

A TRANSFORMATION PLATFORM: THE DIALOGUE BEGINS

First Edition, 1981

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NEW WORLD ALLIANCE
733 15th St. NW, #1131
Washington, D.C. 20005

AN INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

Dear Friend:

We invite you to help improve and expand this platform.

A Transformation Platform is the first attempt to formulate the political philosophy, goals, and specific recommendations of the New World Alliance. It will undergo much change over time as gaps are filled and new insights are contributed by a broad range of people. By sending us a commentary on the platform, you will be joining with others of the New World Alliance in an innovative national dialogue that can help to shape our political agenda in the 1980s.

The New World Alliance is based in the United States; its Governing Council is composed of American citizens; and the first edition of its platform is addressed to state and local governments in the U.S., and especially to the U.S. federal government. However, we welcome comments from the citizens of any nation.

If you would like to participate, send your commentaries or questions to the Alliance:

New World Alliance
733 15th Street NW, #1131
Washington, D.C. 20005

If you want to become more deeply involved, and are especially knowledgeable about an area covered in the platform, or an area which should be covered in future drafts, please write to us or phone (202) 347-6082.

Improvements, additions, dissents, and alternative views are all welcome. You might find useful the guidelines we set for ourselves, the Governing Council of the New World Alliance, in developing the commentaries you will see printed here:

- the commentary should be *substantive* and not merely quibbling about language;
- the commentary should be *cogent*. It should be written so as to sharpen the issue;
- the commentary should be as *concise* as possible. Abraham Lincoln once apologized to a friend for writing a long letter because he said he didn't have time to write a short one. So, please take the time.
- the commentary should be *charitable* — no bitter attacks, polemics, etc. Make your points in the spirit of creating a new politics of healing and reconciliation.

Our hope is that you and many other people will join in creating a new political dialogue that is so creative and constructive that it can make a difference for the future of our nation and the world.

GOVERNING COUNCIL
NEW WORLD ALLIANCE

INTRODUCTION

The *Transformation Platform* of the New World Alliance is different from conventional political platforms in fundamental ways:

- it is the first attempt to articulate what transformational/humanistic/ecological/decentralist/"New Age" ideas look like when translated into the format of a detailed, practical political platform;
- it is a "living platform" designed to involve readers in an *ongoing political dialogue*. It is not a static document that closes off dialogue by offering "final answers". The *Platform* includes commentary and dissenting opinion, and we invite everyone to read it critically — and then help improve it. Over the years ahead, the continuing process of revision and strengthening will serve as a focus for broadly-based cooperation in clarifying our problems, thinking through changes we need to make, and working together in constructive actions.
- it is neither "left wing" nor "right wing" in its political orientation. Rather it is an attempt to *go beyond the old polarity of left-against-right* by integrating the highest values in our nation's conservative and liberal heritage with the learning that has been taking place in recent social movements focused on such areas as the human potential, holistic health, women's and men's roles, ecology, resource conservation, appropriate technology, voluntary simplicity, decentralization, neighborhood revitalization, peacekeeping, and planetary cooperation and sharing.
- it begins — but only *just* begins — a reconceptualization or paradigm change *regarding the very nature of politics*. We recognize that public policy is only one "face" of politics. Equally important political work takes place in the community, the workplace, and in personal development and interpersonal relationships. Activities such as neighborhood cooperatives, movements for increased worker participation in enterprises, self-help networks and support groups, and personal involvement in spiritual and psychological growth are all aspects of political transformation.

A Transformation Platform was written by members of the Governing Council of the New World Alliance. A "Living Platform Project" was approved by the Council at its founding meeting in December, 1979. Early drafts of the platform were reviewed by the entire Governing Council, and different sections were reviewed by nearly 200 other individuals with involvement in the various subject areas. The present draft was finalized at the third meeting of the Governing Council in September, 1980. Before publication, members of the Governing Council had an opportunity to add commentaries and criticisms.

All of us who have been involved in this effort are excited about the platform, and delighted with the deep personal ties, openness to learning, and dedication to reconciling apparently divergent ideas at a higher level which came with the process.

At the same time, all of us believe *A Transformation Platform* is still an incomplete expression of our efforts to formulate a new political perspective. In fact, well along in the writing of the platform, most of us came to feel that deadlines and other pressures had pushed us toward an all-too-conventional preoccupation with government policy, as opposed to "personal platforms" — what people can do for themselves. We also found ourselves preoccupied with the immediate pressing symptoms which confront us, rather than the long-range transformation to preferred futures. It is our hope that you, the readers, will help to correct these deficiencies with the commentaries you will send to the Alliance.

Thus the Governing Council agreed that we should expand and improve future editions of the platform in several ways:

- it should involve *many more people*, both laypeople and experts in different policy areas. Everyone who contributes should simultaneously be author and reader, teacher and learner;
- it should address *more areas of change*, including personal values, personal action, and group and community action — as well as government policy. We recognize that most of the present document is focused on federal policy and does not address the larger aspects of social transformation that we feel are necessary;
- it should address *longer time-frames of response*, including short- and medium-term transformational steps toward new social goals, and longer-term ideals of a new society, as well as immediate crisis responses. We recognize that the present draft focuses largely on remedial responses to pressing, inherited problems, and does not fully rise to the much greater challenge of defining major transitional steps toward a preferred long-run future;
- it should address *additional policy areas*, including food and agriculture, communications and computers, the arts, child care and family life, work, consumer protection, mental health, politics and administration, and human rights;
- it should *highlight interconnections* between different areas of public policy and different strands of personal and social change.

A *Transformation Platform* should be viewed, therefore, as merely a first step in a much larger effort. The focus of that ongoing effort is to structure a process of participation and collective learning, an innovative national dialogue among people who are interested in formulating a new ecological, decentralist and globalist, human growth-oriented political perspective. The goal is not only to produce a series of annual documents, but to stimulate a dialogue that can help to build a new American political consensus in the 1980s — appropriate for the 21st Century.

We believe such a dialogue is urgently needed to turn widespread attention toward the real agenda of unprecedented problems and opportunities facing the American people and the world as a whole. If our nation's people remain unable to see the larger problems and new opportunities, we fear that the 1980s will bring a growing sense of failure, disruptive domestic tensions, and a decline in American leadership which, combined with energy shortages and other global-level problems, could seriously threaten world stability.

We deeply believe, however, that if the American people can build, together, a new political consensus based on a realistic analysis of our problems and our highest visions of a better future, then our nation could help to lead the world toward new, more humane institutions and ways of life. We believe that most people would work actively to restore this country's will if they saw that the changes we need to make could lead to ways of life far more consonant with our highest cultural values of freedom and community, social justice and ecological stewardship, spiritual growth, and the full realization of human potential.

Building a new political consensus is a vast project of social learning that transcends any single person, organization, or movement. We hope only that the Living Platform Project and other projects of the New World Alliance can "make a difference" at this critical point in history.



A Note On Format

Generally, the regular type has been used for the planks of the platform which were approved by the Governing Council of the Alliance, and the italic type is used for the commentaries — including dissents, additions, or alternative views — submitted by members of the Governing Council. Generally, too, the wide columns containing platform planks have been placed on the left, where the narrow column commentaries are on the right.

The blank space on each page is for you to make notes that will be useful for writing your commentaries. We hope you will fill up some of those blank spaces and that you will share your commentaries with the Alliance.

New World Alliance

GENERAL STATEMENT

A. Our View of Human Beings and Humane Values

The goal of human life is

- the satisfaction of the basic needs of all human beings, including the needs for food, shelter, and security;
- the realization of the full potential of all human beings;
- the development of our innate intellectual and creative abilities, and our capacity for love and responsibility;
- an attunement to humanity's higher ethical and spiritual heritage;
- a fuller awareness of the role of each individual as a contributing member of a human community itself a part of an interdependent natural environment, and
- a continual self-directed transformation of each woman and man into a many-dimensional, whole person.

Essential to the achievement of this goal is the effective freedom of each person to choose what appears to her or him to be the right path, free from coercion or oppression. But also essential to the achievement of this goal is the existence of a healthy human community, embodying shared values, forming a continuity of past, present and future in which human self-fulfillment can contribute to the enrichment of society as a whole.

Among the shared values of a healthy and humane society are:

- a respect for diversity, uniqueness, and individuality;
- a reverence for our home, the earth, and all life upon it;
- a sense of personal responsibility for one's own behavior and its effect on the environment and one's fellow beings;
- an acceptance of "enoughness" or material adequacy, for those who have satisfied their basic needs, rather than the unbounded pursuit of acquisition and consumption;

- a belief in the importance of individual self-reliance and autonomy, coupled with mutual aid and cooperation to achieve common ends;
- the importance of broad participation in the making of those decisions properly facing the whole community, through an open, democratic process;
- an honoring of virtue, character, excellence, truth, craftsmanship, and beauty, not only for their own sake, but as a tribute to the person who exhibits them or brings them forth;
- a constant striving toward peace and non-violence, both among groups and nations, and within one's heart;
- a sense of humility, combined with just pride at the worthwhile achievements of the human race;
- and an appreciation of the aesthetic and spiritual as essential dimensions of the fully human experience.

B. Our View of Society

Achieving the goal of human life requires convivial association in human society, and participation in the decision-making processes of that society, for in helping society to achieve its larger goals, individuals can do much to achieve their own goals.

Such self-directed participation in society must be built upon a base of the self-reliance and autonomy of participants who are free of material or psychological domination by others.

To achieve this, the scale of society's endeavors should be as appropriate as possible to the goals of the small community, the neighborhood, the association, the congregation, and the workplace. It is on this scale that the values of individual initiative, mutual aid, cooperation, and democratic participation are the most easily and directly experienced.

Transformation of society proceeds not as a result of some master plan or indoctrination in an ideology, but by a transformation of the values, attitudes, and perceptions of the people who comprise it. Society is a continually evolving organism which carries forward and preserves important values, traditions, and wisdom from its past, while reshaping those values and traditions to meet the needs and challenges of the present and future.

Diversity is essential to a healthy society, for it is out of diversity that new ideas, new perspectives, and new values arise to help human society adapt creatively to new situations.

But even as we emphasize the importance of the small, human scale community, we must continually recognize and affirm that we are citizens of the planet, with responsibilities to others throughout the world. We thus look forward to the creation of a truly global society, a society of people and nations sharing, exchanging, and working together to build a peaceful, healthy world order.

C. Our View of the Natural Environment

The earth is our home, and we as human beings bear the responsibility for its care and preservation.

The natural environment is an ecological web, in which every activity interconnects with every other. The realization that we humans are an interdependent part of the natural creation — not separate from it — impels us to show a special reverence for all Creation.

Both our ethical values and the necessity for making wise use of the earth's finite resources in our long-run self-interest lead us to adopt a conserver ethic which emphasizes durability, efficient use, recycling of energy and materials, and the prevention of mindless damage to the environment which sustains our life.

Every imposition upon the environment carries its costs and effects, often hidden. These costs and effects should be incurred only with a full knowledge of the consequences, with a minimum of harmful and irremediable impact upon the web of life, and in such a way that the full costs are borne by those who reap the benefits, and not charged to society as a whole.

But where ecological damage has taken place and it is not possible to hold the responsible parties to account, the costs of renewing the viability of the ecological web must be borne by society as a whole.

D. Our View of Economics and Technology

A good life means more than just good living. It means a continual search for the stimulation of the intellect, for the richness of living in a wholesome human community and for the satisfactions of the spirit.

It implies, too, a sense of sufficiency or "enoughness" rather than the continued accumulation and consumption of material things.

A narrow scientific vision that ignores the holism of human life, the considerations of ecology, and matters not susceptible to empirical measurement is a limiting and potentially destructive way to approach economic and technological questions.

Productive enterprise, like all other things, functions best at a scale appropriate to the goals and values of society. While some enterprises must necessarily be operated on a large scale by experts and specialists, renewed emphasis should be given to the human scale of the household, the farm, the neighborhood and community, and the small entrepreneurial business and the cooperative, for it is at this scale that the largest number of people can fully participate in a meaningful way in the creation of the useful, the unique, and the beautiful.

The private ownership of property, where the owner bears a personal responsibility for its care and use, and where that use does not interfere with the equal rights of others or lead to senseless waste of valuable resources, is an important value. Such property ownership should be well-distributed, so that the great bulk of society can enjoy the autonomy and security that flows from the ownership of property, and so that the existence of these many independent property owners can constitute a bulwark against economic or political domination.

Private ownership of property includes not only traditional individual ownership, but also ownership designed on a community, tribe, cooperative, worker, or trust model, all of which have a rightful place in a diverse, open economy.

In any economy, however, great concentrations of economic power, whether public or private, can threaten the well-being of society and the liberties of the people. In a healthy economy, the laws governing economic activity will be carefully designed to prevent the concentration of economic power beyond the scale of efficient production.

A sound medium of exchange and standard of value is essential to an effective economic system. Depreciation of the value of the currency discourages productive investment, and destroys the value of the economy.

The freedom to exchange goods and services locally, nationally, and internationally is essential to a healthy economy. Interference with this freedom to exchange, whether by private economic power or government regulation, also undermines the moral basis of the economic system.

As real costs, availability of resources, and consumer preferences change over time, new enterprises will advance, while older enterprises that fail to adapt will falter. This is a natural condition and represents a healthy renewal and redirection of energies.

Consumers should be free to shift their preferences to new products and services, and not be coerced or taxed into supporting the market position of dying enterprises.

The mobility of investment capital to seek new opportunities for production of wealth to meet people's needs is an important attribute of a healthy economy. Tax and regulatory policies which impede the mobility of capital and concentrate its control in the hands of a few doom society to the preservation of the past, while neglecting the future.

In a just economic system, rewards will accrue to those who produce useful goods and services for society. Such a system will secure to all workers their fair share of the fruits of their labors, but will not reward those whose participation in the economic system is based on monopoly or special privilege, rather than real productivity.

Technology is a blessing to humankind when it is used to advance human well-being. It must, however, be used with respect for the interdependence of the environment, with concern for the human beings who make use of it, and in accordance with local culture, traditions, and community needs. Wherever possible, technology should be designed for use at a scale appropriate to human understanding and control, and to the nature of the tasks to be undertaken.

A healthy and humane society will accord honor to those who have made real contributions to the welfare of humankind, while seeking ways to transform the consciousness of those who act out of a desire for wealth and power divorced from a sense of service to society.

E. Our View of World Affairs

As Americans, we look to our country to rededicate itself not only to being a responsible member of the community of nations, but also to becoming once again, as Jefferson hoped, the "monument of human rights" and the "repository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government".

As a network of globally-concerned individuals, we will work to promote a transformation of values and consciousness among all the peoples of the world community.

All humankind should enjoy basic human rights and freedoms, including freedom from all forms of oppression and exploitation, the right to freely speak and publish one's views, the security of due process of law, and the right to associate with each other in pursuit of common social, economic, political, and spiritual goals.

It is the duty of each individual, and of humanity as a whole, to oppose tyranny and oppression wherever it may arise, and to work to redress the serious disparities in well-being among the peoples of the world.

All peoples and nations should have a full opportunity for self-determination, a right to chart their own course, preserve and enrich their own language and culture, and to make their unique contribution to the human race. At the same time, all peoples and nations have a responsibility to all the people of the planet to live in harmony with the good of the earth and its peoples as a whole.

The force of united moral opinion can be a powerful weapon in the struggle against tyranny and oppression.

Freedom of communication among peoples is essential to make the moral opinion effective, as well as to promote a fuller sharing of views and the concurrent development of a new consciousness about the world we live in.

The rule of law among nations and peoples, made effective by appropriate institutions of world order, is essential to the settlement of disputes according to accepted principles of law and right behavior, without recourse to force and violence.

Weapons of mass-destruction pose an awesome threat to human life, offer only an illusion of security, and consume vast resources that could far better be devoted to the improvement of the well-being of the earth's people. The ultimate elimination of such armaments is essential, within a global security framework, assuring all nations that their peaceful development will not be threatened.

In the long run, any nation's security depends upon a healthy, self-confident people, willing to sacrifice to defend their freedoms if necessary, but whose well-being is not critically dependent upon a level of resource consumption that requires constant economic and military intervention in other parts of the world.

A transformation of the values and perceptions of the peoples of the world, encouraged by transnational linkages at many levels and by the forging of a new synthesis of the world's great ethical and spiritual traditions, can and will play a vitally important role in inspiring humankind to achieve unity and peace.

F. Our View of the Political Process

Politics need not be an adversary process, where some win and others lose.

Politics can facilitate human fulfillment by affording citizens the opportunity to contribute their talents to the improvement of their community and nation.

While all political activity should be built upon a foundation of enlightened principle, rigid adherence to specific ideological systems is not appropriate to a healthy polity.

There are certain timeless values worth enshrining as universal human goals; within that broad framework, there are many paths of progress.

Traditionally, political parties and movements have sought to achieve a monopoly of coercive power by gaining control of the apparatus of government. Given the foregoing views of human life and society, we believe that such pursuit of political power is a limited and destructive activity.

A commitment to openness, honesty, generosity of spirit, democratic participation based on the full availability of relevant information, a tolerance for the views of one's fellows, and a sense of good humor and fellowship are essential to the development of a qualitatively-different form of political activity. That form will be organized so as to avoid the hierarchies common to traditional political organizations, relying wherever feasible on networks of like-minded people and groups, each making contributions in the way that seems most appropriate, and cooperating with others in matters of shared concern.

A new politics should build upon the richness of a diversity of political traditions, embracing important values, and discarding values and concepts which tend to inhibit human fulfillment.

It is with these principles firmly in mind that we have come together to form the New World Alliance, and to develop A *Transformation Platform*. It is in the same spirit that we turn to the people of this land to develop the dialogue, organization, cooperation and will to convert these ideas and values into reality.

New World Alliance Policies On:

GLOBAL SECURITY

The overall goals of New World Alliance global security policies are:

- 1. to advance a new global vision that rejects the inevitability of war, permanent enemies and permanent crisis, replacing the demands of a narrow nationalism with concern for the interests of people everywhere;**
- 2. to reduce drastically the level of armaments toward the goal of general and complete disarmament;**
- 3. to increase the use of international law regarding the settlement of disputes, violations of human rights, etc.;**
- 4. to work for the extension of human rights throughout the world and to make the United States a shining example;**
- 5. to protect and advance the liberty of the people of the United States and the other nations of the world;**
- 6. to promote the self-determination of all nations, and an end to political, cultural, and economic repression;**
- 7. to work for the equitable participation of all peoples in international economic relations;**
- 8. to achieve a better ecological balance.**

Introduction: Aligning U.S. Interests With The Global Interest

The New World Alliance advocates major changes in the direction and content of U.S. foreign and military policies to bring our "national interest" into line with the larger interests of the global community. New World Alliance policies are motivated in particular by:

- *The Accelerating Arms Race* — the continuing nuclear arms competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, paralleled by the proliferation of nuclear technology, and conventional armaments, all of which directly and immediately imperil world peace and make the world's population hostage to the two superpowers;
- *The High Cost To Americans* — the extraordinarily high costs of defense policies based on preparing for war, costs that include not only high taxes, runaway inflation and fewer jobs, but also social division, violations of civil liberties, a coalescence of government and defense contractors, and abuses of official power;
- *The High Cost To The Third World* — the serious costs being paid by peoples whose governments align with one or another great power: the militarization of their societies, the continuation in power of autocratic governments, and the orientation of their economies in ways that detract from meeting the basic human needs of their people;
- *True National Security* — the belief that true national security flows from the moral strength of a nation's people, and the protection and extension of their human rights, creating an inspiring example for other societies to emulate;
- *Collective Fear* — the belief that the arms race is also fueled by psychological factors, including the fears and anxieties of individuals which are projected onto nations, and the collective fear and distrust between groups and nations;
- *Need For Effective Peacekeeping* — the recognition that not all of these fears are irrational and ungrounded, and that real threats to the security and liberty of peoples and nations do exist. These threats require effective peacekeeping and the assurance of a mutual arms reduction process that does not provoke further aggression, and
- *Shrinkage of Globe* — the rapid shrinkage of the globe brought about by the search for scarce resources, advances in technology and communications, and common environmental problems, requiring that a nation's "foreign" policy serve the well-being of the global community as well as of the nation, that parochial and national loyalties be supplemented with a new loyalty to humankind, and that increased attention be given to creating a new global society, with institutions and relations based upon universal human values.

A. Overall Policy Goals

A New Global Vision

The overall goals of specific New World Alliance global security policy are:

1. *A New Global Vision* — to advance a new global vision that rejects the inevitability of war, permanent enemies, and permanent crisis; replaces the demands of a narrow nationalism with concern for the interests of people everywhere; recognizes that the needs of any people are inseparably linked with the needs of all other peoples, and accentuates cooperative, harmonious, and peaceful possibilities in relations among different peoples, cultures, economies, and governments;

[Commentary: *Interdependence — the inseparable linking with other peoples — does not require that each part become completely like the other parts. Each group or nation has its own traditions, roots, and unique evolution. Currently, we are trying to “consumerize” the world, acting as if everyone in the world naturally desires the unbalanced pattern of our materialistic culture. This is reducing global cultural diversity. We must search for our own special destiny, and to understand what we can best give to the emerging world community, so that interdependence can be a “unity of diversity” rather than monotonous uniformity.*]

2. *Disarmament* — to reduce drastically the level of armaments, particularly weapons of mass destruction, toward the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international inspection and control;

3. *Promoting International Law* — to increase the support for and use of international law regarding the settlement of disputes, crimes against humanity, and violations of human rights, in relations among nations and in activities of transnational corporations and other international actors;

4. *Promoting Human Rights* — to work for the extension of human rights throughout the world, and to make the United States a shining example of a nation where human rights are honored and protected;

5. *Promoting Liberty* — to protect and advance the liberty of the people of the United States and the other nations of the world, and their opportunity to advance toward their goals;

6. *Promoting National Self-Determination* — to promote the self-determination of all nations, and an end to political, cultural, and economic repression of the small and weak by the large and powerful;

7. *Economic Equity* — to work for the equitable participation of all peoples and nations in international economic relations, and

8. *Ecological Safeguards* — to develop national and international safeguards to protect the earth's biosphere and achieve a better ecological balance.

B. Self-Determination and Demilitarization

The danger of nuclear war — by design or miscalculation — has never been greater than it is today. National and world security is imperiled by the superpowers and the increased potential for terrorists to acquire nuclear bombs. Agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States have failed to halt the arms race, or the striving for a first-strike capability that would destroy the other side's ability to respond to a nuclear attack.

[*Commentary: With the appearance of several additional nuclear weapons states, the arms race will become still more complex and dangerous.*]

The New World Alliance therefore urges:

9. *U.S. Restraint in Intervention* — It should be the basic policy of the U.S. to refrain from intervention in the internal affairs of other peoples. Occasionally, however, moral imperative will justify action by many nations (e.g., to prevent acts of genocide). In such cases, the U.S. should be guided by the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and human rights. These actions should be undertaken in collaboration with members of the world community and, wherever possible, in a non-violent method which vigorously employs diplomatic, judicial, and economic incentives to resolve disputes and to re-establish human rights.

Arms Reduction Agreements

10. *Arms Reduction Agreements* — The United States should renew and press its efforts to achieve genuine nuclear arms reduction agreements, including a permanent nuclear test ban, timetables for reducing nuclear stockpiles, ending the production of fissionable materials for weapons, and terminating the basing, transit, and transfer of nuclear weapons to other countries, and effective methods for verifying the steps taken by all parties.

[*Commentary: Ratification of SALT II should urgently be sought to cool off the arms race and to retard the full resurgence of the Cold War, and to open up the possibility of SALT III in which substantial nuclear arms reductions could take place.*]

U.S. Initiatives To Facilitate Arms Reduction Agreements

11. *U.S. Initiatives To Facilitate Agreements* — In order to create an international climate where bilateral and multilateral agreements can be achieved, the United States should launch a series of independent initiatives as steps toward successful negotiations. The U.S. should challenge the Soviet Union to reciprocate, making clear to them that further steps on our part would require an adequate Soviet response. These steps could include: a freeze on nuclear weapons testing for 3 or 6 months; a freeze on deployment of one new strategic weapons system for a specific period of time; a small, percentage reduction in the U.S. military budget. All such independent steps should be followed by a waiting period until reciprocation is established. If no reciprocation follows, the U.S. should seek to use diplomatic, judicial, and economic sanctions and the weight of world opinion to induce a response.

