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DOMESTIC POLICY

Carl Leubsdorf
Les Gapay
William Wyant
Nelson Benton
Al Cromley
Carl Rowan
Morton Mintz
Stuart Auerbach
Charles Bartlett
Robert S. Boyd
William Broom
Haynes Johnson
William Raspberry
Hugh Sidey
John Lindsay
Bernie Brenner (farm)
William Blair (farm)
Bill Moyers
Frank VanderLinden
Margaret Mayer

Baltimore Sun
Wall Street Journal
St. Louis Post Dispatch
CBS
Daily Oklahoman
Field Enterprises
Washington Post
Washington Post
Chicago Sun Times
Knight
Ridder
Washington Post
Washington Post
Time
Newsweek
UPI
NY Times
CBS
Nashville Banner
Dallas Times-Herald

GENERAL

Nick Thimmesch
Rudy Abramson
Aldo Beckman
Mort Kondrake
Scotty Reston
Pat Ferguson
Andy Glass
Saul Kohler
Jim Dickinson
Jim Hartz
Howard K. Smith

Los Angeles Times Syndicate
Los Angeles Times
Chicago Tribune
Chicago Sun Times
New York Times
Baltimore Sun
Cox
Newhouse
Washington Star
NBC
ABC

POSSIBLE QUESTIONERS FOR DEBATES

Defense

Bill Beecher	Boston Globe
Fred Hoffman	Associated Press
Charles Corddry	Baltimore Sun
John Finney	New York Times
John Milne	UPI
Norman Kempster	Los Angeles Times
Lloyd Norman	Newsweek
Joe Kane	Time
Joseph Kraft	
Robert Novak	
Stan Carter	New York Daily News
Pat Sloyan	Long Island Newsday

Economics

Art Pine	Baltimore Sun
John Berry	Time
Rich Thomas	Newsweek
Bart Rowan	Washington Post
Jim Rowe	Washington Post
Bill Neikirk	Chicago Tribune
Lee Cohn	Washington Star
Ed Dale	New York Times
Eileen Shanahan	New York Times
Al Hunt	Wall Street Journal

Foreign Policy

Barry Schweid	Associated Press
Ted Koppel	ABC
Marvin Kalb	CBS
Richard Valeriani	NBC
Henry Bradsher	Washington Star
Henry Brandon (British)	London Sun Times
Nicholas Daniloff	United Press International
Bernie Gwertzman	New York Times
Leslie Gelb	New York Times
Murray Marder	Washington Post
Jerry Shecter	Time
C. L. Sulzberger	New York Times

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1976

4:30 p. m.

Ron:

From Bill Weeks: further on our phone conversation of today, the league of women voters tells us it wants on August 23 to announce the petition signatures of those urging the debates.

His office just called with this message.

Carol

DEBATES

VOL XXVI

#3/THE NATIONAL

FALL 1976

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'76 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

An election campaign, by nature, often invites comparison to a military campaign. The candidates, like opposing generals, map out strategies, deploy their party's troops and fight for the hearts and minds—and votes—of the people on such unlikely battlegrounds as shopping centers, parade routes and even the airwaves. This year, the League of Women Voters mobilized its own citizen-soldiers to bring off an unprecedented tour de force. Our goal: Issues not images in Election '76. The fruits of victory: '76 Presidential Debates!

No doubt about it, the League of Women Voters Education Fund has pulled off the biggest *coup* of Election '76, or any election year for that matter. Although John Kennedy and Richard Nixon faced off before the TV cameras back in 1960, this year marks the first time that an incumbent president has debated his opponent. The scheduled contest between the vice presidential contenders is also without precedent. Most noteworthy, the '76 Presidential Debates are the first such forums ever sponsored by an organization, let alone a voluntary one like the LWV.

The skeptics, who said that presidential debates were a political impossibility, have changed their tune. Now they've concluded that no organization could have brought it off *but* the League, with its 56-year tradition of scrupulously impartial voters service.

The networks would have needed a special congressional waiver of the Federal Communication Commission's equal time provision to sponsor the debates themselves. Current FCC regulations permit them to cover debates between major party candidates—as a news event—if another organization sponsors them. That's where the LWVEF came in.

The Education Fund announced plans to sponsor presidential debates last May

as a logical followup to its series of presidential forums held during the primary election season. Realizing that the candidates wouldn't be easily persuaded, the League mounted an intensive campaign, including a nationwide petition drive which was called off when events overtook it.

President Gerald Ford assented in a surprise announcement during his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention. Governor Jimmy Carter accepted immediately thereafter.

Said LWVEF Chairman Ruth C. Clusen: "The public pressure we have mounted created the needed atmosphere for Ford and Carter to agree."

The LWVEF immediately entered negotiations with the candidates' representatives. Naturally, the Ford and Carter teams aimed to present their men in the best possible light. The League negotiators wanted to ensure that neither got an unfair advantage.

Such details as format, staging, topics and dates were agreed upon at two sessions on August 26 and September 1. Chairman Clusen and Presidential Debates Cochairs Rita Hauser, Charls Walker, Jr. and Newton Minow, along with League Executive Director Peggy Lampl and Project Director James Karayn represented the LWVEF; former FCC chief Dean Burch, former Deputy Attorney-General William Ruckelshaus and White House advisor Mike Duval represented the President; and Press Secretary Jody Powell and media advisors Gerald Rafshoon and Barry Jagoda represented Governor Carter. (Mondale advisor Dick Moe was there on behalf of the Democratic vice presidential nominee.) Compared to the wrangling that preceded the Nixon-Kennedy debates during 12 separate meetings, negotiations for the '76 forums proceeded smoothly.

Word that TV coverage would be limited to shots of the debaters and questioners

touched off a flap with the networks, which wanted to film audience reactions during the debates. Both the League and the candidates rejected such visual interruptions, and the networks, despite impassioned protests against censorship, relented.

The networks weren't the only ones giving the LWVEF a hard time. Independent candidate Eugene McCarthy and American Party standard bearer Tom Anderson went to U.S. District Court—McCarthy to gain entree to the events and Anderson to block them entirely. Both challenges were dismissed. Meanwhile, over at the FCC, Lester Maddox, American Independent Party candidate, Peter Camejo, nominee of the Socialist Workers Party, and then McCarthy protested that the debates violated the equal time provision. The commission, like the courts, upheld the debates.

The LWVEF had already weathered an earlier setback from the Federal Election Commission. On August 27, the FEC ruled that the LWVEF could not, as planned, fund the debates with contributions from unions or corporations, including nonprofit foundations. So once again, the LWVEF went public, soliciting individual contributions through newspaper ads in the *New York Times*, the Washing-

Philadelphia Story

The City of Brotherly Love hadn't seen as much action since the Constitutional Convention. And in fact, the events of September 23, 1976 were to take place a short three blocks away from Independence Hall where that document was signed, sealed and delivered. The 167-year-old Walnut Street Theater was about to add the first '76 presidential debate to its roster of historic opening nights.

Outside, network mobile television units, aswarm with technicians, filled up a block-long strip of parking lot opposite the theater. The usual array of gawkers, hangers-on and protesters—including a man in an Uncle Sam suit—milled about, while a platoon of mounted policemen cantered back and forth.

As twilight descended on the city, police and secret service agents cordoned off a four-block area surrounding the theater and the Ben Franklin Hotel, which housed

the Carter contingent. (Mr. Ford stayed at a private residence.)

Said Clusen: "It's not like the days of the Lincoln-Douglas debates where two candidates climbed on a stump and talked. We need staff to work on the thousands of technical and logistical details connected with the debates. Funds are needed for site rental and press facilities; travel to the debates and to explore potential locations, security arrangements, sets for the debates, telephone and printing costs." Clusen estimated that the four debates will cost at least \$250,000.

But, if that's what it takes to focus Election '76 on the issues, then it's well worth it. The first two debates highlighted distinct differences in the candidates' approaches to the economy and foreign policy. As we go to press, the vice-presidential debate on October 15 and the final presidential debate on October 22 are still to come. Both, open to questions on all topics, will refine positions even more.

The columnists, commentators and pollsters are devoting reams to analyses of "who won," but the LWVEF knows that the question will be decided on November 2 by the citizens. They're the real winners of the '76 Presidential Debates.

the Carter contingent. (Mr. Ford stayed at a private residence.)

Ticket holders—guests of the Philadelphia LWV, state League presidents and national board members from the region, Presidential Debates cochairs and steering committee members, VIPs selected by Carter and Ford, and members of the press—had to display their numbered tickets upon reaching the blockade's perimeter, keeping them visible during the walk to the theater through a corridor of shoulder-to-shoulder police and security men.

None of the guests seemed to mind the inconvenience imposed by security. On the contrary, admission to the Presidential Debates took on a status comparable to ring-side seats at the Olympics.

Rounding the corner to the theater, the first-nighters stepped into a blinding glare of klieg lights which lit up the entire block.

Photographs by John Neubauer

Once inside, tickets were checked and rechecked, purses and briefcases thoroughly searched and unauthorized cameras relinquished for the duration.

The Walnut's balcony was soon filled with Leaguers and journalists, who spent the last minutes before airtime scanning the crowd for VIPs.

Onstage, stand-ins for the presidential contenders patiently stood at the cylindrical podiums while technicians checked out the camera angles.

Just before airtime, LWVEF Chairman Ruth C. Clusen laid down the ground-rules: no applause, no inappropriate laughter, no flash pictures, no talking into tape recorders.

The questioners took their seats. Then Carter walked onstage, shook hands with the panel and took his place. A minute or two later, Ford appeared.

The Presidential Debates were on the air. For the next 90 minutes, citizens of the U.S. and the world—an estimated 200 million in all—listened to a discussion of the domestic and economic issues facing the country. Panelists pounded away with questions on unemployment and tax policies and touched on such issues as amnesty and energy.

Actually, it was more like 117 minutes, due to an equipment failure that robbed both the theater audience and viewers at home of the audio portion and caused a 27-minute delay. As technicians frantically grabbed phones and silently raced around checking equipment, the two candidates stood stock still, unsure whether they were on or off the air. The audience, mindful of its instructions, kept the conversation to a discreet murmur, though some giggled when, at one point, both candidates—with a quick glance at each other—dabbed away at perspiring foreheads.

Finally the defect was corrected, the candidates made their three-minute closing statements, and the first of the '76 Presidential Debates was history.

It remained for the instant analysts to make their pronouncements, the scorekeepers to tote up the points, the TV reporters to sample audience reaction—and for the citizens in living rooms across America to ponder which of the two men could best lead the nation into its third century.



