills**—I am opposed to the introduction on the market of drugs and contraceptives which endanger women before they are thoroughly certified as safe by the federal government.

**Forced Sterilization**—We must end all sterilization programs which are not completely voluntary. We must ensure that fully-informed consent has been granted, beginning with consent forms in easily-understandable English and Spanish. Consent given under duress or in pain cannot be considered voluntary. New regulations and full enforcement of HEW guidelines are required.

• **RAPE.** *The social and semi-legal philosophy that a woman is "guilty until proved raped" must end.* Police must place much greater emphasis on pursuing rapists, penalties must be more severe, and women must be brought in to serve as a sympathetic force to the victims. There must be funding and support for rape crisis centers, perhaps out of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration money which now overwhelmingly goes to technology and weaponry.

• **PRISONS.** Not only must conditions for women in prison be improved, but there must be greater support for half-way houses for women getting out of prison.

### A PLEDGE FOR THE FUTURE

**My campaign has a strong and fundamental commitment to sexual equality.** We are taking a firm stand on issues of concern to women. Women have leadership and decision-making roles throughout our campaign, not simply on women's issues or for coordinating women's support. Our campaign activists have supported women's causes and progressive women candidates. I cannot promise that women will find a campaign or candidate free of the impact of sexism, but we can structure a way to work together and relate together, without women needing to submerge or postpone their legitimate demands to any other campaign priorities.

**My opponent, Senator John V. Tunney, has only a token record on issues of concern to women.** He was given a 40 percent rating by the Women's Lobby in 1974, compared to 80 percent for Senator Alan Cranston. He has not distinguished himself with a firm stand on controversial questions like abortion or affirmative action. He has offered piecemeal proposals such as a "counseling and education" bill for the displaced homemaker which provides little money and no prospect of a decent job at the end of the training. He has told a women's meeting that he will downplay women's issues because women are not an organized and powerful political force. Such an attitude guarantees that Tunney will side with special interests to the neglect

of forceful advocacy for women's concerns during the tough years ahead.

**What I have presented here is only an immediate agenda.** We must also concentrate on changing the quality of our lives to include a new vision, inspired in part by the women's movement. Men need not feel passive or threatened by women who are developing their strength and skills on the job, in government, and in their personal lives. There will be turmoil as men examine their own behavior—I know I have felt it—but in the end *women's independence will change all our lives for the better* by helping to create an alternative to the rat-race, money-centered world which powerful men have made for all of us to struggle in. **We must work together to make this vision a reality.**

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## Gay Rights

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**Despite a growing national awareness about the rights of sexual preference in recent years, discrimination against gays continues.** We must pledge ourselves to put an end to all social, economic, legal and psychological oppression of gay people.

**I fully endorse Rep. Bella Abzug's bill as a first step in the struggle to end sexual discrimination.** This measure, which is an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, would prohibit discrimination



based on sexual preferences in the areas of employment, housing, and public accommodation.

But our concern must go beyond just legislating against discrimination. As in the case of securing the rights of minorities and women, we must ensure affirmative action programs are carried out in federal agencies and among federal contractors. And we must continually support efforts to end harassment and penal codes which needlessly prohibit individuals' rights of sexual preference.

California has made important strides in the past few years to end discriminatory practices, and now the effort must be carried on at the federal level. More specifically, I propose the following measures be enacted to end discrimination and promote the full integration of gays with the social and economic life of America:

- **Passage of legislation**, beginning with the Abzug amendment, which will prohibit discrimination in housing, hiring, public accommodations, and public services. Such legislation is an urgent and absolutely essential priority.

- **Elimination of tax procedures** which create heavier burdens for single people and same-gender couples.

- **Elimination of discrimination** and exclusion of gay men and gay women from the armed services, with provisions for honorable discharges for those previously discharged for reasons of homosexuality, with retroactive benefits.

- **Elimination of discriminatory practices in security matters**, including the denial of security clearance to homosexuals and the maintenance and dissemination of information on sexual orientation by federal law enforcement and security agencies.

- **Conscientious efforts to include gay women and men on the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights**, and the inclusion of a Gay Awareness office in the federal government in order to oversee and aid the elimination of discrimination and discriminatory attitudes against homosexuals in the federal government.

- **Elimination of discrimination against gays in the federal penal system**, particularly discriminatory conditions for parole.

- **Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment**, which will ensure a constitutional basis for gay rights.

