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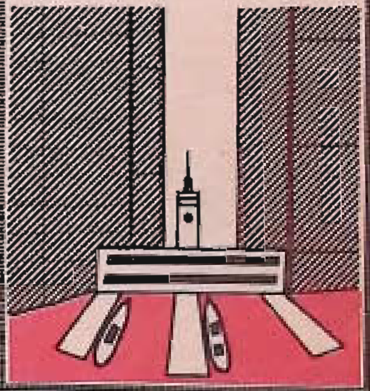

Roaches, rents & repairs

Tenants are striking all over...'They won't be pushed.'

By Dale Rosen

An acute housing crisis grips the Bay Area. Vietnam war inflation has pushed up rents and prices while high interest rates have slowed construction of new units. A long-term influx of blacks, Chicanos and students has increased pressure on the housing market. Middle and upper class residents are inconvenienced by inflated rents. Poor and low-income people must settle for drastically substandard housing or no housing at all.

Rather than build new low-cost units, the SF Redevelopment Agency destroys housing, as in Yerba Buena. Nixon cuts the Housing and Urban Development budget. City administrators are far less concerned with the housing shortage--in San Francisco the vacancy rate is under two per cent--than with big development downtown.

The housing crisis, combined with grass roots political leadership, has led to widespread tenant movements. In San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, Union City, San Jose, people have formed tenant unions to fight rent increases, evictions, unsafe and unsanitary buildings conditions.

In most cases, organizers claim, unions radicalize their members. As tenants recognize the nature of landlord "exploitation," they extend this analysis to other parts of the "system." They increasingly view federal and city government, banks and insurance companies as the landlord's accomplices.

The Berkeley Tenants Union has received considerable publicity (see Guardian, Dec. 16, 1969 and Feb. 28, 1970); to complete the picture, the Guardian offers this round-up of other tenant organizations.

Brady Street

At 69-75 1/2 Brady St., south of Market, five of the nine units have withheld rent for nearly two months. Tenants complain of faulty wiring, broken water heaters, open sewer traps, bugs, broken windows and stairs, overflowing garbage. "You name it, we've got it," tenant Christian Tcharov declared. The landlord has not painted the building or made any substantial repairs in the structure since 1934, he charged. Effective February 1, the landlord raised rents from an average $90 to $130 a month. Two weeks later tenants started organizing.

When the strike began, seven units were involved, but an elderly couple and a 70-year-old woman have paid their rent. They still support the strike and will testify in behalf of the strikers in court, but, Tcharov explained, they fear they will have nowhere to go if evicted. Of the other units, one is vacant and one occupied by an alcoholic who is "uncommunicative."

The strikers are asking for rent reductions and substantial repairs, to be negotiated by the landlord and tenant union. And they hope to consolidate their union with other tenant movements in a broad-based, city-wide tenant coalition.

Clayton-Waller

At 622 Clayton St. in the Haight-Ashbury, tenants won a landlord-tenant agreement without a strike. A new owner took over the building, presumably for speculation (he bought it for $110, 000 and is now trying to sell it for $140, 000), and immediately announced a rent

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YERBA BUENA

A case study in how SF Development went wrong-too little planning, too much Swig/SPUR/downtown muscle, no community participation, all edifice complex

By Marsha Berzon

About one hundred San Francisco businessmen, architects, land developers, financiers and public officials gathered on the morning of Mar. 23 to spar verbally before the Redevelopment Agency Board. The prize: this year's biggest real estate bonanza, the chance to develop the $200 million Central Blocks of Redevelopment's South of Market Yerba Buena Center.

As Clement Chen, head of one of the four competing developer groups, candidly admitted, contestants were "attracted to it (YBC) by its profit potential." Yet the meeting of opponent developer groups was convivial and clubby.

Almost every person in the room managed a hearty handshake and friendly greeting for every other during the breaks which punctuated the three-hour meeting. In the role of benign coach was M. Justin Her--man, Executive Director of Redevelopment, who carefully elicited information he and the contestants had already had many "private conversations" about.

The session's amiability was a fitting climax to the 20 years of maneuvering which had completely transformed the federally subsidized project to include all sorts of goodies, for ject and out, for the benefit of a section of the city's power elite. What had been a small scale, light industrial, spot clearance, downtown support project on 19 blocks full of heavily blighted buildings, many of them family residences, is now a giant imitation of New York's Rockefeller Center to be built in a gerrymandered area of residential hotels and substantial industrial buildings. (See Chronology, p. 14).

Once the project outlines were finally established, it didn't matter much who got the Central Blocks award. The real issues were never visibly in debate.

What were the goals of this downtown redevelopment? Who should benefit? What about the people living and working and owning buildings there? How does Yerba Buena square with other blockbuster downtown developments, say on the waterfront and adjacent to Telegraph Hill? Why is San Francisco proceeding with Yerba Buena now that this kind of remove-it-all-clear-it-away renewal has been discredited, according to the Wall Street Journal, even in Philadelphia, the citadel of urban redevelopment?

The strategic deficiencies in Yerba Buena were summed up recently when the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) rightly rejected San Francisco's "Workable Program" for redevelopment.

HUD said the city's plan failed to expand low and moderate income housing, failed to replace housing units demolished by urban renewal on a one to one basis and failed to encourage citizen involvement by denying Yerba Buena residents the right to negotiate.

Indeed, the Yerba Buena story is a case study of how redevelopment funds and eminent domain powers can be used by a section of the city's power elite and turned to what Lewis Mumford has called "cataclysmic finance and the Zeckendorf building syndrome."

As the San Francisco Labor Council put it in a 1965 newsletter, "Speculative real estate operators seem to have taken over the planning functions of our City. As projects develop, it becomes obvious that the needs of our people become secondary to the interests of speculators."

Yerba Buena started in the

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San Francisco's Yerba Buena Redevelopment project--

early 1950s as a 19-block industrial, spot clearance renewal project in a heavily blighted section. At the request of Ben Swig, owner of the Fairmont Hotel and one of the city's most powerful Democrats, the Supervisors added in 1955 four blocks to Redevlopment Area D, first designated in 1953, despite Planning's findings that most of the four blocks were not blighted. (See maps 1 and 2 and Chonology.)

Swig explained his plan in 1955 to the Commonwealth Club:

"God gave us here in San Francisco everything that he could bestow on any community. ..we have not capitalized on these great assets...Here is a great opportunity to help this wonderful city of ours."

But in the same speech Swig revealed the myopic vision of what makes a great city which motivated his interest in a huge commercial and convention project South of Market--and which continues to motivate Redevelopment and its business allies.

San Francisco, he said, "is primarily a financial and residential city. It depends to a great extent upon its convention and tourist business..."

If a convention and shopping center, complete with a sports arena, shopping center and 1,000-room hotel is built South of Market, he claimed, "Every single store--every downtown restaurant and hotel--every theater and moving picture house is going to benefit...Their business will prosper and when their business prospers, values of real estate must go up...If Houston can do it, so can we. Land in San Francisco can become worth $2,000 per square foot."

Accommodation

Swig was furious when, the following year, the Supervisors reconsidered their unorthodox addition in the face of a memorandum from Redevlopment and Planning saying that Swig's plan "perverted" the whole point of redeveloping South of Market. His answer to the de-designation of the two and two-thirds non-blighted blocks was blunt:

"Private capital knows a great deal better than city planners. I say to the city fathers, stop planning, stop thinking but go out and do something."

A SPUR committee, headed initially by the late Jerd Sullivan, pressured Redevelopment in 1961 into re-designating a redevelopment area South of Market. The earlier designation had been rescinded because of a delay in federal funds and intense pressure from area property owners.

(Sullivan was vice-president and director of Swig's Fairmont Hotel; he was also a director of Crocker Citizens National Bank and Del Monte Properties. Crocker Citizens and Del Monte were two of the first three corporations to benefit from the Yerba Buena project by acquiring written-down land from Redevelopment. (See Map p. 4.)

Crocker Citizens and Del Monte are both influential corporate members of SPUR. When the first site in Yerba Buena came up for sale, Herman urged that Del Monte's proposal get special consideration over one by National Condominium Management, Inc. His reason: Del Monte is a "large going concern,"--although, he conceded, National Condominium is "a responsible investment group."

Swig blocks

The newly designated area included all the Swig blocks and very little else of the original area. Not one square inch of Section II of the original area, which Planning found most blighted, was included. (See Maps 1 & 3.)

A perverted plan

Redevelopment tried, and succeeded, in covering up this acquiescence to the plans of empire builders. It issued statements indicating the 1961 area was essentially the same as the 1953 and 1957 areas. (See Map 4). And it used the exact language that described the 1957 area to describe the later, very different one. (See Map 4).

Thus, Herman wrote the Supervisors in 1961: "The blighted nature of the South of Market Area D was first officially recognized by the Board of Supervisors in 1953 and the area was again the subject of a careful analysis in 1957. (The area) has been restudied by the Redevelopment Agency and the Department of City Planning and the condition of blight South of Market has remained unameliorated and indeed worsened." (Emphasis added.) The implication Area D was the same all along is obvious, but entirely untrue.

A less obvious example: the 1957 application claims "The area now encompassed includes the greater part of the dwelling units in the vicinity as well as a substantial portion of the skid row element." In 1961, Redevelopment reproduced essentially the same statement in its federal application: "The area encompassed includes a substantial portion of the housing units in the vicinity as well as the skid row area."

For single men

While the 1957 Area D included the blocks around Sixth and Mission (which is full of resident hotels for single men--skid row hotels), this area was left out of both Area D and Project Area D-1 in 1961. And many of the hotels in the 1961 Area D--mostly those on Howard St.--had in fact been knocked down by the time the application was submitted.

So "skid row" type hotels are much more prevalent OUTSIDE the renewal area than in it.

Redevelopment's deception continued after the boundaries were approved. The 1964 Tentative Proposal gives this history of South of Market development:

"Original designation of Redevelopment Area D 4/1/53

De-designation of Redevelopment Area D 9/24/58

Re-designation of Redevelopment Area D 12/11/61."

De-re-designation

But the original 19-block area was not the area which was de-designated. Nor was the de-designated area the same as the area that was re-designated.

The Chronicle, the Examiner and now defunct News Call Bulletin, all with offices in the renewal area or nearby, played along with Herman's word game. The Chronicle, in 1961, claimed that the redevelopment area had been called "the most exaggerated type of slum anywhere in the West." But that statement, of course, referred to the 1957 area. And the Examiner claimed that most of the 1961 area was included in the earlier plans--an obvious misstatement.

Redevelopment assured the Supervisors in 1961 that South of Market renewal would be of a spot clearance and industrial nature. Only about 25 per cent of the buildings would have to be razed, Herman claimed, and he cautioned Supervisors against thinking of redevelopment as vast, cleared blocks. Businesses in the area wouldn't be disturbed, he promised: "We will keep what's good, redevelop what's rehabilitable and raze the rest."

Herman even mentioned it might be possible to retain some small residential hotels, although he warned against including such retention in the federal application.

However, Herman's final plan presented to the Supervisors in 1966--the next time Supervisors had to pass on Yerba Buena except for the Market Street Breakthrough (see Chronology)--advocated abolishing 85 per cent of the buildings in the project area. Two and one-half blocks were to be cleared (the Central Blocks now up for grabs). And not a single hotel was retained.

San Francisco businessmen accept credit for the massive switch. Melvin Swig, Ben Swig's son, says he "was after Justin to get something going arenawise and conventionwise." And Albert Schlesinger, a former head of the San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau and of the Parking Commission and presently a member of one of the development groups interested in the Central Blocks, says he and the Convention Bureau got after Redevelopment because they were convinced the city needed a convention center and South of Market was the only place for it.

Yerba Buena

In fact, according to Schlesinger, he and the younger Swig co-chaired the Mayor's Committee on South of Market Development which first announced the new plans--and came up with the Yerba Buena name--in early 1964. (Redevelopment Agency records show the Mayor's Committee was officially headed by Sup. Roger Boas.)

John Dykstra, Assistant Director of Redevelopment, contends the real reason for the change in plans was that economic studies of the area indicated light industry couldn't afford land prices so close to downtown.

Redevelopment, in official documents supporting Dykstra's point, uses the enormous vacant land rate in the project area--variously quoted as 40, 44 and 26 per cent of the land--to show the area is economically not viable as the service and industrial area it has traditionally been. But the vacancy rate was a result of the confusion Redevelopment created South of Market.

When the blight designation was lifted in 1958, a group calling itself the Associated Investors of Northern California began buying up land in the area in hopes of developing it themselves. They bought most of the Howard Street block between Third and Fourth and knocked down the buildings on their land when re-designation came in 1961. So the vacant land, used as parking lots while redevelopment decides what to do next, demonstrates investors' confidence in the area.

(Note also: two main consulting firms Redevelopment used in its economic and planning studies are corporate members of SPUR: Livingston and Blayney and the Real Estate Research Corporation.)

The Department of Planning is, according to California law, directed to decide project boundaries and devise a Preliminary Plan once the area is declared "blighted."

But it was kept in the wings during the second round of South of Market redevelopment. Its Preliminary Plan came out late in 1964--after much play had been given to the Mayor's Committee plan and Redevelopment's version of it. The plan consisted of a map and four pages of writing based on Redevelopment's plans. Earlier, Planning had approved the project area designation but it claims no part in drawing the boundaries.

No one interested in pushing redevelopment in Swig's old area wanted to involve Planning. For the department had already given its stamp to much of the area: not blighted.

Anyway, Dykstra says, Planning's blight studies should not be taken too seriously. "They just looked at the outside of buildings," he said.

In fact, the 1955 study of the two blocks between Mission and Folsom and Third and Fourth surveyed each piece of property quite carefully.

Redevelopment and its business allies were promoting a version of the present Yerba Buena plan, complete with theaters, museum, sports arena and convention center, throughout 1964 and 1965. Yet, the "final plan" approved by Planning and the Supervisors spoke of two plans: "A" would include "special uses" on the Central Blocks and "B" would include only parking garages and commercial buildings.

Plan B was "simply a device for beginning demolition immediately after the Loan and Grant Contract is executed," according to the South of Market Improvement Association which, headed by maverick land owner, Lou Silver, has fought Redevelopment all the way. Silver and his lawyers claim there was never any intention to build solely a commercial project. But if only Plan A had been approved, then land activity could not begin until plans for "special uses" were set, including the passage of necessary bond issues.

Besides playing these tricks with the law, Redevelopment

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Herman's Sleight of Hand

Redevelopment Area D, 1957

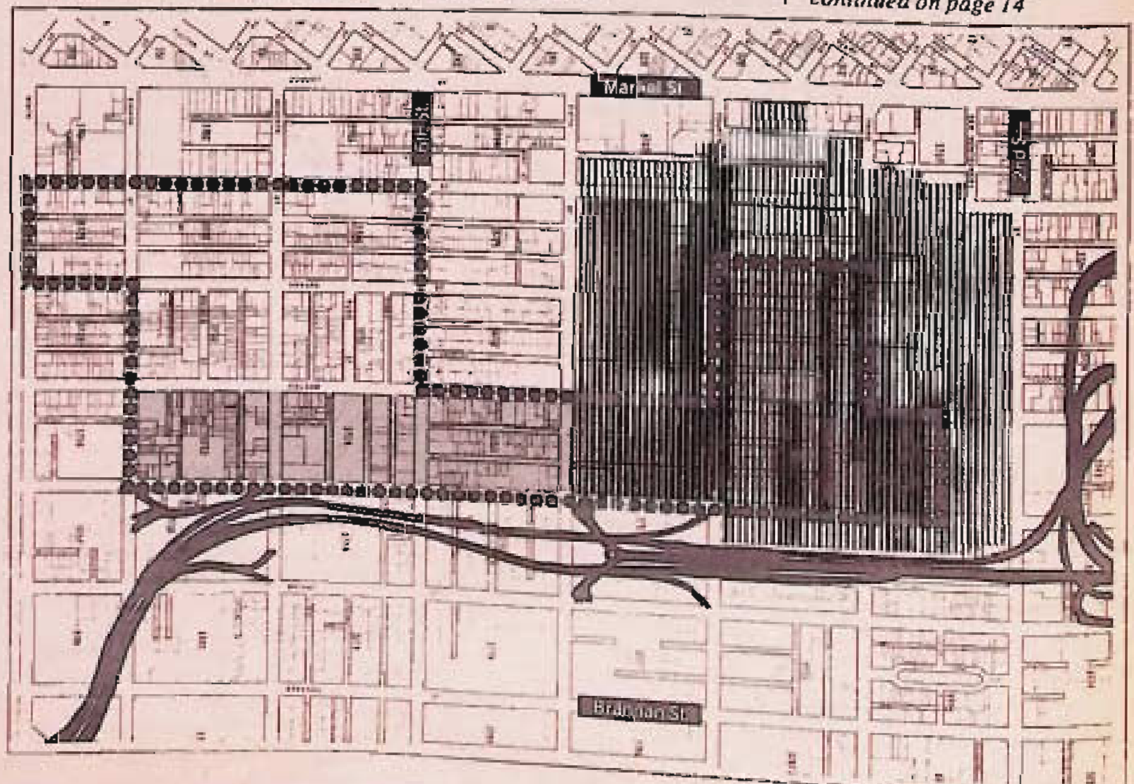
Project Area D-1, 1957

Redevelopment Area D, 1961

The 1957 application for Survey and Planning grant covered an area significantly different from the 1961 application. M. Justin Herman, as Regional HHFA Director, rejected the 1957 application.

Later, as SF's Executive Director of Redevelopment, he submitted the 1961 application. Despite the difference in areas, much of the latter application was copied word-for-word from the former.

Copying these descriptions indicates no mere bureaucratic laziness. Herman and his agency continually presented the history of Area D, to Supervisors and to the public, in a way that implied the area was essentially the same one throughout.



