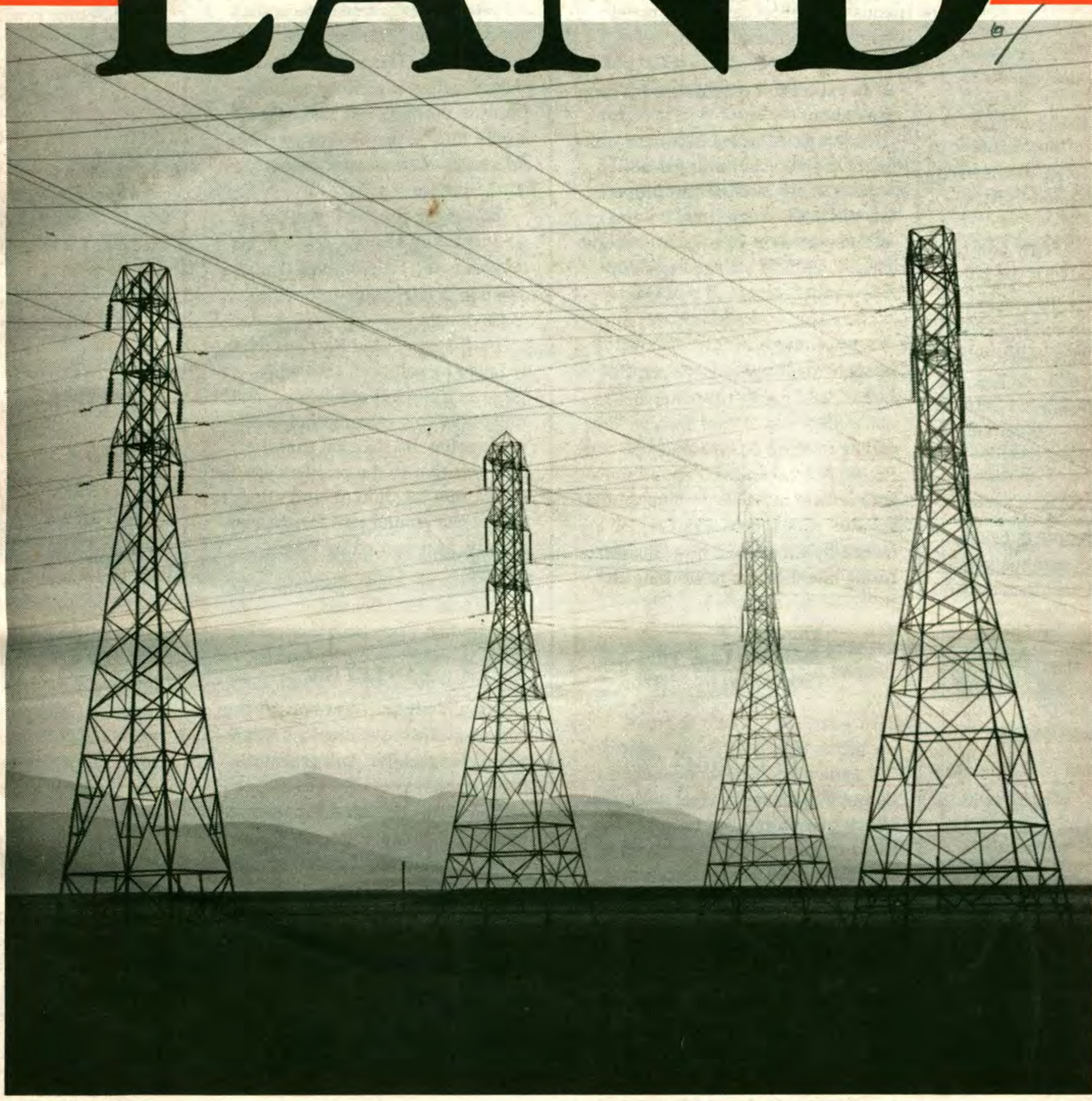
THE NEWSPAPER OF THE LAND REFORM MOVEMENT

V.1 #2

PEOPLE & LAND



Richard Conrat

The Big Energy Giveaway

America does have an energy crisis, but it is a crisis of control, not supply.

There are plenty of energy resources in the United States. Some, like coal, oil and natural gas, have been widely exploited. Others, like the sun, the wind, the tides and the heat of the earth, are just beginning to be tapped.

The trouble is that energy sources in America are controlled by a small cartel of corporations whose goal is maximum private profit. Supplies and prices are manipulated so as to minimize competition. New energy sources such as solar and geothermal power are not developed because they would diminish the profits from existing energy systems.

The major oil companies control enormous amounts of land in the United States and offshore. (See Table.) Most of these energy-rich acres were obtained in one way or another from the public domain.

Still, the striking fact is that most of our remaining energy reserves are on or under public land. Over half of our oil and natural gas reserves, 40 percent of our coal and uranium, 80 percent of our oil shale and 60 percent of our geothermal resources lie under public lands. They are owned, in other words, by we the people.

The critical question over the next few years is what will be done with the energy resources that the people own. Will they be given away to the same profit-seeking cartel that created the present "crisis"? Or will they be developed on a non-profit basis in the public interest?

Continued on page 4.

LETTERS

The response to the first issue of PEOPLE & LAND was overwhelming. We have received hundreds of letters and thousands of orders for reprints. We can't print all of the letters we received but here are a few. Please continue to send us correspondence, ideas, news items, photos, cartoons, etc. And by all means, pass PEOPLE & LAND around to your friends and colleagues. Let's spread the word!

A PLUG

I was so impressed with your first issue of *People & Land* that in order to give it the type of "plug" it deserved, I had parts of it reprinted in *Rural Times*.

In a separate letter is my contribution to your work with the hope that I will be on your mailing list with permission to promote *People & Land* by occasionally reprinting a special article.

Harold R. Minor
Rural Times
Albany, Indiana

FANTASTIC

Your first issue of *People & Land* was fantastic. Please send me two additional copies. I enclose a dollar to cover the cost.

Cynthia Rose
Cambridge, Mass.

SMART CONSUMERS

We were really excited to see the magazine *People & Land*. It's well put together and should serve as an important vehicle for all concerned about land reform.

Our group's attention is basically focused on the food and agriculture industry and how it affects the social and physical environment.

Jere Erimm
Educated Consumers
Food Council
Portland, Oregon

FREEDOM SOON

I would be most grateful to be put on your mailing list for *People & Land*. I cannot afford a contribution as I am incarcerated. I do expect to be reunited with my family once again, in several months, so it may be wise to use my home address. I will look forward to receiving your paper.

Name Withheld
State Correctional Institution
Pittsburgh, Pa.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Somebody sent us some papers and your very fine focusing organ, *People & Land*. Many, many thanks. The newspaper deserves the highest praise as an expression of what land reform is all about.

A couple of us are becoming quite adept at the technical organization aspects of the land reform-property law phase that every land holding and preservation group must become familar with. If we can be of any help in that respect, it's an offer.

We have some good people in positions of responsibility who will be assets in assisting us in the acquisition of land for Trusteeship, and as our skills widen in that area, we'll be willing to share our capabilities. The Pacific Northwest **needs** an effective land reform movement. You should see how many acres in this region are owned by timber and now, manufacturing interests (we're working on that one, incidentally).

Tom Bahr
Evergreen Land Trust Assn.
Clear Lake, Washington

BY GEORGE!

Before you go any further with your efforts at land reform, I suggest you pause to gain a clear understanding of fundamental political economy.

Virtually all of the economic proposals in the first issue of *People & Land* would enhance, rather than diminish, the privileged position of landlords. At the same time, your proposals would operate against the interests of both producers and consumers.

Severance taxes are **not** taxes on land value. They **are** taxes on production and as such tend to discourage productive activity by penalizing it.

The purchasing of land, whether by the government or other organizations, does **not** serve to establish the equality of natural opportunity to which all human beings are entitled. "Trust Funds," "Land Banks," and "National Trusts" such as you describe are merely mechanisms for redistributing land, and very faulty ones at that. There are major flaws in these proposals.

The so-called unearned increment tax recently enacted in Vermont, along with the proposals of Ms. Krebs outlined on p. 8 and Peter Barnes' proposals on p. 29 with regard to this matter, all stand as monuments to muddle-headed "reasoning" and lack of radicalism.

Nowhere in *People & Land* is any mention made of the one essential component of the land question. The real issue is not who holds title to land for use and possession, but who receives the economic rent of land.

In order to enforce the equal rights of all human beings to the gifts of nature, it is necessary to collect for public purposes the economic rent of land. This proposal is truly radical in that it actually abolishes "private property" in land. Land would thus be restored to its rightful status–the common property of all the people.

This is the proposal outlined so eloquently by Henry George in his famous book, *Progress and Poverty*, and which later came to be known as the Single Tax.

By the way, Fred Harris apparently failed to point out that when Winston Churchill proclaimed land monopoly to be the mother of all monopolies, he also said that the only solution to the problem was the *ad valorem* taxation of land values to collect the ground rent for the community, as proposed by Henry George.

Richard Pensacl
San Francisco, California

FAN LETTER

This is a fan letter. Volume 1/Number 1 was the best thing I've read in a long, long while. An excellent newspaper.

Somehow, though it says so much that is depressing, it left me feeling Good. Optimistic. I only wish I'd attended the First National Conference on Land Reform!

I've seen much of the same information/statistics in other publications but somehow you put it together in a much more readable, sensible, meaningful way. Much of what I learned from the issue I've retained and been able to share with others.

Thank you very much. I will send a donation when I can.

Land for people, not profit!

Carol A. Hine
New York City

FIRST HOMES FIRST

I need to receive *People & Land* for organizing in the North Georgia mountains. We're fighting Atlanta's second-home syndrome moving into this recently "discovered" area.

June Tramel
Atlanta, Georgia

GREAT GLANCE

I just had a glance at *People & Land* at a friend's house, but it was one of the most encouraging sights I've seen in ages. I'd been thinking along similar lines for quite a while.

Van Howell
Westhampton Beach, N.Y.

WRONG SCAPEGOAT

I am the director of the boycott activities of the United Farmworkers Union here in Eugene. I was especially interested in your articles on agribusiness rip-offs. I am appreciative of your outstanding Declaration of Principles, especially those regarding the exploitation of rural labor.

In this area of the country, as in much of the West, the small farmer is slowly dying out. Actually being driven off the land by monopolistic industries interested in land development and speculation. But many small farmers regard Cesar Chavez and the UFW as the scapegoat for their plight and obstruct all efforts to organize field workers and to organize boycotts on non-union produce. Reading your first issue gave me many ideas on how to approach such people. It is indeed necessary to incorporate the notion of equal rights for farmworkers into the larger goal of land reform and decentralization of profits and power.

I would like to continue receiving *People & Land* but cannot right now

T.L. Gettings

make any payment for membership. I enclose one dollar to pay for the next issue or two. There is much interest in Oregon in land reform, and I will try to show copies of your magazine to as many people as possible.

Jere Rosemeyer
Eugene, Oregon

GUTHRIE'S SONG

The crucial battle in the Hudson Valley during the next ten years, I believe, will be to preserve the land from exploitation by developers who are taking advantage of the fact that the water is now going to be clean enough to swim in and boat in and fish in once again.

No small town is going to be able to withstand them. They'll make us offers we can't afford to refuse unless a master plan of the whole Hudson Valley is drawn up stating exactly where it will not be allowed.

I look forward to receiving your magazine and enclose a few dollars for postage.

One last thing. Apropos your lead article, "This Land is Not Our Land," you might be interested in seeing the article I wrote on that song for the *Village Voice* a couple of years ago.

Pete Seeger
Beacon, N.Y.

We've reprinted excerpts from the article on page 15.

VENCEREMOS!

Enclosed please find our check for $10.00 to cover membership.

We have over 20,000 members in five southern California counties, most of these are former farm families from Mexico and Central America. We have formed a farm and settlement committee of thirty-five families who are already studying and planning a project outside of Fresno.

Thank you for your assistance and with best wishes for success. Unidos Venceremos!

Bert N. Corona
Hermandad General de Trabajadores

DEPRESSION COMING

Alas, I am pretty near broke, the last remnants of my last $20 bill is in my pocket. So till better days come I ask you to send me a copy or two of your magazine and other small things you have to spare.

I am a migrant farm worker, an apple-knocker and cherry plucker of several years standing. I sharecropped two summers ago, but inexperience led to our downfall (we sure ate good!)

I will probably start pruning in February or perhaps work in a logging mill. But I've been preparing for the depression. I'm used to making it on no money by working for myself and my friends. The country is full of resources but someone owns everything and they charge high prices.

So many people don't see the depression coming or are fearfully sticking their heads in the sand. Alas for that too. The T.V. and the suburbs have laid the basis for the fascism we will have in winning our land back. But we will get it back some day.

Our struggle is one. The land belongs to the tiller.

Mike Pilarski
Peshastin, Washington

A PLACE TO RETIRE

You have asked for suggestions. So I'll offer one.

You say that the people in Appalachia are impoverished. And there are also other parts of the country where there just isn't enough money. But no one seems to think of a simple way of improving the lots of these areas.

We have a large number of people either retired or retiring. Since their incomes are often small, the overdeveloped places do not offer them good places to retire. If they could be induced to go to some of these impoverished places to retire, that would solve two problems at once. Their incomes would be brought into places that need additional money. Retired people do not take up all the jobs. And they all must eat and buy clothes and other necessities. So their income would be largely spent where they live.

I've been looking for a place to retire. So you may ask why I haven't gone to Appalachia. I did think of it. But the reason I am not there is that Appalachia seems to be governed by non-resident corporations rather than by citizens. A community can be pretty bad when the citizens have no voice in the government.

C.D. Prewhitt
Mt. Sterling, Kentucky

DECENTRALIZE

What a fine job you did on your first edition of *People & Land*.

Your articles, layout, down to earth approach to people and land reform, even the picture on the front page added up to a thought-provoking effort of which you can all be proud.

I have been in the business of promoting the humanities and efficiencies of family farming, as against corporate ownership, for 41 years, and I think you are entering the scene when you will be able to realize immediate or near-immediate results from what you reveal and what you advocate. In other words, the time has ripened for a revival of family farming and other land reforms, and as you can see, I have tied all of it—the whole subject of decentralization—to the oncoming Bicentennial as a goal line toward which to strive as a turning point.

Ed Wimmer
Forward America, Inc.
Covington, Kentucky

GET AMERICA BACK

It was a thrill to read your first edition of *People & Land*. I want to thank you for sending it to me. I did not know there were so many different groups working together to save this nation, to get it back under the control of the American citizens, back to the position where our people will be proud to use capital letters to spell THE UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

If, only a few short years ago, the present condition of our country had been prophesied and flashed on a TV screen for Americans to see, very few would have believed it. Some have stuck their head in the sand and refuse to believe it now. Without a doubt, the terrible plight in Washington, the havoc in our large cities, the congestion and turmoil in our prisons, the steady fade-out of our towns and small cities, due to the systematic elimination of hundreds of thousands of farmers each year—all of this and much more is true because it is past, not prophesy.

What are our citizens going to do? Are they going to appear as driftwood and continue down stream wherever the current takes them? Or will they, by some miracle, become awake?

Even though I am a partially retired farmer—due only to age and lack of strength—and although the clouds of destruction covering our nation look dark and dangerous, it is surely time for action. I am a member of the National Farmers Organization—the one farm group that is working for cost of production plus a fair profit for those who produce food and fiber. So I say, may God be with all of the different groups who are striving to get the control of this great land back to the people. Away with those unhuman, heartless conglomorates that consider people as numbers not humans!

Roy E. Fridley
Windsor, Missouri

WRONG ADDRESS

Please remove the Westfield Bird Club from your mailing list.

The Westfield Bird Club cannot use any of your communistic rubbish.

The address, 320 South Union Ave., is incorrect anyway.

Roy T. Puckey
Cranford, New Jersey

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PEOPLE &LAND

NEWSPAPER OF THE LAND REFORM MOVEMENT

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Editors this issue: Peter Barnes, Hugh Gardner
Art: Barbara Garza, Karen Ohmans
Photography: George Ballis, Richard Conrat, Alan Copeland, Bob Fitch, T.L. Gettings, Karl Limvere, Peeter Vilms
Contributors: George Baker, Roger Blobaum, Geoffrey Faux, Michael Perelman, Warren Weber, John Wilson
Typography: Janet Chann

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. . . Energy Giveaway

Continued from page 1

Unfortunately, the track record of the federal government is not good. While other countries have been moving more and more toward public ownership of energy resources, the United States remains a firm believer in giving to the few what belongs to us all.

The standard practice of the Interior Department is to lease energy resources on public lands to private bidders. In areas where the resources are known to be substantial, bidding is usually competitive; elsewhere it is first-come, first-served, or based on random drawings. Generally the bidder pays an initial bonus plus a 12½ percent royalty when production begins.

The recent "crisis" has spurred the Interior Department to accelerate its leasing of public resources to private corporations. Thus, within the past year, hundreds of thousands of acres of offshore oil and gas reserves, oil shale lands in Colorado and geothermal sites in California have been turned over to Exxon & Co. This is in addition to the hundreds of thousands of acres of western coal rights that were leased to the same corporation in the years prior to 1973.

If the federal government wants to spur competition within the energy industry, the last thing it should do is to give control of new energy resources to the same corporations that control the present ones. A study by the Federal Power Commission found that eight major corporations already lease 74 percent of the available oil and gas reserves on federal lands.