We must recognize that the change in attitudes toward gay rights is an agonizingly slow process. But with enabling legislation, an end to discrimination in housing, employment, taxation, and the guarantee of general civil liberties, we will help facilitate a pervasive change in American attitudes about homosexuality. *As with women and*

*other minorities, gays have been the target of vicious and repressive discrimination. And until recently, politicians have been a party to those repressive attitudes, or, at best, complacent about aiding gays in securing their rights.*

**It is time to put an end to such attitudes, and work together to secure the rights of sexual preference.**

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## Senior Citizens

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By the millions, our older Americans are facing lives of increasing hardship. Inflation is sending the price of food, rent and medical care beyond relief, robbing them of the dignity that is the just reward for a long and productive life.

### SOCIAL SECURITY

The Social Security system was and is a major forward step. For the first time it established at least a foundation for income in later years. Before Social Security, there was nothing but scattered pensions, odd jobs, family contributions, and warehousing of the elderly in poor houses.

Minorities are even more victimized. Blacks, for example, have a life expectancy of only 62 years. Therefore more than half spend their working years contributing taxes to a Social Security fund they will never live to benefit from.

**The payroll tax which finances Social Security is itself a problem calling for reform. The burden of the entire system falls on the employed sector.** For instance, those whose incomes derive heavily from interest on dividends make no contribution at all to the Social Security system. *The tax mechanism is regressive as well.* In 1974, individuals paid 5.85 percent on their first \$14,000 of income, with any extra income being tax free. Therefore a family earning \$28,000 paid only 2.9 percent, half the tax of a \$14,000 family. And a family of four with a \$4,300 income still paid \$251 into Social Security even though they were too poor to pay any federal income tax.

**The minimum Social Security benefits should be increased to human levels**, at least to those specified by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as a minimally adequate income.

**The financial base of Social Security should be broadened** by providing for a sliding scale of payments based upon adequate income for all. Provisions also should be made for contributions to the Social Security Trust Fund through general revenues.

**Retirees should be allowed to earn whatever they can in wages without penalizing their Social**

**Security benefits.** The present limit of a \$2,400 annual wage discourages people from looking for work and encourages employers to hire only at starvation wage levels.

**Incentives should be established for early retirement where desired and, equally, compulsory retirement should be eliminated.**

Consideration should be given to a universal pension plan system placing more of the financing burden on employers and giving comprehensive protection to all workers. This should dovetail with Social Security benefits. If such pension reform is enacted, then Social Security could be lowered to its original supplementary status.

## HEALTH CARE AND NUTRITION

**Controls on hospital costs need to be re-enacted.** The multi-billion dollar private insurance system needs to be eliminated as an example of unnecessary and costly middlemen. In the present chaotic "system," malpractice premiums are already being passed on to the consumers in the form of huge increases in doctor's fees.

**The Kennedy-Corman Health Security Act** should be supported as one step in coping with health care needs. But beyond that, we need to think of "putting the doctors on salary" and throwing the fee system out the window. We need to consider a National Health Service as exists in Canada, with heavy emphasis on neighborhood clinics doing preventive medicine.

To meet the nutrition needs of all people, there should be a food life-line, a system through which federal, state or local government purchases food like grain, meat and poultry, with either direct sale to consumers on a rationed basis or sale through cooperatives on a non-profit basis. This would drive out middlemen while protecting farmers, and make the government a purchaser of key foods.

Ultimately, there would be no need for patchwork programs like food-stamps in which the government subsidizes the middleman. Instead the subsidy would go the other way, to the people who need low priced and adequate food. **We must immediately end the era of dogfood consumption by humans.**

## HOUSING

**To meet the housing needs of the elderly and the poor, we must have a program of new construction—federal, state and local—rather than the token band-aid approach of rent subsidies presently administered.** The establishment of so-called "slots" (where the Housing and Urban Development agency subsidizes a portion of rent up to \$140 per month) is meaningless if landlords refuse

to participate in the program and do not make apartments available.

Instead of being increased by new construction, housing has become more expensive and less available. The 1971 White House Conference on Aging forecast that 120,000 new housing units for the elderly would be needed yearly. But only 45,000 units have been built in the last eight years.

**Rent control should be utilized and made particularly applicable to apartment buildings with more than five units.** Tenants' rights should be protected, and conversion to condominiums prohibited.