Map 4:

it took 20 years to develop, redevelop and overdevelop

In the Beginning

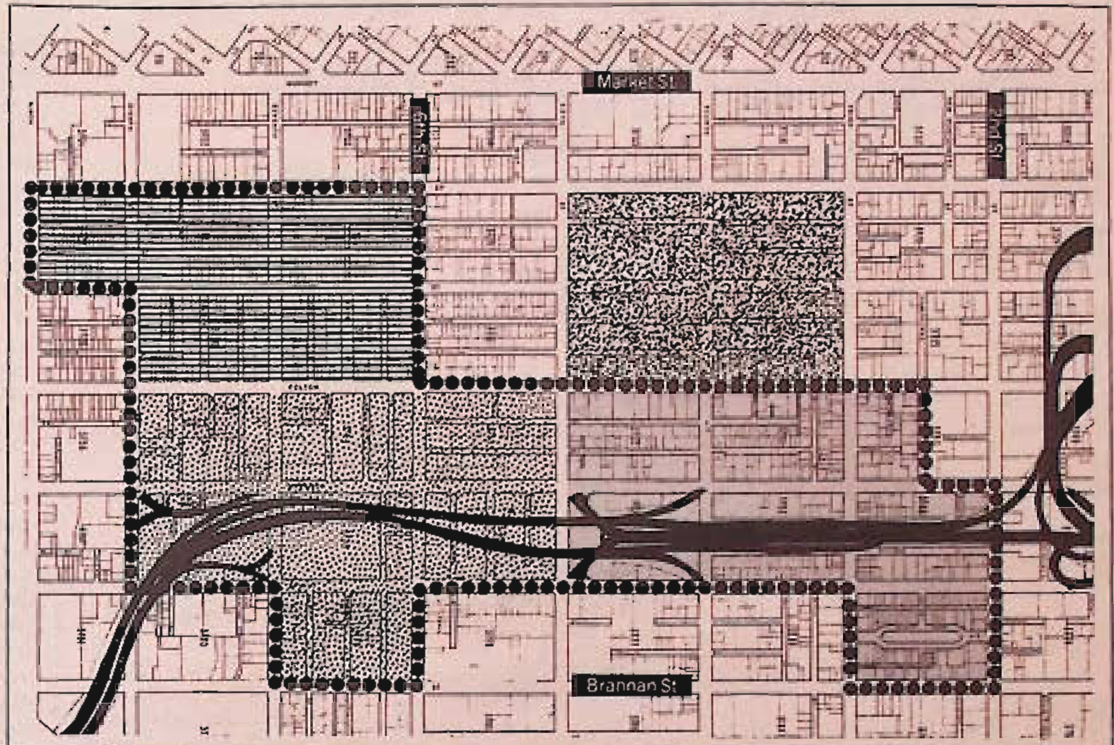
●●●●● 1953 South of Market Redevelopment Area D

Section I: Largely residential. Should be developed SECOND, according to Department of Planning.

Section II: Industrial. Some residential. Most blighted. Should be developed FIRST, according to Planning.

Section III: Largely non-residential. Industrial buildings good. Relocation problems with elderly men. Should be developed LAST, according to Planning.

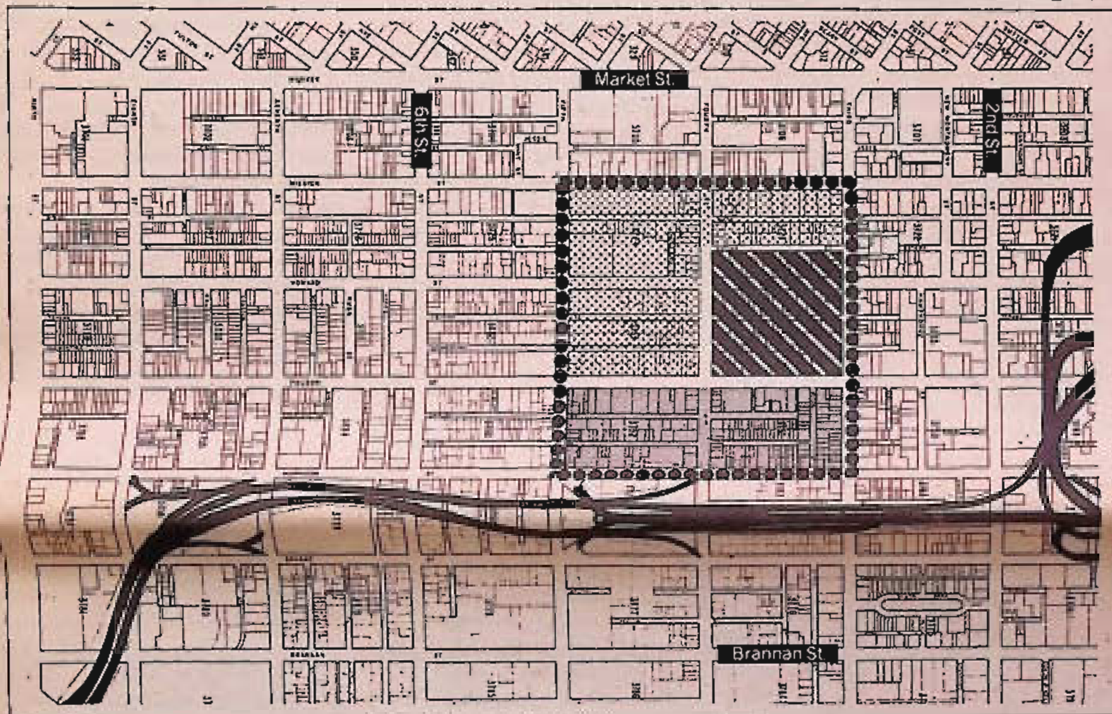
At the request of Ben Swig, Fairmont Hotel Owner, Supervisors added this four block area to Area D in 1955.



Map 1:

Map 2: Swig's Alchemy

(How to make blight out of non-blight)



○○○○○ The Swig Plan

Swig's blocks included in Section III of the 1953 Area D.

Swig's blocks found blighted by Planning in studies completed in 1955.

Swig's blocks found NOT blighted by Planning in studies completed in 1955.

Of the six Swig blocks, almost half were found not blighted by Planning in studies completed in 1955. Another two blocks were in Section III of the original Redevelopment Area D, the section Planning found was least critical to redevelop.

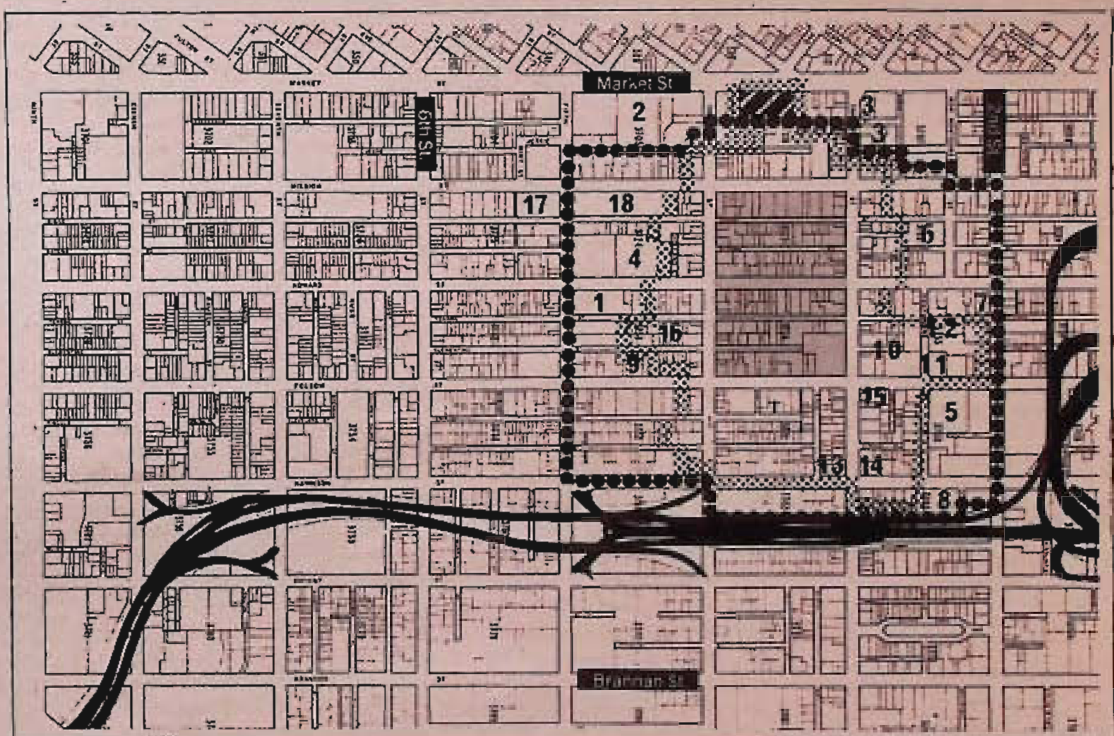
Supervisors accommodated Swig by adding the four northern blocks (of which only 1 and a third blocks were blighted) to Area D in 1955.

However, property owners in the "blighted" area opened up on Redevelopment and the boundaries shrank. Redevelopment and Planning also charged Swig's big commercial plant "perverted" the original reason for South of Market revdevelopment.

Nonetheless, Swig's old area was revived in 1960 at the suggestion of SPUR and eventually became the Yerba Buena redevelopment plan.

Maps by Marion Dibble
Copyright, SF Bay Guardian 1970

Map 3:



Who gains?

A. The sleight of hand with redevelopment boundaries South of Market will certainly benefit those who own adjacent land. When the area is developed, these land values will skyrocket, retail establishments can expect much more volume. Biggest adjacent owners and their locations:

The Emporium..............................1 & 2 (see map 3)
Hearst (3rd and Market)..................................3
Hearst/Chronicle buildings (804 Howard and Fifth and Mission)..4
Benjamin Swig and
Eugenia Hayme 5
Pacific Telephone 6
Standard Oil 7
Litton Systems 8
Victor Equipment 9

B. Several companies have built or are building new structures on land they acquired privately while land in the area was still inexpensive. If the area becomes a commercial center, they will have quite a bargain. They are:

Pacific Telephone 10
United California Bank 11
Arcon (with extensive office space for General Electric and Zellerbach Paper Co.) 12

C. Redevelopment is beginning to sell land to companies for office buildings. These companies must pay fair market value for the land, but they save the cost of buying the original buildings, demolishing them and preparing the land for construction. Three companies have acquired cheap redevelopment land:

Crocker Citizens National Bank 13
Del Monte 14
Taylor-Woodrow (England) 15

The Housing Authority will operate housing for 300 single men on the fourth piece sold so far (16).

*Significantly, the Fifth and Mission city parking garage (18) has built an extension at the corner of Fourth and Mission--an obvious case of gerrymandering. Walter Kaplan, Chairman of the Board of the Redevelopment Agency, is President of the "non-profit" Fifth and Mission garage Corporation and Secretary and Treasurer of the Emporium (1 and 2) which relies heavily on the garage for customer parking.

More: The Examiner and Chronicle/KRON have all loudly supported Yerba Buena and concealed its strategic shift in character and geography. Redevelopment is one of the most sensitive beats on both papers. One reason, perhaps, is that Hearst owns two buildings, (3rd and Market and Fifth and Mission, the Chronicle one (Fifth and Mission) and Hearst/Chron together one (804 Howard) next to the project area.

Perhaps this is why they are as interested in the editorial care and cultivation of Redevelopment and Redevelopment's M. Justin Herman (who can make their property values rise astronomically) as they once were in the care and cultivation of Assessor Russell Wolden (who saved Ex/Chron millions of dollars in personal property taxes by allowing them to underreport their assets for years.)

Wolden was eventually convicted on bribery and conspiracy charges and the Ex and Chron were found, according to a new audit by the new assessor, Joseph Tinney, to have escaped paying some $250,000 in personal property in 1964 and 1965 alone. (See Sept. 25, 1967 Guardian.)

Also: The specially favored Fifth and Mission garage is across the street from the Examiner and Chronicle buildings and across the alley west from the Ex/Chron merger headquarters in the old News-Call-Bulletin building.

●●●●● Redevelopment Area D (1961)

"Market Street Breakthrough": Added to Area D in 1963

Project Area D-1 (1963 to the present)

Central Blocks

A year before Isla Vista- Rexroth's formula for campus peace

The University of California, Santa Barbara, should have been limited in size to its population of five years ago. Its growth should certainly be stopped now.

Students, junior faculty and the enlightened members of the administration must be free from the veto powers of people who came here to take their doctor's degrees years ago and said, "What a nice place to retire" and proceeded to do so.

There is not a single demand of concerned students or faculty that cannot be met, most of them right now. What are they? All you have to do is circulate around and ask. These are not my ideas, but put altogether they form a definite emergency program, which once implemented in totality, would make it possible to commence, to begin, to start moving toward a human, humane, humanistic, humanitarian educational environment and interpersonal relations:

Stop the Vietnam War immediately, and totally, and withdraw from the country as fast as possible. If it's necessary, mobilize all the world's passenger ships and reactivate the WW II old cans still lying at anchor in the bays on both coasts. The airlines do something like that every year for the pilgrimage to Mecca. It's no problem.

Legalize grass

Legalize grass. Even the square squares who say it's harmful have to admit that it's far less harmful than alcohol or cigarettes. Once the convivial weed that practically everybody under 40 uses now is made socially harmless by being decriminalized, then we can start by individual group action to stamp out the killers--speed and smack--and purge the Mafia from the community. Of course everybody knows grass is illegal for no other reason than that the government can't tax it, and the Mafia can't control it.

Stop immediately all military research on all campuses.

Provide the Pill to all who ask for it from the University Health Service.

Reduce the enrollment by 5% a year for four years (let them build other small universities elsewhere--Avila, for instance, is an ideal site.)

Allow only service automobile traffic on the campus and in Isla Vista. Demolish the parking lots and plant them again with trees and grass. Put sufficient parking buildings on the landward side of the Slough, where otherwise an industrial slum is bound to grow up. Provide free public transportation from the parking buildings to IV and UCSB, and free bicycles. The cheapest and best way to do this would be with a four lane, four speed belt. They move iron ore that way for over a hundred miles in Queensland and Brazil.

Condemn and demolish Isla Vista, and build a Cite Universitaire with the best possible architects and landscapists, a publicly owned and operated renewal plan of beautiful buildings, good dining halls and restaurants, with theaters, coffee shops, bookshops and plenty of places for recreation, all set in the midst of wide lawns and plenty of trees, with a maximum landscaping use of the beaches and the view out to the sea and the islands. Why not turn the whole thing over to Ian McHarg and Louis Kahn?

(Editor: Rexroth teaches at UC-Santa Barbara. This piece was published May 25, 1969, in an off campus paper called Probe--10 months before the Isla Vista outbreak.)

Break up the school into colleges, not by professions, or departments, but with salubrious lounges and dining halls in which people with the widest variety of interest can mingle on a fraternal basis as they do, or did, in the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, or in an ideal Greek letter house. For those that want them there should be a Malcolm X College, and a Zapata College. Oriental students do not seem to desire such, but if they do, they should be provided.

Create a department of Ethnic Studies for Whites--WASP Remedial Education--to teach the upper middle class social illiterates from the high schools of Southern California's suburbia how to get along with other Americans.

Permit nude bathing on the beaches and in the pools, and move toward the introduction of nude physical education. Build more open recreational pools--one for each college.

Establish appointment review and, separately, curriculum review, councils in each department which will include every step on the academic ladder from senior faculty to freshmen. Grant immediately the demands of the junior faculty, T.A.'s, and graduates for effective roles in faculty life where now they are second class citizens at the best, and indentured servants in the lower echelons at worst.

Stop fussing about the Faculty Club. Everybody should have places like the Faculty Club where folks can relax, read, talk together, and socialize. Stop fussing about Soul Food in the cafeteria. The first thing to get is just Edible Food. Evening meals in the commons of the college should be accompanied with table wines or beer for those that want it. Sure, it's against the law. Change the law. Practically everything is against the law. It's really true that there are married people in prisons all over the United States serving long sentences for practicing oral sex with their spouses. Most all laws need to be repealed, so we can start over with social regulations that make sense.

No grades

No grades. Make all courses pass-fail.

No actual classes larger than thirty. Mass lectures could be unlimited in size and open to anybody who wishes to come in but they should be divorced completely from the teaching process, a totally different and antagonistic activity. This is the ancient European system and what the word "university" really means.

Abolish the use of the Title of Honor, "doctor". In America it is the height of bad manners to call anyone but a medical man "doctor." Nobody calls the other folks "master" or "bachelor". If a student calls you doctor, tell him to take two aspirin and a hot bath and call you in the morning."

There are tons of government money available for fellowships, travel grants and individual projects, especially for upper division and M.A. candidate people. They are kept a profound secret because they would drain off those indentured servants titled T.A.'s but called by the more depraved senior faculty, "warm bodies". And compete with private enterprise travel agencies now representing themselves as "student travel." Grants and fellowships should not only be widely publicized, they should be urged on students and there should be a well functioning office of people highly trained--and it sure takes high training--in writing up foundation and government grant applications which must be in a language resembling the interbreeding of Etruscan and Tlinkit.

Midterms should be true "tests"--is the experiment fulfilling the hypothesis? They should be uninhibited raps, evaluations of student-teacher lations and course relevance.

Abolish the quarter system. Even the semester system is absurd. It takes months to even start a class into a subject and to

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JACK MORRISON

critiques the mayor, the supervisors and their 'forgotten men'

The school-integration crisis and the fight over city-employee pay rates illustrate the current difficulties of the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors in determining their political strategies. Both issues have implications for the long run.

A high-ranking City Hall bureaucrat told me the other day it was getting harder to move government along and he wouldn't be surprised if the machinery soon stopped running. He wasn't talking about the city-employee strike, but about the problem of getting policy decisions from the chief executive and the legislative body.

People in these times are quick to choose political sides. And when important power centers pursue conflicting goals, elected city officials always have an arduous task. Today San Francisco government seems nearly immobilized and at times almost irrelevant to the issues crowding upon it. One looks with little success for rational strategies of response.

Elected officials appear keenly troubled by that most perplexing matter for the politician--the identity problem. It has been most interesting recently to watch Mayor Alioto wrestle with the question of who he is politically.

Supervisors grapple with their souls less publicly and less dramatically, but the strains often appear. On the board, the prevailing wisdom seems: keep a low profile and don't appear to to anything that might offend the "forgotten man."

With much clucking and head-shaking, the Mayor's liberal supporters have watched his astonishing performance before the Board of Education on the Equality-Quality program. These liberals commonly interpret Alioto's stand as an attempt to execute a most perilous political maneuver--to significantly shift his base of support.

There has always been uneasiness in the Mayor's relationship with the white liberal community, especially on grounds of his hell-for-leather law-enforcement stance, but he has nevertheless enjoyed a large measure of acceptability there.

Another area of support is more critical for him. The ILWU and the Laborers' Union, taken together, were the most important single element in his election in 1967 and have continued to provide him with his chief entree to the black community.

True enough, the black support for the Equality-Quality program comes more from the black establishment than from the laboring classes. But it seems highly unlikely that anyone in the black community will take kindly to the Mayor's passionately negative approach to the issue.

Consider the circumstances in which the Mayor moved. A citizens' committee, after long proceedings and much public involvement, proposed a pilot program of quality education, which the Board of Education duly adopted. At this stage everyone could validly assume the program had the Mayor's acquiescence if not his support.

Much later, using the considerable power of his office to get public attention, he opened the whole issue again, centering his fire on one component of the program, busing. Pursuing the issue, he went before the school board when it appeared that elementary political horse sense would have told him to stay away. He knew the seven board members had made up their minds and would vote against him.

Why did he subject himself to the humiliation of an overwhelming rebuke from his own Board of Education? Why, indeed, unless he desired the humiliation as a dramatic way of pointing up the busing issue and calling attention to his own alignment?