Other studies have pointed out that the corporations that control oil production and refining have now moved into competing sources of energy: 20 of the largest oil companies account for 60 percent of American natural gas production and reserves, 29 of the top 50 coal companies are subsidiaries of oil companies, and oil companies own nearly 45 percent of known domestic uranium reserves. This kind of monopoly control of energy needs to be broken, not strengthened, but it won't be broken unless present leasing policies are changed.

ENERGY COMPANY LAND

The table includes acreage owned and leased, some of which is off-shore. Acreages for companies such as Shell, Exxon and ARCO were not available.

Source: ***Moody's Industrial Manual***

Company	U.S. Acreage
Standard of Indiana	20.3 million
Texaco	9.9 million
Mobil	7.8 million
Gulf	7.5 million
Phillips Petroleum	5.3 million
Standard of Calif.	5.2 million
Continental	4.5 million
Union	4.1 million

A Federal Oil and Gas Corporation, along with similar state corporations, could develop the public's energy resources on a not-for-profit basis.

Consider what is happening to the people's geothermal resources. Potential geothermal sites abound throughout the western states, and the National Science Foundation estimates that geothermal power could supply as much as a fifth of the nation's electricity by 1985.

Naturally, oil companies such as Shell, Phillips, Union, Getty, Sun, Standard of California and Occidental Petroleum are trying to get control of geothermal energy. If they succeed, the cost to consumers could come to millions, if not billions of dollars.

Union Oil, for example, claims rights to underground steam in the Geysers area north of San Francisco, the only site in the United States at which geothermal power is now being generated commercially. In fact, there is some dispute over whether Union Oil actually owns the geothermal rights it claims. The Justice Department has contended in a lawsuit, now on appeal, that geothermal rights are among the mineral rights that were reserved to the United States when western land was homesteaded a century ago.

In any case, assuming possession, Union Oil signed an exclusive contract to sell steam to Pacific Gas and Electric, a private utility that has recently applied for massive increases in electrical rates charged to consumers. When a group of non-profit municipal electric companies tried to purchase steam from Union, the oil company refused to sell. Significantly, the Union–PG&E contract calls for the price of steam to be pegged to the price of other competing fuels.

There are alternatives to the continued giveaway of public energy resources. For example, geothermal energy in the West could be developed by the Bureau of Reclamation, like hydro-power was, with preference in the sale of electricity going to municipal and consumer-owned utilities. Similarly, coal in Appalachia and the Plains states could be developed by locally owned public utility districts (see *People & Land*, Summer 1973, pp. 13, 22, 23.) A bill to this effect was recently introduced in the Wyoming legislature with support from rural electric co-ops.

The most comprehensive alternative yet proposed is a bill introduced by Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III of Illinois to establish a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation, patterned after TVA. Co-sponsoring the bill are Senators Abourezk, Hart, Kennedy, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale and Moss. A similar corporation has been proposed for the state of California by Congressman Jerome Waldie, a candidate this year for governor.

The Federal Oil and Gas Corporation, as well as similar state-level models, would have access to publicly owned oil and gas rights, as well as the power to acquire energy rights on private lands. It could enter into the full range of activity necessary for the exploration, development, refining, transportation and marketing of petroleum and gas products.

Such a corporation would accomplish three things, according to Stevenson. "First, the corporation would develop publicly owned oil and gas resources in order to satisfy national energy needs rather than to maximize private sector profits.

"Second, the corporation would stimulate competition in the petroleum business.

"Third, the corporation would provide the public with knowledge of the actual cost of producing oil and gas so that public policy can be geared to the nation's interest. It would give the nation a 'yardstick' against which to judge the performance of the private oil companies."

Stevenson noted numerous foreign examples of public oil corporations—BP in Britain, CFP in France, ENI in Italy, Petrobras in Brazil, Pemex in Mexico, YPF in Argentina, Oil India and many others.

Only America, it seems, encourages private monopoly profits at the expense of people's needs and rights.

—Peter Barnes

Less Water, Higher Food Prices

Hidden Dimensions of the Energy Crisis

Now that the oil bubble has burst, the race is on to develop substitute processes to satisfy our seemingly endless demands for energy. Corporate executives and federal officials have focused primarily on three such substitutes: nuclear fission, coal burning and gasification, and oil shale.

There are many nasty problems with each of these techniques, but one they all have in common —and perhaps the worst of all in the long run—is that they all require enormous amounts of water. So much water, in fact, that an unintended consequence of solving the energy crisis may be the creation of a far more serious food and water crisis.

Consider, for instance, the nuclear reactor that the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power wants to locate in the San Joaquin Valley. Putting aside for the moment the hazards of the plutonium used in such plants, see if you can comprehend these figures on the amount of water that the proposed installation will use. Besides an unspecified quantity of agricultural drainage water, the plant is expected to take about 100,000 acre-feet of water each year from the California Aqueduct. Translated, that works out to the consumption of at least 33 billion gallons of water a year, or about 4 billion flushes of the average toilet.

Strip mining the West for coal will create even more dramatic water demands. A recent report by the National Academy of Sciences warns that strip mining and processing of Western coal will raise "staggering" water problems that have not yet been addressed. Western strip mining, says the report, may disrupt water supplies to the point where "the direct and indirect consequences may be far more important than the ability to reclaim the actual site of the mining."

Regardless of whether the coal is burned to produce electricity or converted to gas, either process will use vast amounts of water, a precious resource in the arid West. But despite the fact that private coal operators are going ahead full speed with their plans, the N.A.S. report states that "there is little evidence that adequate mechanisms for planning exist at any governmental level."

Both coal burning and coal gasification will use vast quantities of water.

The dimension of this conflict between coal and water becomes apparent with a little multiplication. There are now 176 potential sites for coal gasification, each requiring about 25,000 acre-feet of water per year to operate. One acre-foot of water equals 325,851 gallons, so what it all adds up to is the prospect of the consumption of almost 1½ trillion gallons a year. To put this figure in more understandable terms, coal gasification may require roughly three times as much water as the total annual flow of the California Water Project, one of the world's largest.

Already the Intake Water Company, a subsidiary of Tenneco, has filed an appropriation request for over 80,000 acre-feet of water from the Yellowstone River in Montana, which is approximately one-fourth of the total flow of that river. As reported in the last issue of *People & Land*, the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation has granted Tenneco a license to build a pump plant on the Yellowstone despite the fact that an environmental impact study has not been completed—an apparent violation of the law.

We might get by with less flushing, but can we stop eating too?

The effects of mining oil shale may be still more severe. The Department of Interior's own impact statement for the prototype oil shale leasing program estimates that a mature 1 million barrel per day shale industry will require from 121,000 to 189,000 acre-feet of water annually. Bear in mind that there are at least 1 trillion barrels of shale oil buried in Colorado, enough for about 2,740 years of mining at this rate. The actual "mature shale industry" will likely be a great deal larger than Interior suggests, especially with the recent quantum leap in posted prices for oil.

The effect of such drastic reductions in irrigation water will inevitably be a decline in Western agriculture. The cost of these projects for the American consumer, first in terms of water and then in terms of food, may be enormous.

In California, for instance, sophisticated linear programming techniques demonstrate that agricultural water use is insensitive to price until it reaches a cost of about $18 per acre-foot, which is 80 percent above current undervalued water prices. At this point, water usage falls off drastically. This means that a 50 percent decrease in irrigation water in California, brought about by depletion and higher prices, would result in a $1.5 billion reduction in crop production. And when these crops disappear from the market, prices on what's left will rise to the tune of $2 billion.

Thus the consumer gets hit from two sides at once. Energy will cost more because water costs more, and food will cost more for the same reason, in addition to being more scarce.

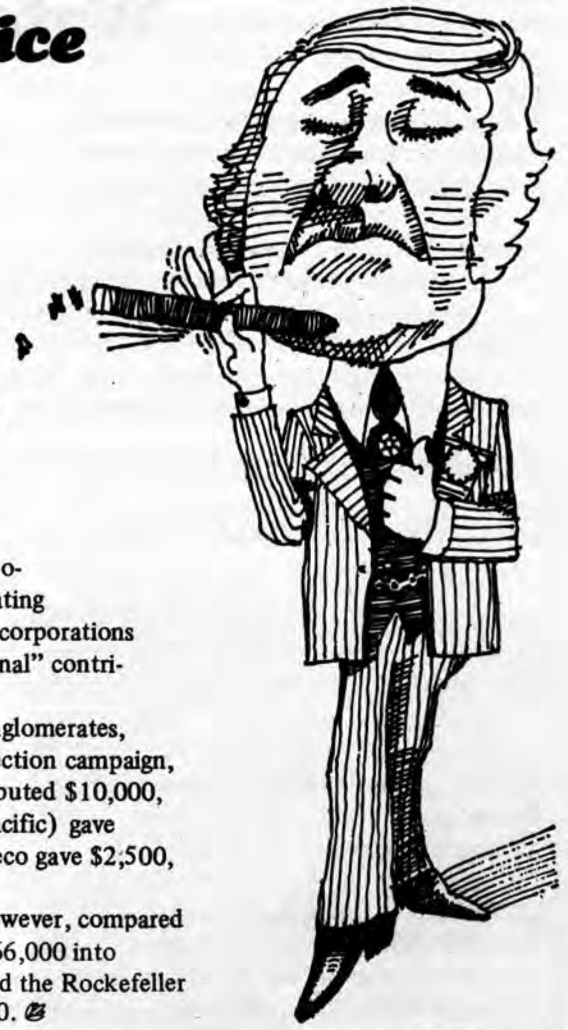
Moreover, the withdrawal of cheap supplies of irrigation water comes at a time when U.S. agriculture should be coming to grips with the rapid depletion in its stocks of fossil water as well as fossil fuel. At present the U.S. is using twice as much water from groundwater reserves as is being naturally recharged into these reserves.

In short, the United States must quickly turn its attention to solar, geothermal, wind and other sources of energy that are not only non-polluting and non-depleting, but also not dependent on vast supplies of water. Otherwise the rush to coal, shale and fission will leave us gasping for water in the future.

We might get by with less flushing, but can we stop eating too?

—Michael Perelman and Hugh Gardner

We Gave at the Office



The giveaway of public resources to private corporations should come as no surprise to close observers of the political scene. The explanation, according to Representative Les Aspin of Wisconsin, is simple: 413 officials and stockholders of 178 oil companies contributed over $5.7 million dollars to Richard Nixon's re-election campaign in 1972.

"The President is unable to control the oil cartel because they financed at least 10 percent of his campaign," Aspin said in releasing his study of oil company contributions.

Theoretically, corporate funds cannot legally be contributed to federal political campaigns. Some corporations, such as Phillips Petroleum, have admitted to violating this law -- for which they received fines of $1,000. Most corporations simply skirt this law by having their officers make "personal" contributions.

For example, 43 officers of one of our favorite oil conglomerates, Tenneco, contributed a total of $52,711 to Nixon's re-election campaign, according to Aspin's study. Director Henry Harris contributed $10,000, Director B.F. Biaggini (also Chairman of the Southern Pacific) gave $5,000, Howard Marguleas of Heggblade-Marguleas-Tenneco gave $2,500, and so on down the line.

Tenneco's generosity was just a drop in the bucket, however, compared to other oil magnates'. Standard of California poured $166,000 into Nixon's war chest, J. Paul Getty chipped in $125,000, and the Rockefeller family, who are major Exxon shareholders, gave $268,700.

160-Acre Limit

Legal Battles on the Western Front

Attentive readers of *People & Land* will recall Paul Taylor's history of the battle over the 160-acre limit (Summer 1973 issue, page 21). That battle—and a parallel one over the live-on-the-land requirement—still goes on. This report may be considered an update from the Western front.

First, the setting. California's Imperial Valley lies about 100 miles to the southeast of the summer White House at San Clemente. It is a large valley (about 1¼ times the size of Rhode Island), hot (temperatures of 120° are not uncommon in mid-summer), dry (total annual rainfall is barely three inches) and flat. It is also one of the richest valleys in the world, producing $300 million annually of cotton, sugar beets, lettuce, alfalfa and other crops.

What makes the Imperial Valley rich is water from the Colorado river, water brought through a network of dams and canals built by the federal government in the 1930s and '40s. Where federal water goes, so goes—in theory—the Reclamation Act of 1902. That act provides that landowners can get water for 160 acres only, and that in order to receive any water they must live on or near their land. The intent of the act was to break up the land monopolies in the West.

Unfortunately, land monopolies in the West were not broken up by the 1902 Reclamation Act. Rather, irrigation projects authorized under the act became just one more subsidy to the big landowners. The acreage limitation and the residency requirement were not enforced, and the value of newly irrigated lands owned by large absentee owners sky-rocketed.

"Our banker says I may have to move to the Imperial Valley, wherever that is."

In the Imperial Valley, more than half the irrigated acreage is held by owners of more than 160 acres, and nearly half is held by absentees. (In many cases the categories overlap.) Some of the holdings are as large as 10,000 acres. Several belong to such agribusiness giants as Purex, Dow Chemical and the Irvine Land Company. Meanwhile, the vast majority of the people in the Imperial Valley remain poor and landless.

In 1964 Interior Secretary Stewart Udall stunned the large landowners in the Imperial Valley by announcing that the 160-acre limitation would be enforced. The local irrigation district, controlled by the big growers, refused to go along, so the Interior Department sued the district. A local judge ruled in favor of the landowners, and the Interior Department planned to appeal. But then Richard Nixon was elected President and all of a sudden the appeal was dropped (see below for a possible explanation.)

Meanwhile, a group of landless Imperial Valley residents, led by Dr. Ben Yellen, sued to get the residency requirement enforced. Amazingly, they won. U.S. District Judge William D. Murray ruled that "the failure to apply the residency requirement is contrary to any reasonable interpretation of the clear purpose and intent of national reclamation policy." Of course, the Nixon Administration appealed this decision.

As this issue goes to press, a panel of federal judges in San Francisco (Ninth Circuit) is getting ready to hear arguments on both the residency and 160-acre questions. Their decision, whatever it is, will doubtlessly be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. That august body will then issue a ruling that could determine the future of land distribution not only in the Imperial Valley, but throughout the West

Note: Two additional efforts to enforce the 160-acre limit in California are pending in federal court. In one case involving the Kings River, large land owners claim to be exempt from the 160-acre limit because the dam on the river was constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers rather than the Bureau of Reclamation. In the second case, the big corporations served by the California Water Project claim exemption on the grounds that the major dams and aqueducts were built by the state, even though federal funds were used.

Watergate and Water Law

Most Americans have never heard of Steven H. Elmore. But he may be the key figure in a Watergate-type "fix" of an important 160-acre limit lawsuit.

Until 1969, Steven Elmore owned a 2.9 acre parcel of land adjacent to what was to become Richard Nixon's summer White House at San Clemente. In 1969 Elmore sold his land to Richard Nixon for $100,000. Elmore's father, John J. Elmore, remains Nixon's next-door neighbor with a 39.2 acre estate.

Steven Elmore is also a large grower in the Imperial Valley, where the Elmore family owns 14,000 acres. He founded and is still president of and spokesman for Imperial Resources Associates, a group of Imperial Valley landowners that raised $600,000 to fight the federal government's attempt to enforce the 160-acre limitation.

Bob Fitch

Investigators with the House Judiciary Committee, which is considering the impeachment of President Nixon, are known to be investigating a possible connection between Elmore and the Nixon Administration's sudden loss of interest in enforcing the 160-acre law.

In December 1970, a federal judge in San Diego ruled in favor of the Imperial Valley landowners and against the U.S. Department of Interior. Attorneys in the Interior and Justice Departments who were working on the case unanimously recommended that the local judge's decision be appealed. At this point, Elmore met with Justice Department officials and urged that the local judge's decision be allowed to stand.

Early in 1971, Soliciter General Erwin Criswold announced that the government would not appeal. It was a victory for the large landowners and a setback for the poor and landless. When reporters attempted to find out why the Justice Department had dropped the case, despite the recommendation of its lawyers that it appeal, Griswold refused to discuss the matter.

Elmore insists there was no hanky-panky. "The land was sold at appraised values at normal interest rates and there's not one damned thing unusual about it," he told George Baker of the Fresno *Bee*.

Deputy White House Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren also denied any wrong-doing. "There was absolutely no connection with the case and the purchase of 2.9 acres," Warren said.

Nixon later sold Elmore's parcel, plus 20.1 acres, to an investment company whose partners were Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp. Nixon has admitted that he paid no capital gains tax on the proceeds of the sale.

Nixon was elected, and suddenly the appeal was dropped.

Curiously enough, there may be a connection between Elmore's parcel and the $100,000 cash contribution from billionaire Howard Hughes that Rebozo allegedly kept in his safe for three years and then returned. An article in the Los Angeles *Times* (October 22, 1973) reports that Hank Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas *Sun*, "began to suspect that the Hughes money might have been used to finance acquisition of an additional three acres of property by Mr. Nixon adjacent to the San Clemente property." The article goes on the say that Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal attorney at the time, denied this.

Report From Iowa

Midwest Conference Draws 300

A long list of land issues, ranging from strip mining in the Great Plains to corporate involvement in agriculture, was discussed at the First Midwest Land Conference sponsored by the Center for Rural Studies.

Nearly 300 persons from 20 states attended the three-day conference on Thanksgiving weekend in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The participants, who represented a wide range of viewpoints, included farmers, church leaders, environmentalists, Indians, professors, labor leaders, bankers and students.