The prospect of separate visits by Ford and Carter for a predebate audio-visual check caused a day-long mob scene outside the Walnut Theater. Here, newsmen jockey for position.



Upstairs/Downstairs: An audience of about 500 Leaguers, journalists and VIPs fills the Walnut's balcony, as the questioners take their seats onstage. L to R., Frank Reynolds, ABC News; James Gannon, Wall Street Journal; Elizabeth Drew, New Yorker magazine; and Moderator Edwin Newman, NBC News.



After the broadcast, LWVEF Chairman Ruth C. Clusen moves center stage. Here, with Project Director James Karayn, she thanks President Ford . . . and, joined by League Executive Director Peggy Lampl, also thanks Governor and Mrs. Carter.





A galaxy of klieg lights and a mass of TV cameras and monitors prepare San Francisco's Palace of Fine Arts Theatre for the second Presidential Debate on foreign policy and military defense.



A post-debate handshake and a promise to meet in Williamsburg (site of the final presidential debate), as Rosalynn Carter looks on.



The San Francisco questioners: L. to R., Moderator Pauline Frederick, National Public Radio; Richard Valeriani, diplomatic correspondent for NBC News; Henry L. Trewhitt, diplomatic reporter for the Baltimore Sun; and Max Frankel, associate editor of the New York Times.

Photographs by Ron Scherl

The San Francisco Connection

Unlike the audience at San Francisco's Palace of Fine Arts Theatre, most citizens watched the second debate between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in the familiar company of Walter and Eric, Harry and Barbara, et. al. And, in the minutes following the broadcast, viewers were treated to various interpretations of what they had just seen and heard.

Most of the commentators, as well as journalists whose analyses appeared in the days following, agreed that the debate on foreign policy was far livelier than the first exchange on the economy and domestic issues. Both men were deemed more feisty and aggressive the second time around, neither hesitating to attack his opponent or defend his own position when challenged. More territory was covered in San Francisco, as the candidates argued about such issues as detente, the Middle East, defense spending, South Africa and morality in foreign policy.

Throughout the written and spoken coverage of the first two debates, the press sprinkled its analyses with a liberal helping of advice to the League on ways to enliven the format. Some singled out the "dreary" setting and "rigid" groundrules. Others called for elimination of the panel of journalists with their long-winded questions that elicited even more verbose responses from the candidates.

It's easy to lose sight of the fact that the particulars of format for the '76 Presidential Debates are a reflection of painstaking compromises worked out by the LWVEF in negotiations with the Ford and Carter camps.

What's more, the criticism turns on the assumption that these televised meetings between the presidential contenders ought to be good theater. Granted, the first two debates did not live up to their network billing as the decisive events of Election '76. The polls report that, although a high percentage of the electorate watched, the dialog did not keep viewers rivetted to their picture tubes.

However, the LWVEF set out to air the issues, not to produce a gripping drama of the *Kojak* genre. Electing a president is serious business. Citizens need to know the candidates' positions on the issues—where they vary, where they

mesh—in order to cast an informed vote.

League members know from long experience that the political stream is often sluggish. Veteran newsman Sander Vanocour goes a step further. In a recent Washington *Post* column, he criticized the pre-debate media build-up and concluded, "The political process is, and should be, dull."

The same yardstick applies to criticism of the debate questioners. Subjects as complex as the economy or foreign policy don't always lend themselves to the sharp sentence or snappy interrogatory.

A Washington *Post* editorial, published the morning after the Philadelphia debate, supplies perhaps the best perspective: "Even with their limitations, these exposures of the presidential candidates do perform an enormously important service. They give the electorate an opportunity to see, hear—and compare—the men who compete for the nation's highest office. . . . In their paradoxical way, despite pancake makeup and the electronic alchemy, the mass-audience debates shrink the nation's size, strip the candidates of the protective shield forged by their managers and force them to appear in millions of American living rooms in something like their true colors."

Grab a piece of history!

The '76 Presidential Debates will undoubtedly occupy a special place in American history—not to mention LWV history.

The League of Women Voters Education Fund has officially endorsed a set of four cassette recordings of these historic meetings. You, your LWV, or perhaps another organization to which you belong, can purchase the set for just \$26. Best of all, the League will receive \$2 from the sale of each set to help defray the cost of producing the debates.

Don't miss the opportunity to contribute to the '76 Presidential Debates and get a piece of history in the bargain!

Order from 3R Sound, Ltd., P.O. Box 314, Midwood Station, Brooklyn, New York 11230.

Will success spoil the League of Women Voters?

By Ruth C. Clusen

That sounds like a silly question, doesn't it? But since mid-August it has become a highly relevant one. Actually, the major question is can the League of Women Voters make the most of today's visibility tomorrow?

The months of planning and pressure since our announcement at national convention in May paid off the night that President Ford declared his willingness to debate. Everything changed for the League.

The following month found the League basking in the glow of daily front-page and network news coverage. We're still experiencing extremely high visibility. From this time on, we will be known as the organization that brought off the '76 Presidential Debates—a feat never before accomplished by any organization.

Almost from the first day, I have been concerned lest we just sit back and enjoy it all. We must use it to the fullest. Over the years that I've been reading local and state League annual reports, a recurring theme has emerged—the idea that both members and money could be procured if we achieved national attention. Now we have to prove it, and in the course of doing so, many things may and should change for the League.

The League's appeal to a broader-based membership should be greatly enhanced. This is an unparalleled opportunity for us to reach an audience with membership potential that has not always been available to us. Men, young people, minority groups have demonstrated a tremendous interest in the debates and a high regard for the League. To draw them in, we'll have to work harder than ever at adapting our meeting patterns and our program management process to a new constituency. We have given lip service to

this idea for years—now we need to act on it!

Being in the spotlight takes a great degree of maturity and an ability to roll with the punches. We all need to face some hard facts at this point. It's not all roses, as any given 24-hour period in the national office points up very well. We are going to make some enemies in this process. We are going to get considerable criticism from numerous sources. We cannot always do things in the way League members prefer. We need the courage to say "no" to lots of people—firmly and with courtesy. We, and you, need to face the fact that reporters are indefatigable in their desire for material on the debates, and that the League is not their only source of information. Local and state Leagues in the places where debates are held face the same problems and are dealing with them with great competence and courage.

There has been an insatiable demand for tickets to these events from members and the public alike. It hardly seems necessary to say it, but some hard and fast lines have had to be drawn. We have been consistent and impartial in our response to the requests. Frequently we have been operating under policies decided during the negotiating sessions with the candidates' representatives.

The amount of unsolicited advice we've received—on panel selection, moderators, questions, sites, format, audience, staging, and everything else—is nothing less than incredible. However, the complexity of these events and the innumerable details have been difficult for those not involved to grasp.

Leagues are accustomed to handling candidate forums at every level, but there is a wide gap between those events and a project which must achieve the highest level of professionalism for the nation and the world. We haven't made any big mis-

takes, and we have reason for great pride in this remarkable organization. The challenge to us all is to deal with the responsibilities that go along with this challenge in an objective, mature fashion which is in no way self-serving.

I wish I could share with you the flavor of the mail and calls we've been getting. At the time of our well-publicized hassle with the networks over audience reaction coverage, we received scores of letters, mailgrams and calls supporting our position. Not one person asked that we submit to changes.

There was an obvious letter-writing campaign on behalf of several of the independent and minor party candidates, some from League members. We have replied only to League members on this question, stressing the importance to the country of the debates and, pragmatically, the impossibility of producing them if other candidates were involved.

Some days we have all been under siege regarding site selection. Obviously every city, state, university, Chamber of Commerce and local League wanted a debate in its community. Rumors travel faster than facts, and Leagues have had to deal with the local press at times when we were unable to confirm sites. In most cases you have all been magnificent in rising to the challenge.

The mail has been funny and sad, and at times, threatening. Often it has been touching in revealing the writer's confidence that the League can solve any problem, reach anybody, change the world. Through it all I have been immensely proud of the national staff operation, which has been almost nonstop. I know you are, too. Perhaps the best way to put it into focus is to quote from a few League letters (with apologies for cutting in places). From Santa Rosa, California: "We are impressed with the wisdom and strength with which you are negotiating

with the networks. This series of debates will bring public relations benefits to all Leagues in the country." From a regent of the University of Michigan: "Bravo to the League. Your initiative and enterprise with the Presidential Debates is fantastic." From the New Orleans LWV: "My own poll of media friends this morning was also favorable. Without exception they thought the debates were well run and commended us." From the LWV of Wayne Township, New Jersey: "Members were very pleased to learn that you will not be accepting contributions from political action committees. We feel the position you have taken will serve to reinforce our traditional nonpartisan role." I could go on and on with similar reactions, but my favorite came from Marchette Chute, author of *The Green Tree of Democracy*, who sent me a copy of her book and wrote: "My sister and I have always been proud to be members of the League of Women Voters. But we felt even more proud than usual last night, as we watched the first of the Presidential Debates. After all the fussing and fuming, it was as though a firm, impartial presence had suddenly taken over and said to the American people, 'This is what is really important. Listen and watch.' Nothing could have done more to clear the air, and everyone owes the League a profound debt of gratitude."

Will success spoil the LWV? The answer is obviously "no." We will be what we have always been, only more so. Success will unite us, not divide us, and we will use it to forge a force for good in American society which cannot be denied. Never again will we need to explain what and who we are. Never again will we hesitate to take the bold step, to issue the ultimate challenge. We are no longer a band of earnest reformers in the wake of the parade. We're leading the parade—and we intend to keep it that way! □

Mahbub ul Haq

The NIEO Look in Global Economics

Mahbub ul Haq, formerly the Chief Economist of the Pakistan Planning Commission, now serves as the Director of Policy Planning and Program Review for the World Bank. In the following interview, given in an entirely personal capacity, Mr. Haq shares his perceptions of world economic issues that bear directly on the League's current study of the United Nations, with its emphasis on relations between the developed and developing nations, sometimes called the North/South dialog.

VOTER: During its first two decades of existence, the United Nations was dominated by East-West tensions. Now the debate seems to revolve around a North-South split. What brought about this shift?

Haq: When the United Nations was set up in 1944, there was an entirely different international power structure. What we have come to know as the Third World consisted mostly of colonies. As such, developing countries were not much in the picture, except as bargaining chips in the game between the western countries and the communist bloc.

The North-South tension that has emerged is the outcome of the last two decades of economic development in these countries and their relationships during this period with the developed countries. Two things have happened. One, there is a great feeling of frustration in the developing nations. They thought that if they grew fast, they would be able to deliver a decent level of survival to their poor masses. In many parts of the world that hasn't happened. Naturally, they think that the developed countries have not helped as much as they could have. Secondly, earlier relationships, which were established between developed countries—mostly western countries—and the Third World, are now being questioned. While developing nations want to have the capital assistance, the technology and the advice of western countries, they also resent the dependence that such help creates. They are searching for a new style of development where they can be more self-reliant.