It seemed a sad and futile performance, both for him and for the City. I don't know anyone who believes the Mayor is going to get right-wing votes, no matter what he does between now and next year. Moreover, his labor-and-minority group base is badly eroded at a time when it needs strength. A smoothly running Equality-Quality program could have given his administration what it most requires, a showing of substantial achievement. It could have been a support-gathering accomplishment in areas where there is some possibility for him to gain support.

Nixon's great example seems now to enthrall many politicians at all levels. His example urges them to seek their advantage not in unifying the people but in exacerbating differences and especially in sharpening racial animosities. Doubtless many in the Mayor's camp believe he, too, must shape a political identity that will appeal to the forgotten man; that is, to the legions of the lower middle class who yearn, so it is assumed, for the golden summer afternoons of a mythological American past. As a paradigm for San Francisco in 1970 that vision seems a bit eerie.

The forgotten man puts on many faces, but the one which haunts the Supervisors now is the owner of a modest home in the Sunset. The apparition was threatening enough to befuddle them in their recent salary-setting meetings, where they sought to balance the demands of the property-tax payer and the civil servant. Here the Supervisors made two critical mistakes. They neglected to inform themselves adequately about the political situation in which they were the key actors and they forgot the virtue of straightforwardness.

The Supervisors seemed to act in a vacuum. For a long time, it had been obvious that an immense frustration was building in the minds of City employees against a salary-setting system in which the craft workers, Muni carmen, policemen and firemen got healthy annual raises automatically while the rest of the work force became pawns in the annual budget battle.

Yet the Supervisors seemed to lack that essential knowledge. The media indicated no give and take of discussion before the Supervisors promulgated their five percent pay package. But as soon as they had acted, they were forced into the sweaty business of bargaining over their decision. They could stand on their dignity only so long as they stayed in their committee room in splendid isolation from the reality of the power struggle that ultimately was to decide the issue.

Besides acting without sufficient knowledge, the Super-

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To get a legal abortion, you must be rich, submissive, lucky

Suggestions for those that try this-tell whoever asks you that you have and do take speed: if you have to have a baby-you'll probably kill yourself or even say that you'll perform an abortion on yourself. The problem is, as a social service nurse who came to see me said, that the board is made entirely of men and is for the most part Catholic. It's dealing with a bureaucracy who can't understand anything except you wanting to kill yourself. My biggest problem was that I was too honest in relating my attitudes-it just doesn-t work.

My first visit to the Palo Alto Clinic: Pregnancy test - $10...Followed by visit and exam from regular Dr. $25...who then referred me to 2 psychiatrists - $35 and $35 ...Dr. visit - $8.50...Stanford Hospital for pre-tests and advance cash payment – $150 ...Dr. surgical fee - $200 and Anesthetist's fee - $48. The final price is tremendously high - $511.50. It is out of reach for the people who need it most and not something you would want to go through again. If there is a next time, I would rather do it myself.

From reports sent to Association to Repeal Abortion Laws.

By Julia Cheever

California's 1967 abortion law has been widely considered about the country's most liberal--at least until the new unrestricted abortion law in Hawaii.

In fact, a large percentage of all "legal" abortions in the U.S. since 1967 were performed in California, perhaps 50-75%, according to Dr. Edwin Jackson of the state Department of Public Health.

That is a cruel irony for tens of thousands of California women forced by the law each year to go underground for dangerous illegal abortions or to suffer the birth of an unwanted child.

For every woman in California who managed to finagle a "legal" abortion in the past two years, at least eight others were driven to disreputable quack doctors, to foreign countries or even to their own desperate efforts with instruments as crude as coat hangers. More than 80,000 California women obtain abortions each year, but only 5,030 in 1968 and 9,169 in the first nine months of 1969 were authorized, reports Dr. Walter Ballard, chief of family and population at the Public Health Department.

(Other estimates of illegal California abortions per year range as high as 150,000, says Dr. Edmund Overstreet, UC professor of obstetrics and gynecology. He puts the number at 100,000 California women each year.)

And most of the lucky women who won "legal" abortions were middle class white women, according to Pat Maginnis of the Society for Humane Abortion. The Public Health Department's report on the first nine months of 1969 reveals that 86% were white and over 70% managed private payment of the $500-800 bills.

Mentally incompetent

For these women, the abortion law is a humiliating game of Persuade the Psychiatrist--to do you the favor of pronouncing you mentally incompetent. (The law's mental illness clause has accounted for 92% of authorized abortions since 1967.)

But to poor and uneducated women, the law is a solid barrier of discrimination, an elitist edict that jacks the price so high that only the well-to-do can afford it and sets up a maze of ground rules that only the well-coached can traverse.

The obstacles:

1. Money. For a simple abortion in the early weeks of pregnancy, the $500-800 bill includes: doctor $150-300, anesthetist $40-50, psychiatrist $50-100 and hospital $150-400. The psychiatric and hospital fees, over half the total bill, are utterly unnecessary in most cases--but the law orders them.

Sacramento legislators ruled that abortions must be performed in accredited hospitals. Yet "early abortions certainly can be done safely in a physician's office," comments Dr. Ballard.

The Bay Area, the most liberal region in the state with 63% of California's legal abortions, does have two hospitals that eliminate the unnecessary hospital stays by performing early abortions on an outpatient basis: Stanford Hospital and the UC Medical Center.

"Exortion" is Pat Maginnis' word for down payments required at some private Bay Area hospitals--$200 at Alta Bates in Berkeley and $300 at French, Presbyterian and Children's in San Francisco (all excluding doctors' fees). If the operation has been simple a woman may get a little money back but these amounts must be paid in advance and, at Presbyterian at least, in cash only. Why?

"They don't trust us," says Pat.

By an additional twist of injustice, some women do need hospital care, for the more complicated abortions performed after the 12th week of pregnancy. But these complicated operations--more dangerous as well as more expensive--are necessary only because it sometimes takes weeks to fulfill the provisions of the law.

Recommendation

Recommendations from psychiatrists, required by most hospitals to fill the mental illness provision of the law, are also unnecessary. Many psychiatrists believe women have the right to decide the issue for themselves and routinely recommend abortions to the committees--at fees of $25-50 or more per interview with the patient.

"The first psychiatrist I saw charged $65 and saw me for a total of about 10 to 15 minutes," a Danville woman reported to the Association to Repeal Abortion Laws in October 1969.

"Psychiatrists get so rich off this law it's unbelieveable," claims Margot Champagne of the S.H.A.

The cost of an abortion in Japan is $15 to $30.

2. Getting permission for the abortion. The law specifies that in each hospital a medical committee of at least three doctors approve the abortion. Most hospitals (in the Bay Area, all but the UC Medical Center) also require recommendations from psychiatrists.

The noble psychiatrist who gives routine but expensive interviews is the best a woman could hope for. Some psychiatrists delight in making women relive every detail of their sex lives. A Palo Alto woman told the A.R.A.L. her interviews were "a mental rape."

The law reduces a pregnant woman to utter helplessness in the hands of the psychiatrist. She has to cooperate to get the approval she desperately needs. If he denies approval, she may find herself stranded past the crucial 20th week of pregnancy--the cut-off point for legal abortions.

Mental illness

Mental illness sufficient for an abortion must occur, in the words of the law, "to the extent that the woman is dangerous to herself or to the person or property of others or is in need of supervision or restraint." Thus, pregnant women have to cajole psychiatrists to declare them mentally incompetent to that extent. And those damaging declarations become a matter of public record.

In the other eight per cent of "legal" abortions: Women who apply on the grounds of physical danger need doctors' (but not psychiatrists') approval. Women under 15 may get abortions. Originally the legislature set the age at 16, but Gov. Reagan lowered it and also removed a German measles provision.

Victims of rape or incest are awarded abortions, but the hospital has to inform the district attorney who has five days to determine whether the incident occured. In every county in the state, a victim must fill out an elaborate "Affidavit of Application for Abortion" including a description of the rape or incest--which also becomes public record.

3. Finding a hospital to do the abortion. Some hospitals limit the number of abortion patients--perhaps less blatantly in the Bay Area than elsewhere in California. "Not one hospital in the Bay Area has a quota," claims Dr. Yoel Haller, obstetrician and medical director of Planned Parenthood. And "statistics certainly indicate," says Dr. Phil Goldstein of SF General Hospital, that "we're meeting our obligations here" better than in Los Angeles, where only 1/3 as many abortions are performed.

But Bay Area hospitals do have "quotas in a certain sense, says Dr. Overstreet. "Teaching hospitals don't want their beds loaded only with abortion patients. Other hospitals still tend to limit because they are afraid of their reputation and accreditation from the AMA. There is fear on the part of hospital lay governing boards."

There's also a physician shortage. Several sources said confidentially some obstetrician-gynecologists won't perform abortions at all and others reject certain women--such as Medi-Cal patients.

Cost-benefit analysis

MediCal is one way a poor woman can get a California abortion--provided she is willing to put her private life on public record, provided someone like Planned Parenthood tells her that her welfare medical rights include abortion. The number of welfare patients getting abortions on MediCal has been slowly increasing, to 19.5% of all legal California abortions in the first nine months of last year.

So far, the state hasn't objected to the practice (despite Gov. Reagan's tentative stand against liberalizing the law)--perhaps because of a cost-benefit analysis. Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post told the Assembly Ways and Means Committee in February that therapeutic abortions cost the state an average of $750, while births cost $1500. (It also costs the state $19,000 to raise a welfare child to age 18.)

Low as it is, the 19.5% statistic overstates the number of truly underprivileged women able to obtain abortions. Many of those MediCal patients are middle class women, ranging from se-

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by Heidi Endemann SF Bay Guardian Co., Inc.

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Sketch by Marion Dibble

RESTRICTS PUBLIC POWER IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

By Tiffin Patrick

WASHINGTON--The Pacific Gas and Electric Co. has demonstrated its influence with the Nixon administration by delaying for nine months, then killing, a federal loan to help 11 Northern California public power cities develop their own public power supply sources. PG&E's major victory went unreported in the local press.

PG&E's influence has been exceeded only by its audacity.

Hal Conner, the private utility's competent Washington lobbyist, says PG&E has made a survey of its own and concluded it would be more economical for the cities to satisfy their additional power needs by purchasing directly from PG&E.

The loan in question is exceedingly small by federal standards, but the principle at stake is large.

All 11 cities have municipally-owned power systems. They expect significant population growth in the next two decades and will need more power. Anticipating that they will become increasingly more dependent upon PG&E unless they develop a power generating source of their own, the cities banded together as the Northern California Power Agency and last July applied to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for a $125, 000 loan to conduct a feasibility study on possible supply sources.

Perhaps naively, the cities anticipated little difficulty at the time.

Santa Clara City Mgr. Don Von Raesfeld says PG&E opposition was "a little bit surprising" because representatives of the nation's major power companies had, during the Johnson Administration, pledged cooperation in helping municipal companies solve their long-range power supply problems.

But it's a whole new ball game now, as some Nixon staffers say.

PG&E "cooperation" on the municipal application turned out to be total--and highly effective--opposition. Lobbying through their trade association, the National Association of Electric Companies, PG&E persuaded HUD to delay the grant indefinitely. HUD's decision came on March 25.

At one point, HUD officials went so far as to tell reporters here that they had "no record" of the application and didn't know what had become of it.

PG&E knew, however. A week after the "no record" statement was made, utility lobbyists huddled with Asst. Secretary Samuel C. Jackson and, reportedly, Secretary George Romney himself to express vigorously their opposition to the loan.

The reasons given for that opposition vary somewhat, depending on the lobbyist who's doing the talking. Conner insists opposition to the loan comes from non-California private utilities who are concerned the loan might set a "precedent" for similar applications by municipally owned companies elsewhere.

Other association members maintain the entire impetus for opposition arises from PG&E, a point buttressed by the estimates of Herbert C. Westfall, a Seattle engineer hired by the 11 California cities, that they could save $17.5 million a year in lower electric bills by developing their own power generating facilities.

If Westfall is anywhere near correct, the potential savings for larger cities would be staggering. Palo Alto, Santa Clara and Alameda are the largest cities in the Northern California Power Agency and most of the other cities--Roseville, Redding, Ukiah, Healdsburg, Gridley, Biggs, Lodi and Lompoc--are very small cities indeed.

(San Francisco is the only city in the U.S. required by federal law to have public power, but is has allowed PG&E to establish an illegal private power monopoly in San Francisco. Thus, the city can't sell its own citizens the power it produces from its Hetch Hetchy power generating facilities. However, San Francisco is now seeking to sell some of its excess power to the 11 public power cities.)

At any rate, the cities struck back, but belatedly. They enlisted the aid of Rep. Charles Gubser, whose district includes Palo Alto and who is a moderately conservative Republican from Gilroy who has never been accused of advocating Socialism.

"I don't see why established cities that have their own power plants should be denied the right to find ways of improving service to their customers," Gubser said. "This isn't a public power vs. private power issue because it isn't going to change the service areas in any way."

Despite this reconciliation of opposition and ideology, it was precisely the private power vs. public power argument that utility company lobbyists supposedly made with Rep. Charles R. Jonas, (R-North Carolina) ranking Republican on the HUD appropriations subcommittee, in applying pressure on the agency to deny the loan.

By coincidence, North Carolina is one state where municipally owned companies abound and where the loan was regarded as setting a "precedent."

Representatives of the cities were prepared to counter this move by asking Rep. Joe Evins (D-Tenn.), chairman of the subcommittee and a staunch public power advocate, to support the loan application.

Evins was the last hope against HUD officials deciding to go all the way with PG&E and deny the loan. Six Northern California congressman supported the cities' application, but Gubser is the only Republican among them and the Nixon administration has shown a consistent disinclination to listen to Democrats--unless they possess important chairmanships.

PG&E's victory is nationally significant. American cities that want federal assistance to improve their power service have in effect been told to look elsewhere than the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

U.S. Sen. George Murphy will no doubt be asked to do some more explaining about the $20, 000 a year, free travel and apartment rent subsidy he receives from Technicolor Inc. and its right-wing boss Patrick Frawley. But even Murphy could scarcely do worse than Rep. John V. Tunney (D-Riverside), one of three Democratic candidates for the Senate, in explaining his reasons for refusing to disclose his net worth: "My parents don't want me to." ....And then there is the splendid quip of the Republican conservative here who, asked to explain why he didn't want Bob Finch to quit as secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, replied: "The president would have to appoint a lib to that post. As long as we're going to have to have a lib, it might as well be our lib."

KEEPS PUBLIC POWER OUT OF UC-BERKELEY

By Peter L. Petrakis

While the University of California imposes tuition on students as a revenue-producing device, it refuses to move effectively against the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to save some $500,000 a year in power costs.

This unpublicized issue is complicated, but it boils down to this: the University for years has sought to reduce its $2 to $3 million electricity costs, but PG&E refuses to wheel cheap power on its transmission lines to the Berkeley campus. Thus, Cal has no choice but to buy PG&E's expensive private power.

The background: In 1962, the Regents commissioned R.W. Beck & Co., a highly respected engineering firm, to determine how the University's mounting electricity costs could be reduced.

Beck's survey recommended that the Berkeley campus switch from PG&E to the public power available from the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, a division of the Department of Interior, which transmits power over its conductors down the Central Valley from its generators at Shasta Dam. The anticipated savings for Cal: $5 million over a 10 year period.

As a public or "preference" agency, the University would be entitled under Reclamation Law to first call on Shasta's power output, Beck's report noted. It urged the University to apply immediately to Interior for a consignment of Shasta power.

Interior Secretary Stewart Udall promptly allocated 66 megawatts of power, but a serious obstacle remained: PG&E and its success for decades in keeping all federal transmission circuits out of the Bay Area and thereby severely throttling the growth of public power. (See previous Guardians on PG&E's illegal private power monopoly in San Francisco), by federal law a "public power city.")

PG&E's early assurances took the line, as one official put it, "we'll be glad to wheel your power over our cables." Later, when PG&E developed cozier relations with Interior, a sweetheart contract surfaced which prohibits delivery by PG&E of USBR power to a preference customer situated within any municipality in which PG&E enjoys exclusive distribution rights.

This "contract" has never been tested in court, but it clearly violates the Sherman Act and congressional intent in distributing public power. As Interior Secretary put it on Jan. 3, 1946, in Power Policy Memorandum #123327-1,

"Transmission outlets to existing and potential wholesale markets shall be adequate to deliver power to every preferred customer within the region upon fair and reasonable terms... They must be owned and controlled by the government unless privately owned facilities should be made available upon terms which assure full accomplishment of the basic objectives of the congressional power policy and which do not reward the private company simply because of its strategic location or monopolistic position."

More: "No contracts shall be made that operate to foreclose public agencies and cooperatives from obtaining power from the Government project."

Clark Kerr, then UC president, twice wrote PG&E's president and inplored him to wheel USBR power to Berkeley from the nearest point on the CVP conductors at Tracy. PG&E rejected both requests.

How could PG&E arrogantly refuse to wheel public power? How could the USBR contradict public policy and sign a contract with PG&E permitting the private utility to refuse to wheel public power to a preference customer?

The answer lies in the fact that PG&E, and the politically muscled private utility lobby in Washington, has for four decades lobbied Congress into refusing to authorize the Bureau to build thermal generating plants to firm up its hydroelectric power, which is variable, and make it marketable.

Thus, the Bureau's Central Valley Project is totally dependent upon PG&E to firm up US BR hydro power (unlike TVA's fully integrated steam/hydro system). The marketability of USBR power is left to the mercy of PG&E.

"This situation is believed to lie at the root of PG&E's intransigence and the USBR's impotence," reported Elmo R. Morgan, UC vice-president for physical planning and construction, in a March 11 report memorandum.

(Note: PG&E's intransigence to wheel public power to UC stands in stark contrast to its willingness to surrender big industrial customers to the City of San Francisco to keep San Francisco's public power from reaching city customers over a public distribution system. See Feb. 28 Guardian.)

In 1965, instead of challenging the PG&E/USBR contract in court, the University seriously considered a notably tortured proposal to de-annex the campus from the City of Berkeley, remove it from PG&E's designated trade territory, meet the terms of the highly questionable contract and compel PG&E to

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A wealthy San Francisco attorney is about to surface nationally as the leader of the Keynes mutiny: "The old economists...are trying to save their faces while letting the society go to hell."

LOUIS KELSO

Interview by Bob Jones

Louis O. Kelso is probably less known in San Francisco than in any of the four or five other major cities in the U.S. But Kelso lives here (San Mateo) and works here (in a suite on the 14th floor of the Alcoa building) as a highly paid economist and lawyer. For San Francisco, possibly, this is a combination too dull to bother with. Yet Kelso's ideas are revolutionary and, perhaps more important, they are taking hold in the highest realms of power in this country, and elsewhere.