**Property taxes should be frozen for senior citizens before they lose their houses which have been purchased with a lifetime of personal savings.**

## DIGNITY

**Our older Americans should not be treated as wasted human beings ready for the junk heap of a youth-oriented civilization.** Not only must legal forms of discrimination be broken, but social attitudes as well. Ageism is a deep American bias which pervades our whole lifestyle and all of our institutions. Active groups of older Americans are challenging this pervasive discrimination and, in the process, opening up a more positive vision of life for all.

**Older Americans should participate directly in controlling the services meant for them,** and in other programs as well. This must be meaningful participation, not token advisory councils stripped of any real power. And it must include greater numbers of seniors in staff roles, instead of program after program like those founded by the Older Americans Act, hiring people under 30 years of age.

**There should be more emphasis on direct services and less on intermediary and paternalistic agencies.**

In addition, the tradition of "voluntarism," which enlists thousands of senior citizens to work in hospitals or federally-subsidized programs, should be challenged. It often is nothing more than an unpaid labor pool with money going only for staff salaries to coordinate the volunteers. Consideration should be given to wages or tax credits for all the work these senior volunteers now do.

## Veterans

**The problems of millions of Vietnam-era veterans have been sorely neglected by the politicians and bureaucrats in Washington.** The welcome home has not been parades and rewards, but unemployment of staggering proportions and unwillingness to effectively deal with the special

problems of the veteran.

**We need immediate legislation to increase inadequate veterans' benefits** and to provide community-based programs to deal with the daily realities of the veteran's life—drug abuse, isolation, crime and unemployment. *The Veterans Administration has proved to be inadequate in meeting these crucial needs.* The Nixon/Ford Administration has consistently denied increases in already deficient GI benefits. Medical needs, counseling needs, vocational training needs, placement program needs, legal and procedural needs—none of these are presently receiving the immediate attention they require. Meanwhile, the veteran suffers from this neglect.

**The majority of veterans leave the service without training or skills needed for civilian jobs.** Many of those hired in the early 1970's have lost their jobs in the current economic recession. Consequently, the rate of unemployment for veterans nationwide is twice the rate for non-veterans; unemployment for California's 800,000 Vietnam veterans is estimated to be between 15% and 30%. *This joblessness is particularly acute among minorities, who bore the brunt of the draft and war casualties.*

**Joblessness has its even more tragic consequences.** The crime rate among veterans is staggering: *32% of the federal prison population are veterans, and in California 25% of prison inmates served in Vietnam.* A Ford Foundation study found that 45% of Vietnam veterans have used narcotics and 100,000 of these remain addicts today. **Over a half million Vietnam vets have attempted suicide, and 50,000 succeeded.** Beyond the cold statistics is a reality of isolation and helplessness which must be changed.

Veterans have been highly critical of the services provided by the Veterans Administration. Medical care, psychological counselling, employment programs, and services and treatment of the disabled are considered inadequate and inefficient. Education benefits under the G.I. Bill cannot keep pace with inflation. Vietnam veterans, who account for 20% of the participants in all of America's armed conflicts, have received only 3.7% of V. A. benefits. There are frequent reports of discrimination by the V. A. against minorities.

An interim solution to the classification problem would be a review of all less than honorable discharges by a board composed of civilians, as well as military people—including veterans. Strict standards must be established to insure that any infractions justify the lack of opportunities faced by a vet with less than honorable discharge. Such a board should also consider various proposals that

have been made to move towards a single category discharge.

**We need to heal the wounds of war.** Those who opposed the war should not only face no punishment, they should be welcomed back into our society. This is particularly true for veterans. *We cannot justify having put them through the horrors of Vietnam, and then continue to punish them for the rest of their lives.*

Despite the facts of unemployment, crime, drug addiction and discrimination, Congress and the huge V.A. bureaucracy have failed to provide solutions. California needs a Senator who will act to meet the crucial and immediate needs of veterans.

**I propose the following steps be taken to help America's veterans:**

- Revise the procedures through which veterans can receive complete medical care and counselling.

- Provide substantial increases—at minimum, fair cost-of-living increases—for veterans under the G.I. Bill.

- Create community-based organizations, with easy accessibility, to deal with unemployment, counselling, housing, and other veterans' problems.

- End the SPN classification and other discriminatory discharge procedures.

- Implement programs to deal with the particularly acute problems of unemployment and training for minorities.