Since the 1940s, all new UN members have been Third World countries. The United Nations is a good forum through which they can have collective bargaining

with the developed world.

VOTER: Some of the countries that belong to this configuration, like OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), have reached a fairly advanced stage of development. Since the "South" component is not restricted exclusively to the poorest nations, what gives them a common bond?

Haq: If one looks at the South, one will find a number of cultural differences between these countries. They stand at different stages of economic development, from the poorest country with a \$100 per capita annual income, like India, to richer countries with over \$1,000 per capita income, like Mexico and Argentina. One also sees great political differences, with some following the socialist path, others the more capitalist pattern. Some are pragmatists, trying to experiment with a mixed economy.

And one keeps wondering, what is it that binds the South? It is basically the bond of common suffering. Most of them have gone through a period of colonial rule, a period when they feel that their cultural and political values were compromised. They all also share a common goal of improving their present conditions, whether they're starting from a very low level or a somewhat higher one. They all think there is something they have to get from the developed countries.

I would regard this as the same kind of unity that comes within a trade union in a country. Within a trade union, there are all sorts of diverse elements, but they all want to negotiate a better deal with the management. The unity is there so long as the management is indifferent to their demands. A lot of the belligerence that

has emerged in the southern bloc is a function of the indifference of the developed countries to their conditions. The rich nations are still not willing to sit down and discuss economic issues with the poor nations. So long as that happens, there will be cohesion in the South.

VOTER: Many Americans feel that this coalition has ganged up on the United States at the UN. Do you think that there is a "tyranny of the majority" in the General Assembly?

Haq: No, I don't think so. I won't call it a tyranny of the majority, because after all, the United States itself believes in majority rule. It has tried to teach and spread the values of democracy to the rest of the world.

There is a coalition, a trade union as I call it, emerging within the UN and outside. I think all the developing countries feel that they do not get a fair shake from the present international order.

It is not that they want to exact concessions from the developed countries, not that they want more charity from the rich nations, not that they want to live on welfare. They perceive an inequality of opportunity. They cannot compete on equal terms with the rich nations, which having started their economic advance a lot earlier, have a lot of built-in advantages. The developing nations are agitating for legitimate economic rights, not for illegitimate exploitation.

VOTER: Would you elaborate on the inequities in the prevailing world economic order?

Haq: The rich nations, because they are rich, are able to preempt international credit. The same thing happens within countries. If you have already made a million dollars, it is very easy for you to establish credit. But in order to get the poorer people into that stream of economic opportunities, you have to take special measures.

At present, we do not have an international central bank, creating an international currency and making it available to

all members of the international community for their legitimate needs for growth. At the moment, the dollar is the international currency. So, as far as the United States is concerned, it has unlimited access to this international currency. But look at the situation with a poor country, like Bangladesh. Bangladesh cannot sell its currency. As a result, if it wants more goods from the rest of the world, it has to transfer real goods and services. Nor does Bangladesh have access to an international bank where it can say, "We want to buy foreign machinery and technology, but we are short of credit." The bank would say, "You are not creditworthy. What are the assets that you can mortgage?" Bangladesh would say, "Look at our land, look at our people, look at our development plans. What else can we give you? Our past is so miserable that it is only our future we can pledge to you. Lend us against our future potential." But there are not many institutions prepared to do this.

The inequality applies to international trade also. The products of the developing nations cannot come freely to the markets of the developed countries. There are restrictions against footwear, clothing and many other products that their labor produces. The developed countries feel that they have to protect their industry and keep the products of cheap labor out.

But such restrictions create neither efficiency nor equity internationally. In the long run, adjustments will have to be made. If America is no longer competitive in some industries, then they will wither away. The only question is whether they wither away in a planned fashion and provide opportunities to the poor nations or whether they wither away slowly because there are local pressure groups that do not want to lose their investments.

The developed countries should go on to the next stage—more capital-intensive industry with higher technology, more skilled labor—and gradually vacate the less sophisticated industries so that the developing countries can come in.

In the field of raw materials, the discrimination is of a different nature. Let's take the export of bananas. Now, the banana producers in South America get

only 8¢ out of every dollar that an American consumer pays. Where does the 92¢ go? It goes to those people who take the product from the producer, who label it, who refrigerate it, who ship it, who then distribute and advertise it. So it's the service sector that makes the most money.

Now one can't say that this is discrimination. What it means is that if the producers want to get more return out of the bananas, they have to take over the further processing of the bananas. Their fight is not with the consumer, because the consumer is already paying a lot. In fact, if the developing countries would manage some of these intermediary services, the consumer might get the product at a lower price. It's not that the developing countries are saying, "We should try to exploit the consumer of the developed country." Their demand is that, out of the price the consumer is already paying, they should get a higher return.

On the whole, the developing countries are getting about \$30 billion from the export of their primary commodities, but the consumers in the developed countries are paying about \$200 billion for them. The inequity is that the developing countries are not so organized or so rich that they can form their own shipping companies, their own distribution channels.

Let me give you an idea of the picture in reverse. When the developed countries send their goods out to the developing countries, they normally get 70 to 80 percent of the price that the consumers pay, because many multinational corporations (MNCs) have their own distribution channels in the developing countries.

VOTER: Should adjustments be made in the way MNCs operate?

Haq: What the developing nations are seeking is a more enlightened framework in which they can deal with the MNCs. Many concessions, deals, leases and contracts made in the past give a very small share of the final output to the developing countries. When the MNCs, however progressive they are at home, go into the developing countries, they have tried to get the best possible advantage by political squeeze and hard economic bargaining. Some developing countries, let's face it, have been willing tools in this proc-

ess of economic exploitation. This is a phase that can be best described as primitive capitalism. We must graduate now to a more enlightened framework which can benefit both sides.

What is needed is a system of international control. The bargaining power of individual developing countries is very weak, and MNCs are often very large—sometimes their annual budget exceeds the gross national product of the country they are dealing with. Under the UN framework, there could be a standard code of conduct that sets limits under which agreements should be made for the minimum sharing of profits, for the spread of technology and for arbitration. It is in the interests of MNCs to seek a new social contract with the developing countries. As we have no international government, the closest substitute is the United Nations.

VOTER: What about development assistance?

Haq: Let's review the system that has actually developed. I call it, partly out of frustration, institutionalized charity. It's a voluntary system, where the rich nations, out of a variety of motives, have decided to transfer resources to the poor countries. This kind of system is always very unpopular, both in the countries giving it, and surprisingly enough, also in the countries receiving it. I think it's because the original concepts are wrong.

Let's look at the situation within countries. Welfare programs and charity were never very viable solutions. As an act of policy, resources should be put at the disposal of the poor to make them productive members of society. Otherwise, they will become permanently dependent on welfare and use the system as a crutch. Nationally we have passed through this phase from unstructured charity to more institutionalized charity to the stage of modern governments, whether capitalist or communist, accepting the responsibility to look after their underprivileged.

Internationally, probably in another 20 to 40 years, the same evolution will come, because we are becoming a global village. The next stage has to be an acceptance by the international community, by the richer members, that putting resources at the disposal of the poor coun-

tries is something that has to be done as a matter of right, and for the viability of the international community. Mechanisms have to be provided that make it obligatory. The modern state, for that reason, acquired the system of progressive taxation. Similarly, the international community will have to evolve a system of taxing the rich nations for the benefit of the poor nations.

The primary task is to provide for basic human needs in the developing countries, so that 800 million people among two billion are not malnourished, so that we do not have one billion who are illiterate, so that there are at least a minimum of social services available to them.

My own personal estimates are that if the world is willing to commit \$15 billion a year for the next ten years to these programs in the developing countries for alleviation of mass poverty, the job can be finished in a ten-year period. It's a sizeable amount, but \$15 billion a year in terms of the capacity of the richer nations is very small. It is hardly more than the budget of New York City. It is half of what American society spends on cosmetics alone. And it is certainly not more than a fraction of the defense budgets of the developed countries (over \$200 billion a year). But it implies that, at some stage, the rich nations must make up their minds to assume clear responsibility for bringing equality of opportunity to the most underprivileged people of this world and to transfer adequate resources to do the job in a manageable period of time. If such responsibility is accepted, the best channel for these resources will be through international financial institutions, like the International Development Association.

What has plagued foreign assistance programs is that nobody sees any end to them, nor does anyone see their real objective. If one fixes as a target, equality of opportunity to the underprivileged of the developing world over a decade, it becomes a job that can be done, a program that can be sold to the legislatures here.

VOTER: Aren't most of the proposals we've been discussing part of the New International Economic Order (NIEO)?

Haq: The essence of the NIEO, as I see

it, is the establishment of equality, partnership and interdependence between the poor and the rich nations. It is always a great trauma to do that.

A number of things in the system will have to be changed. This kind of equality means establishing an international central bank which gives credit not only to the rich nations for their legitimate growth, but also to the poor nations to utilize their future potential. It means establishing a system of international taxation where the rich nations set aside a certain proportion of their GNP as an act of faith to help the poor countries for a specific period of time. Thirdly, it means changing the structure of international trade so that the poor countries can get a fair return out of the commodities that they export and so that they can control some of the services that middlemen now hold. In the case of manufactures, it means showing more tolerance toward importing the poor nations' manufactured goods, even though in the short run it may mean a speedier phasing out of some of the rich nations' industries. And finally, it means giving the poor nations a voice in international decision making. These are the various forms in which the equality of opportunity will come.

VOTER: What's in these proposals for the United States?

Haq: To answer that, I think I'll go back to the New Deal era. Initially, management felt that New Deal proposals would liquidate capitalism and that profits would decrease. They would have to pay the minimum wage to the laborers, provide facilities, bonuses and incentives for them. Management thought that this would take away the momentum of growth in capitalistic societies, which center around capital accumulation. Later on, when saner views prevailed, it was seen that the New Deal was what rescued capitalism from the inner contradictions that would have developed otherwise. A large part of the working class had to become a consuming society to buy products that capital was trying to produce—the cars and durable goods and all the rest. Far from being a constraint on growth, the New Deal provided more distribution of income, hence more consumption, more demand and a long period of uninterrupted economic growth.