Kelso is an odd mixture for a revolutionary. He is a wealthy man, and a meticulous one. (During a two-hour taped interview, he repeatedly whipped out a pair of scissors to cut off loose tape ends that turned on the reels.) Like Marshall McLuhan to whom he is sometimes compared, his politics are difficult to pin down. He is proud of pointing out, for instance, that the board of his Institute for the Study of Economic Systems contains Shirley Temple Black, Maurice Macmillan, the son of former British conservative Prime Minister, Harold MacMillan, Harry Bridges and black militant Floyd McKissick.

Perhaps the shortest and best explanation of Kelso's ideas is contained in the subtitle to his latest book, co-authored with political scientist Patricia Hetter: "How to Turn Eighty Million Workers Into Capitalists on Borrowed Money." The name of the theory is Two-Factor Economics (labor and capital), as opposed to one-factor economics (labor only) which nearly everyone else espouses. Appropriately enough, Kelso's complaint against the one-factor economics is that it is illogical, messy and inefficient. According to Kelso, two-factor theory will, so to speak, snip off the loose ends of the world's problems.

Press coverage of Kelso is about to explode nationally. Playboy has sent the Washington Post's resident radical columnist, Nicholas Von Hoffman, here for one of its lengthy interviews. Time is tentatively planning a cover story. Esquire has arranged for a profile. "But in San Francisco," Kelso told the Guardian, "I am just a lawyer." With usual modesty he adds, "A prophet, as the Bible says, is not without honor--save in his own country."

Guardian: *What does the war in Vietnam have to do with the economic policy of the U.S.?*

Kelso: Vietnam is an indispensable part of a one-factor economy in a two-factor world. The war there is a full-employment project. Our stated reason for being there is to fight communism. The facts are that, for every communist we kill over there, we create 500 somewhere else and 400 of them are in our own universities. You can't win on volume that way.

G: As long as the old economics goes on, will there be more Vietnams?

K: Of course. Absolutely. You can't get enough military appropriations to maintain full employment unless you get an emergency somewhere.

G: How has the old economics gotten us in all this trouble?

K: Two factor theory starts with the proposition that, to understand the economics of an industrial society, one must first divide the factors of production into two: people and things, or labor and capital. Labor encompasses every possible means of human services, whether its muscle power or intelligence. The non-human factor means everything external to man capable of being employed in the production of goods and services. Both produce goods in the exactly same sense. The economic concepts of all the countries of the world are based on the assumption that there is only one factor of production, labor. In the Marxist or socialist countries, this is more often than not explicit dogma. The constitution of the USSR lays it out cold in so many words: there is only one factor of production, labor. Paraphrased, if you don't work, you can't eat.

The fact of the matter is that the so-called free industrial democratic economies have exactly the same economic policy, which should give cause for pause. The national economic policy of the US is set forth in the Employment Act of 1946. That act simply says that the policy of the US is to fight poverty through full employment. Exclusively. If that doesn't work, use welfare. That basic thinking is carried through to the Equal Opportunity Act of 1964. Equal opportunity means equal opportunity to get jobs or handouts if there aren't enough jobs. There is nothing in that act that relates to or implements the idea of equal access to the ownership of capital.

G: Are you saying that the productivity of labor has not increased through technology?

K: Yes. Take an elevator. You replace it with a faster elevator, maybe a third faster. It looks like you have raised the productivity of the operator by a third. Automate it a little further and you eliminate him altogether. There isn't any elevator operator. Are you going to tell me that his productivity has risen to infinity? I'm telling you that it was the machine, not the man. This is the same as saying that the economic productivity of the mature worker in general cannot be improved. By anything. You can take an immature worker and bring him up to a level of a mature worker. But once he reaches that maturity, nothing will raise his productivity.

G: Then you are saying that in the 20th century there has been ever increasing productivity from capital while labor has remained constant.

K: Basically. Actually, the labor factor has shrunk.

G: Why is that?

K: Because the demand for it has diminished. The laborer goofs off, spends more time coffee breaking, gabbing, featherbedding, horsing around, pretending he is working. One factor economists pretend that man is a toil loving animal. The hell he is. He hates toil. He has used his highest ingenuity to get out of it. There is no dignity in performing work that can be done by a machine. The minute you can carry rocks out of a mine on a conveyor belt, there's no dignity left to any laborer who then voluntarily carrys rocks out of the mine. He is demented, an idiot. In one factor economics, the scientists, business managers, technicians and engineers all struggle mightily to eliminate labor. The politicians, because of their prehistoric economic concepts, are seeking to make the world run through full employment. Now you've got a little conflict. Politicians are trying to undo the work of the engineers, managers and scientists. Is it any wonder that the world is going to hell? An economic system must have logic. But I can tell you that nobody can explain the logic of the economic system of the US or the USSR. Neither of them has any logic. They are happenings, not systems.

G: What first led you to doubt the wisdom of conventional economics?

K: It was the depression. The depression presented this picture--tremendous unused resources, tremendous capacity, immeasurable ability to bring in new capacity, all of which are physical. But also, incredible poverty, which is also physical. The question that got me into this was: how could you have these two things? Producers wanting to produce; consumers wanting to consume. What the hell is wrong?

G: What WAS wrong?

K: We were trying to run a two-factor world on one-factor concepts. So we gave labor coercive power to pad their wages. But coercion and rule by law are opposites. Rape is coercion; so is coercive bargaining. This does not mean that two-factor theory is anti-labor or anti-union. Under one-factor concepts, labor had no choice. We did other things, like the intensified income tax, the welfare system, social security. We subsidized leaf raking. Finally, we discovered the perfect Keynesian weapon: armaments and war. The only thing for which you can get Congress to appropriate unlimited amounts of money, that creates lots of jobs and also does not put any goods into the existing market to compete for the perennially insufficient purchasing power.

G: Is it possible that new ownership of capital by labor was not considered because the owners in the past refused to consider the possibility?

K: I am sure that that was one aspect. Until I designed the second income plan, it wasn't generally possible to create new capital owners without taking capital away from somebody. In the past, the acquisition of capital meant taking it away from somebody else. This by the way was the overwhelming economic justification for war: a means of acquiring capital and wealth.

G: So if the New Deal could not cure the depression, World War II did...

K: World War II did. But I am really thinking of the less sophisticated kinds of war where one country makes war on the neighbor to acquire their factories, jewels, furniture, cattle, land, etc.

G: How would two-factor economics solve these problems?

K: By adding a second income to corporate workers and others, one that supplements and eventually, perhaps, even replaces wages.

In conventional finance, a corporation goes to a lendor and borrows, say a million dollars and gives back a note. Then the corporation takes the cash proceeds and buys tools. When this note has been paid off, no new stock holders have been created. The same stockholders, the rich guys, own a million dollars more productive power.

G: Meanwhile, the laborer's status, *except as* sustained by coercion, has gone down.

K: Yes. *More of the input is in tools. There's* nothing here that raises wages, nor should it.

Under the second income plan, suppose we have the same company wanting to expand a million dollars and the same lendor. But this time the corporation does it using an employee second income trust. Every employee of the corporation is a participant in the trust, from the board chairman to the charwoman. The corporation says "don't loan it to the corporation directly; loan it to the trust." The trust invests the money in the corporation and the corporation issues new stock to the trust for that cash. The corporation takes the cash and buys tools. Now what this does is allow the poor man to buy tools or stock representing tools, in the same way the rich man has always bought stock, namely under conditions whereby he pays for it out of what the new physical capital produces. The labor union of the future will use collective bargaining to help their members acquire capital ownership under this entirely legitimate method.

G: Can only corporate employees join the Second Income Trust?

K: At present yes. The tax laws do not permit non-employees to join in a second income plan. However, the Institute for the Study of Economic Systems has devised legislation that would allow non-employees to achieve the same result.

G: How will a non-employee join the trust?

K: A family could go to a bank, for instance, and receive a loan for $4,000. The collateral for the loan would be the stock and the committment of the corporation to a high payout of earnings as dividends. The purchased stock would be put in escrow until the dividends had paid off the loan. The family would then own $4,000 in stock and would receive the "wages" of its new capital in the form of dividends.

G: Economists such as Milton Friedman and Walter Heller have scoffed at your theories. Why is that?

K: What do you think a witchdoctor's reaction is when a medical scientist walks in to village and says, "Say, Doctor, if you use penicillin for those ailments, your patients will recover sooner." He scoffs. They're trying to save their faces while letting our society and the other countries of the world that look to us for leadership go to hell.

ON THE WATERFRONT

The Port

Thank you for the opportunity to respond to your Feb. 28 article, which views with alarm the proposals from private developers for certain sites on the San Francisco waterfront.

(Waterfront sites available for development will eventually include most of the northern waterfront as the Port accomplishes its intended shift of maritime activity to the southern waterfront with new cargo terminals. Non-maritime sites north of the Ferry Building will, however, be interspersed with active maritime piers. Also available for developer proposals is the site south of the Ferry Building, encompassing Piers 14 to 24 between Mission and Harrison Streets.)

The official acts of the Port Commission guide the course of events on the waterfront--including the obvious necessity of attracting top caliber developers to the sites. This being the case, I fail to understand why the efforts of Mayor Alioto and Port Commission President Magnin to draw attention to the available sites has incurred your wrath.

Concerning the Port Commission itself, your description of them as quietly parceling out land like "private real estate brokers" strongly suggests they are doing something they are not supposed to do.

Transfer Act

The agreement transferring the Port from State to City trusteeship (which City voters approved in November, 1968) establishes the Port Commission's complete stewardship over all Port properties, directing that they be administered separately and autonomously from other City property.

The entire thrust of the agreement is to assure a healthy, flourishing maritime port for the City. Thus, making both maritime and non-maritime properties produce the needed revenues are hand-in-hand responsibilities of the Port Commission. I cannot emphasize this point strongly enough.

The article also implied there are ready alternative to revenue-producing developments the Port Commission did not choose to take. The tax situation of the City and the financial facts of life at the Port flatly say otherwise.

The article also suggests that, on the basis of proposals submitted thus far, the Port Commission is insensitive to a "people-oriented" environment for the waterfront. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Commission is committed to the general guidelines of the Bolles master plan for the northern waterfront prepared for the City Planning Commission, which stresses a livable, people-oriented environment. The Commission is definitely commited to the "open-air and open-space" concept to the north, as well as public facilities and water access for the public.

Capital investment

I might add that the developer proposals are in a preliminary and informal stage thus far. But if and when they commit huge amounts of capital to their projects, you may be certain they will not wish to debase their own investments by creating an inferior environment--nor would they be allowed to.

Yet, architects and planners can disagree among themselves as to what constitutes "good" environment and design. So it is rather inevitable that other concerned citizens will have different dreams for tomorrow's waterfront.

Guidelines

One dedicated group--SPUR--is making a determined effort to come to grips with reality. SPUR and the Port are currently working to reach agreement on guidelines for the northern waterfront.

Matching dreams and dollars can be a painful process. But we are talking about much more than real estate "schemes" (your word).

The Port is the vital organ of the City's maritime industry which accounts for almost a half billion payroll dollars, plus more than 40 percent of the $2.2 billion in Northern California's waterborne world trade.

We are talking about a port which handles the most valuable cargo per ton of any port in the nation...the port where a 10 percent gain or loss in annual tonnage represents a hundred million dollars gain or loss in waterborne trade through the City.

The financial picture of the Port is such that development decisions directly affect all the maritime-related jobs and businesses throughout the City on and on into the future. Thus, the Port Commission did not choose commercial development so much as development chose the Commission.

To reduce issues of such magnitude down to two personalities, as you chose to do with Mayor Alioto and Port Commission President Cyril Magnin, is doing a grave disservice to them and your readers.

I believe that our Port Commissioners are fully as sensitive to the beauty and the promise of our waterfront as are other concerned citizens and dedicated conservationists. The Commission is not, however, a neighborhood improvement association, and it should not be attacked because it cannot act like one.

ROBERT D. KRAEHE
Public Relations Director, Port of San Francisco

City Planning

I can say, very simply, that at this point I support the Commission's actions on this subject.

The reasons for their actions I believe to be amply stated in the Master Plan document. I understand the Guardian has a copy; if not, I would be pleased to send you one. The section of the report evaluating comments made at the public meetings or sent to the department may be of interest as they show the complete range of thought on nearly all aspects of the Plan.

ALLAN B. JACOBS
Director of Planning

Fleishhacker

I am enclosing a copy of a statement I made before the Planning Commission Thursday, January 15, 1970, which fully expresses my views.

I am sure that you are familiar with the Planning Department's staff recommendations which I allude to, which essentially were a maximum height limit of 175 feet.

I am sure that you are also aware that the action taken by the Commission was to allow a substantially higher height limit and that I was the only member of the Commission supporting the staff recommendation.

I did vote with the other members of the Commission but only after I had failed to get a second to my motion endorsing the staff recommendations, and I gave my affirmative vote only as an indication that I preferred some height limit to unlimited height.

Statement

The issues before us today relate to the final accomplishment of the Northern Waterfront Plan and, specifically, the areas immediately north and south of the Ferry Building.

The purpose of this entire plan was to allow the port to develop this area, taking into consideration the changing needs of maritime activity and to obtain sufficient revenues from non-maritime uses to finance the new port facilities required to maintain the San Francisco port as an outstanding harbor.

At the same time there was agreement that careful planning would be necessary to enhance the beauty of the city and make sure that citizens would have maximum access to the water and enjoyment of the natural beauty of the bay.

The original Bolles plan stressed the need for limitation of height and excellence of design. The port, unfortunately, has not presented us with their actual financial requirements and it is therefore difficult to estimate the degree of development required to provide them with the land rental which they need.

Definite limitations imposed by BCDC will restrict the amount of water coverage of the entire area, which automatically guarantees a substantial amount of open space. Within this framework there is a great deal of latitude and many alternatives are available to the port and no solid evidence has been presented that indicates the necessity to increase height limits above those recommended by the Planning Department staff in order to satisfy the financial requirements of the port.

It has been stated that if the two areas north and south of the Ferry Building could be developed more intensively with excess height no further non-maritime development would be required. This, however, is not the only alternative and may well be the least desirable.

There is strong evidence that within the Planning Department staff recommendations sufficient rental income can be obtained to give the port its required income and, taking the area as a whole, there is no question that reasonable development can be worked out without violating the basic principles of the Northern Waterfront Plan.

It is my strong feeling that the staff recommendations should be immediately adopted, the port should explore a variety of alternatives, and only if and when they are in a position to prove to this Commission that they cannot survive within these guidelines should a relaxation of these restrictions be considered.

MORTIMER FLEISHHACKER
Chairman, City Planning Commission

SPUR

Dale Rosen's February 28th lead article was quite a comprehensive undertaking, and, on the whole, did a good job of describing the historical context of the situation. Her reporting of the present SPUR proposal, however, was quite inaccurate.

She said, "....the terms of Magnin's 'deal' with SPUR include no provision for open space and make U.S. Steel the arbiter of our air rights.."

Leaving aside the issue of any "deal" (of course there is none), the enclosed paper explains that (1) a major element of our proposal is the guarantee that 60% of the entire Northern Waterfront remain in open space, insuring that there be no more coverage of water than that covered by existing piers and, (2) the "arbiter" of both air rights and open space would not be U.S. Steel, but a trust, whose members are proposed to include SPUR, the Sierra Club, and the Nature Conservancy.

SPUR proposal

SPUR is opposed to all high-rise construction on the Northern Waterfront of San Francisco which would exceed the Planning Director's height limit recommendations. However, if firm guarantees are devised which would protect the City from future high rise and further expansion into the existing open water, such opposition would be withheld from high-rise construction on the single, least-sensitive area: between the Ferry Building and the Bay Bridge.

(1) Under the proposal, the San Francisco Harbor Commission would require any potential developer of the site south of the Ferry Building (i.e., U.S. Steel, Ford Motor Company, etc.) to lease, in addition to the development site, all property rights to the air space over the entire Northern Waterfront above the proposed zoning height limits.

(2) As a part of such a lease, the Harbor Commission would enter into a negative covenant which would commit them to retain the existing amount of water. The total area covered by development in the future, then, could never exceed the area presently covered by the finger piers. Under this agreement, 60% of the Northern Waterfront would remain in open space.

(3) An additional covenant of the lease would commit the Harbor Commission to providing the area and, if possible, the funds to construct a landscaped pedestrian esplanade along the Embarcadero from the Ferry Building to Fisherman's Wharf.

JOHN H. JACOBS
Executive Director, SPUR

Guardian replies

- Mr. Jacobs insists that "of course" there was no "deal," SPUR apparently prefers the term "trade." From its January newsletter: "In short, SPUR is willing to make a trade..." A deal, by any other name, remains a deal.
- SPUR's proposed Trust makes no meaningful provision for open space because it fails to define the term. The Port, and presumably SPUR, include as "open space" both open water and land.
- Even if all eight proposed trustees of SPUR's "U.S. Steel-San Francisco Northern Waterfront Trust" agree to accept the office (and this is by no means certain), we feel the "pro-development" forces would still command an easy majority.

Sup. Pelosi

As chairman of the Supervisors' Planning and Development Committee, I intend to hold hearings soon to determine the feasibility of the Port area as a redevelopment area.

I feel that designating the northern waterfront for redevelopment would open opportunities for a combination of public usage and controlled commercial development. This development would then come under the scrutiny of the Board of Supervisors.

RONALD PELOSI
SF Supervisor

Telegraph Dwellers

Ever since the mid-sixties, a great deal of effort, talent and money has gone into planning the future of our Waterfront (A. D. Little Co., Bolles Associates, Planning Department and Citizens' Advisory Committee). The very fact that the city chose to plan for this incomparable natural resource, nearly 75% of which is publicly owned, raised hopes that San Francisco might come up with a truly significant solution.

It is difficult to talk about the result without bitterness.

The Masterplan For Our Waterfront, approved by the Planning Commission in June of 1969, was timid and fragmented. Its major fault lay in the disappointingly small land area reserved for public open space and in a number of significant loopholes in the building heights regulations. However, considering the developer-oriented policies of City Hall, the Planning staff probably achieved the maximum public benefit attainable under the present administration. For this deserves our gratitude and support.

The tragedy of the Masterplan lies in the fact that it is already on the way to becoming a meaningless promise. One example will suffice:

This series of waterfront letters inaugurates a special forum column for The Guardian.

We will regularly run letters, as many as space allows, in hopes of providing insight, alternatives and debate on critical issues.

Typed letters of 300 words or less will get first consideration.

Feel free to criticize Guardian stories or commentary. Our writers all are told they are subject to rebuttal, in The Guardian, of anything or anybody they write about.

Give name, address, phone no.

the debate starts

The reason for this deplorable situation is clear: instead of forcing developers to conform to proper planning, the "Planning" Commission "plans" to accomodate developers.

Each time sound planning is defeated, the developers and their political allies promise fabulous "amenities" in exchange. We all remember the "hanging gardens" and other extravagant promises made by the International Market Center. When the dust had settled, we were left with nothing but the wanton destruction of the historic Seawall Warehouse. We also remember the "open plaza" promised by Transamerica. As soon as the Supervisors had complied with Transamerica's wishes, the plaza disappeared. The same routine can be predicted for the U.S. Steel Building. Not satisfied with the 400 ft. limit, the Port Commission now asks for the removal of all height limitations, promising fabulous passenger terminals and sweeping open spaces in return. As soon as the Supervisors comply, these "amenities" will evaporate like those of the Transamerica Pyramid and the Market Center.