- Institute a review of all dishonorable discharges and consider proposals for an objective single category discharge.

- Implement complete amnesty for Vietnam war resisters.

**Veterans sacrificed their lives, their bodies and their time, but they have returned to a society that has been unwilling to reintegrate them and has been negligent in meeting their pressing human needs.** It is time to change this situation and provide veterans with the attention and help they require and deserve.

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## The Disabled

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The time is long overdue for America to treat people with disabilities as full citizens. Few Americans realize that 10% of our people - roughly 22 million human beings - experience some kind of disability which prevents them from participating actively in our economic, social and political life. Kept invisible by those who prefer not to deal with their problems, the disabled frequently experience the worst sort of paternalism and neglect from government bureaucracies designed to assist them.

The plight of people with disabilities is

especially frustrating because their fight for equal treatment has been won repeatedly in the passage of federal and state legislation - but lost in the failure of political leaders to implement these reforms.

Beginning with passage of the Urban Mass Transit Act of 1964, through the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the state's Fair Employment Practices Act of 1973, the California Civil Rights statutes of 1975 and recently enacted legislative guidelines concerning special education priorities, we have seen overwhelming legal support for disabled people.

Like racial minorities, however, the disabled have found that such laws are not necessarily translated into effective action.

Millions of the disabled who have mobility find it difficult to acquire jobs sufficiently challenging to their abilities. Nearly 14 million disabled persons are limited in their job options because of obstacles in public transit design. Of these, 5.3 million are unable to use public transportation at all, and thus remain dependent on others for transportation or join the unemployment rolls.

Millions of other disabled people are prevented from full assimilation into society because of failure to renovate and reconstruct buildings, thus eliminating jobs as well as equal accessibility. Americans with mental retardation are disallowed training after the age of 21, thus stifling their potential for growth and fulfillment.

In addition to non-implementation of laws granting the disabled their rights, the other key problem facing the disabled is our skewed national priorities. Despite the huge number of disabled who could play productive roles with federal assistance, the federal government has been woefully lacking in adequate job-training, job-placement, small business loans and other economic aid programs for the disabled.

Here in California, for example, the federal government last year spent only \$66 million on rehabilitation services. By contrast, it spent \$13.8 billion, or more than two hundred times as much, on the military. In fiscal year 1973-4, \$49.6 million was made available for rehabilitation, providing 15,505 persons with productive work. Hundreds of thousands of the disabled badly in need of similar help could also be put to work, were we to reserve present priorities on military spending and corporate assistance.

We need to change these priorities, to utilize the vast economic and social potential we could gain from investing in assistance to the disabled. Our aerospace technicians could use their talents to develop the kind of marketable technology

necessary for wheelchairs which operate with the flicker of an eye. Hundreds of thousands of people could be put to work re-fitting government buildings and mass transit so as to provide access to the disabled.

Disabled people in this state have begun to see the value of local organizing as a partial answer to their full integration into society. The Center for Independent Living in Berkeley, the Halfway House in San Jose, and the Disabled Student Unions at all the state universities are excellent examples of the type of local activism my campaign hopes we can expand to all California citizens.

As Senator, I will support the following steps to assist disabled persons struggling for their rights:

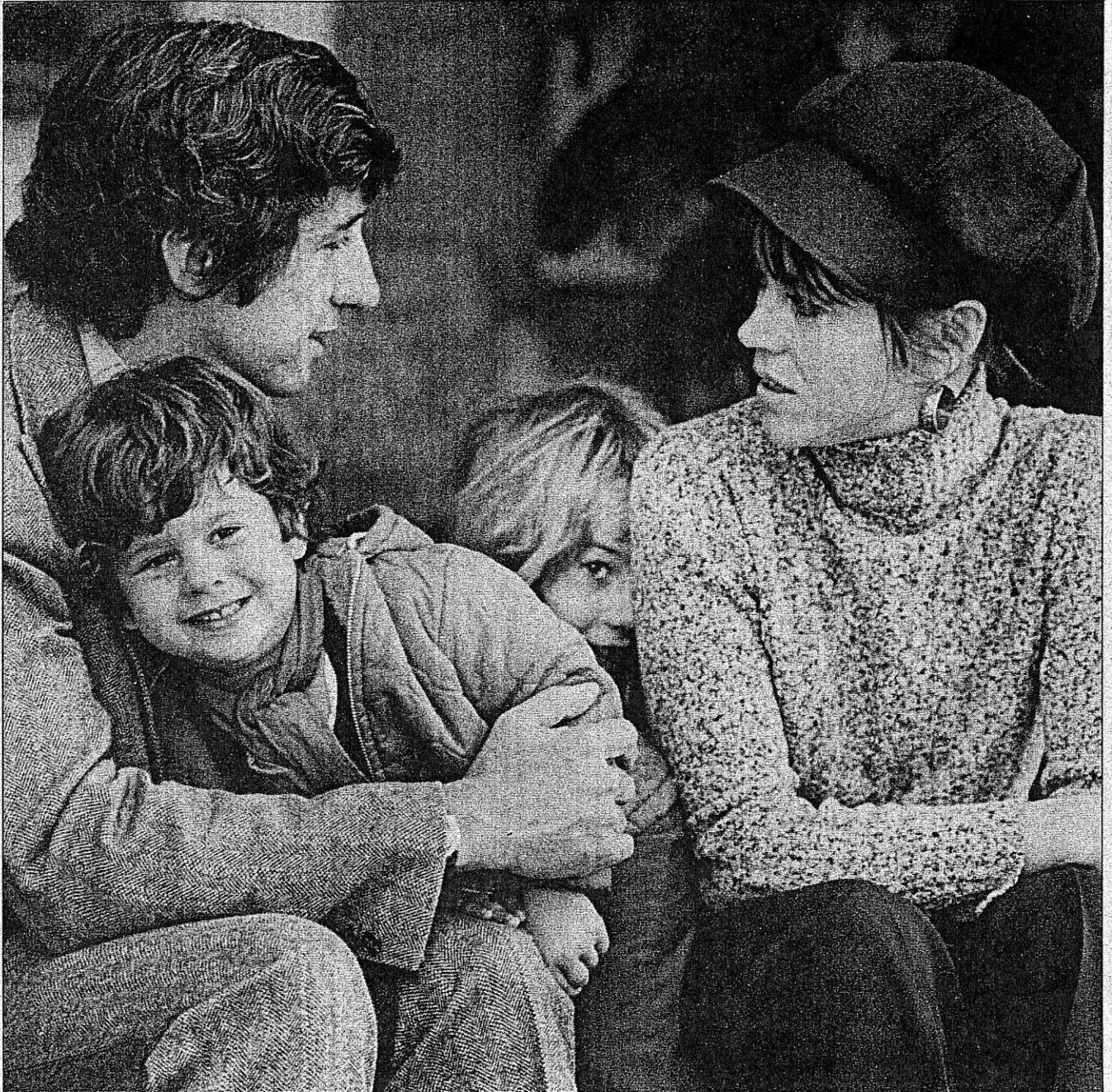
- Enforcement of laws designed to assist the disabled. I will fight to shake up sluggish federal bureaucracies, and see that those charged with implementing laws designed to aid the disabled do so. I will attempt to publicize all failures to enforce such laws, for example the requirements that government buildings and government-aided mass transit have facilities for the disabled. I will also fight for support for federally funded legal services enabling disabled persons to go to court for enforcement of federal provisions.

- Changing priorities — I will struggle to replace present federal priorities on assistance to corporations and useless military spending with such human priorities as aid to the disabled. There should be a vast increase in federal monies, a) to help disabled people obtain small business loans, b) to provide assistance in job-training and job placement, and c) to create public service jobs for attendants to assist those in need of transportation or on-the-job assistance.

- Tax assistance — Our present tax laws, rigged to help multinational corporations export jobs and capital abroad, should be changed to assist those most in need. There is no reason, for example, why a disabled person forced to hire private transportation to get to work should not be allowed a tax deduction for this purpose.

I pledge my support to all individuals and organizations struggling to see that disabled people be permitted to live full and rewarding lives. The dozens of community offices I intend to open if elected Senator will be accessible to the disabled. Disabled people will be able to find lawyers and community activists in these offices pledged to assist them in gaining their rights.

We need to work together to make certain that our present approach toward disabled persons, which wastes money by wasting talent and creativity, is not continued.



## Biography

### The Civil Rights Movement

Tom Hayden first went South as a journalist in 1961 to cover the civil rights movement. He quickly got involved and moved to Atlanta. He wrote numerous articles and pamphlets, and was beaten and arrested in Mississippi and Georgia.