I would like to pursue the same example at the international level. The capital of the world as well as its technology and research is being accumulated in the developed countries. The labor of the world is multiplying in the developing countries, which currently contain three-fourths of the world population. In another 50 years, the Third World may contain about 90 percent of the world population. Then we will have the phenomenon of labor and capital being kept apart—by the immigration laws, by restrictions on the movement of capital to the poorer nations. If this dichotomy continues, there will come a time when the developed countries will not know what to produce. After the society has consumed its fifth car per family and its third freezer, where is it going to go? Unless it seeks markets abroad, unless it brings the larger part of the world into the economic mainstream so that they are the consuming society, the whole momentum of economic growth is going to slow down. That's why I see the NIEO, in a way, as the projection of Roosevelt's New Deal philosophy from a national to an international level.

And what, you ask me, is in it for the rich nations? The prospect of continued growth. In the long run, the investments that they make today in bringing the poor countries to a threshold of economic decency, in making them a part of the global communal society, will be extremely worthwhile for the future of global growth in which the rich nations have a high stake.

VOTER: How can the developing nations convince the rich nations that the NIEO is in their self interest?

Haq: One can impress upon people to go back to their own history, their own heritage. If the United States goes back to its founding fathers, its evolution, what it fought for, what it created, it can identify more easily with the aspirations of other poor people who are fighting for those things. In the 1940s, the United States could identify with the colonies' aspirations for political liberation. The United States helped out and got a tremendous reservoir of goodwill with the developing countries. America didn't have any colonies. It was a liberated colony itself, so in

the political liberation phase, America was on the side of the Third World. In this present stage of economic liberation, America is not quite on our side. In this phase, the United States is the predominant financial and economic power. Structures that have to be changed, new attitudes that have to be cultivated, readjustments that have to be made are closer to home. And yet there is hope. America has gone through an evolution of institutions that is commendable. The developing countries are taking many leaves from the book of American history. They are asking for the same kind of New Deal that America brought in domestically to reform the worst sins of the market mechanism. And such reform can only come by protecting the rights of the underprivileged.

We in the Third World haven't done enough to project our case to the American public. We do not appeal sufficiently to America's own national experience, to its own national institutions, to its history. I think that can ring a bell, because America does stand for equality of opportunity, though not equality of wealth.

The NIEO is a sharing of future opportunities, a chance to develop future potential. And if we present it that way, in historical perspective, there is going to be greater understanding. At least I hope so. **VOTER:** Do you think the debate in the UN helps or hinders this progress toward world social and economic justice?

Haq: The Third World countries are turning to the United Nations because it is the only forum in which they can exercise collective bargaining. At the same time, I think they are realistic enough to go to smaller and more manageable forums for negotiating various specific issues. While the UN is the right forum to serve as an overall umbrella for collective bargaining, the second stage is to send negotiators into the back rooms where they try to understand each other's position and hopefully arrive at some cooperative arrangements. The Third World needs both stages for the political leverage it wants to apply. The tactics should be flexible, but there should be no compromise on the ultimate goals. □

THIS LAND IS YOUR LAND

What do the ski slopes of Vermont, the Mississippi riverfront in Scott County, Iowa, the Cheyenne River Reservation in South Dakota and the mountains of North Carolina have in common? Two things: land in trouble and people concerned about it. These and four other areas with land use problems were chosen as sites for prototype workshops funded by a grant from Resources for the Future to the LWVEF. The purpose of each was to zero in on a real land use dilemma and get people who can make a difference thinking and talking about it together. Sometimes those people were local or state officials; always they included concerned citizens.

The land use problems were all of the "why doesn't *somebody* do something about it" type, and each workshop was directed toward community agreement on what we can do. The Leagues involved know they have given the process a good beginning. Some highlights:

Alameda, California

"An attempt to make sure we know what we're doing to ourselves"—that's how a participant characterized the LWV of Oakland's workshop on a planned 3,000-home development on Alameda's Bay Farm Island. Since the community will profoundly affect both island and city, it has engendered controversy every step of the way. Tension has been particularly high between city backers of the devel-

opment and nearby Oakland Airport officials seeking to block it and the "inevitable" noise suits that would come from future residents. Just to complicate matters, the airport had expansion plans of its own. The result was a tangle of court suits.

Seeing a need for a fresh look at the issues, the League invited realtors, taxpayers, local and regional officials, environmentalists and airport representatives to sit and talk on neutral ground about their concerns. Differences did not evaporate, but a positive spirit of compromise was evident by the end of the day-long session. The League received high marks for creating the opportunity for conferees "to get to know one another in an atmosphere of fair exchange."

More tangible results came shortly after the May workshop, when airport commissioners and city officials settled their four-year dispute, paving the way for both the proposed housing development and airport expansion. The previously feuding parties expected "continued friendly relations"—thanks in large part to the LWV of Oakland.

Scott County, Iowa

A Mississippi rivertown conjures up images of 19th century charm and bustle, but in Davenport, Iowa the riverfront signifies much more than nostalgia. In real life, it is the focus of conflicting economic, social and environmental demands—so much so that the ordinary citizen is often crowded out. The LWV of Scott County focused its May workshop on balancing those demands and preserving the riverfront for all citizens.

The seminar saw a lively exchange of ideas and views on the future of the riverfront between representatives of varied interest groups, but there was consensus on two salient facts: although the river is Scott County's greatest natural resource, public access to it is rapidly disappearing, and public input into decision making is all but nonexistent. Participants agreed that a master plan—drawn up by and for all county residents—is a top priority if "balancing competing interests in the riverfront" is to become more than a platitude tossed around at meetings.

By asking the question, "What kind of a riverfront legacy will we leave for future generations?," the League brought Scott County one giant step toward planning comprehensively for a legacy even Ol' Man River can be proud of.

New Jersey

In New Jersey, the problems are different, but the theme was the same, as the LWVs of Camden County, the Moorestown Area, and Gloucester County invited participants to consider "Housing and Agriculture—Balanced Dreams for the Garden State." Experts in urban planning, farmland preservation and zoning joined citizens in exchanging opinions on the conflicting pressures for New Jersey's land.

Implications of the landmark *Mt. Laurel* court decision requiring communities to provide low- and moderate-income housing were debated in a morning panel discussion on the economic, environmental and social aspects of meeting housing needs and preserving prime farmland. Afternoon mini-sessions focused on topics ranging from transfer of development rights in land to the importance of community attitudes in successful land management.

Throughout the day, the common denominator was growth—how much, how fast and what kind. Southern New Jersey has reached a critical point where it must decide how much land should be developed and how much should be preserved for farming and open space. League members believe the June workshop has cued the public that failing to make long-range decisions now may mean losing the chance to decide at all.

North Carolina

A 16th century Englishman once described North Carolina as "the goodliest land under the scope of heaven." By now, most of that "goodly land" is in private hands, and little is left for public recreational use. And increasingly, economic pressure is forcing many rural property owners to sell their land for residential or commercial development.

This situation prompted the LWVs of Henderson, Buncombe, Polk and

Jackson Counties to invite large private and corporate landowners in the mountain area to learn about economically beneficial techniques of preserving their land in a natural state while sharing it with the public. Speakers from national, state and private conservation and recreation groups described methods of donating land, transferring development rights and granting easements for uses from wildlife refuges to bridle paths to golf courses.

Both concerned property owners and conservation agencies were enthusiastic about the unique chance to get down to nuts-and-bolts talk on public uses of private land that will help protect the mountain region's rich natural heritage from the intensive development neither group wants to see.

South Dakota

A significant portion of South Dakota is still *Indian Country*, but now numerous jurisdictional court battles are aggravating tensions between Indians and non-Indians in the state. The LWV of South Dakota worked with the Cheyenne River Sioux to ease those tensions with a July workshop on mineral and oil development on the 5,000-square mile Cheyenne River reservation.

Oil and coal industry interest in tribal lands has intensified recently, but unclear regulations, overlapping jurisdictions and suspicion have plagued relations between the two groups. The League conference brought together tribal officials, industry representatives, environmentalists and attorneys to untangle the legal, socioeconomic and ecological implications of developing the reservation's oil and mineral resources. As in Alameda, the workshop was primarily a "make-sure-we-know-what-we're-doing-to-ourselves" exploration of complicated facts and differing opinions.

In addition to a clearer understanding of the issues at hand, tribal and LWV coordinators saw the workshop as a significant prelude to future collaborations on shared concerns.

Vermont

"Downhill racing" symbolizes a modern winter wonderland to some, but to Ver-

monters it spells big business. Relations between the multimillion dollar industry and state and local governments have, however, been less than "smooth skiing" over the years, prompting the LWV of Vermont to focus on examining the industry's impact on the state's land use, human resources, economy, environment, transportation and energy.

Two regional workshops centered on common themes surfacing from citizen interviews: desire for reasonable expansion of ski areas to generate employment and boost local and state economies; the need for careful planning between government and industry; and better communication all around.

The project highlighted Vermonters' appreciation of both the benefits and the problems associated with their state's winter playground—along with a recognition of the need to balance economic and environmental factors so that the impact of the ski industry on Vermont remains a positive one. And, as usual, the League's determination to air the issues has snowballed: plans are now underway to widen the project's audience via a two-hour television program.

Fairfax County, Virginia

In this suburban Washington community, the League stepped into the middle of the hottest debate in town, involving the present status and future direction of the county land use plan. Since the area's transition from rolling, forested countryside to a center of burgeoning population, legal and political turmoil between public and private decision makers has crippled various planning efforts and enmeshed the county in a series of court battles.

Concerned that vital issues, as well as time and energy, were being lost in the controversy, the League brought together county planners, private attorneys, environmentalists and developers to explore ways of making land use planning less of an adversary process and more of a legitimate effort to control the quality of growth in Fairfax County.

Broad philosophical concepts and specific legal questions were examined in the May day-long session which brought

agreement on several crucial points, including the need for more input from the private sector into land use plans and the overriding necessity to keep the channels of communication open.

Having opened the dialog, the LWV of Fairfax County plans to use "shuttle diplomacy" if need be to keep that positive spirit alive.

Beloit, Wisconsin

Recycling as a way to solve the disintegrating inner city blues and the disappearing farmland woes? Sure, if it's recycling land you're talking about. The LWV of Beloit's June workshop looked at both these area problems and their root cause—urban sprawl. That's where recycling comes in.

Representatives from business, agriculture, government, academia, and conservation and civic groups pondered the interlocking issues in a program emphasizing the chain reaction consequences of present land use trends: as Beloit sprawls outward, it consumes valuable farmland and isolates the inner city from services, jobs and activities—what one participant called the "donut" effect. The costly net result is over-extended city services and an eroding central city tax base.

Participants agreed that much of the blame can be laid to the pervasive American throwaway mentality, institutionalized by zoning, tax and transportation policies. Speakers surveyed ways to break the vicious circle, including tax incentives to revitalize the inner city, agricultural districts to preserve farmland, zoning ordinances to discourage sprawl. League members hope a comprehensive policy for Beloit's future will grow out of their consciousness-raising "recycling" workshop.