Government figures taking part included Sen. Dick Clark of Iowa, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Rural Development; Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota, author of the Family Farm Antitrust Act; and Dr. Gene Wunderlich of the Department of Agriculture, an economist who is directing the first nationwide survey of rural land ownership.

Senator Clark proposed government loans to young farmers that would require repayment of only half the mortgage.

More than 50 speakers led the conference sessions, which covered such topics as "Who Will Control U.S. Agriculture?"; "Who Owns the Land?"; "Organic Farming as an Alternative;" "Indian Land Issues;" "Land Use -- A Growing Conflict;" and "Government-Funded Assaults on the Land."

Discussion of who will control agriculture centered on a study by several Midwest land grant college economists. Prof. Harold Briemyer of the University of Missouri, a study committee member, reported that the question of who will control agriculture is finally being recognized as a legitimate policy issue.

"I have the feeling that the topic we have before us today has reached the stage now that people recognize that it is a genuine issue," he reported. "And that is progress, believe me."

Sen. James Abourezk plugged the Family Farm Act.

The Family Farm Anti-Trust Act would curb vertical integration and force big companies out of farming.

Present tax laws invite non-farm capital into farming, Briemyer said, creating unusual stress for traditional types of farming and putting the family type operator at a disadvantage.

"A high percentage of land buying by non-farmers right now is simply an attempt to get access to a base for taking advantage of capital gains," he said. "Although many farmers may do that too, by and large they are badly out-dollared in terms of capital available."

Various proposals were made to strengthen the independent farmer and rancher and to open new opportunities for young people to get on the land.

Karl Limvere

Ed Dobson, Friends of the Earth, talks of strip mining. Duane Bye, Basin Electric Co-op, listens.

Senator Clark proposed easing the impact of fast-rising land prices and capital requirements by permitting young farmers to obtain government loans that would require principal repayments against only half the mortgage over a 40-year period. When the farmer reached retirement age, he could either sell the farm to pay off the other half or make other arrangements.

Charles Ehm, vice-president of the Iowa State Savings Bank at Creston, supported the idea of government guaranteed laons for young people getting started in farming. He said country banks are severely limited in how far they can go in financing young couples who have the ability and desire to farm but lack net worth and operating cash.

Considerable interest was alse expressed in enactment of state laws, such as Minnesota's newly passed law which sharply restricts corporate farming.

Conference participants also felt the Family Farm Antitrust Act, a proposal now before Congress, would be an effective approach. The bill, which would curb vertical integration and force big companies out of farming, got a strong push from Senator Abourezk.

"Once basic food production is controlled by a few conglomerates who also dominate markets," he said, "the consumer will know what a real bind is."

Charles Frazier, director of the National Farmers Organization's Washington office, said most consumer organizations support legislation that would curb corporate involvement in food production. High grocery bills, he said, have stimulated their interest in the structure of agriculture.

Karl Limvere

From left: Rev. John J. McRaith and Roger Blobaum, conference co-ordinator.

"Every time I have talked to representatives of these groups, or the young lawyers in Washington who are involved in the consumer movement, I have found them willing to support this legislation," he said.

"I think I can promise you that the consumer people I have talked to will join us and work in behalf of keeping farming in the hands of farmers if we can build enough public understanding of the issue."

Mrs. Alberta Slavin of St. Louis, a National Consumer Congress leader who was a big meat boycotter last spring, admitted consumers need a better understanding of how food is produced, processed and priced.

"We were surprised to get so much farm reaction to what we were doing, because our target was where food comes from and we thought that was the supermarket," she admitted.

She said consumers had killed off corner grocery stores in the cities in an attempt to save a few pennies on food and that family farmers will meet the same fate unless farm and city people alike start working together to preserve and strengthen them.

New Threat to Small Farmers

2½ Million Pigs in A Poke

Midwest hog farmers are a bit apprehensive these days, and with good reason. An outfit called Missouri Foods International has announced plans to build the world's largest "hog factory" on 6,000 acres of land in Clark County, Missouri, where Missouri, Iowa and Illinois intersect. When completed, the operation will wean, feed and slaughter the astounding total of 2½ million hogs a year.

Plans for the hog operation have been drawn up by Globe Engineering, a subsidiary of Swift & Co. Reportedly, Swift will run the slaughterhouse and Ralston-Purina will provide feed and breeding stock.

Tom Ellis, farm editor emeritus of the Springfield, Mo., *News and Leader*, summed up what is on many farmers minds: "Think of the blow that will be dealt to thousands of farmers who feed hogs throughout the Midwest. If this succeeds, it will mark but the beginning of agribusiness taking over another segment of farming, just as it did with broilers and turkey production."

James Kennel, county farm extension agent at Kahoka, Missouri, told the Hannibal *Courier-Post*: "They are still drilling for water and taking out land options. This will have a nationwide effect on the pork industry."

According to *Pro Farmer* magazine, "The significance of a 2½ million hog operation is tremendous. For years specialists have said hogs would eventually follow the same route as broilers – huge integrated complexes – if disease, waste disposal and management problems could be overcome. Giant East European hog units have proven it can be done, with units of 100,000 to 250,000 hogs.... If the Missouri operation goes according to plan, it will completely rewrite the book on hog production in the U.S., and probably around the world."

Peeter Vilms

The man behind Missouri Foods International is Charles McQuoid, a former Chicago insurance salesman. McQuoid says he has $100 million committed to the project, mostly by Chicago and New York banks. Insurance on the operation will be backed by Lloyds of London, he added, and will cover death, disease and catastrophic losses.

The entire complex will involve 100 production units, a feed mill and a packing plant. When the packing plant is running at full tilt it will process 500 to 600 hogs an hour and use 2,000 gallons of water per minute.

Two major problems that the operation faces are disease risk and waste disposal. But McQuoid is confident that these can be overcome with good management.

Hog production in the U.S. is currently dominated by independent farmers who raise animals on their farms, then deliver them to markets. Enormous integrated hog operations such as MFI's could well throw thousands of farmers off the land.

McQuoid prefers to talk about the "benefits" MFI will bring to northeastern Missouri. He has promised to build an 18-hole golf course, a swimming pool, country club and jet air strip to handle the "foreign dignitaries" who will be visiting the hog operation. And, he adds, from the profits of MFI a grant will be given each year to the University of Missouri – half to the College of Agriculture for swine research and the other half to make a better football team.

Truth in Advertising

Sometimes the best way to tell what's going on in America is to read the business advertisements in the newspapers.

The ads reproduced on this page are from the *Wall Street Journal, San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Des Moines Register*. They tell better than any USDA study or PhD dissertation what is happening throughout rural America: independent family farmers are going out of business and absentee tax-loss farmers are going in.

TAX SHELTER AND INCOME PROPERTIES

215% WRITE-OFF PROJECTED FOR 1973
357% WRITE-OFF PROJECTED THRU 1976
20+% PROJECTED PRE-TAX CASH FLOW

80 ACRES—ALMONDS—7 YRS. OLD—KERN COUNTY

Total Cash Required $44,500
1973 Tax Deduction Projected ..$95,744
1973 Investment Tax Credit ...$ 3,500

Call Today For Complete Details
On These and Other Agricultural Properties

General Hawaiian Agriculture Corporation
2479 East Bayshore Road, Suite 800, Palo Alto, Calif. 94303
(415) 328-2880
1901 Avenue of the Stars, Suite 240, Los Angeles, Calif. 90067
(213) 552-2166

CAL-AG FARMS

TAX SHELTER
and
FARM INCOME
with
TAX CREDITS

ALMONDS

- 85 Ac. 8 yr. old ranch near Fresno. 85 Ac. Almonds
- Cal-Ag Farms (the seller) will structure sale for maximum tax benefits for qualified buyers. 1973 write-off approximates 100%
- Cash down $59,000. Purchase price $327,250
- Fully operational money-maker
- District water
- 1973 Tax Credit $3500
- Deal directly with owner on this and other properties

Cal-Ag Farms
1571 W. Shaw Ave.
Fresno, Ca. 93705
(209) 226-3325

San Francisco 415-326-6770
Los Angeles 213-996-1676

Public Sale

Located ¼ Mile South & 1 mile West of Garrison

Saturday, Dec. 1 Sale Time 12:00

A complete closing out sale including 1650 Oliver Tractor, 77 Oliver, 5650 Oliver 4 bottom plow, Oliver 74 Picker, 50 ft. elevator, Artsway Grinder mixer like new, a full line of good machinery. Alfalfa hay. Household Goods. Antiques.

Glen Christy Owner

Morris Long Auct. Lee Beneke Clerk

FARM SALE

Located 5 miles west of Marengo on 212 or 3 miles north of Ladora, or 10 miles east of Belle Plaine on 212.

Saturday Dec. 1st Starting at 12:30 P.M.

MACHINERY: Int. M. tractor with power steering; 13 ft. Krause wheel disc; Case 3-14 plow; 24 ft. harrow; J.D. 2 row rotary hoe; M.F. baler; Case tractor mower; Case 4-bar hay rake; endgate seeder and cart; J.D. 490 corn planter; J.D. 290 corn planter; 15 ft. Case disc; 13 ft. cultipacker; 2 row cultivator for A.C.-C tractor; 6 row trailer type sprayer; J.D. running gear and bale rack; Wards wagon with flare box and hoist; rubber tired wagon with flare box; Case manure spreader; Farmers friend 40 ft. elevator; set of 13.6x38 tractor duals; 13.6x38 tractor chains; Heat Houser for M; 2 hydraulic cylinders; tractor wheel weights.

MISCELLANEOUS: Two 40 bu. hog feeders; one 60 bu. hog feeder; two 10 bu. creep feeders; holding crate; hog troughs; 6 roll-away chicken nests; automatic waterers; elec. brooders; other chicken equipment; pressure tank; Olson bale fork; bench vise; spade and crumber; milk cans; child's saddle; coal and wood tank heater; steel water tank; 8x10 ft. tent; car top luggage carrier; wooden granary size 16x8x8 ft.

HOUSEHOLD: Chrome kitchen table and 4 chairs; davenport with plastic cover; 2 old wooden rockers; coffee table; floor lamp; radio; what not shelves; piano stool; electric iron; pressure cooker; rug shampooer; country school desk; rubber stair treads; one 12 gal. stone jar; also other stone jars.

Claude Noaker, owner

Terms-Cash Not responsible for accidents.
Auctioneers Vernon Brecht (223-5425) Elmer Haerther (446-5275)
Iowa County Savings Bank, Marengo, Clerk.
Number system will be used.

'Here's Lead in Your Wine!'


©George Ballis

In case you're wondering what last year's wine vintage tastes like, here's the word from America's largest winemaker, the Gallo Wine Company.

"The deliveries of mechanically harvested grapes were very poor," said co-owner Julio Gallo. "The machines macerated the grapes, exposing them to oxidation, and the lead content was high, imparting undesirable characteristics to the juice."

To bring back that wholesome non-leaded taste to its wines, Gallo has announced that henceforth it will no longer accept machine-picked grapes, except for Thompson seedless. Gallo's decision represents a big setback for proponents of super-mechanized agriculture, who have been taking the taste out of everything from tomatoes to Cabernet Sauvignon.

Meanwhile, the lousy taste of this year's crop is one more reason to boycott Gallo wines. The main reason is Gallo's refusal to renew its contract with the United Farmworkers Union.

UFW organizers report that the boycott of Gallo wines has been making headway, but that Gallo has responded by increasing its advertising budget: $13 million on TV last year, up from $7 million in 1972, making Gallo the only wine company ever to make the list of the top 100 TV advertisers.

Targets of the boycott include Gallo label wines as well as Gallo-owned "pop wines:" Boone's Farm, Tyrolia, Spanada, Ripple and Thunderbird.

How You Can Help the Boycott

Gallo, the world's largest and most profitable winery, was one of several California growers that refused to renew its contract with the United Farm Workers Union. Instead, Gallo signed a "sweetheart" contract with the Teamsters that eliminated the union hiring hall and brought dangerous pesticides back into the fields.

The UFW is calling for a boycott of all Gallo products, including Paisano, Thunderbird, Boone's Farm, Spanada, Tyrolia, Ripple and Red Mountain. Also on the boycott list: Guild and Franzia wines.

You *may* buy the following wines: Italian Swiss Colony, Inglenook, Almaden, Paul Masson, Christian Brothers, Lejon, Petri, Sangrole, Annie Green Springs and Pirelli-Minetti.

As part of the boycott campaign the UFW has prepared a series of radio and TV spots which are available free of charge to any station that will play them. You can help the boycott by urging your local station to order the spots from the UFW, AFL-CIO, Box 4453, San Francisco CA 94101.

The Oil Kings Near Marvin's Garden

Marvin Weidenbach owns and operates a modest family-sized farm in Kern County, California, not far from Bakersfield. These days, a Kern County farm the size of Weidenbach's is much more the exception than the rule. His neighbors are mostly massive plantations run by oil companies, such as Superior Oil (35,000 acres), Getty Oil (5,000 acres) and Tenneco (roughly 80,000 acres).

People & Land got in touch with Weidenbach because we heard that one of his corporate neighbors was having some crop problems. Rather than let its management see the problems, the local managers just plowed the crops under and pretended they were all set to plant new crop.

At first Weidenbach couldn't understand why we were interested in this. "It's a common situation in agribusiness," he said. "I didn't think it was really news. Whenever top management comes to visit its Kern County operations, there's always a week or so of sprucing up. It happens all the time."

The incident involved 200 acres of tomatoes on the holdings of the Belridge Oil Company, yet another of Kern County's oil-owned farms. The tomatoes in this particular tract had weed problems. Although thousands of tons of tomatoes in the plot were still available, Belridge management was due for a visit and when they arrived, the entire tract was freshly turned as if it had all been planned that way.

Weidenbach says it's pretty obvious to the small farmers in the area what's going on. "One day we'll notice that the roads on one of those big farms have been slicked up, the fences painted, everything neat as a pin. We'll notice that a certain section of crops that's been doing poorly all of a sudden just isn't there any more. 'Well,' we say to each other, 'the brass must be coming to town.' And sure enough a few days later they do."

"Later on," continues Weidenbach, "maybe I'll run into the guy in charge of the crop that disappeared and I'll ask him what happened to it. He'll say, 'Well, it just wasn't harvestable.' Now you take your average small farmer, and he'll go out there after that salvage even if it's only 10 percent of the crop. But the corporations just say what the heck, write it off and forget it."

Weidenbach has other stories about the vaunted "efficiency" of corporate farming. "Take the Hollis-Roberts operation, for example (30,000 acres). They have these huge fields of almonds, and one summer I noticed that one of them, an enormous stand, had just dried up. I asked around and I found out that the reason they got lost was because the foreman on one side of that stand thought it was in another foreman's jurisdiction, and the other foreman thought it was in the **other** guy's jurisdiction, so they both just ignored it."

According to Weidenbach these incidents are common because agribusiness operations are simply too big for efficient management. "Farming is a full-time job," he says. "A man's got to be out there every day and know exactly what's going on. Decisions have to be made in the field, on the spot. Good farming is *timing.* If your crops get infested with aphids, you have to get right after them that same afternoon. But in agribusiness, a foreman has to tell his boss, and *he* has to tell *his* boss, and then they all have to have a conference before anything is done. By then it may be too late."

Food Imperialism

Agribusiness Goes Multinational

Mention the Del Monte Corp. and you don't automatically conjure up images of Anaconda Copper or United Fruit extracting profits from undeveloped countries. Not yet at least. But soon we shall be able to add Del Monte and a host of other American food companies to the roster of extractive industries that pluck countries clean as a chicken.

American food production appears to be moving lock, stock and tractor to outposts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Agricultural chemical companies, farm equipment manufacturers, cattle feeders, corporate farmers, packing and processing magnates, banks and speculators are all joining the internationalization of farming. Their plants and farms are called "offshore production units," a choice of language that tells us much about how they view their investments abroad.

No matter where you turn, the evidence is mounting that overseas farms and factories are turning world agriculture into a kind of extension service for American corporations. From 1960–70, American foodstuffs and tobacco companies increased their overseas employment by 222 percent, compared to a 7 percent domestic increase.

A more equitable tax structure might have saved 5,000 jobs.

In Argentina, the largest exporter of feed grains is Cargill, Inc., the Midwestern giant that figured so prominently in the Russian wheat deal. In Hawaii, pineapple, the state's number two agricultural product, is rapidly being phased out as Del Monte and Dole move on to the Philippines, Thailand and Kenya. Helped by investments from Green Giant, Taiwan has emerged as a major exporter of vegetables, including mushrooms, whose appearance in our markets threatens to ruin domestic producers.

A threatened domestic agriculture is by no means the whole story. The agribusiness giants would have us believe that their efforts abroad will result in jobs for everyone and the eradication of hunger, poverty and illiteracy. A more likely outcome is that agribusiness mechanization will displace rural farm workers and drive up unemployment in both city and country in the Third World.

Foreign sources of capital (i.e., American capital) needed to pay for expensive farm equipment will become increasingly important and make these nations increasingly dependent. The presumed cornucopia of increased food production will either be exported or priced out of reach of those who need it most. And who knows what will happen to the ecosystems of Third World countries when new seeds are introduced and chemical fertilizers and pesticides are sprayed with a free hand?

As the world's largest canner of fruits and vegetables, the San Francisco-based Del Monte corporation epitomizes the worldwide sweep of the American food business. In addition to canning and selling everything from applesauce to zucchini, it owns or operates 132,700 acres here and abroad and employs 40,000 people.