[*Commentary: A percentage reduction in the U.S. military budget, as an initiative inviting reciprocation from the USSR, is likely to have zero or negative value, inasmuch as "defense" spending on both sides — particularly the Soviet — is spread across such a wide variety of budget categories. In addition, it is extremely difficult to assess Soviet military spending due both to the Soviet efforts to disperse and conceal it, and the problem of comparing rubles and dollars, each of which has no current relation to anything of intrinsic value.*]

“ . . . real threats to the security and liberty of peoples do exist. These threats require effective peacekeeping. . . ”

12. *U.S. Should Rely On Sea-Based Strategic Deterrent Systems* — During the transition to a more peaceful, lawful world, the United States should rely primarily on sea-based strategic deterrent systems. Land-based missiles and penetrating bombers should be phased out as they become obsolete, and not replaced, and all moves toward the land-based MX missile system should be abandoned.

Cease Export of Nuclear Materials

13. *Cease Export of Nuclear Materials* — The sale and shipment abroad of nuclear weapons plants, technology, and materials should be prohibited.

[Commentary: The spread of commercial nuclear reactors around the world is the main driving force for the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Nuclear power spreads the equipment, knowledge, and materials needed to make bomb materials. Worse, it is increasingly spreading the materials themselves for commerce and research. Worst of all, nuclear power has created a psychological and political situation that makes rapid proliferation inevitable. Because nuclear facilities are ambiguous and have military potential, actual or planned possession of them impels neighboring countries to get them, if only to 'keep their option open.' Once nuclear power 'opens the option', internal pressure from hawks or external threats can encourage next steps. Once official promotional groups or bureaucracies are spawned, they develop lives of their own, pushing for further steps.]

[By shortening the time between a decision to get bombs and actually getting them, nuclear power makes the decision to get bombs much easier, psychologically. Because commercial reactors can produce about 40 bombs' worth of nuclear materials per big LWR per year, as opposed to 1-3 bombs per year from small dedicated reactors, the ability to get a big pile of weapons quickly is likely to foster a misguided leader's delusions of grandeur, hence is

more likely to be used, will do more damage if used, and is more likely to drag the Big Powers in if used.]

[No fission technologies are truly proliferation-resistant; some are merely more difficult to abuse than others. Problems of non-adherence, freedom to withdraw, lack of sanctions, inadequacy of inspectors for their immense and growing task, ability of the inspected country to deceive the inspectors in myriad ways, safeguards confidentiality, freedom to do all sorts of weapons research and development short of actually assembling strategic materials into a bomb, etc., give no grounds for optimism about the potential adequacy of institutional safeguards. This problem will rapidly become much worse. The ensuing worldwide spread of nuclear weapons could not be prevented, would be irreversible, and would destroy the basis of our strategic deterrence policy.]

[The U.S. should 1) phase out its domestic nuclear power program and U.S. support of foreign nuclear power programs; 2) divert those resources to implementing and promoting renewable energy technologies and energy conservation, freely and unconditionally helping any other interested countries to do the same, and 3) treat control of nuclear power, proliferation and strategic arms reduction as a single

integrated problem not riven by an artificial civilian/military distinction. The object of these actions would be to foster an international psychological climate of denuclearization in which it comes to be socially unacceptable — perceived as a mark of national immaturity — to have or seek to have either reactors or bombs. For at least this moment in history, there is a reasonable chance that these three steps could lead the world away from the nuclear brink. Nuclear power still provides only a small fraction of total energy supply. Moreover, it is in serious economic trouble everywhere. Most important of all, formidable opposition is rapidly building. This opposition is based on many grounds in addition to proliferation dangers, and it is arising in all nuclear-exporting countries. It has been dramatically accelerated by the Three Mile Island incident. In this situation, an active renunciation of nuclear power is politically plausible in the U.S. and many other countries. The opportunity must be seized within the years just ahead, or it will be lost.]

[Commentary: Because nuclear fuel-cycle technology for nuclear power plants makes possible the extraction of materials for construction of nuclear bombs, all nuclear reprocessing plants should be international or regional in character. All nuclear power plants, including those of the U.S. and USSR should be subject to the strict safeguards and inspection system of the International Atomic Energy Agency, or to that of a regional agency such as OPANAL, set up under the Latin American Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty, to guard against diversion of nuclear materials.]

14. *Create More Nuclear-Free Zones* — Existing treaties on nuclear-free zones should be adhered to, and additional zones (in the Middle East, Indian Ocean, and elsewhere) should be created by agreement of the major powers.

Demilitarize Europe

15. *Demilitarize Europe* — Efforts should be renewed to reach agreement on the reduction of forces and weapons in central Europe, and to reduce or eliminate foreign bases of all parties. Reciprocal initiatives on troop, weapons, and base reductions should be encouraged and supported, such as a U.S. decision not to deploy additional strategic weapons in Europe for a specified period.

[*Commentary: On the Soviet side, an appropriate initiative would be freezing deployment of SS-20 missiles.*]

16. *Ban Chemical Weapons* — The U.S. should work towards the signing of an international treaty banning lethal chemical weapons and providing comprehensive inspection measures. Meanwhile, the U.S. should announce that it will steadily reduce its stockpiles of nerve gas and similar weapons.

17. *Non-Intervention* — The United States should press for an agreement with the Soviet Union and other states, based on the principle of non-intervention, to refrain from deploying armed forces into countries where they are not now situated, and to withdraw them from other countries according to an agreed-upon schedule. The U.S. should set an example by doing similarly in Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Micronesia, and Samoa. Both sets of measures depend upon building new security arrangements for the world.

Withdraw Uninvited Forces

18. *Withdraw Uninvited Forces* — Where the deployment of foreign armed forces within a country is opposed by the people of that country, as in Afghanistan, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Lebanon, those forces should be withdrawn in a phased process.

[*Commentary: It is unrealistic to call for withdrawal of troops from Eastern European countries or to expect that the United Nations would keep peace in Eastern Europe upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It is also not clear who is meant to withdraw from Lebanon: Israelis, PLO, or Syrians.*]



[*Commentary: The U.S. also has gained control over formerly independent peoples — Puerto Rico, Native American nations, Micronesia, etc. — through armed force, and it should submit any current claims for independence to an international body such as the World Court for adjudication.*]

. . . true national security flows from the moral strength of a nation's people and the protection and extension of their human rights. . . "

19. *An International Disarmament Organization* — In the nuclear age, nations are incapable of performing their traditional function of providing security for their peoples. The U.S. should support proposals for construction of an International Disarmament Organization of the United Nations to oversee present arms treaties and to assume responsibilities for implementing further and more important steps.

20. *Satellite Surveillance Agency* — The U.S. should also support the proposal originated in France and now under study at the United Nations, for establishment of an international Satellite Surveillance Agency, to report on compliance with existing treaties, on troop movements, weapons deployment and testing.

21. *U.S. Encouragement of Non-Governmental Peace Efforts* — The United States should take the lead in encouraging increased reliance upon the actions of people outside of their governments — the mobilization of moral force and collective non-violent action (such as boycotts and mediation missions) — to oppose interventions, to discourage cheating on international security agreements, and to negotiate delicate issues concerning hostages, political prisoners, and refugees.

22. *U.S. Support of International Law Enforced Through United Nations* — The United States should work actively to advance the rule of law among nations. It should scrupulously adhere to treaties and other international agreements to which it is a party. Because we know that law depends upon enforcement, U.S. policy should actively support reforming and strengthening the United Nations into an organization possessing the financial, political, and judicial capacity it needs.

23. *U.S. Support of United Nations Conciliation and Arbitration Commission* — Security depends not only on disarmament, but also on effective means for peaceful settlement of disputes and for peacekeeping. The major powers in particular have failed to support the adequate development of the United Nations in these areas. The U.S. should support the proposals for establishment of a United Nations conciliation and arbitration commission to assist in peaceful settlement of disputes. At present, the United Nations has no standing machinery for this task. In intractable disputes, the commission would become increasingly involved, and unless the parties could agree, would ultimately render binding decisions.

24. *International Court of Justice* — The United States should make full use of the International Court of Justice in settling legal disputes among nations. The Connally "self-judging" amendment to the U.S. domestic jurisdiction reservation should be repealed.

The Role of the United Nations

25. *U.S. Support of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* — Nations must feel secure to disarm. Only when a new international security system replaces the self-defeating arms race will disarmament become realistic. The United States should support proposals for the improvement and strengthening of United Nations peacekeeping operations, including:

- earmarking and training of national contingents for United Nations duty;
- standardization of training for such units;
- maintenance of a small, stand-by force available on short notice;
- improvement of the mandates of United Nations peacekeeping to provide for more adequate measures of self-defense and heavier armament;
- establishing the right of the United Nations to send observers to any point where danger of war threatens, without necessarily gaining agreement of the parties involved;
- establishing the right of the United Nations to send units to interpose between possible or actual combatants, when the peace of the world is threatened, without necessarily having the prior agreement of the disputants.

[Commentary: Throughout this section of the platform, great reliance is placed on the United Nations. This reliance is sadly misplaced. When one examines the policies and practices of the United Nation's 153 member-states in light of the ideals of the United Nations Charter, it is obvious that two-thirds or so of the member-states have no business being there. Whether the United States is one of those is at least arguable. Furthermore, there is real reason to question whether a world order built upon states — as distinguished from nations and peoples — offers anything more than an uneasy expedient. A decentralized world order comprised of thousands of national or bio-regional political entities offers a brighter hope of achieving New Age ideals. Such a vision, however, flies in the face of the organized state (and empire) system upon which the United Nations is founded. Finally, the financial mismanagement, institutionalized hypocrisy, and elitism of the whole United Nations operation ought to cause indignation among New Age people.]

Youth Programs and U.S. Military Manpower

26. *Youth Programs and Military Manpower* — Conscription, especially in peacetime, is an invasion of individual liberty. Yet the voluntary system presently used to recruit personnel is clearly unsatisfactory. To resolve this problem, we advocate a variety of service programs at local, state, national and international levels. These programs will be largely for youth, but will not exclude people of any age; they will include a variety of inducements (student loans, preference for employment) to encourage young men and women to volunteer for military, environmental, or social service. This array of opportunities for youth will address several problems simultaneously: 1) it will provide sufficient numbers to meet the needs of the military; 2) it will provide human resources to clean up and help to preserve the environment and for a variety of understaffed social agencies serving the young, the old, the poor, and the handicapped.

[Commentary: This "compromise" plank argues that both conscription and the "voluntary" system of recruiting defense personnel are unsatisfactory. Unfortunately, the remainder of the plank does not resolve the problem. If the proposed government youth service programs are not compulsory, they will meet the needs of the military only by offering the incentives which, if adopted now, would make the all-volunteer force workable. If

(continued on next page)

the youth service programs are compulsory — or if enlistment is stimulated by threatening youths with serious penalties for non-enlistment, then we are back to the police state and the GULAG mentality. This plank should read simply: "Conscription in any form is an invasion of individual liberty and an invitation to the further misuse of government power both at home and abroad. Such armed services personnel as may be necessary should be volunteers attracted by a combination of pay, perquisites, benefits, career opportunities, and patriotism."



[Commentary: At this moment in history, armies need to exist. A compulsory draft should be opposed, however, on moral grounds. We as citizens should dedicate ourselves to responsible service, not because we have to, but because we desire to. Opportunities for service should be provided locally, nationally, and internationally.]



[Commentary: The rights of when and how a person can be committed to military service should be established in an international convention.]

[Commentary: If the voluntary service plan cannot be made to work, then compulsory military service should be considered. Alternatively, insufficient enlistments may indicate a mandate from the people that war is not wanted, since not enough people are willing to fight.]



[Commentary: If the voluntary service plan cannot be made to work, then we should adopt programs which encourage retention and recruitment of the middle-aged, many of whom possess technical and organizational skills much in demand by today's military.]



[Commentary: Military training should emphasize the martial arts and discipline of the warrior, and the learning of inner spiritual discipline and wisdom. This direction would eradicate the orientation toward violence and power which the current military training often encourages.]



[Commentary: An all-volunteer army that is highly paid to learn the art of destruction is essentially a

mercenary force. It is not guided by the ethical considerations instilled by a basically democratic and heterogeneous body. It is, instead, a homogeneous body generally made up of the poorest segment of our population, with minorities making up a disproportionate percentage of total enlistments. This force is motivated by the pursuit of higher income, advancement in the ranks, and allegiance to command. As such, it is a threat to a free and democratic society.

[Every person in our society has a responsibility to serve his or her country. Therefore, compulsory national service, both military and civilian, is a justifiable alternative. All participants in such a national service program should receive basic military training, including training in non-violent means of defense. After training, they should move either to one year of civilian or military service. The composition of the military service section should be broadly representative of the national population with regard to sex, economic status, and race. Civilian service should include local, state, national, and global components. The long-range goal should be the development of an effective, multinational peacekeeping force.]

Redirection of Military Budget

27. *Redirection of Military Cost Savings* — Many of the above proposals would, if adopted, result in cost savings which should be devoted to useful projects for improving the human condition, specifically, to creating more jobs and educational opportunities, improving health care and nutrition at home and abroad, increasing assistance to the people of Third World countries, supporting United Nations collective security efforts, and to equitably reducing the burden of taxation.

[Commentary: Legislation should be enacted to permit war objectors to designate for peace research and humanitarian purposes the portion of their tax which would otherwise be used for military expenditure.]

28. *Autonomy of National Minority Groups* — The United States should support and urge other states to support advancement toward autonomy and self-determination by national minority groups throughout the world; but the manner and method of particular struggles for self-determination are for the peoples concerned to determine, and should not be the object of U.S. or other outside intervention.

29. *Autonomy for U.S. Holdings* — The United States should strive to set a good example to the world by advancing the cultural, economic, and political autonomy, where desired, of peoples under its jurisdiction (such as Puerto Ricans, Virgin Islanders, Samoans, Micronesians, etc.)

30. *World Council of Elders* — The United States should take the lead in creating and supporting a World Council of Elders, comprised of perhaps 25 persons from many nations and cultures, distinguished for their lifetime of dedication to humankind's highest ethical and spiritual ideals and willing to renounce allegiance to any government for the remainder of their lives. The members of this Council would be afforded free passage through all states party to the agreement, and would be expected to speak out to the peoples of the world on behalf of just and humane resolutions of pressing world conflicts.

C. A New International Economic Order

The New World Alliance believes that a new international economic order — the restructuring of international economic relations called for by most Third World countries — is in the long-term best interests of all the major powers, including the United States. U.S. policies regarding aid, investment, trade, and resource dependence need to be changed to promote self-reliance and balanced development in the Third World, assistance to those who need it most where they need it, greater equity in economic transactions between developed and developing nations and their businesses, and reduced U.S. dependence on Third World countries for energy, food, and labor. An international economic system based on fairness, universal access, and humane development can do much to redirect global politics away from exploitation and confrontation and toward a new era of cooperation for mutual benefit.

[*Commentary: While many aspects of the New International Economic Order need implementation, these changes would not, in themselves, lead to balanced development in the Third World. Furthermore, some of these proposals would benefit some developing nations and not others. U.S. policies in the economic justice area need to address the problem of equality within nations, as well as the problem of equality between nations.*]

Replace Foreign Aid With People-to-People Assistance

The New World Alliance therefore proposes that:

31. *Replace Foreign Aid With People-to-People Assistance* — U.S. bilateral aid programs to Third World states should be terminated in favor of non-governmental "people-to-people" assistance designed to benefit the poor, especially in their ability to achieve a dignified and self-sustaining life on their land. The amount of such aid should be one per cent of gross national product, an internationally-accepted target figure that other industrialized nations have already met. Citizens should be offered a substantial federal tax credit based on their voluntary contributions for the benefit of the needy people of other lands.

[*Commentary: U.S. aid and assistance to developing nations should be given through at least three routes: bilaterally, through multi-lateral agencies such as the United Nations, and in people-to-people transfers. The U.S. should allocate a greater percentage of its total transfers via United Nations agencies. Bilateral assistance programs should be designed to reach the most poor within recipient nations, and to facilitate these peoples' ability to develop self-reliance and to increase their productivity.*]

'New World' Assistance

32. "New World" Aid — Current tax privileges and investment guarantees for multinational corporations abroad should be terminated, except to encourage investment in small-scale technology that benefits the people themselves, rather than experts, bureaucrats, and middlemen. More productive labor-intensive agriculture and projects that aim to improve the economic and social status of women deserve special encouragement.

[Commentary: In addition, to further global economic justice:

- the U.S. should support participation of developing countries in the redesign of the international monetary system;
- the U.S. should join in providing

help in the form of concessional loans or outright grants to the least-developed countries.

- the U.S. should support developing countries in increasing manufacturing from their primary commodities so that these nations can realize the higher income from finished products and from in-

creased employment. This should be focused in diversification and application of appropriate small-scale and labor-intensive technologies;

- the U.S. should join other countries which have already forgiven old foreign-aid debts to relieve the weight of external debt servicing and repayment.]

Multinationals And The Third World

33. *Multinationals and the Third World* — The United States should work through the United Nations Centre on Multinational Corporations to negotiate agreements between the corporations and Third World countries that provide support for needed human services for workers and their communities, and which encourages profit sharing and indigenous ownership.

[Commentary: The U.S. should support the technical assistance program of the United Nations Centre on Multinational Corporations in negotiating agreements with the MNCs in order to realize terms which support needed human services and to encourage profit sharing.]

Remove Trade Barriers and Stabilize Prices

34. *Remove Trade Barriers and Stabilize Prices* — The United States, in support of increased equity in economic relations with the Third World, should seek to remove trade barriers on Third World manufactured goods, and stabilize primary product prices by international agreements.

[Commentary: The U.S. should take initiatives to support the goal of eliminating trade barriers in developed countries and to improve the terms of trade with developing nations. Such initiatives should be checked against internal progress within developing countries in making domestic adjustments which increase small farmer development and the well-being of the poorest 40%. If progress on these internal reforms is not forthcoming, the U.S. should slow or suspend these initiatives.]

35. *Greater U.S. Self-Sufficiency* — The United States, with 6% of the world's population, now consumes about 40% of the world's resources. The U.S. should aim to reduce steadily its reliance on foreign energy, raw materials, and food imports. Domestic energy policies in particular should be changed along with consumption patterns, thus reducing the vulnerability of the U.S. and pressure that it exploit Third World countries.

D. Social and Political Justice

The following policies are designed to promote human rights and end the U.S. role as one of the world's two major exporters of the means of repression — arms, police technology, and military training:

36. *A New Foreign Policy* — A new foreign policy based on non-intervention and concern for human rights should preclude U.S. association in any form with the oppressive internal security activities of other governments. United States military sales and assistance programs and actions of the Central Intelligence Agency, like those of the Soviet Union and other powers, have contributed to global insecurity and to the denial of basic freedoms of numerous people whose governments are allied to such major powers.

U.S. as Exemplar in Protecting Human Rights

37. *U.S. as Exemplar in Protecting Human Rights* — The United States should publicly pledge to the peoples of the world that it will renew its efforts to protect and extend the civil, political, economic, and social rights of its own people, as set forth in the United States Constitution, the Virginia Declaration of Rights, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The United States should further commit itself to an annual inspection and report on the progress made toward protecting and extending the human rights of its people by an impartial international panel composed of distinguished private citizens nominated by other countries which share our dedication to those rights.

[*Commentary: There is no need to publicly pledge to the world our commitment to renew domestic efforts in this area. It is sufficient for us to make genuine progress on domestic human rights.*]

Ratify UN Human Rights Covenants

38. *U.S. Ratification of United Nations Covenants* — The United States Senate should speedily ratify the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on Racial Discrimination. In addition, the U.S. should sign and ratify the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to enable individuals seeking redress to appeal over their own government to the Human Rights Committee established under the Covenant.

[*Commentary: The United Nations human rights covenants are an elaborate hypocritical fraud perpetrated by the governments of states, including our own, which have little or no serious interest in effectively promoting human rights. The covenants, among other things, obligate signing states to protect the liberty and security of the person; refrain from making unlawful arrests and detentions; provide humane treatment in prisons; guarantee emigration, and protect freedom of religion. The Soviet Union and all its allies promptly ratified the covenants seven years ago; nonetheless, these regimes scornfully continue to deny these and many other rights as if*

the covenants never existed.

[*To appease the totalitarian states, the covenants deliberately omit such basic rights as petitioning the government for redress, jury trials in criminal cases, and just compensation for state confiscation of property. In requesting Senate ratification, Jimmy Carter added no less than twenty reservations, declarations, understandings, and statements, including one denying the self-executing nature of the covenants. The whole thing has become an elaborate charade.*

[*Most governments, including our own, will not accept international*

obligations to protect and advance the human rights of their people. The whole exercise is, in my opinion, a fraud whose only practical result will be to occupy large numbers of lawyers, bureaucrats, and public relations experts in wholly meaningless exercises which will distract the American people from the real cause of human rights. The real New World approach should be that of item 39 of this section, which aims to make the United States a shining example of dedication to advancing the human rights of its people in a way that puts moral pressure on other countries to act in the same way.]

39. *U.S. and United Nations Human Rights Commission* — The United States should give strong support to the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. As U.S. representatives to the Commission, the President should appoint distinguished private citizens who will be free to speak and work for human rights independent of instruction from the U.S. government, so that American dedication to the cause of human rights cannot be diminished by transient political considerations. The President should urge this practice upon the leaders of other nations who are represented on the Commission on Human Rights.

40. *Human Rights Commissions in Other Nations* — The United States should also encourage other countries or regions to establish human rights commissions and other fact-finding or grievance panels; it should work to achieve strong compliance with the terms of the various human rights covenants.

41. *Covenant for Prosecuting National Leaders Who Violate Human Rights* — The United States should propose an international covenant for the prosecution of leaders of states, in peacetime or wartime, for crimes against humanity.

42. *Outlaw Aid To Human Rights Violators* — Legislation should be enacted to proscribe any credits, grants, sales, training, and other forms of aid to the internal security forces of nations which do not honor the civil rights protected in American law and in international declarations and covenants on human rights. The United States should terminate aid to regimes that engage in systematic violations of the social and political liberties of their people. U.S. representatives in multilateral financial institutions should be instructed to vote against aid to such violators.

43. *Reduce Covert CIA Operations* — Congress should retain and expand close oversight of U.S. intelligence activities, particularly CIA covert operations. Except in compelling circumstances that directly affect the nation's security, such operations should be terminated, leaving the CIA as primarily an intelligence-gathering and evaluating agency. Exceptions should continue to require a Presidential report to the appropriate committees of Congress.

44. *Reduce "National Security" Excuses for Denying Information* — Public access to presently classified records of the CIA and other executive agencies, both for personal and scholarly examination, should be maintained and broadened under the Freedom of Information Act. The burden of proof should be on the government agency that uses national security as the basis for denying material to persons who request it. Congress should require that the national security grounds be fully described, and should specify severe limits on those grounds (such as cases in which persons named in documents are still active in government service, and might be endangered if their names became known.)

45. *Deport Foreign Agents Disrespecting U.S. Rights* — Any foreign intelligence agent whose work interferes with the civil liberties of a U.S. citizen or resident foreign national should be immediately deported.

"A new foreign policy, based on non-intervention and concern for human rights, should preclude U.S. association with the oppressive internal security activities of other governments."

E. Worldwide Ecological Balance

Maintaining the delicate balance between the natural environment and material growth is an international problem of growing urgency. Its solution is intimately linked with successful transition to a new international economic order. The New World Alliance believes that the United States, as the wealthiest nation, the leading consumer of raw materials, and the leading exporter of advanced technology and chemical products, has a special responsibility to support and initiate dramatic action to forestall worldwide ecological disaster.

In addition to preventing the export of nuclear technology and commodities banned from use in the United States, and promoting private and public investment abroad in appropriate technology, the New World Alliance proposes:

46. *A Program To Protect the Biosphere* — A comprehensive program should be developed, incorporating the United Nations Environment Program and autonomous regional boards and independent organizations, to monitor, assess responsibility for, and formulate proposals concerning change in the biosphere. The work of these groups should identify shifts of weather patterns and the composition of the ionsphere; set standards for the curtailment of pollution; increase worldwide awareness of potential ecological disasters; and develop plans for protecting wildlife, rare plant and animal species, and whole land or sea areas jeopardized by development or resource extraction. The U.S. should support a system of penalties and sanctions for violators of accepted ecological standards and the establishment of regional and international bodies to hear and judge cases.

47. *U.S. Support of United Nations Code of Conduct for Multinationals* — The United States should support enactment of a United Nations Code of Conduct for Multinational Corporations in ecological matters, including effective provisions for monitoring compliance.