"Armchair quarterbacks" may deride workshops as all talk and no action, but League members know better than most that strategy wins the game, that reasoned discussion today is a crucial prerequisite for consensus and effective action tomorrow. From California to New Jersey, Leagues are keeping close tabs on the process they've begun. Their goal: wise use of their community's land resources in the public interest. □

ERA :speak for yourself!

Pulitzer prize-winning cartoonist Garry Trudeau has a knack for making the innocent ramblings of his *Doonesbury* creations jab home incisive observations about the American scene. Thus, at play in the day care center's sandbox, we hear Ellie lament that ERA passage has really become an uphill battle. "Well, I can understand why," replies her young companion. "I have a few problems with ERA myself." "Like what, Howie?," she asks. "Let's discuss them." After some coaxing, Howie volunteers, "It's just that I don't want to share the same toilet with cannon fodder!" "Aha!," says Ellie, "a classic misconception."

That was a year ago. But today, those classic misconceptions are still afloat, and ERA ratification remains an uphill battle. Though both the Democratic and Republican party platforms proclaim support for the amendment, the message has been slow to trickle down to politicians in the 16 unratified states.

Twelve of these states may have a fairly large legislative turnover as a result of statehouse elections this fall. Though the ratification deadline, March 1979, seems distant, proponents think the upcoming contests and the legislative sessions that follow are critical. ERA stalwarts, going after what may be their last major chance to tilt the odds in their favor, have been injecting the issue into campaigns and, in many instances, working for pro-ERA candidates. In some cases, the election results will be history by the time this *VOTER* reaches you. Nevertheless, the big push will continue throughout 1977 as supporters try to move the newly elected legislators onto the ERA bandwagon.

Local and state LWV support for ERA has been staunch and unwavering. Thanks to LWV activity, in and out of ERA coalitions, state legislators are generally well aware of the League stance. They're less sure of the general citizenry. **It's time for every League member to take action—as an individual—to remedy the situation.**

That's the word passed to the *VOTER* in conversations with four state League ERA coordinators: Mary Lubertozzi of Illinois, Shirley Hayes of Florida, Pat Jensen of Virginia and Ann Savage of Oklahoma. Though each faces a distinct set of political variables, they were in almost complete agreement when it came to every member action on ERA. "I'm concerned that members still feel it's something for activists, not ordinary League members," said Shirley Hayes. Not so.

Write letters! Call legislators!

Every member can help by joining what Ann Savage calls the letter competition. "League members are going to have to write more letters to their legislators as *individuals* and get their friends and neighbors to do the same," she said. Pat Jensen agreed, noting, "The opposition has been much better letter writers than the proponents."

Talk to friends, neighbors, coworkers!

Every member action need not stop with a letter or a phone call. Savage and Jensen both suggested that members organize informal neighborhood coffee klatches and offer to answer questions about ERA. The ploy is just as suitable for a group gathered around the office coffee pot, for that matter. It might even garner a few contributions for the cause.

Put your money where your rights are!

"Money, money, money is the name of the game," Savage reiterated. Lubertozzi seconded the sentiment: "Every member should give support to the ERA coalition. The opposition has much more money. . . ."

What else can every member do to spur the effort? "I think they should do what I've done for years, at cocktail parties, dinners: Be a PR person—in this case for

ERA. Put down the myths and fears," said Jensen. Savage added, "Use church forums, meetings, any place where two or three people are gathered together."

Spread the truth!

But before rallying forth to proselytize the masses, a little self-education may be in order, the coordinators said. Not that every member need become an ERA expert. All that's needed are the basic facts with a little self-confidence thrown in for good measure. "Members don't feel they can carry the ball," said Hayes. Lubertozzi said, "I wish every member knew enough about ERA to explain it to other people and to counter the misinformation. Members will defend ERA, but they feel unsure about the specifics." (For help on that score, see "ERA Meets the Press," Summer 1976 *National VOTER* and "ERA: What We Have in Common," Fall 1975 *National VOTER*.)

Ann Savage leveled biting criticism at opposition tactics. "We ought to make people aware of the fact that the opposition lies," equating ERA with such red herrings as abortion and communism, she said. "Every member needs to arm herself with information about ERA and take every opportunity to talk about it," said Savage, though she admitted that "it's easier said than done."

Support the ERA team!

The need for individual member action is underscored by the frustrations encountered in the statehouses by LWV lobbyists. The four coordinators were eager to tell members what goes on, to emphasize the importance of individual letters, phone calls, PR efforts.

Legislators continue to skirt the basic issue of individual rights that lies at the heart of the ERA controversy. It's a question of a person's right to be treated as an individual under the law.

Illinois lobbyists have tried the individual rights approach, said Lubertozzi,

but many legislators have successfully avoided going on the record. "They don't think the citizens are paying attention," she said. "ERA supporters aren't making enough noise at the local level."

In Virginia, one of four unratified with no statehouse elections this fall, lobbyists have tried every conceivable parliamentary ploy to dislodge the amendment from House and Senate committees, so far to no avail. Jensen pointed out that "good ole boyism" still reigns supreme in the Virginia statehouse. "In the legislative halls, women don't quite belong. Most of the legislators just want you to go away," she said. Proponents have been able to get through to some legislators with the individual rights approach, aided by last January's American Bar Association endorsement, but the going is tough. "By this stage of the game," said Jensen, "most legislators have already been backed into a position."

In the farm belt state of Oklahoma, the LWV, working with the OK-ERA coalition, has couched the ERA debate in suitably populist tones. "We say that the government is interfering by telling women what they can and can't do," said Savage.

Shirley Hayes thinks there is a good chance of winning some ERA votes in both the Florida House and Senate. In talking with legislators, "we always try to keep the door open. We have to know which names to invoke. The League's record of lobbying on other issues has helped gain credibility, but it's such an emotional issue that League support has had varied impact among legislators," she said.

Few proponents expected such sustained opposition when ERA passed Congress in 1972 and embarked on the tortuous trail of state-by-state ratification. But far from discouraging them, the STOP ERA movement has hardened supporters' resolve to carve a permanent niche for equal rights in the U.S. Constitution. Activist organizations like the League will keep stalking votes in the statehouses. And they'll keep beating the drum in their own and other endorsing organizations, realizing that the support of the Jane and John Doe's that belong to those organizations can turn the tide for the Equal Rights Amendment. The time for action is now!

Back in the late sixties, the Merry Pranksters, a loosely knit commune led by novelist Ken Kesey (*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*) had a byword: "You're either on the bus or off the bus." Ostensibly the aphorism referred to the dayglo school bus in which the Pranksters careened about the countryside as a sort of guerilla theater roadshow. But in a deeper sense, it described the polarization between themselves and the straight "workaday" world.

Though the League of Women Voters and the Merry Pranksters couldn't have less in common, an analogy can be drawn, retaining the school bus as a symbol of polarization—in this case, over the issue of integrated education. Despite the turmoil that busing has caused in too many communities, most civil rights

Ferguson] has no place," the Court declared. At that time 17 southern and border states practiced *de jure* segregation—that is, state law required two sets of schools, one for blacks, one for whites. A year later, the high court followed its initial ruling with *Brown II*, which called for dismantling the dual school systems "with all deliberate speed."

In practice, there was much more deliberation than speed, as communities pondered various ploys to sidestep the directive. By 1964, only two percent of all black pupils in the 11 southern states were attending racially mixed schools. That same year, however, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, which authorized the federal government to initiate court suits against recalcitrant school districts and directed the Department of Health, Education and

On the Bus or Off the Bus?

groups, the LWV among them, are still "on the bus," defending its use as one tool in the continuing process of desegregation.

A recent report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights provides persuasive evidence for such a defense. Based on a 10-month study of some 1,300 school districts, the report notes that court-ordered busing has worked in many communities where voluntary desegregation plans have been insufficient. Even so, busing for desegregation accounts for only 3.6 percent of student bus riders, who now make up half of the total school population. As for what lies at the end of the bus ride, the commission found that the overwhelming majority of districts studied reported no serious disruption. Desegregation has not led to massive white flight nor has it lowered the quality of education.

The last point is the all-too-easily-forgotten crux of the issue. Equal educational opportunity is what the Supreme Court hoped to achieve when it handed down the 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*. "In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' [established in the 1896 case of *Plessy v.*

Welfare (HEW) to cut off federal aid to discriminatory districts. The power of the purse proved a somewhat sharper spur to school desegregation.

As it happened, 1964 was also the year that LWV convention delegates voted a closer look at the problems of poverty and discrimination as they related to education and employment. By May 1966 the intense study and discussion had led to a position supporting "policies and programs to provide all persons equal opportunity. . . ." Local Leagues throughout the country swung into action, supporting such voluntary school desegregation programs as Boston's and Springfield's METCO and Hartford, Connecticut's Project CONCERN, which helped eliminate the racial isolation of both inner city and suburban students. Individually, members pitched in as host mothers, drivers, teachers' aides and the like.

Although federal courts and HEW had already ordered desegregation plans that required busing, it wasn't until 1971 that the Supreme Court addressed the busing issue directly. The case was *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Educa-*

tion. Local officials, said the Court, "may be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of desegregation." The LWV of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, along with the state LWV of North Carolina and the LWVUS had submitted *amicus* briefs in the case.

The move was a natural outgrowth of what was then a League Principle: ". . . the League of Women Voters believes every citizen should . . . have access to free public education which provides equal opportunity for all. . . ." That view (now part of the HR position) has been reaffirmed whenever busing foes launch a renewed assault.

In the wake of the *Swann* decision, interracial fighting flared in Charlotte, buses were bombed in Pontiac and throughout the country elected officials felt the heat of

mounting citizen opposition.

By March 1972 several antibusing amendments to pending legislation, two Nixon administration antibusing proposals, and a raft of constitutional amendments were already before Congress. In testimony that was to be repeated throughout 1972-73 as each new threat to equal opportunity emerged, Lucy Wilson Benson, then LWVUS president, spelled out the League view. "Members of the League," she said, "have a longstanding and deep commitment to equal educational opportunity, and we affirm that integration is an integral part of educational excellence. Furthermore, we support any reasonable method for attaining this goal.

"The League affirms the *Swann* decision in maintaining that busing is a tool that must be held available to remedy serious inequities in education. . . . Perhaps it is not the best tool, [but] . . . unpopular though busing may be, it is the only alternative within the means of some communities to achieve a measure of integration for this generation," she concluded.

Though the most extreme proposals

were defeated, Congress adopted watered-down antibusing language which has restricted HEW's use of the tool.