Its direct investments abroad total $60 million and it has sales organizations in 100 countries. In the U.S. it has over 100 processing plants canneries, ranches and distributing centers. Overseas it has processing plants or plantations in 17 nations. It has its own trucking operations and cargo ships and is completely integrated both horizontally and vertically.

United States tax laws make overseas food production an attractive business. The Western Hemisphere Trade Corporation gimmick, for instance, allows corporations doing business in Latin America to have their income taxed at 34 percent rather than the customary corporate rate of 48 percent.

Then there's the preference for income derived from less developed countries, as explained by a feed-lot operator from Fresno and Ethiopia: "If you take an approved investment, approved by the host country and leave it productively employed for ten years, you can bring it back to this country and have it taxed at a capital gains rate. In other words, you can allow profits to pile up and at the end of ten years, you can bring them back for next to nothing in taxes." U.S. tax laws also permit any corporation to deduct taxes paid to host countries from its U.S. taxes.

A pineapple airlifted from the Philippines does little to nourish those who cut and packed it.

In 1972, Del Monte had a total federal tax liability of only $11.7 million on worldwide sales of $820 million.

A more equitable tax structure might have saved the jobs of 5,000 pineapple workers in Hawaii. Stokely-Van Camp has already closed out there, and Del Monte and Dole will follow suit by 1975. The reason? In Hawaii, the minimum wage for a pineapple worker is $2.69 an hour. In the Philippines it is 10 cents an hour. Yet, as a U.S. Tariff Commission investigation pointed out, "these firms (Del Monte and Dole) market the imported product at the same prices that they ask for their domestically canned pineapple."

When American farmworkers are driven off the land by international agribusiness, they have simply little choice but to migrate to the cities. A vision thus emerges of an America that is an urban fortress, with all the world as its garden.

The rationale of the corporations, of course, is that their operations will ultimately feed and clothe half of the world's population which goes to bed hungry every night. "Our business isn't just canning," writes Chairman Eames in Del Monte's annual report, "it's feeding people."

But which people? A fresh pineapple airlifted from the Philippines to Japan may satisfy somebody's desire for exotic fruit, but it does little to nourish those who cut and pack the fruit. And when agribusiness creates markets in the host countries, the appeal is to those who can already afford the products and not to those who most need them

Another aspect of the hunger business is the capital trap awaiting countries which have little but food and raw materials to barter for goods and money. The U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America reported that the new private capital transfer to Latin America from 1951 to 1963 came to $6.9 billion, while the net transfer from Latin America to the U.S. was $11.9 billion—not exactly the kind of flow that encourages independent national status.

American agribusiness is in large part responsible for this situation, thanks to its effort to replace subsistence or collective farming with highly capitalized, highly mechanized operations that fit into the agribusiness structure like a plow into a furrow. The real question is: Can the world afford it?

-- George L. Baker

©George Ballis


Alan Copeland

Bury My Heart at the Peabody Mine

In 1876 the U.S. Army labelled the Cheyenne Indians as "hostiles" and began a war for their land. What followed is well-known: the Battle of the Rosebud, the Little Big Horn, and the fateful Army attack on the Cheyenne village near the Powder River.

A surrender and removal to Oklahoma followed, but soon many Cheyennes began moving back north. Eventually the Northern Cheyennes were granted 437,000 acres of rangeland -- a tiny portion of their original homeland -- as their permanent reservation.

Today the Cheyennes are fighting for their land again. This time the enemy is not the Army but the Department of the Interior and a group of private energy corporations.

The Northern Cheyenne land lies in the heart of the so-called Fort Union Formation -- an enormous reserve of strippable coal that stretches across Wyoming, Montana and North Dakota. Over the past few years, the Department of Interior, which has the responsibility of acting as trustee for Indian lands, has leased 227,000 acres of Northern Cheyenne land to various energy companies for coal exploration and development.

The largest lessor is Consolidation Coal, a Continental Oil subsidiary, which has rights to 90,000 acres and is planning to build four coal gasification plants that would require about 30,000 people to move onto the reservation. Other major lessors are Peabody Coal, which is now stripping Hopi and Navajo lands in Arizona, Chevron Oil and American Metal Climax.

The Cheyenne Tribal Council originally approved the Interior Department leases, but after the full impact of coal development was understood, the Cheyennes has second thoughts. Although financial income from the leases would be substantial, the Cheyennes now realize that the real money will be made by the energy companies, and that the Cheyennes themselves will lose out in the long run. Their homeland will be overrun by a huge influx of non-Cheyennes, and the land itself will be almost completely destroyed by the strip-mining operation.

About two years ago the Northern Cheyenne Landowners Association began organizing opposition to the coal leases. A conference was held on the reservation to which scientists, conservationists, lawyers and other native peoples were invited.

Last March, the tribal council passed a resolution calling for "terminating and cancelling all existing coal permits and leases." The traditional leadership stated: "Our land we must keep forever, since it is synonymous with our identity, above all, our very existence as a Cheyenne people."

The Secretary of the Interior did not cancel the leases, but instead ordered a "study group" formed. The Cheyennes have now mounted a legal drive to require the leases to be cancelled. For more information, write Cheyennes Against Strip Mining, P.O. Box 83, Lame Deer, Montana 59043.

Thanks to Akwesasne Notes for this story.

Pray for Black Mesa

Black Mesa is a barren land with little water, covered with brush and juniper and pinon trees. To the Navajo and Hopi Indians, on whose reservation in northeastern Arizona the 3,300-square mile plateau sits, Black Mesa has always been part of the miracle of creation.

Black Mesa has fascinated white men for another reason: In 1911 geologists discovered here one of the world's most extensive deposits of low-sulfur coal. Now the white man is stripping that coal to provide electricity for Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Phoenix and other booming cities of the Southwest.

Peabody Coal, America's largest stripper, was brought in to do the digging. Nearby are two colossal power plants, part of a planned six-plant complex, that spew out more emissions of sulfur and nitrogen oxides than are released in Los Angeles and New York City combined.

The strip mining and power plant complex not only ravages the earth and fouls the air; it also consumes vast quantities of precious water. To transport the coal from Black Mesa to the Mojave power plant 275 miles away, Peabody uses a slurry pipeline in which the coal is crushed to a fine dust and mixed with 2,700 gallons per minute of underground well water. In addition, thousands of acre-feet per year are drawn from the Colorado River to cool the coal-burning power plants.

Peabody's presence on Black Mesa was approved by both the Navajo and Hopi Tribal Councils, to whom payments for the coal are made. But thousands of Indian families are opposed to the strip mining. They fear it will destroy the delicate water tables in the area, interfere with traditional life patterns, and tie the Indians to the white man's economy. Most of all, they worry that the disrespect to mother earth will upset the balance of living things and ultimately lead to the destruction of us all.

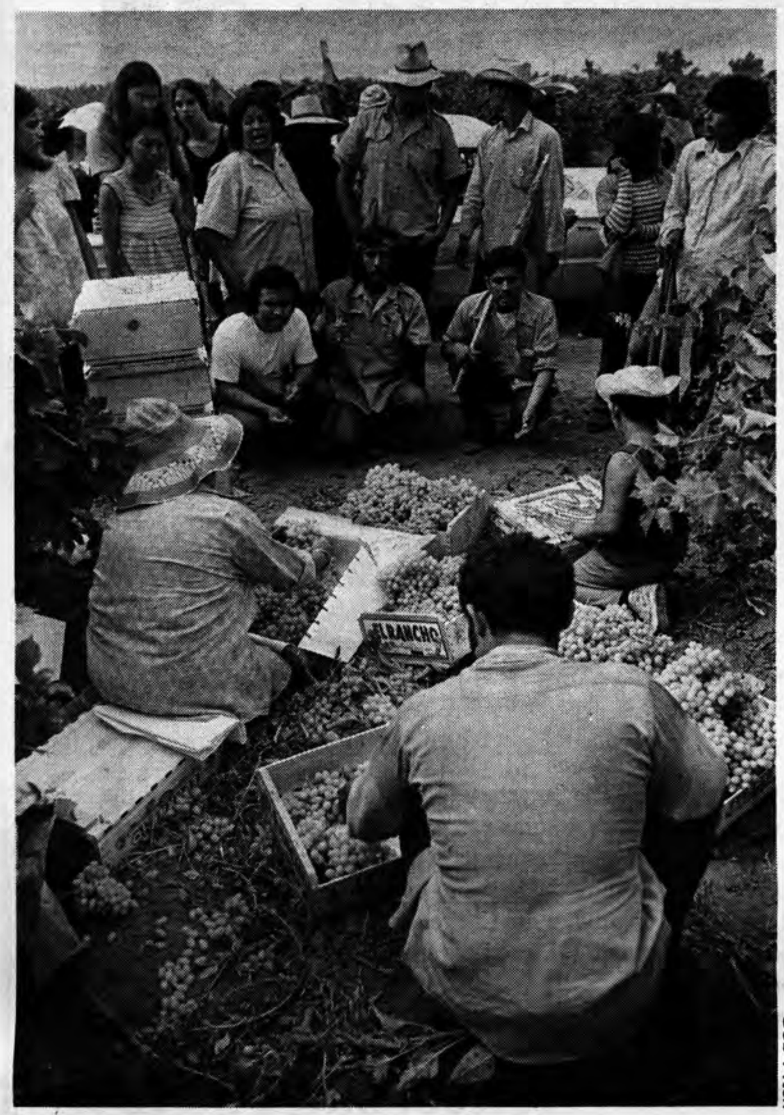
To stop the destruction of Black Mesa, 62 Hopi spiritual leaders have filed suit in federal court, alleging that the contract between Peabody Coal and the Tribal Council was unlawfully approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

Attached to the legal arguments was a short statement to the American people. "We, the Hopi religious leaders, have watched as the white man has destroyed his lands, his water and his air. The white man has made it harder and harder for us to maintain our traditional ways and religious life. Now – for the first time – we have decided to intervene in the white man's courts to prevent the final devastation. We should not have had to go this far, but our words have not been heeded. This might be the last chance....The hour is already late."

For more information contact the Black Mesa Defense Fund, 770 Old Pecos Trail, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

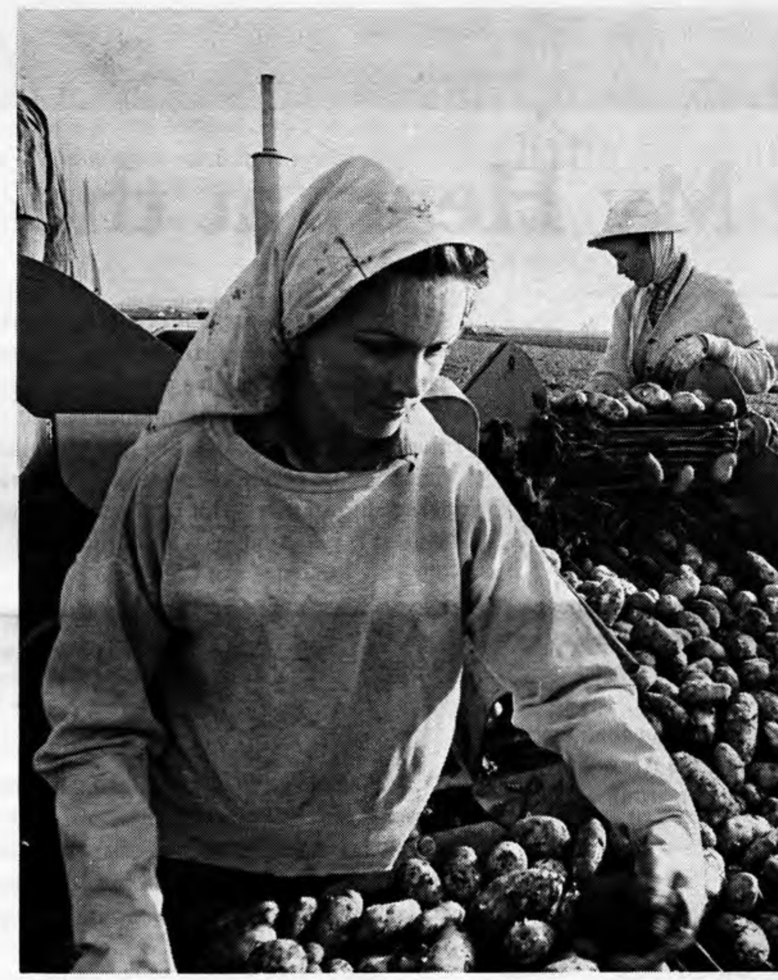
"What is money? It comes quickly and is quickly spent and gone. But the land is there forever. What good is money compared with land? If land is torn up, if the water is taken, our people will starve."

Mina Lansa, Hopi leader



Bob Fitch

PEOPLE & LAND



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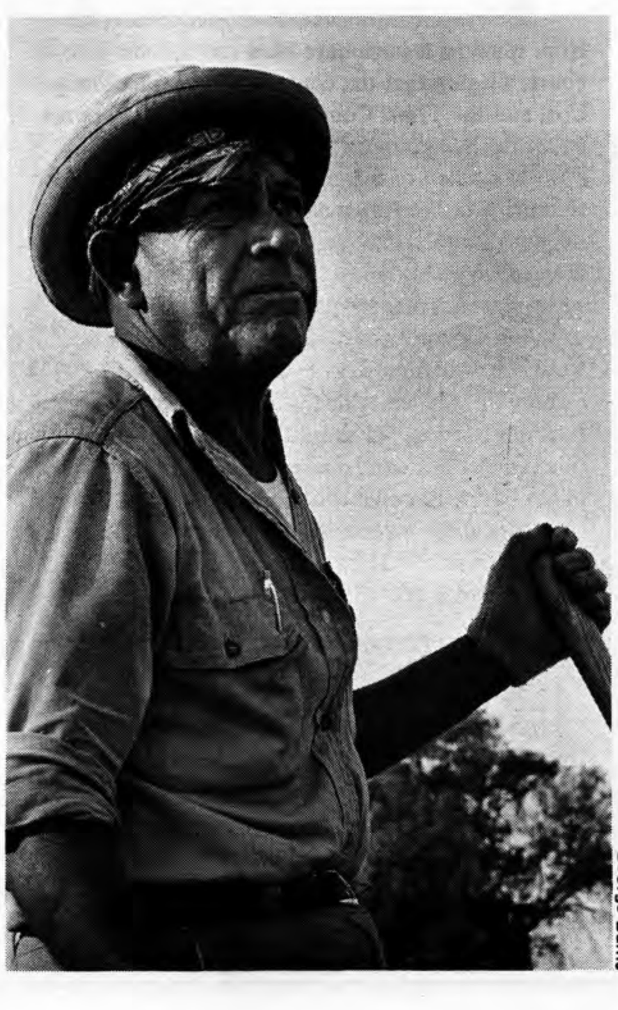

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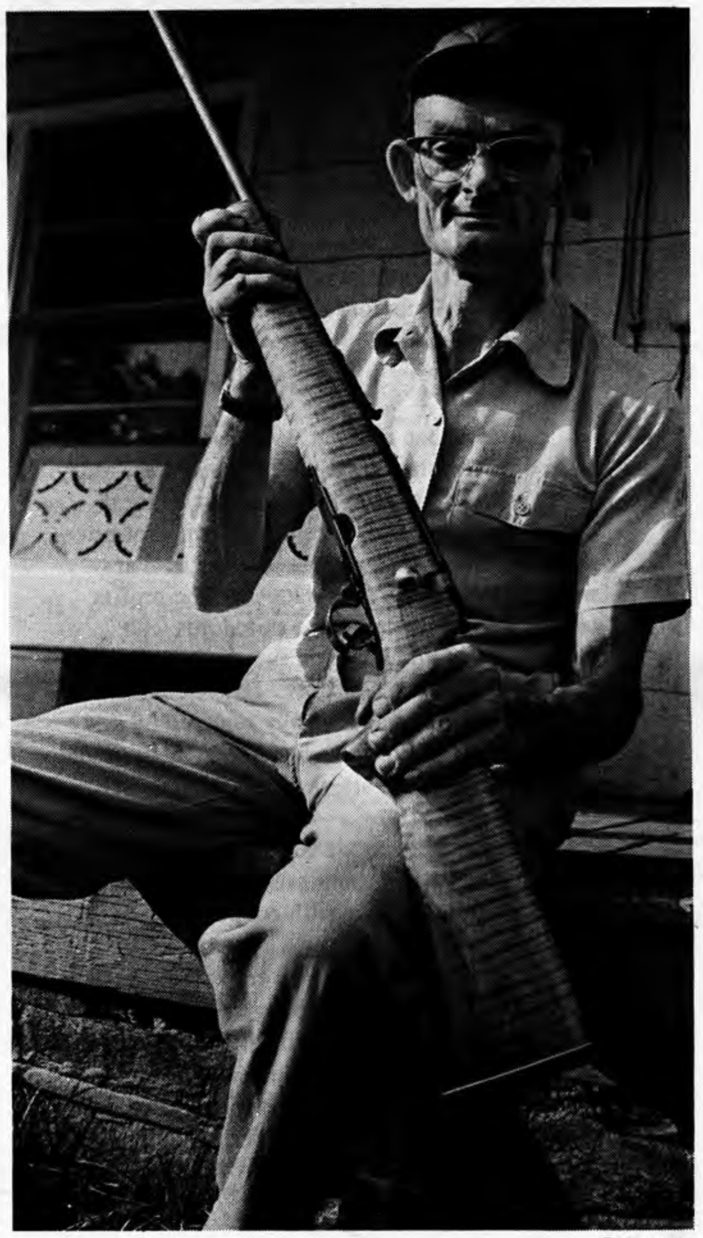

