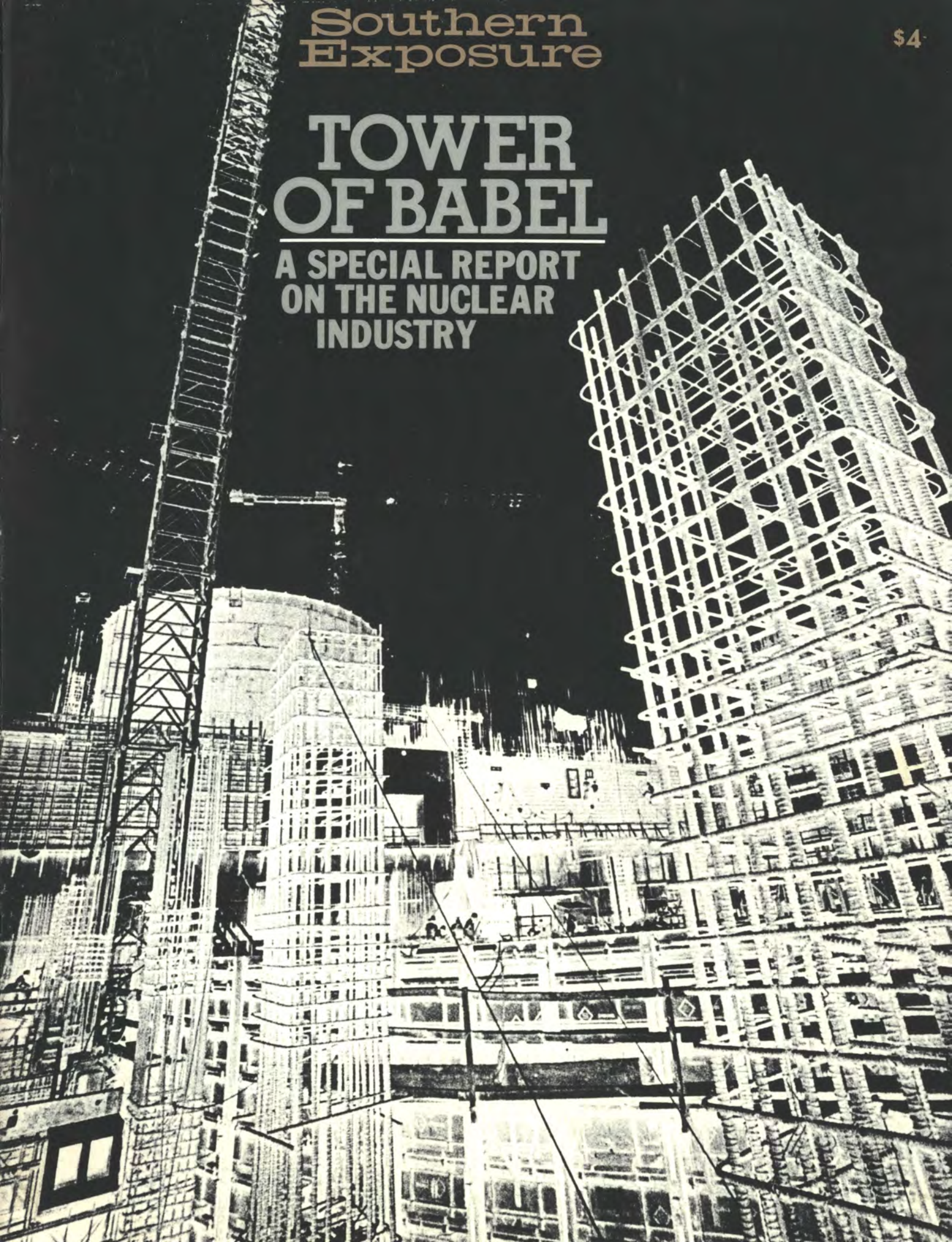


Southern
Exposure

\$4

TOWER OF BABEL

A SPECIAL REPORT
ON THE NUCLEAR
INDUSTRY



Southern Exposure

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Letters



Having been a small time "junk" dealer on the streets of my neighborhood and now doing life under the Rokefeller Drug Act as a victim of an illegal and criminal entrapment procedure I find myself pondering the question of how many more brothers and sisters there are who share my fate. . . .

When we permit our states' legislative bodies to sanction the police practices of entrapping a suspected drugs dealer in their censureless efforts to secure convictions we are creating the embryo of destruction. In the act of entrapping a suspected drugs dealer the police and/or agent becomes, himself, a party to a criminal act. . . .

Having become the victim of the inequities of such an ambiguous judicial structure has given rise to suspicions concerning the functionings of our government and I am beginning to penetrate the multifaceted facade. Entrapment is an illegal and criminal act and if we continue to allow the erosion of democratic principles in our condoning of the act, then, where will the erosion cease? If we persist in allowing the rights of some to be amended and/or abridged, what guarantees do we have against the blanket application of such abuses? If they come for me tonight . . . What will prevent their coming for you in the morning?

— Marshall Hughes
LSP 82404
Angola, Louisiana

I received from my union's International Research Department material published in your *Southern Exposure* magazine and I am very interested in obtaining further information regarding life in the southern United States.

There has been an effort over the past few years to have so-called right to work laws introduced in western Canada. Those organizations point to the southern states to demonstrate that so-called right to work increases industrialization, creates jobs, and generally increases economic prosperity among workers. Your article "Case Study: Who's Getting Rich in the New South" would clearly indicate that this is not the case.

Any information, back issues, etc. would be of value to me. Naturally any quotes used in our publication

will bear the appropriate credit as to source. Any specific studies your organization has done on so-called right to work laws would also be appreciated. Finally I would like a subscription to *Southern Exposure*.

— Tom Fawkes
Public Relations
Regional Council No. 1
International Woodworkers of America
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

I would like to enter my subscription to *Southern Exposure*. If possible I would like to begin with the Summer 1978 issue — "Sick for Justice." A borrowed copy has already proven to be a valuable aid in my ministry with textile workers here in Danville.

— Many thanks,
Rev. Diane Wyant

"Women in the South" was given to me by a NY woman friend of mine — so I wrote ya'll impressed and ordered a subscription and also "No More Moanin'" which I've been living with and sharing this last week. What power it's giving me and other Southern born friends now in Michigan to find our real history.

— Elaine Burns
Kalamazoo, Mich.

The proposed Architecture issue sounds fascinating. This will include something on the mixed potential for local solar energy in the region(s), pros & cons of tin roofs and our unique "hip roof" rainshedding design, underground coolers and other pre- or slightly-electric space & food cooling techniques such as encouraging beans, morning-glory, honeysuckle or kudzu-vines to grow over the roof and porch, as well as drawbacks-of and new-alternatives-to air-conditioning, of course??? (Alas, I'm not yet re-acclimated enough to offer you a worthwhile submission...)

— When comes the issue devoted to southern ecology (precolumbian to agribiz, and would it be racist or spiritually enlightened to include Cherokees and Choctaws together with catfish and cotton???)

— Nukes!

— Cops, oil, taxes, smuggling, children, pollution, new immigrants, welfare, tourists, crime (conspicuously neglected in your otherwise fine Prisons issue), seniors, dialects?

— Good luck some more....

— Pierce Butler
Natchez, Miss.

Behavioral modification is an inhuman practice of methods that prescribes controls and inhibits behavior that is in itself non-aggressive and non-destructive, but deemed unacceptable by prison administrative powers. Behavioral modification is mechanistic, exploitative and materialistic. It is designed to treat prisoners as manipulative dummies who can and will be shaped by external forces, forces outside themselves.

Inconspicuous programs designed to change so called "undesirable" behavior are being implemented throughout the country and are gaining momentum. Although tentative information concerning these programs are carried in small print inconspicuously in a few newspapers, the intentions, methods, and more importantly, the implications they suggest are virtually unknown to the general public. The great atrocities being committed against prisoners in the penal systems *must* be brought to the attention of the general public.

Having spent more than a decade in prison, I know that behavioral modification is extremely dangerous, since it has no redeeming qualities and can never replace what it takes from a human being.

We prisoners are human beings, too. We come into this world equipped to fully experience life, not avoid it. We see, hear, taste, smell, feel, think, learn and choose — all with results in various gradations of good and bad in our own judgment. No man comes into this world guaranteed safe, clean, smart, good or comfortable. All men fall, bleed, ache, blister. Like our outside counterparts, we know both tears and laughter, aversion and attraction, ease and disease. We hurt as well as help ourselves — and others. In brief, we are human beings, and to treat us otherwise is an affront to both the laws of God and the Constitution. Under present institutionalized laws, prisoners aren't allowed to sustain very many human characteristics. Those of us that try to hang on to some semblance of humanity usually get the greatest dose of Behavioral modification.

Behavioral modification not only

fails to help the prisoner, it creates prisoners! It just doesn't make it difficult to rehabilitate, it reduces natural incentive and cripples a potentially constructive attitude. The drugs, shock treatment, aversion therapy and psychological therapy employed to alter natural behavioral patterns leave nothing but an empty shell of a man, a creature totally unfit and unsuited for outside society.

— Charles W. Reid No. 129-283
Post Office Box 45699
Southern Ohio Correctional Facility
Lucasville, Ohio 45699

Congratulations on Tom Dent's most perceptive analysis of black politics in New Orleans.

Despite its overall high quality, Dent's article contains two factual errors concerning the unity of New Orleans' black political organizations. Regarding the 1971 gubernatorial second primary . . . in actuality, the two major black political organizations endorsed opposing candidates; SOUL supported Edwards while COUP backed his opponent, J. Bennett Johnston.

Later in the article, Dent states that in the first primary of the 1977 mayoral election, Ernest Morial "carried almost 90 percent of the black electorate." In point of fact, Morial carried only 58 percent of the black vote in the first primary. White moderate candidates Nat Liefer and Toni Morrison received 19 percent and 17 percent of the black vote, respectively, probably because of a severe fragmentation of endorsements by the city's major black political organizations.

—Monte Piliawsky
Associate Professor of Political Science
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Re — Prison issue

First — the *slant* of all your articles are the injustice of the Poor Negro. Not for all Americans. *Why* do you want to *segregate* the races.

We all have to live together.

I'm White. I was a merchant seaman. I lived in more squalid conditions in a Free Society than many prisons, and I have also served time at Ft. Worth, Tex. and Angola.

Eating maggots in sausages and weevils in beans and rice is nothing new. People the world over have been doing this for centuries and not in prison. The POOR PRISONER!

Why not the Poor *VICTIM*.

If you really think our prisons are so terrible, why don't you put out a questionnaire to be sent to all American prisoners that if our government and the government of Russia or China would care to *exchange prisoners* on a world wide basis. *Same as our Exchange Students Program.*

TRY it. This might be the *break-through* penal systems have never thought of before. SIBERIA'S NOT SO BAD as long as its not *me* that's going there.

You will *note* that I'm writing this letter *anonymously*.

Which for a society that's supposed to be free, is an absurdity. But that's not the way Big Brother has done us all in. You & me together, the prisoner and the POOR VICTIM.

We are all scared. We live in fear of bodily harm. Fear of theft. Fear of no police protection which is a fact of being *sued* by unscrupulous lawyers. *No trust in politicians.* Nor in bureaucrats. Our government finally. We don't go to church anymore. Cause the ministry are in it only for the money,

— an Anonymous American
Who's Living in Fear
and I'm White

The Pastor, Officers and Members of the Branch Bell Baptist Church wish to express our gratitude for the May edition of the *Southern Exposure* which includes an article concerning school integration highlighting our devoted member, Miss Tessie Prevost. Tessie has been a member of our congregation since her birth. We are very proud of all her accomplishments and especially proud of her past experiences in the early stages of her childhood.

Several members of our congregation are interested in purchasing a copy of the May edition and it would be very helpful if you would provide information for ordering additional copies of the *Southern Exposure* May 1979 edition.

—Reverend Henry Williams, Pastor
Mrs. Gwendolyn Etheridge,
Church Secretary
New Orleans, La.

The Lord Selected Me

Pine Bluff, Arkansas May 29, 1903

On a normal day in 1903, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, was a city of 22,000 persons, almost equally black and white. Laborers and dirt farmers stood with wealthy landowners and merchants, waiting for the trains to rumble past the tracks on Main Street, clearing their way for a visit to the aptly named Big Store or, perhaps, Wiley Jones' Saloon. Foundries and lumber yards blended their screeches and blasts with the bleating train whistles to create the distinctive cacophony of a growing, aggressive city.

Friday, May 29, 1903, was not a normal day. The foundries were silent, the lumber yards deserted, and the railroads carried only outbound passengers.

An estimated eight to 10 thousand residents of Pine Bluff abandoned most of their property and fled to the countryside, where they sat in wagons beside the dirt roads leading out of town, huddled in makeshift camps in cotton fields, or crowded into the pineboard sharecropper's shacks of kinfolks.

They were awaiting the destruction of their city.

The exodus was precipitated by the prophecy of a sincere young black woman named Ellen Burnett. Little is known about her. Witnesses say she was 18 to 20 years of age, although jail officials would later guess that she was 25 to 30. She was short and stockily built, and dark skinned. In conversation she was articulate and self-confident, but she spoke very deliberately.

Ellen lived in the black section of town, on Fourteenth Street; attended

the Sanctified Church; and had worked as a cook, nurse, and house maid for white families. Her mother, Liza, was employed in the home of Rev. Ross Moore, the young pastor of Pine Bluff's largest white Baptist church.

In January, 1903, Ellen began feeling apprehensive, as if she were in danger, for no apparent reason. Finally, on May 8, she had her first vision.

"I went into a trance and saw a vision of the city of Pine Bluff being destroyed. I could not tell how it was being done and could see the town only by the vivid flashes of lightning in the darkness that was so deep that I could almost feel it. I saw mothers throw their infants away from them in their frenzy, thinking it was better that they should perish, if by doing so they could get away. And I saw mothers and fathers trample on their children, and the strong trample over the weak in their efforts to get away. Then I thought that I was taken to a place I suppose was heaven, although I did not hear any one speak its name. I saw a man sitting on a great white throne, and all about me was a great white floor. I heard the man on the throne, who I knew was God, say to another tall man who wore a white robe and was barefooted, but whose face I could not see, to go and weigh the city. And he went and seemed to weigh the city in a great scale, and I heard him report to God that sin and grace were on an equality, and the God said: 'I am a just man, and I will not permit the just to suffer with the unjust.' And then He said to me: 'Go and warn my people to leave the city, and not to stop under six miles from it, for I will destroy the city and all that are therein.' Five nights later I saw great clouds come out of the south and the Lord appeared to me again and told me that He would destroy the city at 5 p.m. on May 29."

Many of the white citizens first

became aware of the excitement when the May 18 edition of the *Pine Bluff Daily Graphic* ran a front-page story headlined:

AWFUL CALAMITY

To Befall Pine Bluff Says A Crazy Negro Woman

The paper reported that Ellen had related her visions to Rev. Moore, who said that he knew of several "servants" who had quit their jobs or been discharged as a result of their belief that the city was doomed.

Alarm increased, as blacks held daily and nightly meetings to discuss the validity of her dreams. Crowds lined up a block away from Ellen's small home, hoping to hear her story first-hand. The Sawyer and Austin lumber yard was already "crippled," and the manager of the Hotel Trulock told the *Graphic* that all of his black employees had given notice that they would not report for work on May 29. The newspaper urged the sheriff or chief of police to take Ellen into custody. Also in the May 20 edition was a letter from Dr. Isaac Fisher, a graduate of Tuskegee Institute and friend of Booker T. Washington, who was president of Branch Normal College, an all-black school located on the outskirts of the city. At the request of the editors, Fisher quoted scripture in an effort to allay the fears of those who were disturbed by the prophecy, and stated his firm intention to remain in the city.

Some businessmen were taking a wry approach to the situation, as evidenced by this advertisement:

TAKE WARNING!

Hear the Words of the Prophetess! Do Not Delay. "All ye leave Pine Bluff before two o'clock Friday morning, May 29, or be destroyed by wind and water," but before going be on the safe side by getting a cyclone policy from Geo. M.

by Robert Moody

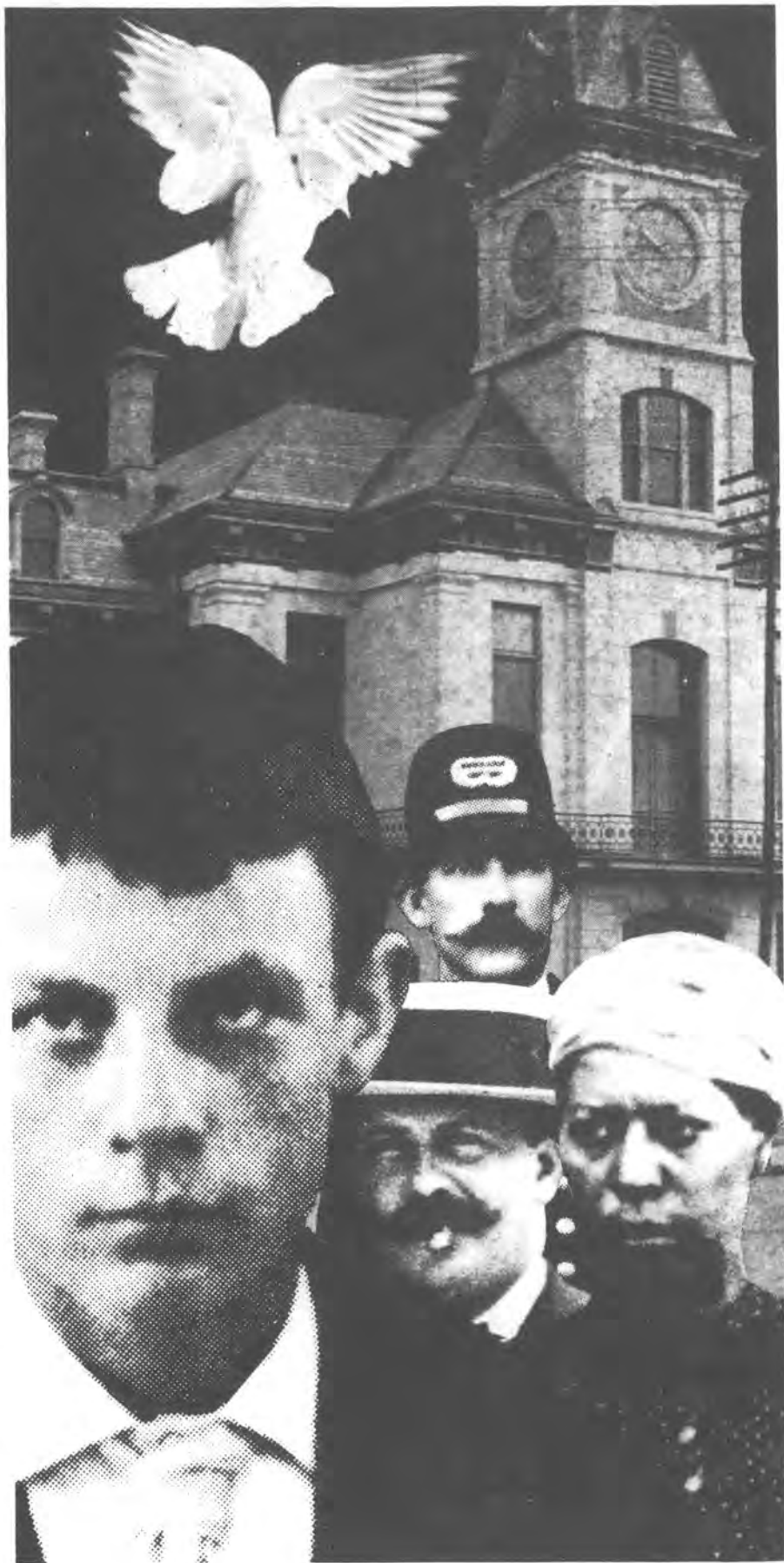
Wells and company. Rates: 20 cents per \$100.

Dozens of fantastic rumors began to circulate among the public. One story given wide credence was that Deputy Sheriff Mason Philpot, a dour man disliked by many blacks for his alleged cruelty, had gone to Ellen Burnett's house with the intention of placing her under arrest, only to be driven from the home by seven angry doves. Even more widely believed was a rumor that Ellen had predicted that God would send a dove from heaven to light on the clock tower of the county courthouse, beside the Arkansas River on Main Street, as a sign that her visions were genuine.

On the night of May 20, a "dove" did appear on the courthouse clock; it was sent, not by God, but by some local firemen. At about 7:30 p.m., a group of men from the nearby Fire Station Number One placed a pigeon on the minute hand of the east dial of the clock and secured it there with a rubber band. Within minutes, hundreds of people had gathered to witness the "miracle." Workers inside the courthouse, unaware that the bird was fastened down, flashed the electric lights which illuminated the dial on and off several times in an effort to scare it away. This served only to intensify the crowd's frenzy. Then someone threw a goose into the audience from the roof, at which time one old black man reportedly cried, "Lawd, I'se seed enough of your hand," ran to his home, packed his belongings, and left town. Finally, according to the *Graphic*, Deputy Tom Meeks, ordinarily a quiet, serious man, released another pigeon which he had concealed in his pocket. The bewildered bird flopped around amid the terrified crowd for several minutes before it could escape.

After an hour of such antics, the bird on the clock managed to free itself, and flew south. Those gathered in the street took the bird's route as an indication that they should flee in that direction.

News of the controversy surrounding Ellen Burnett dominated the next edition of the *Graphic*. In a second, more adamant letter, Dr. Fisher prayed for the understanding of the white community, and warned the blacks that they were only enhancing



the prevailing racial stereotypes. "If we make no effort to awake from this nightmare," he said, "we must not cry out, or complain, or wince when the public men and press pour out upon us the vials of their contempt and wrath."

The headline that day read:

Ellen Burnett In Jail

She was reported to have been arrested and taken to the insane asylum in Little Rock. Also reported were the results of an examination of the Burnett woman by Rev. S.A. Mosely and Dr. Flippin, "two intelligent colored citizens." They observed that, although she acted calmly and spoke quietly, during her account of the dreams her pulse jumped from normal to 101 per minute. They concluded:

Her story is a conglomeration of dreams and visions, of huge stars, pearly white thrones, men in flowing robes, spring balances, grace, justice, mercy, black flying clouds, sin, shrieking, whistling wind storms, crying voices, northern lights, rolling thunders, huge rain drops, zigzag lightning, and pleading prayer — the typical sayings of a paranoiac, which she is. As she is highly religious and sincere, we do not doubt that she believes all she says, yet after having carefully examined the statements of this woman, we are unable to see anything in the story that should alarm anyone.

Handbills were distributed throughout the city that day, giving notice of a mass meeting at 8:00 p.m. in front of the courthouse. The notice was signed by Sheriff James Gould, a young man held in high regard by both blacks and whites. Two thousand people attended the meeting, and heard many prominent citizens, including Dr. Fisher and Mayor H. King White, call for a return to reason. Mayor White "got off a number of his jokes, for which he is locally famous, and when he finished the assemblage applauded him enthusiastically."

On Friday, May 22, the *Graphic* had to retract part of the previous day's headline story. Ellen Burnett had not been arrested. Deputy Philpot was quoted as saying he didn't think the matter was serious enough to warrant her incarceration.

By Saturday, the *Pine Bluff Weekly Commercial* had picked up the story. It fanned the spread of rumors by claiming that "she now says the alligators are taking from the tall

timbers to the city districts to devour the many humans who will perish in the flood." The *Commercial's* reaction was blunt:

She will take another drink of gin probably today or tomorrow and there will be other reports of things to occur on the fatal day. Ellen should be judged a "crazy coon" and sent to the "foolish house" at Little Rock for repairs. She's cracked.

Ellen's dream was the main topic of conversation over the weekend. Some noteworthy blacks aligned themselves with her followers, and tempers began to flare, inspiring at least one argument which ended in fisticuffs. The exodus began to pick up steam.

By Tuesday, three days before the predicted storm, the Pine Bluff Brick Company was closed because of a labor shortage. By late Wednesday, an estimated six thousand blacks had fled town. Between three and four thousand were said to have left on foot or by wagon; the rest had taken the Iron Mountain or Cotton Belt trains, which requisitioned two thousand extra tickets each to accommodate the rush expected yet to come. Trunks and other baggage were left at the railroad station to make room for more passengers. Bank officials reported that many blacks were withdrawing their savings, but denied rumors that all assets would be taken beyond the six-mile limit for safe-keeping. While real estate in the city was being abandoned or sold at outrageously low prices, a citizen of Sulphur Springs, seven miles south, reported that all of the homes there had been rented.

Those citizens who had considered the affair amusing became more somber as the economic impact became apparent. The Pine Bluff Iron Works and Dille's Foundry announced that they would be closed until Monday. The Bluff City Lumber mills were being readied for a shutdown. Black barbers announced their intention to remain, and volunteered to replace Negro waiters, who had declared that they would not be on duty Friday. Signs were posted at the Hotel Trulock:

No Help To Be Had

Guests Will Please Bear With Us
In This Hour of Tribulation

Sam Franklin telephoned his brother in Little Rock, asking for workers to be sent so that his American Excelsior Laundry could remain open.

As the white businessmen pled with their black workers to stay, many of the blacks became suspicious, convinced that the whites were secretly planning to suddenly evacuate on May 29, leaving them behind. The Sawyer and Austin Lumber Company tried to reassure its employees by announcing that a train would be standing by on the company tracks, ready to leave on a moment's notice at any indication of danger.

The white community was uneasy over the independence of the blacks in the face of strenuous efforts to coerce them into staying. Indeed, the emotional climate apparently inspired unusual acts of defiance. A front page story told of a Negro preacher who mounted a box at Fourth and Main:

Among other things he said that a nigger had the right to marry a white woman if he wanted to do so. That kind of talk soon reached Sheriff Gould's ears and the "coon" was soon escorted to the sheriff's office and given just so much time to leave the city.

The *Graphic's* editorial response was terse:

A few jerks with a leather strap might not have been amiss with that negro preacher who made that street corner harangue about the marriage of negro men and white women. It is such negroes as this parson that causes most of the race troubles.

Sheriff Gould had little time to deal with the impudent pastor. Earlier in the day, he had finally given in to pressure and locked Ellen Burnett in the county jail, saying she was "about as mentally unbalanced" as any person he had ever seen. By late afternoon the sheriff was on the Cotton Belt train to Little Rock, escorting his celebrated prisoner to the state penitentiary, but Ellen was held at the prison for only an hour before jail officials concluded, "She talks well and does not give the impression of being demented." Ellen was released in the custody of Gould and another officer.

On Thursday, the day before the predicted storm, a few blacks reconsidered and returned to the city. But hundreds more were leaving by all conceivable means. Several small towns

south of the city reported a large influx of refugees.

More businesses were forced to close. The Light and Water Company expressed fears that a lack of labor could result in a water shortage. Sam Franklin's plea for laundry workers had been unrewarded, and shirts were being shipped to Little Rock for cleaning.

Seven convicted prisoners at the county jail, including a murderer and one woman, requested that they be transferred immediately to the state penitentiary, fearing they would drown in their cells. Their request was granted.

Sheriff Gould was back in Pine Bluff Thursday afternoon, without Ellen Burnett, busily distributing handbills warning against looting of abandoned property. Police were ordered to patrol residential areas, and the Jefferson Fencibles, a detachment of local soldiers, was said to be standing by.

The panic had now transcended racial lines. Some whites were reported to be planning to leave the next morning, having prepared enough food to last through the weekend. Others claimed "urgent business out of town."

Although the weather forecast had called for "showers" Thursday night and Friday, a brief storm Thursday evening convinced many doubters to pack up and leave. The sky was clear at dawn on Friday, May 29. Nevertheless, the extent of the exodus was evident early at the city's black schools. The Missouri Street, Merrill, and Greenville schools, with a combined enrollment of 975, reported a total of only five students present. The Missouri Street school, with only two out of 400 children in attendance, announced that graduation ceremonies scheduled for that night had been postponed until Tuesday. Officials at the white Pine Bluff High School declared that their graduation would be held as planned. At Branch Normal College, President Isaac Fisher was a disappointed man. Although he had persuaded all of his faculty to ignore Ellen's prophecy, 60 percent of his students had fled.

At ten o'clock clouds began to move overhead. Telephone and telegraph operators and local newspapers were receiving calls from newspapers throughout the country requesting updates on weather conditions. By

early afternoon the clouds over Pine Bluff had turned darker, prompting a few remaining skeptics to board the three and four o'clock trains. Others were seen walking away, with only small parcels under their arms.

Ellen Burnett, who had mysteriously disappeared after the trip to the penitentiary, was located and moved to the Pulaski County jail. In Friday's edition the *Graphic* published a remarkable interview with her. It is unclear where or when the conversation took place, but it is significant that, for the first time, the newspaper chose to include her frequent denial of responsibility for the "dove." "I don't know anything about the dove that they say was on the clock," she said. "The Lord told me that I must tell the people, and I did so, and it caused so many to leave that they arrested me. They call me crazy, but I must expect persecution for doing the will of the Lord."