Port plans

Commissioner Fleishhacker's request for a solid financial plan by the Port Commission fell on deaf ears. The Port Director remained silent and the Planning Commission hastily voted to accomodate US Steel. Strangely enough, the Port Director declared two months later, before the Supervisors' Planning and Development Committee, that the Port does have a plan, but that it was not submitted to the Planning Commission! We might well ask what is so wrong with the Port's "plan" that it chose not to make it public and to withhold it from the Planning Commission?

Unfortunately, the answer is already clear. While the Port Director enthused about the untold amenities, open space and visual beauty which would result from the removal of height limits at the US Steel site, shipping is being eased out of the northern part of the Waterfront to make room for massive commercial development, a forest of huge billboards has sprung up all over the waterfront, and port land is being advertised to developers all over the United States.

Open space and height limitations are not the only victims of our developer-oriented officials. The very existence of shipping on the Northern Waterfront is at stake:

Shipping at stake

The A.D. Little Company's in-depth study of the Waterfront (commissioned by the Port itself) stated that "the area from Pier 35 to the Ferry Building should be retained in maritime activity," a position essentially shared by the Bolles Study and the Masterplan. However, Cyril Magnin, in a letter to THD President Gerald Cauthen, stoutly claimed that containerization and other technological developments make fingerpiers obsolete and that they should be entirely removed from the Northern Waterfront, with the exception of one or two piers! (This is in direct contradiction to his own consultant and to a recent study by the US Department of Transportation which predicted conventional "break-bulk", non-containerized cargo-handling on a major scale for at least 75 years to come!)

Where will all this lead?

Instead of generating needed blue-collar jobs, the forced containerization and reduction of maritime activities on the Northern Waterfront will reduce such jobs by discouraging "break-bulk" cargo handling.

Alternatives

Instead of seeking federal assitance to supplement the port's financial needs (as Oakland has done), revenues are to be based largely on intensive commercial development.

Instead of reasonably priced housing and added amenities to keep families in our city, their flight to the suburbs will be accelerated.

Instead of humane planning, a misunderstood "tax base" is used as the standard alibi for catering to large developers.

The results of this policy are predictable: The developers' appetites feed on every new concession made, and under the determined "leadership" of Mayor Alioto and his Port and Planning Commissions the Manhattanization of our city and waterfront proceeds on schedule.

Citizens' protests and well-founded arguments have proved of no avail. Only concerted political action by civic organizations and individual citizens at the next city-wide elections can reverse the trend. Such action is now in preparation.

GERALD CAUTHEN
President, Telegraph Hill Dwellers

Jean Kortum

The Bulkhead Bill of 1856 was the scheme of seven men, owning only seven out of the 42 wharves in San Francisco. Organized as the San Francisco Dock Company, with Levi Parsons as their head, these men attempted to gain complete control of the San Francisco waterfront. In return for this "entire and exclusive right...forever," Levi Parsons and his partners would build a bulkhead or sea wall to provide deepwater access for ships to the city's waterfront.

Through the years the Port Authority (or Harbor Commission) has generally been a competent, efficient and honorable body, and has furthered the affairs and reputation of the port. But now that the time has come to use port land for other than shipping purposes, I am afraid that the Port Authority unwittingly finds itself in the position of being modern-day "bulkheaders."

JEAN KORTUM
San Francisco

Next issue: Mrs. Kortum's history of the Bulkheaders of the 1856's and the 1970's.

George Gabon

The Guardian investigates San Francisco development and redevelopment projects which sorely need exposing. But you lack a definition of development and fail to see the class stakes involved; you miss the forest for the trees.

In your waterfront story (Feb. 28), for example, who defines development and what do they mean?

By development, corporations mean investing capital in whatever outlets obtain the highest going rates of profit. Their experiences in the market place--cut-throat competition and combination to beat declining profits--compel corporations to seek the greatest returns on their money or succumb. Corporate ideology--expansion for maximum profit rather than for social utility--rules out investing in low-income housing, schools, clinics, parks.

Since the people of the city need the money already extracted from them in low wages, high prices and inequitable taxes, returned to them, the people and corporations unavoidably conflict.

Hence development produces glaring ironies: Yerba Buena removes people without relocating them; Candlestick sticks its $20 million wedding cake in the face of impoverished Hunters Point; waterfront development turns public land into private profits.

City politicians, schooled in the same institutions as their corporate friends, captives of the same ideology and largely dependent on corporate executives for campaign funds, facilitate development according to an image they share with the economic lords of their class.

Hotelmotel

Development, to them, means manufacturing a middle-class social and economic environment--locating managerial jobs, building plastic, profitmaking forms of recreation for tourists--and, in the process, removing and excluding poor and working people from the heart of the city, converting land fit for people's use into an unusable affront: Hotelmotel.

People need homes, not convention hostels; parks with human facilities, not wax museums.

Clearly, development serves profit and middle-class consumption. A viable critique of the corporate-city waterfront affair must begin from a class analysis. Development benefits a particular class--those who own and control capital--and injures another, the producing class--those who need housing and services.

The unreasonableness of development contrary to people's needs screams out from your stories. But what does the Guardian advocate in its place?

The Guardian wants to sanitize business relations and admonishes developers and their political allies to follow the rules: no contracts before authorization; public hearings; fair play and decorum.

Here the Guardian is behind the times. To profiteers and working people alike, genuine competition and clean dealing don't work: fair play neither yields maximum profits nor produces necessities.

Accidents?

The Guardian treats corporate malpractices as accidents or deviations from model behavior. But the malpractices you detail in the waterfront story--working without legitimate economic studies, burying alternatives without hearing, circumventing zoning laws, originating deals at cocktail parties--these are not accidental.

Such conduct conforms to the ideology and life style of the profiteers and their political agents.

More important, this conduct creates a quiet, orderly climate for socially useless production, giving the illusion of popular approval.

These malpractices are capital's bedfellows, as intentional and necessary to securing and safeguarding profits as the wars in Viet Nam and Laos; the coups in Guatemala, British Guiana, Iran, Ghana, the Congo; neocolonialism throughout the third world (which most recently slaughtered two million Biafrans); and anti-labor warfare in this country.

To discuss development without disclosing the source of the developers' capital is to perpetrate a half-truth. Why doesn't the Guardian reveal how much US Steel pays for its Venezuelan ore and who gets the money?

Questions

How many wildcat strikes Ford suppressed in 1969 and how Ford periodically lays off thousands of workers? How many tons of grapes Whitaker & Baxter helps peddle to the Defense (War!) Department? Dillingham Corporation's market in military airfields in Thailand? Wages on Castle and Cooke's banana, coconut and sugar plantations in Central America and the Pacific?

The Guardian might scrutinize shipping itself, the ostensible reason for development, and find out how much cargo derives from the wars and militarism. Did the shipping resurgence begin with the Viet Nam War?

Certainly, labor's support for development bears some relation to jobs it expects to realize. Has the economy been rigged to make organized labor's short term interests contingent upon production earmarked for counter-revolutions and military aid? You'll find evidence on San Francisco's waterfront.

The Guardian's list of "fundamental questions" raised by "the Alioto/Magnin development scheme" excludes a more fundamental interrogation.

Who do these "hucksters" represent? Can capitalists rationally plan cities? What action is open to the people of the city? Should they rely on the sensibleness of the profiteers to return what they've stolen?

The Guardian claims its "fundamental questions" supply "the stuff for a great San Francisco debate." Who would represent the people from Mission, Fillmore, Potrero Hill, Hunters Point? What does the capitalists' forum offer them? How would they compete with professional PR men, those bourgeoise apologists? And have they not been socialized--educated--to shun the cop, the politician, city hall?

Instead of focusing on the social issues waterfront development raises, the Guardian dwells on internecine warfare among the people's enemies.

In San Francisco, capitalist politicians have delivered the city waterfront to their economic allies with a view to creating a lucrative, middle-class mooring. The Guardian should expose the deal for what it is: an attempt by capitalists to expand their base of operations contrary to the needs needs of working people and the poor. This isn't a call for rhetoric, but for analysis, for both halves of the development story.

GEORGE GABON
Berkeley

AIA

The NCAIA shares the growing concern that a great *injustice will be done to the people of San Francisco if the proposed ordinances effectuating the "Northern Waterfront Plan" are adopted in their present form.* While we have reservations about many parts of the plan, our greatest concern lies with the waterfront area covered by these ordinances and specifically with that area outboard of the Embarcadero and between piers 9 and 45.

This area has long had great potential as the one place in the downtown area where people should be able to see, and physically get to, the Bay. It is an area close to downtown people concentrations with ideal weather characteristics. If properly handled, it would be intensely used and would become a source of pride and delight for all of San Francisco.

The Bay has long been denied to the people by the Chinese wall of pier superstructures, but those are, apparently, reaching the point where they are no longer economically viable. The chance is, therefore, at hand to replace these buildings and open the Embarcadero to the Bay; to give the City the sense and feel of water that should be its right and privilege.

It would be truly magnificent if the entire area could become one immense waterfront park with plazas, parks and beaches. This should be the ultimate goal of the City, but it is perhaps unrealistic to expect aspirations of this quality from a 'development oriented' administration.

But even if development is included, it need not exclude people. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that public use and private development are not mutually exclusive but actually greatly benefit each other.

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Pin the tail on the donkey... tail on the donkey... tail on the donkey... tail on the donkey... tail on the donkey... tail on

THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY
GUARDIAN

PHONE UN 1-9600 ADDRESS: 1070 BRYANT ST., SAN FRANCISCO

More hot air from BAAPCD

Mayor Alioto has a critical appointment to make to the BAAPCD board of directors to replace Ex-Supervisor William Blake.

Both Blake, a machine shop owner, and San Francisco's other representative, Supervisor Peter Tamaras, who owns a maintenance supply firm, have meekly followed BAAPD's don't-ruffle-industry line.

This is the spot for a strong conservationist unallied with industry or the SF development establishment. Alioto should appoint one promptly.

As Julia Cheever's Feb. 28 article documented in excruciating detail, you can't do much about air pollution until you do something about the district that is supposed to regulate it. The Bay Area Air Pollution Control District, she showed, has for years laid down a massive smokescreen to protect industrial polluters and camouflage the effects of smog.

Let us capsule and choreograph BAAPCD's Mar. 4 meeting in Richmond.

DIRECTOR ROBERT HOYER (CLAYTON COUNCILMAN, CONTRA COSTA COUNTY): "I'm glad to see so many people here. With the backing of the people and the interest of the people, we can no doubt clean up the air."

Note: BAAPCD got all the backing it needed in 1955 when the state legislature created the district and empowered directors to establish any regulations they consider necessary to control air pollution. The legislature also gave the directors a mandate to "establish and execute an effective program for the reduction of air contaminants within the district."

DIRECTOR PETER TAMARAS (SUPERVISOR, SF): "I think that the people in Richmond have a legitimate complaint. I agree with many of the things stated in this room. We need more stringent laws, particularly on sulfur dioxide. . .you people of Richmond need to talk to your representatives in the state very firmly to espouse stricter laws to follow. We don't make laws, we carry out laws."

Note: For the past five months, BAAPCD has had a state mandate for more stringent regulations on sulfur dioxide (the rotten egg smell from oil refineries), but the directors have made no new regulations.

In November, the State Air Resources Board established statewide air quality standards (based on health criteria) for seven different air contaminants. BAAPCD regulations for four industrial contaminants--sulfur dioxide, hydrogen sulfide, oxides of nitrogen, particulate matter--are looser than state standards, but BAAPCD regulations have not been toughened.

The point: while the BAAPCD is supposed to produce regulations at least as strict as the state's standards, it also has always been perfectly free to establish regulations stricter than the state's.

DIRECTOR WILLIAM BLAKE (FORMER SUPERVISOR, SF): "To come here today and find large firms (violating)--I think it is very serious. We need a special meeting of the board of directors--either bring the firms into compliance or shut them down."

Note: In January, citizens' groups (some the same as in March) testified about the need for stricter regulations, tougher enforcement and disclosure of the major polluting industries. Blake's comment then: "We're not going to be influenced by any noisy groups that come in and try to impose their will."

Earlier in the March meeting, Blake asked what oil refinery the Richmond citizens were testifying about. The refinery complex, Standard Oil and allied chemical plants, had been frequently named by citizens at earlier board meetings, including last December and January.

DIRECTOR JAMES KELLY (SUPERVISOR, ALAMEDA COUNTY): "We could be terribly shocked and very embarrassed if violations were going on under our very noses without our knowing about it."

Note: For months, citizens have protested continual violations by big industries, inadequate BAAPCD inspection and easy variances from the BAAPCD hearing board-at earlier meetings chaired by Kelly.

The March testimony did introduce new evidence of nighttime violations; two citizens revealed that plant workers told them of instructions to increase pollution emissions at night and on weekends when the BAAPCD inspectors weren't around. But a major cause of this night-time activity-the BAAPCD's use of 1899 ringelman smoke charts, usable only in the daytime - had been under protest for years.

DIRECTOR LELAND SWEENEY (SUPERVISOR, ALAMEDA COUNTY): "It was revealing today to listen to the testimony. What comes first, human beings or taxes? If you don't have human beings, who can pay the taxes?"

After comments like these, directors took no specific action except to instruct Jud Callaghan a former PG&E executive now serving as their chief administrative officer, to report back on the evidence they'd just heard.

They also discussed BAAPCD's position on several bills before the legislature, including A.B. 86 which empowers the Air Resources Board to take over from any local air pollution agency that isn't doing its job. They voted to oppose it.

THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN

"It is a newspaper's duty to print the news, and raise hell." (Wilbur F. Storey: Statement of the aims of the Chicago Times, 1861.)

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briefs

Good for Bill Bennett, his Bennett Bombers from Hastings Law School and their decision to take on PG&E. How about a taxpayer's suit directing the city to enforce the Raker Act, bring the city's Hetch Hetchy power to San Francisco, buy out PG&E's illegal private power monopoly and bring the city savings of some $30 million a year? (See Neilands and Petrakis in previous Guardians.)

How can you talk seriously about law enforcement when PG&E's corporate steal goes unchallenged?

How can supervisors talk about raising taxes--the proposed income tax, for example--when they make no move to get this enormous annual revenue?

Suggestion: Ask your supervisor when he will call for enforcement of the Raker Act. Nothing scares him more.

ON THE WATERFRONT

continued from page 9

But the ordinances before the City for adoption do not spell out this kind of joint use and make virtually no provision for public access to the Bay.

Three parks are called for, but one is the existing Aquatic Park and the other two are small and are both inboard of future C-2 development with no provision for access through to the Bay. Except for Aquatic Park there is no specifically designated public access to the Bay.

View corridors are called for in the original Waterfront Plan, but in the ordinance these corridors become "amenities" which are required "only to the extent feasible".

Coverage is limited to the area of the existing piers and the height to 40 feet, but the floor area ratio is established at 5:1. These provisions will urge development to totally fill the volume above the existing piers and to virtually recreate the opaque Chinese wall now formed by the pier superstructures.

Under the terms of these ordinances the best that can be expected is another sidewalk along the Embarcadero with an occasional peep-hole to the Bay. This is in total contradiction to spirit of the original Waterfront Plan and the hopes of the people of San Francisco.

The potential for the Northern Waterfront is immense but it is being totally ignored. We have expressed this concern and our opposition to the ordinances to the City. Further, we have offered our assistance in defining those changes that are absolutely mandatory if an acceptable solution is to be achieved. There is an irreplaceable opportunity here for the City. We sincerely hope that it has the wisdom to reach out for it.

KARL TREFFINGER
President, Northern California Chapter, AIA

SF Tomorrow

These are the major waterfront objectives of San Francisco Tomorrow:

1. Retain the break bulk cargo activites of the Northern Waterfront to the maximum possible as long as it can be conducted at a profit and not a burden on the taxpayers.

2. Development of a major container facility on portions of the Southern Waterfront which will not conflict with the South Bayshore plan.

3. Retain strict height limit control as follows:

(a.) North of Broadway. Retain the 40 foot, 65 foot and 84 foot zones established by the Planning Commission with the exception that there will be no loophole favoring those who are able to accumulate three acres or more in a single parcel.

(b.) Broadway to Ferry Building. A strict height limit envelope not exceeding 84 feet in more than 8 per cent of the project area and not exceeding 125 feet in any circumstance.

(c.) Ferry Building to the Bay Bridge. A strict height limit envelope not exceeding 84 feet in more than 8 per cent of the project area and not exceeding 175 feet under any circumstance.

(d.) Area south of Bay Bridge but not inside South Bayshore Plan. A height limit not to exceed 85 feet in any event and subject to the very best planning concepts as defined by Planning Director Allen B. Jacobs and his staff.

(e.) Area within South Bayshore Plan. Height limits and development as recommended in the plan and subject to approval by the surrounding residents.

(f.) Remainder of Bay and Ocean waterfront. A 40 foot height limit for the entire remaining area.

4. In any area where it is necessary to remove maritime facilities within our Point No. 1 above, at least 50 per cent of the area so released shall be open both to the public and highly accessible to the waterfront.

5. Insofar as possible, the waterfront shall be an area which primarily accommodates pedestrians and discourages all vehicles except needed surface vehicles and appropriate public transit vehicles.

6. Strict control over all outside advertising.

7. A new Port Commission more representative of the unions, shippers, and the general public.

8. Disclosure of all involved public officials' ownership of land in, adjoining, or in competition with our port area.

9. A public hearing by the Board of Supervisors, as a committee of the whole, on the entire Port situation.

10. Advance notice, in adequate detail, of any plans for this area, by either the Port or Planning Commission.

11. A public referendum on any controversial proposals so that the taxpayers themselves may decide on how they want their Port to be used.

HAROLD L. HOWARD
Co-Chairman, Waterfront Committee, San Francisco Tomorrow, Inc.

Audrey Rogers

The Guardian calls for public debate about San Francisco's waterfront development. It's our waterfront, under public control to benefit San Francisco. So what's the big deal? It's really only the same old San Francisco deal. Unless there are some changes in the system, the odds are all against the public interest.

What's needed is basic reform to cure underlying problems in our government structure.

Faulty Charter

Despite a super-abundance of problems, these are never analyzed and solved. What else can you expect? It's not the people involved in government or their friends you should blame; it's the system of charter-embalmed irresponsibility and inadequacy that should be blamed.