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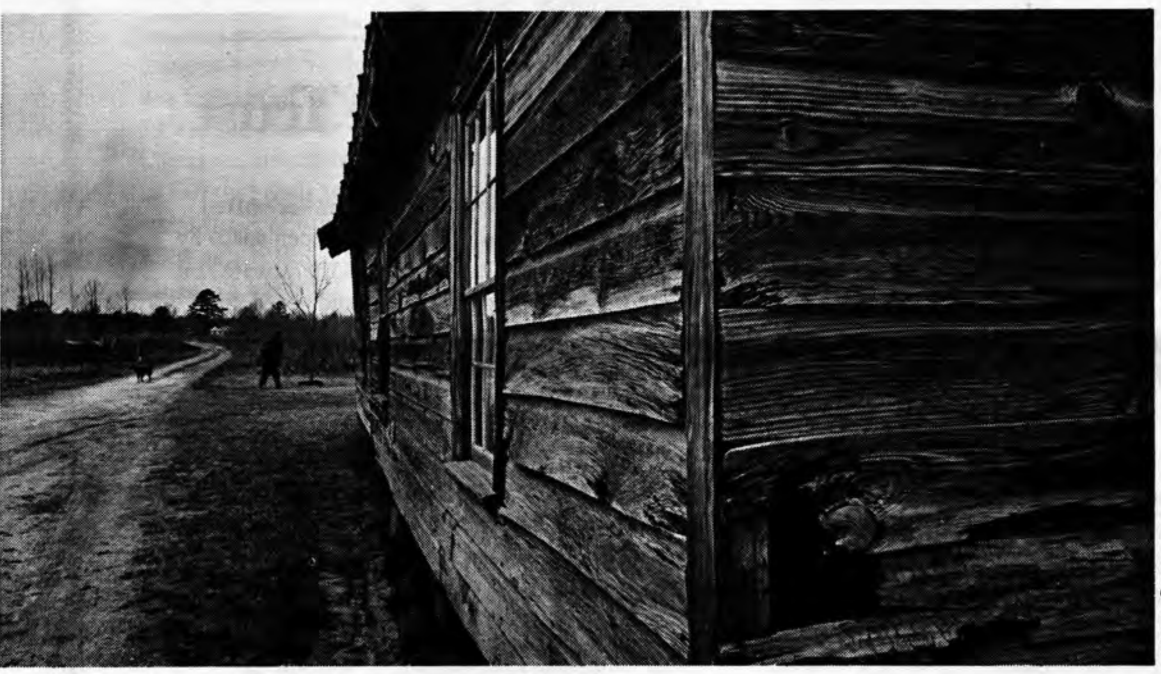


George Ballis

Bob Fitch

Richard F. Conrat

Cities Need Land Reform, Too

It has often been that urban areas are as much in need of land reform as are rural areas, and that a land reform movement must bring together dispossessed people in cities with those who live in rural communities and on farms.

The basic problem affecting many low and moderate income city dwellers is much the same as that facing rural people: too much absentee ownership of real estate, too much speculation and too much profiteering at the expense of working families. What needs further exploration is the question: what might urban land reform look like?

Many followers of the 19th century American economist Henry George suggest that urban land reform would consist primarily of a shift to site value taxation–i.e., taxing land alone, instead of land and improvements jointly. They argue that site value taxation would 1) stimulate development of unimproved lots, 2) discourage sprawl, and 3) cut down on land speculation. While a shift toward taxing land more than buildings would undoubtedly be useful, it is doubtful whether such a shift, by itself, would be enough to alter basic ownership and profit patterns in the cities.

Nor is urban renewal, 1960's-style, the kind of land reform that's needed for urban areas today. Urban renewal involved the setting up of local public agencies that acquired land at market prices, razed the buildings, and then sold the land at written-down prices to developers. The profits usually went to the absentee slum-lords who owned the old buildings and the subsidized developers who built the new ones. Low-income housing, bad as it was, was generally replaced by middle and upper income housing, and by office buildings, convention centers, shopping plazas and sports arenas.

The best models we've seen for urban land reform come from Scandinavia and involve city ownership of land along with cooperative housing development.

The city of Stockholm, for example, bought up most of the land surrounding it more than 50 years ago. This not only enabled the city to control and plan its growth, it also made sure that the increase in land values caused by that growth would not be reaped by a few private landowners.

> The basic objective is to eliminate needless profits of landlords, real estate agents and banks.

A similar approach to urban land reform, involving municipal land banking, cooperative housing and new financing methods, was recently proposed by Edward Kirshner, an economist and urban planner with the Community Ownership Project in Oakland. The basic objective is to enable low and moderate income families to become cooperative owners of decent housing by eliminating the needless profits currently extracted by landlords, real estate agents and money-lending institutions.

Under the land banking part of the program, cities would acquire land and then lease it to housing cooperatives. The co-ops would reimburse the city for the cost of acquiring the land, but payments wouldn't begin until the co-ops finished paying for the housing itself. This way the high price of urban land would not be added immediately to a low-income family's housing costs and the land would be forever taken off the speculative market.

The cooperatives themselves would offer tax advantages as well as financing advantages. Under the property tax laws of many states, cooperative apartment owners are entitled to the same partial tax exemptions as are homeowners. This can mean a savings of as much as $15 a month.

The savings on financing can be even more substantial. Once a co-op buys or builds a building, it owns it forever; co-op members would come and go, but the co-op would stay on as a non-profit corporation. This would eliminate all the refinancing costs that tenants in landlord-owned apartment buildings have to pay. For example, it's common practice for a building to be sold from one landlord to another every few years, after the tax breaks for depreciation have run out. Each time the property is sold, its price goes up, with sales commissions adding to the price rise. This means the new landlord's financing costs are higher than the old landlord's, and he shifts these higher costs to tenants by raising rents.

Kirshner estimates that by removing urban housing in this manner from profit-oriented ownership, it would be possible for a family with a $7,400 annual income to own the same housing that is available today only to families earning $14,300. And this could be done without a single penny in federal subsidies.

Suggestions from readers are invited on other models for urban land reform. For a copy of Kirshner's proposal, write Community Ownership Organizing Project, 349 62nd Street, Oakland, California 94618.

Gose's Net Worth Tax Plan

Lowell Gose is president of the Iowa Farmers Union and an ardent tax reformer. His complaint is that small farmers and homeowners bear the brunt of the property tax, while rich stock and bond owners go scot free. His plan, which he is presenting to the Iowa state legislature, is simple: tax all net worth, not just land and buildings, at an equitable and fair rate.

"Too much emphasis is placed on real estate, making it almost impossible for a young person to buy land and get into farming," Gose contends. "If everyone was paying his fair share, the amount would not be burdensome on anyone."

Under Gose's plan, a net worth tax would replace the property tax, the sales tax would be continued at about its present level, and the income tax would be made more progressive. Persons with net worths of less than $10,000 would be exempt.

Gose's plan is interesting because it contrasts sharply with laws in other states designed to lighten the tax burden on farmland. Under these laws, the property tax on farmland is reduced by assessing farms at use rather than market value. The decreased tax revenues are usually made up by increasing property tax on homeowners (and indirectly on renters), thereby making the property tax even more regressive than it already is.

The virtue of Gose's plan is that it lowers the property tax on everyone, and makes up the lost revenue by taxing wealthy stock and bond owners who heretofore have gone untaxed.

Open Space Trust

Federal and local governments are often handicapped in acquiring land for open space by their competitive disadvantage in the private real estate market, where flexibility and speed are essential to success. As a result, public agencies often miss good chances to acquire land and/or are forced to pay prices jacked up sky-high by speculators.

An organization called the Trust for Public Land has come up with a fresh approach to this problem by using the non-profit land trust as an intermediary between private seller and public buyer. As a private agency TPL can use the full range of acquisition techniques available to private real estate investors, enabling it to handle major land purchases more quickly, flexibly and at lower prices than can government agencies. Additional advantages come from TPL's non-profit status, by virtue of which TPL can offer tax benefits to prospective sellers and donors. It can also offer the incentives of confidentiality and publicity where desired.

Founded in January 1973 by former executives of The Nature Conservancy, TPL has been initially dependent on foundation money and bank credits, but is arranged in such a way as to be able to generate capital internally in the long run. A typical transaction might go something like this: TPL locates a seller who wants to sell his land to the government for a park but needs some ready cash or prompt tax benefits. The fair market value of the parcel is $1 million, but the owner will take $500,000 if it's handled quickly. TPL buys the land, holds it for one year in "trust" until the government is ready to buy, and then sells it to the govenment for $750,000–still below fair market value. TPL then puts the $250,000 "profit" into future projects.

To date TPL has been involved in transfering 2,400 acres of land from private to public ownership on the West Coast. According to Project Coordinator Rick Caulfield, TPL will eventually grow into a national organization. Their offices are located at 82 Second St., San Francisco, California 94105.

Woody's Legacy
This Song is Our Song

The song *This Land is Your Land,* with its deceptively simple melody, was put together by Woody Guthrie around 1940. When he first got the idea for it, *God Bless America* was getting a big play on the radio. The last line of his verse originally went, "God blessed America for me." Through the months and years he changed it, and in the late 1940s he recorded it for Disc Records (now Folkways) in the version printed on this page.

When Woody Guthrie went into the hospital in 1952 he signed over the rights to the then little-known song to a publisher who now collects royalties for it and turns them over to Woody's family. Indirectly much of the royalties go to the Committee to Combat Huntington's Disease, which has been set up by Marjorie Mazia Guthrie.

What will happen to the song now? My guess is it depends on who sings it, and how, and for what purpose. There is a danger of this song being co-opted by the very selfish interests Woody was fighting all his life. Clark Clifford in March 1950 addressed the wealthy businessmen at Chicago's Executive Club: "I feel the people have to feel that their small share of this country is as much theirs as it is yours and mine..." Without some new verses, TLIYL falls right into Mr. Clifford's trap.

One young fellow wrote me that he was starting a campaign to make the song the national anthem. I wrote him, "Please stop! Can't you see U.S. Marines marching into another little country playing this song?"

Here are some of Woody's lesser known verses:

In the squares of the city by the shadow of the steeple
Near the relief office I saw my people
As they stood there hungry, I stood there whistling
This land was made for you and me.

Was a big high wall there that tried to stop me
Was a great big sign that said private property
But on the other side it didn't say nothing
This land was made for you and me.

When I sing the song today, I still usually end up with the gloriously optimistic verse, "The sun came shining and I was strolling." But before this I do a lot of singing and talking and often throw in a couple new verses of my own.

Maybe you been working as hard as you're able
And you just got crumbs from the rich man's table
Maybe you been wondering is it true or fable
This land was made for you and me.

Dozens of other verses have been written to the song within the last ten years. Some of them simply change a few words to make the chorus apply to Canada or to England or to Australia. There have been verses sung in Spanish. There have have been anti-pollution verses. I always encourage anyone who loves any song not to be ashamed to try making up verses for it.

The best thing that could happen to the song would be for it to end up with hundreds of different versions being sung by millions of people who understand the basic message.

—Pete Seeger

The Song

As I was walking that ribbon of highway
I saw above me that endless skyway
I saw before me that golden valley
This land was made for you and me.

This land is your land, this land is my land
From California to the New York Island
From the redwood forest to the Gulfstream waters;
This land was made for you and me

I roamed and rambled and I followed my footsteps
To the sparkling sands of her diamond deserts
And all around me a voice was sounding
This land was made for you and me.

(Repeat the chorus)

When the sun comes shining and I was strolling
And the wheatfields waving and the dust clouds rolling
As the fog was lifting a voice was chanting
This land was made for you and me.

(Repeat the chorus)

By WOODROW WILSON GUTHRIE
(1912–1967)
Copyright Ludlow Music, New York

God Bless You, Mr. Vonnegut

Kurt Vonnegut On Wealth...

When the United States of America, which was meant to be a Utopia for all, was less than a century old, Noah Rosewater and a few men like him demonstrated the folly of the Founding Fathers in one respect: those sadly recent ancestors had not made it the law of the Utopia that the wealth of each citizen should be limited. This oversight was engendered by a weak-kneed sympathy for those who loved expensive things, and by the feeling that the continent was so vast and valuable, and the population so thin and enterprising, that no thief, no matter how fast he stole, could more than mildly inconvenience anyone.

Noah and a few like him perceived that the continent was in fact finite, and that venal office-holders, legislators in particular, could be persuaded to toss up great hunks of it for grabs, and to toss them in such a way as to have them land where Noah and his kind were standing.

Thus did a handful of rapacious citizens come to control all that was worth controlling in America. Thus was the savage and stupid and entirely inappropriate and unnecessary and humorless American class system created. Honest, industrious, peaceful citizens were classed as bloodsuckers if they asked to be paid a living wage. And praise was reserved for those who devised means of getting paid enormously for committing crimes against which no laws had been passed.

God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater
(1965)


David Levine

... On Land

Kilgore Trout once wrote a story called *This Means You.* It was set in the Hawaiian Islands, the place where lucky winners of Dwayne Hoover's contest in Midland City were supposed to go. Every bit of land on the islands was owned by about forty people, and, in the story, Trout had those people decide to exercise their property rights to the full. They put up *no trespassing* signs on everything.

This created terrible problems for the million other people on the islands. The law of gravity required that they stick somewhere on the surface. Either that, or they could go out into the water and bob offshore.

But then the Federal Government came through with an emergency program. It gave a big balloon full of helium to every man, woman and child who didn't own property.

There was a cable with a harness on it dangling from each balloon. With the help of the balloons, Hawaiians could go on inhabiting the islands without always sticking to things other people owned.

Breakfast of Champions
(1973)

The Organic Alternative Plows Ahead


Bob Fitch

In 1910 there were 890,000 black owner/operated farms in the United States. By 1970, the Department of Agriculture could identify only 79,000. To turn this trend around is the major aim of the National Sharecropper Fund.

Three years ago, the NSF began to encourage and assist two farm cooperatives, one in Virginia and one in Georgia, in the production of organic vegetables. NSF soon discovered that the market for organic food is tremendous. It is now estimated by a Bank of America study that by 1975 40 percent of all food sold in this country may be organic. This growing demand for organic food offers an opportunity for small farmers to capture a market that is largely ignored by the giants of commercial agriculture.

With these realizations and the success of three years in Virginia and Georgia, the NSF last year launched the nation's first training center for organic farming. The site selected was a 500-acre former hog farm, eight miles south of Wadesboro, North Carolina.

For all practical purposes, the farm had been abandoned for the past ten years. Much of the land was depleted and overgrown with shrub. "We bought as poor a piece of land as we could find—because that's all the poor have to work with," says James Pierce, national director of NSF. "We must be able to prove to people the validity of organic farming under realistic conditions."

Shortly after NSF acquired the Wadesboro Center, the US Department of Labor offered to bring hundreds of migrant farmworkers from all over the country to be trained in all phases of agriculture. After spending several months negotiating and re-negotiating with the Labor Department, Pierce decided not to accept the $1.3 million grant. It was too much too soon.

The first task at the farm was to rebuild the soil, depleted from years of neglect. For the 100 acres planted last year this required over 300 tons of lime, 2,500 tons of composted chicken manure and 100,000 pounds of bone meal, seaweed emulsion and feather meal. To control insects the farm relies on an abundant supply of birds, which eat great quantities of insects, and on grass terraces, which draw insects away from the crops.

The first year's planting was very much experimental. The Center learned what the soil requires, what to plant, when to plant, when to harvest and how to harvest. The Center staff also established a detailed accounting system specifying what it costs to grow each crop and most importantly, how much is made from each crop. Even with the experimentation, the Center was able to harvest over twenty different crops, ranging from tomatoes to zucchini.

One of the farm hands native to the area commented at harvest time, "I grew up here and been farmin' all my life, and I just didn't believe it could be done."

The Center plans to cultivate an additional 100 acres next year and to complete construction of a residential training building. Then, low-income farmers will be able to live at the Center and get the kind of training that can spell the differences between productive lives on the farm and further migration to the ghettos.

"The reason so many kids are not turned onto farming," says Center Staffer Don Blood, "is that their fathers have not been able to make any money at it. We believe if we can show young people that it can be done, a lot of them will turn on to it."

—John Wilson

$6,000 on 1/5 Acre

Yes, that's right: $6,000 on 1/5 of an acre. That's what a small farmer can expect to make each year by growing vegetables using the bio-dynamic/French intensive method, according to a study by Ecology Action of Palo Alto, California.

The bio-dynamic/French intensive method is a form of organic horticulture that stresses raised beds, companion planting, close plant spacing and natural insect controls. Since July 1972, Ecology Action has been experimenting with the method on a test plot of alkaline, clayey soil, with exceptional results.

"Because of the small area required to maintain a mini-farm and the premium price for good quality vegetables, the bio-dynamic/French intensive method is cost-competitive in relation to mechanized agriculture," says John Jeavons, coordinator of the project. "It might even make possible a general lowering of prices of vegetables of good quality, and a significant increase in the quantity of food produced."

Experiments so far with zucchini, bush beans, romaine and bibb lettuce have produced yields 1½ to 5 times greater than those produced by normal farming methods. Capital and land costs are minimal, and no petrochemicals are needed—an important consideration as oil prices rise.