As the appointed hour drew near, clouds overhead grew ominous. A small contingent of blacks huddled together on the courthouse steps, bolstered by a rumor that Ellen Burnett had predicted that the building would withstand the storm.

Almost exactly at five o'clock, thunderclaps jarred the town and rain began to fall.

The intensity of the five o'clock storm is in dispute. Newspaper reports the next day described it as "light" and "not enough water to settle dust." Black and white eyewitnesses disagree, insisting that the first storm was substantial. Regardless, all sources agree that a second downpour arrived that night at 9:30. It was one of the most spectacular electrical storms ever to strike the city, and it left many of those who had scoffed at Ellen cold with fear.

When the lightning, rain and wind began, several hundred residents were attending the Pine Bluff High School graduation at the Elks Theatre. The noise of the rain pounding on the roof was loud enough to interrupt the valedictorian's speech several times. Then, in the middle of the program, the electric lights went out. The crowd sat nervously in the darkness until kerosene lamps were located and put in service. The storm was still underway when the new graduates filed out of the theatre.

It was later learned that all of the electrical power in the city had been turned off by the Citizens Light and Transit Company, as a precaution against damage to their machinery.

Ironically, many of the places to which Ellen's believers had fled suffered weather as bad or worse than that in Pine Bluff. In Sulphur Springs refugees "prayed and moaned" under tents which had blown down on top of them, while in Hot Springs they were terrified by high winds which uprooted trees and caused considerable property damage.

At midnight it was over. No one had been seriously injured.

Saturday's trains were again crowded, this time with returning passengers. However, many of those who had taken flight stayed away for several days, embarrassed by reports that the city remained intact. Some, in fact, never returned. Their fear of ridicule was well-founded.

Pine Bluff Still on Map

proclaimed the *Graphic* while the *Commercial* crowed, ELLEN IS SHOWING A BAD ACTOR.

One of the persons who had not returned was Ellen Burnett. She was released from jail Friday afternoon, apparently judged to have suddenly recovered from her "insanity". Shortly before she left her cell, a reporter managed to speak with her.

"How is it that Pine Bluff is still on the map?" he asked.

"Well," she replied, "there is plenty of time yet. You know the Lord did not say the destruction of the city was to be until about five o'clock."

"But if the city is not destroyed, how will you explain it?"

"That ain't for me to explain. Maybe it will be saved. I hope it will be. Lots of people think just because I made the prophecy that I have prayed that the town would be destroyed. God knows that every time I go to my knees I pray that the town will be saved.

"I didn't want to make this prophecy. I tried to get out of it, but the Lord wouldn't let me. He just made me do it. He told me to go and warn everybody without regard to color, and I did it. Lots of men wanted to give me money when I warned them; but I told them all that the word



was not to be sold. It was to be given away. Some folks say I was paid by farmers, so as to run the niggers out of town and on to the farms, and some folks say the insurance men paid me, but nobody paid me. The Lord selected me, and I just had to do what he said."

"If the cyclone does not occur as you said it would, will it occur later?"

"No sir. I don't know anything about any cyclone but the one I prophesied, and if it don't come I guess the Lord has heard the prayers of the people. I hope if another one is to come He'll give the word to somebody else. I'd kick mighty hard before I'll take it, for it's caused me a lot of trouble. But then I had to do it.

"There wasn't any use of so much excitement. What the people ought to have done was to get together like they did at Ninevah when Jonas made his prophecy, and pray, instead of getting scared and raising so much excitement."

"Are you afraid to go back to Pine Bluff?"

"No sir, I know if my time has come the Lord will take me, but He will save my soul, and if he wants to He will save my body."

Minutes later she was seen marching sturdily down West Markham Street, dressed in a gingham blouse, a gray woolen skirt, and a white apron, carrying a cheap suitcase, on her way to Union Station. No ceremony accompanied her departure. Sheriff Schader gave her enough money to buy a ticket to Pine Bluff. A bystander joked with her as she said goodbye to the few persons present. Shortly after eight o'clock the train pulled out of the station and "the incident which has been talked of by thousands and written in hundreds of papers, in hundreds of cities, was closed."

Almost closed, but not quite. Somewhere between the two cities Ellen got off the train. Evidently fearful of her welcome, she was not seen in Pine Bluff for several days. Evidence indicates that she did return to the city at some point, living a quiet life, and being given deference by those who feared her "supernatural" power. "After all," remarked one resident, "she *did* predict the storm, even if it didn't kill nobody."

In 1943, Mrs. J.B. Dalrymple and

her husband returned to Pine Bluff after a long absence out-of-state. Mrs. Dalrymple is the daughter of Rev. Ross Moore, the white minister to whom Ellen first confided her dreams. One day that year Ellen Burnett appeared at her door. The two women talked about their common past, but no reference was made to the events of 1903, and Ellen gave no indication of whether she had married or of her current circumstances. After a few other brief, equally uninformative chats, Ellen stopped her visits.

Mrs. Dalrymple is the last person known to have seen Ellen Burnett. Extensive efforts to locate her after 1943 have produced only frustration. It is possible that she is still alive, nearing one hundred years of age now. It is more likely that her body lies in an unknown grave, in which case it can only be hoped that she was comforted in her passing by another glimpse of the man on the great white throne who tested her faith so severely.

All of the major characters in the drama which surrounded Ellen Burnett are now gone, and few persons remain who were old enough to be fully aware of the events leading up to the panic of May, 1903. Most of my sources were either very young then, or they were told the story by their parents, who in many cases were important figures in the drama.

Several elderly blacks have told me they were fairly sure that Ellen returned to Pine Bluff at some point, but none actually saw her or spoke to her. Her name does not appear in a city directory or telephone book. She is not buried in the main black cemetery. The oldest members of the long-established churches have no recollection of her after 1903. No living relatives can be found.

One complicating factor is that the newspapers of the day were flagrantly inconsistent. While she was usually referred to as Ellen Burnett, her name was also given at times as Helen Burnett, Ellen Turner, and Ellen Jefferson. Sometimes a paper would use a different name from one day to the next. However, searches under those names have also been fruitless and no one who knew her recalled her being

married. Copies of the two "colored" newspapers then serving Pine Bluff have disappeared.

The people interviewed were generally warm and receptive, but there were some interesting exceptions. One man refused to talk to me and others who must have witnessed the incident pretended they knew nothing about it. A few asked to remain anonymous, apparently because they are still embarrassed that their families had joined the exodus.

The one man who does remember is Professor W.H. Zachary, who will be 100 years old this January.

He lives today in the same house his father bought in 1895, at the end of a quiet street in the same black neighborhood where Ellen and her mother lived 76 years ago. Professor Zachary knew them both, and his account of the incident has provided details not reported by the white press.

In 1903 Zachary was a 23-year-old music student, the seventh son of a minister, and part of the well-educated black community which centered around Branch Normal College. He was among those who joined with the college president in urging the public to remain in the city on May 29. Even if he had believed the prophecy, Zachary was in no condition to make travel plans. "I was sick in bed that day," he recalls, "so I couldn't have left even if I had wanted to."

When the storm arrived, as Ellen Burnett predicted, many people who had spoken in opposition to her warning had second thoughts, and Zachary admits that he was among them. "I thought the Lord had come to take me away, so I put my trust in Jesus. I was going to drown in that bed," he laughs.

Professor Zachary went on to pursue a remarkable career as a pianist, organist and teacher of classical and church music. He attended the New England Conservatory of Music twice - in 1916 and again, at age 63, in 1943. Sixteen years later he studied at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York. In 1967 he traveled to Europe, visiting the birthplace of Mozart and playing in London and Rome. He was 91 when the American State and National Association of Music Teachers honored him at its convention in Hawaii in 1971.

In between his studies, Zachary

taught music to hundreds of black children in Pine Bluff. In fact, he still works with a few students, including grandchildren and great-grandchildren of former pupils. The lessons are based strictly on hymns and the classics. The term "popular music" loses much of its meaning to someone born in 1880. "Lots of music been popular," Zachary points out.

He and I have spent some good times on the front porch swing, talking about friends and acquaintances of his, most of them dead for 50 years or more. We've admired photos of Reverend J.C. Battles, the imposing light-skinned preacher whose sermons once thundered down from the pulpit of the Barraque Street Baptist Church, and swapped stories about Wiley Jones, the saloonkeeper who became Pine Bluff's first black millionaire before he died in 1906. But one question lingers; a question that seems to puzzle Zachary as much as it troubles me.

Whatever became of Ellen Burnett?

"I just don't know what happened to that girl." □

Sources include articles in the *Pine Bluff Daily Graphic*, the *Arkansas Gazette*, and the *Pine Bluff Weekly Commercial*; J. Harvie Hudson, "The Ellen Burnett Prophecy," *Jefferson County Historical Quarterly* IV (2), 1973; James W. Leslie, *Saracen's Country: Some Southeast Arkansas History* (Little Rock: Rose Publishing, 1974); and interviews with Florence Dalrymple, Chaddy Jones, Marion Perry, Jr., Everett Tookes, Goldie Meeks Wallace and W.H. Zachary, all of Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Robert Moody is a native of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. He is news director of WAKY Radio in Louisville, Kentucky, and is at work on a novel.

base chapel, lejeune 4/79

the man before me stands, black muscles
gleaming, for the hymn. no planes are on the
runway; quiet heat reverberates from
pine walls and organ pipes. in channels on the bay
crepe myrtle bursts to purple; when he lifts
into the carolina air, the pilot sees
it marking out each inlet, now with his family
he is beside me as the music ends.
"peace be with you": turning to each other
we exchange the ritual wish. this day,
released from details, men come from soldiering
to hear themselves address their brothers
with these words. outside, we pause to catch a breeze,
relax, and wander off to pass the holy day.

— Archie Hobson
Washington, D.C.

salvaging the plants

the eggs
(having been cracked)
float face up in a bowl.
fingers of bacon snap in the skillet.

(during the night
the alabama air
lost its warmth as quickly
as a smooth stone falls
through still water
and she woke me up
at dawn
to help transport the plants –
hanging like lanterns
on the front porch –
inside.)

meanwhile miranda's face
hovers in the bubble bath,
watched only by the mirror.
she's a beautiful woman
but she stutters
if she speaks to me.

– A. J. Wright
Auburn, Alabama

The First Time

One day Mama wanted a box of salt, so
me and Goodie walked up to the store.
Coming back by the churchyard,
I saw this little teeny-weeny old lady
picking up chips and singing,
and the organ was playing in the empty church.
She was just a real little short, dumpy lady,
with an apron on and gray hair pulled back
in a great big old ball. I said,
“Goodie, you see that little old lady over there,
picking up chips and singing?”

She said,
“I don't see nothing, but I ain't
going by that church.” So I had to take her home
all the way round through the blackberry patch and
come out at the foot of Mama's garden. And that
was the first time I ever seen anything like that.
I was seven years old.

Ghost Story

John.

John, how gray you were –
gray eyes
with the gray film over them;
gray-black skin
stretched over thin gray bones.
Your clothing, too –
even your shoes,
with the gray dust of the roads you walked,
chittering and slaving.

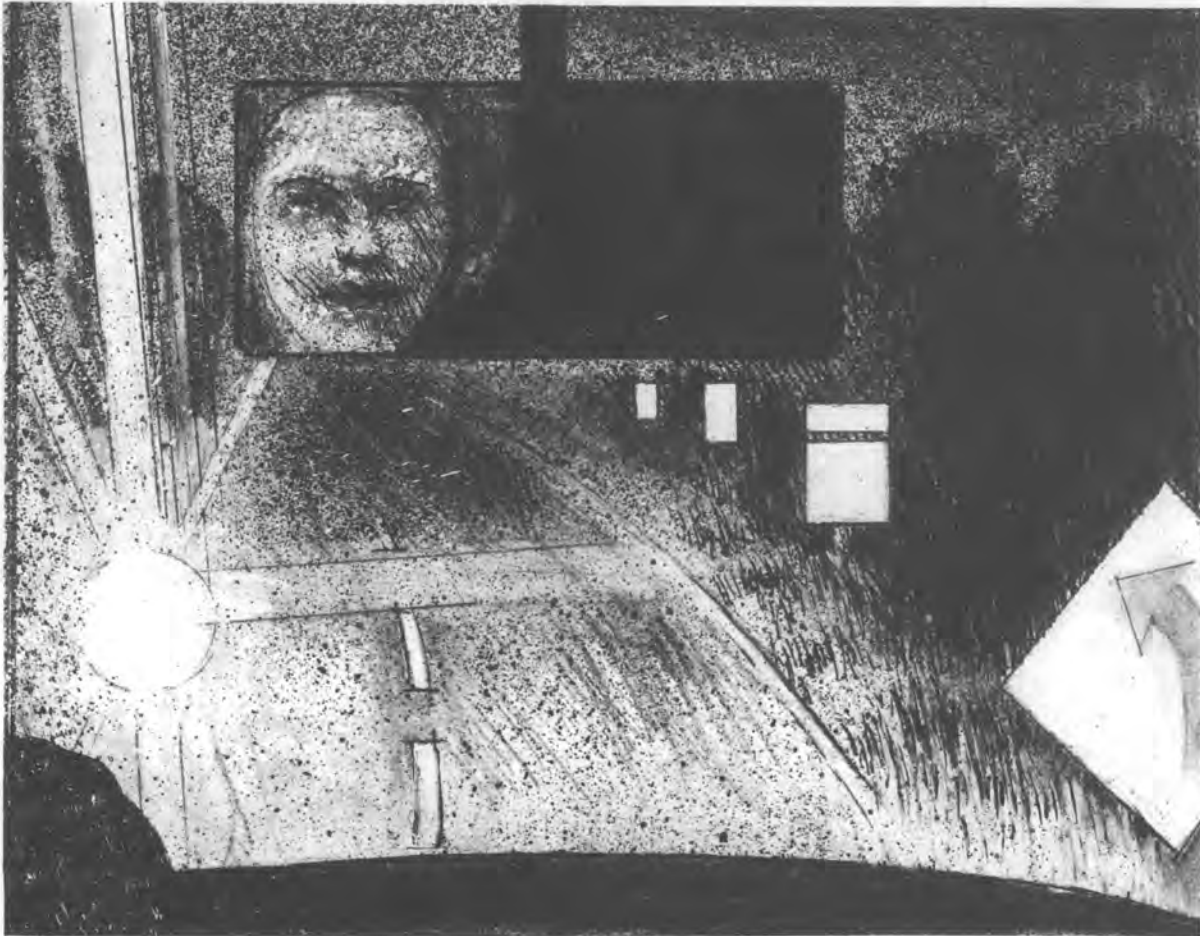
And no child feared you.

When we pulled our chairs in a circle
in the biscuit-colored yards
on moonlit nights,
we loved to hear your tale of the ghost who
chased you so long you collapsed on
a rock and gasped,
“Am I tired!”
And the ghost said,
“How 'bout me?”

– Virginia Downs
Vienna, Virginia

WHAT THEY TOLD ME

BY BONNA WHITTEN-STOVALL



SHOPPING BAGS

Shung like bracelets from her wrists. The driver unlaced them and leaned them at his feet. "You know this bus don't stop at Douglasville," he said.

"Yeah?"

"Stops out on the highway, but it doesn't go in any more." He punched her ticket. "Well, it's not supposed to."

"Yeah? Well, I knew when I caught it over the other night that it wasn't going to stop in town. They told me that much when I called. Had to get me a patrol car to flag it down."

"Did, huh," he said and thrust her elbow up the long first step. "Where to?"

"Oh, up front," she said. "I like to see where

I'm going."

She sank into the closest seat but stood again to shed her suit coat. While the driver stacked her packages above, she shook the jacket once and folded it, smooth lining out. "Yeah. My boss's brother-in-law is a deputy sheriff and he flagged the express for me, since it wasn't my fault I was late leaving work and all." She remained, straightening the ruffled cuffs of her blouse, until the driver was satisfied that the luggage guards were infallibly secure.

"Now, of course," she continued as he turned to the controls, "someone just might be out on the highway waiting for me."

"Might." He threw the bus into gear.

"And then, they might not. . ."

He paused before shifting to a position where he

knew he would meet her eyes in the mirror. "I reckon," he said, "we'll have to take care of that when the time comes, won't we now?"

A latecomer had rushed up to the door; it opened with a sigh. "This the express to Atlanta?"

"Atlanta and then some. But you'll have to put that bag on with you. We're late leaving now."

The bus nosed from the fluorescent glare of the station and gained the hills around Huntsville in silence. Most of the passengers had slept through the stop. The latecomer moved to the rear whence occasional whiffs of his cigarette issued until he too slept. When the expressway was open again, the woman spoke. "I'm a bad one for sitting up front. Always want to know where I'm going."

"Nothing wrong with that."

"Nah," she said.

"You go this way often?" The driver tapped on the steering wheel. "Don't think I've seen you before."

"No," she said. "You haven't seen me. I'd 'a remembered, I go this way every weekend, only I try to take the earlier bus."

"The local." He grinned into the mirror but she was not looking.

"Gets me there at a decent hour," she said.

"Takes you into town."

"I'm from Huntsville," she said. "I mean my folks. That's where I've been. I live in Atlanta."

"Atlanta?"

"Well, Douglasville," she amended. "Douglasville's part of Atlanta as I see it."

"Yeah, I guess."

"And people have heard of Atlanta. You know what I mean?"

"I'm from Atlanta too."

"See?" She smiled hopefully into the mirror, but the driver was busy passing a tractor trailer. She relaxed back into her seat. "Yeah. If it weren't for my boyfriend in Huntsville, if I had me a boyfriend in Atlanta, now that's where I'd like to spend my weekends."

"Like Atlanta, huh?"

"I'd like to like Atlanta," she said.

"It's all right, I guess."

"Uh oh," she said.

"I mean, I don't get out that much."

"Watch it," she said. "You're beginning to sound married," she said.

"Huh!"

"If you don't like Atlanta, I say you're married," she said.

"Shows that bad, huh?"

"What'd I tell you!" She leaned forward. "You'd never believe, this boyfriend. I knew him in high school. Twenty years ago. We were sweethearts for

six weeks or so, I can't remember, maybe it was junior high, I wasn't much interested then. Now isn't that funny?"

"Spect that gets kinda hard, doesn't it?"

"What?"

"Traveling every weekend," he said.

"Now you're teasing!"

"You mean my doing it five times a week," he said. "I get paid for it. But every weekend. From Atlanta to Huntsville and back for free. I don't know."

"Well, I'm not much good on Mondays," she said. "But you know, when you've got you a boyfriend. . ."

"He don't like Atlanta?"

"How would he know? He keeps promising to come. But he can't leave his mother alone with the farm. So it's easier for me to do the traveling."

"Farmer, huh?"

"Milk cows," she explained. "But sometimes I do get tired."

"And you expect me to believe this has been going on for 20 years?"

"Ha," she said.

The driver grinned into the mirror. "Well, I didn't think so," he said.

"Twenty years! Oh, brother, you can make a girl laugh. I've only been divorced since Easter. Oh law. You must have thought I was . . . oh, law. Had the same boyfriend for 20 —"

"Well, no, I didn't think so," he said.

"No!" She patted her hair and straightened her ruffled cuffs. "It's husbands I've had for almost 20. My second, the one that ended last April, that one was 15, almost 16 years. First one didn't last a year."

The driver tapped on the wheel.

"Yep. One and 15. That's me."

"First one didn't work at all, huh?" he said.

"Nah."

"Way it goes sometimes," he said. "These days especially."

"Second didn't either for that matter."

"Guess not," he said.

"Though I was the last to know. Like they say. I don't know . . . me and my daughter just come home from church one night and he had up and sold the house."

"Huh?"

"Yep." She reached for her jacket and shook it out.

"He must not have had good sense."

"Tommy? Oh, I don't know. You find out you never really knew a man until he up and leaves you after 15 years." She draped the coat across her chest, pulling its collar up to her chin. "Up and

sold the house. And was gone. I never knew what, except that he didn't love me anymore. I mean, I knew that."

"Yeah, I guess." The driver dipped out of the mirror.

"I saw her," she said.

He played with the tachometer.

"I saw her five or six times. She wasn't much to look at. Now I mean that. First few times I saw her I didn't say a thing. I thought maybe she just wasn't fixed up. She'd ride over with him to see the kids. Sit in the car. Has that sort of stringy brown hair." One hand shot up to pat at her pouffed cut. "And I saw her."

"Wasn't much to look at, huh?"

"I saw her and thought, well, you never can tell."

"You have kids then," he said.

"You can't never tell what a man's gonna want."

"I have two. Kids," he said.

"Hmmm?"

"I said I have two. You?"

"Me? Yeah. You can't never tell."

"I have me a daughter 12," he said. "And whooey, gonna have to watch that one."

"Yeah?"

"Yessir, gonna have to watch that one. My daughter."

"Yeah, I guess," she said.

He leaned close up to the mirror. "Yours not like that yet?"

"My daughter? I don't reckon she likes men much."

"No?"

"Come home from her G. A. Coronation. She's at the highest step. A Queen. In G. A.'s." She stopped. "Listen at me," she said. "G. A.'s is a sort of girls' club they have down at the church — Girls' Auxiliary."

"Don't tell me. I'm Baptist too, I know all about Queens. What is it, 'Faith, hope and purity?'"

"Came home one night from church and her old man had up and sold the house. Nah, I don't have to watch her."

"Then you can be glad for one thing."

"Yeah?"

"Darn right," he said. "It's about to worry my old lady to death."

"Your daughter?"

"Sure," he said. "She's got to have something to worry about. You know women."

"Yeah. I guess."

"I mean," he paused, "now that it's too late to be worrying about me."

"Come again," she said.

"It's true," he said.

"A good-looking man like you. Hmmp! I

wouldn't stop worrying," she said.

"Nope?" he grinned.

"It's never too late for a good-looking man like you."

"Aw, now, celebrating our twenty-fifth wedding anniversary last month, don't you think I ought to keep her?"

"Well, I can tell you right now I wouldn't stop worrying."

"And after all, I mean, 25 years. I mean, she's all right."

"Yeah, I bet," she said.

"She's a fine girl."

"That's real sweet," she said.

"You'd like her."

"Well," she said.

Her sigh was so prolonged that his hand slipped automatically to check the lever of his hydraulic door. "Yep," he said, the silver of his wedding band clicking with its vibrations. "Guess I'll have to keep her," he said.

The town ahead promised interruption, the cartons he would set off for the hospital, a cigarette and the cup of old coffee he would share with the station master, perhaps a passenger to take another of the seats up front.

"Law, law," she said. "Here we are at Gadsden and me talking your ear off when I ought to be getting my beauty sleep."

"Good company," he said and watched her tuck her feet up and rearrange her jacket across her knees. "All of us need good company." She didn't open her eyes but smiled and raised one palm to cushion her cheek against the seat.

The city was suspended from a mile of mercury lights. Arc lamps bowed before them like heliotrope losing sun. The windows clasped then fled each ray. He stopped at an intersection. She sat up.

"Twenty-five years?" She was fixed by his mirror in a diamond of light.

"Twenty-five."

"I guess I was lucky then."

"Sure," he said.

"Since he was going to leave me like he did, I'm glad I wasn't getting old."

"Sure thing," he said.

"I don't feel old."

"Nah," he said.

"Not at all," she said.

"Don't look it either," he said and pulled on toward home. □

Bonna Whitten-Stovall is a Mississippi writer now living in Brooklyn, New York.

RINKER

by Barbara Angle / an excerpt



He is a miner, a dweller of Middle Earth, betwixt and between. The molten core lies beneath him. Above . . . He is never sure what lies above, and never sure that it will stay there. The ground rumbles and heaves as he burrows into the blackness. They say it's a hell of a life. It's a good life. But only for someone with a calling to work the coal.

He wakes as the autumn dawn eases itself over the mountains, slowly saturating the paper windowshade facing his side of the bed. Morning *breaks* in the cities to the northward, cracking open the consciousness with fluorescent grit and fumes. Workers will be straining toward the end of the day before it begins. But mercifully the good life has not infiltrated the hinterlands. Dawn here is a lull. The predators of night slip away and day gathers itself in gentle shadows on the mountains. Around five o'clock a soft wind blows the new day into the valley and life stirs.

Anticipating the alarm, the man tenses his big frame on the bed and fumbles through the half-light to find the buzzer; his finger presses the snooze button and the house slumbers undisturbed.

Almost. Even in their sleep, the family knows of his stirrings, senses his waking, consciously follows the familiar routine, until he gets to the door: beyond the door lie the mines, and they cannot follow there, or even imagine.

The old lady has thrown her leg over him sometime during the night, and he eases slowly from under her warmth, from the nest of man and woman bordered by the four corners of the bed. He knows their spirits somehow merge in the night. But that will never be said. When they communicate at all, it lies mostly in the necessities, maybe in a little bickering, and the Lord spare them anything so profound as a discussion of their spirits. But there is strength for the day in the unthinkable thought, and he is grateful for the discomfort of pulling away from under her heavy body. She knows he is rising, he knows she knows; but both move on with it: she stretches out her rest; he leaves for work; neither piles acknowledgement upon the obvious.

The kids do not waken either, but passing their door he hears them toss softly and savors their warm security. Mentally he tucks blankets around the scrawny forms that absorb so much food and have so little to show for it.

A small stove light dimly shadows the kitchen. The dog beats his tail on the floor and the man is aware of being closely scrutinized as he flips the gas on beneath the coffee. Orange-blue flames lick at the dawn.

The hall is still dark, but he follows the baseboard to the bathroom, six steps, long since imbedded in memory. Cold linoleum on the feet. Cold water on the face. Mouth rinsed out with a blowing of lips, suddenly silenced in deference to the slumbering family. Stiff clothes warm to his body shape, pulled on over the boxer shorts that have doubled as pajamas. The jeans are coal-scarred, the shirt's soft flannel muted by repeated washing, the laces running the length of his leather boots have been broken and re-tied and the knots catch in the eyes. He curses them softly, reminding himself to get new ones. He has been reminding himself for a month. He ties the laces slowly, hands patient with the morning, folding the red and green stripes of the wool hunting socks over the boot tops.

In the kitchen now the coffee slaps him awake. Three-quarters of the pot goes into the aluminum thermos, dented by runaway motors and rocky dinner holes. The remainder he pours into a cup to take with him, to sip during the forty-five minute ride to work.

Time now. Taking his bucket from the fridge, Rinker slips into an old hunting jacket, watching out the door for the headlights. Blue is pretty dependable, a good man to ride with — mostly on time in the morning and no horsing around in the showers after work. A man wants to get the hell out of that place after putting in his eight, none of this bullshitting in the bathhouse like some of the younger ones.

The headlights come wallowing up the road, gathering darkness into their beams, and slide over on the shoulder directly in front of the house. With a backward flip of his hand to douse the light, the miner steps into the chill.

Blue's got the old Ford again this morning, he sees. He pulls open the door, and the sudden overhead light glares down on a haggard face behind the wheel: red glow on a cigarette and bloodshot eyes to match. Blue welcomes him with the sheepish grin of another hangover.

"Didn't get that motor into your pick-up, huh?" Rinker settles himself carefully, watching his coffee, balancing the cup as the Ford grumbles off the shoulder onto the road.

"Nah. Had it all jacked up and ready to pull, when that fool Slade showed up with Hawkbeak. Said he had a falling out with his woman, so we all went out and tied one on."

"Feeling a little rough?"

"Stiffer than a wedding dick. Gotta stop that shit. Too hard on a man."

Rinker grins into the steam from his coffee. He's heard it all before. He'll hear it all again. The headlights fade into early daylight. Pick-ups and four-wheel-drives begin to clutter the road.

"What did Slade and her get into over this time?"

"Ain't no woman ever gonna get *that* boy to the altar. No way. . . . He must of had about half a load when he went to pick her up yesterday afternoon. Drove her out to Watkins Flat. He's gonna get him a little, you know, and he takes some cherry vodka along for her. Sweet, you know. Greases the skids, he says."

"Likes that shit, don't he?"

"Vodka? Or the puss?" Blue chuckles at his joke

and reaches down to flip off the CB chattering unintelligibly from under the dash.

“Yeah, he likes his booze, but I guess he has to take cherry flavor with that broad – nearest he’ll ever get to the real thing. . . . Anyway she must of started in on him about that little redhead out at Kimberly he used to go with. Gets on him about liking redheads. He says, hell, yeah, he likes ‘em flame-topped, and says how would she like to try being a bottle redhead instead of a bottle blond – and then the damn fool upchucks the whole pint all over her.”

Rinker shakes his head, trying not to visualize the vomit and the cherry syrup in the girl’s hair.