48. *U.S. Support of Law of the Sea Conference* — The United States should support the work of the Law of the Sea Conference and prepare the groundwork for ratification of the treaty expected to emerge from it. In particular, the U.S. should be sympathetic to the Third World's position on the extent of territorial waters and access to them, based on principles of equality, mutual benefit, and innocent passage. The idea of collecting royalties from deep-seabed mining operations for the benefit of the people of the developing nations should be pursued.

49. *U.S. Support of Effort to Reverse Global Deforestation* — The United States should work through the United Nations to mount an international effort to stop and reverse the ecologically-unsound deforestation of lands in all parts of the globe. The importation of forest products harvested by environment-destroying practices should be banned.

“The New World Alliance advocates major changes in U.S. foreign and military policies to bring our ‘national interest’ into line with the larger interests of the global community.”

New World Alliance Policies On
ECONOMICS and WELFARE

The overall goals of New World Alliance economic, taxation, welfare and finance policies are:

- 1. to encourage the development of a more scientific and holistic economic theory;**
- 2. to replace concentrated economic power with widely-dispersed power;**
- 3. to preserve, protect, and promote the widespread distribution of genuine private property ownership in its many forms, where owners accept personal responsibility;**
- 4. to reduce centralized control of the economy;**
- 5. to end inflation and restore a sound currency;**
- 6. to remove tax-induced disincentives to capital mobility and economic efficiency;**
- 7. to alter the economic framework through a broadly participative national planning process;**
- 8. to assure full access to essential information by all economic actors;**
- 9. to urge social and economic "revitalization" rather than "reindustrialization";**
- 10. to provide effective and dignified public assistance to those unable to provide for themselves;**
- 11. to decentralize administration of welfare to local communities adhering to acceptable standards.**

A. Overall Policy Goals

The overall goals of specific New World Alliance economic, taxation, welfare and finance policies are:

1. *A More Scientific Economic Theory* — to encourage the development of a more scientific and holistic economic theory, based on a reappraisal of the most fundamental concepts and assumptions of contemporary economics. This would include views of human needs, motivations, and potentials; physical, biological, psychological, and social constraints on economic activity; economies and dis-economies (or negative by-products) of technologies and organizations (especially those of large size); the definitions of "output", "productivity", and "efficiency"; the relationship of "wealth" and "money"; the role of informal economies (household production, voluntary work, and non-cash transactions and capital formation); and the full range of determinants of "quality of life" and "quality of work life".

[Commentary: The basic plank of the platform should be a commitment to ending the separation of for-profit and non-profit activities by different organizations, and making a commitment to the creation of organizations that do both and which are structured cooperatively as worker- and consumer-owned-and-operated businesses, such as the Mondragon Cooperatives in Spain.]

Dispersion of Economic Power

2. *Dispersion of Economic Power* — to replace concentrated economic power with widely dispersed power, exercised by individuals, cooperatives, worker-owned-and-operated businesses, community-based trusts, and corporations operating without subsidy, privilege, or protection. A framework of economic rules and incentives should be created which will effectively discourage continued corporate and financial giantism and concentration, while encouraging the small- and medium-sized independent enterprise, including employee- and community-owned businesses with broad participation in their planning and decision-making processes;

[Commentary: Economics within the current epoch is the controlling metaphor. It has become the be-all and end-all of human aspirations of those who have and those who don't. These have so clouded human preoccupations that wants have been created, and true needs bypassed.

[The new era which is emerging is the era of a reversal of metaphor — so that economics no longer controls, but rather it, like all the tools of humans, meet needs, not wants.

[Economics becomes a vehicle of energy — redirect our work on this planet and in this nation. We now can produce any thing we desire; can we produce what we desire — a meaningful life where our full existence has meaning?

[What suggestions there are must meet this challenge, and not just the symptomatic relief of our current way.]

3. *Promote Private Property Ownership* — to preserve, protect, and promote the widespread distribution of genuine private property ownership in its many forms, where owners accept personal moral responsibility, and where the costs of productive use of property are internalized to the owners;

4. *A Genuine Free Market* — to reduce centralized control of the economy, whether by government, corporations, labor or finance capital; in particular, to end price fixing and cartel behavior regardless of its origins;

5. *A Sound Currency and No Inflation* — to end inflation and restore a sound currency, indispensable for honest labor, investment, and enterprise;

6. *Capital Mobility for Human Well-being* — to remove tax-induced disincentives to capital mobility and economic efficiency that serve to promote human well-being;

Participatory National Planning

7. *Participatory National Planning* — to assure that the economic framework be altered not at the behest of narrow private interests or self-serving bureaucracies, but through a broadly-participative national planning process which ensures that the future direction of the economy and society are congenial to the large majority of its citizens. Within this broadly-planned framework of anticipatory democracy, individuals and groups of individuals should have freedom to pursue their goals, to compete and cooperate, to create and produce;

[Commentary: *This plank moves a long way toward embracing the idea of economic planning by a central government. In any society, government establishes a framework in which economic activity is carried on, a framework built of legal rules, modes of taxation, public infrastructure investments, international trade regulations, and government spending choices. The shape of this framework has had, and will always have, much to do with the nature of the economy and it should therefore be a matter of broad public concern.*

8. *Improve Economic Information* — to insure that accurate and objective information about resources, technology, institutions, and markets is available for economic decision-making. The collection, production, and dissemination of such information should be an element of the nation's public infrastructure, to assure full access to essential information by all economic actors;

9. *Replace "Reindustrialization" With A Broader Focused Concept* — to replace the narrowly-conceived concept of "reindustrialization" with a broader concept of social and economic "revitalization. Whether reindustrialization is defined as new business/government partnership, or as government support of selected industries so as to improve competitiveness, there is a need for a shift of emphasis to appropriate technology, material frugality, human growth, and "quality of life" as broadly defined.

10. *Effective and Dignified Public Assistance* — to provide effective and dignified public assistance to those unable to provide for themselves through their own efforts;

11. *Decentralize Administration of Welfare* — to decentralize administration of welfare to local communities, adhering to nationally-acceptable standards of support for the needy.

"The economic framework should not be altered at the behest of narrow interests, but through broadly participative planning."

B. Fiscal Policy

Balanced Budgets

12. *Balanced Budgets* — A government which continually goes into debt to pay for its programs not only produces serious problems for the nation's economy, but also erodes the moral compact upon which democratic government is based. As a general principle, governmental revenues and expenditures should not only be in balance over a reasonable accounting period, but a surplus should be accumulated gradually to retire prior debt. This prescription applies particularly to the federal government, which has the power to finance its budget deficits through the creation of fiat money.

[*Commentary: General revenue sharing, the transfer of funds from a deficit-ridden federal government to state and local governments whose budgets are collectively in balance, is economically unsound and politically irresponsible and should be repealed.*]



[*Commentary: The present Treasury draw authority, which allows the direct sale of Treasury securities to the Federal Reserve system and thus the instant creation of new money, should be strictly limited to \$5-billion.*]

13. *Consider Limit To Federal Expenditures* — While some governmental spending is necessary to meet legitimate human needs, there is a point at which government claims on the fruits of labor and enterprise become a serious depressing factor on economic activity. Congress should seriously consider a limit on the fraction of national income that the federal government can claim, absent war or a serious national emergency.

14. *Consider Limit To State Expenditure* — Similarly, taxation limits should be considered at the state level, but any such limit should be designed to promote the decentralization of power to the local communities, and should be contingent upon the development of new, community-based systems for meeting the basic human needs of those who are unable to provide a decent living for themselves through their own efforts.

15. *Allow Large Companies To Fail* — Innovation and qualitative growth in an economy depend on the taking of risk in expectation of reward. A system which allows private risk-takers to enjoy their successes while the public is expected to absorb the costs of their failure is both inequitable and economically inefficient. Large enterprises which fail must be allowed to go bankrupt, so that their assets may be acquired and put to use by more capable entrepreneurs. Government bailouts of Lockheed, General Dynamics, and Chrysler should not be repeated. It is essential, however, that the federal government provide safety-net assistance (e.g., grants or loans) to distressed communities, facilitating the transition to a new economic arrangement. Contingency plans should be developed to meet a variety of crises.

16. *Federal Reserve System Audit* — Congress should require a complete, independent audit of the Federal Reserve System, including its precious metals stocks.

17. *Repeal Legal Tender Acts* — The legal tender acts (which require creditors to accept government paper money in satisfaction of all debts) should be repealed with respect to future private transactions, permitting citizens to make whatever arrangements for the settling of debts they find mutually agreeable.

18. *Federal Reserve Only As Lender of Last Resort* — The Federal Reserve System should rely upon its discount rate to govern the supply of Federal Reserve credit in existence. It should set that rate at a level high enough to prevent arbitrage by borrowing banks. Its role should be only that of a lender of last resort to the banking system, as originally intended.

Foreign Operations of U.S. Banks

19. *Foreign Operations of U.S. Banks* — The Federal Reserve System should impose a respectable reserve requirement (assets held as a reserve against outstanding loans) on the foreign operations of United States banks and their subsidiaries, and should require banks engaged in foreign lending to make detailed annual reports of loans in force.

[*Commentary: Imposition of a reserve requirement on the foreign operations of U.S. banks would put U.S. banks at a disadvantage in foreign lending. Furthermore, it would not necessarily prevent bad loans. Therefore, while we support banks making annual reports of loans in force, the foreign reserve requirement should not be supported.*]

20. *Consider Link Between Money Supply and Bank Reserve Ratio* — Congress should give serious consideration to making an automatic linkage between incremental increases in the money supply and bank reserve ratios.

Financing Federal Deficits

21. *Financing Federal Deficits* — whenever the nation's monetary base increases more than one per cent in any quarter, the authority of the Federal Reserve System to make open market purchases of federal debt, except to refinance outstanding issues or to act as agent for the Treasury in retiring those issues, should be suspended. If the federal government finds it necessary to finance a deficit, it should be required to do so by offering its securities directly to the public, at a yield reflecting the public's assessment of the government's future fiscal responsibility.

[*Commentary: Sound, stable money is essential to the preservation of a free, productive economy. The mere promise of a government to pay its debts in the future is not sufficient backing for sound money. The United States should return to a monetary standard where the currency is convertible to something of real economic value. While gold has traditionally served this purpose, serious consideration should be given to shares in a market basket of basic commodities, or other alternatives, as the basis for a sound currency.*]

22. *Disclosure Requirements for Federal Securities* — All securities issued by the Treasury or federal agencies should be subjected to the same disclosure requirements imposed upon private securities by the Securities Exchange Commission. This should include the filing of an accrual-basis accounting statement showing all unfunded liabilities and future entitlements, all debt guarantees, and a realistic assessment of major pending litigation. The facts revealed in this prospectus should be taken into account by investment and trust officers in meeting their responsibilities under the "prudent man" rule.

23. *Encouraging Bank Competition* — Banking laws should be amended to encourage competition among banks and other capital intermediaries, i.e., phasing our Regulation Q, restrictions against bank holding companies, and limitations on the powers of mutual savings banks, community credit unions, and savings-and-loan associations.

24. *Divest Trust Departments From Commercial Banks* — Congress and the states should require commercial banks to divest their trust departments over time, to prevent the suspicion of the shifting of risk from bank shareholders to trust beneficiaries.

25. *Freeze Deposit-Insurance Ceilings* — Existing deposit-insurance ceilings should be frozen and premiums should be adjusted to generate realistic reserves for FDIC and FSLIC.

26. *Support The National Consumer Cooperative Bank* — The National Consumer Cooperative Bank, with its provisions for cooperative acquisition of its stock over time, is a responsibly-designed financial institution which deserves support. Its lending operations and the associated technical assistance functions should be kept separate for accounting purposes.

C. Governmental Regulations

27. *More Deregulation of Transport and Communications* — The success of air cargo and air passenger deregulation should serve as a useful model for the phased deregulation of the trucking, railroad, maritime, and telecommunications industries.

28. *Review Regulation of Health and Safety* — Government over-regulation of health and safety matters has led to enormous costs to the consumer in terms of dollars and foregone advantages. The present statutes governing activities of OSHA, FDA, CPSA, and MESA should be critically reviewed in search of more effective and beneficial alternatives. Restructuring private insurance programs to impose the full costs of unsafe working conditions and harmful products on the producers offers a promising alternative. Industries which have caused injury to workers and the public must be held strictly accountable for just restitution.

[*Commentary: Government regulation of economic activity has proven to be an excuse for the creation of cartels which limit entry, engage in collusive rate-setting and price maintenance, and rob the consumer of billions of dollars annually.*]

Replace Mandatory Licensing With Voluntary Certification

29. *Replace Mandatory Licensing With Voluntary Certification* — Mandatory occupational and professional licensing has too often been a scheme to limit entry and maintain profits for a privileged few. In most cases, such licensing should be converted to voluntary certification, but only when full information to prospective consumers can be provided.

[Commentary: While mandatory licensing has indeed had negative consequences in several areas, we believe a voluntary certification scheme even with full information provided to consumers does not adequately protect consumers from harm. The provision of information assumes that all Americans will be in a position to understand fully their options, but in the current situation, such a system would discriminate against many Americans. We believe some controls are needed in this area.]

30. *Prohibit Price Controls* — Except in the special case of unavoidable monopolies, and as temporary transition strategy toward a just economic order, all governmental and private-sector price controls should be abolished, leaving prices to be set in a free competitive marketplace.

31. *Apply Antitrust Measures* — Antitrust measures against restraint of trade through collusion, price fixing, bid rigging, tying contracts, etc., should be vigorously prosecuted.

Revise Patent Policy

32. *Revise Patent Policy* — Patent policy should move further in the direction of mandatory licensing, especially for patents held out of use or by corporations with \$50-million or more in annual sales. Where government investment in research and development results in patents, the government should receive royalties until the public investment is recovered.

[Commentary: This plank appears to contradict the spirit of #15, which states that innovation and qualitative growth in an economy depend on the taking of risk in expectation of reward. We recognize that there are abuses of patent law, but believe this plank would not necessarily end that abuse and further expect that it would unfairly penalize the creative productivity of smaller corporations.]

33. *Promote Free Trade* — Free Trade is a major stimulus to competition and a deterrent to monopolistic behavior. Tariff, quota barriers, anti-dumping and trigger price schemes should be kept to the lowest possible level.

34. *Repeal Laws Against Price Advertising* — Laws forbidding the advertising of prices are anti-competitive at the expense of the consumer and should be repealed.

35. *Employment Retirement Provisions* — The Employee Retirement Investment Security Act (ERISA) should be considerably simplified and amended so as to encourage investment in smaller businesses. Employee pension and profit-sharing plans should be encouraged, and earlier vesting, increased portability, and the use of equity as loan collateral should be permitted. Keogh and IRA plans should be broadened and the contributions ceilings raised.

36. *Incorporation of Small Economic Entities* — States should allow extended families, producer-consumer cooperatives, communes, group homes, and other small-scale organizations to incorporate as legal economic entities; to manage their own retirement and health benefit plans; and to transfer wealth over generations. This would encourage small social organizations to take responsibility for their own welfare rather than becoming dependent on government, union, or corporate support.

37. *Securities and Venture Capital* — The Securities Exchange Act should be amended to permit companies to offer limited amounts of letter stock to a large number of investors regardless of sophistication, provided the nature of the offering is made clear. The Venture Capital Investment Act (S.1940, 1979), which relaxes SEC requirements for venture capital funds, should be enacted. The SEC limit for the less-complicated "Regulation A" stock offering should be increased to at least \$3-million.

D. Corporate Taxation

The separate tax on corporate profits leads to a host of unfortunate economic results. It is regressive as to corporate source income, violating the principle of vertical equity. Coupled with the present deductibility of interest on corporate debt, the corporate income tax encourages over-reliance on debt instead of equity, thus giving financial institutions excessive control over industry. The corporate profits tax also leads to economic inefficiency by shifting capital to the noncorporate sector.

Perhaps worst of all, the present non-integrated corporate income tax discourages capital mobility and tends to make cash-rich corporations into investment trusts and conglomerates. For higher-income shareholders, it is more advantageous to have the corporation retain and reinvest the earnings than to have those earnings paid out and subjected to the tax on dividends at the individual level. When profits are ultimately taken, they are taken in the form of capital gains, 60% of which are excluded from ordinary income. If the shares are held until death, no tax need be paid on the accrued capital gains until such time as the heirs decide to sell. Corporate managers — who are rarely corporate owners — prefer a tax system which minimizes the shareholder pressure for dividends, and allows them maximum latitude to reinvest the earnings in ways which will increase their own power and compensation.

“ . . . encourage families, cooperatives, communes, etc., to take responsibility for their own welfare rather than becoming dependent on government, union, or corporations.”

38. *Integrate Corporate and Individual Income Tax* — To remedy these shortcomings, full integration of corporate and individual income taxes should be effected as rapidly as possible. The most attractive plan is one similar to that of the Carter Commission (Canada, 1966). It would have these characteristics:

- a) corporate earnings would be allocated to shareholders, even if not actually distributed as dividends;
- b) shareholders would be required to include their allocated share of earnings in their individual taxable incomes;
- c) the corporation would withhold and pay to the IRS on the order of 40% of net profits. This payment would be allocated to shareholders along with earnings and they would claim credit for it when filing their individual returns. This credit would be refundable if it exceeded the shareholder's tax liability;
- d) the maximum individual tax rate would be reduced from the present 70% to no more than 50%;
- e) the cost basis of corporate shares would be adjusted upward by the amount of taxable allocations. This is necessary since capital gains due to retained profits are being taxed on an accrual basis even if not realized;
- f) since under this plan non-profit shareholders such as foundations, endowments, etc., would otherwise receive an enormous tax benefit, they would be subject to a special replacement tax on their corporate source income.

39. *Revise Capital Gains Taxation* — The present special privileges for taxing capital gains would be drastically revised along the following lines:

- a) only real capital gains would be subjected to tax;
- b) a full offset against capital losses would be allowed;
- c) liberal averaging provisions would be available to persons with extraordinary capital gains realization in a single tax year;
- d) an individual could claim a \$100,000 lifetime exclusion from capital-gains tax liability (in addition to the section 121 exclusion of gain from sale of a residence by a person over 55);
- e) all capital gains, thus calculated, would be subject to tax at ordinary individual rates.

40. *Restrict Tax-Free Merger Privilege* — The existing tax-free merger privilege should be severely restricted to limit continued acquisitions by corporate giants.

41. *Phase Out Various Corporate Deductions* — The investment tax credit, foreign tax credit, intangible drilling deduction for producing wells, percentage depletion in excess of cost (DISC), and deductibility of interest on corporate debt used for acquisitions should be phased out.

“ . . . remove tax-induced disincentives to capital mobility and economic efficiency that serve to promote human well-being.”

42. *Reinstate Carryover Basis Rule* — The carryover basis rule should be reinstated, with appropriate modification to relieve the special problems of family farms and small businesses.

43. *Encourage Employee-Owned Companies* — Corporations should be offered an attractive sustained-profitability tax credit based on the profitability of divisions or components spun off as independent companies. A bonus credit should be allowed when the divested company is employee-owned.

44. *Depreciation According To True Economic Life* — Accelerated depreciation of assets (other than housing) and the Asset Depreciation Range should be replaced by indexed straight line or replacement cost depreciation, whichever is less; however, the concept of true economic life should not be replaced with arbitrary conventions.

45. *Individual Enterprise Accounts* — Individuals and households should be allowed to create Individual Enterprise Accounts with these characteristics:

- a) any amount of post-tax capital could be assigned to the account;
- b) the IEA could invest only in equity shares of qualified domestic corporations which are not subject to the SEC proxy rules, not listed on a major stock exchange, not engaged in substantial foreign operations or the sale of securities or the sale of undeveloped land;
- c) all earnings of the IEA — dividends, capital gains, or asset distributions — would not be taxed so long as they were retained in the IEA and rolled over by reinvestment in other qualifying equity shares;
- d) losses on investment net of gains would not be available to offset the taxable income of the creator outside the IEA (except as provided under section 1244, with respect to qualified small business stock);
- e) the IEA creator would be allowed to withdraw \$100,000 in net capital gains, in addition to all invested capital, out of the IEA tax-free over his lifetime, and any further withdrawals would be taxed at ordinary income rates.

E. Personal Income Tax and Other Tax Matters

46. *Allow Company Donations of Stock to Employees* — Pending enactment of the integrated income tax, companies should be allowed to make donations of stock to employees on a non-discriminatory basis, and to deduct dividends payable on such stock so long as it is held by an employee.

47. *Independent Contractor Tax Status* — “Safe Harbor” legislation clarifying and protecting the tax status of the independent contractor should be enacted.

48. *Simplify Individual Income Tax* — Serious consideration should be given to a “simpliform” individual income tax, where modestly graduated rates ranging from 10% to 40% are applied to all net economic income of a taxpayer, less a generous subsistence and dependence exemption. Under such a plan, all transfer payments would be included as income and all present tax preferences and exclusions would be eliminated.

49. *End Tax Exemption of State and Local Bonds* — The use of tax-exempt securities by state and local governments to finance a wide range of commercial projects should be terminated.

50. *Reject Value-Added Tax* — The Value-Added Tax (VAT) is a regressive hidden tax imposed on consumption which affords numerous opportunities for creating special privilege through the manipulation of rate schedules and exemptions. It should be rejected.

51. *Revise Estate and Gift Tax* — The present estate and gift tax should be revised to impose a tax, not on the estate, but on the individual bequests or gifts, graduated in accordance with the lifetime receipts of the beneficiary.

52. *Encourage Employee Stock Ownership* — Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) and their variations should be encouraged. All government grants and loans for economic development should be structured to the maximum feasible extent to expand employee or consumer ownership of the new wealth created.

53. *Continue Tax-Free Cooperative Patronage Refunds* — Refunds which patrons of cooperatives receive should continue to be treated as tax-free rebates and not as taxable dividends.

54. *Encourage Community Development Corporations* — Community development corporations, where members have a real economic stake in performance and an effective voice in decision making, should be encouraged by the type of tax and financial provisions contained in the Community Corporation Act of 1971.

55. *Revise Tax Provisions for Communes and Co-ops* — Support should be given to a revision of the tax code which would more adequately deal with the special circumstances of intentional communities and consumer and worker cooperatives.

F. Welfare

Efforts to “reform” the welfare system at the federal level have invariably failed because no system can simultaneously:

- provide a politically-acceptable national benefit level;
- impose a low rate of “tax” on beneficiaries as their incomes rise, and welfare payments diminish, and also
- limit taxpayer costs to an affordable amount.

In addition, recently completed national experiments conclude that guaranteed annual income plans have a strongly negative impact on the recipient’s willingness to seek gainful employment. It thus seems unlikely that any large-scale national “welfare reform” plan will do any more than increase cost and bureaucracy, while failing to integrate the poor into a true human community at the local level.

“ . . . decentralize welfare responsibilities and the resources to meet them to the states and localities, while encouraging diverse approaches to helping the poor find work if they are able to work, or dignity if they are not.”

56. *State and Local Government Experimentation* — An alternative approach would decentralize welfare responsibilities and the resources to meet them to the states and localities, while encouraging diverse approaches to helping the poor find work if they are able to work, or dignity if they are not. Freed of the federal straitjacket, states and local governments would begin to experiment with new ideas, and share the results of those experiments with others.

57. *Experiment With Community-Based Welfare System* — Illustrative of a promising idea for welfare reform — though not necessarily the most widely applicable — is the community-based welfare system. This system is based on re-integrating each needy human being into a genuine human community where he or she can make a meaningful contribution proportional to ability. It aims to give the needy a real opportunity to achieve identity and self-respect, as well as a decent standard of living; to strengthen the ethic of contribution in return for reward; to create new service and income opportunities; to eliminate the uncaring hand of the welfare bureaucracy, and to produce a stronger human community in which each citizen can feel he or she has a place.

57a. Under the plan, similar to the Massachusetts Self-Start Job Program and the National Supported Work Demonstration, local Community Improvement Corporations (CICs) would be created by local organizations. The CICs would contract with the state welfare agency to provide welfare and social services to the needy who choose to participate, and purchase the needed services from public or private contractors.

57b. Each participant would be employed by the CIC at a salary equal to his or her lawful welfare entitlement. From the beginning, the principle would be established that child-rearing and caring for the sick and elderly are highly-valued types of work. Other work would include neighborhood improvement, block club organization, tutoring programs, crime prevention programs, community gardens, and energy auditing.