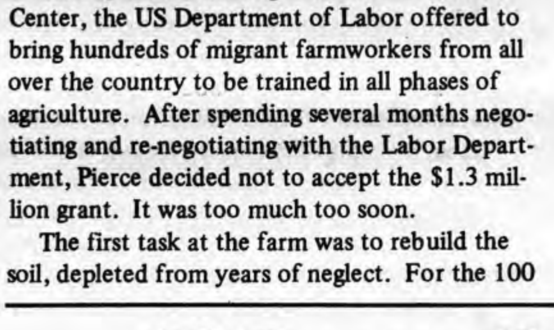
A copy of the preliminary research report may be obtained for $2 from Ecology Action of the Mid-Peninsula, 2225 El Camino Real, Palo Alto, California 94306.

El Bracero Cooperative Farm

What can four farmworker families do on five acres of land? Quite a lot, judging from the success of the Rancho El Bracero near Fresno, California.

Alfred De La Cruz, Gabriel Martinez, Gelacio Medina, Ana-Leticia De La Fuente and their families decided last year to go into farming on their own. They had lots of farming experience, but very little capital and no land.

They pooled their savings to make a downpayment on 40 acres of land. But they needed more cash to complete the payments, purchase equipment, level the land and install a well. So they leased a separate plot of five acres and began planting cherry tomatoes. A $5,000 loan from the West Side Planning Group, a community economic development corporation, enabled them to buy seedlings, stakes and other supplies needed for the tomato venture.


©George Ballis

Throughout the summer and fall, the members of the co-op worked on their own five acres as well as for wages on other nearby farms. They not only produced a beautiful cherry tomato crop; they succeeded in timing it so that their harvest occurred when the prices were highest. Their gross for the year was over $80,000.

With the income from five acres of cherry tomatoes, the co-op families repaid the $5,000 loan and completely paid off the mortgage on their 40-acre parcel. By the fall they had levelled the 40 acres, installed a well, and were planting a fall crop of grain. Next year they will be ready for full vegetable production on their own 40 acres.

The success of the Rancho El Bracero has prompted other farmworker families to explore the possibility of buying land. Many of them have their eyes on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley, where application of the federal 160-acre limit should force many large corporate landowners to divest their holdings over the next several years.

The next issue *People & Land* will carry a further report on plans for the west side of the San Joaquin Valley.

Rockefeller Report

Land Use Planning for Whom?

Land use planning has lately become the rage among liberal politicians, environmentalists, planners and a new breed of "enlightened" developers. There is, of course, nothing wrong with land use planning per se, but it must be remembered that land use planning is not the same thing as, or a substitute for, land reform.

Land use planning is generally concerned with the visual environment—urban sprawl, for example, or the intrusion of mining and recreational development into wilderness areas. These are legitimate concerns, but they do not adequately address such economic and social realities as who has power, who makes profits and who gets exploited by whom.

The latest salvo from the land use planning crowd is a 318-page report entitled *The Use of Land*, produced by a task force chaired (and financed) by Laurance S. Rockefeller. Below, Warren Weber assesses the Rockefeller report and its meaning for the land reform movement.

> If this report is implemented, it would do nothing to redistribute land to the poor and dispossessed.

Throughout the report the authors show little ability to address the reality which most of us perceive, a reality greater than a lost ideal or an ugly slurb. This is a report by a corporate elite to its willing supporters, and it is by the missing assumptions about the use of land that it finally must be judged.

The members of this self-appointed task force were mostly doyens of the educational, philanthropic, banking, legal and real estate industries, with the League of Women Voters and the National Urban League thrown in to represent the obedient citizen. Perhaps readers of *People & Land* aren't likely to read the report, but hundreds of planners and politicians across the country have and will read it, and they will facilitate just the sort of communities these "enlightened" corporate interests want to see, communities intrinsically antithetical to land reform.

Sound proposals need to rest on sound critique. The authors see the problems of land misuse as: 1] a lack of master planning at the regional and national level, a point which has won the report wide praise among liberals in newspapers and magazines throughout the country; 2] a dwindling of open space, due mostly to leapfrog development; 3] a lack of understanding that the value of land is socially created; and 4] a lack of "quality development," a characterization constantly employed yet never adequately defined. Given these reasonable and "responsible" but not very fundamental criticisms of the present scene, the authors predictably make "responsible" and palatable suggestions which mesh neatly with their corporate interests.

These suggestions are an appeal (often in facile rhetoric) to "create communities that are socially open and environmentally sound", and to "maintain a balance, a creative tension, between the forces of development and the forces of conservation." Noble phrases. But balance, reconciliation and trade-offs are the language of responsible land-use planners and Mephistopheles alike, so one must consider the gains and losses.

On the positive side, the task force recommends the creation of a National Lands Trust, more federal spending for open space acquisition, a separation of ownership of the land itself from ownership of urbanization rights, and the expansion of environmental impact analysis.

On the other hand, the report asks local citizens to help implement environmental guidelines which will effectively cut their own throats by taking away local prerogatives. I know it is considered neanderthal in the age of the global village to question master planning, but one can not be too scrupulous about what and whose interests such plans serve.

The task force wants to see quasi-public Urban Development Corporations established, along the lines of New York's, which wield "the power of eminent domain, the power to override local land-use regulations, and the power to control the provision of public utilities" in behalf of large scale development. Such development would feature clustering of housing and industry, leaving room for recreational open space. The model is Reston, Virginia, now owned by a subsidiary of Gulf Oil.

Such "balanced" development can only be accomplished by the largest corporate interests—suppliers, contractors, banks and insurance companies. But they need citizen help in pushing through the red tape of local jurisdictions. Therefore the report asks that state and federal land-use legislation be passed to control regional development.

Again on the positive side, the authors rightly say that the value of land is socially created and does not rest in the land itself. (They mean of course economic value, not the many other indices of worth which would deserve consideration in a comprehensive treatment of the use of land.) Because the cash value of private property is most often socially created, the report maintains that when value decreases due to public acts (for example, restrictive easements limiting development, or zoning), the owner has no right to compensation from the public. It's just a risk he must absorb.

This No Compensation theory looks radical on its face and is the report's most forceful idea. If the courts can be persuaded to adopt this view, it will be much easier for the public to purchase land for open space without incurring speculative costs.

But what of the obverse situation? When the public enhances value (for example, by putting a highway interchange through your raspberry patch) the report condones profit-taking. Thus it is saying that sometimes you win, sometimes you lose, and those are simply the breaks of the speculative game. Nothing is said about what **ought** to be the central issue: the right to speculate in the first place, the right to profit without any input of labor.

Looked at in this light, it is curious that we should even have to consider No Compensation. But the taxpayer has gone so far in buoying up the speculator who makes a bad investment, just as we buoy up Lockheed and others, that it is supposed to seem radical to say that maybe we shouldn't.

If this report is implemented—and it may be, judging by its wide acclaim in the media—it would do nothing to redistribute land to the poor and dispossessed. And we are all dispossessed from the benefits of intelligent use of land, which implies redistribution and decentralization of ownership from corporations to individuals, absolute curtailment of speculation without input of labor, organic and ecological practices in agriculture and industry, and building of alternative communities that do not depend on the for-profit theft of natural and human resources.

What the social scientists and businessmen who wrote this report are talking about is Land Use, a bureaucratic phrase that views land in categories such as "open space", "residential", and "commercial," and only tangentially talking about the actual use of land in a physical, psychological and social setting.

The report is right to suggest that we ought to be building new communities, but the wise use of land demands fundamentally new communities, not the corporate-owned Restons these authors favor. We require communities which are self-sufficient as much as possible in their energy, food, housing, industrial and political needs, communities which create joyful alternative structures to the easily identifiable system we now have.

—**Warren T. Weber**

The Use of Land: A Citizens' Policy Guide To Urban Growth. A Task Force Report Sponsored by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1973; 318 pages; $3.95.)

"I've been for quality development ever since way back when it first became profitable."

ABC Documentary

Green Grow the Profits

On December 21, 1973, the ABC television network broadcast a one-hour documentary on corporate agriculture. The producer was James Benjamin. Reporters were Roger Peterson, Bill Wordham and Dick Shoemaker. The documentary was so outstanding that we are printing herewith substantial excerpts from the soundtrack.

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz: Last year we spent less than 16 percent of our take-home pay for food. This year it's going to be less than 16 percent. That's less than ever before in the history of America. I think that will continue on downward.

Narrator: The 16 percent is an average which includes take-home pay spent for food at home and outside the home. Using the Agriculture Department's own statistics which are restricted to money spent for food eaten at home, we find that an average urban family with two school-age children on a moderate food budget—take-home pay eight thousand a year—spends 32 percent of its budget on food. A family that takes home $12,000 spends 21 percent on groceries.

And food remains cheapest for the rich. If you take home $50,000 or more—average food cost, six percent per year or less.

Roger Peterson: There is a fundamental change occurring in the ways our foods are being grown, processed and delivered to us. Seasonal crops are now available year round. Prepared foods have drastically cut time in the kitchen. This is now possible because giant corporations and cooperatives handle our food from seed to supermarket. The system is known as Agribusiness. I'm Roger Peterson. In the next hour, we'll examine some aspects of Agribusiness, in fruits, vegetables and poultry, see how assembly-line agriculture operates, what abuses, if any, are occurring because of this changing system and, if so, what we can do about it. What we eat is important to us all. So, Agribusiness is everybody's business.

Narrator: Food becomes something special during the holiday season. But holiday—or every day—we never know enough about our food. Just check the credentials of your holiday meal. You may find that not only has your turkey come from Greyhound, but your chicken from Continental Grain Company, through its subsidiary Wayne Poultry... your ham from IT&T... your roast from John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company... your vegetables from Tenneco, formerly Tennessee Gas & Transmission Company, and from Gulf & Western, owners of Paramount Pictures... potatoes from Boeing Aircraft... fruit from Purex, peaches from Westgate, which also owns the Yellow Cab Company in California... and after-dinner nuts from Getty Oil.

Many of the corporations are conglomerates with no agricultural background. They've bought into food as a fertile field for growing, processing, distributing and controlling the supply.

Agribusiness corporations now control 51 percent of our fresh vegetables and 95 percent of processed vegetables... 85 percent of our citrus crop ... 100 percent of sugar cane... 97 percent of broiling chickens... and 40 percent of eggs.

"Efficiency" and "quality" are the two claims of Agribusiness. To achieve this in the farming end, machines replace or help man. Animals are penned up and fed chemically-enriched feed that research shows will make them grow bigger faster. Fertilizers and pesticides are used heavily. Most research by the food industry is toward finding new products and food supplements. The bulk of agricultural research in this country, however, is by the Department of Agriculture and Land Grant Colleges who spend an estimated $600 million of tax money each year. The public paid for the mechanical tomato harvester which can't harvest the tomatoes it was meant to pick. It also required genetically changing the old-style tomato to one which the harvester wouldn't squash.

Dr. Allen Stevens at the University of California at Davis had been tailoring tomatoes to machines. ABC News correspondent Dick Shoemaker talked with him.

Dr. Stevens: As we have gone to mechanical harvesting, we have had to develop tomatoes which have smaller fruit size. The fruits have to be tougher, they have to be firmer, they have to be able to stand the bumping and the pressure that that they get during mechanical harvesting.

Shoemaker: I see here there's quite a difference between the old style and the one that you've developed for mechanical harvesting.

Dr. Stevens: Right. As you can see, the older tomatoes have a thin wall, they have a lot of seed area, a lot of juice. And as we have developed a firmer tomato we have gotten to a much thicker wall, a reduced seed area, and the tomatoes are much firmer and harder.

Shoemaker: How do they taste right now?

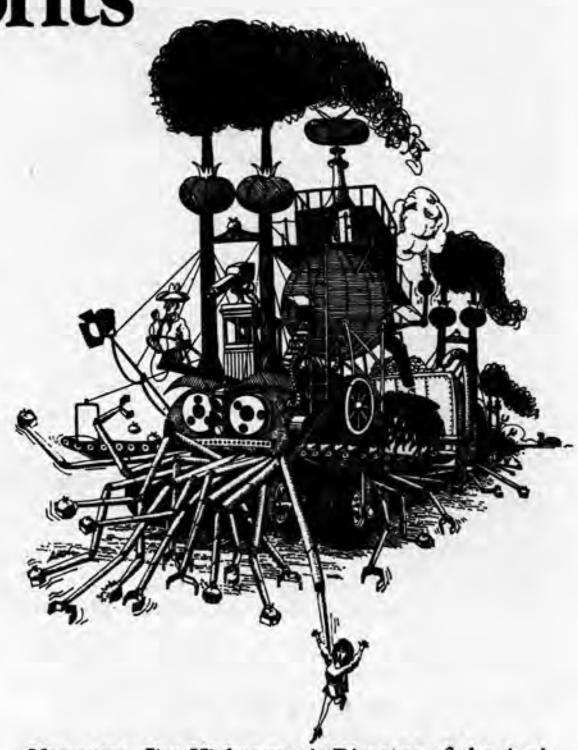
Dr. Stevens: Not so good.

Narrator: Let's examine what other work is being done to prepare crops for the industrial revolution to come. At the University of California at Davis, cantaloupes that now grow on vines are being redesigned to grow on bushes, for mechanical harvesting. Dr. Frank Zink.

Dr. Zink: Ag engineering department is working with me here, on the campus and working with the ag engineer. I develop the plant and they develop the machine. It's a kind of hand in glove operation. It's the same approach we used for the mechanical harvesting of tomatoes. We're just about 10 years behind the tomato people, that's just it.

Narrator: Another project, at the University of Georgia, is developing a machine to prepare peaches for the public, by among other things, defuzzing them. Dr. John Perry.

Dr. Perry: This machine that we see here is what we refer to as a mobile in-orchard grading, sorting and packaging unit for peaches. The machine will remove the fuzz that exists on all peach fruit. It will coat the fruit with a water soluable wax containing fungicides to prolong storage life and prevent weight loss during storage. After this is done the fruit comes to the rear of the machine and can be packaged into the trays and boxes that you see here.



Narrator: Jim Hightower is Director of the Agribusiness Accountability Project which is a private non-profit organization supported by foundations. To him, the tomato story illustrates what's wrong with tax-supported reserach being done for Agribusiness.

Hightower: Del Monte and Hunt and Heinz and the giant processors wanted to mechanically harvest tomatoes because they wanted to eliminate labor in the fields.

And, the land grant colleges said yes we'll do that for you. So they genetically re-designed the tomato. But then they had to harvest the tomatoes green, because they still aren't hard enough. So they developed a system of applying ethylene gas to tomatoes, which turns them red, but it doesn't ripen them, necessarily. It just turns them red, uniformly and at the same time. They're chemically ripened. Now they've isolated 70 chemicals that cause flavor in tomatoes and they're going to artifically inject those back into that tomato.

Narrator: At the Richard Russell Laboratory, Athens, Georgia, another search—to isolate the taste of chicken. Dr. Robert Horvat.

Dr. Horvat: The instruments in this room are all being used to attempt to solve the problem of chicken flavor and what compounds or materials are responsible for what we call chicken flavor. This problem arose because certain people questioned whether a modern chicken is equal to the chicken that grew up on grandpa's farm. So we trap the small amounts of material such as this, and this is equivalent to about ten pounds of chicken, this material here. What we hope to do is find that maybe five or six or seven major or minor components will reproduce the odor of chicken, and help the feed formulators decide on a diet that would produce the superior flavor chickens.

Narrator: For several years cattle have been collected in lots and fed chemically-enriched food. This has been successful. They have grown fatter, faster, but problems have developed with one of the most widely used chemicals, DES.

DES was developed at Iowa State University and licensed without competitive bidding to Eli Lilly, the pharmaceutical corporation, which distributed it for 18 years. During that time, its cancer-causing ability in animals was established. But, so long as no residue of DES was found in edible meat, its use was permitted by Congressional amendment. . .until 1972.

The effect of adding chemicals to our food is a source of growing concern. Dr. Ben Feingold, chief emeritus, department of allergy, Kaiser Medical Center, San Francisco, believes artifical colors and flavors, along with naturally occurring salicylates, contribute to extreme over-activity in otherwise normal children, a condition known as hyperkinesis. Eighty-five percent of his patients improve on a diet free of these chemicals.

Next, we'll look at the chicken industry which was reorganized by Agribusiness for the purpose of greater productivity and efficiency.

Once, chickens were raised by farmers in barnyards. Now there is an assembly line process. Laying hens, hatcheries, the chicks themselves and what they eat are owned and provided by the corporation. Farmers have become contract growers for the company and rent the chicks. The feed is delivered weekly by the corporation. There are rules which growers must follow during the 7–9 week growing stage to provide a uniform product. Growers must also pay for building their large expensive chicken houses and the equipment, special insulation, heaters, watering trays and automatic feeding troughs. Growers must update equipment as the company decides.

After 7–9 weeks, the chickens are picked up by integrator corporation trucks and taken to the processing house for slaughter. The same corportions kill, dress and distribute the broilers. They say that vertical integration is efficient and provides good, uniform broiler quality.

Despite an expansion of broiler production due to mechanization, the price of broilers has gone up. And the system may be far from foolproof.

Bill Wordham: This is chicken feed in a big modern mass production chicken house in the South. The feed is heavily laced with arsenic. Growers and scientists for the Agribusiness companies tell us that arsenic makes the birds grow fatter faster and also kills parasites. Federal regulations prohibit the use of arsenic in the final feed before the bird is killed because much of the arsenic would still be in the body of the bird when it reached your supermarket shelf. And yet, growers have told us that there is arsenic in final feed delivered to them by the big companies.