“Can you *picture* that,” Blue says. “Said she threw a fit. Can’t see as I blame her. And then she gave him back the ring he got her. She should of known better, that thing costs five hundred bucks. Well, you know what kind of temper Slade’s got – he gets out and pitches the ring into the creek. Doesn’t even look to see where it lands. Just up and marches off. Said he looked back and she was down on her knees in the water, still had that stuff all over her head.”

Blue wheezes, something that passes for laughter, gravelly with dust and old booze. “That boy ain’t *right*. God help the woman that gets him. Thirty-two years old and not one damn bit of sense.”

“Sense enough not to get tied down.”

For a while, they are quiet, each sorting through his own mind. The work to be done. Wife. Kids. The way it is. The way it’s supposed to be. The way they all told you it would be and the reality you planned to avoid. And here it is, just like Pa. Six o’clock in the morning, another winter coming, and driving to the pits in a beat-up old car with a beat-up old buddy, just like he did. Breathing getting harder all the time, wife getting meaner, kids more ornery by the day. The comfort of the early morning slides away, slips out of his grasp.



Coal grime blackens the shoulders of the road. Leaves flash grit. They are in the home stretch: the mine is close. The strip jobs are hauling already and the Ford gets stuck behind a big Mack on the upgrade. Blue pushed past on the straight, and then on the downhill the truck catches them and comes barreling up to within a foot or two, a quick shot on the air horn just for old times’ sake, and Rinker turning in his seat can see the truck driver leering.

“Goddam killers,” Blue says, checking his mirror. “Oughta make them haul on the side roads.” He jams the accelerator and with a horrible clacketing of valves the Ford pulls away.

“Want to stop at the crossroads?” Blue asks.

Rinker studies on this. He doesn’t really need anything except the realization of the day that comes with stopping to mingle with people, saying hello, getting hazed. But you have to have a better reason than that for stopping.

“Yeah, I could use some work gloves. Go through a pair every week on those motors, handling supplies.” He forgets again about the broken boot laces,

Blue brakes at the gas station that serves as pit stop, home base, touchstone and improvised union hall for the boys of Local 2487. He pulls over quickly as the Mack goes thundering by, and stops on the shoulder to avoid navigating the maze of vehicles parked around the store.

Some of the customers work at the local power plant, and Rinker doesn’t know them all personally. But he can easily pick out the miners. Beyond dress and mannerisms, a man knows his own, has his own sense developed after working underground. You can smell the coal on them.

“There’s Buckeye. Running a little late this morning, ain’t he?”

“Ain’t no goddam sense a man getting to work as early as he does. Must love that damn place.”

Blue remains slouched behind the wheel.

“You coming? Want anything?”

Same problem for Blue: no real reason to stop, but he craves the first contacts of the day too. “Yeah,” he says, “I guess I will. Thompson’s due for a new batch of pussy pictures.”

The early daylight mixes incongruously with the orange lights strung around the station. The place looks boisterous, a dusty carnival atmosphere accentuated by the flux of men and their bantering. Blue joins a cluster at the magazine rack, flipping pages, nudging each other to inspect some particularly extravagant display of airbrushed womanhood. Few of them bought the magazines. *Old lady catches you with something like that, your ass is grass.* Thompson didn't much care. The magazines got them into the store. A little gravy. What with all the women going into the mines now, said he was going to start stocking *Playgirl*: "Let 'em look at all those rubber-dicked fags and they'll appreciate a real man."

Rinker took up at the end of the line edging toward the cash register and studied the display of work gloves tacked to the wall behind the counter. *Blue Boys* were the best, he figured. Thick enough to be warm, not so thick as to be clumsy. Men in front of him bought, paid, moved on – each purchase saying something about the buyer's life.

"Tin of *Skool*."

"Dunno how the hell you can use that stuff."

"Tell you who can cure you of snuffin' for sure. Ol' Davies gave Gibbons a womp on the back the other day, made him swallow the whole wad. Gibbons got so sick they had to take him out."

A miner piles candy bars, plastic-coated pre-fab sandwiches and a collection of junk food on the counter.

"Your old lady still ain't packing you a bucket, Redbird? You must of really got her pissed this time."

Redbird grins and shrugs. Absence of a bucket is a sure sign of marital rift. And it's always the man's fault. Just ask any man. Or ask any woman for that matter. A man gets kicked out of the house. He gets *cut off*. He gets nagged, hassled, driven to drink. So, obviously, he must have done something wrong. You don't get punished for nothing. Do you?

A woman miner is next in line. She asks for fifteen fireballs and two packs of bubblegum. The men watch her, some with amusement. One or two shake their heads. But today they don't say anything. Through persistence, women have won some acceptance, mostly on the order of accepting a cold – if you can't shake it off, might as well endure it. And they do liven things up a bit sometimes.

Rinker steps to the counter.

"Pair of *Blue Boys*, please."

Waits for it to start. And is not disappointed.

"Christ, Rinker," from somewhere behind him. "You don't do enough work to get your hands dirty. What do you want to go spend money on gloves for?"

"His old lady don't like them rough hands grabbing at her love handles. Right, Jake?"

Rinker says nothing. Thompson's wife puts the gloves on the counter and accepts his money. Her face is impassive. She registers neither mirth nor disapproval nor anything else. She is immune to the miners, a grey presence, moving and shuffling through merchandise and money. Today Rinker is aware of her for no good reason. He finds himself trying to picture her and Thompson in bed. Her arms and legs stick out under Thompson like a mannequin. Thompson pumps, fixing his eyes on the wall, on a pin-up from one of his pussy books. There is a heave . . . there is a heave at his back from the man behind him, nudging him.

"Hey, Jake, you gonna stare at that change all day? Get a move on, will ya?"

He glances, embarrassed, at the woman, and sees her looking at him, accusation all over her face – or so he thinks – as if she knows his mind, and he turns and hurries out, a red flush mounting, saturating the oversized pores of his face. Blue ambles out behind him, shaking his head as they climb into the Ford.

"Christ, Rinker! What are you all *red* for? Didn't know you was looking at that foxy little centerfold over my shoulder. Gotta admit, that was some decent-looking snatch there. Wonder why they can't hire us some of that, instead of them tight-ass flat-titty biddies we got . . ."

Rinker shakes his head, still trying to clear the image out of his mind. And he wonders how he and Mona look when they do it. Pretty funny, probably – that big rear of hers rolling around and him pouring out sweat.

He stares out the window, seeing nothing, oblivious to Blue's continuing monologue on the salient characteristics of the women working at their mine. Why was nothing like it was supposed to be? Surely everybody couldn't be screwed up the way they all were . . . he was. God has a plan. God has a plan. Heard that so *many* times when he was a child. What kind of God would have a plan like that . . .

" . . . dear . . ." he hears Blue saying.

"What?"

“Haven’t seen many deer.”

“No,” he says stupidly, staring out the window as if expecting to see a herd of them. “No. That’s right.”

“Must be heading for the back country. You know how they can tell when you’ve walked across their trail – must be they can tell when it’s getting into hunting season. You taking any time off?”

“Huh?”

“Said, you gonna do some hunting?”

“Yeah. Saved up my sick days.”

“Wish I had. Just have to lose some pay, I guess. Don’t figure there’ll be too many working. Couple company sucks. Maybe them women. That’s about it.”

Blue slithers the Ford off the highway onto the mine road, a rutted rockstrewn rosary of obstacles. The Ford chokes on dust, gasps through potholes, expels black smoke, shudders and pounds with the sounds of old shock absorbers and metal eating metal somewhere in the clutch. Rinker holds onto the dash to steady himself and both men curse: a ritual.

“Sure beats hell out of a car.”

“Say they’re going to fix it.”

“They say *shit!*”

Parking for the union men is around back of the bath house, a bulldozed sea of mud, exposed to the wind. In mid-winter half the miners coming off will have to cope with dead batteries. Jumper cables are a man’s best friend. Now in the autumn the rains can brew a soup of mire and muck. Blue spins into a couple of parking ruts – more like troughs.

“Hope to hell we can get out of here later.”

“Couple of weeks from now we’ll be getting froze right into that stuff.”

“Goddam cheap sonofabitching company anyway.”

There is enough of the day now to give a sense of its being. Blue sky has crystal iridescence. Milk glass spins through a fall coolness, clearness; a perfect day, Rinker thinks, a day one should hold in the hand and relish.



But the whine of the tippie deadens pleasure. The black pitmouth grins gap-toothed. The men heading into the bath house have reluctance written all over them, in the upward movement of their heads, eyes studying October as if there were a message written across the sky.

“Hell of a day for a strike.”

“Wouldn’t take much,” Rinker says. “Except everyone’s a little hungry.”

Blue grunts. It’s answer enough.

Setting lunch buckets to one side of the lamp-house, they clock in, filing by rows of caplights and batteries recharging in the racks. The cinder-block shower room echoes with voices and the clank of chains as miners lower their work clothes by pulley from the rafters where they have been hanging.

Rinker passes the foremen’s office, noting the white hats jotting down instructions, testing safety lamps. The general mine foreman perches on the edge of his desk, one leg swinging back and forth, the cold fluorescent lighting bouncing off his bald head. He has the posture of a feudal lord overseeing his vassals. Rinker, catching his eye momentarily,

flips him the finger for the simple satisfaction of doing something slanderous.

Two hundred bodies in various stages of deterioration cram the shower room. The ritual never varies much: men freely studying each other's anatomy, freely critiquing what they see. The man who dresses next to Rinker isn't nicknamed Donkeydick for nothing, and he leers happily as Rinker strips down to his shorts.

"Hey, you don't need to be ashamed of that little nubbin of yours, Rinker. You got enough to work with. You can just *tickle* 'em to death."

Rinker has heard some variation of this theme nearly every day, as long as Donkeydick has been there, and will hear it every day until one or the other of them gets fired or changes shifts or quits or retires or gets killed. With an organ like that, Donkeydick is technically entitled to cast aspersions on Rinker and anybody else, although Rinker has the uneasy feeling that the man may have other things in mind. But you never called a union brother on that. Maybe a foreman, but with a miner, joking about being a switchhitter didn't get it.

Rinker turns his back and faces the wall as he dresses. Donkey watches for a moment, then slowly begins to clothe himself.

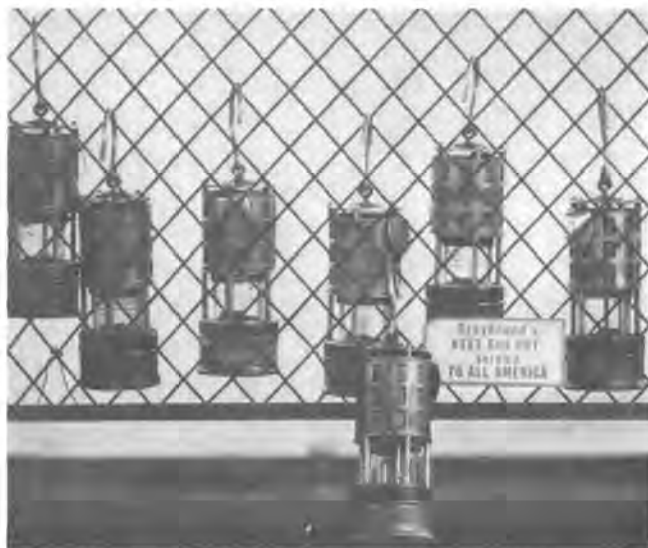
A few miners from the midnight shift are already in the shower even though it's a half hour yet to quitting time. A man can get away with a lot working midnights, get in a lot of rack time. But those hours were hard on a married man. Contract ought to limit the shift to young bucks. . . .

After lacing his rubber boots, Rinker sashes through the shower water puddling the uneven concrete floor. The brass number on his miner's belt identifies him as 32, and he removes the corresponding battery and caplight from the rack in the lamphouse. With the light clipped onto his hardhat, he buckles the battery to his belt.

A cord runs up his back from the battery to the light. The whole apparatus is strangely comfortable, the belt positioning itself on a miner's body to best accommodate his work habits. Blue's cinches his waist tightly; Rinker's rides the hips loosely, rising and falling with the swing of his body as he loads supplies on the motors. He carries a pair of wire cutters in the belt attachment which holds his self-rescuer, and the new *Blue Boys* cushion his chest under the bib overalls. He likes the good sensuous feeling of leather low on the hips, quickening with motion, echoing the muscle pull in his legs.

Most of the miners dress quickly, looking forward to lounging on the mantrips for a few minutes – a last chance to appreciate the day. To call them mountain men would be romantic exaggeration. But they are men of the back country, tied to the seasons, the tides of weather, the rising of moons, their moods altering with the Earth's turning and the skittishness of wildlife. They trust instinct over reason, custom over innovation, union over management, and, most of them, hell over an uncertain heaven.

Blue is still in the bathhouse and Rinker will not see him again for eight hours. Blue works the belt-line to the tipple, while Rinker's supply work may take him through the entire mine, running the length of its umbilical cords – the track on which his motor toils. He has little truck with the belts, although occasionally he will go to the face area – when the mood is right and there are no foremen on his back – to watch the actual mining.



Day is full now, and outside the lamphouse Rinker stretches in the brisk air, shaking his legs, feeling the pull of the heavy boots, the tightening of muscles. The men are sprawled on jitneys. Invincibility is strong upon them; they are healthy and primed; it is Friday: payday.

Fall air has initiated the seasonal change of garb. In the transition season of autumn and spring the mine is damp and the miners respond with heavier clothes, fresh and bright. Eccentricities of dress give each miner at least some individuality. Few wear the practical coveralls; most tell something about themselves by their choice of jeans, bibs, old sport coats tattooed with insignias, miners' jackets,

kerchiefs. One of the miners, Cricket, is insulated with so much fat that he only needs a T-shirt. Today's proclaims that "Jesus is coming . . . and is He pissed!" The man has an enormous belly. The shirt rides up, the belt drops down, and an extroverted navel emerges. Throughout the day the inexorable force of gravity will pull at his double-knit pants. Already one can see the cleavage of Cricket's stupefying buttocks. By the end of the shift, most of both cheeks will be on display.

Rinker leans against the chain-link fence surrounding the oxygen and acetylene tanks. His buddy and fellow motorman, Giorgio, ambles over and sits down on a discarded wooden cable spool.

"Too damn pretty for this hell hole today," he observes, lighting a cigarette. Rinker nods, making a mental note to count the number of cigarettes Giorgio smokes in the course of the day. Sometimes it's a couple of packs. He figures that's why the boy sticks with the motor job, even though he's got enough seniority to bid up. The motormen continually shuttle in and out of the mine for supplies, getting a lot of opportunities for smokes. For Rinker the attraction of the job is simply the chance to get outside, to breathe fresh air from time to time. But it's hellish work in the winter when the air intake at the pit mouth takes the temperature down far below zero. With the wind chill factor — the fans suck the air into the mine at something like 20 miles an hour — they say it's like a temperature of 70 below zero. Coldest goddam place in the world, this mountain in winter. It has a personal thing with the wind. Every year about this time Rinker remembers what the last winter was like and starts thinking about bidding on an underground job before the first snow. He broaches the idea to Giorgio obtusely.

"Got a lot of jobs posted in there."

"For second shift." Giorgio makes a face. "They can have that second shift. Good for sleeping, I guess, but not much else."

Rinker nods slowly. He's heard this reasoning many times and reflects on it. Working three to eleven, he wouldn't see much of the kids. And Mona wouldn't like it — him lying in bed of a morning while she was getting the kids off to school and starting in on her day. Of course, the same reasoning told him that just the opposite was true now — her sleeping in while he hoisted himself into the mornings unassisted. But time had made that a way of life.

He felt a dryness in his mouth and probed with his tongue, exploring the hollow in a back tooth

which was beginning to bother him. Its jagged edges sucked on his tongue. One more damn thing.

"Giorgio, give me a smoke."

The motorman raised his eyebrows at this unusual request but passed him a pack of Camels. Cupping his hand against the wind, Rinker lit the cigarette with Giorgio's lighter and blew smoke toward his boots, arms folded, studying the ground, still thinking about the second shift.

The worst of it, he figured, would be the loss of that brief morning time alone, the quiet time when he had the world to himself for some little bit. There was much to be said for the Earth's grant of privacy before everyone else had a go at it. The thought didn't form itself in these words exactly. Didn't form itself at all: he did not know exactly what losses would be involved, knew only that some source of strength would pass from him.



"You figuring on bidding onto second?" Giorgio asks. He isn't especially perceptive, but getting an inside job for the winter was a familiar ploy.

Rinker finds himself shaking his head. Apparently he has settled the question.

"No," he says. "I figure I'll stick it out. Maybe we won't have a rough winter."

Rinker does not elaborate, and Giorgio sighs. Both of them know wishful thinking when they hear it. Looking out at the line of mountains, they can see the horrors of January crouched behind the fall colors.

"Figure we ought to hunt up Slim and see what he's got for us today?"

Slim is the motor boss, a gross caricature of a man, looks like a two-bit movie actor gone to seed. Rinker shakes his head, flipping away the cigarette he no longer needs: the worry and the hankering for something between his fingers is gone.

"He'll find us. That's his job. Make the dumb son of a bitch earn that fat salary they give him."

The undeclared war never ends. □



Born and raised in the coalfields of Maryland, the granddaughter of a miner, Barbara Angle went to work in the mines of West Virginia in 1975. She has been a general laborer, longwall chock-setter, and shuttle-car operator. Rinker is her first book.

snake hunt

entertainment
on late august nights

after dark
the pick-up is loaded
with flashlights & people
& a pistol is filled

for huntin' copperheads
& dirt road rattlers
in evening's chill

tonight's the night
it's felt deep in the bones
"we're gonna git 'em
things are crawlin' for sure"

like a posse tracking outlaws
vigilant eyes concentrate
on right & left hand ditches
scouring each rock & root
& fallen branch

some false alarms
halt the dusty trail miles
then continue bumping
'til the true is seen:

a winding pattern
of brown & grey
freezes
coils

wheels skid stop
both doors slam jump
everything is tension
& headlight glare

someone shouting:
"shoot 'im in the head . . .
be careful now . . .
shoot 'im in the head . . ."

& the villain lies dead

— Elizabeth Whittle
Atlanta, Georgia

A Free "Free Enterprise System"

By Bernard Rapoport

I have extracted from George Will's editorial one of the most cogent pieces of thinking that I have come across in many years. I want to share it with you.

One reason for Europe's right turn is the growing sense that a market economy is less damaging to social fraternity than is an economy politically managed for egalitarian purposes. This is so for two reasons. First, scarcity is divisive, and market systems are more apt to produce abundance. Second, the allocation of wealth and opportunity by impersonal market forces is less embittering than allocation by political decisions. These are tenets of Thatcherism, the most dramatic manifestation of Europe's right turn.

This is the justification for a free democratic, capitalistic society. That's what I am for, and I suspect it's what you are for too. We are beginning to lose it. You and I and all Americans share equally in being culpable. To a great extent we have lost our sense of purpose. We have lost our faith. Faith begins with a belief in God and then a belief in people. The "me first" philosophy which increasingly permeates our society precludes faith in either God or people. So while our society has been one which has produced more and more materially, the quality of life seems to be deteriorating. While the good old days were not as good as they seemed, tomorrow's may be worse if Americans are not firm in their resolve to regain the faith to which I alluded, and very quickly they must.

The despair, the lack of confidence in government, business, labor, and in almost anything has brought us to the point where we feel, there is an inexorability that is overwhelming us. The conclusion: There doesn't seem to be much that anyone thinks we can do to change things.

The observable phenomenon that justifies this conclusion is the fact that Americans no longer to any meaningful degree vote in elections. The only logical conclusion for this result is that they feel it doesn't make any difference who their leaders are. Now here we have a democratic society which has as its predicate that it functions at the will of the people, and the people are expressing no will.

A democratic society can function efficiently only through institutions. These institutions have to justify their existence on a daily basis in order to have the support of the American people. I am pro-government, pro-business, and pro-labor. All three form the tripod of what is requisite for a free society. I know it is fashionable to be anti-union, for example. Stop and think for a moment what unions are about. It is the attempt of a group of workers to achieve certain objectives through their collective bargaining strength, primarily better wage and working conditions. In any bargaining situation, there is always a matching of strengths. The bargaining strength of management comes about through its control of capital; and for the workers, their strength comes through being organized via a labor union. This meets the requirements for a proper collective bargaining process wherein the bargainers each have equal strength only in a different way. This process of collective bargaining is just as essential to a capitalistic, democratic society as is the right of someone to go into business for him or herself. While none of us can agree with everything that labor unions demand, neither can we agree with everything that business does. To those of us interested in preserving what we conceive to be the American way of life, we must be supportive of *both* institutions.

Here's why. Whenever we deny to any essential institution or to any group of people because of their race, religion, or place of origin, the same rights that we want for ourselves, we begin the sad and irreversible path toward dictatorship.

The problem with the John Birchers and the Ku Kluxers is that they do not delineate between licentiousness and freedom. The former is a state where anybody can do anything he wants to do and have that called freedom, which in effect is the antithesis of freedom. What we mean by freedom in the democratic sense is that citizens within the body politic freely give up certain freedoms, and in this giving up, it is then possible to achieve a meaningful free and civilized society. You and I, for example, are not free to go through a red light, to kill someone, or to defame someone.

The anomaly of our times is filled with so many contradictions. We face an economic situation in which fewer and fewer companies are dominating particular industries. Access to capital markets is increasingly difficult, and for those who want to initiate new businesses it is almost impossible. If we don't change that condition, then, of course, there is no hope for the continuance of our society as we have known it.

Think about this for a moment. Labor unions are too big and too powerful, but before we condemn, you need to ask the question, Why? It is because they have to be in order to be able to bargain with businesses that likewise are too big and too powerful. The most essential part of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* is that there would always be a sufficient number of suppliers so that no one of them could dominate a market and we would be in the position as described by George Will which said in summary that prices should be determined through the market rather than through bureaucratic, governmental actions.

Look what's happening this very day. The management of Chrysler Corporation made a number of miscalculations. Now here is a so-called free enterprise company, and when they are in trouble, to whom do they come screaming? This so-called hated thing called government! If your business or mine got into trouble, could you and I go to the government for a loan or subsidy? I don't think so. Chrysler, however, is so large and there are many jobs involved. Now you have both the company and the labor union that represents it negating the basic principle of a free democratic, capitalistic society and saying, "The stakes are too high; bad old government, you've got to save us."

Everyone is for free enterprise except when in a particular time period it inures to their detriment. Bluntly, we are either for a free enterprise system or we are not. If a business fails, so be it. The thrust of our system is that we reward the competent risk taker and the incompetent has to suffer the consequences. This system has worked well for over 200 years. I say to you, let's not change it.

I'll tell you one thing that is changing it, and that's our bureaucratic regulators. They aren't regulating, they are harassing. They are picayunish. They are indeterminate. They don't know what they want and, consequently, they don't even know how to tell us what they want us to do. They keep us so off-balance that I am sure most of you do as we do in my business. . . . spend more than half of the time trying to determine what these regulators want. The waste, the cost in direct dollars is so exorbitant that I would be embarrassed to tell you what a medium-sized company such as my own must spend for this nonproductive exercise. The regulators say to you, "Have your reports in on January 1, and if you don't, you are penalized this, that, and the

other." When the businessman writes to the regulators and asks for some information or some guidance, there is no deadline as to when the bureaucrats have to make a reply, no pressure on their being accurate. They can make wild accusations and they don't even have to defend themselves. The consumerists are worried that the costs are going up. A significant portion in every price is because of this intolerable cost of regulation.

The Federal Trade Commission comes in and says candy manufacturers shouldn't advertise candy to children and I ask why? Do parents want to abandon the obligation to raise their children properly, or do they want to delegate that responsibility to government? You and I were raised with these candy advertisements. My parents regulated how much candy could be eaten in our home and when.

Commission after commission is busy today deciding what is good and what is bad for the consumer. They want to decide what the consumer can buy, what he can't buy, and what price would be "fair" if he's even allowed to buy it. Consumer decisions based upon free market prices may not coincide with what is "good" for the consumer. Someone ought to have a little respect for the common sense of the average American working person when he is spending his own money.

The consumerists have gone way too far. They have a right to advocate that companies represent their advertising with total integrity, but they don't have a right to run the companies which too many of them are trying to do. Whether it be the regulators or the consumers, all that most businessmen ask are that the rules be clear and definitive. Ninety-five percent of them will follow these rules right to the letter. The reason businessmen don't today is that the rules are so long and esoteric that no one can understand them even with a Ph.D. degree. Most of them just plain don't make any sense. The insensitivity of the regulators just turns people off. It really does. More importantly, compliance has become so expensive that unless you are a company of some size, you can't afford the legal advice that is required to be in compliance.

We give lip service to free enterprise and then create those kinds of conditions through government and government regulation that preclude the achievement of what we assume to be one of our essential national purposes. This leads us to make a determination as to wherein the real problem lies. We have become so politicized that there is a multitude of power groups and an increasing number of single-issue groups. What this amounts to is that we have all these tremendous pulls on the social fabric and one begins questioning whether the social fabric is strong enough to withstand all of these pulls and jerks. Whether it's the white, the black, or the hispanics, the right-to-lifers or the abortionists, the gun control or the anti-gun control groups, the various religious segments, the environmentalists, the consumerists—each one is virtually committed to the precept that if they can't have their way on that one particular issue they are not going to play. We condemn the politician, and yet we say to him, "You vote any way you want to, but if you don't vote right on the particular issue that I deem important, you will not have my support." We don't ask them to be statesmen any longer, with an overall concern for this nation. We ask them only to be concerned with one particular issue. This democracy is not strong enough to survive these attitudes.

This "me first" thinking has made this nation susceptible to believing that what it wants is a strong leader. We always need

strong leadership. My concern is what do we really mean when we say we want a strong leader? I suspect that some of us are thinking in terms of someone who would be autocratic, who would caress power and use it without sensitivity to the democratic process. Some of us yearn for that kind of power leader because we have resigned ourselves to the fact that there is really nothing that we can do. And even more disastrous, too many of us have concluded that we don't even want to think about it. We want somebody else to do the thinking. Things have gotten so big that we really can't control them through the democratic process. That's the way we are currently thinking. I reject this, and I hope that you do too. Perhaps we need to give some thought to maximizing growth, but at the same time limiting the size of individual companies, especially mergers, the conglomerates and the multinationals. Once you limit size, you insure a multiplicity of businesses in each industry; and then and only then can you be assured that there will be an allocation of wealth and opportunity by impersonal market forces rather than allocation by political decisions which leads only to socialism or fascism.

Now you ask, What are some of the remedies? We have to become a nation of opportunity once again—meaningful opportunity, one that is observable, one which Americans can see emerging on a daily basis. I can tell you a glamour story of how I started an insurance company with \$25,000 that has today in excess of \$150 million in assets. I can tell you a sad story that to attempt to do this today would require a capital basis of some \$8 to \$10 million, and I am not even certain that you could do it with that. We have become too security-conscious and have traded off security for opportunity and freedom. We do want security, but any society that seeks to eliminate anxiety in the economic realm to a great extent will pay the price of losing a lot of its freedom and most of its opportunity. A thriving economy will have many job opportunities. Unemployment for those that really want to work is an intolerable situation in a free democratic, capitalistic society. Smaller businesses are more labor-intensive and provide many more jobs, and more interesting jobs too. We need to use our taxing authority to produce the kind of society that we want. Realistically Americans have to make a philosophical determination of the kind of America they want and then we have to elect those politicians that will have the courage to enact the kinds of laws that will bring this about. To get there we have to regain our faith. We have to recommit ourselves to God and to people. It's not that people were better in previous generations. It's simply that they recognized the need for one another.

We have the greatest nation on earth. Some of us don't believe this. If their numbers increase, it will in fact no longer be so. There's nothing in the good book that says America will always be the greatest nation on earth. Let's you and I resolve this very day to become advocates for a free democratic society. Let us not succumb to these single-issue groups. Let's have concern for the whole of this great country of ours. Let's not be prey to the glib answers of the John Birchers and the Ku Kluxers and the other hate groups; for this nation of ours will survive only in proportion to the extent that we can begin and continue to love one another, to have concern for one another, and to be resolute that whether one chooses to be a farmer, a laborer, a businessman, or, yes, a politician, that his right to have access to any one of these areas is always open. That's what a free America is about. We need to recommit ourselves to this precept.

 Bernard Rapoport, Chairman of the Board P.O. Box 208, Waco, Texas 76703
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TOWER OF BABEL:

A SPECIAL REPORT ON THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY

edited by Jim Overton

"Then they said, 'Come let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves.'"

Genesis 11: 4

"...the proper employment of nuclear energy facilities, materials and products can assist substantially in the industrialization of the South and the development of a balanced economy for the region."

Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, 1962

The South has long fallen prey to the purveyor of the simple solution, the savior who would lift the region from economic stagnation to new heights of prosperity and national prestige. Our history is littered with such demagogues, and though we now sneer at them with New South sophistication, we are still often blinded by the Big Promise of renewed fame and fortune. Witness the uncritical acceptance — and prideful defense — of Jimmy Carter by even the liberal-minded Southerner. More importantly, witness the region's love affair with nuclear power.

Impressed by the flood of money and jobs which followed the creation of the Manhattan Project's Oak Ridge, Tennessee, complex, Southern policy makers set out to erect an infrastructure that would support the growing nuclear industry. In 1951, North Carolina State University opened its Pulstar Reactor, the first research and training nuclear power reactor on a college campus. Pensacola Junior College in Florida later began the nation's first junior college reactor program. Texas launched the first state nuclear development operation, and Charleston, South Carolina, became the first port in the nation authorized to handle radioactive materials.

In 1955, Florida governor Leroy Collins issued a call for a regional conference "to deal with the feasibility of united

action in the development of industrial opportunities in the South, through nuclear energy, research and otherwise." The 1956 Southern Governors Conference organized the country's first regional nuclear promotion agency, successively called the Southern Regional Advisory Council on Nuclear Energy, the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board and now the Southern States Energy Board.

Private industry and the federal government responded to the lure of financial incentives and the muscle of Southern Congressmen by opening military-related facilities in the region. By the middle 1950s, Southern utilities began pooling their resources to boost the commercial uses of nuclear power. The nuclear equipment industry soon followed, opening new factories in the region to produce the building blocks essential for nuclear reactors — turbine generators, pressurizers, steam generators, fabricated fuel.

With the welcome mat still out, it was only logical that the tail end of the nuclear fuel cycle — radioactive waste — also made the South its home. In 1962, the Nuclear Engineering Company opened a commercial low-level waste dump in Maxey Flats, Kentucky. Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas officials, with the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, encouraged the federal government to store high-level wastes in the states' salt domes. In 1970, Chem-Nuclear Systems opened a low-level dump in Barnwell, South Carolina. And Allied

General Nuclear Services began constructing the world's largest commercial fuel reprocessing facility, also in Barnwell.

Recent revelations of leaks and inadequate plans for long-term storage of wastes have produced the first cracks in the Southern tower of power. As South Carolina governor Richard Riley says, "All it takes to make a pro-nuclear governor anti-nuclear is to propose putting a waste dump in his backyard." Louisiana has banned high-level waste disposal in the state, and North Carolina officially told the federal government to look elsewhere for disposal sites.

But the promise of jobs and threat of blackouts still work on most Southern politicians. "I have said repeatedly that I support the use of conventional nuclear reactors as an important source of electrical energy," says Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander. "In light of our reliance on an abundant supply of electrical energy, I see no alternative to the use of nuclear power production."

This continuing faith in nuclear technology has made the South the most nuclearized region of the country, with:

- 19 operating reactors that produce roughly 10 percent of its electricity; by 1990, the region may depend on nuclear power for over 25 percent of its electricity;
- a large number of nuclear-related industries whose workers are now laid off or are faced with layoffs;
- the four key facilities — Oak Ridge, the Savannah River Plant, Pantex Plant and Pinellas Plant — essential to the production of the nation's entire nuclear weapons arsenal;
- well over one-half the nation's commercial low-level wastes at Chem-Nuclear and Maxey Flats;
- approximately 30 percent of the nation's high-level military wastes and 40 percent of low-level military wastes at the Oak Ridge and Savannah River Plant;
- numerous rock formations targeted by the Department of Energy as likely sites for high-level waste depositories, particularly salt domes in Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas;
- an equal number of rock deposits, many in the same locations as the waste sites, which could spawn a sizable uranium mining and milling industry within the next 20 years; and
- numerous shipments of low- and high-level radioactive materials from facilities all around the nation traversing the South's highways each day.

It may seem ludicrous to cite a Bible lesson to the proponents of the nuclear dream, but there is, perhaps, no better parallel for the arrogant madness with which these architects of a new order have pursued their cause. On a foundation of greed and pride, they strive to build a monument to the infallible wisdom of technology; they claim their blueprint for a nuclear future serves the common interest of all humanity, and they mask its weaknesses with tons of concrete and reams of scientific gobbledeygook.

Yet, the builders of the modern Tower of Babel have only confirmed the fallibility, and precarious existence, of the human race, as well as the devious powers of scientific management to divide people (workers vs. environmentalists, etc.) for greater private profit.

Every day brings new revelations of the dangers and mismanagement of nuclear technology. It is not our primary purpose to add to that overwhelming evidence, but rather to reveal the scope of the industry in the South and the impor-

ance of the region to the larger nuclear dream/nightmare. By documenting the various aspects of the nuclear power industry and their impact on local communities, we hope to suggest a number of problems often overlooked in discussions of the safety or efficiency of nuclear energy — and several areas for fruitful organizing by anti-nuclear activists.

The report is divided into three sections; the first, and largest, details the South's involvement in each phase of the fuel cycle, from uranium mining to waste disposal. The second section focuses on the region's private electric utility companies, which use their entrenched political and financial connections to buttress the crumbling supports for nuclear power. Charts on each utility provide a further glimpse of how the companies operate, and can be useful resource material in attacking the company's public image and nuclear program. The section concludes with two articles on organizing situations which have involved constituencies not often part of anti-nuclear campaigns — rural Appalachians and Deep South blacks.

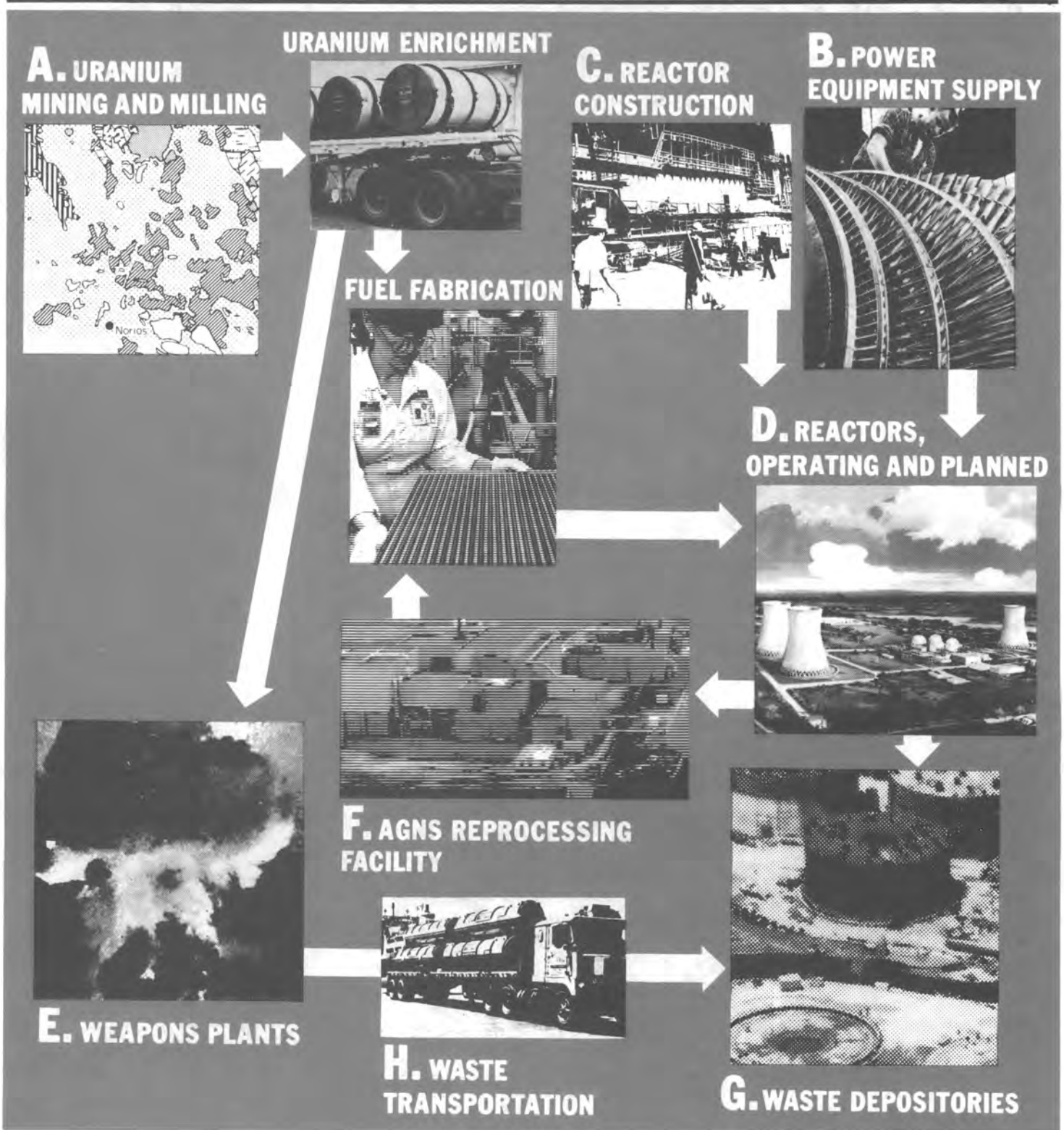
The final section explores a little noticed but rapidly developing trend: public power agencies purchasing a share of privately built nuclear reactors. For years, utility activists have looked to consumer-owned power organizations — municipal electric systems and rural electric cooperatives — to provide a workable alternative to the investor-owned utilities. But in case after case, the public utilities succumb to the false promise of cheap power, bail out nuclear projects and abandon their political and economic independence from the private utilities.

Without explicitly detailing the dangers of nuclear power, we hope that our documentation of the sheer magnitude of this concentration of nuclear-related facilities will stir Southerners to better understand and challenge the serious threat nuclear power poses for the region, nation and world. Very few people, other than utility executives, power equipment manufacturers and a handful of bankers, still believe men can use their clever inventions to twist and distort the natural order of the elements for a quick rush of profits and then control the destructive side effects for eternity. It is time, as several posters at a recent demonstration declared, to "Take the Toys Away From the Boys" — before their destructive creation falls on all of us.



The South now hosts many of the most important parts of the nation's nuclear fuel cycle. From uranium mining to waste disposal, this section of our report tours the region's involvement in the cycle and the industry's plans for future Southern operations. The last series of articles explores one of the most vulnerable points in the cycle – the transportation of radioactive wastes – and the ways local organizers are effectively challenging the entire system of nuclear power by focusing on transportation issues.

The Nuclear Fuel Cycle



A.

Mining the South's Uranium

For good reason, anti-nuclear activists are increasingly concerned about the mining and milling of uranium. Health disorders — particularly lung cancer — have crippled miners in the Western states at an alarming rate. The radon gas trapped in uranium deposits decays to highly toxic “daughters” when the ore is mined and crushed during milling. Nothing can prevent this radioactive decay, and nothing can protect the uranium miners and millers from suffering, after a lapse of several years, from an abnormally high incidence (five times the normal rate) of lung cancer.

The dangers do not stop with the workers. The waste products from the milling process, known as “mill tailings,” contain high concentrations of radium and other radioactive products. Piled near the mills, the fine, granular tailings are free to blow away and contaminate drinking water, flora and fauna — and people. In the past, the sand-like substance has even been used as filler in building thousands of homes and schools. Some scientists, noting the highly toxic thorium (half-life of 80,000 years) and radon that is released into the air from these piles, conclude that mill tailings alone are more dangerous than all the other problems associated with the operation of a nuclear power plant.

The long-term dangers of mining and milling are now well documented. Under pressures from citizens in the uranium-rich Western states, several federal and state agencies are scurrying to make an impossible situation more tolerable.

In the near future the South will bear a much larger share of the burdens of mining and milling uranium. Texas already ranks fourth in the production of uranium ore — and because ore is stripped from the earth, the state suffers from the additional problems of strip-mining that have long plagued

Appalachia's coal mining region. Florida's phosphate industry extracts uranium from the wastes of phosphoric acid production. Together, these states now mine only about three percent of the uranium produced in this country, but they have much larger potential for future exploration.

Furthermore, other Southern states have rock formations currently under investigation by Department of Energy (DOE) geologists; the total uranium potential of the region is as yet unknown, but a careful reading of industry and government documents indicates that commercial uranium mining (and related milling processes) will mushroom in the South — and particularly the Appalachian mountains — within the next 10 years.

Here is a rundown of existing uranium-mining operations, with a few comments on the future potential of different regions:

Florida

Phosphate mining is a flourishing industry in western Florida, primarily around the Lakeland-Tampa area. The waste from phosphoric acid production contains concentrations of 0.01 to 0.02 percent uranium ore. Beginning in 1975, the Uranium Recovery Corporation (a subsidiary of the United Nuclear Corporation) started to extract uranium from the materials produced by the phosphate industry. The plant had produced less than 1,000 tons by 1977, but federal officials have estimated that as much as 3,000 tons of uranium should be recoverable annually from Florida phosphates.

Now other industries have begun exploration in the area. Westinghouse, Gardiner, Inc., the Freeport Minerals Company and Gulf Oil are all investigating the possibility of extracting uranium ore from the area.

Texas

Uranium ore was first discovered in

Texas in 1954. In 1959, the Climax Molybdenum Company opened the state's first uranium mining operation — an open-pit mine in Karnes County. Mining now takes place in Karnes, Duval and Live Oak Counties in the coastal plain region of southeast Texas. Active mining companies include Union Carbide, U.S. Steel, Continental Oil, Westinghouse and Exxon Nuclear. Texas currently ranks fourth in the United States in uranium production and third in known reserves; the state also contains slightly less than 10 percent of the *probable*, *possible* and *speculative* reserves currently identified by the Department of Energy.*

Open-pit, or strip, mining was the process used in the first mines opened in Texas. This process has provoked considerable opposition in the state; now, producers have opted for “in-situ solution mining” — injecting oxygen-rich water into ore body sands to dissolve the uranium, withdrawing the resulting liquid through an adjacent well, and separating out the uranium. However, geologists have predicted that over 30 percent of the identified reserves in Texas will have to be strip-mined; 35 percent will involve underground mining, and only 24 percent the less environmentally dangerous solution mining.

Aside from existing mines, Texas has a nearly unlimited potential for further uranium exploration. The entire south Texas coastal plain, in a 50-mile-wide strip roughly 75 to 100 miles inland from the Gulf Coast, has suitable rock formations that indicate the presence of recoverable uranium deposits. Extreme southwest Texas, along the Mexican border slightly east of El Paso, has several rock deposits termed speculative sites.

* “Probable” reserves are those predicted in regions already producing uranium, “possible” in rock formation types that have been productive, and “speculative” in areas and formation types previously unproductive.

The west Texas panhandle and the Texas-Oklahoma border region are credited with 14,000 tons of speculative uranium resources. Texas geologists anticipate identification of other likely resources in each of these areas in the near future.

South Central States

Ironically, the very same salt dome region being considered for nuclear waste repositories also rates high on the list of potential uranium-producing areas. Louisiana, Mississippi, east Texas and southwest Alabama all contain coastal region salt domes that could bear economically recoverable uranium. Furthermore, DOE has identified one possible site in central Arkansas and is investigating the sedimentary rocks of north-central Arkansas for further uranium possibilities.

Southeastern States

In 1975, Professors John Dennison and Walter Wheeler of the University of North Carolina Geology Department summarized the existing information on rock deposits in the Southeast and targeted six areas with fluvial sandstone formations as the most promising sources of uranium. They are:

a) "Black Creek Group" — Includes the entire coastal plain of North Carolina and parts of the coastal plains of northern South Carolina and southern Virginia. Phosphate areas along the

North Carolina-South Carolina border could yield uranium in a process similar to that used in Florida.

b) "Newark Group" — A series of Triassic basins in North Carolina and Virginia: the Deep River Basin in North Carolina, running southwesterly from Granville County to Anson County; the Dan River Basin, running northeasterly from Stokes County, North Carolina, to Campbell County, Virginia; the Farmville Basin in Cumberland County, Virginia; the Richmond Basin around Richmond, Virginia; and the Culpeper Basin in northern Virginia.

c) "Dunkard Group" — Located in northern West Virginia, along the Ohio and Pennsylvania borders.

d) "Pottsville Group" — Runs from Pennsylvania to Alabama, in the Appalachian mountains and includes large portions of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and southwest Virginia.

e) "Mauch Chunk — Pennington Group" — Underlies the Pottsville Group and encompasses roughly the same territory.

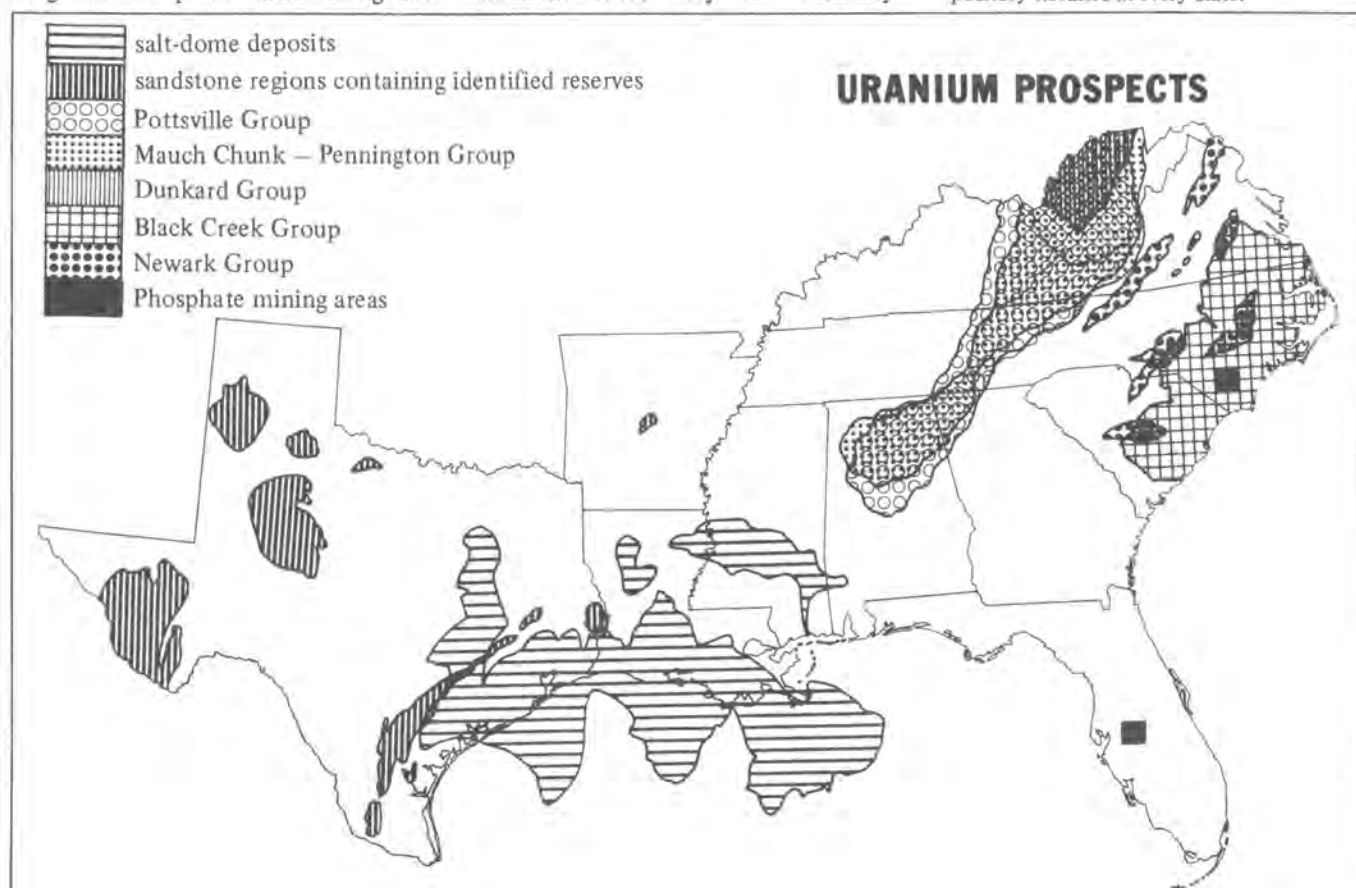
f) "Hampshire Formation" — Part of the Catskill Complex in Maryland, eastern West Virginia and northern Virginia.

So far, DOE lists only two areas — Grandfather Mountain and Spruce Pine, N.C. — in its list of speculative uranium sites; they are currently

expected to yield at least 14,000 tons of uranium annually. However, much more extensive exploration has been undertaken since the 1976 listing. In 1978, more than 20 companies were exploring the mountains of North Carolina and surrounding states for uranium potential. And DOE is currently investigating many sites in each of these regions of the country as part of its National Uranium Resource Evaluation (NURE) report, due in 1981.

Unless a strong effort is made to stop mining, or nuclear power itself is halted, there is little question about the accuracy of Professor Dennison's recent prediction that "commercial uranium production from one or more localities will occur within 10 years." Then the South, like the West, will come face to face with one of the most menacing aspects of the nuclear industry. □

For further information on uranium mining in the Southern states, and more detailed maps of likely uranium-bearing areas, see *Geology of Alternative Energy Resources in the South-Central United States*, edited by Michael D. Campbell (Houston: Houston Geological Society, 1977), and *Stratigraphy of Precambrian Through Cretaceous Strata in Southeastern United States and Their Potential as Uranium Host Rocks*, by John M. Dennison and Walter W. Wheeler (Southeastern Geology Special Publication No. 5, July, 1975). See also occasionally published NURE research reports available in federal document depository libraries in every state.



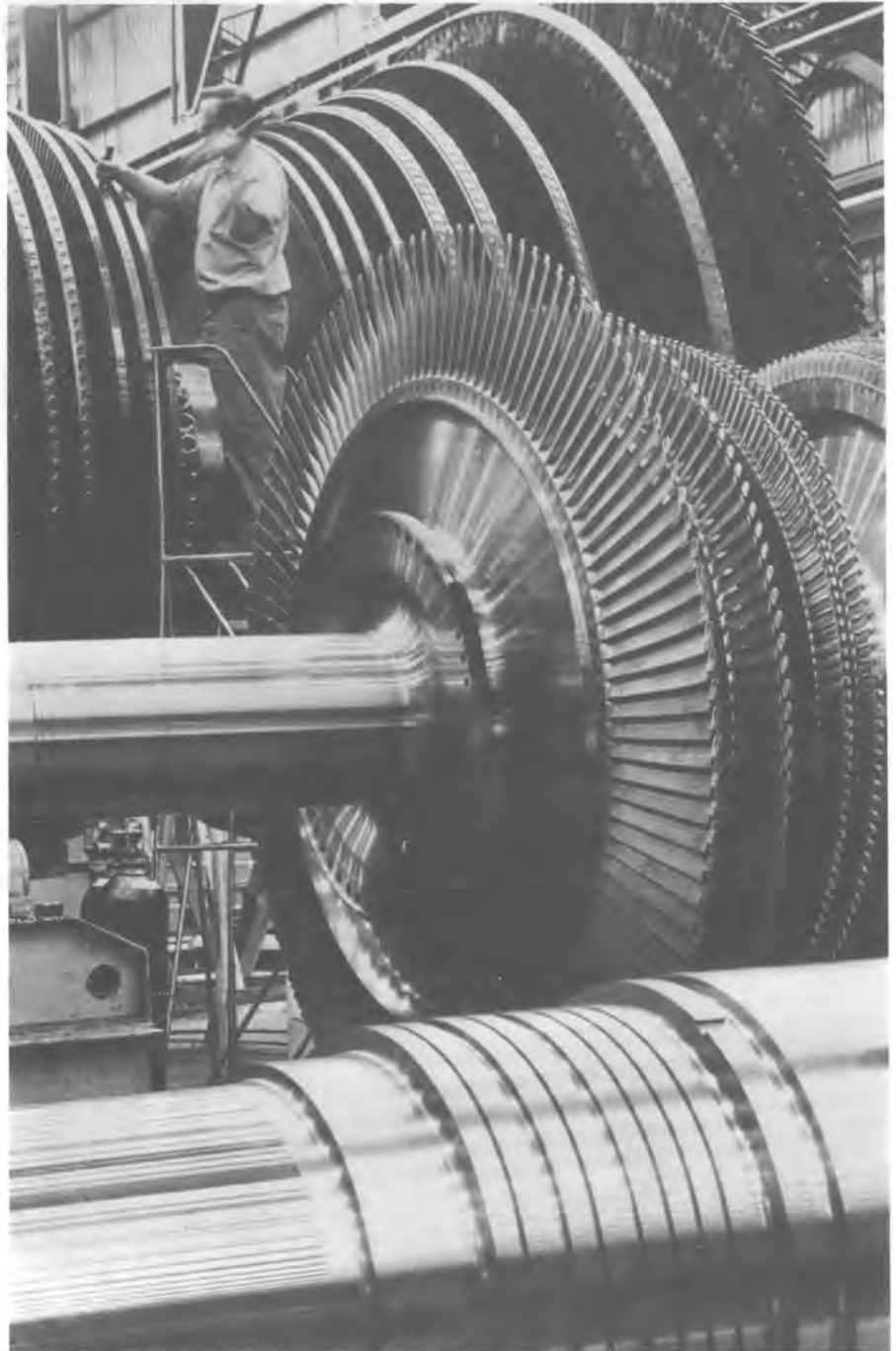
B.

Power Equipment Moves South

The end of World War II brought rapid expansion to the infant nuclear power industry. Arguing strongly against the "socialistic" nature of government control of the nuclear industry, corporations quickly harnessed both the peaceful and the warfare atom for private profit, first through the nuclear submarine fleet of Admiral Hyman Rickover and then through the commercial nuclear power industry in the 1960s.

Shortly after the end of the war, major nuclear-related government facilities opened in the South: the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina and the massive uranium enrichment facilities in Paducah, Kentucky, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Oak Ridge's nuclear weapon and research operations also expanded rapidly. These government operations were followed by the construction of the first privately owned nuclear facilities. Babcock & Wilcox began a fuel processing plant in Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1955, and in 1957 Nuclear Fuel Services opened its Erwin, Tennessee, plant. Both facilities supplied fuel for the burgeoning nuclear submarine fleet.

Several companies saw the potential not only in serving the government's nuclear needs, but also in the rise of a commercial power industry. From the mid-1950s on, large corporations scrambled to gain a share of what promised to be the profit bonanza of the last half of the century: nuclear power generation equipment. But as with all other facets of making and marketing the massive machines for electric power generating, control quickly centralized in the hands of the industry's big two: General Electric (eighth in the *Fortune* 500) and Westinghouse (29th). Both led the way in corporate promotion of nuclear power; they rapidly cornered most of the market for themselves — and then squared off to fight each other for larger shares of the business.



An employee at Westinghouse's Charlotte, North Carolina, plant putting finishing touches on a steam turbine-generator blade.

The market for commercial nuclear power did not develop overnight, however. Even after the 1957 passage of the Price-Anderson Act protecting reactor operators from financial liability in the event of a major accident, utilities remained reluctant to invest in nuclear reactors until the economic advantages of these plants were more certain. So GE and Westinghouse developed the concept of the "turnkey contract" — for a set fee with no cost-escalator clauses, these equipment manufacturers would design, manufacture and install the reactors themselves; once the plant was completed, the utility could simply turn the key to the front door, walk in and begin operations.

These deals had a catch for the sellers: the price the utilities paid for turnkey reactors was far less than the actual cost to GE and Westinghouse; in some cases the company lost as much as \$100 million on a single reactor job. However, since the reactor divisions of both these multi-billion dollar corporations represented only a fraction of their total operations — roughly three percent at General Electric and seven percent at Westinghouse — they could absorb substantial losses on these early turnkey contracts in order to convince skeptical utilities of the economic advantages of nuclear power. A 1976 study by University of Chicago professor Albert Wohlstetter concluded that GE and Westinghouse each lost over \$500 million on their first few years of domestic reactor manufacture. (Wohlstetter also found that principal competitors Babcock & Wilcox and Combustion Engineering each lost over \$100 million.)

Of course, the companies did not lose on all their nuclear power operations. While the reactor manufacturers subsidized the development of a domestic market for nuclear reactors, the government's Export-Import Bank provided substantial loans to foreign countries to build GE and Westinghouse reactors under contracts that reaped big profits for the two giant companies. Both companies invested heavily in European reactor manufacturers and established European subsidiaries to market reactors abroad. And until the mid-1970s, virtually every reactor constructed in the world used designs developed by General Electric and

Westinghouse; as part of the licensing arrangement for the use of these designs, the companies received a fee of two to three percent of the total cost of the reactors.

Once GE and Westinghouse had laid the foundation for both the domestic and international reactor markets, other corporations joined the race to profit from equipment production. And, attracted by the traditional advantages of cheap land, unorganized labor and fawningly receptive state and local governments, the companies looked South for new plant sites.