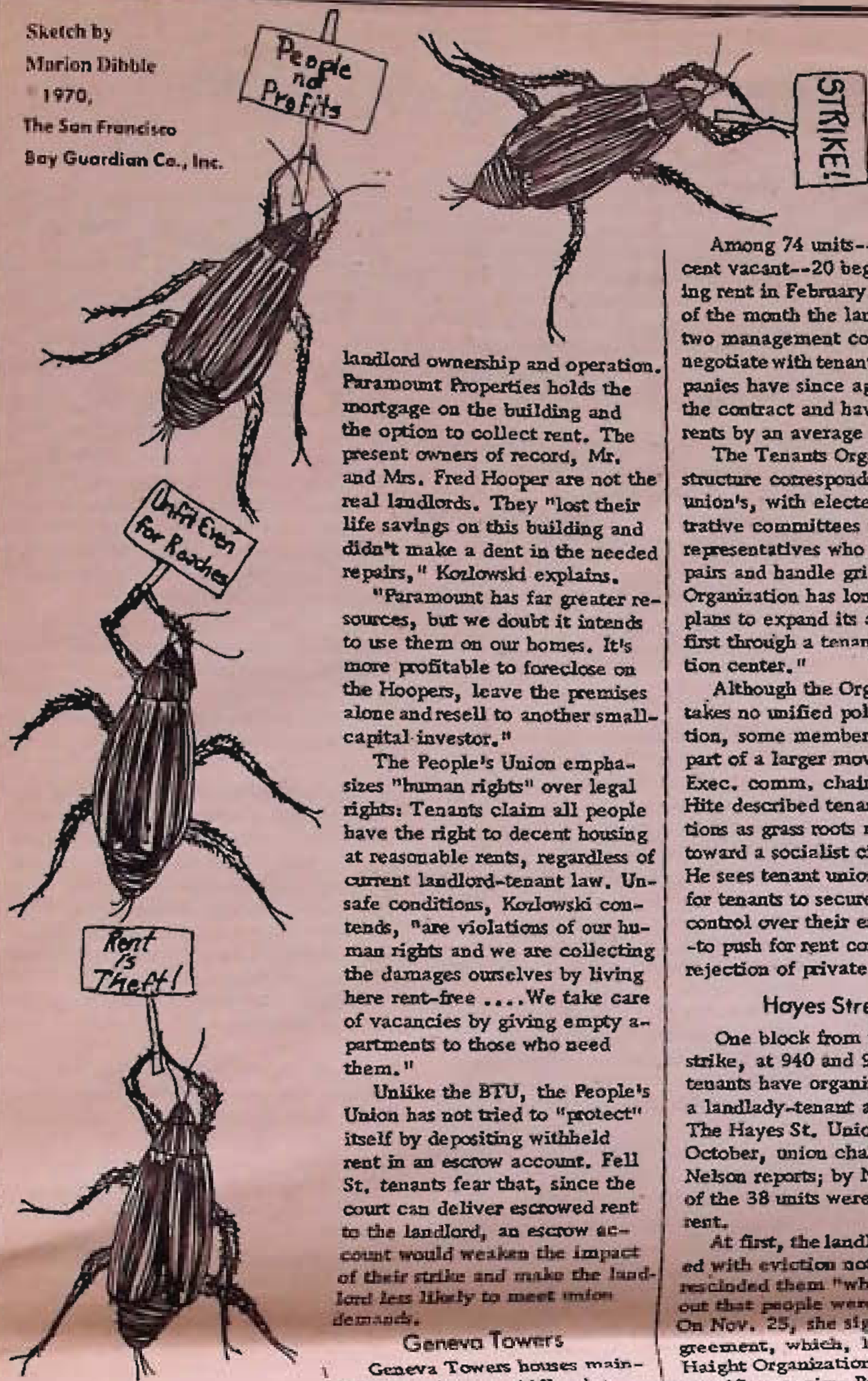
Change the charter and you may get a change in government's response. The glorious operatic posturing of all the commissions, the elected officials, the appointed officials, the life-locked management system, the special interest groups wheeling and dealing and helping with the scene changing, all with great dash and brouhaha, signifying no regard for the public interest....this is built into the libretto.

For this analysis we should at least be calling the operations by their proper names. If we call a maritime subsidy a "port commission" how will we know it is intended to be a shipping industry, and maritime industry and waterfront use subsidy? The only reason San Franciscans can possibly allow the "port commission" to consider a fundamental change in its purpose....to become a real estate development subsidy....without public debate or decision....is because it is called a port commission. This phoney title helps mask the real issues.

Debate indeed! If we don't change the rules, redefine the functions, deal with the charter which dictates our dilemma... ...what will be the point of debate? If profits pay the port mortgage, then were is the economic analysis showing of what these profits really cost? The put-it-on-the-tax-roll-mystique is only a tragic response to state restrictions and charter built inability to manage money and assets and direct goals.

It's always been a wholesale town but now that the fixtures are for sale, don't just stand there. Yell stop. But don't stop there.

AUDREY RODGERS
Member, SF Charter Revision Committee



Sketch by Marion Dibble 1970, The San Francisco Bay Guardian Co., Inc.

Tenants on strike

- continued from page 1

increase effective Dec. 1. He hiked the rent on one-bedroom apartments from $87 to $110 and on two-bedroom apartments from $97 to $135.

The tenants decided they wanted something in return. Nine of the 12 units formed the Clayton-Waller Street Tenants Union, chaired by apartment manager Mary Wilson, and postponed paying their rent until the landlord signed the agreement Dec. 2, obligating him to make needed repairs and reduce rents by $10.

Since then, Mrs. Wilson charged, the landlord has broken nearly every provision. He has renovated only the public areas--lobby and stairs--which prospective buyers would see. He has continued to charge the increased rent though tenants have refused to pay the increase. Most recently, he has served the Wilsons and another tenant with 30-day notices and has "relieved" Mrs. Wilson of her duties as apartment manager.

"It's a process of elimination," Mrs. Wilson charged.

Fell Street

The people of 829 Fell St. have been withholding rent on the 16-unit building since Feb. 17. "To pay it any longer," claims tenant Ted Kozlowski, "would be an insult to ourselves. We're a young, diverse, multi-racial group and we're all on strike. We were happy and proud to get it on and promptly hung banners outside to inform everyone what is happening."

To fight for repairs and rent reductions, the Fell St. tenants formed the People's Union.

The Fell St. situation illustrates a particular kind of landlord ownership and operation. Paramount Properties holds the mortgage on the building and the option to collect rent. The present owners of record, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Hooper are not the real landlords. They "lost their life savings on this building and didn't make a dent in the needed repairs," Kozlowski explains.

"Paramount has far greater resources, but we doubt it intends to use them on our homes. It's more profitable to foreclose on the Hoopers, leave the premises alone and resell to another small-capital investor."

The People's Union emphasizes "human rights" over legal rights: Tenants claim all people have the right to decent housing at reasonable rents, regardless of current landlord-tenant law. Unsafe conditions, Kozlowski contends, "are violations of our human rights and we are collecting the damages ourselves by living here rent-free ....We take care of vacancies by giving empty apartments to those who need them."

Unlike the BTU, the People's Union has not tried to "protect" itself by depositing withheld rent in an escrow account. Fell St. tenants fear that, since the court can deliver escrowed rent to the landlord, an escrow account would weaken the impact of their strike and make the landlord less likely to meet union demands.

Geneva Towers

Geneva Towers houses mainly black, lower-middle class families in its 568 units, but includes about 100 public housing tenants as well.

In December, in response to rent increases, some 100 tenants formed the Geneva Towers Tenants Organization (GTTO). To them, Geneva Towers is a ghetto. To other tenants, it represents the American Dream--a decent apartment and a car in the downstairs garage.

GTTO rhetoric echoes the black nationalist political slogan "self-determination." In housing, GTTO president Sam Williams explains, this means tenants have a right to make decisions about the place they live in.

Tenants formed a central steering committee, organized through door to door canvassing and mass meetings and staged demonstrations outside the management office, carrying signs which read "Welcome to Visitation Valley Ghetto."

When Geneva Apartments, Inc. refused to negotiate, GTTO filed a suit in federal court, claiming that in federally funded projects, tenants have a right to a hearing preceeding any rent increase. After withholding rent for over a month, tenants were required by the court to pay the previous amount of rent to the landlord and the increase to the court, until litigation is completed.

Haight-Ashbury

Instead of using the one-building strike tactic, the Haight-Ashbury Tenants Organization has organized eight buildings--five of them in the Haight--owned by a single landlord. The movement began in a Waller St. building in October, after a substantial rent increase. By mid-January all the buildings elected delegates to tenant meetings.

Among 74 units--35 to 40 per cent vacant--20 began withholding rent in February. By the end of the month the landlord hired two management companies to negotiate with tenants. The companies have since agreed to sign the contract and have reduced rents by an average $10 a month.

The Tenants Organization's structure corresponds to a labor union's, with elected administrative committees and building representatives who oversee repairs and handle grievances. The Organization has long-range plans to expand its activites, first through a tenant "information center."

Although the Organization takes no unified political position, some members see it as part of a larger movement. Exec. comm. chairman Bill Hite described tenant organizations as grass roots movements toward a socialist city structure. He sees tenant unions as vehicles for tenants to secure economic control over their environment--to push for rent control and a rejection of private ownership.

Hayes Street

One block from the Fell St. strike, at 940 and 942 Hayes, tenants have organized and won a landlady-tenant agreement. The Hayes St. Union began in October, union chairman Jim Nelson reports; by November, 33 of the 38 units were withholding rent.

At first, the landlady countered with eviction notices, but rescinded them "when she found out that people were together." On Nov. 25, she signed the agreement, which, like the Haight Organization's contract, specifies repairs, Building Operations and Trust Funds, mutual responsibilities and arbitration procedures.

In the Tenants Union, Nelson hopes to create an organization that "exposes the propaganda that divides black and white people." He views the union as the basis of broader community organization and potentially a great "people's political force."

Mission Coalition

The Mission Coalition Organization (MCO) Housing Committee will represent either tenants or landlords who bring their grievances before the Committee. Committee members decide whether to accept the complainant as a "client" and ask him to sign a written statement authorizing the MCO as his representative.

A subcommittee then investigates the complaint, ennumerates repairs needed, helps displaced tenants find new lodging or mediates disputes, as the situation demands. "Our final goal," according to a MCO leaflet, "is to get the landlord to sign an agreement with the MCO which will protect your rights as a tenant and his rights as a landlord."

The MCO Housing Committee, more moderate than most tenant unions, would like to see a Tenant Union and a Landlord Union covering the entire Mission. "We train people to negotiate rather than fight," explains committee chairman Flor de Maria Crane. Organizing has become easier recently, she reports, because tenants are stronger, less afraid to demand their rights. "People are striking all over.... They're fed up with being pushed around."

San Jose

The San Jose Tenants Union takes as its motto: Housing is for People, Not Profits! The Union grew out of a smaller neighborhood group called the Melro Tenants Association, organized in late January.

Organizing centered at one building on Jeanne St. There, eight low-income families had their rent raised $45 a month, from $105 to $150 for dilapidated, two-bedroom apartments. Tenants felt the new landlady was trying to evict the tenants, most of whom are Chicano. Five got scared and moved out after they received three-day eviction notices. But three families stayed to fight. Two are still there.

The Melro group began to talk to tenants outside their neighborhood and claim that the response has been "tremendous." The enlarged Union aims to reduce rents to levels "reasonable" for low-income working and welfare people; to pressure landlords to make repairs and improve health conditions in their buildings and to end landlord discrimination against black and brown people, welfare recipients and large families.

Southern Alameda

In Union City in the fall, 1968, Southern Alameda Spanish Speaking Organization (SASSO) helped organize Citizens for Better Housing among tenants and some small owners in three predominantly Chicano sections, Alvarado, Decotos and Newark. After the Alvarado group tried unsuccessfully to stage a rent strike, tenants retreated to an "advocacy" position, bombarding the Union City Council with proposals and demands.

To provide housing for the low-income, dispossessed Chicano population, SASSO proposed to build 279 low-cost units with bank loans for construction and federally subsidized mortgages at a projected cost of $5.5 million.

The Organization bid for an area and asked the City Council to rezone it from agriculture to medium density residential (12 units per acre). Although the Council helped choose the Baker Road site, it insisted on an extraordinary, two-step procedure before ratification, to allow a second hearing for objections. Neighboring white residents flocked to the hearing. Low-cost housing, they feared, would lower their property values and disturb the "homogeneity" of the area.

SASSO has taken the City to federal court, charging that the extraordinary rezoning procedure denied them their constitutional right of equal protection. Litigation is pending its second appeal.

Taylor Street

Ten of 12 tenants at 2227 Taylor St. are withholding rent, demanding that their landlord halt all eviction proceedings, equalize rents at $130 a month (the three bed-room apartments currently rent at $135) and negotiate an "equitable" lease.

Tenants, mainly young white couples and students, began organizing after their landlord, John Chin, notified them last Nov. 25 of an eight to 10 per cent rent increase. Under pressure, he agreed to postpone the increase but immediately began eviction proceeding against a tenant who he felt had organized the union. Tenants responded with a "non-negotiable" demand: rescind the eviction notice. - continued on page 15

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A Yerba Buena chronology: "Stop planning, stop thinking..."

1950: THE Redevelopment Agency receives an advance of federal funds to study redevelopment in South of Market area.

1952: REDEVELOPMENT finds a 19-block area is blighted and should be declared a redevelopment area. (See Map 1)

1953: SUPERVISORS designate this area as Area D—for industrial and spot clearance projects. The Department of City Planning, as California law requires, suggests specific blocks suitable for redevelopment projects. Area D, it finds, can be divided into three parts. Section II should be developed first. (See Map 1)

1954: ENTER Benjamin Swig, owner of the Fairmont Hotel, with a very different idea of what South of Market should become. He tells Redevelopment he wants to privately develop part of the South of Market Area, including the blocks bounded by Third, Fourth, Mission and Folsom. He reveals his "San Francisco Prosperity Plan": a sports stadium, exhibit center, convention hall, transportation center, parking, hotel, etc. He wants his blocks to be declared blighted, but he offers no evidence that they are blighted.

1955: JOSEPH Alioto becomes first a member, then chairman, of Redevelopment. Alioto invites Swig to present his plan again to Redevelopment. Swig details his plan (now including two more blocks, those between Fourth, Fifth, Mission and Folsom) and promises to contribute $3,500 for a study. The study's purpose: "to find the most expeditious way of declaring the area of Mr. Swig's interest a blighted area," as Alioto put it. (See Map 2)

Swig explains his plan in a major speech to the Commonwealth Club. "Here is a great opportunity to help this wonderful city of ours; at the same time private enterprise can make a good investment."

Planning finds mostly NOT blighted the four blocks Swig wants to add to Redevelopment Area D (See Map 2)

Redevelopment, then the Supervisors, agree to accommodate Swig. They add to Area D all four blocks in his plan not already included, although most of these blocks are not blighted.

Swig gets his $3,500 back because it was not used.

1956: PROPERTY owners in the enlarged Area D begin to fight Redevelopment. Their grounds: the designation of blight hurts their property values. Area D boundaries shrink considerably under their attack.

However, Alioto suggests retaining the Natoma-Third-Howard-Fourth block, which is done. (See Map 4.) Says repeatedly he knows a private group interested in a special project there.

A statement by Redevelopment and Planning says Swig's large commercial plan "perverted" the reason to redevelop the South of Market area. Swig replies: "Private capital knows a great deal better than city planners. I say to our city fathers, stop planning, stop thinking, but go out and do something."

1957: PROJECT Area D-1 is designated. (see Map 4)

The Preliminary Plan for Project Area D-1, published by Redevelopment and Planning, again stresses the project's industrial and spot clearance nature.

Redevelopment prepares an application for planning funds.

1958: M. JUSTIN HERMAN, then head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency's regional office, notifies Redevelopment that the South of Market project will have low priority.

Since federal funds will not be available soon, Supervisors rescind Area D's status as a redevelopment area.

1959: ALIOTO resigns from the Redevelopment Board.

Walter Kaplan, then President of the Emporium, joins the Board.

Herman is named SF Executive Director of Redevelopment.

1960: SAN Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal (SPUR) calls a meeting of civic and business leaders to initiate re-designation of a South of Market redevelopment area. The committee is headed by the late Jerd Sullivan, a director of Crocker Citizen's National Bank and the Del Monte Corporation and an officer of Swig's Fairmont Hotel.

Mayor Christopher asks for a study of the South of Market area. Sullivan's committee finds the blight in the area "obvious" and helps Redevelopment decide project boundaries that include all of Swig's blocks and little else.

1961: REDEVELOPMENT recommends the new Area D for designation.

Area D for designation. Kaplan admits his financial interests in the area but, since no one objects, he votes with the rest of the Board. (Swig mentioned in 1955 that the Emporium would expand if his plan went through.)

Supervisors designate the area suggested and authorize application for funds.

Herman and other supporters of the scheme, including the daily newspapers, imply this area is somewhat smaller than the 1953 and 1957 areas, but do not mention that it is very different in character and geography. (See Map 3) The application Redevelopment submits is copied extensively from the 1957 application, although the area has changed. (See Map 4)

1962: THE federal government approves survey and planning funds of $607,986 and a capital grant reservation of $19,680,000.

Supervisors appoint a citizens' advisory committee on South of Market.

1963: MELVIN Swig, Ben Swig's son, presents the old Swig plan to the Supervisors' committee.

At SPUR's suggestion, Supervisors add the "Market Street Breakthrough" to the redevelopment area and to the project area. (See Map 3)

1964: MAYOR Shelley's South of Market Development Committee of prominent businessmen announces a Yerba Buena Center Proposal. The proposal looks remarkably like the old Swig plan. It is not the spot clearance and industrial project Supervisors earlier approved for study.

City Planning publishes a 4-page preliminary plan which parrots the Mayors' committee's land use proposals.

Melvin Swig writes to Redevelopment and promises a several million dollar investment in the new project.

SPUR studies the project and agrees with most of it—except for the proposed housing for elderly men, which it finds "absurdly incompatible."

Redevelopment publishes a tentative plan—again, the Mayor's committee plan nearly intact.

1965: REDEVELOPMENT combines the results of various project studies in an elaborate investment package.

At public hearings on the plan, vigorous opproperty owners and social service workers in the area.

Redevelopment publishes its final Plan which includes two versions, one without any sports arena or other special use. At the same time, details of a plan including a sports and convention center, theaters and museum are trumpeted in all the newspapers as the Yerba Buena Plan.

Planning Commission approves the Plan only after some changes are made, including assurances about relocation of residents.

1966: AT SUPERVISORS' hearings on the Plan, opponents reiterate their points: relocation is insufficient, total clearance is unnecessary, Redevelopment, in league with SPUR and other business interests, had manipulated the statistics to justify the plan....

Supervisors express great concern over the possibility that, as happened in the Golden Gateway and Western Addition, outside financial interests will buy up huge blocks of land and cut out San Franciscans. Herman guarantees the land will be advertised widely, assures Supervisors that lots will be sold individually.

Supervisors, given these assurances, approve the plan, 7–2, ignoring the fact that it is diametrically opposite to the one for which they granted study funds. Federal contract for over $49 million in funds is signed.