Narrator: Document: Laboratory Analysis Report to American Broadcasting Company, Results: Five samples of final feed tested. Four of the five contained arsenic.

There are other problems with this vertically integrated industry. The growers, most of them ex-farmers, now depend on the corporation for chicks and the price paid for growing them.

The profits may be low for the growers–but the investments are high. This lady was willing to talk with us–but would not show her face nor allow mention of the company for whom she grows chicks.

Bill Wordham: What did it cost you to put up these houses?

Grower: It cost us $29,600 for a lock and key job. I mean, ready to put the chickens in.

Wordham: And how did you raise the money?

Grower: We borrowed it.

Wordham: So your home was mortgaged to pay for the houses?

Grower: Yes.

Wordham: Now how about the money you've been getting for your chicks. Is that working out all right?

Grower: No. It sure isn't. It has dropped in the last bunch of chicks I sold. I didn't get nothing for them, hardly, period.

Wordham: And how about the number of chickens or chicks that you've been raising this year as compared to last year?

Grower: Well, they was six weeks between bunches of chickens this time.

Wordham: Did the growers give you any reason why they didn't deliver the chicks?

Grower: No. No, they don't.

Wordham: Why do you stay in the business of chicken raising?

Grower: We have to! We'll lose our home. Our farm. Everything we've worked for.

Roger Peterson: When we began this broadcast, we pointed out that there is a fundamental change occurring in the ways our food is being grown, processed and delivered to us. The very efficiency and profitability of agribusiness has attracted non-farmers to it, some to increase its efficiency, others merely to take advantage of its good return on investment. One way is through tax laws.

Narrator: Branding time at a feedlot in Atkinson, Nebraska. One hundred thousand head of cattle are fed here each year, for investors who are far away and never see their cattle. Owners who may be individuals or large corporations with extra money to invest. The investor sends a check, the cattle are bought, fattened and sold for slaughter. Another method for non-farmers to make profits out of agriculture.

Special tax laws have drawn individuals and corporations toward agriculture. They can use the laws made for farmers to spread profits and losses over several years and obtain tax shelters. Los Angeles tax lawyer Michael Wells.

Wells: I have within this week received a beef deal. It's a syndication. It's a method of investing $300,000 and getting a two hundred and one percent tax write-off.

David Shoemaker: Two hundred and one percent?

Wells: That's right. For every dollar you invest in this program you get to deduct two dollars from your tax return.

Peterson: The quest for profits in this newly-emerging system of agriculture has led to harsh errors in judgement. Agribusiness corporations encouraged many small farmers to extend themselves, borrowing money to expand. These ventures resulted in some farmers losing their land.

Narrator: In California, for example, many lost their land when they tried to expand to meet the demands of large corporations for more crops.

Tom Ellerd of Modesto, a successful farmer for 40 years, was one of them.

Del Monte Corporation became not only his buyer, but also lent him money to expand, an arrangement no longer legal. A few bad years for peaches and Del Monte foreclosed. A court denied Ellerd's petition which tried to establish that a partnership existed with Del Monte.

ABC News asked Del Monte for a comment. It replied that when the Ellerd indebtedness exceeded the value of the property, Del Monte reluctantly foreclosed, since it too had lost money. Ellerd now lives in this three-room house owned by a relative. He and his son lost over $100,000 worth of land and buildings.

Ellerd: It was one of the best farms in the country, best taken care of. Even the canneries complimented us on our way of operating, taking care of the place. We had two homes. One of them was a new home we built in '65.

Dick Shoemaker: Why couldn't you go and find the money someplace else? Whey did you have to go to Del Monte?

Ellerd: Well, after you get started with Del Monte and they have a mortgage on your crop and your equipment, no bank or anything will touch you because they've got everything in their control. They wouldn't release the crop for you to get money or anything. They wanted it all.

Peterson: Mr. Ellerd is not an isolated case, but an example of a pattern that has developed as agriculture has become big business. Yet, Secretary Butz feels that the threat of agribusiness is not that great.

Secretary Butz: Less than 1 percent of our. . . less than 10 percent of our farms are corporation farms and 9 out of 10 of them are family corporations. I think the invasion of the large non-farm corporations, the invasion of the conglomerate in agriculture has not been alarmingly large.

Peterson: Do you still think that integration in the food industry is a good thing?

Secretary Butz: I think integrated production and processing, marketing is the trend of the times. I think that it's good for consumers. I think it can be done and still maintain a large degree of independence and competitiveness at the family farm level. We're dedicated in this department to keep that kind of family farm in a strong position.

Peterson: This broadcast has reported that Agribusiness is expanding and is here to stay. Despite the fact that the Agriculture Department says only 1 percent of our farms are owned by large firms, it is the control over crops that matters–and that control is increasing.

At this stage of Agribusiness development we can see that this control does not get out of hand–or go hand-in-hand with abuses against consumers and taxpayers. This is the time to look closely at the new system. . . with the same kind of drive that has been demonstrated by Agribusiness itself.

For, as we said when we began this broadcast, Agribusiness is everybody's business.

Tax Dodge at the Mine

You might think that energy-rich counties in the United States would be able to tax American oil companies at least as effectively as do Arabian sheiks. You might also think that, as the value of energy resources soars throughout the world, the local taxes paid on domestic energy resources would also soar.

You'd be wrong on both counts.

Appalachia delivers more than 70 percent of the coal consumed in the United States–about 15 percent of the national energy. Yet the region remains America's poorest, getting far less for its energy than do the princes of the Persian Gulf.

In 1967, 60 percent of the local revenues in Central Appalachia came from property taxes, compared to 66 percent nationally. And who pays the bulk of Appalachia's property taxes? Not the coal companies, you can be sure.

Coal companies in one county are assessed at 2.3 percent. Homeowners are assessed at 50 percent.

In the fourteen major coal producing counties of West Virginia, 25 major landowners control 44 percent of the land. But these large resource owners–most of them out-of-state corporations–account for only one tenth of the property taxes in these coal-rich counties. In one county–Wetzel–major landowners are assessed at only 2.3 percent of the value of their holdings, while homeowners are assessed at 50 percent.

Consolidation Coal, a subsidiary of Continental Oil, holds 329,900 acres in the major coal producing counties of West Virginia. Consol's property was valued last year at $11,987,310 when calculated according to state law, yet the state assessed Consol at only $289,262. Since about 70 percent of property taxes go to support schools, Consol's tax dodging deprives local children of decent education.

How does Consol get away with it? The same way other major energy companies do–through long and cozy relationships between company executives and tax commissioners.

Former Governor Barren of West Virginia appointed as his first tax commissioner C. Howard Hardesty, who later resigned to become a Consol vice-president. Hardesty was succeeded by C. Thomas Battle, who headed the department until 1968 when he returned to private law practice. While practicing, Battle was retained by Consol's director of tax affairs, John J. Innes, to negotiate a reduction of the company's tax assessment over a four-county area. Innes had previously been chief of auditing for the state tax department.

Consol fares equally well in Tennessee. In Sequatchie County, one local tax assessor departed from practice and appraised Consol's land by including its mineral value. Using this method the valuation jumped from $32 to $322 per acre–a hint of what the county had been losing before.

Consol, however, had powerful allies where it counted. On appeal to the State Board of Equalization, which includes the Governor and the Commissioner of Revenue, Consol got the assessment cut to $180 per acre–still much more than Consol pays in other counties with less aggressive tax assessors.

"You can't tax anything you can't see," was the way the tax assessor for Anderson County, Tennessee's largest coal-producing area, defended his exclusion of coal from property valuations. Consol's assessment in Anderson County was $30 an acre, about one quarter the valuation of neighboring farms, until local citizens filed a complaint in 1971. The State Board of Equalization responded by altering the assessment method slightly. A follow-up study by the citizens' group found that Consol properties assessed under the new method at $34,086 should have been valued at $2,019,370.

–Thanks to John Gaventa, Campaign Continental and the Appalachian Public Interest Journalism Group for this information.

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Counting Calories

The purpose of agriculture is to capture the sun's energy and transform it into human energy. Theoretically farming should be a net producer of energy, but in the United States it doesn't work that way.

It takes energy -- lots of energy -- to grow food the American way. Fuel is needed to power tractors; electricity is used to pump irrigation water; natural gas is a key ingredient of fertilizers; pesticides are made from oil. All in all, agriculture consumes more petroleum than any other single industry.

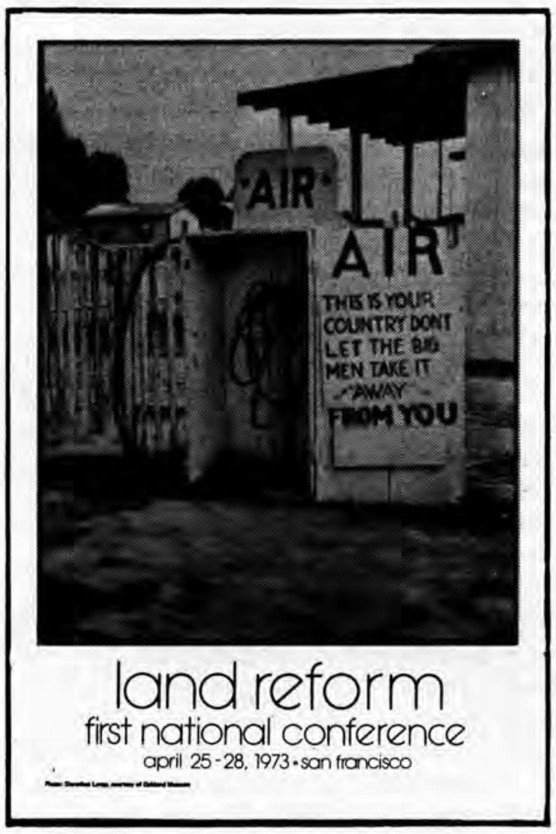
This might not be so important were it not for the fact that cheap, abundant energy is a thing of the past. Already farmers are having to pay nearly double what they paid last year for gasoline -- and they can't always get all they want. A fertilizer shortage is on the horizon, and prices here are soaring too. Thus rising energy costs, far more than labor costs, are leading to higher food prices at the supermarket.

If efficiency were measured in terms of energy, American agriculture would not fare very well. It is estimated that Chinese wet rice agriculture produces 53 British Thermal Units of food energy for each BTU of human energy expended in farming it. By contrast, for each BTU of fossil fuel energy used by American farmers, we get about one-fifth as much energy back in food. On the basis of these these ratios, Chinese agriculture is far more efficient than our own system.

Maybe we shouldn't only re-examine the size of the automobiles we drive in one-passenger splendor. Maybe it's also time to adopt less energy-extravagant ways of nourishing our bodies.

"The United States has spent millions of dollars promoting land reform in Latin America, India and Vietnam. Well, how about a little land reform right here? How about showing that free enterprise doesn't only mean the right to get big -- that it also means the right to get started?"

Berge Bulbulian, small grape grower, Sanger, California



Film and Posters

A stunning new film about the need for land reform is now available for sale or rental. The film, *The Richest Land*, was produced by prize-winning filmmaker George Ballis with the help of a grant from the Center for Rural Studies. It depicts in documentary style the plight of farmworkers and family farmers in an agricultural system increasingly dominated by large corporations. Focus is on highly mechanized California agriculture.

Ideal for high school and college classes and community meetings -- a surefire way to provoke discussion of food and land issues. 16 mm, color, sound, 23 minutes. Sale: $270. Rental: $30. Study manual available in March.

For sales contact Ballis Associates, 4696 N. Millbrook, Fresno, CA 93726 (209-222-0381). For rentals contact Canyon Cinema Co-op, Room 220, Industrial Center Building, Sausalito, CA 94965 (415-332-1514).

Also available from the Center for Rural Studies are two land reform posters ("Air" photo by Dorothea Lange, cityscape photo by Bob Fitch). 50 cents each plus 50 cents per order for postage.

Canada Does It: Two Strong Land Laws

Two Canadian provinces have recently adopted programs that should greatly interest land reformers in America.

In Saskatechewan, where the number of independent farms has fallen 40 percent since 1950 and the average age of farmers is 55, the provincial government has embarked on a multi-million dollar land bank program designed to get young people into farming.

Under the program, the government purchases farms offered for sale by persons 65 years of age and over. A father wishing to transfer land to a son receives priority. The government pays the market price, then offers the land for lifetime leases at an annual rent of five percent of the purchase price, with option to buy after five years. The lessors are young people eager to work the soil, but who haven't the capital to buy land and modern equipment.

In the program's first year of operation, there were over 2,000 applications to sell land to the bank. The bank bought 406 parcels totaling 200,000 acres at prices of $30 to $125 an acre. There were 1,500 applications to lease, and 425 actual lease agreements. The average age of the lessors was 35.

Agriculture Minister John R. Messer says this is only a beginning. "Practically all the major institutions currently operating in rural society are in need of restructuring," he contends.

Another government program, called Farm Start, is part of this restructuring. Farm Start provides grants and loans to low-income farmers who wish to expand into livestock. Six percent loans of up to $60,000 are available, payable over a 15 year term. Grants of up to $8,000 are also available to persons with a net worth of less than $36,000.

"I believe the approach our government has taken is a radical one in the sense that it challenges conventional ideas pertaining to agriculture and rural society," Messer says.

"We accept the idea that we must have efficient production. We do not accept that this can only be achieved through the creation of large-scale farm units or super-farms. Family farms, where labor and management are primarily derived from the family itself, or from two or more families operating in cooperation, can quite readily exhaust all the economies of scale available in farming today."

In British Columbia, the provincial government acted last year to deal with another very serious land problem—the loss of prime agricultural land to urban and suburban sprawl.

The legislature established a powerful five-member commission with authority to determine use of all land throughout the province. The commission immediately declared that all land presently used for agriculture would remain agricultural until further plans were adopted.

The commission also has authority and funds to bank land in urban areas for housing. And the law provides that landowners who lose development rights as a result of commission decisions need not be compensated by the government.

Significantly, both British Columbia and Saskatchewan are governed by New Democratic Party administrations. The NDP—which also governs in Manitoba—has a socialist and populist tradition.

Looting Maine's Public Lots

For the past century, large paper and timber companies, mostly absentee-owned, have controlled some 400,000 acres of land in Maine that is owned by the state. These parcels of land average 1,000 acres apiece and are called "public lots." As in most of New England, these lots were reserved for townships when the state was originally formed.

But the townships have never been formed. When the paper companies bought up the surrounding forests they began the policy of discouraging settlement. Thus the companies can continue to cut timber from the state land on the basis of rights they bought dirt cheap 100 years ago when it was assumed that the land would soon be settled. The companies now claim that the state cannot take away their rights to control the land so long as it is not settled. And the land cannot be settled so long as the companies control it.

Two recent Nader reports, *Timber Taxation in a Company State* and *The Paper Plantation*, brought a devastating series of charges against the paper companies, and were in good part responsible for a series of hearings before the Maine Legislature's Committee on Public Lands last December. Some of the best testimony at these hearings came from the Maine Land Use Task Force, a loose coalition of ten citizen organizations. The thrust of their testimony was that Maine's "public lots" should be used to create a locally-owned wood products industry that would expand jobs and settlement opportunities for Maine people, whose average income ranks 41st the Nation.

Speaking for the Task Force, Jeff Faux, an economist from Whitefield, said that "Maine's economic and environmental interests will never be protected as long as the destiny of her forest resources is so completely in the hands of absentee owners."

For further details on the activities of Maineiacs, check out the *Maine Land Advocate*, 25 cents from P. O. Box 116, Brunswick 04011.

Gulf Coast Woodcutters Strike, Form Cooperative

Throughout the rural South, some 150,000 persons make their living—what there is of it—by cutting and hauling pulpwood logs for giant paper companies like International Paper, American Can, Scott and St. Regis. Taken together the southern woodcutters produce two-thirds of the nation's pulpwood in exchange for an annual income of less than $3,000 apiece.

Paper companies rely heavily on this sort of exploitation to keep their profits high and to buy up still more pulpwood acreage. In the Deep South it's becoming common for pulpwood operators to own as much as 60 percent of a county's land, and occasionally as much as 90 percent.

The paper companies were originally attracted to the South in the 1930's by cheap land, cheap labor and widespread anti-union laws. A few years ago, a group of black and white woodcutters organized the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, which mounted a successful strike against the Masonite Company. The companies countered by strategically discriminating against black cutters with the hope of winning over the whites. But the GPA confronted its own problems of racism and managed to hold itself together despite company race-mongering and red-baiting.

To protect their subsistence wages against the rampant inflation of the past two years, the GPA called a second strike last September. The paper companies retaliated by taking GPA to court for—amazingly—"action in restraint of trade" and "violation of the anti-trust laws." With help from the National Lawyers Guild, the GPA fought back. The federal district judge in the case decided that since the companies and pulp dealers assigned the woodcutters plots of land to cut, fixed the price of wood, supervised the cutting, and retained the right to control every aspect of the work, the woodcutters were in effect "employees" involved in a labor dispute and not subject to an injunction under the Norris—LaGuardia Act.

The woodcutters had only a few hours to savor this victory before Alabama pulpwood dealers obtained a state court restraining order to stop the picketing. On November 9 the federal court refused to overturn the state restraining order, and since then, the issue has become deeply mired in legal action. The woodcutters remain on strike and are hard pressed to keep body and soul together in the face of the awesome power of the real trusts, the paper companies.