Combustion Engineering began the trend at their Chattanooga, Tennessee, facility — a 10-shop plant now employing 4,300 people in design, engineering and production of both fossil fuel (coal, oil, gas) and nuclear steam electric equipment. C-E had done some subcontracting for naval reactors as early as the late 1940s. The Chattanooga plant, which had opened for fossil fuel equipment production shortly after World War II, added a nuclear equipment complex in 1954 and delivered its first reactor vessel — in 1956. Since that time, it has remained a principal supplier of reactor vessels for Westinghouse nuclear reactors, and until the mid-1960s supplied many of General Electric's reactor vessels. However, in 1964 the company expanded its operations to become a primary supplier of complete reactor systems and now produces steam generators, pressurizers and pipework in Chattanooga as well as reactor vessels. Two of the 10 Chattanooga shops, employing almost 1,000 people, are now directly involved in the design and manufacture of nuclear equipment.

Babcock & Wilcox also expanded into the South. In 1969 the company opened a commercial fuel fabrication plant alongside its naval fuel plant in Lynchburg, Virginia. In addition, the plant's nuclear power generation division employs 1,100 people who design and install Babcock & Wilcox nuclear reactors, which are manufactured in Mount Vernon, Indiana. Finally, Lynchburg houses the company's primary nuclear research and development operations. The complex as a whole employs 3,600 people.

A third competitor in the nuclear reactor field, General Atomic, started

as a joint venture between Gulf Oil and Royal Dutch-Shell (who are also part owners of the Allied General Nuclear Services reprocessing plant in Barnwell, South Carolina). General Atomic in turn formed partnerships with two other corporations to produce equipment for its High Temperature Gas-Cooled Reactor (HTGR): one with Foster and Wheeler Corporation called Nuclear Power Products Corporation to produce equipment at a plant in Panama City, Florida; and another with Chicago Bridge and Iron to build General Atomic HTGR equipment in Cordova, Alabama (Chicago Bridge and Iron also produced other reactor equipment at an older facility in Birmingham, Alabama). General Atomic then announced plans for a fuel fabrication plant in Youngsville, North Carolina. It hoped to control 25 percent of the domestic reactor market by 1980.

But, once again, industry giants GE and Westinghouse invested most heavily in the Southward shift of nuclear equipment production including such related equipment as turbine generators, pressurizers, pressure vessels and fuel fabrication. The two quickly gained a controlling percentage of the reactor market (General Electric has 30 percent and Westinghouse 36 percent), and they needed new facilities to produce equipment for the anticipated surge in reactor demand. In the late 1960s, Westinghouse spent \$100 million on three new Southern plants that opened in 1968: the Tampa, Florida, plant produces pressurizers and steam generators; Pensacola, Florida, produces reactor internal parts, primarily involved in the housing of the fuel core; and Charlotte, North Carolina, produces turbines for both fossil-fuel-fired and nuclear generating plants. In 1970, the company opened a related facility in Winston-Salem, North Carolina; this plant manufactures and repairs the complexly crafted blades for steam turbines. Westinghouse also opened the world's largest fuel fabrication plant in Columbia, South Carolina, and later announced plans for a second fuel plant in Anderson, South Carolina, which would produce plutonium fuels out of recycled materials from the AGNS reprocessing plant in Barnwell. Finally in 1971, Westinghouse

WHERE COMMERCIAL NUCLEAR FUEL AND EQUIPMENT ARE MADE

- 1 Chattanooga, Tenn. Design, engineering and production of fossil fuel and nuclear steam equipment; owned by Combustion Engineering.
- 2 Lynchburg, Va. Nuclear fuel fabrication plant; owned by Babcock & Wilson.
- 3 Barnwell, S.C. AGNS nuclear wastes processing plant, currently unfinished and unlicensed.
- 4 Panama City, Fla. HTGR (High Temperature Gas-Cooled Reactor) equipment plant owned by Nuclear Power Products Corp. (a partnership of General Atomic and Foster & Wheeler).
- 5 Cordova, Ala. HTGR equipment plant; owned by Chicago Bridge & Iron and General Atomic.
- 6 Birmingham, Ala. HTGR equipment plant; owned by Chicago Bridge & Iron and General Atomic.
- 7 Youngsville, N.C. Fuel fabrication plant once proposed by General Atomic. Site now abandoned.
- 8 Tampa, Fla. Westinghouse plant producing pressurizers and steam generators.
- 9 Pensacola, Fla. Westinghouse plant producing reactor internal parts.
- 10 Charlotte, N.C. Westinghouse plant producing turbines for fossil fuel and nuclear generating plants.
- 11 Winston-Salem, N.C. Westinghouse plant manufacturing and repairing turbine blades.
- 12 Columbia, S.C. Westinghouse fuel fabrication plant.
- 13 Anderson, S.C. Westinghouse fuel fabrication plant, intended to produce plutonium fuel from AGNS reprocessing plant (not yet in operation).
- 14 Jacksonville, Fla. Plant proposed in 1971 by Westinghouse and Tenneco to produce floating nuclear reactors; plant is built, but mostly idle now.
- 15 Wilmington, N.C. GE fuel fabrication plant.
- 16 Charleston, S.C. GE turbine plant.
- 17 Greenville, S.C. GE plant, specializes in gas turbines.
- 18 Memphis, Tenn. Plant owned by CBI Nuclear (GE and Chicago Bridge & Iron) producing containment structures and pressure vessels for GE's nuclear reactors. The partnership is now dissolved, and Chicago Bridge is redesigning the plant to produce off-shore drilling rigs.



announced a joint venture with Tenneco in Jacksonville, Florida, called Offshore Power Systems; this plant was to produce floating nuclear reactors that would be constructed in Jacksonville and floated to an off-shore location.

General Electric, battling Westinghouse for control of the industry, also moved new facilities into the South, though not as extensively as Westinghouse. The company opened a fuel fabrication plant in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1969. Also that year, General Electric completed construction on a turbine plant in Charleston, South Carolina; in 1970, it opened a similar facility (which specializes in gas turbines) in Greenville, South Carolina. Finally, in 1970 it formed a 50-50 partnership with Chicago Bridge and Iron called CBI

Nuclear. The partnership opened a plant in Memphis, Tennessee, operated by Chicago Bridge and Iron, to produce containment structures and pressure vessels for GE's nuclear reactors.

Besides providing new production facilities to meet the expected rush of reactor orders, the Southern shift of these two companies accomplished a second major corporate objective: eroding the strength of the electrical workers unions. Most indicative of this trend has been the fate of workers in turbine generator production, a market on which the two companies have a stranglehold — they control over 90 percent of the orders.

Until the late 1960s, General Electric produced all its turbines at its Schenectady, New York, and Lynn,

Massachusetts, plants; workers at both locations were represented by the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). Westinghouse produced most of its turbine equipment in Lester, Pennsylvania, where workers were represented by the United Electrical Workers (UE). At the time, wages in the turbine industry were among the highest in the nation, on a par with those in the auto and steel industries.

Faced with two strong unions, both companies built new turbine production plants as part of their push South — at Greenville and Charleston for GE, Winston-Salem and Charlotte for Westinghouse. The companies defeated organizing attempts at these new Southern facilities largely by providing better wages, benefits and working conditions than the region's norm, thus decreasing the workers'

incentive to unionize. By increasing the proportion of their employees who were non-union, and by demonstrating that they would move plants in response to militant union demands, the companies gained a stronger bargaining position when it came time to renew contracts with IUE and UE. And the lower the unionized proportion of the national workforce at contract renewal, the stronger the companies' bargaining position will remain in the future. The unions were unable to crack the South until 1976, when the UE won an election at GE's Charleston plant. In the meantime, the diluted bargaining power of the unions cost their members dearly: the average turbine worker now earns \$4,000 less per year than his or her counterpart in auto and steel; the losses over the past 10 years amount to as much as \$40,000 per person.

This same Southern strategy to weaken unions has been pursued in other arms of the companies as well. Westinghouse's overall workforce is now only 50 percent unionized, compared to 90 percent in the 1950s. GE has experienced similar drops.

The prolonged slump in the reactor market since 1974 has had disastrous consequences for workers employed in Southern reactor manufacturing. Chicago Bridge and Iron and GE dissolved the CBI Nuclear partnership, and cut the workforce at the Memphis plant to around 300 (from a high of 700); Chicago Bridge and Iron is now redesigning the plant to produce offshore drilling rigs. CBI's Cordova plant was expected to employ as many as 1,000 people; after the jump in natural gas prices made the gas-cooled reactor financially unfeasible, the plant was shut down, and now employs only a skeleton crew. The General Atomic-Foster Wheeler partnership has dissolved, and the Panama City plant closed. Tenneco terminated their partnership in Westinghouse's Offshore Power Systems, and the two utilities which had projected orders for four offshore nuclear reactors cancelled their plans. Consequently, the Jacksonville plant, built to employ as many as 12,000 people, now employs only 300, mostly engineering and technical personnel.



The slump does not hit the companies quite as hard as it does the workers. Many of the Southern power generation facilities are not exclusively devoted to the production of nuclear-related equipment, particularly the Charleston, Charlotte and Winston-Salem turbine plants. And, given the long lead time for reactor production and construction, all four major reactor manufacturers — Babcock & Wilcox, Combustion Engineering, Westinghouse and General Electric — have a backlog of orders from the growth period of the late '60s and early '70s that should keep its remaining workers busy for another few years. The total value of these backlogs has been estimated as high as \$15 to \$20 billion, with the bulk of that belonging to GE and Westinghouse. None of these remaining orders are under turnkey contracts; therefore, the suppliers are now insulated against heavy losses by cost-escalator clauses and penalties utilities face for postponing orders. Westinghouse predicts that both it and GE will continue to have an average backlog of five to six reactors, and Combustion Engineering and Babcock & Wilcox one or two each, over the next several years. Combustion Engineering also has enough subcontracting business from Westinghouse and others to keep its nuclear shops in Chatta-

nooga busy until the 1990s.

But the nuclear power equipment industry undeniably remains in a very precarious state. Combustion Engineering has had periodic layoffs at its Chattanooga nuclear shops and is currently discussing alternative production plans for its nuclear-related facilities. General Electric, which relies on nuclear power for less of its revenues than any of the other three major reactor vendors, periodically threatens to leave the business altogether unless the government takes stronger steps to promote nuclear power. Westinghouse Power Systems Company president Gordon Hurlburt confidently predicted in 1978 that his company might receive as many as 10 domestic orders and 10 foreign orders per year over the next several years; however, the experience of 1979 hasn't borne out his optimism — the company has received no new orders.

In fact, though it has received more reactor orders than any of its competitors, Westinghouse's nuclear operations — and the company as a whole — are in dire straits financially. When its other corporate enterprises proved losers, Westinghouse relied on the nuclear equipment market as its long-term profit-maker, but the declining market has wreaked havoc with this plan. The company defaulted

on long-term contracts to supply fuel rods to 29 utility companies after the price of uranium skyrocketed; as a result, the company lost millions of dollars in out-of-court settlements with the utilities. Company chairman Robert Kirby still touts Offshore Power Systems as the answer to these woes, but the practical drawbacks to the fanciful notion of floating nuclear reactors have effectively killed Kirby's hopes; Offshore Power Systems reportedly loses \$5 or \$10 million each year.

All these factors leave the companies — and more importantly, their Southern workers — in a holding pattern with an uncertain future. Westinghouse capitalized on industry-wide uncertainty in combating an organizing drive at the Charlotte turbine plant by promising to keep

the plant operating full speed if it remained non-union and to make any necessary layoffs at its militantly union Lester plant. Although this “deal” was certainly not the only factor in the election, UE lost by a three-to-one margin.

In the early days of the nuclear boom an increase in orders for new plants and a streamlining of their production design seemed to tie the jobs of workers to the expanding nuclear industry. However, the companies built many of these facilities, particularly the turbine plants, to accommodate possible shifts from nuclear unit production to coal unit production. Consequently, many of the workers do not rigidly identify their own job security with the fate of nuclear power, though they have not always been receptive to anti-nuclear argu-

ments. They are suspicious of company rhetoric and desire both a safe workplace and safe community, but they also desire a consistently high standard of living.

The challenge to the anti-nuclear movement becomes one of refuting the company line on nuclear power by presenting clearly the problems that remain with nuclear power and proposing ways to minimize the economic impacts of a shutdown on workers in the nuclear industry. Only by attempting to educate themselves about workers' issues, by listening to, discussing and acting on workers' needs, can anti-nuclear activists hope to undercut the companies' efforts to drive a wedge between anti-nuclear activists and blue-collar workers. □

Special thanks to Bob Arnold for his diligent research assistance.

C.

The Anti-Union, Pro-Nuke Contractors

Nuclear plant construction has historically been a source of substantial income for members of the building trades unions. Labor costs on nuclear plants average 35 to 40 percent of the total cost of a nuclear plant compared to 25 percent of coal-fired plants, and since the total nuclear construction bill is much higher than that of a coal-fired plant, the total amount paid to construction crew members is quite substantial — as much as \$400 million on an average 1,000-megawatt reactor under construction today. For these reasons, the AFL-CIO building trades unions have long been staunch supporters of nuclear power. However, in recent years, “open-shop” construction firms — particularly Daniel International — have gained an increasing share of nuclear construction contracts and significantly eroded the building trades

unions' bargaining strength.

The early years of the nuclear industry found nuclear construction dominated by the major national contractors Bechtel, Ebasco Services, Stone & Webster, United Engineers and Constructors — who have national contracts with the building trades covering all their construction projects. Of the first 50 reactors constructed in the United States, over 80 percent of them were constructed by union contractors.

However, open shop construction firms have begun to pick up contracts. Open-shop construction means that the contractor does not have a binding agreement with any national unions and simply hires an available work force for a particular project. Sometimes there will be an agreement reached with the building trades for a particular project, but often the en-

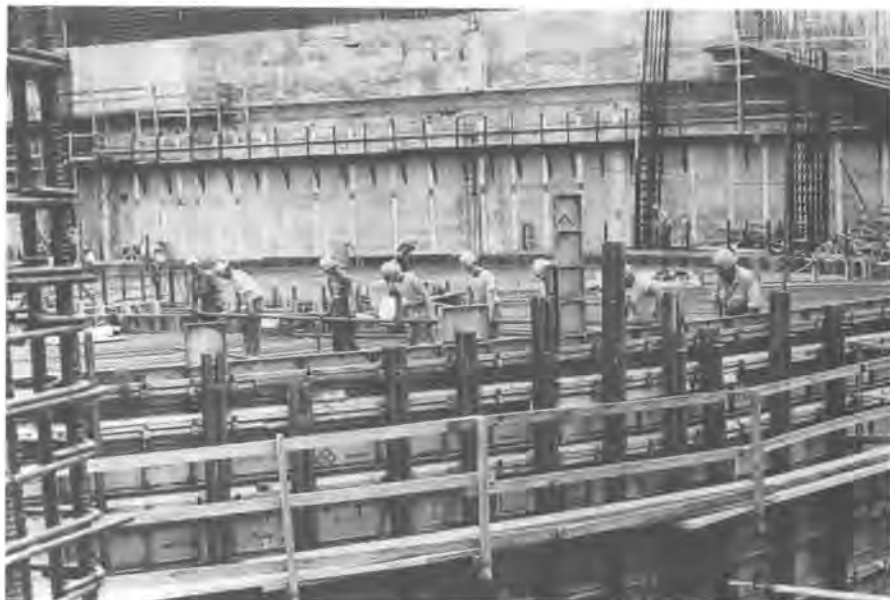
tire work force on that project is non-union. The open-shop construction industry has blossomed in all construction fields in recent years; in the 1950s open-shop contractors controlled less than 20 percent of the available construction projects, but now they are getting over 60 percent of the total national construction budget.

The shift to open-shop construction came about more slowly in the power plant business, but since the early 1970s it has flourished. Much of the shift has occurred as a result of coordinated attacks on construction union power by major industrial firms and utilities. The Business Roundtable — formed in 1969 as the Construction-Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable by a group of heavy industrial and utility executives — has vigorously promoted the concept of open-shop construc-

tion. Their major weapon is a 1973 study by Herbert Northrup of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance. Northrup studied construction costs on a hypothetical

officials and since the proceedings were carried in the October 9, 1976, edition of the major utility trade journal, *Public Utilities Fortnightly*, the message was driven home quite

Power & Light — were built by union contractors, this pattern soon shifted. CP&L's second plant — the two-unit Brunswick site in Southport, North Carolina — was built by non-union Brown & Root. Brown & Root also obtained the contract for the South Texas Nuclear Project being supervised by Houston Lighting and Power. Charlotte, North Carolina-based J.A. Jones Construction Co. built its only nuclear reactor at Florida Power Corporation's Crystal River plant. And Duke Power built its reactors with its own non-union construction crew.



The Shearon Harris plant in North Carolina, a Daniel International construction project

nuclear power plant constructed in the Southeast; he concluded that using non-union labor could save as much as \$39 million on construction of a nuclear power plant. This study received widespread attention in the utility industry and prompted a host of new studies on the advantages of non-union construction.

The utility industry showed its new determination to undercut the unions at the August 9, 1976, seminar of the American Bar Association Section on Public Utility Law entitled "Construction Labor Costs — Does the Utility Owner Have Any Options?" Of course, the only alternative the participants advocated was open-shop construction. Greenville, South Carolina, attorney Robert Thompson — architect of the 1978 defeat of the Labor Law Reform Bill — told the audience, "There probably is no area of the economy where the impact of 'open-shop' construction has been more noticeable. . . . It is true that more public utility work is being performed 'open shop' today than ever before in our memories," and encouraged the audience to go open shop to cut construction costs. Since the audience was mostly utility

effectively.

Naturally, since construction costs affect nuclear plants more than coal plants, the presumed virtues of open-shop construction have appealed to nuclear plant constructors. On December 2, 1977, S.B. Palmeto, construction manager for General Public Utilities (owners of Three Mile Island), addressed the American Nuclear Society Power Division on the topic, "Open Vs. Closed Shop Construction — How Cost Effective?" While in most public presentations, utilities blame governmental red tape and environmentalists' intervention for their cost overruns, Palmeto identified inflation in construction costs as the primary cause for construction inflation. He cited his own calculations that a nuclear reactor in the 1980s would cost \$100 to \$200 million less using an open-shop contractor on a standard 1,000-megawatt reactor. He urged all utilities considering further nuclear construction to go open shop.

Southern utilities had already learned this lesson early in the game. Although the first units of many Southern utilities — Carolina Power & Light, Virginia Electric & Power, Arkansas Power & Light, and Florida

But it was Daniel International which scored the lion's share of these orders. Prior to the 1970s the company had specialized in industrial construction, mostly for the new textile plants it had courted into the North Carolina-South Carolina area; the company had also done a substantial amount of coal plant construction. Starting in the early 1970s, the company moved into the nuclear business. Daniel got the contracts for Alabama Power's Farley reactors, South Carolina Electric & Gas' Summer Plant and CP&L's Shearon Harris reactors. The Farley reactors are being built under a local project agreement, but the other plants are non-union. Now, 25 of the 50 reactors being constructed by private Southern utilities are contracted to open-shop construction firms.

TVA remains the primary union constructor in the South. Their 17 reactors are all built in-house by their own unionized construction crews. However, even this hegemony is being threatened. The Associated General Contractors have vigorously attacked TVA's reliance on union labor, and are now producing studies which show that they could construct TVA plants far cheaper if the plants were subcontracted to them. Thus far, TVA has only subcontracted minor items but it is possible that this policy might change in the near future.

This trend has extended into other areas of the country as well, with Daniel International taking the lead in bringing open-shop construction to the nuclear industry. In 1973 and 1974, Daniel got contracts to build two reactors for the Union Electric Co. in Missouri, one for Detroit Edison in Michigan, and one for Kansas City

Gas & Electric in Burlington, Kansas. Other smaller non-union contractors have picked up plant contracts, and the major construction firms are now talking of going "double-breasted" — operating non-union subsidiaries not covered by their national contracts — to compete for reactor contracts. In fact, Daniel International itself was purchased by Los Angeles-based Fluor Corporation in 1977; their union plant contractor, Fluor Power Services, had only one nuclear contract, compared to Daniel's 11.

Halliburton Company had tried to beat everyone to the punch with a similar move in 1973 when they acquired Ebasco Services. It planned to combine Ebasco's existing nuclear expertise with the clout of its previously purchased Brown & Root subsidiary (currently the largest contractor in the United States) to rival Bechtel as the major builder of nuclear power plants in the country. However, the federal government prosecuted the company for anti-trust violations in connection with the purchase, and Halliburton eventually sold Ebasco to the Enserch Corporation — a holding company whose predominant interest is a gas utility — in 1976. Nevertheless, similar combinations could result in the near future.

All of this might seem somewhat academic given the complete dropoff in new reactor orders, but it is important because of the significant impact the open-shop contractors have had on the building trades unions. As lawyer Lawrence T. Zimmerman noted at the 1976 ABA conference on open-shop construction, "Ironically, the expansion of open-shop contractors makes the use of the national contractor a more attractive alternative than before, for it has had the practical consequence of curbing unproductive union practices and largely eliminating the competitive cost savings formerly obtained through open-shop labor." (In an effort to retain some of the contracts, many unions have not pressed builders for significant improvements in wages and benefits.) In fact, construction wages, traditionally pacesetters for pay raises throughout the blue-collar trades, have risen several percent less than average manufacturing wages over the past few years, and many new union jobs have

project agreements that don't contain many of the contractual items trades unions have fought for the hardest.

On April 1, 1978, 16 major building trades unions and four national union contractors — Bechtel, Stone & Webster, Ebasco Services and United Engineers and Constructors — signed the "Nuclear Power Construction Stabilization Agreement." The nuclear industry itself promoted the agreement as a patriotic gesture by both sides to speed up the construction of what they consider to be vitally needed nuclear reactors: in fact, *Nuclear Industry* magazine refers to the agreement as the "National Nuclear Security Arrangement." The agreement mandates that there will be no strikes of any type by labor and no lockouts by management. There will be "significant flexibility in work processes and manning patterns," meaning that crafted workers like carpenters and electricians might be forced to perform other duties and that non-craft employees can perform jobs ordinarily reserved for craft members and apprentices. The agreement also allows for four-day 10-hour work weeks on rotating shifts operating seven days a week instead of the five-day eight-hour work week schedules preferred by the construction unions. Wages at the plants would be adjusted periodically by a joint labor-management committee with the help of an outside "umpire." Finally, there are no penalties for work stoppages by the utilities because of regulatory delays or simple construction postponements due to a lack of demand; the contract simply states that "management be encouraged to develop as continuous operations as possible."

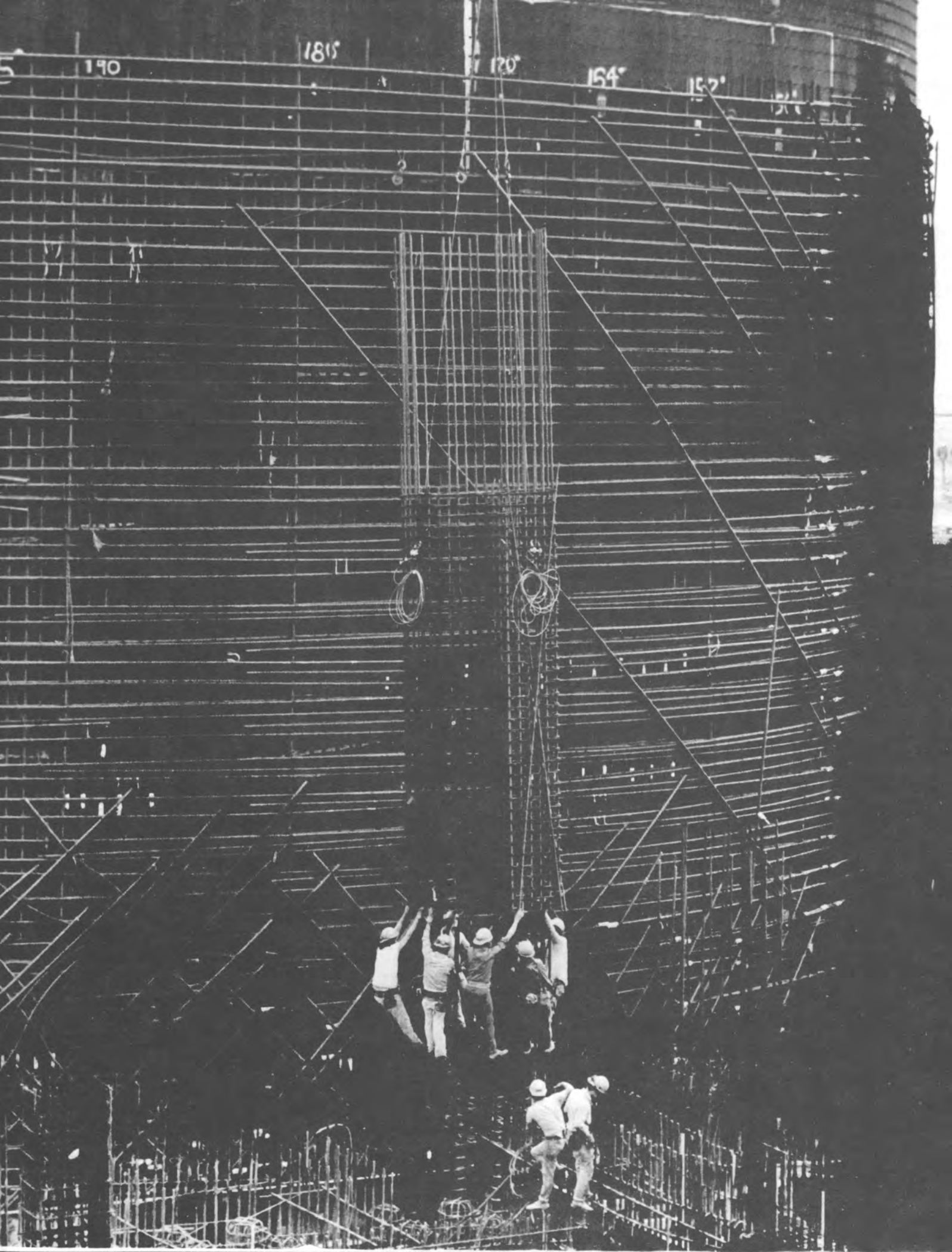
An indication of just how this new arrangement will work came in May, 1979, when Gulf States Utilities and contractor Stone & Webster signed the first contract with labor under the new agreement for the construction of River Bend Unit No. 1. On virtually every negotiable item in the contract, the company got the upper hand. There is a four-hour 10-day work week for employees, with rotating shifts working seven days a week, instead of the standard five-day week. There is no overtime allowance for Saturday work, as in

five-day work week contracts. In fact, the company was even reluctant to grant overtime for Sunday work, but finally settled on time-and-a-half for Sunday work (five-day week contracts allow double time on Sunday). Essentially, Zimmerman's conclusion holds true: there is little difference between work conditions at the River Plant and those in an open-shop arrangement.

The supreme irony in the industry's promotion of open-shop contractors like Daniel International and the subsequent erosion of the unions' bargaining position is that the nuclear industry has courted the AFL-CIO heavily since the beginning of the nuclear age; in fact, the AFL-CIO as a whole has remained among the most aggressive supporters of nuclear power in the country. And this courting continues as strongly today as ever, even with the increasing drive to construct open shop. For instance, the *Nuclear Industry* paid compliments to the Texas AFL-CIO for their role in helping defeat the Austin referendum on nuclear power (see article page 110). The juxtaposition of this friendly role on the one hand and the example of Palmeto's talk to the American Nuclear Society on the other should raise questions about the true sympathies of the nuclear industry in the minds of even the strongest trades union supporters of nuclear power.

A further fact undermining the friendly relationship is the often callous fashion in which utilities use their construction workers as bargaining pawns in rate increase cases. For instance, in 1978, when the Louisiana Public Service Commission granted Louisiana Power & Light only \$5 million on a rate increase request of \$54 million, the utility immediately laid off 300 construction workers at its Waterford Unit No. 3 and refused to rehire them until a further rate increase was granted.

A similar case occurred in Alabama in 1977 when Alabama Power stopped work at a coal plant until it received a rate increase. The hearings on the increase presented a rather sad spectacle as building trades union members severely heckled other union members, primarily Steelworkers, who came forward to speak against the rate increase. Eventually, the rate increase was granted, but the pitting of union



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Wake County, North Carolina, deputy waves traffic past Shearon Harris nuclear plant construction workers during a partial walk-out, July 9, 1979. They were protesting the unexplained firing of two foremen.

members against union members typifies the viselike grip the power companies now often exert on the beleaguered building trades. Alabama Power repeated this pattern in 1979 when it laid off 4,000 workers from the Farley nuclear plant until another rate increase was granted.