1967: LAND acquisition begins. Landowners in area continue to fight via lawsuits.

1968: AN ARCHITECTURAL team works on explicit plans for "Central Blocks."

1969: ARCHITECTS complete their plan. The Central Blocks, as a whole, are offered to developers in a slick publication. Again ignoring the Supervisors' concerns, ads are placed in FORTUNE, a national financial magazine.

San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation files a law suit against Redevelopment, alleging that Redevelopment has not followed relocation regulations.

Five firms—of 14 expressing interest—are invited to submit proposals.

1970: CONSTRUCTION begins on the first new building in the Yerba Buena Center, the General Electric Building, developed by Lyman Jee's Arcon.

Del Monte and Crocker Citizens National Bank, both corporate members of SPUR, are awarded two of the first four building lots sold.

Four of five interested firms, most with outside financing, meet the proposal deadline. *They present their proposals to the Redevelopment Board on March 23. One group is headed by Lyman Jee, and will, if awarded the project, lease the operation of the hotel and convention center to a subsidiary of Del Monte.*

Melvin Swig tells the Guardian that the Swigs might have participated in developing Yerba Buena but could not afford the huge parcel offered.

- continued from page 2

Yerba Buena

also played tricks on other public agencies.

Planning balked for a while before approving the "final plan." In fact, it was sent to the Supervisors without Planning's approval. But when Planning finally okayed the plan, it thought the special uses it was approving were only the sports arena and convention center.

City Planning rightly objected to building high rise offices, theaters and hotels South of Market. It contended these uses competed with other section of the city.

Yet, when Herman presented the plan to the Supervisors a few months later, he included the whole plan, with theaters and museum.

HUD had quashed plans to include a hotel the summer before. The final plan includes no provisions for a hotel. Yet, a hotel appears in the current model displayed in Redevelopment headquarters. Redevelopment's rationale: the hotel is not yet officially approved, but we will get it approved if we go ahead with it.

Planning also noted the contradiction between the finding of Redevelopment's consultant on the demand for office space and the amount of space of various kinds shown in the plan: there was too much high-rise office space, Planning Director McCarthy noted, and too little service and light industry space in the plan.

Planning hasn't taken any action on Yerba Buena since the 1966 "final plan" was approved. But the final plan now contemplated is actually--if not legally--different from the one popularly promoted in 1964-65 and also from the one Planning thought it approved. (The Del Monte building, for example, exceeds the 25 story height limitation in the final plan by almost one-half--it will be 35 stories, nearly as large as the Bank of America).

Redevelopment played a numbers game to go along with its word games. It came up with the figures needed to justify approval to the federal government via ingenious statistical manipulation.

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A Yerba Buena case study

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First, Redevelopment devised a checklist of building deficiencies and sent an inspector around to most of the buildings in the area--those "obviously" in good condition were left out. The list included such frivolous problems as inadequate drainage on porches and improper light sources. The language was vague: "inadequate," "deficient," "not satisfactory."

On the basis of the findings, the buildings were divided into five categories. Category 5 included perfect buildings, 4 included buildings with a few minor problems and 1, 2 and 3 included buildings with various degrees of more serious difficulties.

One criterion for categories 1, 2 and 3 was an estimate of how much it would cost to fix up the deficiencies in relation to the worth of the building when rehabilitated. Since no actual cost estimates were made, local landowners claim that factor was entirely subjective.

Opponents of the project also insist most of the buildings in category 3 actually had very minor deficiencies and that, in fact, most of the buildings in the city would have been in categories 1, 2 or 3.

But the numbers game wasn't over when the categories were completed. Since 1, 2 and 3 were considered "substandard to a degree warranting clearance"--a vague criterion anyway--Redevelopment pushed some category 4 buildings into category 3 by changing the standards a bit.

But it still couldn't come up with the federal and state requirements to justify clearance in the Central Blocks: 20 per cent of the buildings in the whole area and in any sizable portion must be "substandard to a degree warranting clearance" and another 30 per cent must represent a "blighting influence" ("skid row" hotels and bars and all pawnshops were considered "blighting influences" per se).

On the Mission-Third-Howard-Fourth block, for example, only nine of the 48 buildings were substandard to a degree warranting clearance. But that block was slated to be one of the Central Blocks.

So Redevelopment dragged out the plan itself to justify knocking down the rest of the buildings: 23 would not be accessible, according to the plan, and 16 were on land slated for new rights of way. Because the plan said so--not because there was anything wrong with the blocks or the buildings--39 good buildings, over 80 per cent of the buildings on the block, must go!

At the 1966 hearings the Supervisors delayed approving the "final plan" for two months. The reason: they wanted assurance from Herman--in the form of an amendment to the plan--that developers wouldn't be able to come in from "Texas or Oklahoma or somewhere," as Supervisor William Blake put it, and buy up whole blocks for renewal.

The Golden Gateway and Western Addition, Supervisors complained, had been bought up extensively by out-of-town interests--and the Redevelopment Agency had not sought local investors. Only San Franciscans, the Supervisors contended, know what the city needs and have a sense of responsibility toward it.

A vaguely worded statement was added to the plan requiring every effort to sell land in individual parcels and to local people. Herman also promised no huge parcels would be sold off.

But three years later, Redevelopment published an elaborate booklet offering two and a half blocks--25 acres--to developers as a package. And the designer of the project now up for auction is Kenzo Tange of Japan--as the ad in Fortune, a decidedly national publication, trumpets proudly.

Various participants and onlookers draw different morals from this long sorry saga.

To Sidney Wolinsky of San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Services, the story shows how a small group of businessmen wield enormous power in this city, ignoring the poor in particular and the resident public in general.

To Redevelopment, Yerba Buena remains a triumph of enlightened urban renewal. To some officials involved in the projects early stages, it developed because of the conventional wisdom at the time that anyone putting obstacles in the path of Redevelopment was backward. Now these people see that bulldozer projects don't make for effective renewal of cities.

To other observers, like the Guardian, the Yerba Buena tale calls into question the redevelopment law itself. Despite attempts by Congress to tighten it, it does not assure adequate attention to housing and other needs of people living in redevelopment areas. (The Workable Program objections will probably be met by a few technical changes.)

Most important: by defining "blight" vaguely, the law facilitates exactly what happened here. Land speculators and developers come in, decide what piece of property they'd like to have but can't afford to pay for and then get together in "civic" groups and power blocs to see that it is declared "blighted" and designated for redevelopment. As Ben Swig said, "If Houston can do it, so can we."

◆

Tenants on strike

- continued from page 13

In January, the tenants began withholding rent, but paid later in the month to show their "good faith." When he refused to drop the eviction and asked another tenant union member to vacate her apartment, the tenants went back on strike.

TORCH

Tenants on Radical Change in Housing (TORCH), a black counterpart to the BTU in West and South Berkeley, began with a group of Grant St. tenants who tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with their landlord, Stephen Schneider. In August they announced they would withhold rent until he agreed to make urgently needed repairs, particularly on the sewage system, garbage disposal and apartment windows.

TORCH has organized its largest strike at 2121 7th St. among 30 of 48 units--about 40 of them occupied. The landlord, who financed the building with federal assistance through a low-cost housing construction program, claims he takes orders from the Federal Housing Administration. So the tenants have taken their grievances to FHA, but have decided not to pay rent until the landlord signs the TORCH collective bargaining agreement specifying rent reductions and repairs.

Western Addition

Within the Western Addition Project Community Organization, (WAPCO), the Western Addition Area-2 Tenants Union is organizing tenants against high rents and substandard housing. Out of approximately 2,000 units, some 900 have been involved at some time with the Tenants Union.

The Tenants Union has called no mass actions so far, Mary Rogers of WAPCO reports, but currently has two buildings on strike--on Oak St. and on Post. Through legal maneuvering the Union has stalled eviction proceedings in these and other units.

◎ ◎ ◎

Most organizers agree a coalition would geometrically increase tenant union power. United, tenants may adopt bolder tactics: for example, general strikes and "squat-ins." The latter, not yet used in the Bay Area, has been developed by the National Tenants Organization. In Los Angeles and Detroit, poor people have moved into unoccupied units without invitation. To date, the squatters are still there. ◇

ARTIST, ARTISAN

By Tony Rogers

Don Campbell makes art of the future: laser light machines--mirror boxes containing one or more lasers. Small mirrors, some stationary, some rotating, direct the laser beam through smoke held in the closed box. *The total effect: beautiful and strangely hypnotic.*

Campbell's first light machine, completed *a year ago, sold for* $6,400 and is touring the U.S., now at *Philadelphia's Museum of* Contemporary Art.

Art, not science or technology, was Campbell's first love as a child in Kokomo, Indiana. He got his B.A. at the John Harron School of Art in Indianapolis, his Masters degree in art at the University of Arizona. Campbell, 28, came to the Bay Area in 1968 and teaches art at San Jose State College.

He and his wife, Jeannette, live in their studio at 468 25th St. in Oakland. The studio looks like a machine shop, littered with huge sheets of acryllic, mirrors, plastic tubes and electric equipment.

Campbell is a pioneer in the developing field of laser art. Using hit-and-miss tactics to overcome tough technical problems, he can complete a light machine in about a month. He is now working on his third machine, each bought by a private collector, and has been commissioned to make more, the next for the Oakland Museum.

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By Alan Wofsy

"Nor may the wineless dinner be passed unnoticed, at which unfortunate guests sometimes find themselves unwittingly present with no means of escape." Thus spoke George Ellwanger, M.A., last of the 19th century gastronomic philosophers.

Unfortunately, many otherwise rational individuals feel intimidated by wine. Is it logical for a person who has mastered the intricacies of the IBM 360 or the Dewey Decimal System to be scared by a minor, or even major, Chateau of the Medoc?

Many people fall into one of two traps: buying the most expensive French wine or the least expensive California wine. In either case, without knowing anything, they can rarely be wrong. Nevertheless, wine appreciation rests on understanding nuances in tastes and smells. Enjoying wine is as much intellectual as sensual.

Visit Esquin Imports, 119 Sacramento, and browse through its large collection of wine books. Those who read French might consult the French book shop at City of Paris or the European Book Co., 925 Larkin. I recommend Guide du Vin by Raymond Dumay ($6 in France).

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The quickest and least expensive way to assay the merits of different wines is at a group tasting where 6-8 wines made of similar grapes are compared. You have 6-8 glasses of wine before you and can go from one to the next comparing color, bouquet and body.

The Wine and Food Society and similar gastronomic clubs hold tastings in the Bay Area. However, they are generally pretty well filled up. Occasionally, the various Free Universities have wine tasting classes. If possible, start your own group. Knowledgeable individuals from the wine trade-retailers, wholesalers, importers, producers, enologists-are often willing to speak.

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To a large extent, grape varieties in the U.S. have geographical equivalents in Europe. Cabernet Sauvignon is equated with Bordeaux (claret); Pinot Noir with Burgundy (red); Pinot Chardonnay with Burgundy (white) and Riesling with the Mosel and Rheingau regions of Germany. In some instances, these equations give rise to an ill-founded purism in California.

For example, it is felt a 100% Cabernet Sauvignon wine is the ultimate. Some wineries, such as Mayacamas, Davis Bynum, Beaulieu (Private Reserve) and Inglenook (Cask) intimate, though not in print-that they produce a 100% Cabernet wine.

In fact, Cabernet Sauvignon has a high degree of tannin and is therefore hard (bitter) until quite old and by then has lost its body. For this reason, the vineyards of Bordeaux have always produced a blend, aimed at softening the Cabernet Sauvignon and adding complimentary aromas.

Grapes used for this purpose in Bordeaux are the Cabernet franc, Merlot, Bouchet, Malbec and Verdot-none of which are used in California. This is significant for several reasons. In the first place, a winery can label a bottle "Cabernet Sauvignon" provided that 51% of the wine come from that grape. This law allows the winery to play on the status of the Cabernet grape, with no stipulation regarding the other 49%.

If you consider Cabernet Sauvignon has a low yield per acre compared to most grapes and that, in 1960, less than one-fifth of one per cent of California grape acreage was devoted to this grape, it would appear that much chicanery is involved in the use of varietal names.

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The public is doubly mislead: first, in believing 100% varietal produces an excellent wine; second, in buying a wine with a misleading varietal name.

The law says the importer or bottler, must set the minimum retail price for wine. This effectively eliminates price competition for brand name domestic wines. Retail prices, however, vary considerably for the same imported wine.

Retail merchants can offer lower prices for the same or similar foreign wine in one of two ways: either by doing their own importing or by placing large enough orders with an importer to get the best price. Knowledgeable retail wine merchants work directly with European exporters and merely pay a customs clearing fee to the licensed American importer. These merchants can offer you the best price. The better quality French wines cost less in the USA than in France. This apparent paradox is due to the 20% value added tax in France, the very low American import duty on on-sparkling table wines and (possibly) to French Government subsidies to exporters.

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Retail merchants who specialize in wine issue price lists or catalogs. These should be read along with books on wine, which naturally do not discuss actual price. In the next article, I will discuss wine shops in the Bay Area. In the meantime, you can obtain price lists from Connoisseur Wine Imports, 432 Bryant, S.F.; Thomas Thomaser, 1475 Pacific, S.F.; Esquin Imports, 119 Sacramento, S.F.; John Walker, 111 Montgomery, S.F.; Joseph's Liquors, 1882 Solano, Berkeley and Jackson's Party Service, 2942 Domingo, Berkeley. You will be in position to purchase a bottle at the lowest available price. Visit a wine shop, pass among the rows of bottles and you will have an intoxicating experience. But decide in advance which bottle you are going to buy.

James Schevill's new play

"We'll give half of Alabama--all of Alabama-- to the man with the ultimate hardware"

By Roger B. Henkle

Roger B. Henkle reviews James Schevill's new play, "Lovecraft's Follies," premiered at the Trinity Square Repertory Company in Providence, R.I. Sheville was director of the Poetry Center and Professor of English at SF State from 1961 to 1967. He and Henkle both teach in Brown University's English department in Providence.

Hitler, frothing at the mouth as Germany crumbles around him, calls for an ultimate weapon. Werner von Braun rushes to Hitler's side with a toy model of a V-2 rocket. "It's too late! Germany has failed me!" Hitler cries as he staggers into his bunker and shoots himself and Eva with a pop gun. Sirens scream, red and blue lights flash madly over the darkened theatre as armed men plunge onto the stage.

The stage lights up, the armed men form two dance lines, break into a musical comedy routine and sing, "Where is the man with the Ultimate Hardware? We'll give part of Alabama--half of Alabama--ALL of Alabama to the man with the ul-ti-mate hardware." Von Braun rips off his swastika armband, reappears, promises and later delivers both the ultimate hardware and the moon to America.

This mad, multi-media fantasia introduces James Schevill's new play, "Lovecraft's Follies," that opened here recently at the Trinity Square Repertory Company's theatre. Boston and New England critics have reviewed it enthusiastically. Schevill combined dance hall routines, Tarzan fantasies, recently released Japanese films of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and some searing emotional confrontations to create a macabre, yet disturbingly hilarious, picture of America's science-mad follies.

The intentionally hazy boundaries of Schevill's inventions and documentary heighten their horror. Much of the play is real, taken verbatim out of the trial testimonies, broadcasts and speeches of the last two decades. And the play itself focuses on the careers of America's leading space scientists. One, Bern Porter, was introduced from the audience on opening night.

Schevill has special credentials to write a play about the secret follies of science. His father, a professor at UC-Berkeley, knew Ernest O. Lawrence and J. Robert Oppenheimer well. In World War II, James Schevill participated in a secret program involving German prisoners of war and learned then "with amazement how security procedures can develop into nightmare experiences."

"Lovecraft's Follies" focuses on a scientist, Stanley Millsage (modeled in part on Bern Porter), who has left the Space Center at Huntsville, Alabama, temporarily to try to cope with the inhuman implications of our scientific and military developments. Millsage is stalked by security agents that make every scientific genius a potential slave of the state.

Schevill was partly inspired to write "Lovecraft's Follies" by Kipphardt's "In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer." He decided, he told me, it was time for an American "who knows these people" to write about them.

Schevill's Oppenheimer is more wracked with guilt than Kipphardt's. He is also a ritual figure, the medicine man, as Schevill introduces intense ritual and mythical techniques into the drama.

At Brown, Schevill learned about the obscure horror-fiction writer of Providence, H.P. Lovecraft, a frequent contributor to "Weird Tales" magazine. Lovecraft's fantasies seemed the perfect vehicle to demonstrate how close "our reality" is to science-fiction and Lovecraft launches for the scientist Millsage a series of theatrical Follies. "Don't you think it's time for weird tales."

Schevill has used some of the racist pronouncements of Lovecraft, a Puritanical New Englander, to show how subtly our white supremacy dreams blend into our scientific goals. Conjured up on stage: the classic "Tarzan and the Green Goddess." The white ape-man (actually the English Lord Greystone), accompanied by his faithful companion Cheetah, swings through the jungle to rescue his white mate Jane from the green savages asserting "Green Power." Jane can be saved from rape by the Green people only by calling in U.S. "hardware" to napalm the natives.

Victims writhing on stage are only acting, but Japanese A-bomb victims shown on the film (we watch their open radiation sores being swabbed, and the bandages peeled off their burns) were real.

Schevill's alternation of comedy and horror is best rendered in the "fashion of the theatre, where exaggeration breeds reality." A vaudeville routine takes off from the nightmarish false arrest of Bern Porter himself at Huntsville, Alabama, three or four years ago.

Porter was spirited into a mental institution for no reason by Alabama authorities and kept there for several weeks for "observation." In the Follies' scene of the asylum, a black militant taunts a patient who thinks he is George Washington. To burn cities, the black says, is no different than Washington sacking Indian villages in the French and Indian wars. "Violence is as American as cherry pie, baby," he says.

The week "Lovecraft's Follies" opened, two H. Rap Brown associates were blown to bits in a car in Mayland, the New York offices of sometime defense contractors IBM and General Telephone were dynamited and Yale students picketed a Tarzan film festival because of its racist implications. H.P. Lovecraft would have found it hard to top that.

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The shame of our abortion law

- continued from page 5

cretaries to hippies, who become temporary welfare patients on the basis that pregnancy makes them technically unemployable. (The cost benefit analysis still applies, however. If these women were forced to give birth, they would still become temporary welfare patients.)

One other way for poor women to get free or low cost abortions is through county hospitals--although county hospitals reject a higher percentage of abortion applications than other hospitals.

Dr. Jackson estimates that, besides MediCal abortions, another 10% or so are obtained by poor women through county hospitals. But he points out that even "free" services from county hospitals may involve a lien on personal property or a house.

San Francisco's county hospital, SF General, does not put a lien on an indigent patient's house, explains social service worker Nancy Nakai. It provides abortions (and other services) free to couples who have no other assets or property worth more than $3000 and who take home less than $385 a month.