57c. In addition to these public service contributions, CIC members would be eligible to work at only a differential pay rate in community businesses and agencies, subject to some maximum income limitations and provisions to prevent displacement of more productive workers.

58. *Convert AFDC Into Block Grant Program* — The Family Welfare Improvement Act, co-sponsored by senators of both parties in 1979, would convert the present federal Aid To Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) program into a block grant program, eliminating present federal restrictions on experimentation. It should be enacted.

“ . . . re-integrate each needy human being into a genuine human community where he or she can make a meaningful contribution proportional to ability.”

New World Alliance Policies On

ENERGY

The overall goals of New World Alliance energy policies are:

- 1. to transform our present low-efficiency, resource-depleting society into a new high-efficiency, energy-conserving society, based increasingly on renewable resources;**
- 2. to encourage a better understanding of the ecological, economic, political, and social implications of our present energy dependency;**
- 3. to eliminate the U.S. dependence upon energy resources located in politically-unstable areas of the world;**
- 4. to encourage citizen and community initiative in finding solutions to energy needs which rely primarily upon local energy production and consumption;**
- 5. to rely upon true pricing of resources and energy, and the free choice of consumers to produce the essential transition to a high-efficiency renewable-energy society;**
- 6. to remove present subsidies and special privileges enjoyed by the fossil-fuel and nuclear-energy industries and centralized utilities;**
- 7. to provide adequate financial assistance to lower- and middle-income consumers to help them to adapt to changing energy costs;**
- 8. to promote mobility of investment capital so that new energy techniques can secure financing.**

A. Overall Energy Goals

The overall goals of New World Alliance energy policies are:

1. *An Efficient and Conserving Society Using Renewable Resources* — To transform our present low-efficiency, resource-depleting society into a new high-efficiency, energy-conserving society, based increasingly on renewable resources;
2. *Improve Citizen Understanding of Energy Transition* — to encourage a better understanding among the citizens of this country with respect to the ecological, economic, political, and social implications of our present energy dependency and the means by which it is now being satisfied;
3. *End U.S. Energy Dependence* — to rapidly reduce and eventually eliminate the United States' dependence upon energy resources located in politically-unstable areas of the world, which threatens to involve the U.S. in political intrigue and military confrontations;
4. *Stimulate Local Initiative* — to encourage citizen and community initiative in finding solutions to energy needs which rely primarily upon local energy production and consumption, intelligent conservation, and reliance upon local business;
5. *Stress True Pricing and Free Choice* — to rely upon true pricing of resources and energy, and the free choice of consumers to produce the essential transition to a high-efficiency renewable-energy society. An important means to this end is to remove present subsidies and special privileges enjoyed by the fossil-fuel and nuclear-energy industries and centralized utilities so that all energy supply and conservation technologies will have a fair chance to prevail in the energy marketplace;
6. *Help Those Unable To Pay For Energy* — to provide adequate financial assistance to lower- and middle-income consumers to help them adapt to changing energy costs over a reasonable period of time;
7. *Capital for Energy Innovation* — to promote mobility of investment capital, so that new energy techniques and products can secure adequate financing without being taken over by large corporations.

[Commentary: Even more emphasis should be placed on increasing efficiency of energy use. Several recent studies support the conclusion that technical improvements alone can double the efficiency of energy use by 2000 and can triple or quadruple efficiency by 2025. This means that over the next 50 years, energy efficiency can contribute more to the production of goods and services than can any supply technologies. Energy efficiency is also cheaper, faster, safer, gentler on the environment, and better for jobs and the economy. Lifestyle changes can also contribute to energy conservation. Short-run lifestyle changes include activities like more car-pooling, better planning of errands to minimize unnecessary trips, and more home gardening. In the long run, changes like decentralizing agricultural production, designing more efficient settlement patterns, and substituting communications for travel can have a large impact on energy use.]

“ . . . transform our present low-efficiency resource-depleting society into a new high-efficiency energy-conserving society based increasingly on renewable resources.”

B. General Energy Policy

8. *Phase Out Energy Price Controls* — The Federal government should phase out controls which maintain energy prices at artificially-low levels. Such policies encourage consumption instead of conservation, inhibit the search for, and utilization of, new renewable-energy technologies, and perpetuate our dependence upon non-renewable fossil and nuclear fuels.

9. *Phase Out Nonrenewable Fuels Subsidy* — At the same time, existing subsidies for the nonrenewable fuels production should be phased out. These include percentage depletion, the foreign tax credit, deduction of intangible drilling expenses, investment tax credit, and accelerated depreciation.

10. *Make Nuclear Electrical Rates Reflect True Costs* — Nuclear energy rates should at the outset reflect the full cost of fuel-cycle services, waste handling, plant decommissioning, and federal research and development directly applicable to nuclear-energy production. The Price-Anderson Act, which limits the financial liability of industry for nuclear accidents, should be repealed.

11. *Marginal Cost Pricing By Utilities* — States should require electric utilities to eliminate volume discounts and adopt marginal cost pricing, so that increased use results in higher cost to the user.

12. *Pollution Taxes* — The environmental costs of the extraction and combustion of the various kinds of fuels should be calculated, and taxes should be enacted on producers and users sufficient to cover these costs.

13. *Energy-Relevant Tax Reforms* — To encourage the development of new, independent companies to meet energy needs, the federal government should radically increase the mobility of investment capital away from large corporations and toward the new companies by integrating the corporate and individual income taxes, creating individual enterprise accounts to spur investment in independent businesses, and reforming the capital gains exclusion, as recommended in the economic policy section of this platform.

14. *New Criteria For Central Power Plants* — States should require utilities to demonstrate that they have exhausted all economically-competitive conservation and renewable energy alternatives prior to construction of any new central station power plants.

15. *Residential Energy Improvements Financed By Utilities* — Utilities should be allowed to finance energy conservation improvements and residential solar systems on the same basis as they now finance new power plants, but installation should be done by small businesses instead of by the utility.

16. *Energy Price Relief Program* — Congress should enact a ten-year energy price-relief program to assist lower- and middle-income consumers in meeting the rising costs of energy during the transition period. The program should consist of a combination of direct price relief and assistance in improving personal conservation measures. Through weatherization programs, attention should be given to indoor environmental air quality.

17. *Review Federal Policies For Conservation Effectiveness* — The President should initiate a Domestic Policy Review on conservation to identify and remove federal-level institutional barriers to energy conservation, and to evaluate the effectiveness of existing and proposed research and development, regulatory, informational, and incentive programs for the promotion of energy conservation.

17a. *Government as Exemplar in Conservation and Renewable Energy* — The federal government should strive to set an excellent example in conservation and utilization of renewable energy sources. Government energy budgets should aim for a 30% improvement by 1985, with a 60% improvement for new buildings. Exemplary miles-per-gallon standards should be established for government vehicle fleets. Parking subsidies for government employees should be terminated. A "highest feasible efficiency" criterion should be used for government purchases of energy-consuming equipment. Government purchases of solar, photovoltaic, alcohol, and other renewable energy systems should be increased.

18. *Voluntary Certification of Energy Auditors* — The Department of Energy should, in cooperation with the states, develop a voluntary proficiency certification program for residential and commercial energy auditors, working in cooperation with colleges, schools, utilities, and small businesses. Energy auditors should not, however, be restrictively licensed.

19. *Expand R&D in Conservation and Renewable Energy* — The federal government should expand its research and development programs to develop cost-effective combinations of conservation and renewable energy techniques, and make the information readily available to the public. Special attention should be given to decentralized systems suitable for widespread use.

20. *Vehicle Fuel Efficiency* — The mandatory automobile fuel-economy standards should be increased to a fleet average of 40 mpg by 1995. State vehicle license fees should be varied according to the energy efficiency of the vehicle.

21. *Security For Small Conservation Loans* — The Federal Home Loan Banks should develop a conservation loan security to encourage local lending institutions to make small conservation loans. The Treasury should underwrite repayment of such securities, and in turn, collect payments through income-tax surcharges.

22. *End Funding for Fast-Breeder Reactor Development* — Government funding for fast-breeder reactor development should be terminated.

23. *Proceed Cautiously With Fusion Power* — Research on fusion should be continued at present levels, and the development costs should be included in the cost of fusion power if and when it becomes commercially available. The fusion research strategy should be broadened to explore small-scale approaches and designs with lower risks to health and the environment. If fusion prospects appear dimmer with further research, funds should be directed to the development of renewable energy sources.

24. *Expand Solar Market Development* — Federal and state solar market development programs, including performance standards, testing and certification procedures, broad performance specifications, solar rights protection, and solar information, should be expanded.

25. *Local Energy Planning* — Appropriate governmental bodies should allocate funds to participatory energy-planning programs at the community level to implement the transition to a solar-oriented future.

26. *Financing Programs for Conservation and Renewable Energy* — The federal government should expand renewable energy use and conservation financing programs until the transition to a high-efficiency, renewable energy, conserving society is well under way, and the market is fully adequate to respond to renewable energy and conservation demand. All federal housing loan programs should provide for long-term loans with low down payments for conservation and alternative energy production.

C. Transitional Energy Policies

Transitional energy technologies are necessary to provide a bridge to a high-efficiency renewable-energy society, and to reduce our present dangerous dependence on imported oil. There are only two practical choices: fossil fuel and conventional nuclear power.

27. *Phase Out Nuclear Power* — Expansion of nuclear generating capacity poses serious problems for society, including the danger of accidents, weapons proliferation, waste disposal, psychological and political tensions, vulnerability to sabotage, being a military target in wartime, economic and political centralization, and invasion of civil liberties. Conventional nuclear power should be phased out as rapidly as possible, consistent with achieving a non-disruptive transition to greater energy efficiency and alternative sources of supply. The federal nuclear budget should be reallocated to conservation and renewable energy programs.

28. *New Conditions For Permitting Nuclear Plants* — State and federal regulatory commissions should reject permit applications for all new nuclear plants, unless the utility can show that all economically-competitive conservation and renewable-energy production alternatives have been exhausted and can demonstrate that the nuclear waste problem has been solved.

29. *Nuclear Decommissioning Reserve* — Utilities should be required to contribute to a decommissioning reserve for their nuclear stations. A portion of the revenue regained from the termination of subsidies to the nuclear industry should be allocated to each such trust fund, to encourage early decommissioning.

30. *R&D For Innovations in Coal Utilization* — Federally-sponsored research and development of innovations in coal-burning technology should be expanded with the cost capitalized into the price of the energy ultimately produced by these methods. Potentially important innovations include small- and medium-scale fluidized-bed boilers, supercritical gas extraction, and neighborhood-scale district heating systems.

31. *End Subsidy To Synthetic Fuels* — Federal subsidies for the creation of synthetic fuels should be terminated, leaving the development of this technology to the marketplace.

“Expansion of nuclear generating capacity poses serious problems for society, including the danger of accidents, weapons proliferation, waste disposal, psychological and political tensions, vulnerability to sabotage, economic and political centralization, and invasion of civil liberties.”

32. *Cogeneration Demonstrations* — The federal government should support demonstration projects in cogeneration technology, making use of various institutional arrangements. Utilities should be required to purchase power from cogenerators at wholesale prices, and from other decentralized sources at retail prices. State laws which discourage cogeneration and marketing of excess heat or electricity should be repealed.

33. *Result-Oriented "Entrepreneurial" Energy Grants Program* — The federal government should develop an entrepreneurial model for its small grants program for energy, where a tenth of the program resources is allocated to each of ten program managers, who compete in trying to achieve the best results.

34. *State and Local Actions to Promote Conservation and Renewable Energy* — State and local governments should develop creative programs to remove institutional and regulatory barriers to renewable energy use and increased conservation; promote community-level participatory planning of energy futures; disseminate information; require utilities to cooperate with cogenerators and decentralized energy production systems; encourage energy-efficient transit systems; set examples of efficient energy-use in public buildings and vehicles; encourage small business-oriented conservation and renewable energy work; and generally educate their citizens about the essential transition to a high-efficiency, renewable-energy and energy-conserving society.

"State and local governments should remove barriers to renewable energy use, should promote participatory planning, and generally educate their citizens about the essential transition to a high-efficiency, renewable-energy and energy-conserving society."

New World Alliance Policies On
LAND and NATURAL RESOURCES

The overall goals of New World Alliance land-use and natural resource policies are:

1. to encourage wise and responsible use of humanity's common heritage — the earth and its resources;
2. to ensure that the ownership and control of land is widely distributed among the people;
3. to protect genuine private property ownership, where use does not interfere with the equal rights of others;
4. to extend ownership so that the great majority of Americans have a realistic chance to become landowners;
5. to encourage the ownership of land by community land trusts, cooperatives, tribes, and other voluntary collective bodies dedicated to responsible use;
6. to recapture for the public the unearned increment in land values resulting from investment of public monies in social infrastructure;
7. to effect a full and fair settlement of the claims of those whose lands were taken from them unjustly, notably Native Americans, Latinos, Blacks;
8. to discourage absentee ownership of land;
9. to diminish incentives for rapid depletion of nonrenewable resources.

A. Overall Policy Goals

The overall goals of New World Alliance land use and natural resource policies are:

1. *Wise Use of Land and Resources* — to encourage wise and responsible use of humanity's common heritage: the earth and her resources;
2. *Wide Dispersion Of Ownership* — to ensure that the ownership and control of land and natural resources, the associated economic and political power, and the responsibility inherent in such ownership, is widely distributed among the people. Further, it is a goal to protect genuine private property ownership where the owner bears a personal responsibility for its care and use, and where that use does not interfere with the equal rights of others or lead to senseless waste of valuable resources;
3. *Extend Ownership Opportunity To All* — to extend ownership opportunities so that the great majority of Americans, particularly minorities, have a realistic chance to become landowners if they so desire.
4. *Encourage Voluntary Collective Ownership* — to encourage the ownership of land by community land trusts, cooperatives, tribes, and other voluntary collective bodies dedicated to responsible use;
5. *Land Use: Public vs. Private* — to restrict the uses of private land which invade the peaceful enjoyment of other landowners, but to avoid the indiscriminate use of the police power to confer benefits on the public at the expense of specific landowners and, further, to ensure that private land is taken for public use only when absolutely necessary, and that in such cases, the owner is fairly and promptly compensated;
6. *Recuperation Of Public Monies Which Increase Land Values* — to recapture for the public a substantial portion of the increment in land values resulting from investment of public monies in social infrastructure;
7. *Settle Land Claims* — to effect a full and fair settlement of the claims of those whose lands were taken from them unjustly, notably Native Americans, Latinos, Blacks, and residents of Appalachia;
8. *Discourage Absentee Ownership* — to discourage absentee ownership of land and natural resources;
9. *Promote Recycling and Renewable Resource Use* — to diminish incentives for rapid depletion of nonrenewable natural resources, and encourage alternative products and techniques based on renewable resources.

"The federal and state governments should make good public land available, on a lease or land-trust basis, to citizens' groups who want to build and live in energy-conserving, ecological, cooperative communities and farms."

B. Specific Recommendations

10. *Lease Public Land To Responsible Groups* — The federal and state governments should make good public land available, on a lease or land-trust basis, to citizens' groups who want to build and live in energy-conserving, ecological, cooperative communities and farms, thereby effectively and responsibly using our natural resources. Public timberlands and grazing lands should be leased out competitively to companies, homesteaders, and cooperatives which pledge to manage the resource on a long-range sustained-yield basis. The government would retain overall supervisory rights, claim reasonable lease fees, and terminate leases managed in unwise or environmentally-unsound ways.

11. *Phase Out Agricultural Price Supports* — Federal price support programs for agriculture should be phased out.

12. *Promote Land Trusts* — Land trusts should facilitate the purchase of oversize farm units coming on the market and lease them in efficient modules to family farmers and cooperatives. States should encourage community land trusts by adopting specific land-trust chartering provisions and providing for taxation on the basis of the use-limitations contained in the trust document.

13. *Encouragement of Young and Family Farmers* — The Department of Agriculture should reorient its farm loan and research programs to strengthen the family farm and to encourage young farmers to stay on the land.

14. *Use Land-Value Taxation* — States and municipalities should implement land-value taxation, where the tax burden is progressively removed from improvements, and transferred to land. Land-value taxation allows society to recapture values created by public investment, encourages the work of industry and improvement, and promotes a broader distribution of land ownership. The concern is sometimes expressed that under a land-value tax system, small farmers will be at a disadvantage. On the contrary, available evidence indicates that true working farmers would not pay more in taxes than now. Farmers have been foremost in the movement to adopt land-value tax in other parts of the world. In fact, the economic benefits are clearly beneficial to the farmer. By removing the tax on buildings and equipment, farmers can invest more capital in an efficient operation. By taxing only the land, we 1) encourage agricultural uses of land needed for farming; 2) support the more intensive use of city land and thereby we discourage the urban and suburban sprawl into the countryside, and 3) lower the price of land and make it easier for people to enter farming.

15. *Create A National Land Price Index* — The federal government should develop a national land price index which would provide for an accurate assessment of the allocation of real property values between site value and the value of improvements.

16. *Discourage Tax-Loss Farming* — The Internal Revenue Code should be changed to discourage "tax-loss farming" by absentee owners and corporations in competition with genuine family farmers. For instance, the deduction of farm losses from non-farm income should be eliminated.

" . . . strengthen the family farm and encourage young farmers to stay on the land."

17. *Phase Out Nonrenewable Resource Depletion Allowances* — Depletion allowances for nonrenewable natural resources should be phased out over five years.

18. *Use Energy Resources On Federal Lands Cautiously* — In the transition period leading to a high-efficiency renewable-energy-oriented society, energy resource development on federal lands should be used to facilitate the transition. However, the extraction of such resources should be undertaken with strict regard for the environment, water resources, and surface restoration; and the federal government should receive substantial royalties.

19. *Enforce Terms of Railroad Land Grants* — The Interior Department should re-examine the railroad land grants of the 19th Century and require strict compliance with their terms, on pain of reversion to the public domain. Outstanding mineral leases should be terminated unless developed.

20. *Settle Land Claims* — Land treaty claims of Native Americans and Hispanics should be promptly and justly settled by land grants where practical, and by immediate cash payments otherwise. "Just settlement" includes fair treatment for innocent parties who now "own" the lands which might be granted.

21. *Equitable Practices For Subsidized Irrigation Projects* — The following methods, singly or in combination, should be implemented to promote equity and justice on agricultural lands receiving water from federal irrigation projects: 1) end the taxpayer subsidy and go on the user-pay principle; 2) establish a land-value tax system similar to the Wright Act which was implemented in the 1930s in California's Modesto-Turlock region and resulted in the break-up of large landholdings into thousands of smaller farming operations; 3) encourage farmworker cooperatives in which farmworkers have equity and decision-making power.

22. *Restrain Army Engineers* — The Army Corps of Engineers should be restrained from any further attempts to build large dams or engage in channelization where those activities would be environmentally destructive.

23. *Charge Full Costs On Federal Water Projects* — In all existing federal water projects, the full costs of the projects should be charged to water users.

24. *State Compensation For Lost Value of Private Property* — State land-use control programs should require that the public pay for depriving landowners of innocent use of their lands, rather than confiscating property values by use of the police power.

25. *Inverse Condemnation Suits* — States should adopt statutes allowing landowners to bring suits in inverse condemnation whenever a police-power regulation destroys more than one-fourth of the value of their land.

26. *Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for National Park Inholders* — The National Park Service should, in cooperation with park inholders, develop and adhere to an Inholders Bill of Rights, affording protection to the legitimate rights of inholders to peaceful enjoyment of their land.

"Land treaty claims of Native Americans and Hispanics should be promptly and justly settled by land grants, where practical."

New World Alliance Policies On ENVIRONMENT

The overall goals of New World Alliance environmental policies are:

- 1. to achieve a sustainable global society;**
- 2. to recycle materials to a maximum possible level;**
- 3. to preserve ecological diversity;**
- 4. to protect clean, safe, and healthy ecosystems for all life forms.**

A. Overall Policy Goals

The overall goals of specific New World Alliance environmental policies are:

- 1. Sustain Society At Global Carrying Capacity* — to achieve a sustainable global society at a resource consumption level not exceeding the carrying capacity of the natural ecological system;
- 2. Recycle Materials* — to move toward a society where all materials used are effectively recycled to a maximum possible level;
- 3. Ecological Diversity* — to preserve ecological diversity;

Healthy Ecosystems

4. *Healthy Ecosystems* — to maintain and protect clean, safe, and healthy ecosystems for all life forms.

[Commentary: Another goal is to foster a widespread recognition that animals are fellow intelligent beings. This recognition provides an ethical basis for granting wild animals maximum freedom to live unmolested, wherever they do not interfere with necessary and moral human activities, and for granting domesticated animals rights against cruelty, abuse, and inhumane animal husbandry practices. It also highlights the importance of investigating inter-species communication, and of conducting such research in non-coercive environments. Highly intelligent animals such as whales and dolphins should be treated as possessing an alternatively-structured consciousness, different from, but perhaps not inferior to, human consciousness.]

B. Specific Goals

5. *Continue EPA Regulations* — The present EPA emphasis on cost-effective pollution regulation, which makes compliance with high environmental standards preferable to continued polluting, is economically sound and should be continued and improved.

6. *Auto-Free Downtown Areas* — Local governments, including intergovernmental organizations covering air and watersheds, should attempt to improve air quality by creating auto-free downtown areas, where transportation is provided by bicycles and other non-polluting vehicles.

7. *Quotas on Fossil-Fuel Burning* — The federal government should impose a gradually-declining national quota on utility and industrial fossil-fuel burning. Utilities and industries would have to bid for quotas to continue burning fossil fuels. The overall quota would at first be set at present consumption levels, and individual plant quota unit-requirements would be assigned on a pollution-control performance basis. For example, the burning of high-sulphur coal would require more quota units than low-sulfur coal, and a plant which installed effective pollution control equipment would require fewer quota units for its fuel purchases. Proceeds from the quota auctions would be devoted to the alleviation of air-pollution damage, and to the promotion of local renewable energy resources.

8. *Stringent Waste Management Laws* — Federal, state, and local governments should enact stringent laws to protect their citizens from the dumping and storage of all types of waste materials, especially toxic and radioactive waste. Persons, including corporate officers, responsible for environmental disasters such as Love Canal, should be subjected to severe criminal penalties.

9. *Examine Construction Materials for Health Hazards* — Materials used for construction of buildings and other internal environments should be reviewed for their potential health hazards.

10. *National Registers For Health Disorders* — The federal government in cooperation with the states should establish national registers for tumors, birth defects, and other environmentally-related health disorders, to facilitate the understanding of the relationship between environmental pollution and public health.

11. *Study Low-Level Ionizing Radiation* — The federal government should sharply increase research on health effects of low-level ionizing radiation, and act promptly to reduce permissible exposure levels where justifiable. In addition, the effects of low-level radiation on the earth's electric field and on weather patterns should be diligently explored.

12. *Study Electric Grids and Transmission Lines* — The federal government should conduct a major study of the effect of large-scale electric grids, high-voltage transmission lines, and microwaves on the earth's electric field and on exposed residents. Such research should be funded by a tax on electric energy transmission.

13. *Ban Export of Substances Prohibited In U.S.* — The federal government should ban the export of all substances which are prohibited within the United States.

C. Solid Waste and Recycling

14. *Tax Throw-Away Packaging* — The federal government should impose a substantial tax at the manufacturer's level on all throw-away packaging and use the proceeds to subsidize local recycling programs and centers.

15. *Mandatory Disposal Deposits* — The federal government should require a disposal deposit on all vehicles, machinery, and major appliances, which would be returned when the owner in due course certified that the item had been properly recycled. Manufacturers would be required to include recycling information with each unit sold.

16. *Mandatory Solid Waste Separation* — Local governments should require the separation of all solid waste at the source, and refuse to accept non-separated waste into the solid waste-disposal system.

17. *Strict Arrangements for Chemical Wastes* — Local governments should require and strictly enforce special disposal arrangements for chemical wastes which, if run through the normal sewage system, would make the sludge unsuitable for soil enrichment.

D. Miscellaneous

18. *International Ban on Military Weather Modification* — The United States should take the lead in concluding an international agreement banning weather modification for political and military purposes, and banning tampering with the earth's magnetic and electric fields by high-powered transmissions.

“The federal government should ban the export of all substances which are banned within the United States.”

U.S. Moratorium on Uranium Mining

[Commentary: Uranium mining and the disposal of mill tailings may actually pose the largest health problems in the conventional nuclear fuel cycle. These problems were grossly neglected in the early days of nuclear development and deserve full and immediate investigation. Nevertheless, an immediate moratorium on domestic uranium mining would be economically disruptive, and would lead to a sharp increase in uranium imports which would merely displace the health problems to people in other countries. A preferable approach is to move as rapidly as possible toward improved safety standards and to close only those mining operations that do not meet the improved safety standards within a reasonable time period.