Meanwhile, some GPA members who became convinced that there's just no future in woodcutting, have formed a group called the Rural Farmers Coop. In 1973 the Coop served 54 families in an effort to convert their main income source from woodcutting to farming and their main food source too, since GPA members have had repeated difficulties dealing with the Food Stamp administration.

The RFC now has two tractors and a combine, but is faced with requests for assistance from 400 other poor families. The Coop estimates that it needs an additional $300 for each of these families, and is appealing for donations. Its address is Box 100, Forest Home, Alabama 36030.

Nebraska's New Land Barons

New evidence that family-type farms in the Midwest are losing ground to larger units with absentee owners, hired managers and seasonal workers has turned up in a land ownership study by the Center for Rural Affairs.

The conclusions were outlined by Marty Strange of Walthill, Nebraska, the center's co-director, during a panel discussion at the First Midwest Land Conference.

The study, covering land ownership changes since 1968 in 13 northeast Nebraska counties, showed a sizeable increase in corporate ownership of agricultural land, extensive absentee ownership by non-farmers, and growing involvement of urban-based farm management companies.

A class structure defined along owner-management-worker lines will develop if the trend toward larger farm units continues.

Strange said the data generally supports the proposition that a class structure defined along owner-manager-worker lines will develop in the Midwest if the trend toward larger farm units continues.

"The data reinforces the notion that agriculture is becomming structurally specialized and that ownership, operation and management of land will be separated functions," he reported.

"Undoubtedly, if this trend does exist, it will enhance absentee ownership of land by non-farmers who will employ professional managers and who will seek the limited liability advantages of the corporate structure."

The researchers examined land tenure of large farm units, ownership by non-family farm corporations and involvement of professional farm management firms in the 13-county area.

The study showed corporate ownership of agricultural land in the area had increased 64.8 percent since 1968. It also showed a high degree of concentration in the professional farm management field.

The largest farm management company was handling 61,267 acres in the area and the top four companies had nearly 72 percent of the business. The study also showed a high ratio of leased to owned land in the large operations.

Another interesting disclosure was the fact that as many as 40 percent of the corporations owning land in the area were not authorized to do business in Nebraska. Some had failed to file, and others had failed to keep current, the occupational tax reports required by the state.

"Beyond the fact that these corporations have escaped paying an occupation tax lies the troublesome fact that their maverick behavior prevents the public from knowing who or what they are," the study noted.

Strange said the failure to comply with the filing requirement makes it difficult to either study or classify the big companies involved. The reports that are filed do little more than identify a corporation's board of directors, list the addresses, and state its general business nature. They tell nothing about the extent or location of land holdings.

This information is available only to the most diligent researcher who is willing to spend long hours in county courthouses. In order to determine the Nebraska land holdings of a corporation one has to contact every courthouse in the state," he noted.

"This is an inordinate amount of effort for some basic information that the public is entitled to."

Singing the Rocky Mountain Blues

In Colorado, as *People & Land* reported last issue, the land developers are breeding like bunnies. What's left of the state's pristine beauty—the stuff of ballads like John Denver's "Rocky Mountain High"—is being bought, bulldozed and sold faster than the eye can see. This overdevelopment is both cause and coincident of new lows in water abuse and air pollution that have already made Colorado one of the most despoiled states in the nation.

In 1973, liberal Colorado legislators attacked these problems with a comprehensive land use bill. The bill ultimately died because of recalcitrant state Senate Republicans and a lack of leadership from then-Governor and ex-Energy Czar John Love, who supported the bill in theory but did nothing to promote its passage. This year the land use bill is back again, calling for creation of a State Board of Land Appeals which would be empowered to review and veto unwise "large-impact" land use decisions.

Prospects for passage of the bill appear to be dim. Much progress has been made in educating the Colorado public to the urgency of land use controls, but this year as last, it seems that the Republican dominated Colorado Senate just isn't going to budge from its cozy relationship with big development money.

This being the case, it's apparently going to be up to the citizens to do it themselves. It worked with the California Coastal Management Act and it worked once before in Colorado with the effort to stop the '76 Winter Olympics. What might be called a "quality of life brigade" is keeping close watch on the legislature and if nothing happens, count on a land use initiative to get on the November ballot.

Meanwhile, the recent jump in oil prices has brought attention to the budding Colorado oil shale industry, which many Coloradans are starting to call "the rip-up and rip-off of the century." More on this next issue.

List Of Available Land Reform Publications

Copies of the following papers are available from the Center for Rural Studies, 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco, CA 94102, or elsewhere as indicated. Prices are to cover printing or xeroxing. Please add 25 cents on all orders to cover postage and handling. We cannot bill, so please enclose a check or money order made payable to the Center.

Agribusiness Accountability Project. *Hard Times, Hard Tomatoes: The Failure of the Land Grant College Complex.* Paperback book. $4.95. Available from the Agribusiness Accountability Project, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington DC 20007. The project has many other publications available. Write for a list.

Baldwin, Sidney. *A Lesson from the New Deal: The Farm Security Administration.* 15 pages. 60 cents.

Barnes, Peter. *Buying Back the Land: A Proposal for California.* 6 pages. 25 cents.

Black Economic Research Center. *Only Six Million Acres: The Decline of Black Owned Land in the Rural South.* Bound report. Write BERC, 112 W. 120th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

Caudill, Harry. *An Appalachian Mountain Authority.* 11 pages. 45 cents.

Center for Community Economic Development. *Land.* May 1972 report. Write CCED, 1878 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140.

Cut Cane Associates. *New Strategies for Appalachia.* Free. Also many other publications. Write Cut Cane Associates, PO Box 98, Mineral Bluff, Ga. 30559.

Davenport, Charles. *Tax Loss Farming By Syndicates and Corporations.* 7 pages. 25 cents.

Del Solar, Daniel. *Local Control of Geothermal Energy: History and Prospects.* 18 pages. 75 cents.

Faux, Geoffrey. *Reclaiming America.* 12 pages. 45 cents.

Frazier, Charles. *Things Consumers Should Know About Food Production.* Charts. 8 pages. 35 cents.

Friedland, William H. *The Social Impact of Technology.* 14 pages. 50 cents.

Goldstein, Jerome. *The Way To A Nation's Land Reform Is Through Its Stomach.* 9 pages. 35 cents.

Grubbs, Donald. *The New Deal and the Roots of Agribusiness.* 5 pages. 20 cents.

Hooker, Barbara Williams. *Surplus Lands for Indians: One Road to Self-Determination?* 4 pages. 15 cents.

Houck, Kemp. *Concentrated Land Tenure in Kansas.* 27 pages. $1.

International Independence Institute. *Community Land Trust Guide.* Paperback book. $4. Write III, West Road Road, Box 183, Ashby, Mass. 01431. Also many other publications available.

Kaufman, Paul J. *The Severance Tax.* 4 pages. 15 cents.

Krebs, Wilma Mayers. *Unearned Increment Taxation.* 13 pages. 50 cents.

McClaughry, John. *Taxes for Land Acquisition.* 6 pages. 25 cents.

Mudd, Harvey. *Land Subdividing and the Human Environment.* 12 pages. 50 cents.

Perelman, Michael. *Against the Grain, Or The Role of The Farmer in Foreign Economic Affairs.* 4 pages. 15 cents.

Rodefeld, Richard. *A Reassessment of the Status and Trends in Family and Corporate Farms in U.S. Society. Congressional Record* reprint. Free.

Simon, Richard and Roger Lesser. *Land Reform and Regional Ownership of Resources in Appalachia.* 15 pages. 60 cents.

Who Owns the Land?

Who Owns the Land? A Primer On Land Reform for the USA may still be obtained from the Center for Rural Studies. This extremely useful 16-page booklet by Peter Barnes and Larry Casalino has been widely used by schools and land reform groups. Price: 40 cents.

Also available are copies of the Summer 1973 issue of *People & Land.* This 32-page issue contains excerpts from 19 papers presented at the First National Land Reform Conference. Price: 50 cents.

Available at no charge are copies of the Declaration of Principles adopted at the First National Land Reform Conference, a land reform bibliography, and the 3-page paper, *What A National Land Reform Act Might Look Like.*

Please add 25 cents on all orders to cover postage and handling.

Get Involved: Some Groups To Do It With

Across the country, a great number of organizations are involved in various aspects of the land reform movement. Herewith a partial list. Get in touch with a group near you and pitch in!

Agribusiness Accountability Project, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20007
Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres, 1010 3rd, NW, Albuquerque, N.Mex. 87101
Appalachian Development Fund, 114 W. Clinch Ave., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916
Appalachian Research and Defense Fund, 116-B Kanawha Blvd. E., Charleston, W.Va., 25301
Basin Electric Power Co-op, Bismarck, ND 58501
Black Economic Research Center, 112 W. 120th St., New York, NY 10027
Black Land Services, Penn Center, Beaufort, S. C. 29902
Black Mesa Defense Fund, 770 Old Pecos Trail, Santa Fe, N. Mex. 87501
California Rural Legal Assistance, 1212 Market St., San Francisco, Ca. 94102
Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007
Center for Community Economic Development, 1878 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140
Central Clearing House, 338 E. De Vargas, Santa Fe, N.Mex. 87501
Central Coast Counties Development Corp., 256 Center Ave., Aptos, Ca. 95003
Colorado Project, 1232 Delaware, Denver, Colo. 80204
Committee to Save North Dakota, 801 2nd Ave., S.E., Jamestown, N.Dak., 58401
Community Services, Inc., Box 243, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387
Conservation Foundation, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036
Concerned Citizens United, 208 W. Bertrand, St. Marys, Kansas 66536
Cooperativa Campesina, PO Box 824, Freedom, Cal. 95019
Cooperative League of the USA, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605
Cut Cane Associates, P.O. Box 98, Mineral Bluff, Ga., 30559
Delta Ministry, P.O. Box 3634, Jackson, Miss. 39207
Emergency Land Fund, 799 Fair St., SW, Atlanta, Ga., 30314
Environmental Action, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036
Environmental Defense Fund, 645 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10022
Environmental Policy Center, 324 C Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003
Evergreen Land Trust Ass'n., P.O. Box 303, Clear Lake, Washington 98235
Federation of Southern Cooperatives, P.O. Box 95, Epes, Ala. 35460
Foundation for Community Development, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27702
Friends of the Earth, 529 Commercial St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111
Georgia Council on Human Relations, 133 Luckie St., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, Box 53, Eastabuchie, Miss. 39436
Henry George School, 833 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103
Highlander Research and Education Center, Rt. 3, Box 245 A, New Market, Tenn. 57820
Institute for Development of Indian Law, 927 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005
Institute for Liberty and Community, Box 94, Lyndonville, Vermont 05851
Institute for the Study of Non-Violence, Box 1001, Palo Alto, Calif. 92302
International Independence Institute, West Road, Box 183, Ashby, Mass. 01431
Iowa Student Public Interest Research Group, 305 S. Wilmoth, Ames, Iowa 50010
K.U. Farm Market Research Project, P.O. Box 362, Lawrence, Ks. 66044
Land Tenure Center, 310 King Hall, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisc. 53706
Maine Land Trust, 66½ 7th Street, Bangor, Maine 04401
Migrant Legal Action, 1820 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036
Minnesota Public Interest Research Group, 2651 N. Colfax, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mississippi Action for Community Education, Box 588, Greenville, Miss. 38701
Montana Farmers Union, Box 2447, Great Falls, Mont. 59403
Movement for Economic Justice, 1609 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20009
National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 3801 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50312
National Coalition for Land Reform, 345 Franklin St., San Francisco, Calif. 94102
National Clearinghouse for Legal Services, 233 E. Walton Pl., Chicago, Ill. 60611
National Consumers Congress, 631 E. Polo Dr., St. Louis, Mo. 63100
National Economic Development Law Project, 2313 Warring St., Berkeley, Calif. 97404
National Farmers Organization, Corning, Ia. 50841
National Farmers Union, Box 2251, Denver, Colo., 80201
National Indian Youth Council, 201 Hermosa N.E., Albuquerque, N. Mex. 97108
National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 E. 19th St., New York, NY 10002
Native American Rights Fund, 1506 Broadway, Boulder, Colo. 80302
Nature Conservancy, 1800 N. Kent St., Arlington, Va. 22209
New Alchemy Institute, P.O. Box 432, Woods Hole, Mass. 02543
North Dakota Farmers Union, Box 651, Jamestown, N.Dak. 58401
North West Information Network, 608 19th Ave. E., Seattle, Wash. 98112
Northern California Land Trust, P.O. Box 156, Berkeley, Calif. 94701
Northern Cheyenne Land Owners Association, P.O. Box 113, Lame Deer, Mont. 59101
Northern Environmental Council, Box 89, Ashland, Wisc. 54806
Northern Plains Resource Council, 437 Stapleton Bldg., Billings, Mont. 59101
Northern Rockies Action Group, 9 Placer St., Helena, Mont. 59601
Open Space Institute, 145 E. 52nd St., New York, NY 10022
Peacemaker Land Trust, 4818 Florence Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19143
Penn Community Services, P.O. Box 126, Frogmore, S. C. 29920
People's Appalachian Research Collective, 321 Ridgewood Ave., Morgantown, W.Va. 26505
Return Surplus Land to Indians, 1701 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036
Rocky Mountain Farmers Union, Box 628, Denver, Colo. 80201
Rural Farmers Co-op, Forest Home, Ala. 36030
Rural Housing Alliance, 1356 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036
Rural Resources Institute, 120 S. Izard, Little Rock, Ark.
Save Our Cumberland Mountains, Petros, Tenn. 37845
Sierra Club, 220 Bush St., San Francisco, Calif. 94104
Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Box 3005, Lafayette, La. 70601
Southern Regional Council, 52 Fairlie St., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Southern Rural Action, 220 Sunset Ave., Atlanta, Ga. 30314
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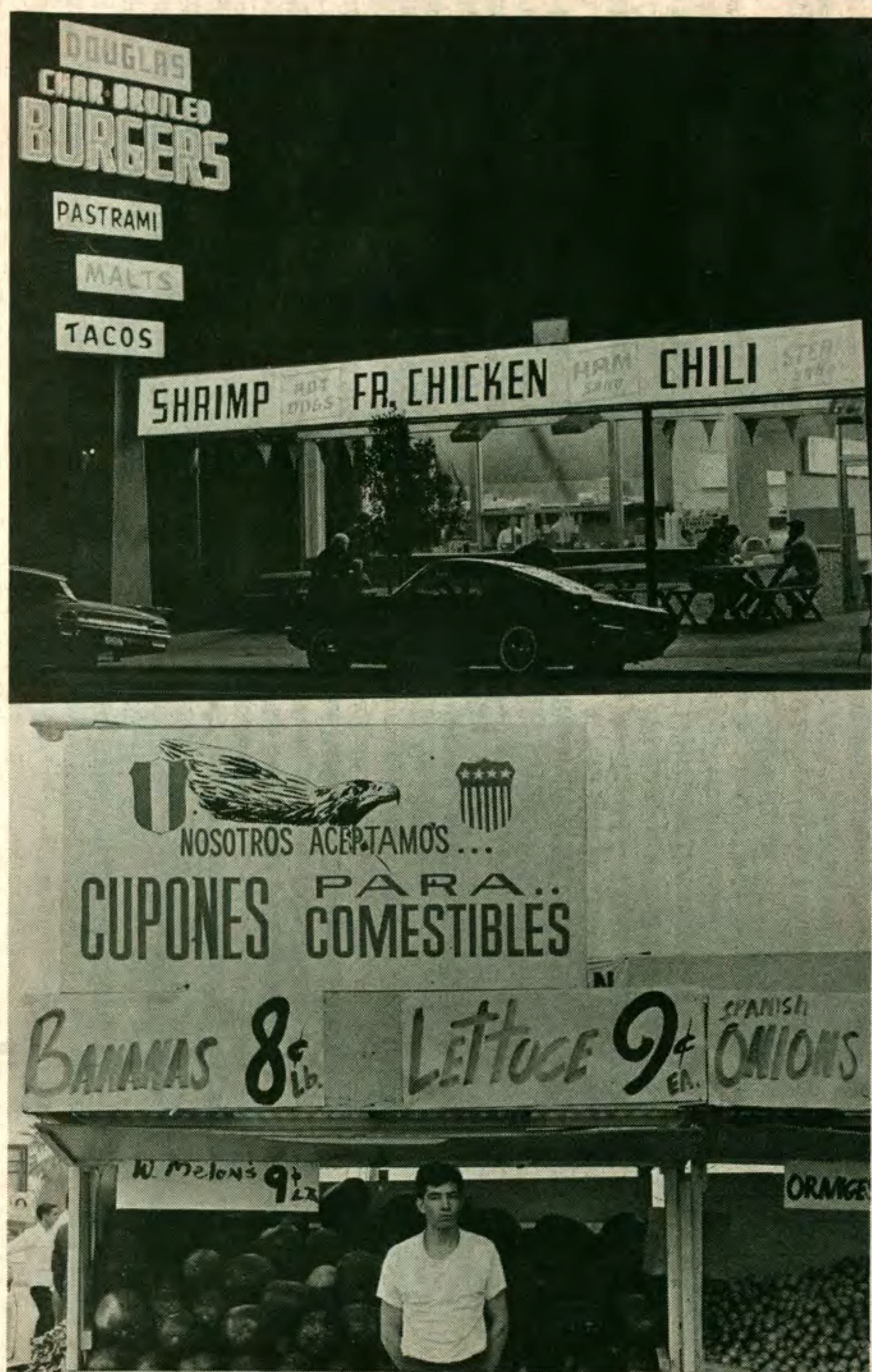

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