Planned Parenthood

Many of the women who do make it through the state's abortion maze do so only because of careful briefing from Planned Parenthood. In 1969, Planned Parenthood made 2,300 abortion referrals in San Francisco and Oakland. (Address: 2340 Clay St., 922-1720)

Other groups, like the Association to Repeal Abortion Laws, reject the expense, humiliation and invasion of privacy the law imposes on women and instead refer patients to doctors in Mexico, Puerto Rico and Japan.

Richard Bowers, A.R.A.L.'s full-time executive director, estimates that his organization gave information about foreign doctors to some 5,000 local women last year. Cost of an abortion in Mexico City: $200-250 for the doctor and $250 for tranportation. The A.R.A.L. carefully checks its list of specialists and warns against $75 treatments from shady operators in Tijuana. (Address: P.O. Box 6083, S.F. 94101, 387-6480)

But each year thousands of suffering women whom groups like Planned Parenthood and A.R.A.L. don't reach bear unwanted children because they can't afford abortions or don't know loopholes in the law, or are killed or maimed by underground abortionists. The California Maternity Mortality committee reports that some 30 women in the state die each year from illegal abortions.

Legislative Analyst Post estimated that 30% of all MediCal mothers would choose abortions if all restrictions were eliminated. Bowers, a founder and director of Zero Population Growth, says that "50% or perhaps as high as 2/3 of all prospective mothers will elect to postpone birth."

Coalition

Bowers is part of an interesting coalition between conservation and women's liberation forces that may eventually topple abortion laws. While groups like the Society for Humane Abortion start with a concern for women's rights to control their reproductive destiny and to be treated like human beings, Bowers' first concern is the population explosion.

Bowers goes even beyond Zero Population Growth and advocates a population decline--to 100 million in the U.S. by the year 2000. A lawyer and former Republican town chairman from Connecticut, he recently appeared at a Militant Labor Forum with young socialists and members of women's liberation to denounce the abortion law.

Under the umbrella of the Abortion Initiative Project, A.R.A.L. and numerous other groups are working to get repeal of the 1967 law on the November ballot. Bowers says, "With the added awareness of population density, we are going to succeed" in getting the 325,000 signatures necessary by June 15th as well as the vote in November.

Less optimistic observers fear conservative rural counties of the state will defeat the initiative even if it does get on the ballot. (23 counties out of 58 reported no abortions at all in the first nine months of 1969.)

But in any case, says Bowers, "We consider the abortion initiative the most important ecological event that will happen this year."

The only other way to topple the 1967 law is through the courts. In February, the state Supreme Court struck down the old 1850 law in the well-publicized Belous case. Civil libertarians hope that the court's reasoning--the unconstitutional vagueness of the old law; recognition of a woman's right to determine her own reproductive destiny; and the fact that it is more dangerous to bear a child than to have an abortion--can be used against the 1967 law.

The 1967 law has already been struck down on those grounds by an Orange County municipal court that acquitted Dr. Robert C. Robb of an abortion charge in January. Judge Paul Mast also ruled that the law violates the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause because it results in a "disparity of treatment in different regions of the state" and "between rich and poor."

But the state is appealing the decision and other doctors, even in Orange County, are afraid to disobey the law until the constitutional issues have been affirmed by the state Supreme Court or even the US Supreme Court.

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Surprising as it sounds, the percentage of women professors in the U.S. has decreased in the last 50 years. Nationwide, the proportion of female college and univeristy teachers has declined from 26% in 1920 to 22% in 1966.

The proportions are even smaller for tenured positions: at the University of California in Berkeley, 8% of the tenured professors were women in 1918; in 1970--3%. The university gladly hires women as low-paid teaching assistants, but then denies them tenure, even in traditional "women's fields."

The sociology department, for instance, where 77% of the B.A.'s are earned by women, has not a single woman professor. "It's not that women aren't qualified, but simply that they won't hire them" charges Marijean Suelzle of the Graduate Women's Sociology Caucus.

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The 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits sex discrimination in employment, but the Chronicle and Examiner persist in publishing want ads segregated by sex. And in a typical day's ads, the average salary advertised for women is 60% of the average salary advertised for men, says Brenda Brush who is bringing a lawsuit against the Chronicle-Examiner with the help of the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation. The statistics accurately reflect the national averages: fulltime women workers earn 58% of what full-time men workers earn.

The San Francisco suit may result in a nationwide torrent of similar cases. Miss Brush and attorney Howard DeNike originally filed a second action against the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission because it had claimed that its jurisdiction over employers, labor unions and employment agencies did not include newspapers. But the EEOC was so embarrassed to be named a defendant that officials *in Washington reversed their ruling and hastily joined the case against the Chronicle-Examiner.*

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Rexroth

– continued from page 4

establish the community necessary for the educative relationship to begin. This is certainly true of the graduates of Southern California upper middle class slurburbia so desperately in need of remedial education.

No student can begin to learn until he has mastered the meaning of Cohn-Bendit's slogan that launched the Paris May Days--"When examined, answer with questions."

Nothing could indicate better the alienation of what the head of the English Department at another univeristy calls the crocodiles in the back bays of tenure, than the Good Gray Doktor at another school who once asked me, "How do you enforce discipline with theories like yours?" "I don't." "But who is responsible?" "We all are." "I can't understand that. What is the principle behind it?" "I would say, agape."

I could see his mind running over the index to Krafft-Ebing's Psychopathia Sexualis which he doubtless knew by heart, unable to locate the word between aberrations and annilinctus. "But just how do you do it?" said he. "Like a kind of dedicated, even ecstatic, underground Mass culminating with the kiss of peace and communion."

During the rest of the brief conversation, I realized that he thought I meant a Black Mass. A man who would believe such a thing or believe anybody could get away with it, or that students would accept it, has spent his entire life at the bottom of an abandoned missile silo.

When I told my students (as an example of utter alienation), one of the girls said, "Well, we might as well be hung for wolves as dogs; I'll take off my clothes and get up on the table." Another said, I'll make a psychodelic chasuble, ornamented with bats and rattlesnakes." Another said, "I'll bring some incense mixed with hash and opium and we can invite all the lost souls embalmed in tenure." I guess we didn't feel all that self-sacrificing, because somehow we never got around to it. Too busy writing songs much like Abelard, Aquinas or the Carmina Burana.

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MORRISON

- continued from page 4

visors, by inadvertence, goaded the people they sought to pacify. They did that by attempting to cut out for the ensuing year the annual five per cent pay increment for length of service, which City workers assume to be a condition of employment.

Thus the Supervisors succeeded in convincing everybody in City service that their ways were devious. They would bestow a raise with one hand and snatch it away with the other. By adding an ethical element to the dispute above and beyond the power struggle, they gave City employees the spirit and solidarity they needed to undergo the rigors of a strike.

The Mayor's early role was curious. Shooting from the hip, he declared he would veto the original $9.5 million package; and he pooh-poohed the prospect of a strike, acting in superb unconsciousness of what was in store for him. On the calling of the strike, he fell to bargaining with a vengenace. By then, his power to influence the course of events was much diminished. His adversary was a united labor movement on whose support he depended for political survival.

But of course the Mayor is the repository of a large measure of labor's hopes. I think the key to the strike settlement lay in the dynamics of that reciprocal dependency. The relevant question was how easily the labor leaders were willing to let the Mayor off. They chose a modest settlement of $6 million. Another important limiting force was also at work. As the labor coalition grew in scope and power, it lost the militancy and ideological bite that hospital workers, Local 400 and the janitors had originally given it. United labor is not a threat to the established order.

We now have de facto collective bargaining in City service. The press of events has compelled at least one major policy decision.

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If you don't know the players, *you can't understand the game.*

Back issues of the Guardian: a program for the KRON-TV hearings

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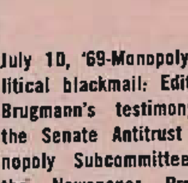
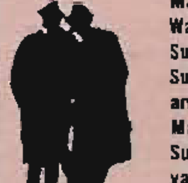


July 10, '69-Monopoly and political blackmail: Editor Bruce Brugmann's testimony before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee against the Newspaper Preservation Act.

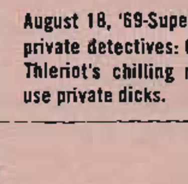
Jan. 22, '68-The newspaper strike: Why the 1965 merger made the strike inevitable.



March 27, '69 Superchron-Wanted Dead or Alive: The U.S. Supreme Court rules illegal Superchron's joint venture type arrangement.

May 22, '69-The dicks from Superchron: Superchron's private detectives go to work on Al Kihn and Mrs. Blanche Street, the two KRON challengers.

Feb. 7, '68-The Ex/Chron merger: How the two papers skipped to Carson City in August 1965, to secretly file merger documents.



August 18, '69-Superchron admits the use of private detectives: Chronicle Publisher Charles Thieriot's chilling rationale for a newspaper to use private dicks.

Feb. 27, '68-Behind-the-scenes in the newspaper strike.

Dec. 16, '69-How the Chronicle blacked out liberal Supervisor Jack Morrison in the November election.

May 14, '68-How the city pays $250,000 a year to Superchron for legal notices nobody sees in print.

Nov. 1, '68-KRON-SF's very own 'wasteland': A critique of KRON in 1968 just before the FCC decided to hold hearings on the renewal of KRON's license.

Feb. 28, '70-Sneak preview of the FCC hearings: The list of witnesses and their expected testimony. KRON's political muscle in getting an SF cable franchise.

ON GUARD

Law and order, please

The current pesticide poisoning rate for farm workers--at least 15 of every 100--is 33 times the average injury rate for all California industries, according to a State Department of Public Health study released in December.

While Gov. Reagan talks about the need to crack down on the campus, California's 300,000 ill-housed, mal-nourished, farm workers are in daily danger of injury and death because of a "serious breakdown in law enforcement" of pesticide safety regulations, as disclosed by the California Rural Legal Assistance. Farm workers form the bottom layer of California's $4.3 billion agribusiness pyramid in which the top few corporations--Di Giorgio, Kern County Land, the Bank of America, among others--persist in the use of pesticides because it is cheap and profitable. This tip of the pyramid has successfully lobbied for years against effective regulation of pesticide use, and continues to do so.

The CRLA, a tough, effective OEO unit, has begun a campaign against the continued abuse of pesticides and has filed a formal complaint with the California Department of Agriculture.

The CRLA complaint cited these violations against workers:

- Clerks routinely approve permit applications that clearly indicate violations of requirements for the safe use of pesticides.

- In most cases, the procedures to issue permits are so lax that the county commissioners could not possibly determine--as the law instructs--whether pesticides will be administered safely.

- Commissioners "almost never enforce" a provision requiring growers to inform workers of precautions and safety regulations before they handle pesticides or work in areas where injurious residues remain.

- Labelling of pesticide containers (often the first thing a worker consults after an injury occurs) is grossly inadequate.

- Commissioners rarely take disciplinary action against pesticide users. In 1968 in Riverside County, 66 complaints were filed with the county commissioner. None resulted in disciplinary action.

The pesticide rules come from several sources. Many are from the State Department of Agriculture's own Administrative Code, others are in the Agricultural Code promulgated by the legislature. The Industrial Relations Department's division of Industrial Safety also regulates the use of pesticides.

One broad provision of the Administrative Code, violated in numerous ways, stipulates that "No injurious material or restricted material shall be applied under any circumstances on any location where damage, illness or injury appears likely to result."

To fulfull the general requirements of this regulation, claims CRLA, "there is a serious question whether any use of pesticides should be made while fieldworkers are present." But in addition, the county agricultural commissioners allow growers to violate specific requirements that they inform all persons on the property when pesticides are being used, and inform fieldworkers of precautions and safety orders.

CRLA has for months offered about the only recourse for workers seeking to gain their legal rights to fair employment and decent working conditions. Two examples:

President Nixon last winter declared 14 northern California counties disaster areas because of floods. Emergency aid promptly went to businessmen, growers, lumbermen and local governments --not to farm workers who had lost substantial wages. CRLA intervened with the federal Department of Agriculture to get desperately needed food stamp assistance.

CRLA is now suing the U.S. Department of Labor to stop federally funded California Farm Labor Offices from deliberately referring workers to employers who pay substandard wages, request twice as many workers as needed to further drive down wages, don't provide toilets and drinking water and employ "wetbacks." These all are in direct violation of federal and state laws.

The ecologist cometh?

In the first three months of the session, Sacramento legislators plopped more than 250 environmental control bills into the hopper-covering the field from pesticides to dune buggies.

Thus far, it's been impossible to tell how much they would cut through the gorgeous rhetoric of environmental revolution in Sacramento and produce solid reforms backed up by tough enforcement powers. Let us make some early value judgments now that the filing deadline has passed.

WATER PROJECT: It lurches on, with Gov. Reagan cutting mental health here, whacking education there, imposing tuition, doing everything possible to keep the insane business on schedule for a handful of Southern California landowners. The Planning and Conservation League has proposed another "study" committee, but the legislature is watching the Proposition 7 election and its lavish Whittaker & Baxter promo campaign. If the public turns down the proposition's sky-is-the-limit interest rates for water project bonds, then the legislature may find the courage to kill, at least, the peripheral canal.

AIR POLLUTION: All hopes rest on an 18-bill package submitted by a sub-committee of the Senate Transportation Committee. The package under the impetus of Assemblyman John Foran (D-SF), will require air pollution control districts throughout the State, will regulate agricultural burning, will test emissions on old cars, will get some of the lead out of gasoline. Three of the stronger bills are probably doomed; three others are in doubt; the rest look good.

CONSERVATION EDUCATION: The State now spends nothing on conservation education (while spending $15 million a year to teach students to drive cars.) The PCL wrote an Environmental Defense Fund Act somewhat like the National Defense Fund of 1958. It would create a fund of $10 million for grants and aids through graduate school. Prospects are dim.

STATE PLAN: Significantly, the State Planning Office has shrunk to two staff members. The legislature has no realistic plans to revive it. If by "State Plan" you think of a document and office that control land use in California, the legislature has failed. So badly has the State failed, in fact, that conservation organization, California Tomorrow, is creating its own State plan.

COAST: Gov. Reagan, after vowing publicy to save the coast, refuses to support the bills that would do it. A Milias and Ryan CCDC bill (similar to the BCDC) for the entire coast would stop development while a study determined future use. Instead, Reagan wants to try to persuade local governments to stop development. It won't work, of course, and the Governor's CCDC opposition may help kill the bill.

OPEN SPACE: Very little proposed. One bill by Sen. Milton Marks (R-SF), proposed to create another BCDC-like commission for all open space left in the nine-county Bay Area. Opposition is enormous; prospects are bad unless a ground swell of Save-the-Bay proportions materializes. Other bills, with slightly better chances, would create regional planning boards throughout the State. Opposition here is less because planning boards have less power to stop development.

So it goes. The legislature reacts to environment crises, but the sum total and effect still is likely to be much too little and too late. As a legislative counsel on air pollution told the Guardian, "The air pollution package will not clean the air in five years, maybe not in 10."

Symbolic of the disparity between what is and what ought to be is the conservationists' biggest victory this session: finally, they got a slice of the gasoline tax. Now, only $900 million will be spent for more freeway, $90 million will go for the first time to rapid transit and smog study. But the $90 million is pathetic when you compare it to the billions BART alone will cost.

As a legislator told the Guardian, "It is, after all, an election year."

COMING: A Guardian political index of key votes of Bay Area legislators in Washington, Sacramento, San Francisco and regional districts. More: an action guide of what bills to push, what legislators to stroke or pummel about, the specific points of political strength and vulnerability.

Los Siete on trial

Six latino "punks" (Mayor Alioto's name for young Mission radicals) accused of murdering a San Francisco cop with his partner's gun last May 1, and convicted by the Chronicle before they were apprehended ("Huge Search for Killers of Policeman," May 3, 1969), go on trial in Judge Joseph Karesh's court in mid-April. A seventh suspect is still at large.

On the day of the shooting, Officers Paul McGoran and Joseph Brodnik, in plain clothes, approached a group of latinos who were moving a television set into the house of one of the defendants. ("Anyone moving a TV set from their car to their house is automatically a robbery suspect," McGoran later told the court.) In a scuffle that followed, McGoran's gun fired and Brodnik fell dead.

In pre-trial proceedings, McGoran admitted he did not actually see anyone shoot Brodnik. Nor were any of the Seven's fingerprints found on McGoran's gun, the murder weapon, mysteriously recovered nine days after the shooting.

Judge Karesh, of O'Brien trial fame, has denied defense attorneys' motions to sever the cases of three defendants. But he did grant Atty. Charles Garry's motion to question the ethnic and class backgrounds of jury panels. "Overwhelmingly white, old and middle class" juries, Garry contends, cannot give minority people fair trials.

Since jury lists are compiled from voter registration records, Spanish-speaking people denied registration are systematically excluded from juries. (Nearly half of the 51,602 San Franciscans with Spanish surnames, according to the 1960 census, speak Spanish in their homes.) Last week, the California Supreme Court declared literacy in Spanish a sufficient and equivalent qualification to literacy in English to register to vote. Latino citizens may now be added to jury lists.

Meanwhile, the Jury Commissioner testified that using voter lists is merely a convenience; previously, telephone books were used. He said it would take three months to compile a new jury list. Garry suggested that names be gathered at random from the Spanish speaking community and put into a hopper. Judge Karesh agreed to consider it. Jury selection is scheduled for April 6.

SOP

Every day, in routine refinery operations, oil spills into San Francisco Bay. The Fish and Game Department can fine polluters up to $1,000 for each spill (prior to Mar. 1, the maximum fine was $500). Regional Water Quality Control Boards, their powers greatly increased by last year's Porter Cologne Act, can fine polluters $6,000 a day. Big oil companies pay these amounts with a smile; they often simply forfeit bonds and avoid the inconvenience of going to court.

But four Bay Area oil giants--Standard, Shell, Union and Phillips--are now being sued privately for millions. Last May 27, Red Rock Marina in Richmond filed suit against its neighbor, Standard Oil, for 32 separate oil spills from June, 1966 to May, 1969--averaging one spill a month.

The spills mysteriously stopped.

Then, on Oct. 2, an APL ship struck a Standard pier at Point Orient, spilling several hundred barrels into the Bay, killing shrimp and fish, damaging boats and undermining Marina moorings.

Most spills occur at under-staffed wharfs where oil company employees load and unload tankers. Occasionally, careless wharf workers or skippers are to blame; more often, Standard's stinginess--grossly understaffed wharfs--results in the deadly "accidents."

In another case filed last Sept. 29, the Martinez Marina claims $7 million damages ($2.5 in punitive fines) against Shell, Phillips and Union for oil spills since December, 1967.

Note: The town of Martinez, entitled to $6,000 for every oil spill, has declined to join the suit. "Political games" between the "old regime" and the present city government are to blame, charges William Vaughan, the Marina's attorney. Also: Though City Attorney Jack Waltz disclaims any conflict of interest, his law firm, Gordon and Welch, represents Phillips Oil.