19. *U.S. Moratorium on Uranium Mining* — The federal government should declare a moratorium on uranium mining until its environmental and health impact has been thoroughly determined. Mining companies should bear the full costs of environmental protection and of any resulting health problems experienced by the workers involved.

20. *International Protection Of Marine Mammals* — The United States should extend its efforts to obtain effective international agreements protecting marine mammals, such as whales and dolphins.

22. *Qui Tam Authority For Private Citizens* — Congress should enact legislation, modelled after provisions of the Refuse Act of 1899, authorizing private citizens to bring *qui tam* actions to enforce a broad range of environmental protection statutes, and claim one-half of all fines levied upon conviction of violators.

22. *International Effort to Halt and Reverse Deforestation* — The United States should work through the United Nations to mount an international effort to halt and reverse the indiscriminate deforestation of lands in all parts of the globe. The importation of forest products harvested by practices unacceptable by American forestry standards should be banned.

23. *U.S. Support For Global Biosphere Monitoring* — The United States should seek the development of the United Nations Environment Program into an agency capable of maintaining or coordinating a continuous world-wide watch on the state of the biosphere, of setting standards for the curtailment of pollution, and of protecting wildlife and rare plant and animal species.

“The United States should redouble efforts to obtain effective international agreements protecting marine mammals, such as whales and dolphins.”

New World Alliance Policies On

URBAN, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, NEIGHBORHOODS

The overall goals of the New World Alliance Urban, Community Development, and Neighborhoods policies are:

- 1. to restore emphasis to the primary human community;**
- 2. to emphasize values of living closer to the land in smaller settlements;**
- 3. to restore to the community major decision-making responsibility and resources;**
- 4. to restore healthy community in deteriorated areas, urban and rural.**

A. Overall Policy Goals

The overall Urban, Community Development, and Neighborhoods policy goals of the New World Alliance are:

- 1. Focus On The Primary Community** — to restore emphasis to the primary human community: the neighborhood, small town, village, or cooperative settlement;

Rational Settlement Policies

2. *Rational Settlement Policies* — to encourage rational policies of settlement, emphasizing the values of living closer to the land and desirability of smaller communities and smaller cities, but also recognizing the virtues of urban living, above all allowing people to exercise free choice in where they choose to live and promoting such dispersion of population as is desired;

[Commentary: The failure of our cities is that we have not made them human. They have used up, made superfluous, and oppressed their residents, and they have failed to satisfy even the most basic of needs — survival. They have increasingly ignored all that makes us human and emphasized power and control, money and technology, rather than people, despite their potential for stimulating art, literature and other forms of creativity.

[All too often the suggested solution has been de-urbanization, but that may never come. Rather, we should attempt to meet the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, education, and security, and the non-measurable needs of tenderness and mutual caring within the cities as we know them. Limiting population growth will not solve the problems of the people who are left.

[We must take a firm stand that cities are people, and go on from there.]

3. *Citizen Control Of Their Communities* — to restore to the people of these human communities major decision-making responsibility for the well-being of their communities, along with the necessary resources to carry out their plans, particularly by encouraging citizens to become self-responsible and fully-participating members of their neighborhoods;

4. *Restore Deteriorated Areas* — to give special emphasis to restoring the basic conditions for healthy community in deteriorated areas, both urban and rural, including decent housing, capital for indigenous job creation, and education systems which meet community need.

“ . . . to give emphasis to restoring the basic conditions for healthy community in deteriorating areas, both urban and rural, including decent housing, capital for job creation, and education systems which meet community needs.”

B. Specific Policy Recommendations

Neighborhood Assemblies

[Commentary: The original provisions of this section for encouraging real legal and fiscal independence for urban neighborhoods have been reduced to what amounts to neighborhood advisory bodies. Perhaps as a first step, this is desirable, but the longer-range goal of a federation of neighborhoods, each with some measure of fiscal independence and political power, in an interdependent metropolitan framework, should be reinstated.]

5. *Neighborhood Assemblies* — Cities should encourage the creation of neighborhood and ward assemblies, akin to the “ward republics” envisioned by Jefferson, through which means a growing number of decisions about the well-being and future of the community can be debated and decided by community people themselves.

6. *Decentralize Tax Base* — The urban tax base should in time be decentralized to the neighborhood level, with the metropolitan government claiming revenues for metropolitan functions, to reduce the inequality of resources among the various neighborhoods. Neighborhoods should be encouraged to act as “sister neighborhoods”, offering help and assistance to one another.

7. *Sub-City Service Districts* — Sub-city areas should be allowed to create community service districts with independent taxing powers, replacing the provision of services by present city monopolies.

8. *Neighborhood Improvement Credit Program* — A substantial portion of federal community development block grant funds should be allocated to a neighborhood improvement credit program, which would allow citizens to allocate funds directly to whichever neighborhood improvement project merited their support, rather than leaving control of the funds in the hands of the mayor or city council.

9. *Fiscal Integrity* — Municipal fiscal integrity, including honest accounting, proper provision for future liabilities, and restraints on the issuance of debt, is an indispensable ingredient in an urban renaissance.

10. *Encourage Local Economic Revitalization* — Urban economic revitalization should be encouraged by the adoption of local government policies designed to minimize obstacles to creative enterprise. Among these are prudent investment in the maintenance of economic infrastructure; relaxation of restrictive codes and licensing requirements; rapid processing of necessary applications; adequate police and fire protection; and maintenance of a stability of expectations about future policies.

11. *Experiment With Enterprise Zones* — Local governments should experiment with “enterprise zones” where the accumulated burden of governmental requirements and taxation is drastically reduced to encourage new entrepreneurial job-creating activity. Within such zones, site-value taxation would replace customary land-and-buildings taxation; all subsidies to business would be eliminated, and taxation would be stabilized for a fixed period of time. In addition, barriers posed by excessive regulation (zoning, codes, licensing, etc.) should be sharply reduced, and necessary regulation “fast-tracked” to minimize red tape and delays.

Adopt Site-Value Taxation

12. *Adopt Site-Value Taxation* — Cities should adopt site-value taxation, which places the property tax entirely on land values and not on improvements. By such taxation, the increase in land rent is captured to reimburse the public for its investment in creating land value, while improvements, being free from tax, are strongly encouraged. Land held in a community land trust, and hence not able to benefit from a future rise in land values, should be taxed at its restricted site-value only.

[*Commentary: Land-value taxation compels landowners to develop their land, or sell to developers. In order to afford the higher taxes caused by the development of surrounding real estate, landowners must develop to increase the income from their land. This causes rapid and spiraling development of urban areas, forcing out those who would be satisfied with a less intensively-developed area.*]



[*Commentary: Under the present property tax system everywhere in effect, we tax both land values and improvement values. Land values are frequently underassessed and the building values bear the main tax burden. When individual property owners hold their land needlessly vacant, or let their buildings run down, a greater property-tax burden is thrown onto*

all other property owners. This in turn makes it more costly to build new buildings and to maintain, repair, and renovate existing buildings. Owners are forced not to improve. This starts the process of urban blight. Once begun, it prevents individuals and communities from rebuilding because any new building or renovation is automatically slapped with a higher tax.

[*It may be clear by now that it would be a good idea to take the tax penalty off buildings so we don't make building owners and renters pay for urban decay. At the same time, it is a good idea to provide owners of vacant or rundown property with an incentive rather than a penalty when they try to turn their property around.*

[*A tax on land values, however, does not penalize builders and improvers. Land is produced and*

provided by nature and land values are created by the community as a whole. Land value is independent of any particular activity of the individual owner. A tax on land values alone would help us stop paying for slums and at the same time help us rebuild our cities. It would result in the end of urban decay, a significant if not total rehabilitation of our cities by private enterprise, lower rents, and higher employment. An added advantage of the land-value tax is that it encourages infilling and a more orderly and even development of city land, thus curtailing a variety of evils such as land speculation and urban sprawl. Development does not expand prematurely into agricultural land and the public utility and transportation systems are kept more compact, less expensive, and better utilized.]

13. *Reform Property Information Systems* — Cities should reform their property information systems, in part by requiring corporations to identify their principals, so that citizens and neighborhood groups can obtain quick and accurate information about ownership, taxation, and legal status of parcels needed for neighborhood revitalization programs.

“Cities should adopt site-value taxation, which places the property tax entirely on land values and not on improvements.”

14. *Expedite Property Recycling Systems* — Cities should adopt expedited property recycling systems, to restore tax delinquent parcels to the market in one year or less.

15. *“Carried Interest” Concept To Revitalize Neighborhoods* — States should authorize the use of the “carried interest” concept from petroleum law for the encouragement of comprehensive neighborhood revitalization. This concept would allow property owners to improve an adjacent property by carrying the interest of its owner, who would share in any profits but would not be liable for any losses.

16. *Substitutes For Zoning* — Urban zoning, with its emphasis on the separation of residential, commercial, and industrial uses, has frequently defeated the preferences of neighborhood people, caused enormous transportation costs, and spawned untold paperwork, delay, and corruption. As neighborhoods become organized toward ward republics and become empowered, they can replace zoning with a neighborhood-oriented nuisance prevention system and/or private use and maintenance covenants.

17. *Limit Building Codes* — The municipal building code enforcement monopoly presents a major obstacle to urban neighborhood rehabilitation and new construction. It should be replaced by a privatized liability insurance system for new buildings, designed on the French model, where the builder or contractor insures against building defects for a ten-year period. City building code activity should be limited to tenant buildings, specialized inspections such as elevators and boilers, and responding to real tenant safety problems.

18. *Substitute For Builder Licensing* — City licensing laws typically operate to restrict the supply of licensed services and drive up prices. Licensing in the building trades should be replaced with voluntary certification standards, coupled with computerized track-record information about practitioners and bonding for financial responsibility.

19. *Mortgage Disclosure and Access To Mortgage Lending* — Congress should make permanent the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, which requires chartered lending institutions to make public the location of their mortgage investments. State laws limiting entry into the mortgage lending field should be drastically relaxed, so that neighborhood people can easily put their savings to work in the improvement of their own neighborhoods.

20. *Neighborhood Provision of Property Insurance* — The federal government should underwrite a pilot program for providing property insurance in urban neighborhoods, where an organized neighborhood forms its own insurance pool.

21. *Substitute for FHA Mortgage Insurance Programs* — The Federal Housing Administration mortgage insurance programs should be phased out in favor of FHA re-insurance of private mortgage insurance companies against excessive loss in higher-risk neighborhoods.

22. *Home Ownership Equity Insurance* — The federal government should sponsor a program of home ownership equity insurance to protect lower-income homeowners from losing their homes as a result of death, disability, and involuntary unemployment.

“ . . . to restore emphasis to the primary human community: the neighborhood, small town, village, or cooperative settlement.”

The Answer To Rent Escalation

23. *Ultimate Answer To Rent Escalation* — Rent-control programs have had the *long-term* effect of accelerating the decline and abandonment of housing stock, depressing the construction and rehabilitation industry, often assisting the wrong people, misallocating housing space, aggravating municipal fiscal problems, and producing heightened social conflicts. At the same time, it has the short-term effect of providing temporary financial relief to renters, particularly those on fixed incomes, whose escalating rent costs often consume over 50% of their monthly income. Ultimately, the answer to rent escalation must be found in sound money and increases in housing supply.

[Commentary: Rent control, this plank seems to say, has the virtue of "providing temporary financial relief to renters". The plank does not offer any justification as to why the power of the government should be used to take something of value from building owners and bestow it upon tenants. Under such a theory, it is perfectly acceptable for the government, heeding the demands of the have-nots, to fix prices for everything ruinously low — for instance, bread and milk. If such a procedure is followed, there will soon be no bread and milk, or alternatively, the government will have to find some way to compel the bread and milk producers to keep on producing against their will, or the government will have to go into the bread and milk business itself. Ultimately, as the plank notes, sound money and housing supply increases are the right response to rent control proposals. In the meantime, rent controls should be abolished; and if it is necessary for the public to subsidize low income tenants, that should be done by means of a broad-based shelter assistance program, not by price fixing.]

24. *Lower Labor Costs By Davis-Bacon Exemptions* — By requiring above-market prevailing wages to be paid and by imposing wholly unnecessary work rules, the Davis-Bacon Act drives up the cost of housing for lower- and middle-income families, to the benefit of highly-paid building tradesmen who frequently control entry to their trade. All governmentally-assisted housing should be statutorily exempted from the Davis-Bacon requirements.

25. *Expand Neighborhood Housing Services Program* — The Neighborhood Housing Services program of the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, working with savings and loan associations and community organizations, has been highly successful in promoting neighborhood rehabilitation and financing. It should be expanded on a basis which allows maximum local flexibility, and ultimately spun-off to control by neighborhood improvement groups themselves.

26. *More Use of Contracting for Public Services* — Cities and neighborhood governmental bodies should make increased use of contracting for public service delivery instead of maintaining costly service monopolies. Such contracting could be among various governmental or quasi-governmental bodies, or with community development corporations, or private contractors.

“ . . . to restore to the people major decision-making responsibility for the well-being of their communities . . . ”

27. *Reduce Penalties For Transforming Rental Housing To Cooperative Uses* — The federal tax code should be amended to reduce back-end penalties (notably recapture of excess depreciation) for rental-housing owners who convey the housing to a cooperative, condominium association, or neighborhood organization.

28. *Authorize Community Reinvestment Trusts* — The federal tax code should be amended to authorize the creation of Community Reinvestment Trusts, similar to Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs). The Community Reinvestment Trust would invest in a neighborhood improvement, and residents would be entitled to a 10% tax credit for their investment in their CRT's shares.

29. *Bringing Suit Against Red-Lining and Steering* — Legal standing to bring suit against offenders in cases of “red lining” and “steering” should be granted not only to homeowners and prospective purchasers, but also to neighbors and appropriate community officials. (Red lining is discriminatory lending and mortgage practices by banks and savings and loan associations towards poor and minority neighborhoods that fall within “a red line” drawn on a city map. Steering is the practice whereby realtors direct minority homebuyers to certain neighborhoods and white homebuyers to others.)

“ . . . to encourage rational settlement, emphasizing the values of living closer to the land and the desirability of smaller communities and smaller cities. . . ”

New World Alliance Policies On

HEALTH

**“How can I enjoy good health and well-being
for myself, my family, and my people?”**

The overall goals of New World Alliance health policies are:

- 1. to promote a holistic approach to wellness, rather than a crisis-oriented approach to illness;**
- 2. to preserve an environment which minimizes the dangers to health of an industrialized society;**
- 3. to encourage personal responsibility for health maintenance;**
- 4. to promote decentralized user-controlled community-oriented health care programs;**
- 5. to assure that every person has access to appropriate health care;**
- 6. to maximize freedom of choice of health care, medicine, and treatment;**
- 7. to resist the temptation to succumb to costly, complicated medical technology except in certain situations;**
- 8. to reduce unnecessary regulation of the medical-care industry;**
- 9. to reform medical-care payment systems;**
- 10. to encourage effective family planning.**

New World Alliance health policies are motivated in particular by:

- the belief that policy in the field of health and medical care needs to be reoriented to address rapidly-changing conditions and fundamental problems: increased demand; a tremendous escalation of costs; the growth of environmentally-caused illnesses; the increased involvement of non-medical sectors in the health arena; the continued trends toward institutionalization, regulation, fragmentation and specialization; the need to promote greater personal responsibility and self-help, and the need to foster preventative approaches and positive wellness;
- the understanding that health problems transcend the boundaries of the conventional medical model, and are related to problems in the human-created environment of community structures and social institutions. Social causes of ill health and non-optimal development include all the major problems before our society — global security, energy, community, food and agriculture, land use and urban design, and employment. In particular, opportunities for work and meaningful participation are central to personal well-being;
- the understanding that individual health is ultimately related to the well-being of the total living environment, because each individual is part of the ecologically-integrated organism called "Earth";
- the conviction that each of us should take the primary responsibility for our own health, rather than leaving that responsibility to experts. Each of us can take responsibility for the food we eat, the exercise we get, and the habits we develop; for the condition of our immediate human-created environment; for living in harmony with the natural environment; for participating meaningfully in family and community life; for learning about our bodies; for seeking the knowledge to choose between health-care alternatives; for joining with others in self-help and mutual-help groups, and for interacting more intelligently with health professionals;
- the conviction that there are many things we can do locally — with others — to improve the way we deal with health and illness. We can respond with more concern to all those among us who say "I hurt"; we can improve access to care by influencing decisions about the location of and the transportation available to health facilities; we can create alternatives to current modes of birthing and dying; we can work to create local institutions on a human scale, and to insist that whatever institutions we have make significant human contact and personalized care available along with technical tools; we can serve as ombudsmen for any local actions which affect the environment, and thus affect human health; we can monitor expenditures being made in the name of health to ensure that they serve the needs of the largest percentage of the population; we can work to increase local employment, and to change work situations that are hazardous to the health of workers and others in the community; we can oppose programs that encourage dependency, and work to create networks which encourage self-care, health education, mutual aid, and deprofessionalization;

[Commentary: Not only have problems of cost-effectiveness contributed to the present disarray in health care, but the emergence of a holistic reform movement has challenged the basic premises of the Western "medical" model.

[Public policy today is still focused mainly on "cost-containment" and finding better ways to finance the conventional doctor-patient-hospital approach to health care, which costs in the range of hundreds of dollars per person per year. But a more fundamental issue is that other approaches to health care are being neglected by comparison, even though they cost only in the range of dollars per person per year. Other approaches include mass medicine (e.g., inoculation programs); public health (drinking water treatment, sanitation measures, etc.); information dissemination (self-help guides, school courses, TV programming, self-help networks, etc.), and preventative design (safety-oriented highway engineering, proper disposal of toxic chemicals, changes in industrial processes to minimize environmental contamination, etc.)

[In the U.S., a greater focus is needed on information dissemination and preventative design, because most of our remaining major health problems (heart disease, cancer, auto accidents, etc.) are related to poor design, environmental contamination and "lifestyle disorders" (smoking, drinking, drug abuse, overweight, poor nutrition, lack of regular exercise, etc.) In poorer developing countries the critical need is to focus on cost-effective approaches like mass medicine, public health, information dissemination and better nutrition — not expensive hospitals for a small urban elite.

[The holistic reform movement poses even more fundamental issues. It suggests that the whole Western model of health care needs to change in fundamental ways: from a curative to a preventative

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- the belief that adopting a national health insurance scheme at this time would tend to lock-in the current, inadequate approach to health care. We believe that a variety of alternative insurance schemes should be attempted, and that funds should be guaranteed to protect all persons against catastrophic cost embarrassment;
- the belief that health should be integrated with other social services such as recreation, education, sports, nutrition and aging programs, and that the current medical monopoly should be opened up to a wide variety of professionals and non-professionals.

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orientation; from a focus on sickness to a goal of fostering high-level wellness; from concentrating authority in experts to maximizing personal responsibility for health care; from specialization in specific illness to a balancing interest in the whole environment, lifestyle, and emotional balance of the affected person; from attacking immediate symptoms to dealing with long-term underlying causes; from a fascination with expensive advanced technologies to a balancing respect for simple and subtle approaches, including aspects of the "traditional wisdom" of Western and non-Western healing traditions.

[The preferred future would involve a sorting out and integration of the best of the Western model with the best of traditional and innovative approaches.]

B. Overall Policy Goals

The overall goals of New World Alliance health policies are:

1. *A Holistic Approach To Wellness* — to provide a holistic approach to wellness, rather than a crisis-oriented response to illness, recognizing that health maintenance involves not only human physiology, but also attitude, lifestyle, environment, nutrition, and many other factors;

2. *A Healthy Environment* — to emphasize the importance of preserving an environment which minimizes the dangers to health posed by our industrial society;

[Commentary: The following platform planks are also proposed:

- Governmental programs aimed at reducing and eliminating dangerous environmental pollution should be conscientiously implemented.

- Federal and state governments should explore the use of private insurance programs to impose the full costs of unsafe working conditions and harmful products on the producer. Industries which cause injury to workers and the public must be held strictly accountable for just restitution.]

Personal Responsibility for Health

3. *Personal Responsibility For One's Own Health* — to encourage personal responsibility for health maintenance, emphasizing proper nutrition, self-healing, and alternative healing techniques, and, as well, spiritual attunement;

[Commentary: Fitness (exercise and relaxation) should be included as an integral part of our health maintenance program.]

4. *Decentralize Health Programs* — to promote group and decentralized user-controlled community-oriented health-care programs, maximizing participation and interaction between consumers and providers;

5. *Access To Good Care For All*: to assure that every person has access to appropriate health care, regardless of his or her means;

Maximum Freedom of Choice

6. *Maximum Freedom Of Choice* — to maximize freedom of choice in selecting health care, medicine, and treatment modes, and to encourage options to traditional fee-for-service medical care;

[Commentary: "Options" is not the correct word. How about "alternatives to traditional fee-for-service medical care, such as capitation-based care"??]

Restrained Use of Technology

7. *Restrained Use Of Technology* — to resist the temptation to succumb to costly, complicated medical technology, except when such technology clearly might improve the patient's chance of recovery at little risk, and where its costs are fairly apportioned to its beneficiaries;

[Commentary: This conflicts with #5 if it means that intensive-care patients must pay the total cost of their treatment. Also, what about life-prolonging technology, such as kidney dialysis? It may extend a patient's useful life for years, but does not offer a chance of recovery.]

Reduce Government Regulation

8. *Reduce Needless Government Regulation* — to reduce unnecessary federal regulation of the medical-care industry, such as regulating having played a major role in medical-care cost inflation;

[Commentary: This is unclear. Does it mean that federal regulation is always unnecessary? If not, to what kinds of regulation does it refer? Clearly, not licensing — which is a state function. If it means regulations about medical coverage, do we want to expand or restrict eligibility? One area of government involvement which does seem unnecessary is federal "health propaganda" programs which are aimed at dispensing information, such as cancer-detection campaigns. Such programs are largely ineffective and could well be handled by private volunteer groups.]

"I must take responsibility for the food I eat, the exercise I get, and for being in harmony with my self and my environment."

Reform Medical Payment System

9. *Reform Medical Payment System* — to reform medical-care payment systems to reduce cost inflation, indirect cost misallocation, and pervasive moral hazard.

[*Commentary: This item is a key to any meaningful health-care platform. Unfortunately, no specific recommendations for revising current public and private third-party cost-reimbursed medical finance programs were fully agreed upon. One alternative to the present inefficient and cost-inflated system that received serious discussion involves a combination of family self-insurance, tax-deductible health protection accounts, major risk insurance, employer multiple-choice options, charge-reimbursed accounting, and income-tax-based recoupment. The rationale and outline of this approach follows.*

[*Public medical care systems (Medicare and Medicaid) and the major private cost-reimbursed insurance plans (Blue Cross and Blue Shield) systems presently operate to inflate medical costs, misallocate indirect costs in hospitals, and introduce the temptation to take advantage of the system ("moral hazard"). In addition, they produce adverse effects on the quality of medical care, the morale of providers, and the sense of personal responsibility for medical care on the part of ordinary people. Without going into the exhaustive detail that this complicated subject demands, the broad outlines of reform might include:*

individuals and families would self-insure for ordinary medical treatment costs up to perhaps 5% of income.

Individuals could annually set aside the difference between

their actual medical expenses and the self-insurance ceiling amount in a tax-deductible Health Protection Account, equivalent to an Individual Retirement Account. Funds could be withdrawn from the account to pay medical expenses in subsequent years. Any unobligated balance remaining at the death of the creator would become part of his or her estate.

Individuals would buy major-risk insurance from competing private insurers, including group plans sponsored by community groups, employers, unions, cooperatives, Health Maintenance organizations, fraternal societies, or other membership organizations. Such insurance would begin at approximately 5% of the insured's expected income. Between that level and 15% of expected income there would be 50% co-insurance, i.e., insured and insurer would each be liable for 50% of covered expenses. Above that level, the insurer would pay all covered expenses up to some lifetime maximum.

The present tax deductibility of health insurance plans offered by employers would be terminated. Employees would receive a taxable pay increase which they could allocate to any one of at least three major-risk plan options [if the employer offers a plan]. If the plan chosen by the employee costs less than the health in-

surance allocation, the employee could use the difference to purchase supplementary coverage of his choice, or deposit it in his or her Health Maintenance Account.