### Birth of the American Student Movement

Tom Hayden was editor of the student newspaper at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, where he graduated in political science. He

was a member of student government and attended the National Student Association Congresses of 1960, 1961 and 1962.

From 1961 to 1964, he was a founder and leader of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Tom Hayden authored the first draft of the SDS Port Huron Statement in 1962, the document that inspired a new generation of political activity in America.

He demonstrated against the Vietnam War in 1963 during the visit of Madame Nhu, sister of President Ngo Dinh Diem, to Ann Arbor.

### Community Organizing

Tom Hayden lived in Newark, New Jersey for four years. During that time he worked in the ghetto as part of a national community organizing project. He organized tenants and unemployed workers in both Black and white neighborhoods. He participated in the Office of Economic Opportunity poverty program.

### A Decade of Peace Movement Activity

Besides long years of organizing protests against the war, Hayden has written two books and innumerable articles on Indochina and has lectured at several universities on the subject. He has traveled to North Vietnam, parts of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos four times since 1965 to view the situation, to write, to make films. He was the intermediary in the first release of American POW's in 1967, and several times thereafter. He testified as an expert witness on negotiations during the Vietnam War at the Pentagon Papers trial. He testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after interviewing leaders of the Cambodian revolution in Paris in the Spring of 1975.

### The Struggle Against Government Repression

In 1968, Tom Hayden was a coordinator of the historic demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention. In 1969, in the first of the major Nixon-era political indictments, he and seven others were charged with conspiracy for their anti-war actions in Chicago. He went through a 6 month trial and three years of review before being cleared of all charges.

In 1971, Tom was involved in the community control of police referendum in Berkeley, where he was residing at the time.

### National Coordinator of the Indochina Peace Campaign

The IPC, which was based in Los Angeles, had approximately 40 chapters across the United States. Its main focus was to build a broad campaign to pressure Congress to cut aid to the military dictatorships in Indochina. During the presidential election of 1972, Hayden, Jane Fonda and others spoke against the war in 90 cities. In early 1974, he was involved in lobbying efforts in Washington against further aid to the war. He met with over 50 members of the House and Senate, and taught a four-week class on Indochina in the House of Representatives. In Spring, 1974 he and Jane were in North and South Vietnam to make an hour-long film documentary, "Introduction to the Enemy." The following year, Tom and others lobbied

intensively, testified before Congress, and spoke around the U.S. against President Ford's request for "supplemental military aid" to Indochina. This effort succeeded, leading to Congress' final aid cutoff to the war.

### Journalist, Author and Teacher

Tom is a contributing editor of *Rolling Stone* magazine. He has written extensive pieces on Governor Jerry Brown, Henry Kissinger's Indochina policy, an interview with Presidential candidate Fred Harris, an analysis of the Soviet Union, and a final editorial on the occasion of the end of the Indochina War.

He has written five books: *The Other Side*, co-authored with Staughton Lynd, (New American Library, 1966)—on the Vietnam War; *Rebellion in Newark* (Random House, 1967); *Rebellion and Repression* (World, 1968); *Trial* (Holt, 1970); *The Love of Possession is a Disease with Them* (Holt, 1972)—a comparison of the Indochina War with the American Indian wars.

He has written hundreds of articles for newspapers, magazines and political anthologies, including *The New York Times*, *Ramparts*, *Mademoiselle*, *Studies on the Left*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Dissent*, *Newsday* and *The New York Review of Books*.

Hayden has held teaching positions at the following institutions: Pitzer-C Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California, 1972; UCLA Experimental College, 1972; Immaculate Heart College, Dept. of History, Los Angeles, 1971; University of California Berkeley Experimental College, 1969; and Rutgers University, Adult Education, Newark, New Jersey, 1967. Hayden did graduate research at the Mental Health Research Institute, the Conflict Resolution Center in Ann Arbor in 1963. In addition, he has lectured at hundreds of colleges and high schools around the country.

For the past 15 years, he has been a central figure in the political life of the nation. His organizing work helped shape the course of our domestic and foreign policies. Many people have regarded him as a symbol of their generation. Tom Hayden has accomplished more *out of office* than most elected officials have after a lifetime *in office*.

Tom and his wife, activist/actress Jane Fonda, live in Santa Monica with their two children, Troy, 2, and Vanessa, 7. Tom is 36 years old. He was born in Detroit and has resided in California for the past eight years.