Organizers against utility abuses and nuclear power are just beginning to understand the potential for alliances with labor. Though not the easiest unions to work with, the building trades are directly involved in the fate of utility expansion and alternative energy development. If they are

not courted carefully by the enemies of nuclear power, they will remain the industry's loyal friends — even in the face of some very rough treatment. □

D.

Reactors: Who, Where, When

The South is rapidly becoming dependent on nuclear power for a substantial portion of its electric generating capacity. At present, the South (including Delaware, Maryland, Oklahoma and Missouri) generates only eight percent of its electricity by nuclear power. Over half the new generation units planned for the next 10 years will be nuclear, so by the year

1990, the region will theoretically depend on nuclear reactors for over 20 percent of its electricity.

Because the Southwestern states — Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Oklahoma — still rely heavily on natural gas and oil, these figures obscure the greater nuclear commitment of other states. For instance, North and South Carolina are the most

heavily committed to nuclear power: Duke Power, Carolina Power & Light and South Carolina Electric & Gas plan to get over 60 percent of their electricity from nuclear reactors by the end of the next decade.

Fortunately, these projections decrease each year as consumers use far less electricity than the companies forecast, thus postponing the need for

more generating units. In fact, it is likely that this information will be out of date within weeks of publication.

Existing Southern reactors already have produced a less-than-stellar record of performance. VEPCO has been fined for numerous safety violations,

and for building a nuclear reactor over an active earthquake fault without informing the Atomic Energy Commission. One of CP&L's Brunswick reactors has been shut down for possible radiation leaks twice in the past three months. Florida Power & Light is

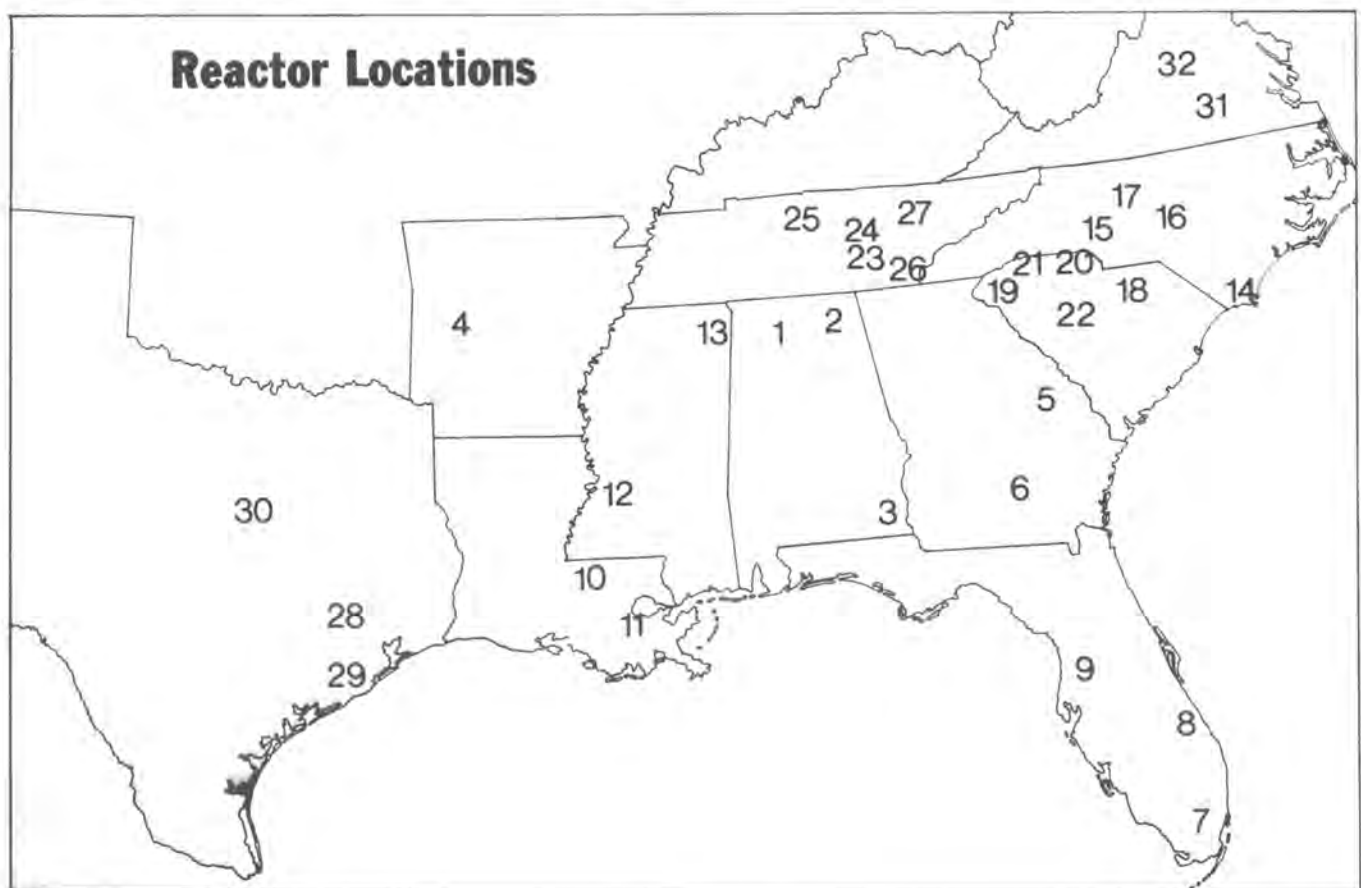
suing Westinghouse for \$240 million to replace steam generators that wore out after only six years. And on and on and . . .

Here is a listing of reactors operating and planned for the Southern states:

	Net MWe	Type	Reactor Supplier	Generator Supplier	Architect Engineer	Constructor	Construction stage (%)	Commercial Operation orig. schedule† or expected
Alabama Power Company								
1. • Joseph M. Farley 1 (Dothan, Ala.)	860	PWR	W	W	SS/Bechtel	Daniel	100	4/75 12/77
1. • Joseph M. Farley 2 (Dothan, Ala.)	860	PWR	W	W	SS/Bechtel	Daniel	75	4/76 indef.
Arkansas Power & Light Co.								
4. • Nuclear One 1 (Russellville, Ark.)	836	PWR	B&W	W	Bechtel	Bechtel	100	7/72 12/74
4. • Nuclear One 2 (Russellville, Ark.)	912	PWR	C-E	GE	Bechtel	Bechtel	100	12/75 8/79
Carolina Power & Light Co.								
18. • Robinson 2 (Hartsville, S.C.)	665	PWR	W	W	Ebasco	Ebasco	100	5/70 3/71
14. • Brunswick 1 (Southport, N.C.)	790	BWR	GE	GE	UE&C	Brown	100	3/75 3/77
14. • Brunswick 2 (Southport, N.C.)	790	BWR	GE	GE	UE&C	Brown	100	3/74 11/75
16. • Shearon Harris 1 (Newhill, N.C.)	900	PWR	W	W	Ebasco	Daniel	16	3/77 3/84
16. • Shearon Harris 2 (Newhill, N.C.)	900	PWR	W	W	Ebasco	Daniel	2	3/78 3/86
16. • Shearon Harris 3 (Newhill, N.C.)	900	PWR	W	W	Ebasco	Daniel	<1	3/79 3/91
16. • Shearon Harris 4 (Newhill, N.C.)	900	PWR	W	W	Ebasco	Daniel	<1	3/80 3/89
Duke Power Co.								
19. • Oconee 1 (Seneca, S.C.)	860	PWR	B&W	GE	Utility/Bech	Utility	100	5/71 7/73
19. • Oconee 2 (Seneca, S.C.)	860	PWR	B&W	GE	Utility/Bech	Utility	100	5/72 9/74
19. • Oconee 3 (Seneca, S.C.)	860	PWR	B&W	GE	Utility/Bech	Utility	0	6/73 12/74
15. • McGuire 1 (Terrell, N.C.)	1180	PWR	W	W	Utility	Utility	96	3/76 1/80
15. • McGuire 2 (Terrell, N.C.)	1180	PWR	W	W	Utility	Utility	60	3/77 3/81
20. • Catawba 1 (Clover, S.C.)	1145	PWR	W	GE	Utility	Utility	52	3/79 7/81
20. • Catawba 2 (Clover, S.C.)	1145	PWR	W	GE	Utility	Utility	39	3/80 1/83
17. • Perkins 1 (Mocksville, N.C.)	1280	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	0	1/81 indef.
17. • Perkins 2 (Mocksville, N.C.)	1280	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	0	1/82 indef.
17. • Perkins 3 (Mocksville, N.C.)	1280	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	0	1/83 indef.
21. • Cherokee 1 (Gaffney, S.C.)	1280	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	5	9/82 1/87
21. • Cherokee 2 (Gaffney, S.C.)	1280	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	5	9/83 1/89
21. • Cherokee 3 (Gaffney, S.C.)	1280	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	5	9/84 indef.
Florida Power & Light Co.								
7. • Turkey Point 3 (Florida City, Fla.)	666	PWR	W	W	Bechtel	Bechtel	100	8/70 12/72
7. • Turkey Point 4 (Florida City, Fla.)	666	PWR	W	W	Bechtel	Bechtel	100	8/71 7/79
8. • St. Lucie 1 (Hutchinson Island, Fla.)	777	PWR	C-E	W	Ebasco	Ebasco	100	1/73 12/76
8. • St. Lucie 2 (Hutchinson Island, Fla.)	777	PWR	C-E	W	Ebasco	Ebasco	25	9/79 5/83
Florida Power Corporation								
9. • Crystal River 3 (Red Level, Fla.)	825	PWR	B&W	W	Gilbert	Jones	100	9/72 3/77
Georgia Power Co.								
5. • Edwin I. Hatch 1 (Baxley, Ga.)	786	BWR	GE	GE	SS/Bechtel	Utility	100	4/73 12/75
5. • Edwin I. Hatch 2 (Baxley, Ga.)	786	BWR	GE	GE	Bechtel	Utility	100	4/76 7/79
6. • Vogtle 1 (Waynesboro, Ga.)	1100	PWR	W	GE	SS/Bechtel	Utility	3	2/78 11/84
6. • Vogtle 2 (Waynesboro, Ga.)	1100	PWR	W	GE	SS/Bechtel	Utility	1	2/79 11/87
Gulf States Utilities Co. [See also Southwest]								
10. • River Bend 1 (St. Francisville, La.)	940	BWR	GE	GE	S&W	S&W	5	10/79 10/84
10. • River Bend 2 (St. Francisville, La.)	940	BWR	GE	GE	S&W	S&W	5	10/81 indef.
Louisiana Power & Light Co.								
11. • Waterford 3 (Taft, La.)	1165	PWR	C-E	W	Ebasco	Ebasco	63.9	1/77 10/81
Mississippi Power & Light Co.								
12. • Grand Gulf 1 (Port Gibson, Miss.)	1250	BWR	GE	Allis	Bechtel	Bechtel	80.7	9/79 4/81
12. • Grand Gulf 2 (Port Gibson, Miss.)	1250	BWR	GE	Allis	Bechtel	Bechtel	10.6	9/81 1/84
South Carolina Electric & Gas Co.								
22. • Virgil C. Summer 1 (Parr, S.C.)	900	PWR	W	GE	Gilbert	Daniel	84	10/77 12/80
Tennessee Valley Authority								
2. • Browns Ferry 1 (Decatur, Ala.)	1067	BWR	GE	GE	Utility	Utility	100	10/70 8/74
2. • Browns Ferry 2 (Decatur, Ala.)	1067	BWR	GE	GE	Utility	Utility	100	10/71 3/75
2. • Browns Ferry 3 (Decatur, Ala.)	1067	BWR	GE	GE	Utility	Utility	100	10/72 3/77
23. • Sequoyah 1 (Daisy, Tenn.)	1148	PWR	W	W	Utility	Utility	98	10/73 1/80
23. • Sequoyah 2 (Daisy, Tenn.)	1148	PWR	W	W	Utility	Utility	80	4/74 9/80
24. • Watts Bar 1 (Spring City, Tenn.)	1177	PWR	W	W	Utility	Utility	84	10/76 6/80
24. • Watts Bar 2 (Spring City, Tenn.)	1177	PWR	W	W	Utility	Utility	72	4/77 3/81
3. • Bellefonte 1 (Scottsboro, Ala.)	1213	PWR	B&W	BB	Utility	Utility	68	7/77 9/81
3. • Bellefonte 2 (Scottsboro, Ala.)	1213	PWR	B&W	BB	Utility	Utility	40	4/78 6/82

	Net MWe	Type	Reactor Supplier	Generator Supplier	Architect Engineer	Constructor	Construction stage (%)	Commercial Operation	
								orig. sched-ule†	actual or ex-pected
U.S.—SOUTH, cont'd									
Tennessee Valley Authority, cont'd									
25.	1233	BWR	GE	BB	Utility	Utility	21	4/79	6/83
25.	1233	BWR	GE	BB	Utility	Utility	10	4/80	6/84
25.	1233	BWR	GE	BB	Utility	Utility	18	10/79	6/89
25.	1233	BWR	GE	BB	Utility	Utility	8	10/80	6/90
26.	1233	BWR	GE	BB	Utility	Utility	6	4/82	8/84
26.	1233	BWR	GE	BB	Utility	Utility	1	4/83	9/91
13.	1285	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	5	4/83	5/85
13.	1285	PWR	C-E	GE	Utility	Utility	1	4/84	11/92
Tennessee Valley Authority, Commonwealth Edison Co., and DOE									
27.	350	LMFBR	W	GE	B&R	S&W	0	/80	indef.
Virginia Electric & Power Co.									
31.*	775	PWR	W	W	S&W	S&W	100	3/71	12/72
31.*	775	PWR	W	W	S&W	S&W	100	3/72	5/73
32.*	934	PWR	W	W	S&W	S&W	100	3/74	6/78
32.	934	PWR	W	W	S&W	S&W	99.4	7/75	7/79
32.	938	PWR	B&W	W	S&W	S&W	7	3/77	4/86
32.	938	PWR	B&W	W	S&W	S&W	3.7	3/78	4/87
Houston Lighting & Power Company									
28.	1200	BWR	GE	GE	Ebasco	Ebasco	0	6/80	/86
29.	1250	PWR	W	W	Brown	Brown	40	10/80	4/82
29.	1250	PWR	W	W	Brown	Brown	9	3/82	4/83
Texas Utilities Generating Company									
30.	1150	PWR	W	Allis	G&H	B&R	74	1/80	/81
30.	1150	PWR	W	Allis	G&H	B&R	32	1/82	/83

Bold Numbers corresponds to location on map * units in commercial operation; PWR - pressurized water reactor; BWR - boiling water reactor; W - Westinghouse; B&W - Babcock & Wilcox; C-E - Combustion Engineering; GE - General Electric; Allis - Allis Chalmers; SS - Southern Services (Southern Co.); Bechtel - Bechtel Power Corp.; UE&C - United Engineers & Constructors; Brown - Brown & Root; Ebasco - Ebasco Services, Inc.; S&W - Stone & Webster; B&R - Burns & Roe; G&H - Gibbs & Hill; Daniel - Daniel International; Jones - J.A. Jones Construction; Gilbert - Gilbert Associates, Inc.; BB - Brown Boveri



E.

Not the Bombs, Just the Parts

by Bill Ramsey

In 1942, the Manhattan Project sent out a team of engineers to determine the sites for the production plants that would build the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. In 1950, when Harry Truman ordered the Atomic Energy Commission to proceed with the production of the hydrogen bomb, the Army Corps of Engineers was dispatched to select the new production sites. These were awesome events, both in the history of armaments and the history of humankind. In each case the Manhattan Project and the AEC directed their engineers south to survey for possible sites.

As a result of those surveys, four out of the seven operating nuclear warhead production facilities are now located in Southern states. And in recent years, more and more of the production capabilities outside the South have been transferred to these four plants. Each day these facilities produce three new warheads for the U.S. arsenal.

From the grasslands of South Carolina to the farmlands of the Texas panhandle and from Florida's Gulf Coast to the Cumberland Mountains of east Tennessee, Southern communities, workers and natural resources are essential to the production of each warhead and bomb in the U.S. nuclear arsenal. For instance, each hydrogen bomb contains a neutron generator which bridges the gap between the bomb's trigger and its fusion explosion. In order to manufacture these generators, the Oak Ridge Y-12 Plant in Tennessee supplies lithium fuel cores to the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina. There the lithium cores are placed in nuclear reactors. The process produces tritium.

The tritium is transported to the Pinellas Plant near St. Petersburg, Florida, where it is fabricated into the neutron generator. The finished component is then sent to the Pantex Plant in Texas for the final assembly of the warhead.

The fusion fuel for U.S. nuclear bombs is a compound of lithium and deuterium (heavy water). The deuterium originates in the water of the Savannah River. At the Savannah River Plant's heavy-water separation facility, the deuterium is isolated from the river water. It is shipped to the Oak Ridge Y-12 Plant where it is combined with lithium, fabricated into a tablet shape and sent to the Pantex Plant in Texas.

The fission trigger of each nuclear warhead originates with plutonium produced in the reactors of the Savannah River Plant, and uranium 235 components which are machined at the Y-12 Plant in Oak Ridge. The triggers are fabricated at the Rocky Flats Plant near Denver, before they are sent to Pantex for assembly. Fission triggers, fusion fuel and the neutron generator which binds them together are the essential components of a thermonuclear explosion. Each of them is fabricated and assembled in production facilities in the South.

In each of these four Southern communities that host nuclear weapons production facilities, there is a public climate of secrecy and avoidance. Workers will insist, "We don't make the bomb, we just build the parts for the bomb." Each month in Oak Ridge, a new message goes up on the company billboards around town. The messages tell of the promise of nuclear technology or they remind workers of the

national security requirement for secrecy. At the Pantex Plant a poster picturing a woman wrapped in a blanket reads, "Security is a blanket responsibility."

The Carter administration has proposed a \$500 million program to modernize the nation's nuclear weapons facility complex. The major focus in the upgrading will be the Oak Ridge Y-12 Plant, where some 43 percent of the facilities were labeled "poor and/or inadequate." Pantex will also receive substantial attention from the upgrading program. Last year Herman Roser, the plant's manager, testified in a Congressional hearing that he believed the plant should be completely replaced. He said of Pantex, "We have come to the conclusion that it doesn't meet the latest safety and safeguard criteria." The Savannah River Plant, which also will be remodeled under the program, was called a situation of "galloping obsolescence" in a House Armed Service study.

Other Southern facilities also support the national weapons program. Southern port and shipbuilding facilities in Newport News, Norfolk, Charleston and Pascagoula handle nuclear wastes created by the Navy's nuclear fleet of submarines, carriers and destroyers. And, though the federal government is officially silent about such information, it is common knowledge among workers at the Nuclear Fuel Services Plant in Erwin, Tennessee, and the Babcock and Wilcox Plant in Lynchburg, Virginia, that the fuel cores they produce propel this nuclear fleet.

These facilities pose their own significant threats to the health and safety of workers and the surrounding

community. On April 14, 1979, 288 employees of Nuclear Fuel Services — represented by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union — went on strike to protest the numerous health and safety dangers at the Erwin plant. Shortly after the workers returned to their jobs, plant officials notified the NRC that they had misplaced a large quantity of enriched, bomb-grade uranium, which could have escaped into the local area and presented a severe threat to the local populace. No explanation for the missing uranium has yet been offered.

Over the last five years, nuclear warhead production facilities in other parts of the country have been closed down and their functions moved to plants in the South. The Hanford Plant in Richland, Washington, which once produced plutonium along with the Savannah River Plant, has turned its production function over to the South Carolina plant. A plant in Burlington, Iowa, which assembled nuclear warheads was closed down in 1975. All the assembly functions are now carried out at Pantex. There has also been a proposal that the Mound facility, near Dayton, move its plutonium and tritium detonator production to the Savannah River Plant. Under pressure from citizens in Colorado, the Department of Energy announced earlier this year that it would conduct a study of the feasibility of moving the Rocky Flats Plant. One of the first options to be suggested for a relocation site was the Pantex Plant.

All this means that increasingly the burdens and risks of nuclear weapons production are being shifted to existing facilities in the South. The benefits are obvious: these plants employ 17,053 people. But these jobs must be weighed against the risks of nuclear warhead production, keeping in mind the option of job and industrial conversion.

The four major Southern weapons plants, and other weapons-related facilities, present their communities with the risks of radiation contamination. The workers are required to work with some of the most hazardous substances in existence in facilities that are recognized to be obsolete and unsafe. Municipalities and state taxpayers must carry the burden of the federal government's tax-exempt status. Jobs and livelihoods become dependent on the dictates of national security. Land and natural resources are diverted from serving the local needs. By using federal funds to experiment in such fields as waste solidification, some of these facilities — Oak Ridge and the Savannah River Plant in particular — further the public subsidy of the commercial nuclear industry. And finally there is the moral dilemma that arises when one region of the country is required to accept more than its share of risks and burdens on behalf of a national policy of preparation for nuclear war. □

Bill Ramsey is the Peace Secretary for the American Friends Service Committee in the Southeast; he has been involved in research and organizing activities around the Pinellas and Oak Ridge Y-12 Plants. This article was prepared from research and interviews conducted by the author; William Reynolds of the AFSC Nuclear Cargo Transportation Project; Verna Fausey of Public Interest Research (Nashville); Mary Elson, a staff writer for the Texas Observer; and Robert Friedman, a writer for the Mother Jones Investigative Fund.

1. Oak Ridge Y-12 Plant

Date built: 1943.

Location: 25 miles west of Knoxville, Tennessee. One thousand families were forced to leave the farming area for eight years while the government built its top-secret facilities.

Operator: Union Carbide.

Employees: 5,237; 1,487 work on enriched uranium projects.

Union representation: 17 unions bargain jointly through an Atomic Trades Council. The largest, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, represents over half the workers.

Functions: Originally used by the Manhattan Project to produce the uranium 235 for the Hiroshima bomb. Today the "bomb plant," as the first workers called it, fashions highly enriched uranium and lithium deuteride components for warheads. In addition, a uranium enrichment plant and research laboratory are located at Oak Ridge and operated by Union Carbide.

Comment: A shroud of secrecy and "company town" aura still envelop the Oak Ridge area. Public meetings are monitored and public dissent is frowned upon. All plants are owned by the federal government. Neither Union Carbide nor the Department of Energy are required to pay local property taxes. Keith Bissel, the mayor of Oak Ridge, recently commented on his city's inability to collect taxes from the Department of Energy: "We have three major plants here — Y-12, X-10 and K-25 — worth two billion dollars. . . . Our city has the highest tax rate of any city in the state due to the fact that we have these three plants. I don't want to bite the hand that feeds me [he works for Union Carbide], and I'm proud of these plants . . . but they don't pay a damn cent in taxes. They only pay two million dollars in lieu of taxes." If the Department of Energy paid taxes at the same rate as other property owners in Oak Ridge, the tax bill for the three plants would amount to over \$140 million a year. (A recent re-evaluation in property values has doubled the value of property in Oak Ridge and has meant a lowering of the tax rate. Oak Ridge no longer has the highest tax rate in the state. But, since the value of the DOE property has also doubled, the figures projected here for its tax payment are still correct.)

2. Pantex Plant

Date built: Originally built in 1942 to make conventional bombs; closed after World War II, reopened by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1951.

Location: 23 miles northeast of Amarillo, Texas.

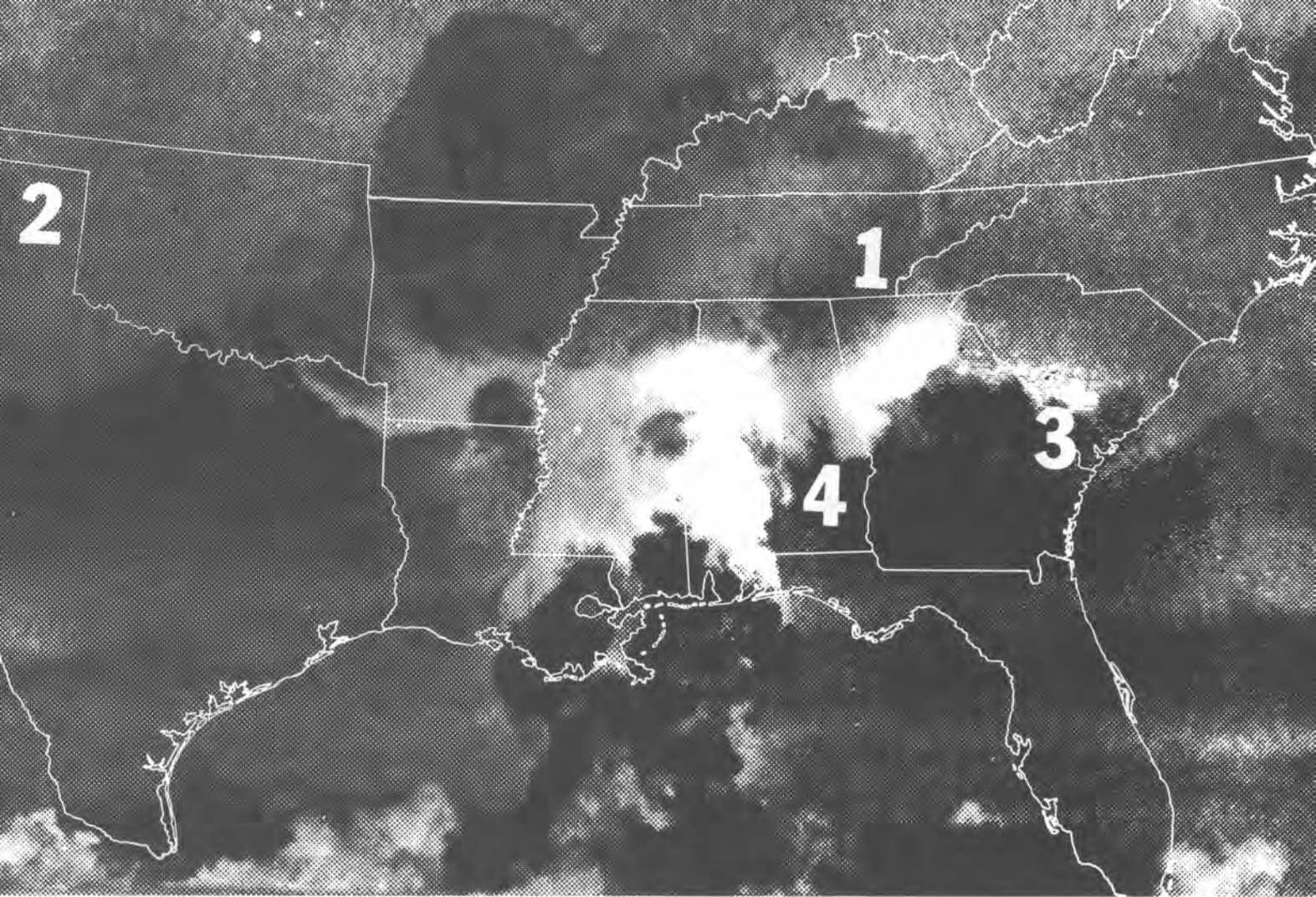
Operator: Mason and Hanger-Silas Mason Co., Inc. (a Kentucky-based engineering firm that built New York's Lincoln Tunnel).

Employees: 2,016.

Union Representation: Half the workers are represented by the Amarillo Metal Trades Council, which consists of several trade unions including the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Functions: Final assembly plant for every nuclear warhead and bomb in the United States arsenal; also produces conventional explosives for nuclear weapons and disassembles and repairs retired warheads and bombs.

Comments: A similar facility in Burlington, Iowa, was closed down in 1975. In March, 1977, Pantex machinists Ray Tucker, Chester Grimes and Ray Hendershot were killed when a piece of chemical explosive detonated



while Tucker was shaping it on a lathe. "Workers regard the bombs like beautiful pieces of furniture," says Dorothy Moore, an employee on the assembly line at Pantex. "You wouldn't believe it was so destructive." Leroy Tillery of the Amarillo Chamber of Commerce says, "I don't really know what they do out there. I think that helps. Nobody really is concerned about it because nobody really knows what's going on."

3. Savannah River Plant

Date built: Begun in 1950, completed in 1956.
Location: 300 square miles covering portions of Aiken, Allendale and Barnwell Counties, South Carolina. The Savannah River forms the plant's western border for 27 miles; the site was selected from 114 alternatives primarily because of its abundant water supply and "sparse" population. One thousand families, mostly black sharecroppers, were removed from the land during construction. In 1972, the entire site was declared a National Environmental Research Park.
Operator: E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co. designed, built and now operates the facilities under a "no-fee" contract allowing DuPont to recover its cost of operation plus a "reasonable" profit.
Employees: 8,599; 4,900 people are involved directly in producing nuclear warhead materials. Another 2,400 construction workers are building new storage tanks.
Union Representation: None.
Functions: Five nuclear reactors (three currently in operation) produce tritium and plutonium for nuclear

warheads. Plutonium is retrieved by two reprocessing plants. Water from the Savannah River is used in the "park's" heavy-water separation facility, which produces deuterium. In addition, the complex stores spent fuel rods from government research reactors and foreign reactors constructed by American corporations.
Comments: See article on waste disposal for information on other activities at the Savannah River Plant.