All families would be eligible to receive reimbursement from the federal government for self-insured medical-care expenses and the cost of major-risk insurance. All amounts thus disbursed, however, would be subject to recoupment through the income tax system, at a rate depending on the taxpayer's tax bracket. Balances unpaid in a given tax year would be carried forward to succeeding tax years, but would be extinguished on the death of the taxpayer. Persons with perennially-low taxable incomes would have essentially all of their medical expenses covered at public expense. Persons of higher income might have their medical expenses paid for by the public in a given year, but would be expected to defray or repay such outlays in later years when they are more productive.

This system would replace Medicare and Medicaid, and would thus terminate the two major cost-reimbursement plans in favor of more realistic and efficient charge-payment plans. At the same time, the medicare payroll-tax would be repealed.]

"Voluntary certification should be available in homeopathy, psychic healing, biofeedback, acupuncture, etc."

Encourage Family Planning

10. *Encourage Family Planning* — to encourage effective family planning and diminished population growth;

[Commentary: Substitute "stable" population growth instead of "diminished" population growth. In this country at this time, the problem is not overpopulation, but the need for a more equitable distribution of wealth. In fact, some would maintain that overpopulation is not the fundamental problem in any country. Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins in *Food First* show that Bangladesh and India could feed all their people with a more equitable distribution of resources and land.]

C. Specific Proposals

Classification of Drugs

11. *Classification of Drugs* — The Food and Drug Act should be amended to require the classification of drugs into three distinct categories: a) drugs whose safety, efficacy, and side-effects have been clinically established; b) drugs which appear to offer promise, but whose safety, efficacy and side-effects have not been fully established; and c) drugs which are known to be dangerous. In addition to prescribing Class A drugs, physicians should be allowed to prescribe Class B drugs on their own responsibility, with the informed consent of the patient.

[Commentary: Liberalizing drug availability would clearly add to the net cost of health care. Speeding up the review process is a good idea, but there are many doctors who are already overprescribing. And for uneducated or desperate patients, "informed consent" is meaningless. At the least, we should propose that Class B drugs not be covered as a medical expense by governmental health plans. In addition, the huge over-the-counter drug industry relies largely on another class of drugs — those proven worthless but not dangerous. We should encourage government to seek ways of informing consumers about such drugs. For example, wider circulation should be given to the recent National Academy of Science investigation of non-prescription drugs, which showed many of them to be completely useless.]

12. *A Substitute For Mandatory Licensing* — State licensing laws should be amended to require mandatory registration and voluntary certification of medical practitioners in place of mandatory licensing. Certifications should be available in presently unorthodox health specialties such as chiropractic, psychic healing, biofeedback, acupuncture, etc., and in a wide range of sub-professional technical specialties. States should maintain computerized "track-record" information systems with full opportunity for consumer input to assist people in their selection of practitioners.

Advertising The Price of Services

13. *Allow Technicians To Sell Mechanical Health Aids* — State laws which prohibit technicians from offering mechanical health aids, such as eyeglasses and dentures, and from advertising the price thereof, should be repealed.

[Commentary: It is also important to remove the American Medical Association ban on advertisement of medical fees.]

Demonstration of Communication Technology

14. *Demonstration of Communication Technology In Diagnosis And Delivery* — The federal government should support demonstrations of the use of communications technology and primary health-care workers in diagnosing health problems and delivering care, especially in rural or other areas where conventional medical facilities are inadequate.

[Commentary: This implies that federal support should be restricted to this area; others deserve attention too.]

D. Population

Population is a problem that extends far beyond the questions of fertility, abortion, or birth control. There is a marked diminution in the fertility rate world-wide. The population will not stop growing for about 15 years, since we have a large older population that will remain alive.

The fertility-rate decrease in large part has been due to non-birth-control activities, e.g., the education of women, new jobs for women, the changing standard of living.

In addition, there are major movements of people worldwide, which includes a vast migration of people into the United States. Spanish-speaking peoples may soon reach 40% of the population. In addition, Africans and Asians are arriving. The large number of Hispanic immigrants will be young, entering a labor market for unskilled services. Our population will be older, and children rarely evident. Indeed, if the current trends continue, children will be superfluous, since current policy focuses on technology, and not on universal employment.

Proposals for a population program, if they fit the values we have outlined in our general introduction and in the New World Alliance scenario for health, require a reversal in the direction our society will take. We believe that healthy communities will require multiple ages in order to communicate our culture and to meet human needs.

Therefore, we believe very strongly that having children is a decision that belongs in the hands of the potential parents and that the community will assist in any decision they make which aids their well-being. Further, we believe that education, jobs and health, in the long run, may be more important than birth control. However, individuals have the right to practice birth control and have abortions if they deem it necessary.

Since population involves immigration, concerns with an open immigration policy should not be isolated from the making of every effort to help people of other cultures to meet the needs of their culture and to live in the United States. Therefore, we will assist them in self-help and education wherever necessary.

Therefore, we propose these planks in the platform on population:

[Commentary: The world population problem is poorly described here. Where is the evidence that even remotely suggests that world population will stop growing in about 15 years? A recent and authoritative estimate, The Global 2000 Report to the President, forecasts that under medium growth projections, population will grow to 6.35 billion by the year 2000, almost a 50% increase beyond the 4.5 billion in 1980. The Report estimates that the rate of growth will slow only marginally, from 1.8% per year to 1.7%, and that the actual numbers of people added each year will be greater than today. That Spanish-speaking peoples may reach 40% of the population is inconceivable.

[As for policy, population might be most effectively controlled by anti-natalist tax policies, as in Singapore and China, rather than the pro-natalist tax policies in the U.S. and elsewhere that encourage or do not penalize childbearing.

[This immensely important realm of population and migration policy deserves far more serious treatment than it is given here, and eventually should be a separate section of the New World Alliance Platform, rather than being de-emphasized as a sub-section of Health.]

Promote Zero Population Growth

15. *Promote Zero Population Growth For United States and World* — The increasing population brings with it an ever-increasing burden on land, resources, and environment. The federal government should place a high priority on non-coercive domestic and international programs aimed at achieving zero population growth. Safe birth-control devices and methods should be made readily available to all.

[Commentary: The U.S. government's interest in zero population growth and negative population growth among peoples of color is too often motivated by racist, imperialist, and economic interests. The issue of U.S. involvement is too volatile an issue for the U.S. to be involved outside of its own domestic area. Even within the U.S., zero population growth programs should be done with all segments of the population in proportion to their numbers, not in proportion to someone's perception of "problem areas."']

16. *Research In Birth Control* — The federal government should support research in reproductive biology to achieve safer and more effective methods for preventing unwanted children and minimizing demand for the termination of pregnancies.

17. *Promote Alternatives To Abortion* — Even under the best of circumstances, abortion is a traumatic event which destroys the potential for human life. Parents must come to accept the full responsibility for their procreative acts, and so act as to avoid the circumstances where abortion becomes a viable option. State governments and social agencies should publicize the preventative alternatives to abortion and facilitate the adoption of unwanted babies.

Freedom To Choose Abortion

18. *Freedom To Choose Abortion* — On the other hand, the decision to bear a child is the most personal of all decisions, and cannot be dictated by the government. Each individual must act in accord with his or her conscience in deciding whether and when to bring a child into the world. Therefore, at no time during pregnancy should the government prohibit abortion or restrict its availability.

[Commentary: The position expressed in items on abortion fails to come to grips with the question of whether at some point in pregnancy a fetus becomes a human child, the life of which should be protected by a humane society. The decision of a woman to have a fetus destroyed and removed at, say, 8 months into pregnancy, on the sole grounds that she had changed her mind about giving birth, should be viewed with shock and horror. This plank deserves the most careful re-thinking.]

19. *Abortion To Be Treated As Regular Medical Service* — The law should treat abortion as it does all other medical services. Regulation should be for the sole purpose of maintaining adequate medical standards for the care of the woman. Abortion should be available to poor as well as affluent women on the same basis as all other medical services.

20. *The Real Answer to Unwanted Pregnancies* — The real answer to the problem of unwanted pregnancies must ultimately be found in widespread knowledge and a deeper sense of personal responsibility by parents for their acts.

New World Alliance Policies On EDUCATION and LEARNING

The overall goals of New World Alliance education and learning policies are:

1. to consider seriously what we know and what we ought to know;
2. to shift emphasis from the industrial-era notion of "education" to "learning";
3. to shift emphasis from the notion of education as a one-time experience to preparation for a lifetime of learning;
4. to shift emphasis from child- and youth-centered educating institutions to inter-generational, year-round, community-centered institutions;
5. to enhance the potentials of all humans for curiosity, learning, creating, and self-reflection;
6. to encourage wider understanding of the world's cultures and languages;
7. to encourage and reward excellence in a wide variety of pursuits;
8. to insure that children receive physical, intellectual, and spiritual nurture;
9. to protect children and youth from physical and psychological hostility;
10. to increase parental sense of responsibility for the education and well-being of their children;
11. to maximize the freedom of parents to choose the best opportunities for their children.

A. Introduction: What We Know & What We Ought To Know

The New World Alliance is deeply concerned about the state of human learning and the conditions for improving it. New World Alliance policies are motivated by the views that:

- human beings have an immense capacity for learning and unlearning throughout their lifetimes, but this potential is far from being realized. Rather, we live in an increasingly ignorant society, where learning needs are outdistancing attainments — despite widespread schooling and the pervasiveness of the electronic media;
- we must seriously address the basic questions of what people in all age groups really know, what they ought to know, and how they can best learn. This “learning needs” approach complements the “human needs” focus throughout the New World Alliance platform;
- the conventional view of education — the programs of schools, colleges, and other institutions — must not be equated with all learning. Much important human learning takes place outside of institutions (a large part of it self-initiated and self-directed) and institutional programs do not necessarily result in appropriate learning for human needs, or any learning at all;
- communications are pervasive in our “information age”, with prospects of remarkable technological advances in the next few years. This “wired society” may very well assist learners of all ages — but not necessarily. It is imperative that we do not equate promise with performance, that we focus on appropriate living for learning humanely in the 21st Century, and that we develop safeguards against misuse of the new information technologies.

Overall New World Alliance policy goals therefore begin with four statements regarding necessary changes in thinking about education.

[Commentary: Education in the U.S. today is primarily education of the left brain, the logical side. Education of the right brain [the intuitive, feeling side] is almost totally ignored and only happens by happenstance. More attention should be paid right-brain education or so-called “affective education.”]



[Commentary: The issue of education is not more of what we call “Education”. What we need to develop is learning how to deal with the issues of human life — on the most mundane of day-to-day levels, and on meeting the wide variety of human needs (not wants) beyond the old approaches of control and manipulation. What must we know to experience with all our senses, to aid our fellow humans — and to live in the fullness of a whole and integrated life?]

B. Overall Policy Goals

The overall goals of New World Alliance education and learning policies are:

1. *Acknowledging An Ignorant Society* — to consider seriously what we know and what we ought to know. Doing so will shift emphasis from the dangerous but comfortable fallacy of our nation as “well-educated” (in terms of many having attended schools and colleges) to the reality of our nation as ignorant (whereby, despite that which we do know, emphasis is placed on the growing gap between social complexity and our capacity to deal with it.) In turn, this leads to a long-overdue emphasis on our nation’s learning needs and priorities.

2. *Extending the Scope of Education* — to shift emphasis from the industrial-era notion of “education” available solely from institutions such as schools and colleges, to “learning” available from a variety of organizations and from self-created opportunities;

3. *Extending the Age of Educability* — to shift emphasis from the outdated notion of education as a one-time experience (as in “being educated”) to education of the young as preparation for a lifetime of learning and unlearning. This new emphasis is especially appropriate in view of the likely extension of life-spans in the next few decades;

4. *Extending Access to Institutions* — to shift emphasis from child- and youth-centered educating institutions to intergenerational, year-round, community-centered institutions. This will facilitate the substantial adult learning that must take place in coming decades.

5. *Encouraging Open Minds* — to enhance the potential of all humans for curiosity, learning and learning how to learn, creating and self-reflection. The inquiring, open mind continually accepts feedback from life, welcomes new information and new ways of looking at things, and adapts creatively to new circumstances;

6. *Global Education* — to encourage a wider understanding of all the world’s cultures and languages, and a wider interaction among all the world’s people, both to expand learning horizons and to emphasize our membership in the global community;

7. *Encouraging Excellence* — to encourage and reward excellence in a wide variety of pursuits that are appropriate to our emerging era;

8. *Maximizing Potentials of All* — to insure that children receive physical, intellectual, and spiritual nurture; that youths are given hope, challenge, and opportunity; and that adults are awakened to their learning capabilities and encouraged to use them;

9. *Protection of Young* — to protect children and youth from physical and psychological hostility of adults and peers;

10. *Parental Responsibility* — to increase the sense of responsibility of parents for the education and well-being of their children, and to involve them more deeply in educational, recreational, and emotional aspects of their children’s lives;

11. *Parental Choice* — to maximize the freedom of parents to choose learning programs and learning personnel that offer what they believe to be the best opportunities for the education of their children. All parents should have such freedom, regardless of income, race, sex or belief.

C. Specific Proposals

12. *Replace Teacher Licensing With Voluntary Certification* — Teacher licensing laws have the unfortunate effect of creating a professional monopoly which denies others the opportunity to make use of their skills and experience (often far more extensive than that of accredited teachers) to aid students in learning. States should replace such laws with voluntary certification, as well as track-record systems, so that schools, parents, and students can make informed choices about the selection of teachers for a wide range of learning opportunities.

13. *An Educational Voucher System* — to allow parents the widest choice in educational opportunities for their children, states should implement an educational voucher system which provides each child with the resources to secure an adequate education. Such vouchers would be cashable by any educational institution or program that demonstrates an acceptable capacity to impart basic skills and learning techniques, provides for adequate health and safety of children in its care, and has a policy of open admission to all children regardless of race, income, social class, or ethnic background.

13a. *Program Approval by Independent Board.* Approval of eligible schools and programs should be made by an independent state review board, a majority of whose members are not connected with public schools. The legal burden of proof in cases of eligibility denials would be on the board, not on the school.

13b. *Track Record File of Eligible Programs.* By depending on customer acceptance for their continued existence, all educational programs would develop accountability programs and publicize their accomplishments. To aid consumer choice, the state should maintain a track-record file of eligible programs, including test scores, accreditation reports, actions of the review board, and testimonials from parents and students.

13c. *Additional Education.* Educational vouchers would be included in the taxable income of parents. As at present, parents would be allowed to purchase additional education for their children.

13d. *Handicapped and Disabled Children.* Special additional vouchers would be offered to cover the special educational costs of handicapped and disabled children.

13e. *Finance of Vouchers.* With the adoption of statewide educational voucher programs, the highly-variable financing of public education through local property taxes would no longer be necessary. The vouchers could be financed by any revenue program devised by the state legislature, and the property tax base could be used by local communities to meet transportation expenses and for non-educational needs. The idea of local control of public education (meaning the financing of schools through a locally-controlled tax base), would be replaced by parent-controlled education, where parents and children would be free to choose the education most responsive to the child's needs.

“States should implement an educational voucher system which provides each child with the resources to secure an adequate education.”

Forced Bussing

14. *Abandon Forced Bussing* — Under the voucher system, the question of bussing children among public schools to achieve racial balance would be irrelevant. Even without vouchers, forced school bussing to achieve racial integration should be abandoned. Such bussing has failed to improve learning outcomes for its intended beneficiaries, undermined the important principle of the neighborhood school and its accompanying sense of community, restricted parental choice, accelerated “white flight” from racially-mixed communities, caused unnecessary expenses of money and fuel, increased the danger of transportation accidents involving children, and aggravated racial tensions.

The New World Alliance emphasizes its support of the ultimate ends of a more integrated society and equality of opportunity for all. All barriers to racial integration of neighborhoods and communities should be removed, and the educational needs of all children should be appropriately met regardless of race.

[Commentary: The problems noted regarding bussing are real. Nevertheless, bringing children of different races together in schools, before they have been too strongly influenced by the pervasive racism of our society, remains the best way to insure that educational resources are allotted fairly by race and that racial discrimination will decline in the coming generation.]



[Commentary: This statement is not sufficient to adequately speak to the concerns of minorities. The foremost “barrier” is inequity in income and wealth, and until we can eliminate this barrier, the statement is hollow rhetoric — we will continue to condemn minority children to low-quality ghetto schools.]

15. *Making Relevant Education Available*. Modern educational systems restrict inquiry and learning in ways that are injurious to both individuals and society. Many areas of learning that are important to our emerging society are absent from the curriculum, or severely de-emphasized. These learning opportunities should be made available — but not mandated — for all students. Under a voucher system, the resulting “free market” would supply these opportunities, and students and parents would be free to choose them. If a voucher system is not employed — or until it is — school boards and state education departments should seriously consider introducing the following:

15a. *Self-Sufficiency Education*. Self-sufficiency skills should be seen as a supplement, if not a legitimate full-time alternative to education for jobs. All students should learn that they are able to “make a job” as well as “take a job”. Both curriculum and counseling should inform students of self-reliant and non-market alternatives to satisfying their basic needs.

15b. *Global Education*. Students should develop a sense of world population growth and hunger, the arms race, finite resources, human rights worldwide, and the inequities between rich and poor nations.

15c. *Multi-Lingualism*. All high-school graduates should have familiarity with at least one other language, and Esperanto should be among the available choices.

15d. *Ecological Education*. Students should understand the interconnectedness of life and environmental problems such as deforestation, desertification, carbon dioxide build-up in the atmosphere, and disposing of chemical and nuclear waste. To this end, schools should have a working garden of sufficient size to involve most or all students; such gardens would emphasize ecological, self-reliant, and cooperative values.

15e. *General Management Education*. Students should learn how to conceptualize, plan, implement, and critically evaluate.

15f. *Community Education*. Students should understand community resources (health care, housing, energy sources, waste disposal, the legal system) and how to use them responsibly.

15g. *Creative Skills*. Students should be able to express themselves and to see the world in alternative, creative modes.

15h. *Human Education*. Students should understand values, purposes, aesthetics; develop self-awareness; learn how to learn; appreciate experiential education.

15i. *Futures Education*. Students should develop an overview of the human condition, and an appreciation of desirable and undesirable futures, as well as probable and possible developments.

16. *Youth Boards In Schools And Communities* — The behavior of young people is frequently governed by peer-group approval, and can be influenced more by peers than by adults and authorities. Local school boards and communities should experiment with quasi-judicial youth boards, whereby young people can deal constructively with minor offenses of their contemporaries (vandalism, creation of nuisances and hazards, petty larceny) in ways that emphasize restitution, attitude reform, and community participation by first offenders. The membership of such boards should be drawn from all parts of contemporary youth culture so as to maximize understanding and responsibility. Repeat offenders, and those accused of more serious crimes, would continue to be dealt with by the criminal justice system. Such youth boards both inside and outside of schools could substantially reduce the climate of fear that pervades many schools, while, accordingly, improving the climate for learning.

17. *Reduce Compulsory Education And Provide Supplementary Learning* — The problem of disruptive youth in schools must be addressed. Young people who have reached the age of 14 should be exempted from compulsory education laws, which presuppose that children can and do learn only in schools. Rather, local communities should develop a wide range of supplementary learning opportunities, including guided independent study, on-the-job education, apprenticeships, exchange programs, practical living experiences, extension courses, community service programs (complementing similar programs at state, national, and global levels), and folkschools for students of all ages. Young people should be encouraged to take voluntary skill achievement certification tests, the results of which they can use in qualifying for further study and employment.

18. *Vouchers for Lifelong Postsecondary Education* — Publically-supported universities subsidize the most-advantaged and upwardly-mobile young people. Society must recognize that a young person who can build an efficient solar collector, repair an automobile, produce large crops of foodstuffs, or provide loving care to preschoolers or the aged, is as worthy of society's support as a person who can master advanced calculus, design real-estate tax shelters, or develop a plan for marketing soapflakes. Serious consideration should be given to replacing present subsidies to public universities with credits or vouchers to be given to all young people who would apply them over their lifetime toward education and skill improvement in ways they find most appropriate and productive.

19. *Balanced Professional Schools.* Publically-supported colleges and universities should serve the public in the broadest sense. The public should insist on a drastic reduction of the big-technology/big-business biases of many programs, in favor of the generally-neglected people-oriented applications of human knowledge. For instance, medical schools should instruct future doctors about prevention and self-care; law schools should offer general courses for lay persons, explaining the law, the court system, and legal rights and duties; education schools should devote far more attention to the realm of self-directed learning; agriculture schools should give attention to small and part-time farms, appropriate technology, and organic methods, and business schools should offer courses in small and part-time business management and starting new enterprises.

20. *Discontinue Mandatory Continuing Education* — Mandatory continuing education for teachers and other professionals is principally a device to make work for educational experts and bureaucrats, and increases taxpayer costs. The amount of continuing education taken by professionals should be an individual responsibility.

State Education Department Help

21. *Enhancing Self-Directed Learning* — State education departments should help adults in self-directed learning, with counseling and educational media designed to clarify needs, choose goals, plan strategies, and guide the learning process. Educational researchers should give greater emphasis to learning networks, learning contracts, and independent study.

[*Commentary: Anyone familiar with the typical state education department, with its officious bureaucrats, paper-shuffling exercises, over-professionalization, and compulsion for directing the affairs of local schools and parents, will question whether those departments should have any role at all in the nation's educational future. A better plank, to start the discussion, would be to abolish all state and federal education departments and let parents and local communities provide for the education of their children. Pleas for exemptions from this draconian edict could then be entertained.*]

22. *NAEP Extension and Revision* — Tests presently given by the National Assessment of Educational Progress to 9-year-olds, 13-year-olds, 17-year-olds, and young adults (26-36 year-olds) should be extended to samplings of all age groups, so that the knowledge of young and old can be compared. It is dangerous to assume that the old know what the young are asked to know, and that older people are incapable of further learning where such needs are indicated. The NAEP tests should be continuously updated, with attention given to the relevant education outlined in #15.

New World Alliance Policies On

LABOR

The overall goals of New World Alliance labor policies are:

- 1. to frame new labor legislation built upon constructive labor-management cooperation and equitable sharing of rewards;**
- 2. to advance the right of working people to unite for collective bargaining;**
- 3. to encourage labor-management negotiations on quality of work, quality of workplace, and worker participation in decisions;**
- 4. to discourage unfair labor practices by management and by unions;**
- 5. to revise labor laws which build inefficiency and waste into the economy;**
- 6. to assure retirement security for all Americans.**

A. Overall Policy Goals

The required fundamental reassessment of the nation's labor laws will obviously be a lengthy and difficult undertaking. At this point, the New World Alliance can only offer an example of how the nation's labor-management laws might be revised.

1. *Promote Labor-Management Cooperation* — to replace traditional labor-management legislation based on class antagonism with new legislation built upon the idea of constructive labor-management cooperation and the equitable sharing of risks and rewards;
2. *Protect Collective Bargaining Rights* — to protect and advance the right of working people to unite for the purpose of bargaining with employers about wages, benefits, and working conditions;
3. *New Elements In Labor-Management Negotiation* — to encourage serious consideration in labor-management negotiations such agenda items as quality of work, quality of workplace, worker productivity, employee participation in decision-making and ownership;
4. *Discourage Unfair Labor Practices* — to effectively discourage unfair labor practices, whether by employers or unions;
5. *Reform Labor Laws That Create Inefficiency*: to revise aspects of federal, state, and local labor laws which build inefficiency and waste into the economy;

[*Commentary: This section lacks any commitment to the goal of full employment or to policies that encourage more part-time employment (thus enabling part-time self-sufficient activities) or full-time homesteading (complete self-sufficiency). In reforming our notion of economic activity, we must also reform the outdated notion that meaningful work only takes place in the market economy. By placing a value on non-paid work, we may do more towards attaining full employment than any program of government jobs.*]

Assure Retirement Security

6. *Assure Retirement Security*: to assure retirement security for all Americans through a reformed social security insurance system.

[*Commentary: No Proposal for reforming the social security insurance system was agreed upon, but this goal remains valid.*]

B. Labor Policy

The nation's fundamental labor law, the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, was enacted in an era when working people were frequently the victims of severe injustice at the hands of large-scale industrial combinations. Labor was poorly paid; health and retirement benefits were rare; working conditions were unsafe; and the profits made from the labor of the workers flowed in large measure to investors, many of whom played no active role in the productive process. The NLRA defined a process through which working people could effectively organize to fight exploitation and injustice, and, if necessary, shut down a recalcitrant employer with a strike.