The attacks were renewed in 1974 and again in 1975, when many traditional desegregation proponents jumped ship. At this writing, the LWVUS is once again working to defeat antibusing amendments to pending education bills.

Getting a perspective

Some civil rights leaders believe that statutory bans on busing are inherently unconstitutional. They argue that, because the Supreme Court has empowered the lower courts to order busing, Congress cannot inhibit them, save by passing a constitutional amendment, which would then be subject to state-by-state ratification. In fact, most of the legislative maneuvering of the past five years, has done little more than create false hope among antibusing forces. Although HEW continues its go-slow policy on desegregation enforcement, the courts, still guided by the 1971 *Swann* decision, have continued to prescribe busing as a remedy for segregation in the schools.

Most recent polls place busing low on the voters' list of critical issues. That's understandable in view of the fact that of 18,000 schools districts, only 3,000 are desegregating under court order or under voluntary plans devised by HEW. In short, relatively few Americans have come face to face with the specter of school busing.

Still, each new order initially causes ripples of alarm in the community—ripples that in places like Charlotte, Boston and Louisville have swelled into waves of community unrest. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has found, after investigating desegregation operations in 19 communities, that the transition is "almost never a totally smooth one. Mistakes frequently are made, petty incidents can throw an anxious community into confusion and schools that seem to have turned the corner toward total success suffer serious setbacks."

The commission has isolated some key elements that contribute to successful school desegregation: determination of the school board and administration to

carry out the plan firmly and unswervingly; support from the news media, local officials and civic leaders; distribution of the burden of desegregation proportionately across the community; involvement of parents as active participants; development of procedures to assure full student participation in school activities and firm but fair student discipline; and efforts to improve the quality of education during the desegregation process.

In many overwrought communities, the LWV has been on the firing line, working for just such a climate. About 100 delegates met at Convention '76 to trade notes on their tireless, often thankless, yet still enthusiastic efforts to achieve quality integrated education and peaceful desegregation. They needed to know they were not alone.

Charlotte-Mecklenburg

Charlotte-Mecklenburg LWV President Sally Thomas was able to tell delegates, "We have a fine, stable, desegregated school system, and we are out of court at last!"

It hadn't always been so. The local League's decision to enter an *amicus* brief when the *Swann* decision reached the Supreme Court was the final move in a long-term effort to get school board compliance with the contested desegregation order. Throughout the summer of 1969, the LWV had tried to pave the way for orderly desegregation by holding frequent open meetings to dispel citizens' fears and resentments. The LWV encouraged other civic groups to express support. It publicized its own studies which concluded that "segregated schools lead to cultural deprivation of all children."

After the Supreme Court ruling made busing a reality, the LWV kept on talking. Its message: "Now is the time for Charlotte-Mecklenburg to make excellence in education her goal."

After five years of busing, white flight has stabilized, racial incidents in the schools have all but disappeared, antibusing bumper stickers have peeled and faded, Thomas said. What's more, a black man was the top vote getter in the recent school board election. Charlotte has adjusted to busing, so much so that during

the 1974 school year a delegation of students traveled to riot-torn Boston to share lessons learned with their counterparts in that city.

Boston

The citizen rebellion that erupted over "forced busing" in this historic city made the Boston Tea Party seem like a minor incident.

In June 1974, Judge Garrity put into effect a plan that had been devised by the state board of education and upheld by the Massachusetts Supreme Court under the state's Racial Imbalance Act. This Phase I plan stipulated that students could not be bused more than one school district away. As a result, those in the heart of the inner city and on suburban fringes were untouched. Only Boston's middle belt—including the ethnic stronghold of South Boston and all-black Roxbury—had busing. Phase I moved many to open—and violent—defiance.

In September 1975, compromise efforts produced Phase II. It incorporated elements of the Master's Plan's more voluntary approach to desegregation, the state education board's and NAACP's request for more equitable distribution of integration throughout the city and Judge Garrity's innovative efforts to involve the business and academic communities and to emphasize the role of parents. Nevertheless, Phase II got an equally unfriendly reception from Bostonians.

And last June when the Supreme Court closed the door on Boston's busing foes by refusing to review Judge Garrity's decisions, many threatened to take the law into their own hands.

The Boston LWV has been active on school issues for years, trying to focus parental involvement on improving the quality of education. A major action item has been principal selection. Said Education Chairman Jane Bowers: "Boston has been an inbred system. The school committee agreed in 1973 to a new method of selecting principals and administrators to guard against cronyism. At that time they appointed only three new administrators. We've monitored the process."

Now, says Boston LWV President Beverly Mitchell, "the school committee is attempting to demonstrate a new image." As a result of a court suit, each school has a principal screening committee, which recommends three appointees. The school committee must choose from among the three. This past year, more parents than ever before were active participants on 91 such committees. Twelve of the 35 principals selected were black, still short of the court-mandated one-to-one ratio, but a vast improvement nonetheless.

Another issue is the school budget. Bostonians have been confronted with a tax increase of \$59 per \$1,000, a boost which Mayor Kevin White has tried to pin on busing. Not so, says Mitchell, pointing out that the mayor has held the line on taxes for three years running. What's more, education's chunk of the budget has decreased during that time. Mitchell is serving on a special citizens' committee that will examine the budget with an eye to cuts that won't gut educational quality. "Parents are beginning to come together on education issues," she concluded.

When the buses rolled in Boston on September 8, signaling the third year of court-ordered busing, the demonstrators lining the bus routes, the police helicopters hovering overhead and the riflemen perched atop buildings were noticeably absent. Save for minor disturbances in the antibusing strongholds of South Boston and Charlestown, opening day was uneventful.

Louisville

In September 1975, the scenario of anger and violence over school desegregation shifted to Louisville. During a week of community unrest, white parents and students took to the streets, attacking both black and white bystanders, stoning buses and fighting police. Scores were injured. The National Guard had to be called in.

Busing could not have come at a worse time. That summer, only 17 days before the busing order rocked the community, the area's two distinctly separate school districts had merged, creating one of the

nation's few metropolitan school systems. Under state law, the solvent Jefferson County district, with its modern suburban facilities was forced to absorb the financially strapped Louisville city district with its primarily older facilities, many in poor neighborhoods. Initial community opposition to the merger increased resistance to the new busing order.

When the buses rolled, the LWV became an important voice of reason in the community. Working with a Task Force for Peaceful Desegregation, members helped staff rumor control hotlines, participated in human relations workshops, and served as school volunteers.

At the end of October, LWVUS Education Chairman Dot Ridings, then-president of the Louisville-Jefferson County LWV, told the Senate Judiciary Committee that Louisville's difficulties should not be taken as a sign of the failure of busing for the nation. She pointed out that over 95 percent of the city's schools had reported no violence; that 22,000 children are bused for desegregation and another 70,000 for other purposes. In advocating busing as one tool, she concluded, "Not even supporters of true integration believe that busing is the best solution, or that it should be regarded as a permanent solution . . . [but] we hope the Senate Judiciary Committee will not allow the fever of the times to dictate closing the door to one means of achieving this type of learning environment."

By the end of the school year, the violence in Louisville was a fading memory. School attendance had returned to normal, enrollment had remained stable, students had, for the most part, adjusted.

The local LWV spent the summer months just past trying to get the school board to cope with a \$9 million deficit brought on by inflation, the merger with its requirements for increased transportation, and, to an extent, busing. It hasn't been easy. Said Education Chairman Tish Womack: "There are those in the community who admit quite openly that they wish to see the school system destroyed to prove that busing doesn't work." These dissidents are staunchly opposed to bail-out tax measures. The LWV, along with other civic groups, has

been quietly meeting with school board officials, trying to move them off dead center, stressing the importance of meaningful education. So far, the deficit has been pared to \$5 million. "It's been a tremendous, taxing and frustrating effort," Womack said.

Nevertheless, the antibusing flame does not burn as brightly in Louisville these days. The week before school opened, antibusing groups staged two demonstrations marked by disappointingly low turnout, with only a few incidents to mar the calm.

Local government officials called together representatives from both sides—the LWV among them—who issued a joint statement proclaiming the safety of the children to be paramount. U.S. District Court Judge James Gordon was so impressed with the expression of goodwill that he lifted his ban against more than three people congregating along bus routes.

Opening day, September 1, was quiet. Since then, enrollment has reached nearly 100 percent of projections, and attendance has held at over 92 percent.

"The attitude of parents and the school board is considerably better; the change in attitude of the police has been phenomenal," Womack said. "We're in very much better shape than we were this time last year."

Closing the escape hatch

The fact that some communities have been under court-ordered desegregation plans for a number of years has presented yet another roadblock to integrated education: white flight leading to resegregation. In the face of changing racial patterns in Pasadena, California, the Supreme Court last June granted that school district relief from a 1970 order requiring each school to maintain a white majority.

Social scientists are divided, however, over whether a cause/effect relationship exists. James S. Coleman, formerly a staunch advocate of racial mixing as a boon to quality education, made headlines last year when he cited busing as a chief cause of white flight. Other studies cite such diverse reasons for the phenomenon as decline in central city

services, movement of jobs to the suburbs, fear of violence, and lack of federal housing subsidies. Whatever the reason, white flight is on the upswing in many metropolitan areas, making it increasingly difficult to integrate schools.

One obvious solution is cross-district busing between predominantly black central cities and their surrounding white suburbs. So far, the Supreme Court has restricted metropolitan desegregation to cases where official action by outlying districts or the state has resulted in central city segregation. In its 1974 decision in *Bradley v. Milliken*, the high court found no evidence that acts of outlying school districts caused segregation in the Detroit schools. Such official action was proven in Delaware, however. Last year, the Court upheld a federal court finding that the state school districting law, along with state housing and transportation policies had isolated the Wilmington district.

Joining the fray

It's been 22 years since the Supreme Court declared that separate is not equal, and still no one can foresee the final destination of America's school buses. A few committed organizations keep up the fight. The NAACP has never wavered in its pursuit of equal educational opportunity since the original *Brown* decisions. The LWV, too, has remained "on the bus."

Last May, another venerable organization affirmed its continued support. In an address to a desegregation conference, AFL-CIO President George Meany declared, "We in the labor movement are determined to find solutions that are just and fair, that meet the constitutional and moral requirements of equality. . . . Demagogues have vented their spleen on busing, as if busing were the real issue," he continued. "The issue is quality education. The issue is the right of every child to have equal access to that quality education."

"In our view," Meany said, "ensuring justice for school children is a job that should be done willingly and promptly in every community, without waiting for orders."

And that perhaps is the truest measure of whether you're on the bus or off the bus.