4. Pinellas Neutron Device Plant

Date built: 1956.
Location: Just north of St. Petersburg, Florida, on the Pinellas peninsula on the Gulf of Mexico.
Operator: General Electric Company.
Employees: 1,200.
Union representation: None.
Functions: Manufactures neutron generators for warheads.
Comments: In the manufacturing process, 285 workers are exposed to tritium, a radioactive substance impossible to contain. It eventually penetrates anything, and measurable amounts inevitably leak from the plant into the air and water of the surrounding community. Once in the body, tritium is chemically indistinguishable from hydrogen. General Electric officials at Pinellas say, "Tritium is nice to work with because of its half-life of only 12 years and because it can be flushed out of the body easily." Workers who become "over-exposed" are sent home to drink beer and water.



F Barnwell: Achilles Heel of Nuclear Power by Suzanne Rhodes

What responsibility does the nuclear industry bear for its wastes? Where does federal responsibility begin? What role do taxpayers play in public policy decisions about radioactive wastes and nuclear energy?

These are some of the fundamental questions citizens in South Carolina are beginning to ask. Once noted for their blind faith in nuclear technocrats, South Carolinians are now leading the nation in challenging the nuclear industry's latest effort to get taxpayers to subsidize a plan for solving its high-level waste problems.

At the center of the controversy is the Barnwell Nuclear Fuel Plant (BNFP), a partially completed commercial spent fuel reprocessing complex built by Allied General Nuclear Services (AGNS) — a consortium of Allied Chemical, Gulf Oil and Royal Dutch Shell. For 10 years, AGNS has touted BNFP as a simple solution to the problem of where to dispose of commercial high-level nuclear wastes, namely spent fuel rods. The fuel rods that power today's light-water reactors must be removed after roughly three years. These removed rods are highly radioactive and must be stored carefully for

thousands of years. But by *reprocessing* these spent fuel rods — extracting the still-usable uranium and plutonium — the nuclear industry could refabricate these materials into fuel for light-water reactors or the proposed breeder reactors, and theoretically reduce the volume of radioactive wastes it must store.

Promoters of nuclear power assert that reprocessing is a safe, technically feasible and economical technique. But numerous unanswered questions remain concerning the Barnwell plant's operations, particularly the still untested effects of BFNP's routine radiation emissions on its employees

and the surrounding community. Two facilities vital to the plant's operations have yet to be designed (see box), and indications are that they will not be operable for years. In 1977, President Carter declared a moratorium on reprocessing due to concern that inventories of plutonium, a product of reprocessing, could become a tool for terrorism.

Finally, the economics of the plant are highly questionable. As licensing proceedings lagged and more concern about the plant's operations arose, AGNS officials quietly encouraged the federal government to relieve them of their financial risk by purchasing the plant and operating it as a federal facility. They and other industry representatives claim the federal government has an obligation to help, and brand President Carter and the plant's many opponents as irresponsible Luddites.

Three presidents — Nixon, Ford and Carter — have declined the offer to buy the Barnwell plant. But Congress has subsidized the plant to the tune of \$40 million for the past three years. In exchange, AGNS has performed paperwork studies to investigate some of the peripheral problems involved in commercializing plutonium as a fuel. One critic comments that AGNS "keeps reinventing the wheel" in exchange for the federal subsidy.

Now there is serious debate — in both Congress and South Carolina — about AGNS' latest proposal: for \$497 million the federal government could purchase the Barnwell plant, which would give it the opportunity of reprocessing commercial spent fuel rods at some point in the future, but more immediately would offer away-from-reactor (AFR) storage capacity for the spent fuel rods that are piling up in reactors across the country. This plan has provoked increased public opposition, both because studies have shown that AFR storage is not needed for a number of years and because many people feel that locating AFR storage at the Barnwell plant would make fuel reprocessing, and its corollary plutonium production, an inevitability within a few more years.

The central question remains: why spend public money to renovate a plant which even the *Wall Street*

Journal brands a "white elephant?"

Barnwell: A Brief History

South Carolina politicians have long been anxious to find a modern industrial base for the state's economy. By the late 1960s, nuclear power was already becoming part of that longed-for base. The massive Savannah River Plant employed 8,000 people and tripled the population of Aiken, South Carolina, in less than two decades. The state's three private electric utilities constructed an experimental reactor in Parr, South Carolina, in 1962; in 1968, Carolina Power & Light was finishing its Robinson reactor in Hartsville, and Duke Power was ready to begin its Oconee reactors west of Clemson. Westinghouse had opened the world's largest uranium fuel fabrication plant in Columbia, and Chem-Nuclear Systems was searching for a site for a low-level waste repository. The addition of a reprocessing facility would certify South Carolina as the center of the world's nuclear industry.

Barnwell County, 60 miles southwest of Columbia near the South Carolina-Georgia border, remained an agrarian area with persistent unemployment. Officials sought new industrial facilities to bring jobs to the area and growth to the economy. When AGNS expressed interest in South Carolina, Barnwell's politicians laid out the welcome mat.

These men were among the most powerful in South Carolina. Area legislators Edgar Brown, president of the South Carolina Senate, and Sol Blatt, the Speaker of the House, combined over 80 years of political savvy. The federal connection was there as well: Senator Strom Thurmond hails from the Barnwell area. The influence of these men, coupled with the state's ambition to become the world's nuclear capitol, were powerful assets in persuading AGNS to move to South Carolina.

AGNS courted additional support among South Carolina's political hierarchy. Two members of the State Development Board, who were former employees of the nuclear industry in other states, promoted the plant to the

state officials and assisted in negotiations for a plant site. They were later rewarded for their efforts: one went to work for AGNS and the other joined Chem-Nuclear Systems, operator of the low-level waste site adjacent to BNFP. A third member of the board later opened a public relations firm in Columbia; his biggest client was Allied General Nuclear Services.

In 1968, AGNS signed a contract to purchase a tract of land which the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) had deeded to Barnwell County. Most of this land had been condemned during the 1950s as part of the territory for the Savannah River Plant; AGNS also bought a parcel of land from a local farmer.

The only remaining obstacle was federal approval for the plant. In 1970, the AEC held a two-day hearing in Barnwell on the BNFP construction license. The hearing satisfied AEC standards, but it did not comply with the new review standards required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 because it failed to consider three important factors: the adverse environmental impact of the plant and its products, available strategies to reduce these effects and a cost-benefit analysis of the BNFP. Despite these shortcomings, the AEC granted a construction license in December, 1971, and AGNS held formal groundbreaking ceremonies.

Critics of the plant reacted quickly. Environmentalists, Inc., a Columbia-based organization, requested a series of NEPA-mandated hearings to review the construction license. The AEC warned AGNS that any construction would be at the company's own financial risk because the license could be revoked as a result of the hearings, but AGNS decided to continue its plans. Plant construction began in 1972, although the NEPA hearings were delayed until 1974.

The state of South Carolina also took a further look at the plans for the reprocessing plant. In 1971 and 1972, a joint legislative committee held hearings on the plant's impact on the state's financial and environmental resources. However, says Ruth Thomas of Environmentalists, Inc., "It wasn't a fact-finding committee. It was a committee to negate criticism." The committee heard presenta-

Barnwell Plant Operations

The Barnwell Nuclear Fuel Plant is designed to reprocess spent fuel rods from about 50 reactors per year. By extracting uranium-235 and plutonium isotopes from spent fuel rods and refabricating them into new fuel rods, the original energy-producing capacity of the uranium can be theoretically extended by about 30 percent.

If the BNFP is completed according to the original plan, it would consist of five major facilities, each with a specialized role in the reprocessing operation. Three of the facilities are essentially completed now, although they still lack any valid license. The remaining two haven't yet been designed.

- At the completed **Fuel Receiving and Storage Facility**, workers would unload spent fuel rods and place them in stainless-steel-lined pools. Spent fuel rods are currently stored in smaller pools at the reactor sites in which they have been used. If BNFP is licensed, the rods will be shipped into BNFP and stored in the fuel facility to await reprocessing. This facility can store the spent fuel rods from about 13 reactors. The U.S. Department of Energy has seriously considered storing wastes from foreign countries at this site. AGNS has been proposing for the last five years that existing spent fuel from commercial reactors be stored away from the reactors at the receiving and storage facility; the Carter administration is now carefully weighing this proposal.

- The **Separations Facility** (already built) would process waste fuel from about 50 reactors per year. The fuel rods would be transferred from the storage and receiving area, and chopped into short pieces to expose the uranium oxide, plutonium oxide and fission products. A hot nitric acid leaching process (the "Purex" process) would remove these materials from the chopped tubing hulls; they would then be separated from each other by a solvent extraction system, and be available for use in new fuel rods. (The nitric acid would theoretically be recovered and used again.) The process would produce both high- and low-level radioactive wastes; the high-level liquid wastes would be stored in stainless steel storage tanks inside underground concrete vaults at the plant. The chopped tubing hulls would be temporarily stored on-site.

- The **Uranium Hexafluoride Facility** is also constructed. It would receive uranium from the separations facility in a liquid form and convert it into a powder. The powdered uranium could then be shipped away to an enrichment facility. If enrichment of the reclaimed uranium is

technically and economically feasible, the enriched uranium could be fabricated into fuel rods for existing reactors. However, reclaimed uranium has thus far proven very troublesome to enrich.

Two additional facilities vital to the BNFP reprocessing operation have not yet been designed or constructed, although they are legally required before the plant can operate. The uncertainties surrounding the treatment of reclaimed plutonium and of separation wastes make it unlikely that these last two facilities can be built any time soon.

- The **Plutonium Product Facility** would convert liquid plutonium into a solid. AGNS would then ship the plutonium to other companies, most likely Westinghouse, who would fabricate the plutonium into a fuel for either light-water reactors or breeder reactors. Until the facility is operable, the reclaimed liquid plutonium from the separations facility would be stored in tanks at the BNFP.

- The as-yet undesigned **Waste Solidification Facility** would convert high- and intermediate-level liquid wastes from the separations facility into a glassy solid for shipment to long-term storage at a federal repository. However, no waste solidification technique has yet been refined, no federal repository for wastes has been identified or developed, and so far less than one percent of the country's high-level liquid waste has been solidified. During the NEPA hearings, AGNS officials admitted that they had not yet conducted even preliminary engineering studies on the solidification facility. Environmental impact projections have been based on experience with small research and development prototypes. Until this facility is operable, the separations-produced liquid wastes would be stored in tanks at the BNFP. Federal regulations require that wastes be solidified within five years of separation, but it is likely that the NRC would waive these regulations, since solidification is not yet feasible.

AGNS plans no permanent waste storage facility at the site; all wastes will be handled on an interim basis. The company would store all materials retrievably to permit treatment and eventual transfer to a federal repository. However, it is unlikely that any full-scale federal repository will be operating until the 1990s. Therefore, high-level wastes produced at BNFP would remain on site for a number of years in underground tanks. Tanks at federal military installations and at the now-closed West Valley, New York, reprocessing facility have experienced chronic leakage problems.

Forty acres of the BNFP site are reserved for temporarily storing the solid wastes produced in the plant. This space would only be sufficient for five years' wastes; there are no plans for the wastes after this point.

tions from the AEC, the Environmental Protection Agency, state agencies and ostensibly independent researchers. But AGNS officials spent hours "briefing" and in some cases even wording testimony for the people from these agencies. Savannah River Plant officials also received a thorough briefing

by AGNS before the committee toured that plant. Two informal working groups — one composed of local industries with nuclear interests, the other made up of the governor's staff and a few committee liaisons — helped AGNS discredit local critics and assuage the committee's concerns.

Consequently, the committee dismissed the idea of investigating, or even touring, Nuclear Fuel Services' unsuccessful commercial reprocessing venture in West Valley, New York. Vital issues — Price-Anderson liability, the technical feasibility of waste solidification, plant decommissioning

— received scant attention in the hearings. In the end, with the help of a cooperative committee member, AGNS even edited the final draft of the committee's report!

By the time the NEPA hearings finally began two years later, the separations facility was 65 percent completed. AGNS also maneuvered to minimize the effect of these hearings: AGNS president Howard J. Larson went to work for the AEC as Acting Deputy Director for Fuels and Materials of the Directorate of Licensing. His responsibilities included regulating the final use of any product from the Barnwell plant. At the same time, AGNS initiated secret negotiations with the federal government about selling the plant. What had once looked like a profitable investment was turning into an economic and technical nightmare. More formal negotiations concerning this "bailout" effort began in 1975.

After an intermittent schedule, the NEPA hearings were in effect suspended by AGNS in 1976. President Carter then officially terminated them as part of his reprocessing moratorium in 1977. Among the crucial questions never resolved in the hearings were: Is the plant's design appropriate; is the site suitable; and is reprocessing itself economically feasible?

The Federal Bailout

BNFP's three completed facilities are now idle. But AGNS officials are aggressively pushing the federal government to buy the plant for just over \$360 million. If the federal government agrees, AGNS would get its investment back plus a profit. Presumably, AGNS would then operate the plant on a cost-plus-profit leasing basis, as is done with other federal facilities such as the Savannah River Plant and Oak Ridge National Lab. AGNS vice-president James Buckham claims the federal purchase would be "a bargain for the taxpayers" since the plant could not now be duplicated for the same price.

So far the federal government has balked at this arrangement; however, the Department of Energy is interested in expanding the fuel storage facility

and using it as an away-from-reactor (AFR) storage facility for spent fuel rods from many operating reactors. AGNS claims the expansion could be done for as little as \$109 million, compared to the \$250 million price tag of completing a brand new facility. But AGNS refuses to sell the storage facility alone; it wants the federal government to buy the entire facility for an overall price of \$497 million. Underlying this demand is a self-serving bit of logic: the federal government inevitably will lift its ban on reprocessing; therefore, it should buy the BNFP now and get both storage and reprocessing capabilities in one.

But is AFR storage even necessary?

A 1979 General Accounting Office report concludes that DOE greatly exaggerates the need for spent fuel rod storage and that the utilities can provide additional temporary storage at the reactors themselves. Instead of an interim solution for only a portion of the nation's wastes, the GAO maintains the strongest need is for a waste disposal strategy and the identification of a *permanent* waste repository site.

Other issues often neglected in the debate over the bailout should be answered before the federal government invests in BNFP:

- Will it be economical to utilize the uranium reclaimed in the BNFP separations facility? Even AGNS admits the reclaimed uranium will cost about three times the present market value of uranium; and the comparative price of the reclaimed uranium has risen as rapidly as the price for newly mined uranium.

- Is using reclaimed uranium even technically possible? Attempts to enrich reclaimed uranium have thus far incurred serious problems.

- Will the federal government allow the recovered plutonium to be used? AGNS proposes to separate plutonium from the spent fuel rods and store it in bulk quantities at the plant site — making BNFP a target for terrorist activity.

- Is Barnwell a suitable site for any nuclear facilities? BNFP is located in a high-risk, class 3 earthquake zone and over an aquifer (underground water supply) that will be an important water source for the region for many decades.

- Should federal regulations on

radiation emissions established for future commercial reprocessing plants be enforced at BNFP? The Barnwell plant will *routinely* emit hundreds of times more radiation than would be allowed at any future reprocessing plant, and in many ways would release more than the accidental radiation release at the Three Mile Island plant.

- What constitutes a "safe" level of radiation exposure? Over the plant's projected lifetime, routine emissions of radioactive iodine will accumulate in the surrounding area to levels unacceptable to the NRC. Winds around Barnwell are the most stagnant in the country, so there is little chance for good dispersal of the routine emissions. Full-time employees and many temporary workers will be exposed to the still unknown effects of radiation during routine operations, and particularly during maintenance and repair operations.

- Will it be economically and technically feasible to solidify the liquid high-level radioactive wastes produced in the separations facility? Solidification of wastes is essential for their safe handling and disposal, but the necessary technology is in a very primitive stage, and the solidification facility for BNFP isn't even designed. Thus far the U.S. has solidified less than one percent of its liquid high-level wastes, and the solidification program at the Savannah River Plant has been halted. The economics of solidification are also uncertain. The cost of solidifying the wastes at the closed West Valley, New York, reprocessing plant is estimated at half a billion dollars. Barnwell will generate this amount of wastes every six months, and the cost of a new solidification plant alone ranges upwards of half a billion dollars.

- Where will the wastes be stored? No permanent high-level waste repository will be operating until the 1990s at the earliest.

- Should South Carolinians continue to bear the risk and expense of monitoring and permanently caring for such a large share of the nation's nuclear facilities and nuclear wastes? Also, should they face the risks of transportation accidents from the hundreds of shipments which will arrive at BNFP every year?

South Carolinians Fight Back

Many South Carolinians have been critical of the plant since the first announcements hit the papers. Ruth Thomas of Environmentalists, Inc., says, "The Barnwell Plant would be a radioactive and economic drain on the community [right now] if citizens hadn't persisted in asking questions. The possibility remains that the government could purchase the plant. . . . If the Barnwell Plant were to start operations, in just six months we would certainly have a health and financial burden to match that of New York's [West Valley] plant. Our tax and energy dollars are stretched too taut to waste any more on this experiment. But somehow common sense has never had a significant role in any of the federal decisions regarding the Barnwell plant."

Despite their devotion and persistence, many members of Environmentalists, Inc., are now discouraged. The group has received much volunteer legal assistance, but there are still outstanding bills of \$5,000 from their prolonged intervention in the NEPA hearings.

However, in 1978, a new generation of nuclear activists assessed the legal strategy and began focusing on nationwide publicity, local education and thoughtful direct action — including civil disobedience. Some supporters of this new approach had been involved in Environmentalists, Inc., but most were younger. And the new organization — the Palmetto Alliance — branched out from focusing on only

the Barnwell plant to opposing nuclear power as a whole.

The Alliance includes citizens from a wide range of professions, ages, educational backgrounds and political persuasions. This support has formed the base for continued action against the plant. The May, 1978, rally in Barnwell brought out 1,200 demonstrators from around the country, and 285 were arrested for trespassing on the facility's property in civil disobedience of state law. At the October, 1979, rally and action, 2,500 people demonstrated and 163 were arrested at the BNFP and the two other nuclear facilities in the area, the SRP and Chem-Nuclear.

Leaders of the Palmetto Alliance feel that BNFP is the Achilles' Heel of the nuclear industry. Although other waste strategies and reprocessing options seem available, the nuclear industry's own intractable attitudes about BNFP have locked it into an indefensible position. The survival of Barnwell is now identified in many places with the survival of the entire industry.

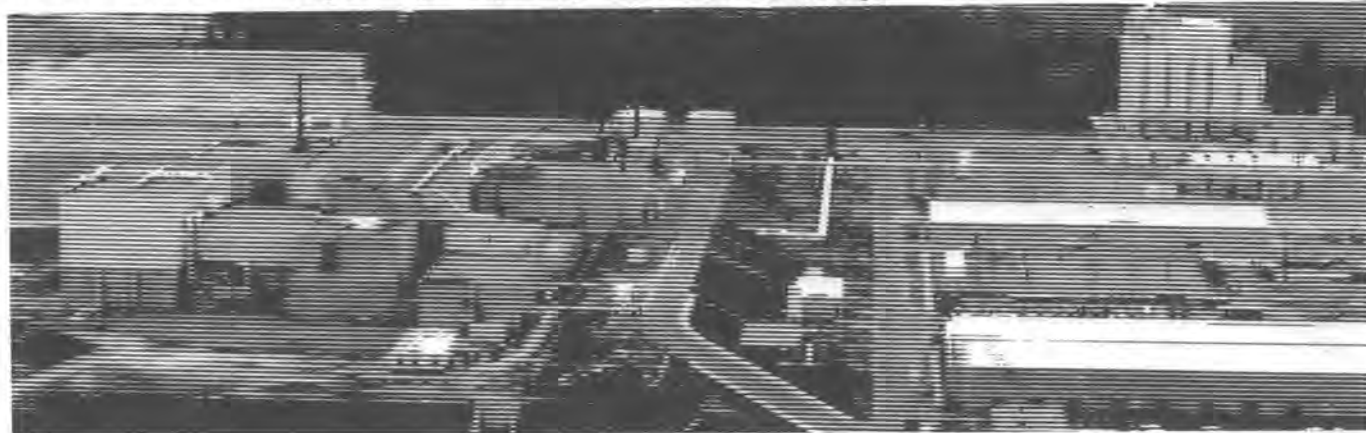
BNFP supporters remain very active. Former AGNS president Howard Larson is now with the Atomic Industrial Forum, the lobbying and public relations arm of the nuclear industry, and has supported the push for federal takeover. Former Governor Robert McNair has taken an active role in seeking federal subsidies and ultimate federal purchase of BNFP. And, at 83, Barnwell representative and AGNS lawyer Sol Blatt still carries a great deal of influence in the legislature, but his House failed to pass a resolution urging President Carter to lift the ban on reprocessing and open Barnwell.

Governor Richard Riley has stated repeatedly that the state will no longer

be the nuclear dumping ground for the nation. He insists that any new nuclear activities in the state — including AFR storage and new nuclear reactors — will not be approved unless there is a long-range plan for waste disposal. He specifically opposes temporary storage at the Barnwell plant until a permanent federal solution to the waste problem is identified and demonstrated. "South Carolina can no longer be the path of least resistance in seeking the national answer to nuclear waste disposal," he asserts.

When the Barnwell Nuclear Fuel Plant was first proposed over 10 years ago, the public still had a certain amount of trust in federal regulatory processes and in the inherent positive value of technology. But the recurrent accidents and the lack of a waste storage program have shaken that faith tremendously, even in strongly pro-nuclear South Carolina. Unless the industry can come up with concrete answers to the still unresolved problems, AGNS officials will find that even the most elaborate public relations program and strong support from South Carolina's old-line political elite cannot overcome public opposition to a dangerous and unnecessary technological experiment. □

Suzanne Rhodes, a June graduate of the University of South Carolina School of Public Health, completed a thesis on "Unresolved Environmental Issues Associated with the Barnwell Nuclear Fuel Plant in South Carolina."





G.

The South, Global Dumping Ground

by William Reynolds

The safe disposal of radioactive waste is perhaps the most uncertain and weakest point in the already fragile nuclear cycle. Wastes come in many forms, from different sources, and with varying dangers — but they all have one thing in common. They are all highly unstable substances, undergoing a decaying process that emits poisonous radioactive particles which are nearly impossible to contain.

For obvious reasons, no one wants nuclear poisons buried in their backyard. The government is not sure how to store high-level wastes anyway, and each time it goes out looking for a possible dumping ground, it meets stiff resistance from citizens in the chosen area. Now several states — including Louisiana — have banned radioactive waste storage within their boundaries.

The lack of a permanent burial site puts increasing pressure on other parts of the nuclear cycle as well; some states, for example, have already instituted moratoriums on nuclear reactor construction until an adequate

plan for safely disposing of the high-level wastes they generate is implemented. Ultimately, the failure to find an acceptable solution to storing high-level radioactive wastes may doom the nuclear industry. The continuous horror stories of leaks and mismanagement of low-level dumps certainly bring them no new friends. The industry is now fighting hard to expand existing facilities and get the government to underwrite the expense of more permanent ones for longer-lasting wastes. The final showdown between this determined industry and the citizens opposed to a nuclear future may well occur in the South.

As the following summary indicates, the South already has more than its fair share of nuclear waste sites, including the only location storing commercial low-level wastes east of the Mississippi. And government documents indicate, from our best reading of their often confusing messages, that the South will host one, and possibly both, of the two high-level waste repositories scheduled for completion in the next 20 years.

Oak Ridge National Lab

The Oak Ridge National Laboratory (ORNL), operated by 5,000 Union Carbide employees, has been producing and storing wastes since World War II. The DOE describes Oak Ridge as “primarily a research, development and test facility. Routine operations of the test reactors and other nuclear facilities produce low-level wastes, TRU-contaminated wastes and intermediate-level waste.”

ORNL currently houses around 16 percent of the nation’s low-level defense program wastes, buried in shallow trenches around the laboratory facility.

A small amount of TRU-contaminated waste was stored in similar trenches until 1970, when the federal government realized it was more dangerous than originally assumed and began to place the material in retriev-

able containers in the trenches for eventual burial in a high-level waste depository. 250,000 cubic feet of TRU waste at Oak Ridge await the development of a disposal method.

The "intermediate-level waste" consists of more than 1.6 million gallons of liquid by-products from research and development activities. Other facilities either concentrate such waste into solid high-level waste or "decontaminate" and manage it as low-level waste. ORNL, however, combines these wastes with cement and injects them into shale formations beneath the laboratory.

The quantities of material stored at the Lab should continue to grow at a steady rate. DOE currently spends approximately \$40 million annually on "interim waste operations" at ORNL. Major projects include constructing a second shale facility for the intermediate-level waste and taking a primary role in federal experiments on the best means to store commercial low-level waste.

Savannah River Plant

The Atomic Energy Commission established the Savannah River Plant (SRP) near Aiken, South Carolina, in 1950 "to produce nuclear materials for the national defense." Sprawling over 300 square miles along the Savannah River, the plant employs 6,000 operators and a full-time construction crew of 2,000, all under the supervision of E.I. DuPont, the sole contractor for the site. Besides producing nuclear weapons materials, the plant stores waste products from those materials and from other DOE operations, and even spent fuel rods from reactors in other countries. The plant contains a variety of wastes, including: 9.27 million cubic feet of low-level waste from federal projects, about 25 percent of the national total; 1.06 million cubic feet of TRU-waste, less than 10 percent of the national total; and 2.9 million cubic feet of defense-produced high-level wastes, about 30 percent of the national total. The budget for "interim waste operations" to handle this material comes to

Definitions

Definitions of the various types of radioactive waste material are hard to come by. DOE and NRC publications often include confusing and even contradictory explanations, but here's a summary of the best available definitions for each major category:

1) **LOW-LEVEL WASTE** is generated in almost all activities involving radioactive materials. Most of this material is simply dumped into trenches and buried. Typical low-level solid waste consists of contaminated equipment; filters from the cleanup of gaseous wastes; ion-exchange resins from the cleanup of liquid waste; liquid waste converted to solid form by being mixed into concrete; and miscellaneous contaminated trash such as paper, rags, glassware and protective clothing. Such wastes result from nuclear reactor operation, weapons production, medical and industrial uses, and research and development programs. All low-level waste is converted into solid form for storage. It remains radioactive for up to several hundred years.

2) **TRANSURANIC WASTES** result predominantly from spent fuel reprocessing, the fabrication of plutonium to produce nuclear weapons and, if it should occur, plutonium fuel fabrication for recycle to nuclear reactors." TRU wastes consist of materials with small concentrations of man-made radioactive elements such as plutonium, which are heavy atoms formed when non-fissionable atoms gain extra neutrons. TRU wastes are all in solid form. Buried in retrievable containers, they await a fea-

sible method of long-term storage.

3) **HIGH-LEVEL WASTES** are either intact fuel assemblies that are being discarded after having served their useful life in a nuclear reactor (spent fuel) or the portion of wastes generated in the reprocessing of spent fuel that contain virtually all of the fission products and most of the actinides not separated out during reprocessing." These wastes break down into two sub-categories:

SPENT FUEL RODS: Only recently, since President Carter's moratorium on reprocessing, have spent fuel rods been considered waste material. Waste disposal plans now include provisions for storing spent fuel rods, chiefly through plans for development of AFR storage facilities. In the past, planners automatically assumed spent fuel would be reprocessed, leaving only liquid high-level waste from reprocessing.

LIQUID HIGH-LEVEL WASTES are presently produced only in military fuel reprocessing operations. The startup of the AGNS facility in Barnwell, South Carolina, would produce similar materials from commercial fuel reprocessing.

These definitions, and much of the material in this section, are adapted from two government publications: Report to the President by the Interagency Review Group on Nuclear Waste Management (Department of Energy TID-28817, October, 1978), and Nuclear Waste Management Program Summary Document FY 1980 (DOE/ET-0094, April, 1979).

roughly \$60 million annually.

As elsewhere, the low-level wastes are buried in shallow trenches. The TRU-waste produced since 1970 is stored in below-ground retrievable containers, but most of the 1.06 million cubic feet sits in shallow trenches alongside the low-level waste.