This great victory for organized labor, however, perpetuated institutionalized class conflict. What labor won, employers lost, and vice versa. The very premises of the labor law, coupled with the psychology of bitter struggle that surrounded it at its birth, made it very difficult — and in some cases impossible — for labor and management to move forward in joint efforts to achieve mutual benefit.

In an age of expanded international commerce and increasingly serious challenges from other nations to American industrial supremacy, it is becoming increasingly clear that the continued antagonism between management and labor is counterproductive.

The premise of the NLRA is "honest arms-length negotiation between management and labor." Section 8(a)(2) of the Act provides that an employer shall not "dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it." Extensive litigation of this section has led to a situation where even joint management-union committees established by mutual consent are forbidden to take any action which could be construed as dealing with the employer on any issue conceivably covered by a collective-bargaining agreement.

7. Revise NLRA To Permit Cooperation — Since enactment of section 8(a)(2), the scope of collective-bargaining agreements has expanded considerably. Thus the opportunity for creative labor-management approaches to common problems has been drastically limited, unless those approaches are incorporated into the highly-formalized collective bargaining process. To encourage labor and management to work together creatively for common goals, Congress should revise section 8(a)(2) to override the Cabot Carbon doctrine (360 US 203, 1959) and permit presently prohibited cooperative efforts.

8. Explore New Ways To Conduct Fair Elections — Under the present legal framework, union representation elections frequently become a legal contest between "unionbusting" employer consultants and specialist lawyers for the union movement. Under such circumstances, the requirements of a fair election tend to be ignored in the determination of each side to counter every perceived unfair practice with another of its own. Employers bring pressure on workers to vote against the union; union organizers pressure workers to vote for union representation. Every effort is made by both sides to document the practices of the opponents so that each side can win as many NLRB rulings as possible. Efforts to trap the opposition into technical violations abound.

Admittedly, important rights are at stake for all parties involved. Nonetheless, it is time for exploring new techniques for conducting fair elections. One such technique might be the creation of an ad hoc, on-site panel to help both sides work out their own agreed-upon code of fair campaign practices, and serve as voluntary arbitrators for disputes arising from the conduct of the election. Members of the panel would be disinterested citizens conspicuous for a sense of fair play. The panel would not create precedents for use by other disputants. Both parties would agree to accept the day-to-day decisions of the arbitrators, reserving if necessary the right to appeal the process as a whole to the NLRB if final efforts at local mediation collapse. Such an arrangement appears to be within the present powers of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

9. Information on Various Participatory Arrangements — The Department of Labor should maintain a comprehensive information and case-study program, providing full information about companies that implement employee stock-ownership plans, profit-sharing plans, Scanlon and other participatory-management plans, and co-determination. Such information should be made easily available to management and labor and to experts and consultants advising both.

10. Ceilings On Union Pension Plans — The Landrum Griffin Act should be amended to place a ceiling on the asset size of union pension funds; when funds reach that size, the law should require division into two or more funds with entirely separate management. This would prevent an undue concentration of economic power and encourage competition in fund management. The worker beneficiaries should be given the right to select the fund managers.

11. *Amend Labor Standards Act To Permit Part-Time Self-Employment* — The Fair Labor Standards Act, enacted to prevent the contracting-out of piecework in the 1930s, now operates to inhibit creative part-time self-employment, especially for mothers of small children. The Act should be amended to require a strong showing of exploitation before the Department of Labor can initiate enforcement action.

Tariff Provisions for Certain Third World Exports

12. *Repeal Tariff Preferences for Third World Countries* — Title V of the Trade Act of 1974, which provides tariff preferences for imports from developing countries, should be repealed. The differential amount of the tariff thus collected should be used to encourage the growth of internal markets in those countries, and to provide training and technical assistance to companies in those countries desiring to establish worker ownership, or profit-sharing plans for their employees.

[Commentary: This plank should be amended to remove all tariffs on imports which are unique to the countries involved, and which do not threaten U.S. jobs. This is particularly true for cottage-type products, work of artisans, etc.]

13. *Abolish Overseas Private Investment Company* — The Overseas Private Investment Company (OPIC), a federal agency that insures private investment abroad, has had the effect of reducing risk for multinational corporations and their banks in foreign ventures. This has the effect of exporting American jobs. OPIC should be terminated. Export-Import Bank loans, guarantees, and insurance should be carefully administered in light of the effects on American workers.

14. *Restrict Uses of Union Dues* — The use of compulsory union dues for matters other than those relating to wages, benefits, working conditions, etc. — particularly political activity — should be forbidden.

15. *Repeal Foreign Tax Credit* — The foreign tax credit and DISC unfairly encourage the export of U.S. jobs, as well as incurring substantial loss of tax revenue. Both should be repealed.

16. *Provide Human Investment Tax Credits* — Job training in actual private-sector workplaces should be encouraged by a "human investment" tax credit at least equal to the investment tax credit.

17. *Partial Benefits For The Partially-Unemployed* — States should emulate the California employment security plan which allows the payment of partial benefits to workers who are partially unemployed as a result of work-sharing arrangements.

18. *Require Adequate Notice Of Plant Closings* — States should require corporations planning to close or relocate to provide adequate notice, so that employees, community leaders, and governments can have a fair chance to develop and implement plans to acquire the affected facilities and continue them in operation.

“ . . . to replace traditional labor-management legislation based on class antagonism with the idea of constructive cooperation and the equitable sharing of risks and rewards . . . ”

New World Alliance Policies On

TRANSPORTATION

The overall goals of New World Alliance transportation policies are:

- 1. to encourage self-sufficient communities, minimizing dependency on extended transportation systems;**
- 2. to promote ecologically-sound, energy-conserving personal transportation;**
- 3. to promote high-occupancy transportation systems for densely-populated areas;**
- 4. to eliminate inequities among subsidies for various forms of transportation;**
- 5. to terminate monopoly in transportation in order to increase competition and allow new modes to develop.**

A. Overall Policy Goals

1. *Minimum Dependence On Complex Transportation Forms* — to encourage more self-sufficient urban and rural communities on a smaller functional scale, thus minimizing the dependence upon extended, complicated, and expensive transportation systems;

Promote Energy-Efficient Transport

2. *Promote Energy-Efficient Transport* — to promote ecologically-sound, energy-conserving means of personal transportation, such as fuel-efficient automobiles and other motorized vehicles, and bicycling and walking, thus lessening dependence on large, unsafe, and energy-consuming vehicles;

[Commentary: Unfortunately, no mention is made of potentially important innovations in transportation technology, such as micro-cars, the computer-routed dial-a-bus, advanced-design light rail intercity transit, high-efficiency sailing ships with computer-controlled sails and auxiliary engines, heavy freight airships that combine aspects of the dirigible and fixed-wing aircraft, etc. Attention should also be focused on the potential for using telecommunications and home-computer terminals for reducing transportation requirements.]

3. *Promote Mass Transit Where Needed* — to promote high-occupancy transportation systems that are necessary to meet transit needs in densely-populated urban areas;

4. *End Inequity By Subsidy* — to eliminate inequities among public subsidies for various forms of transportation to remove the artificial competitive advantage of the trucking industry and the passenger car;

5. *End Transport Monopoly* — to terminate monopoly and special privilege in the transportation industry so that all traditional modes compete fairly with each other and with new modes that may develop.

“ . . . to encourage more self-sufficient urban and rural communities on a smaller functional scale, thus minimizing the dependence upon extended, complicated, and expensive transportation systems.”

B. Specific Recommendations

Discourage Subsidy For Fixed-Route Mass Transit

6. *Discourage Subsidy For Fixed-Route Mass Transit* — Urban mass-transit systems have proven to be expensive, inefficient, land-consuming, and capital intensive. Federal subsidies for new fixed-route mass-transit systems should be discouraged. The federal share in funding for maintaining plant and equipment of existing systems should be greater than that for highway construction, as at present.

[Commentary: Subways are convenient for their users, but unfortunately involve unacceptable financial and energy costs. For example, the San Francisco Bay BART system, in many ways superior to the Washington Metro, the Philadelphia Lindenwold line, and Boston's South Shore Extension, took 34 times as much energy to construct as the equivalent highway improvements, and will not reach an energy break-even point for 168 years, using optimistic assumptions. An auto getting 26 mpg is more energy-efficient than BART. To achieve its benefits, BART (in 1976) cost over \$6 per trip, of which passengers paid less than 20%. Preserving high-density subway systems in places like New York City is one thing, but building new systems does little more than saddle taxpayers with huge financial costs and society with negative net-energy balances, mainly for the benefit of big construction companies, their employees, and the politicians who vote for the programs.]

7. *Urban Zoning To Reduce Need For Auto Travel* — Traditional urban zoning, which attempts to separate residential, commercial, and industrial uses, has created transportation needs where none would have existed. Urban zoning should encourage "garden neighborhoods" and self-contained enclaves wherever possible, featuring community-controlled open spaces and park land and limited need for automotive travel.

8. *More Variety In Transport Services* — Local government transit monopolies should be modified or eliminated to allow for private competition. Cities should create transportation clearinghouse services which help residents solve their transportation problems by making use of a wide range of public and private transportation modes.

9. *Free Entry To Taxi Business* — Local taxicab medallion monopolies should be phased out. Entry to the taxicab or jitney business should be allowed to anyone with suitable driving ability and insurance.

10. *Create Travel Routes Encouraging Bicycling and Foot Travel* — Local governments should design travel routes to encourage the use of bicycles, small electric vehicles, and foot travel. Federal subsidies for highway construction should be redirected to the redesign and upgrading of local roads and creation of bicycle paths, etc. City traffic patterns should emphasize access and use, rather than mobility and rapid passage.

11. *Phase Out Railroad Regulation* — ICC regulation of railroads should be rapidly phased out. Carriers should be allowed to abandon service on lightly-used routes, provided they offer them for sale to communities or regional groups. Carriers should be allowed to set prices in accordance with a competitive market, and reorganize as desired. Restrictive labor rules that inhibit productivity should be abolished in favor of employee ownership and profit-sharing plans, where the savings from higher productivity will be widely shared by all workers. Carriers should be required to continue service on uneconomic branch lines only if the loss from doing so is covered by users. Railroad companies should be required to divest unrelated conglomerate ventures such as industrial companies, resorts, and amusement parks. The termination of common-carrier rate regulation should be accompanied by a change in railroad accounting practices to reflect the true value of the roadbed, plant, and rolling stock.

12. *Phase Out Truck Regulation* — ICC regulation of motor carriers should be rapidly phased out. The gateway cities rule, rate bureaus, limitations on cargoes and back-haul rules should be abolished immediately. Barriers to entry should be steadily reduced and ultimately eliminated.

13. *Reduce Barge Traffic Regulation* — ICC regulation of barge traffic should be confined to safety regulation and the collection of adequate user fees to compensate the public for its investment in channels, locks, and other improvements. Barge traffic should be made to compete on an equal basis with the railroads.

14. *Continue Airline Deregulation* — The deregulation of the airline industry should be continued so as to promote competition and lower fares.

Phase Out Subsidy of Rail Passenger Service and Highways

15. *Phase Out Subsidy of Rail Passenger Service and Highways* — Government support of rail passenger service should be ultimately phased out. Federal subsidies to highways should be eliminated, making highway users pay the full cost of automobile travel, thus making railroad travel cost competitive in the long run. In the interim, federal monies now going to highway construction and maintenance should be redirected to railroads and other means of rational transportation.

[*Commentary: Highway users should indeed pay the full cost of automobile travel, but if they did, it would have little effect on making rail passenger travel cost competitive. Present federal, state, and local subsidies for auto travel, according to the Congressional Budget Office, total well under one cent per passenger mile. AMTRAK is being subsidized at the rate of 13.4 cents per passenger mile. The AMTRAK subsidy (of \$900-million) should be terminated immediately. The people who insist on travelling by train should be asked to pay for it, not the taxpayer.*]

“ . . . to promote ecologically-sound, energy-conserving means of personal transportation, thus lessening dependence on large, unsafe, and energy-consuming vehicles.”

New World Alliance Policies On CRIME and JUSTICE

The overall goals of the New World Alliance Crime and Justice policies are:

- 1. to protect the public from violence;**
- 2. to restore the principles of personal responsibility and community involvement with harmful behavior;**
- 3. to reform the legal system as a "justice system";**
- 4. to integrate the justice system into daily community life;**
- 5. to support offenders who seek to improve;**
- 6. to broaden the capacity of policy officers to deal humanely with conflict and behavior problems;**
- 7. to promote prompt proceedings;**
- 8. to encourage alternatives to incarceration;**
- 9. to decriminalize victimless acts and direct resources toward protecting society against violent and white-collar crimes;**
- 10. to curb excessive invasions of privacy by police officers.**

A. Overall Policy Goals

1. *Protect Individual Rights and the Public* — to protect the public from violent acts against persons and property without violating the rights of individual citizens;
2. *Restoration of Desirable Principles* — to restore the principles of personal responsibility for behavior, reconciliation of controversies, creative restitution for injury to others, cooperation in attaining just resolution of disputes, and involvement of the community in dealing with harmful behavior;
3. *A More Broadly Defined Justice System* — to reform the legal system in the direction of a more broadly conceived "justice system" designed to make maximum use of informal and lower-level dispute-resolving mechanisms, and to reduce reliance on adversary confrontations;
4. *Integrate Justice Into The Community* — to integrate the justice system into daily community and neighborhood life;
5. *Support Voluntary Rehabilitation* — to support offenders who seek to improve their relationship to themselves and to society, so that they may leave harmful behavior behind;
6. *Broaden Capacities of Police Officers* — to broaden the capacity of law-enforcement officials to deal responsibly and humanely with a wide variety of conflicts and behavior problems;
7. *Prompt Legal Proceedings* — to promote expeditious achievement of justice through prompt legal proceedings and trials;
8. *Humane Alternatives to Inhumane Incarceration* — to encourage alternatives to pre-trial detention and total incarceration, and to develop more humane penal practices when incarceration is necessary to protect society;
9. *Decriminalize Victimless Acts* — to direct more criminal justice resources toward protecting society against violent and white-collar crimes by decriminalizing victimless acts;
10. *Curb Invasion of Privacy* — to curb excessive invasions of privacy by overzealous law-enforcement officials.

[Commentary: There is a major oversight in the platform: a neglect of the ERA issue. A new goal should be added: "To ensure that the equality of women is recognized in the Constitution and enforced as the law of the land." Specifically, it is proposed that "the Equal Rights Amendment should be ratified as the 27th Amendment to the Constitution."

" . . . to support offenders who seek to improve their relationship to themselves and to society, so that they may leave harmful behavior behind."

B. Decriminalization

The criminal sanction is being improperly used to prosecute activities between consenting adults. This diverts attention from more serious offenses.

On Drug Abuse, Use, and Sale

11. *Decriminalize Use And Sale Of Drugs* — State and federal laws prohibiting the possession, use, and sale of marijuana, psychedelic drugs, and narcotics by adults should be repealed to destroy the criminal market in these drugs and to reduce the number of crimes committed by addicts to support their habit. All forms of commercial advertisement for these drugs should be strictly curtailed.



[Commentary: The possession and use of marijuana and psychedelic drugs should be criminalized, but it should continue to be an offense to sell them. The sale and use of narcotics should continue to be illegal. Those convicted of narcotics violations should not be imprisoned, but should be diverted to self-help programs as described in #12 below.]



[Commentary: Human beings have long ingested various substances for purposes other than nutrition — including medicinal, hedonistic, and sacramental purposes. In contemporary times, because of the ingenuity of the pharmaceutical industry and the inclinations of people, the number and use of such substances has greatly increased. Concomitantly, there has been an increase in their abuse.

[Our country has assigned primary responsibility for curbing drug abuse to law enforcement authorities and the criminal justice system. This policy has been ineffective — indeed, counter-productive — and it is philosophically wrong. Drug abuse continues to flourish. Many crimes against property are committed to support drug habits. And overzealous police regularly invade our privacy in futile efforts to suppress drug traffic.

[The premise upon which drug-abuse policy should be based is that every adult has as a fundamental liberty the right to ingest whatever substances he or she chooses to ingest. Only the most compelling reasons should be allowed to limit that right. At the same time, it is important to recognize that some drugs are dangerous and their indiscriminate use, especially by children, should be discouraged.]

[In view of the foregoing concerns, the outlines of a reform of drug policy would be as follows:

[a. All criminal laws restricting the marijuana and cocaine trade should be eliminated forthwith except for restrictions on commercial advertisement and on their distribution to minors. Upon legalization, every effort should be made to retain the existing human-scale system of cultivation and commerce and to discourage corporate and bureaucratic intervention.

[b. Opiate-based drugs and psychedelic drugs should be available at reasonable cost via local, licensed dispensaries (similar to the system for distributing cocaine in the United Kingdom), subject only to the individual's ability to demonstrate reasonable knowledge of the particular drug's characteristics and appropriate methods of use.

[c. Suppression of drug use should be replaced by meaningful education which acknowledges the benefits as well as the detriments of the many mind/mood altering chemicals and teaches people that if they are to use drugs, to use them with care and respect.]

12. *Self-Help Programs For Drug And Alcohol Abusers* — State and federal governments should treat drug abuse and alcoholism as diseases or psychological disorders instead of crimes. Self-help programs which seek to improve users' relationships to themselves and to society, and thus to reduce dependence on these substances, should be strongly encouraged.

13. *End Sexual-Preference Discrimination* — State and federal governments should repeal laws prohibiting private sexual acts between consenting adults and end discrimination against persons because of their private sexual preferences.

14. *Reduce Pornography Restrictions* — State governments should repeal pornography, obscenity, and blasphemy statutes, except for statutes prohibiting sales to minors. Public nuisance statutes should be made to provide adequate protection against offensive public displays of obscene material.

[*Commentary: There should be a similar plank relating to prostitution restrictions.*]

15. *Reduce Gambling Restrictions* — State laws regulating games of chance should be confined to protection of consumers and the collection of revenue.

C. Modifying the Adversary System

The adversary system gives the entire responsibility for resolving conflicts to third-party intermediaries. As a result, the responsibility for the consequences of our acts rests not with our selves, but with a governmental authority. This breeds a sense of powerlessness.

16. *More Conciliatory Steps In Judicial Process* — Wherever possible, state and federal governments should build more conciliatory steps into the judicial process. This helps people take personal responsibility for the consequences of their conduct by encouraging them to participate jointly in the search for a lasting resolution of their conflicts. As examples, mediation procedures should be established as adjuncts to courts of law, and professional counseling should be available in divorce cases.

17. *More Informal Procedures For Minor Offenses* — States and localities should make greater use of informal procedures such as arbitration for dealing with minor juvenile and adult offenses. Restitution to the victim and the community should be stressed.

Compensating Accident Victims

18. *Meet Legitimate Needs of Personally Injured* — The existing system of personal-injury compensation is wasteful and encourages fraud and greed. Its goal should be for the community to assist in meeting the legitimate basic needs of all seriously-injured persons. For example, no-fault insurance coverage, at least for minor automobile accidents, should be instituted.

[*Commentary: No-fault insurance has gotten very mixed reviews and eliminates personal responsibility for harmful actions.*]

19. *Information System For Witnesses* — State and federal courts should create information services to explain the court system to witnesses and to inform them of their responsibilities.

20. *Replace Grand Juries With Preliminary Hearings* — States should replace grand juries with preliminary hearings as pre-trial screening devices in all cases except investigations into official misconduct.

“Governments should build more conciliatory steps into the judicial process to help people take personal responsibility for the consequences of their conduct.”

D. Law Enforcement

The present method of organizing and delivering police services is incompatible with the realities of police work, the goals of police professionalism, and the need for healthy relations between the police and the community.

21. *Focus on Apprehending Violent Offenders* — State and local law enforcement systems should focus their primary efforts on violent offenders. Specific programs should include prioritization of police assignments and restrictive bail requirements.
22. *More Prosecution Of White-Collar Crime* — States should also devote greater efforts to prosecution of political and economic crimes, such as consumer fraud, embezzlement, corruption, bribery, extortion, and election stealing. Specific measures should include improved police training, public awareness campaigns, and creation of statewide political and economic crime units, composed of representatives from state and local regulatory, enforcement, and prosecutorial agencies.
23. *Integrate Law Enforcement Agencies Into Community* — State and local governments should work to integrate law enforcement agencies into communities and neighborhoods, making use of concerted police-community relations practices, citizen review boards, and decentralized administrative authority, such as neighborhood team policing.
24. *Emphasize Community Crime Prevention Programs* — Local law enforcement agencies should emphasize community crime prevention programs, relying on neighborhood self-help such as property marking, block watchers, communications access, and education. Unarmed crime-watch patrols should be encouraged in close cooperation with law enforcement agencies.
25. *Train Police For Crisis Intervention* — Local governments should provide crisis-intervention training for all line officers, and human relations training for recruits and officer candidates. Individuals unable to cope with stress, uncertainty, and threats to safety should be screened out.
26. *Prosecute Brutal Officials* — Federal and state authorities should more vigorously enforce rules which provide for the dismissal and prosecution of law enforcement officials who engage in brutality toward suspects or detainees.
27. *Stringent Control Of Surveillance And Searches* — Federal and state governments should exercise more stringent control over electronic surveillance, searches and seizures, and grants of limited immunity by law-enforcement officials. Authorities who clearly overstep their mandates should be vigorously prosecuted.
28. *Crisis/Assault Care Centers* — Prosecutors should create crisis/assault care centers in areas where there are significant rates of violent and sexual crime, domestic disturbances, drug and alcohol abuse, and suicide.
29. *Police/Prosecutor Liaison To Reduce Case Preparation Errors* — In order to reduce the number of crimes dismissed due to errors in case preparation, local governments should establish police/prosecutor liaison proceedings for reviewing all police reports for legal sufficiency before submission to the prosecutor's office.

30. *Ombudsman's Offices* — State and local governments should create ombudsman's offices to investigate citizen charges of misconduct by police and other public officials, and to make recommendations to a review board having a majority of citizen members. Such offices should ultimately be added to all public agencies.

E. Criminal Sentencing

The use of prolonged confinement in large, close-security prisons as a criminal punishment, results in serious abuse of state power, inhumane treatment of human beings, and waste of public funds, without adequately increasing public safety or meeting the needs of the victims.

31. *Stiff Penalties For Driver Abuse Of Drugs Or Alcohol* — States should enforce mandatory suspension of driving privileges for those convicted of driving while under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Additional penalties should also be imposed on intoxicated drivers who cause personal injury or property damage to others. The campaign for a national registry of drivers who lose their licenses should be supported, so as to discourage irresponsible drivers who lose their licenses in one state from acquiring a license in another state.

32. *Focus On Punishing Violent Offenders* — State and federal court systems should devote more of their resources to the conviction and punishment of violent felony offenders, especially those with previous records of violent crime. Specific programs should include restrictions on plea bargaining, priority for speedy trial, reduced prosecutor caseloads, use of a single experienced prosecutor through all stages of trial, and mandatory sentencing.

33. *Full-Time Incarceration Only Of Violent Felons* — Only those convicted of violent felonies should be incarcerated full-time. To reduce prison overcrowding and the burden on taxpayers and to prevent the criminalization of naive offenders, state and local governments should make increased use of work-release programs, close probation supervision, and especially restitution and community service programs for offenders who are not a demonstrable threat to public safety.

34. *Moratorium on Constructing Large Prisons* — There should be a moratorium on the construction of large maximum-security prisons. For those offenders requiring full-time incarceration, smaller, more manageable facilities should be built to replace fortress-like prisons.

35. *Direct Cost Savings To Rehabilitative Activities* — Prison officials should use the savings which result from the increased use of alternative sanctions to make therapeutic, occupational, educational, and moral development programs available to prisoners and staff.

36. *Govern Prisons By Rule Of Law* — To the maximum extent possible, the internal workings of prisons should be governed by the rule of law. Law-abiding prisoners should be encouraged to participate, under the supervision and control of prison authorities, in decision-making and in judging the actions of fellow inmates.

37. *Define Rights For Convicts* — Convicts should have defined rights, including reasonable health and nutrition standards, protection from the destructive acts of other prisoners, parole after a prescribed period of good behavior, and appeal of parole denials.

38. *Reform Parole* — If parole is denied, the reasons should be stated in writing and placed in the prisoner's record. Ex-convicts charged with violating parole conditions should be afforded the full panoply of due-process rights. Parole boards should not have the power to extend the maximum sentence imposed by the court.