Topic A: energy dilemmas

The first of the projected energy pamphlets is in final draft now. This excerpt from the introduction will whet your appetite. Order it through your League (Pub. #688, \$1) after November 15.

America's traditional energy sources are not sufficient to keep on fueling our growing economy and our growing population at the accustomed low price. The oil embargo made that clear; even the least analytical of us saw "in person" that domestic petroleum supplies aren't meeting U.S. demands and that our access to foreign supplies can not always be counted on. That winter of 1973-74 was America's brief awakening to energy vulnerability. It even went by the name of crisis.

The oil crisis of 1973-74 was a learning experience for Americans, but an incomplete one. The *real* energy crisis—the one that didn't go away when the embargo was lifted—is still unacknowledged by many Americans. Big cars are staging a comeback . . . air conditioners hum while customers shiver in the supermarket . . . new models of almost everything supplant the old at the same old pace . . . it's still easier to buy new than to repair . . . commuter traffic jams get worse while mass transit systems are in trouble almost everywhere . . . glass-curtain-wall office buildings continue to re-etch the urban landscape. The winter of 1973-74 has receded in the minds of most Americans to the status of a bad dream. True, the fuel and light bills are higher—but all except the poorest of us have adjusted to that and hope the worst is over. We've cranked into our personal budgets the nearly doubled price of gasoline and scarcely discuss it any longer.

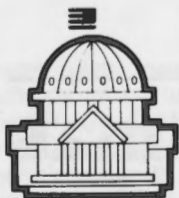
Not enough of us have come to grips with the reality that the world supply of petroleum—even if we *could* have unlimited access to it—is finite and shrinking. Our behavior documents public opinion survey results; half of the American people do not believe that we have any basic, long-term energy problem. And the half that does see problems can't agree on the definitions of them or on solutions.

Some lip service is still being paid to the energy crisis. But the devices for staving off reality are legion, and the unwillingness to be part of the solutions are equally pervasive. "Conservation will eliminate my job!" "Higher energy prices will destroy my business!" "Offshore drilling will wreck our beach!" The fears are real, but the basic posture is head-in-sand. Yet if the United States continues to deal with energy in the future as it has in the past, disaster may be our legacy.

We face not just one but many interconnected energy problems. Our growing dependence on imported oil subjects us to pressures over which we have no control. Local shortages of natural gas or fuel oil are increasingly frequent. We have also come to realize that although energy serves society, it is also a polluter. Abrupt changes in the availability and price of the most widely used fuels can have severe impact on employment and economic output.

But these issues are satellites to a more massive problem. Behind them looms the distant but larger danger: the vanishing of oil and natural gas, whether domestic or foreign, at prices and in quantities on which America has grown very comfortable and prosperous.

How did we come to this pass? How can we extricate ourselves from the dilemmas that paralyze our power to act decisively to build a new energy future? This booklet is an effort to help citizens answer those questions for themselves. It briefly looks at the dynamics of our energy situation—the interacting cause-and-effect components—and examines the values at stake. It provides a framework within which citizens can establish priorities for evaluating and choosing solutions to our energy problems. □



A CONGRESSIONAL PRIMER

One of the themes running through this year's election campaigns is a blanket condemnation of Washington. Depending on the speaker, the target is identified as "the swollen federal bureaucracy," an "obstinate committee chairman," a "fat cat lobbyist," or a "spendthrift Congress." All of these epithets play on citizens' feeling that they can't influence their elected representatives.

The average citizen's frustration is the chief symptom of that dread disease, apathy. Even League members, who have a reputation for activist involvement in their communities, often view national legislative action as something remote from their sphere of influence.

In point of fact, you, the citizen-League member, have enormous clout, individually and collectively, but to borrow a phrase from the traveling salesman, "If you don't make calls, you don't make sales." So how do you sell your representative or senator on the LWVUS legislative agenda?

On techniques

Visit Try to meet with your member of Congress in his or her local district, but first find out what plans your League has developed for direct member involvement in the action arena. Check in with your local League president, action chair and appropriate program chairs. Tell them you want to be in the thick of things and get in on the fun of League action efforts.

Although an LWVUS board member, state or local League president may be well received on the Hill, nothing touches the heart and political sensibilities of a lawmaker like a visit from a grassroots constituent—that's you.

All senators and representatives have

at least one district office; some have more than one. Legislators, especially freshmen and those from the east coast, often try to get back to their districts every weekend. Frequently, they're available in their offices on Fridays, Saturdays, and sometimes on Mondays, if the legislative calendar isn't too full. Check on their schedules with the local staff.

Contrary to popular opinion, elected representatives usually aren't off on a junket during those fabled congressional recesses. Often, they're back home, attending the opening of a local senior citizen center, speaking at a Kiwanis Club luncheon or meeting with individuals or groups.

Local visits are very useful even if your representative doesn't always agree with the League. They let him or her know that you're aware of what's going on in Congress and that you're not the least bit hesitant about telling your friends and neighbors the LWV's view and his or her response.

Get other local citizen activists and opinion makers to accompany you on your visit. Help them arrange separate meetings to discuss the same issue.

If a member meets with one individual or delegation, he'll be concerned, but if he has two or three different meetings about the same problem, he'll think, "Jiminy, this is a hot item in my district!"

Publicize Many newspapers publish recorded congressional votes on various issues. If your local paper is one of them, send a fan letter. If not, encourage the editors to begin the practice.

Make sure you let your local LWV president and PR chair know about any contacts you might have with members of the fourth estate. They can call the friendly reporter, editor or publisher to suggest

some nifty questions on an issue or supply some background material for a feature article or editorial.

Communicate Letter writing may sound boring, but it's a time-tested and terribly effective action tool.

Even a single letter can have an impact, especially if it is thoughtful, concise and packed with local or personal references. Not infrequently, a member will mention to our national lobbying staff that local League members have written. Sometimes, a member will refer to letters and meetings with constituents during committee or floor debate.

Persuade neighbors, friends and other LWV members to write as well. Again, individually composed letters are best but, sometimes, if time is short, form letters can come in handy. Though less effective, they still have some impact.

If time is really short, send telegrams (or the cheaper mailgrams) or call directly. Phone calls are especially effective when you have really boned up on the subject and are aware, via REPORT FROM THE HILL and Spotmaster* of an upcoming vote. Your representative or senator will be very impressed by both your in-depth knowledge and your political acumen.

Obviously, it's best if you can speak to your representative directly, but if he or she is unavailable, seek out the appropriate staffer—usually a legislative assistant, but sometimes an administrative assistant or committee counsel. Good relations with these key professionals can be a boon because they're often the ones who brief the member, write the floor statements and draft the amendments. Often, staffers will know more about the subject than the representative or senator.

Sometimes, you'll know more than the member or staffer, especially if they are not on the committee handling the legislation. It's not that your legislator and his or her staff are incompetent; rather it's a reflection of Congress's increasingly complex and diverse legislative agenda. There are 174 subcommittees in the Senate and 170 in the House. Most of them produce legislation about which our elected officials must attempt to inform themselves. Even with their expanded

staffs they are not always able to secure or absorb all the information they want or need to have. That's why a well-informed and articulate constituent can have such a big impact.

On sources

The citizen lobbyist can get the scoop on subject matter from the wealth of LWVEF publications on League program issues. REPORT FROM THE HILL and Spotmaster provide up-to-the-minute information on legislative developments. Equally important is a knowledge of the wild and woolly ways of Congress. To get a handle on process, check out the following sources.

How Our Laws are Made is a brief handbook outlining all the steps necessary for a bill to become law. Especially useful to the novice, it explains in lay language such expressions as "bottled up in Rules," "mark-up," "conference committee," etc. Simply write to your local representative for a free copy.

The Congressional Record, a verbatim transcript of the floor proceedings in both the House and Senate, contains recorded votes, the calendar of all legislative hearings and other pending committee and floor action. Finally, there is a section called "Extension of Remarks" where your legislators can state how they stand on everything from daylight savings time to national energy policy, welfare reform and Hudson Valley Apple Day. Both senators and representatives are allotted 50 free subscriptions to give to constituents who request them. Or, you may subscribe through the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 for \$45 per year.

Congressional Quarterly and the *National Journal* are among the most widely used lobbying tools in Washington. *Congressional Quarterly* is a weekly magazine containing synopses of both committee and floor action on national legislation. It also carries updates on such political

*The LWV's own "dial-an-issue," Spotmaster provides recorded summaries of up-to-the-minute legislative developments on League issues. Call (202) 296-0218 from 5 p.m. Friday to noon on Monday, while Congress is in session.

developments as election returns, the impact of legislative reform efforts, even the financial health of legislators. The *National Journal*, also a weekly, publishes indepth analyses of a more limited number of major issues. The *Journal* focuses on activity in the executive as well as the legislative branch. Since individual subscriptions for both magazines run \$200-plus, you'll want to check your local newspapers, larger local libraries and college libraries, which are likely to subscribe.

The *Congressional Directory*, published by the government, lists the members of Congress, their staffs, committee assignments and biographies, as well as key staffers in executive, judicial and independent agencies. Though poorly organized and difficult to use, the directory is available free from your member, while supplies last.

The *Almanac of American Politics* by Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews (Sunrise Books, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York. Paper, \$7.95) gives a brief profile of each senator, representative and governor, along with his or her record, state and district. Good thumbnail sketches.

ADA's Guide to the Washington Circuit gives information on the whole panoply of good government, think-tank and lobbying outfits in D.C. It lists the name, address, phone number and staff members of each organization with a brief discussion of the issues each works on. The guide is an informative resource for additional background on issues of interest. Order from Americans for Democratic Action, 1424 16th St., N.W. #704, Washing-

ton, D.C. 20036 for \$2.95.

The *Federal Register* lists all regulations, guidelines, and administrative procedural changes made by the executive branch. The *Register* is an important reference for those interested in implementation and enforcement of legislation. Members of Congress distribute 32 free subscriptions.

Committee Hearings, packed with an enormous amount of data on a variety of issues, will give you additional background for LWV positions, as well as arguments you can expect from the opposition.

Committee Reports, normally in very short supply, especially on controversial legislation, are perhaps the single most valuable summary of Congress's legislative intent. Both are available, free, from the appropriate committee, while supplies last.

The Job of A Congressman, by Donald G. Tacheron and Morris K. Udall, (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., New York, 1970. Paper, \$5.95) is an eminently readable book about how a congressional office functions. It tells you everything from the kinds of perks used by an incumbent to how legislators use automatic typewriters to answer constituent mail.

Congress in Change, by Norman Ornstein, (Praeger, New York, 1975. Paper, \$4.95) is the most up-to-date book on congressional reform and its impact on legislation.