39. *Sentencing Guidelines* — State and federal governments should create sentencing commissions to define a carefully-limited range of sentences which may be imposed for specific crimes. In keeping with the practices of other industrialized societies, the maximum sentence term should be less than five years except for heinous crimes of violence. Sentencing guidelines should take into account the prior record of the offender and any extenuating or aggravating circumstances. Sentences which exceed the guidelines should be justified in a written opinion reviewable on appeal.

F. Access To Legal System

40. *Substitute Field Citations For Some Arrests* — The money bail-bond system unfairly penalizes the poor and undermines the goal of justice under law. Police should make greater use of "field citations" instead of arrest for minor offenses, such as disturbing the peace, non-support, and shoplifting.

41. *Greater Use Of Non-Financial Release Practices* — Courts should make greater use of non-financial release practices for those accused of misdemeanors and non-violent felonies, including release to a responsible local citizen, maintenance of contact with a social agency, residence at a particular address, and limitation of travel and associates. Release should be revoked if the suspect is arraigned for another offense while awaiting trial.

42. *Speedier Trials* — Federal, state and local governments should streamline procedures to reduce the time between arraignment and trial to a maximum of 70 days. In unusual circumstances, courts should be permitted to request an extension of no more than 30 days.

43. *Reduce Need For Lawyers* — Legal assistance to obtain justice is currently unavailable to many citizens entitled to legal relief. Judicial proceedings need to be more accessible, efficient, and ethical. For instance, federal and state governments should revise their laws and administrative procedures to obviate the need for professional attorneys in relatively simple procedures, such as many probate and uncontested divorce cases.

44. *Use Paralegal Personnel* — State laws should permit paralegal and other trained practitioners to supplement the services of fully-trained lawyers.

45. *Apprenticeship As Substitute For Law School* — States should permit apprenticeship and intern service as an alternative to a law school degree in qualifying for admission to the bar.

46. *Bar Association Proceedings And The Public* — States should specify lay representation on all bar association admission and disciplinary boards, and findings of lawyer misconduct by such boards should be a matter of public record.

47. *Create Community-Based Magistrate Systems* — States should explore the creation of community-based magistrate systems to resolve common disputes in accordance with equity and community standards of right behavior. For even closer contact with the grass roots, mobile courts similar to bookmobiles might be considered, as proposed by Prof. Lawrence Tribe in *The Atlantic*, July, 1979.

48. *Greater Use Of Qui Tam Action* — States should allow greater use of the *qui tam* action, whereby a citizen may sue on his or her own behalf despite the failure of the prosecutor to enforce the law, and claim awards of up to half the amount of the civil fine levied by the court.

49. *Instruction For All In Legal Procedures And Rights* — States should encourage local school districts and community colleges to offer instruction in the legal rights and duties of citizens and in the fundamentals of legal procedure.

50. *Pay Costs Of Successful Legal Actions Against Government* — State and local governments should award the reasonable costs of legal action, including attorney's fees, to plaintiffs who prevail in suits against the government.

51. *Remove Barriers To Group Legal Insurance Plans* — States should eliminate barriers to the creation of group legal-insurance plans, similar to plans for payment of medical expenses.

52. *Penalize Those Who Needlessly Delay Legal Proceedings* — Existing pleading practices should be replaced by form pleading in most instances. Financial penalties should be levied more aggressively on parties and lawyers who needlessly delay legal proceedings. Dilatory discovery tactics can and should be reduced.

53. *Enforce Laws Against Perjury* — The laws against perjury should be vigorously enforced.

Regulating Contingency Legal Fees

54. *Regulate Contingent Fees* — Contingent fees should be regulated by law so that no one pays out more than one-third of any recovery to one's lawyer.

[Commentary: It is a little hard to see the justification for government intrusion into the lawyer-client relationship. Let people make whatever private agreements as may seem mutually beneficial.]

G. Gun Control

Deliberate and accidental misuse of deadly weapons is a matter of serious concern to society. The ultimate solution is to eliminate the various reasons which lead people to use deadly force against one another. In the interim, the following steps are proposed to strike a balance which protects both the civil liberties of gun owners and the safety of the public.

“The present method of organizing and delivering police services is incompatible with the realities of police work, the goals of police professionalism, and the need for healthy relations between the police and the community.”

55. *Responsible Possession, Use, and Exchange of Firearms* — State law should impose upon each citizen a legal obligation that any deadly weapon, including firearms, be responsibly possessed, used, and exchanged. Those who fail to comply should be made to make restitution to society and its victims. Gun-owners' organizations in particular should be enlisted in a gun-safety and responsibility campaign.

Licensing of Handguns

56. *License Handguns* — Licensing should be required for all privately-held handguns.

[Commentary: The 17th Century English concept of a "populace numerous and armed" is a valuable bulwark against tyranny and should be supported.]



[Commentary: This plank is obviously a hesitant step toward the confiscation of private firearms. It is true that a great deal of tragedy is caused by firearms, not to mention automobiles, alcohol, and narcotics. But to advocate that government attempt to prohibit the ownership of firearms is to advocate the epidemic of illegality, black marketeering, disrespect for law, and invasion of civil liberties. In the last analysis, gun control doesn't work and won't work, and there is no point in proceeding down that road. Imposing severe penalties for gun-related crimes is about all society can do until such time as a non-violent ethic begins to gain ascendancy among the American people.]

57. *Amend Gun Control Act of 1968* — Present federal firearms laws have often proven to be more of a threat to civil liberties of persons engaged in the legitimate use and exchange of firearms than to the activities of criminals. Congress should amend the Gun Control Act of 1968 to sharply define "engaging in the business" of trading in firearms; to allow sales to eligible persons and forbid sales to non-eligible (felons, minors, etc.) without regard to residence; to require reasonable cause before federal agents can demand to enter the premises of firearms dealers; to allow courts to impose the cost of legal defense on the enforcing agency where the court finds harassment or bad faith in enforcement; and generally, to restore due process for all persons involved in firearms cases. Congress should consider transferring jurisdiction over the enforcement of firearms and explosives laws from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms of the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice.

New World Alliance Policies On
SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY

The overall goals of New World Alliance science and technology policies are:

- 1. to encourage inquiry that serves the broad public interest rather than narrow professional or corporate interests;**
- 2. to encourage publicly-funded research in the areas posing the greatest problems for human life;**
- 3. to promote more broadly integrative and value-conscious inquiry;**
- 4. to improve the quantity and quality of technology assessment;**
- 5. to encourage the development of appropriate technology;**
- 6. to encourage agricultural practices such as organic farming and integrated pest management that conserve the soil, use less energy, recycle biological wastes, and produce wholesome food.**

The New World Alliance advocates major changes in science and technology policy to bring our full intellectual resources to bear on the urgent problems confronting our nation and the world community. New World Alliance policies are motivated in particular by:

- the recognition that the impacts of science and technology are not always and unequivocally for the better, and that scientific research and technological development have too often become ends in themselves rather than means to wisdom and human well-being;
- the belief that our industrial society is founded on an inadequate, reductionist scientific worldview, but that frontier developments in many fields of science are converging on a new, holistic worldview;
- the belief that science cannot be "value free" at its deepest level — the level where research interests and goals are defined — and that research has too often been shaped by hidden values that do not serve the long-term public interest.
- the belief that many technologies have serious unanticipated and undesirable impacts which require better assessment and control, and that some lines of technological development pose unacceptable threats to human survival and progress, e.g., some new military weapons, and tools for surveillance and control that could readily support a totalitarian state;
- the conviction that current "anti-science" and "anti-technology" attitudes are dangerous over-reactions to negative impacts of science and technology. The critical problems before us cannot be resolved by a retreat into ignorance, but require a renaissance of technological creativity that develops the fullest potential of contemporary science by putting it in service to constructive activity and guiding it by humanistic and ecological values;
- the conviction that a vast mobilization of our nation's and the world's scientific and technological talent is urgently needed to decrease the threat of nuclear annihilation, to limit global population growth, to develop new technologies and ways of life in greater harmony with the environment and far more efficient in the use of energy and other resources, and to allow *all* members of the world community to realize the potential which our genetic, cultural, and technological endowment makes possible.

"A vast mobilization of the world's scientific and technological talent is urgently needed to decrease the threat of nuclear annihilation, to limit global population growth, to develop ways of life in greater harmony with the environment, and to allow all members of the world community to realize full potential."

A. Overall Policy Goals

The overall goals of the New World Alliance science and technology policies are:

1. *Public Interest Science* — to encourage inquiry that serves the broad public interest, rather than narrow professional or corporate interests alone, in all publicly-funded scientific research and development;
2. *High Priority Research* — to encourage publicly-funded research in the areas posing the greatest foreseeable problems for human life; conversely, to discourage inquiries into trivial problems;
3. *Holistic Inquiry and Firmer Assumptions* — to promote more broadly integrative inquiry, a wider variety of outlooks and methods, the concept of a holistic and highly-interconnected universe (aspects of which may be only partially amenable to rigorous analysis), value-conscious inquiry (replacing so-called "value-free" inquiry), and paradigmatic rigor appropriate to our complex changing era;
4. *Technology Assessment* — to improve the quantity and quality of technology assessment, encourage more citizen involvement in the process, and make the results of such assessments more widely available;
5. *Appropriate Technology* — to encourage the development of appropriate or convivial technology: tools that are small-scale, low-cost, easy to understand and maintain, durable, non-violent, non-polluting, and usable by ordinary people in everyday life;
6. *Specific Technologies* — (note: technologies in specific areas are dealt with elsewhere in this platform, e.g., sections on energy, environment, health, and transportation. However, due to the temporary absence of sections on agriculture and communications, specific mention of technological goals in these areas is warranted.)
 - 6a. *Agriculture*. To encourage agricultural practices such as organic farming and integrated pest management that conserve the soil, use less energy, recycle biological wastes, and produce more wholesome food.

[Commentary: These goals may well be reasonable and desirable, but in this compact presentation, their meaning and implications are not clear.]

Decentralization of Communications Control

6b. *Communications*. To encourage dispersed worldwide control of new communications technologies such as satellites and cable television, especially in view of recent trends toward greater concentration of control. A "New International Information Order" is as important as a "New International Economic Order."

[Commentary: Persons experienced in the communications field generally believe that present trends are decidedly in the direction of greater dispersion, rather than concentration, of control.]

" . . . to encourage dispersed worldwide control of new communications technologies . . . "

B. Specific Proposals

7. *Priorities Lists* — In order to highlight urgent problems and different valuations of them, avoid duplication in research, and secure widespread participation in determining research priorities, a variety of problem priority lists should be assembled annually by all federal agencies dispensing R&D funds, and exchanged with other agencies and various groups worldwide. Exemplary in this respect is *OTA Priorities 1979*, published by the U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, in January, 1979.

Councils of Urgent Studies

8. *Councils of Urgent Studies* — In order to direct the focus of scientific inquiry, and our dangerously narrow notion of "national security", serious consideration should be given to councils of urgent studies, as proposed by Cellarius and Platt (*Science*, August 25, 1972). Established at the university, national, and international levels, such councils would serve as a clearinghouse for problems, scientists, and funds, as well as brokering between researchers and the public.

[*Commentary: Unless done on an informal, non-governmental basis, Councils of Urgent Studies would involve too much government control of scientific research.*]



[*Commentary: The proposal to create Councils of Urgent Studies is especially important, because the Science and Technology Statement does not contain many specific proposals for research directed at urgent problems. It is important to note that Cellarius and Platt propose that these councils have only an advisory capacity and exist "outside the government . . . independent of changes of administration and government programs." They would work to iden-*

tify urgent problems and provide an analysis of their component sub-problems; to prepare "state of the art catalogs" containing an inventory of problem-oriented research findings and on-going research efforts; to catalog the funding sources available to scientists working in different problem areas; to take the initiative to bring together the problems, scientists, and funds, in a three-way broker role; to legitimate research on urgent problems, especially for younger scientists who are often not rewarded for problem-oriented research because it cannot be published in the most prestigious disciplinary journals oriented toward basic research; and to help bring important research

findings to the attention of the public and appropriate people in business, public interest groups, government agencies and international organizations. This approach could have a large impact on the direction of scientific research without entailing greater government control. Cellarius and Platt argue that there is a precedent for this kind of role in the work of Vannevar Bush and his staff in the Office of Scientific Research and Development in World War II. They argue that today's problems are as complex and difficult as the fighting of a war, and require a research effort on a scale hitherto seen only in wartime.]

9. *Profit Center Approach to Funding* — The federal government should adopt a competitive "profit center" approach to funding basic and applied research, rather than funding all research through monopolistic agencies which often develop bureaucratic ossification and proprietary interests in certain methods and theories.

"The impacts of science and technology are not always for the better, and research and development have too often become ends in themselves rather than means to wisdom and human well-being."

10. *Science Courts* — Many public decisions today are based on scientific findings, but there are often too many legitimate points of view on a particular issue, such as the effects of low-level radiation. In order to insure that all points of view are fairly considered, and that the science supported by private interests does not unfairly prevail, the concept of federally-supported science courts should be seriously considered. Such institutions would be open to all citizens, and would seek to resolve — or at least illuminate — conflicts where factual disputes impinge on public policy. Hearings would be open to the public and governed by a disinterested referee. Adversaries would argue opposing scientific positions before a panel of scientists acceptable to both sides. The judges would not make policy recommendations, but would issue a report serving as a factual basis for the value judgments of policy-making bodies.

11. *Non-Established Researchers* — A small portion of research funds in each federal agency should be allocated to support investigation by researchers who, if not for lack of formal credentials or affiliation with a university or established research organization, would be included in federal research programs.

12. *Reporting Outside Income* — The outside income of all scientists paid from federal funds, or supported by state universities, should be filed as a matter of public record. Such a requirement would discourage the distortion of inquiry by corporations and special interest groups, while strengthening the integrity of both science and the academic enterprise.

13. *Conflict of Interest* — Strict conflict-of-interest requirements should be imposed on all persons paid under federal science research grants and contracts. These requirements would not only concern financial conflicts, but also ensure that no scientist sits in judgment of his or her prior work.

14. *Repayment of Federal Support* — Federal support for research into matters which subsequently prove to be commercially viable should be repaid to taxpayers. Such support, for example, could be included in the cost of the resulting product, and thus repaid by the product's users.

15. *Commercializing Patents* — The federal government should liberalize restrictions on the commercialization of patents developed with public money, but should retain a royalty interest until all public investment has been repaid. It should also preserve "march-in" rights to recover patent rights not under active development, and require licensing by the patent holder upon agreement to pay a reasonable royalty.

16. *Citizen Review Panels* — All scientific programs of the federal government should be subject to periodic review by a panel of citizens who are not expert in any research field, but selected because of their broad understanding of science and society. The recommendations of these panels should be widely disseminated, and used in relevant policy-making deliberations.

"Encourage the development of appropriate technology: tools that are small-scale, low-cost, easy to maintain, durable, non-polluting, and usable by ordinary people in everyday life."

“The United Nations should form an Association for Advancement of Human Knowledge dedicated to science as a worldwide movement . . . ”

17. *Balanced Research Programs in State-Supported Institutions* — Many professional schools in land-grant colleges and universities are strongly oriented toward large-scale technology and corporate interests. States should encourage a more diverse mix of inquiries, especially those which promise to benefit the public interest. Schools of agriculture, for example, should also consider organic agriculture, small farms, and appropriate technology; business schools should place greater emphasis on small enterprises and starting new businesses; architecture schools should include a focus on self-help housing and creative restoration; schools of medicine should give greater attention to nutrition and self-care. To this end, states should require annual reports to the public, prepared by independent bodies, on the research emphasis in these schools.

18. *Improved Information Services* — The federal government should strengthen the National Referral Center and other information gathering, exchanging, and referral services, especially those devoted to decentralized and appropriate technologies. Efforts should be made to improve access to non-U.S. and non-English language information, and, conversely, to improve dissemination of U.S. information so that all people, worldwide, can have better access to it.

19. *A Worldwide Knowledge Association* — The United Nations should give initial support to forming an Association for the Advancement of Human Knowledge, as recently proposed by the retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Kenneth E. Boulding (*Science*, February 22, 1980). Such an association would be open to a worldwide membership and dedicated to science as a worldwide movement transcending values of nationality and culture.

20. *Extension of Nobel Prizes* — The Nobel awards, established in 1901, pay homage to global excellence in the areas of physiology and medicine, chemistry, physics, economics, literature, and peace. These realms do not adequately reflect the full range of scientific inquiry and human thought, nor do they pay adequate attention to the type of thinking so badly needed in these times. The rewards should be replaced, or supplemented, with prizes in areas such as social thought and ecological science. Awards should also be considered for “applied” contributions to major human problem areas such as agriculture, learning, criminal justice, human dignity, housing, transportation — essentially efforts which address the entire range of human concerns.

“Inquiry should serve the broad public interest, rather than narrow professional or corporate interests alone.”

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Many of these books and reports are available from:

The Resource Center
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Many of these books and reports are available from:

*The Resource Center
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An Invitation To Join The New World Alliance

A *Transformation Platform* is one of the first projects of the New World Alliance. Other initial projects which invite your participation include:

- *RENEWAL*: a newsletter that reports on current events from a transformational perspective, and on the activities of the New World Alliance and related groups.
- *The Political Awareness Seminar*: an intensive day-long experience that helps participants discover and blend their visions of a better society, experience their potential for political effectiveness, and reorder their personal priorities.
- *A Political Action Committee*: support for state and local candidates whose beliefs and personal qualities reflect New World values.
- *Services*: a resource center, speakers' bureau, etc.
- *Local Chapters*: where members can join with friends, neighbors, and associates on projects appropriate to their community.

Use the form below to request further information or to become a member.

GETTING INVOLVED

- I want to participate. Please enroll me as a member.
- Regular \$20 Contributor \$50
- Supporter \$100 Sponsor \$500 or more

I want to contribute to educational outreach only. My tax-deductible gift, payable to the New World Education Fund, is enclosed. (Tax-exempt status pending.)

Please send further information on New World Alliance activities and projects.

REMARKS:

Name.....

Address.....

.....

County:.....

Phone ().....

NEW WORLD ALLIANCE
733 15th Street NW, #1131
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 347-6082

*We need your help and support.
We look forward to working with you in the New World Alliance!*

I want to begin the dialogue — here's my commentary:

THE NEW WORLD ALLIANCE

The New World Alliance is a new national political organization that represents a transformational/New Age perspective. We believe that our nation is entering a period of fundamental transition, where it will either decline as a civilization, or find the inner resources to achieve a systematic transformation toward greater individual self-actualization, harmony with nature, decentralization, social justice and global cooperation. The New World Alliance seeks to break away from the old quarrels of left-versus-right and to help create a new political consensus based on a realistic appraisal of our nation's problems and our highest shared visions of a better future. The Alliance is not a new political party, but something more fundamental: the New World Alliance is a movement for political transformation that seeks to revitalize our nation's political process and sense of purpose.

Information about membership in the New World Alliance is on the back cover.



WHAT DOES THE NEW WORLD ALLIANCE ADVOCATE?

[a quotation from the founding Statement of Purpose of the Alliance]

- A POLITICS OF HOPE that treats the problems and scarcities before us as opportunities to clarify our sense of what is truly important in life.
- A POLITICS OF HEALING that goes beyond traditional polarities of left-against-right and us-against-them and in all matters promotes cooperation and community, understanding and mutual aid.
- A POLITICS OF REDISCOVERY that rekindles such traditional values as self-reliance, wholesome living, thrift, generosity, neighborliness, community, and the honoring of excellence.
- A POLITICS OF HUMAN GROWTH that fosters the fullest development of each person's potential by working to improve our birthing and parenting, our nutrition, our health and fitness, our family and community life, our education, our arts and sciences, our way of growing old and our way of dying — all the things that make us fully human.
- A POLITICS OF ECOLOGY which understands that we are only one part of a seamless web of life, that damage to any part is damage to the whole, and that we are responsible for life on Earth.
- A POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION that provides every member of society with a full and equal opportunity to influence the political and economic institutions affecting their lives, and that fosters personal responsibility to fulfill that task.
- A POLITICS OF APPROPRIATE SCALE that eliminates needless bureaucracy, removes the special privileges which maintain unnecessarily large concentrations of wealth and power, and wherever feasible encourages smaller industries, businesses, cities, and farms.
- A POLITICS OF GLOBALISM which recognizes that we are all citizens of an emerging planetary civilization in which we must observe the rights and needs of people everywhere as fully as our own.
- A POLITICS OF TECHNOLOGICAL CREATIVITY that develops the full potential of contemporary science by putting it in service to constructive activity, and guiding it by humanistic and ecological, rather than technocratic values.
- A POLITICS OF SPIRITUALITY which understands that we are at one with all creation, that each human being possesses a core of infinite worth, and that the way we do things is as important as the things we do.

NEW WORLD ALLIANCE GOVERNING COUNCIL 1980-1981

[39 seats — 13 turn over every year beginning December, 1981.
Some of the people below share seats. Council meets at least two times
a year, and a smaller Coordinating Committee of Council members
meets four times a year.]

Cheryl Baker-Belcourt (consultant, Blackfeet Tribe Health Department)

Jim Benson (director, Institute For Ecological Policies; co-author, "County Energy Plan Guidebook")

Clement Bezold (director, Institute for Alternative Futures; editor, "Anticipatory Democracy")

Robert Buxbaum (former policy analyst, Office of the New York City Council President; co-facilitator, Political Science Committee of the Institute for the New Age)

René F. Cardenas (vice-president, Development Associates, Inc.; former regional director for Latin America, Community Development Foundation)

Nancy Cosper (Pacific Northwest networker, events coordinator)

Jeff Cox (managing editor, "Organic Gardening", Rodale Press)

Phyllis Old Dog Cross (nurse/consultant, Indian Health Service; formerly intergovernmental relations officer, Bureau of Indian Affairs)

Leonard Duhl (professor of public health, city planning, psychiatry, University of California at Berkeley)

Bob Dunsmore (assistant director, San Luis Valley Energy Center, Colorado)

Mel Gurtov (assoc. professor of political science, University of California at Riverside; former researcher, RAND Corp.; co-author, "Pentagon Papers"; author, "Making Changes: The Politics of Self-Liberation")

Bethe Hagens (professor of Anthropology, Governors State University, Illinois; editor, "Outlook"; concert violinist)

Alanna Hartzok (education director, Henry George School of Social Science; San Francisco co-ordinator, New Age Caucus)

Lex Hixon (broadcast journalist, WBAI-FM, New York; author, "Coming Home: The Experience Of Enlightenment In Sacred Traditions")

Norie Huddle (director, Center For New National Security; co-author, "Island of Dreams: Environmental Crisis In Japan")

Miller Hudson (elected member, Colorado State Legislature)

Neal Hurwitz (development/fundraising consultant, New York City)

Donald Keys (co-director, Planetary Citizens; United Nations representative, World Federalists)

Martha Keys (co-director, Planetary Citizens)

Arnold Klassen (board of directors, Fenway Community Health Center; member, coordinating council, Gay Health Collective of Boston)

George Litwin (former executive vice-president, The Forum Corporation; president, Human Resources Management Network; author, "Motivation and Organization")

Brian Livingston (director, Cascadian Regional Library; editor, "Cascade" magazine)

Michael Marien (editor, "Future Survey"; author, "Societal Directions And Alternatives")

Mark Mawrence (European networker; co-creator, Holistic Alternative Politics/International)

Corinne McLaughlin (co-founder, Sirius Community)

Wendy Moge (co-facilitator, Political Science Committee, Institute for the New Age; former director, New Manhattan Project, AFSC)

Jay Ogilvy (author, "Many-Dimensional Man: Decentralizing Self, Society, and the Sacred"; consultant, SRI International)

Bob Olson (project director, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress; member, U.S. Assn. for the Club of Rome)

Rarihokwats (coordinator, Four Arrows; editor, "Green Revolution"; trustee, School of Living; founder, "Akwasasne Notes")

Marc Sarkady (co-founder, Another Place Conference and Networking Center; consultant, Human Resources Management Network)

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Eric Utne (entrepreneurial consultant; former editor and publisher, "New Age" journal; director of new projects, Wilson Learning Corporation)

Brenda Wade (psychologist; president, San Francisco Black Health Commission; commissioner, San Francisco Human Rights Commission)

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Malon Wilkus (industrial manager, East Wind Community, Missouri; executive board, Federation of Egalitarian Communities)

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(We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of **Richard Perl**, **Gordon Feller**, **Sarah James**, and **Budd Dickinson** in the preparation of this platform.)