The Dance of Legislation, by Eric Redman, (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1974. Paper, \$2.95) is an excellent case study of the legislative process as seen by a former U.S. Senate aide.

It's time for every member to get in on the ACTION! For \$7.50, you can get a full year's subscription to League Action Service. LAS includes REPORT FROM THE HILL, the legislative newsletter that provides blow-by-blow accounts of LWVUS action on national program issues and ACTION ALERTs, fast-breaking bulletins that tell you when and who to lobby via well-timed letters, phone calls and visits to the home office. Subscribe today! (Order, prepaid, before March 1, 1977.)

Yes, I want to subscribe to League Action Service.

Enclosed is my check for \$7.50.

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LEAGUES IN ACTION

In Wisconsin

Many Leagues are involved in a numbers game these days—and the name of the game is 208 (from the folks who brought you 92-500). In government officialese that stands for Section 208, "Areawide Waste Treatment Management," of Public Law 92-500, The Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972. And in League terms that means citizen participation in waste water treatment decisions—which, of course, is not really a game, but serious business.

Under Section 208, certain areas, most with substantial water quality control problems, receive Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) grants to develop effective areawide plans to prevent future water pollution—plans that by necessity involve planning for land use. The LWVEF has received an EPA grant, too. Using the pass-through money it provides, local and state Leagues in 20 selected sites are actively encouraging people to participate in their area's 208 process. Many other Leagues are finding the ways and means to get involved in 208 as well.

Wisconsin's Fox River Valley is one place where Leagues have been in on the 208 "game" since the beginning. From years of study and action on water quality issues, the LWVs of Greater Green Bay, Ripon, Oshkosh, Neenah-Menasha, Appleton and Fond du Lac knew that a serious look at the valley's waste water treatment problem was long overdue. Generations of wastes from one of the world's greatest concentrations of paper mills and heavy runoffs from roads, farms and housing developments have dangerously polluted the Fox River-Lake Winnebago watershed. League members also knew that areawide land use and sewage treatment planning was the only way to go for the five-county watershed.

They were ready in March 1975 when hearings were announced on a possible 208 designation for the valley. Within a month the six Leagues had geared up for coordinated action, testifying at Oshkosh and Green Bay hearings. The first victory came when the hearings resulted in a 208 grant for the watershed. The Fox Valley Water Quality Planning Agency was set up to manage the program.

Aware of another important number—Section 101(e) of PL 92-500, which mandates public participation in all programs under the act—the Fox Valley Leagues again were one step ahead of officialdom. In September 1975, Cora Stencil, Greater Green Bay Environmental Quality chairman, wrote the just-appointed planning agency director, suggesting several area League members for the 208 Citizens Advisory Committee. Three League members are now the only women on that body.

Having worked hard to get in on the ground floor, the Fox Valley Leagues are more determined than ever to get real citizen involvement in the 208 process. Equipped with a \$3,300 LWVEF pass-through grant, Project Director Stencil has organized an inter-League task force to spearhead the effort. "We know water," she says, "and now is when the League can make a difference—with citizen participation."

Leagues have already begun making that difference by publicizing public information meetings and successfully pushing for go-see tours to an overworked Appleton sewage treatment plant and boat trips on polluted Lake Winnebago. Stencil has discussed citizen participation in 208 on television and radio programs. Knowing that graphic illustrations often succeed where words fail, Valley Leagues aided in the wide public use of a unique tool to

measure pollution. Lowered into the murky depths of lake or river on a rope with knots every foot, an all-too-quickly-disappearing white disk tells a water quality story everyone can understand.

Future plans call for spreading the 208 word through displays, meetings and factsheets. Publishing a nontechnical citizens' version of the planning agency's explanatory pamphlet is also high on the agenda. More ideas for alerting citizens so that they can help decide *now* how best to clean up their water are on the way. Because, to get in on the action, "you just have to get going from the beginning," according to Stencil. She and the Fox Valley Leagues ought to know.

In New Jersey

Can a judge's spouse run for elective office in New Jersey? Ellen Gaulkin and the New Jersey LWV wanted to find out. Mrs. Gaulkin, wife of a New Jersey superior court judge, had been an appointed member of the Township of Weehawken Board of Education. When a local referendum determined that board members should be elected, Mrs. Gaulkin announced her intention to run.

However, because of a state policy limiting the political activity of judges' immediate relatives, Judge Gaulkin asked the chief justice of the state supreme court to rule on the "propriety" of his wife's candidacy. Acknowledging Mrs. Gaulkin's "long-standing dedication to educational improvement," the chief justice nonetheless advised that her candidacy was "a form of political activity which would, unintentionally but seriously, affect public confidence in the judicial system."

Although she abided by the chief justice's decision, Mrs. Gaulkin later filed a petition with the court for reconsideration. The NJ LWV filed an *amicus* brief in support. The case also attracted the attention of several public interest and women's groups in the state, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the Women's Political Caucus. In a case involving a broad spectrum of issues, the state League's *amicus* brief focused on two concerns related to "its own interest in strengthening citizen participation in the democratic process": the apparent dis-

tinction made by the court between appointive and elective office, and the abridgement of the electorate's right to choose its representatives.

The League's brief argued that the chief justice's ruling assumed that appointed officeholders are somehow more trustworthy and less susceptible to influence than elected ones. The League felt such a distinction was "contrary to the basic principle of our republic that government is best carried on by the elected representatives of the people."

The LWV further argued that any restriction against certain groups of people seeking elective office was also naturally an infringement of the voters' constitutional right to elect whom they choose from the widest possible field of qualified and willing candidates. To the League's credit, its attorney was asked to participate in the oral argument heard by the supreme court in November 1975.

The outcome? In January 1976 the court ruled in favor of Mrs. Gaulkin and, in fact, reversed (with some qualifications) its earlier position. The court admitted that the past policy "now lacks a persuasive ring," and said it no longer believes "spousal activity *per se* would involve the judge in the political stream" or compromise the impartiality of the judiciary. And so, New Jersey now has been nudged into a more reasonable policy, based on respect for the rights of candidates and voters.

Think Membership

Do you know a handicapped citizen who might be delighted to join the League if invited? The LWV of St. Louis Park, Minnesota, was convinced that "the benefits of League membership can—and should—be open to all people," and that LWV now has a very active unit of members who happen to have cerebral palsy.

A physical disability doesn't dull one's interest in community and national affairs, but it *can* make participating difficult. Could your League provide the extra help (transportation, reading to a blind member, interpreting for a deaf one) someone may need to make an active contribution? Think about it.

VOTER Index

Major articles in Volume 25, Numbers 3 and 4 and Volume 26, Numbers 1 and 2 of the *National VOTER*, covering Fall '75 through Summer '76, are indexed below. Order by publication number AND by season and year. Otherwise, orders cannot be filled.

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 "Slums, Skyscrapers and Solutions," (President's message), Summer '76, #387, pp. 14-15.
 "The City As Endangered Species," Summer '76, #387, pp. 26-27.

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 "UN: What Is and What Can Be," Summer '76, #387, pp. 21-23.
 "Program Making: What's the Word?," Spring '76, #648, pp. 7-12.
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A Preview of Ford-Carter Economy Debate

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night. But in a year or two, he said, the impact might be such that the nation's cost of living would be near the same inflationary level of 1973-74.

The Ford policy of moderation, said the source, is designed to carry the nation on a 4½% to 5½% gross national product growth curve for the next year and, hopefully, could still gradually reduce unemployment to around 6% by the end of 1977.

Economist Klein says he fully expects Ford to emphasize that this go-slow approach is working in 1976. Indeed, said Klein, his own June forecast called for a brighter economic outlook for this year under the Ford Administration.

"But 1976 is only a snapshot," said Klein. "It doesn't tell the full story."

Klein is drawing up a list of 10 economic variables for the proposed debates. This list includes such items as the growth of "real" GNP (stripped of inflation), performance of the politically sensitive consumer price index (a leading inflation barometer), disposable income and after-tax corporate profits.

Klein claims that these indicators performed much better in the Kennedy-Johnson, Democratic years than they did in the succeeding Nixon-Ford Republican years.

More importantly, if left on its present course, Ford's economic policy would lead to unacceptably low economic growth in the next four years with GNP advancing at an annual rate of only 2% to 3%, Klein claims. This is hardly enough to make a dramatic dent in the unemployment level, the Carter forces would argue.

Klein says Carter's stimulative economic policies—upon which he didn't elaborate—would have as their objectives as 4.5% jobless level by 1980.

A major feature of the Carter economic plan would be the use of fiscal policy for "spot programs" designed to zero in on specific pockets of economic deterioration and joblessness in the country, adds Klein.

The proposed debates would dramatize the issues. But professional economists don't see any sharp changes in economic policy next year even if Carter is voted into the White House.

The reason, they say, is that by the time a new administration takes office next January, the Executive Branch already will have prepared its budget and tax proposals for the 1978 fiscal year.

A Democratic administration along with a Democratic-controlled Congress could alter these plans. But traditionally it takes a new administration about a year to get its economic machinery working so that any economic overhaul, if one was coming, probably wouldn't be expected until the 1979 fiscal year.

A Preview of Ford-Carter Economy Debate

BY RONALD L. SOBLE
Times Staff Writer

8/30/76

The Ford-Carter confrontation on the economy, one of the proposed series of nationally televised debates, should produce sharply different points of view on whether the economic recovery should be accelerated.

President Ford, carrying the Republican banner, will emphasize that the gradual recovery of an economy from the worst business downturn in four decades shouldn't be disturbed with an overly expansionary policy.

The Chief Executive, in short, will opt for a policy of economic moderation at a time of declining inflation and a projected gradual reduction of the high jobless level.

Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter on the other hand, is expected to brand the Republican economic posture as a benign policy.

Carter would argue that there is currently enough slack in the economy to permit more stimulative fiscal (tax and federal spending) and monetary policies aimed at bringing down the unemployment level, (currently 7.8%) at a faster pace than would otherwise happen—all this without incurring a new round of inflation (now running at a 6.2% annual rate).

This picture emerges following interviews with Lawrence R. Klein, the Wharton School economist who is the leading architect of Carter's economic policies; and a member of the Ford economic camp who preferred to remain anonymous.

The Ford source said that any immediate move to pump up the economy through expensive job programs or tax cuts "would be short-lived; we would be sowing the seeds of our own future destruction."

Having just emerged from a period of double-digit inflation, the Ford source said, it would be courting economic disaster to attempt to try to race ahead again.

To be sure, he said, there probably is sufficient economic slack at the moment, and room for increased productivity, to absorb an economic shot-in-the-arm aimed at driving down the jobless level almost over-

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