Considerable controversy arose when the SRP became the site for one of the first federal attempts at high-level waste disposal. California Energy Resources Commissioner Emiliano Varanini summarized its twisted history before a Congressional committee: "*Project Bedrock, Savannah River Project: USGS [United States Geological Survey] suggested bedrock useful for disposal (1951); USGS studies begin in 1958; proposal to dump liquid wastes (later shifted to solidified wastes) in bedrock about 1961; NAS [National Academy of Sciences] doubts safety (1966); and (1972) project suspended*

because of safety concerns over possible breakthrough into overlying freshwater aquifer."

While testing the feasibility of Project Bedrock, the government simply stored high-level wastes in underground steel tanks — with disastrous results: on at least nine occasions, waste leaked from the tanks; in one incident, 700 gallons escaped from the storage tanks, some of which reportedly entered the local drinking water supply.

In fact, the plant lies over an aquifer which supplies drinking water for the residents of eastern Georgia. Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter was instrumental in persuading the federal government to abandon the plant as a long-term waste disposal site.

Now the high-level wastes are being transferred from single-shell tanks to more modern double-shell tanks; the transfer process should be completed by 1986. Additionally, the liquid

high-level wastes are being evaporated into salt-cake form to reduce inventories of high-level waste to 2.6 million cubic feet by 1985.

Savannah River currently leads the nation in reprocessing high-level wastes into final repository form. DOE plans to begin building the Defense Waste Processing Facility at SRP in 1983, with a scheduled completion date of 1989. This facility will experiment with various methods of retrieving, immobilizing and temporarily storing high-level waste. The current program calls for converting the wastes into a glass-like solid and placing the resulting product in steel containers, ready for permanent disposal in whatever repository DOE selects.

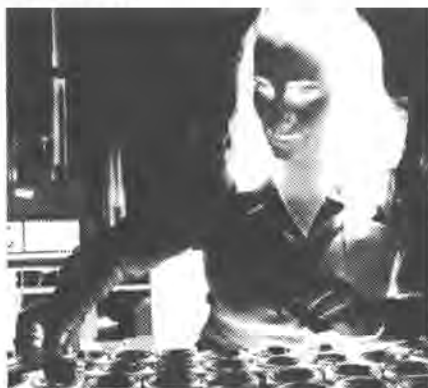
In addition, despite the current federal ban on applying the technology, experiments continue at SRP to find a means of storing high-level liquid wastes from the reprocessing of spent fuel. Technicians are preparing a policy statement on managing spent fuel and will produce an environmental impact statement on spent-fuel storage.

Maxey Flats

The Maxey Flats low-level waste facility near Morehead, Kentucky, was the first *commercial* low-level dump built in the South; it opened in 1963. Nuclear Engineering Company (NECO), which operates two other low-level waste sites in the Western states, came to the Maxey Flats plateau after an aggressive recruiting effort by the Kentucky Department of Commerce "to attract nuclear industries including fuel-processing facilities, spent-fuel reprocessing facilities and a waste disposal facility for the disposal of the radioactive wastes generated by these and other facilities." Only the third ambition was realized.

Until its shutdown in late 1977, the Maxey Flats plant handled low-level wastes from a variety of operations including nuclear power generation, medical technology and private industrial research and development. NECO buried 4.95 million cubic feet of commercial low-level waste in Maxey Flats' shallow trenches, which in 1977 made up slightly more than 30 percent

of the nation's total commercial low-level storage. However, the facility also handled TRU wastes; by 1977, Maxey Flats housed 69.1 kilograms of TRU waste, roughly 55 percent of all commercially produced TRU waste in the country.



The Department of Energy warns that "Most transuranic nuclides show the unusual combination of long half-life and high specific toxicity" — they are extremely dangerous for tens of thousands of years. Yet NECO buried the TRU waste at Maxey Flats in shallow trenches like the low-level wastes until federal regulations changed in 1970, and already-buried materials remain in the shallow trenches.

In 1973, the Kentucky state government began to investigate possible leaks of radioactivity from the site. A six-month study concluded that higher-than-expected levels of radiation escaped — including some plutonium — but saw no immediate danger to the area. They did, however, call for further federal studies, and restricted storage of tritium (radioactive water), which had been leaking from the trenches in large quantities.

A 1976 Environmental Protection Agency study charged that significant quantities of plutonium had escaped from the plant: "The burial site was expected to retain the buried plutonium for its hazardous lifetime [250,000 years], but plutonium has migrated from the site in less than 10 years." The press release on this study provoked extreme public alarm. Governor Julian Carroll persuaded the state legislature to impose a 10-cent surcharge per pound of material stored at the facility; the resulting exorbitant price cut off 97 percent of the incoming volume. Finally, in December, 1977, the state paid NECO \$1.25

million for its lease rights and closed the facility.

One state advisory committee commented that "the decision to locate a nuclear burial site at Maxey Flats was a mistake." That mistake has become an enormous burden to Kentucky taxpayers. Robert Slaton, Commissioner of the state Bureau for Health Services, told a House committee: "At the present time, the state is forced to bear the entire cost of maintaining the facility although it is no longer open for commercial use. The annual cost to Kentucky, paid solely by the Kentucky taxpayers, is \$1.6 million, and estimates of \$16 million have been given on the cost to get the Kentucky waste facility into a de-commissioned status. All of this expense being borne by Kentucky is compounded by the fact that 99 percent of the radioactive waste being buried in Kentucky originated outside the state."

Chem-Nuclear

The only currently operating commercial low-level waste facility on the East Coast is the Barnwell, South Carolina, plant managed by Chem-Nuclear Systems, Inc. This facility opened in 1970 with a license from the Atomic Energy Commission. The state of South Carolina owns the property and leases it to Chem-Nuclear, with the leasing fees set aside for maintenance of the site once it is filled up.

Business has been quite good for Chem-Nuclear. Ninety percent of its operating revenues come from Barnwell — 35 percent from storage of low-level wastes and 65 percent from nuclear reactors and the nuclear industry for such services as technical assistance during power outages and assistance with decommissioning nuclear facilities. In the past five years, sales increased 500 percent and profits 800 percent. In 1978, the company cleared \$1.9 million on sales of \$15.4 million — a hefty 12.7 percent return on sales.

In fact, business might be too good. Chem-Nuclear currently holds over one-half of the nation's existing commercial low-level waste products —

over seven million cubic feet. The company took over virtually all the business from the abandoned Maxey Flats facility, and now stores large quantities of wastes from the Western half of the country, especially when Nevada temporarily closed the Beatty facility in 1979 because of leaks from a truck carrying waste to the site. Overall, the plant now receives about 4,800 shipments of waste per year — roughly 85 percent of all the low-level wastes commercially produced in the United States.

This state of affairs has alarmed South Carolina, known to many as the nuclear dumping grounds of the world. According to Ken DuFrane of Chem-Nuclear, South Carolina originally licensed the facility "with the understanding that it would serve reactors in the southeast United States." South Carolina recently restricted disposal at the site to two million cubic feet per year and offered preferred-customer status to Southern reactor operators.

After Three Mile Island, concern escalated even further. Governor Richard Riley turned back several shipments of waste from the damaged reactor, closed the facility to out-of-state institutional wastes (primarily medical- and research-produced); and indicated the state's decreasing interest in accepting low-level waste in the future. Riley

expressed concern that, as with other abandoned waste dumps, the plant could become a financial drain on the state: "If Barnwell fills up too quickly, South Carolina taxpayers will have to foot the bill for perpetual maintenance." To protect against this problem, Governor Riley negotiated new leasing rates from Chem-Nuclear in September, 1978, that will raise the state's fees 600 percent by 1981; this move should further protect the state financially and, more importantly, reduce the flow of waste into the Barnwell site. The new rates will at least double the cost per cubic foot of storage, making many shipments to the plant prohibitively expensive.

There will probably be further limitations placed on Chem-Nuclear. As Governor Riley's energy advisor David Reid comments, "We should have new restrictions on waste storage for Chem-Nuclear within the next 12 to 18 months."

Aside from these major facilities, numerous small radioactive dumps dot the South. The Department of Energy stores small quantities of uranium-contaminated material at the Paducah and Oak Ridge gaseous diffusion uranium enrichment facilities, the Pantex weapons plant in Texas and the Y-12 facility in Oak Ridge. Also,

several facilities — some now abandoned — have handled radioactive institutional wastes. And concern over their management has recruited new members for anti-nuclear forces. For instance, residents of Wilkes County, North Carolina, have aggressively opposed a toluene processing and waste disposal plant which has spewed radioactive gases into the local area and is located only 100 yards from the Kerr Scott Reservoir — the major water supply for the city of Winston-Salem. At this point, no decision has been reached by the state panel appointed by the NRC to reconsider the plant's operating permit, but opponents hope for a shutdown.



Where Will the Next Dumps Be?

Low-Level Waste Storage

Chem-Nuclear's Barnwell plant is now the only operating commercial low-level waste dump in the country. Nevada has closed its Beatty facility, and now ardently pro-nuclear Washington governor Dixie Lee Ray has closed the Hanford waste site. The federal government had expected Barnwell, Hanford and Beatty to handle all the nation's low-level wastes for the next 10 years. Thus far, no federal agency has established regulations for licensing a new facility, although low-level waste is piling up

at the rate of 25 percent per year. Since South Carolina no longer will accept massive quantities of low-level waste, other states will soon be candidates for their own waste facilities.

Chem-Nuclear is reluctant to discuss its plans for new sites. "I can't address that question directly because of the emotional issues involved in choosing a site in a new state," says Chem-Nuclear official Herb Oakley. But the company has already started the search for new sites in one state: Texas. The company employs several powerful lobbyists, including the former director of the Governor's Energy Advisory Council, to push its case in the Texas legislature. Though the effort to pass a bill approving a facility failed in the 1979 session, Chem-

Nuclear's supporters announced plans to introduce an amended version of the bill in the next session. And the Texas Advisory Committee on Nuclear Energy recently recommended in the *Texas Register* that the state work to develop its own low-level waste facility.

In fact, such planning is likely in the near future to become necessary in every state producing nuclear wastes. According to David Reid, South Carolina is already studying the possibility of restricting storage to wastes produced in the Southeast, and has also contemplated a total ban on all wastes produced outside the state. In the discussion of the Texas bill, one of the first amendments called for a ban on importation of out-of-state wastes to any Texas facility.

The message has not been lost on Southern governmental officials. For instance, North Carolina recently established a task force on institutional low-level waste storage to investigate possible sites in the state. South Carolina Governor Riley's recent restrictions on waste shipments into Barnwell, the shutdown of the Beatty and Hanford facilities, and especially Kentucky's nightmare with the Maxey Flats plant all indicate strongly that every state will have to create its own low-level waste dump.

High-Level Waste Disposal

The major question, of course, remains: where will we dispose of high-level wastes? Utility companies brand this as a defense problem, pointing out that military wastes account for 90 percent of the country's existing high-level waste material. But their argument only considers the *volume* of the wastes. The *radioactivity* — and therefore the danger — of spent fuel rods produced through 1978 roughly equalled that of all high-level defense wastes. And the volume of commercial spent fuel rods will double over the next five years and grow steadily thereafter.

Reprocessing would eliminate some, but far from all, high-level liquid waste. If the ban on reprocessing continues, then the spent fuel rods themselves must ultimately be placed in a permanent depository alongside the military-produced wastes. Therefore, the need for a permanent and safe method of disposing of nuclear waste poses a monumental dilemma for both the nuclear weapons program and the commercial nuclear power industry.

The Department of Energy focuses on deep-earth burial as the most feasible disposal option; other suggestions have ranged from burying the stuff in the ocean to shooting it into space. Right now, the department projects a start-up date of between 1988 and 1992 for its first burial site, with a second facility scheduled for construction shortly thereafter. Plans call for locating the two facilities in different parts of the country; with a large num-

ber of desirable sites in the region, the Southern states will likely host one — and since the federal government classifies Texas and Louisiana in a different section of the country from the Southeastern states, the South could conceivably end up with *both* sites.

The first site for a disposal facility appears to be a salt dome, most likely an abandoned salt mine. The AEC pushed this option for a number of years and pursued a depository site in Lyons, Kansas, until it discovered that large quantities of water might seep into the salt dome. Since then, a number of salt domes have received considerable attention, but the Office of Nuclear Waste Isolation (ONWI) now gives highest priority to the Interior Gulf Coast salt domes of Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. Specifically, the ONWI points to eight domes as desirable sites: the Cypress Creek, Richton and Lampton domes near Hattiesburg, Mississippi; the Vacherie and Rayburn domes in northeast Louisiana; and the Keechi, Palestine and Oakwood domes in East Texas.

The U.S. Geological Survey, in its circular "Geologic Disposal of High-Level Radioactive Wastes — Earth Science Perspectives," detailed many of the potential flaws of salt-dome disposal and indicated the amount of study still necessary before a salt dome can be guaranteed as a safe waste repository. The unresolved questions concerning such storage are numerous. Most involve the potentially explosive interaction between the extremely hot spent fuel rods and steamy brine, and the possible migration of radioactive materials into underground water supplies. Also, most salt deposits are

located near other valuable mineral deposits such as potash and natural gas. Radioactive materials could enter these deposits, while future mining of these minerals could damage the integrity of the waste depository. These results would take a long time to develop, but safe disposal of high-level radioactive material depends on thousands of years of careful containment.

Citizens in the areas around the salt domes are mobilizing to block waste depositories in their backyards. Mississippians Against Disposal (MAD) have organized state-wide and strongly support the Mississippi Game and Fish Commission's refusal to allow the Department of Energy to test the Lampton salt dome. Though Texas Governor Billy Clements has stated, "I'm not sure that we in Texas couldn't have some kind of reasonable accommodations [to nuclear waste disposal]," not all of his Texas constituents agree. DOE officials investigating the Permian salt basin in the Texas panhandle encountered so much opposition that they now downplay its potential as a storage site. Maintaining "We did our share and then some," the county commissioners of Matagorda County, Texas (site of the South Texas Nuclear Project), banned permanent waste storage in the county. Other East Texas communities have begun to protest DOE plans to use their salt mines for disposal. And Louisiana has flatly banned the disposal of radioactive wastes in the state's salt mines.

The opposition to using salt domes might be leading the DOE to consider other possibilities. The Office of Nuclear Waste Isolation identifies granite deposits — the option chosen in Canada, Britain and Sweden — as the second-most desirable waste storage medium. All of the Appalachian mountain states have suitable granite deposits. Third on the list are the argillaceous (clay-based) rocks of the type found in the Triassic Basin of the South Carolina-North Carolina-Virginia Piedmont. The shallow Florence basin of northeast South Carolina has been the main target for field testing. And finally sedimentary rocks in the coastal plain of North and South Carolina have attracted attention. Ironically, many of these same geologic sites — and the salt domes as well — coincide



with areas that might bear uranium deposits (see article on uranium mining).

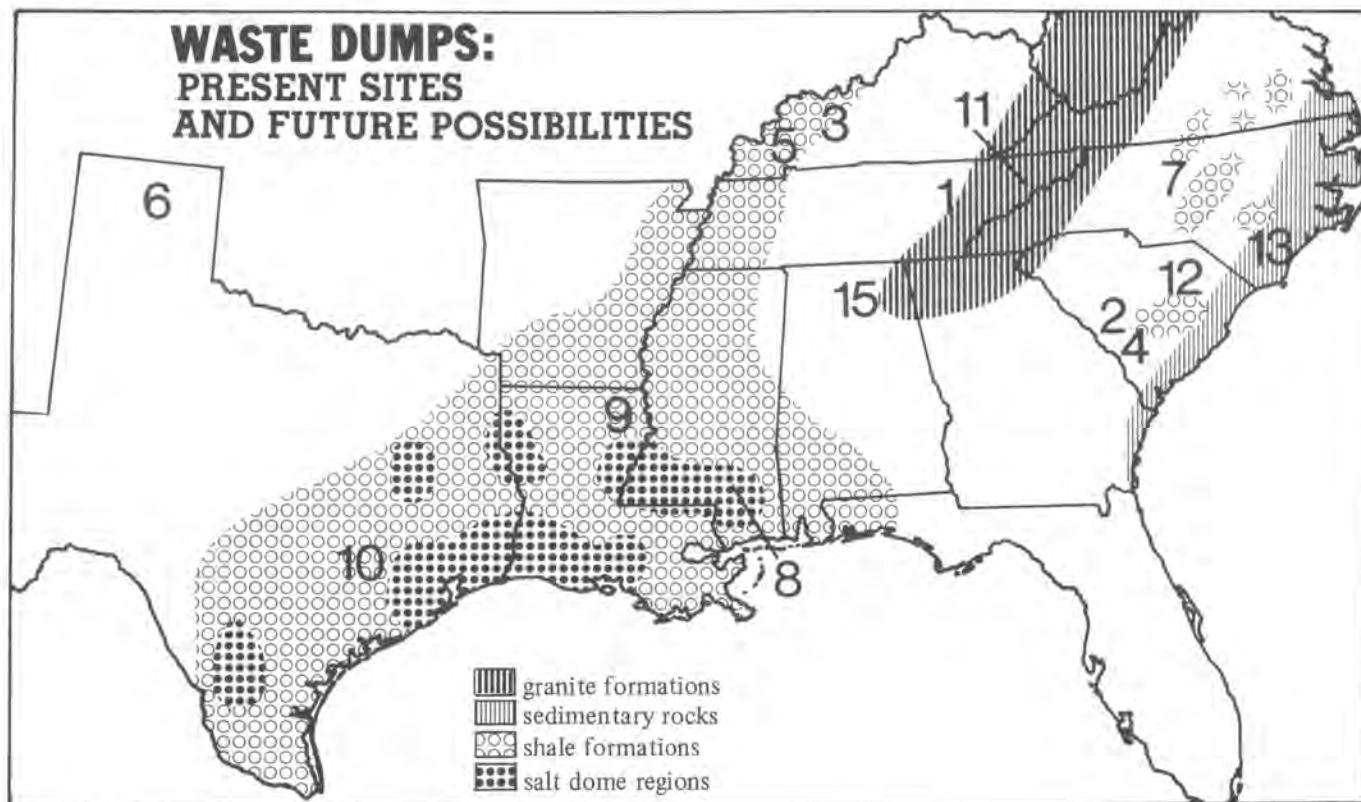
Though these sites have received little attention as high-level storage dumps, DOE has already conducted investigations in each area, usually without informing the local governments. For instance, in March, 1978, officials of the Savannah River Lab informed the North Carolina Governors Advisory Committee on Nuclear Waste Terminal Storage that, several months previously, it had spent \$50,000 to

test rock formations in the New Hill, North Carolina, area. The Lab also let contracts to explore the southeastern Piedmont and Coastal Plain.

All these possibilities are still grossly underdeveloped for the 1988 startup target date for the first deep-earth burial site. Nuclear Regulatory Commission official Richard Cunningham has informed South Carolina Lieutenant Governor Nancy Stevenson that it could take as long as 20 to 25 years before such a facility could be finished. In the meantime, high-level military

wastes will remain in the tanks and storage areas at the Savannah River Plant. In fact, they might stay in the plant forever. Despite the safety problems that cancelled the earlier attempt to use SRP as a depository, the General Accounting Office now recommends that existing military waste facilities be used for permanent waste storage, moving SRP right back to the top of the list of potential waste sites.

Public reaction in the states with attractive granite, clay and sedimentary deposits has been less vigorous



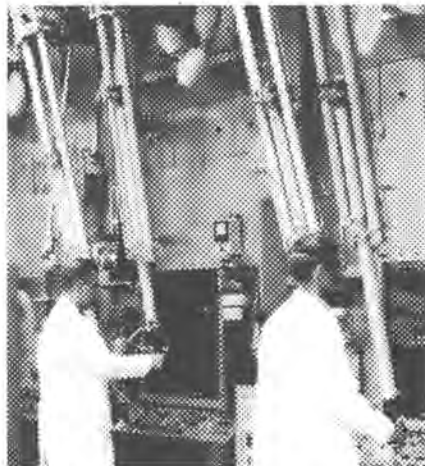
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Oak Ridge, Tenn. Oak Ridge National Laboratory 2 Aiken, S.C. Savannah River Plant 3 Morehead, Ky. Maxey Flats 4 Barnwell, S.C. Chem-Nuclear and AGNS 5 Paducah, Ky. DOE's gaseous diffusion uranium enrichment facility 6 Amarillo, Tex. Pantex weapons plant near here. 7 Winston-Salem, N.C. Proposed toluene processing and waste disposal plant. 8 Hattiesburg, Miss. Salt domes near this city are possible high-level waste storage sites. 9 Northeastern La. The Vacherie & Rayburn salt domes, possible high-level waste storage site. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 East Tex. The Keehchi, Palestine and Oakwood salt dome, possible high-level waste storage site. 11 Appalachian Mountains. Granite deposits are considered desirable waste storage medium. 12 Florence, S.C. The clay-based rocks are desirable waste storage medium. 13 Coastal plain of N. and S. Carolina. Sedimentary rocks here are possible waste storage medium. 14 New Hill, N.C. The Savannah River Lab spent \$50,000 in 1977 to test rock formations here for waste storage potential. 15 Huntsville, Ala. Waste from TVA's Brown's Ferry Reactor is stored here and there is vigorous public opposition to TVA's desire to designate it as an AFR site. |
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than in the salt dome states, perhaps because of the lack of publicity surrounding their consideration. However, the North Carolina General Assembly did pass a resolution in 1979 requesting that the federal government not consider the state for long-term waste disposal sites. And even South Carolina has become increasingly irritated by the federal government's planning methods. Says Lieutenant Governor Stevenson: "South Carolina has been led down the garden path by the federal government regarding the temporary storage of high-level nuclear waste. . . . Ten years have already passed and it will take another 25 to 30 years before a permanent storage facility can even be brought on line."

The message is clear: none of the states will welcome a high-level waste disposal facility. Stevenson says: "We should learn a lesson from this: We should not take the assurances of the federal government at face value." The public obviously learned the lesson before the politicians. At every site it publicly targets for waste storage, DOE encounters substantial local opposition. In fact, given the uniform protest from citizens and state officials, DOE probably will not be able even to begin construction on a waste depository in any of these states before the 1988 target date.

AFR Storage

Because of the slow progress in developing a terminal high-level waste storage facility, and the current moratorium on spent fuel reprocessing, existing reactors' storage tanks are filling up with spent fuel rods. Already 4,000 metric tons of spent fuel are stored in existing reactors, with an additional 98,000 metric tons projected by 2000. In many cases, the tanks at the reactors will be full long before the 1988 target date for completing a high-level waste depository. Therefore, the Savannah River Operations Office and DuPont are backing a relatively new concept: away-from-reactor (AFR) storage. This program would involve constructing a central facility that could handle spent fuel rods from a number of operating reactors; it is currently a top priority



for the Department of Energy: "DOE's FY 1980 program plans to provide AFR storage capacity by 1983."

Before this DOE announcement, Tennessee Valley Authority chairman David Freeman had tried to take the lead role in developing AFR storage. In the fall of 1978, he sent a letter to President Carter urging the federal government to designate Oak Ridge as an AFR site, and he visited Washington seeking \$500 million in private funding for a massive facility that could store 15,000 metric tons of spent fuel. Freeman also mentioned the Savannah River Plant and TVA's Browns Ferry reactor in Huntsville, Alabama, as possible AFR sites. Then after having moved ahead on all fronts, Freeman backed up and instructed his staff to undertake a study of TVA's options in handling spent fuel storage.

Communities in the TVA service area responded immediately. The Huntsville City Council and three counties in north Alabama passed resolutions opposing the use of Browns Ferry as an AFR site. And on February 2, 1979, at a rally sponsored by Volunteers for Clean Energy, 150 people gathered at TVA's twin towers in Knoxville, Tennessee, to protest plans for using Oak Ridge as an AFR site. Chanting the words "Awful, Foul, Rotten," they lashed out at Freeman's plans and specifically criticized the lack of public input into the staff investigation. Many protestors carried their objections to the TVA board meetings. Finally, the staff report recommended that TVA's spent fuel rods be stored at individual reactor sites, and TVA shelved its AFR plans.

Why the vehement opposition? AFR

storage sites only compound the dangers inherent in the nuclear fuel cycle by transporting tons of highly radioactive materials to one central location. And without definite plans for a long-term disposal site, the AFR site cannot be located near a final depository. Additional unresolved questions concern the fees for AFR storage and the burden of financial liability in the event of an accident.

Nevertheless, DOE considers the AFR concept crucial to the future of the nuclear industry. Robert Mills of the Edison Electric Institute agrees: "An approved legislative plan on AFR is an absolute necessity before utilities can commit to power plants." Industry officials threaten that reactors might have to shut down by 1984 because of inadequate storage space.

The General Accounting Office has attacked DOE's assumptions on AFR storage, maintaining the industry will need to store only 152 metric tons by 1983 (DOE predicts 560) and would need to store only 1,433 metric tons by 1988 (DOE says 3,860). However, even if the GAO is correct, some form of temporary storage must be devised if it takes as long as 25 years to complete a permanent depository, as the NRC indicated to Lieutenant Governor Stevenson.

DOE will likely accept the option of least resistance. Currently that option is to buy the Allied General Nuclear Services reprocessing facility in Barnwell, South Carolina, which — for a price of \$500 million — would provide both 5,000 metric tons of storage space and a hypothetically workable reprocessing facility. Aside from the now-abandoned General Electric reprocessing facility in Sheffield, Illinois, and the abandoned Getty reprocessing plant in West Valley, New York, the AGNS plant is the only existing facility that can be converted for AFR use (see article on page 44).

At present, Congress is reluctant to approve funds for any AFR facility. TVA's decision to cancel its AFR plans could put a damper on the process of approval. But according to AGNS, the South Carolina congressional delegation has been more receptive to the idea of AFR storage than any other state's representatives, so South Carolina looms as first choice for an AFR site.

Conclusions

Whatever plans the federal government does endorse will likely prove unpopular. But plans will undoubtedly involve the South, particularly if the federal government can't find a willing host for a waste dump. Unfortunately, no matter how effective political organizing becomes on this issue, and no matter how definitively a state demonstrates its opposition — Louisiana's outright ban, for instance — no guarantee exists that the people's feelings will make

any difference. As Governor Riley's energy assistant David Reid notes, "Passing a law saying the federal government can't store wastes doesn't really mean much." A report by the General Accounting Office makes this even more clear: "Notwithstanding this State legislation, the Federal Government can mandate the location of nuclear waste repositories through the right of eminent domain."

Given the unanswered political, economic and technical questions, it is impossible to predict what plans will be announced over the next few years. The more we learn, the more we find ourselves further from a comprehensive

waste storage plan than we were when the nuclear industry first got started. The most logical solution — to store what we have produced as effectively as possible and stop producing further nuclear wastes — is not among DOE's current proposals for waste planning.

So far, perhaps the most promising solution for waste disposal has been suggested by Texas legislator Ron Waters, who introduced a bill to require utility companies to store their nuclear wastes in their corporate headquarters. Passage of this bill could lead us in the right direction faster than any other option now under consideration. □



H.

Death Trips: Transportation of Nuclear Waste....

by **William Reynolds**

The South is the major crossroads for the transport of the world's radioactive materials. The fuel and raw materials that power every nuclear reactor and every nuclear weapon in the United States, and nearly every

nuclear reactor in the Western world, have been hauled to and from processing and fabrication facilities throughout the South. Now the lethal radioactive wastes produced from operating the reactors and building the nuclear weapons are being carried in ever-increasing numbers through Southern ports and

cities, farmlands and mountains.

A quick glance at a chart prepared by the U.S. Geologic Survey in 1975 clearly illustrates this fact. The chart shows the movement of radioactive materials for energy purposes in the United States. Broad swaths through Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia and the

Carolinas indicate the movement of natural uranium and manufactured nuclear fuel along I-40, I-64, I-77, I-26, I-20 and I-95. The key facilities along these routes include the gaseous diffusion plants owned by the Department of Energy (DOE) in Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Paducah, Kentucky; and Piketon, Ohio. These plants have a monopoly on the supply of enriched uranium in the non-communist countries.

Also in the South are major nuclear fuel fabrication plants operated by General Electric in Wilmington, North Carolina, and Westinghouse in Columbia, South Carolina, which supply nuclear fuel elements to commercial power reactors worldwide; Westinghouse also has planned fabrication plants in Anderson, South Carolina, and Montgomery, Alabama.

Ironically, this chart shows nothing about the transport of much more hazardous radioactive materials through the South: irradiated fuel elements (lethally radioactive "spent fuel" removed from nuclear reactors), plutonium for use in nuclear weapons and the fuels used to power nuclear submarines.

Plutonium is regularly shipped by the DOE from the Savannah River Plant near Aiken, South Carolina, to the Rocky Flats Plant near Denver, Colorado. These plutonium shipments are made by a special paramilitary courier team operated by a division of the DOE. Secrecy around the courier team is so strict that standard operating procedures, including routes of travel, are not made public. The most likely route of travel for the plutonium shipments is from Aiken, through Augusta and Atlanta, Chattanooga and Nashville, Paducah, Kentucky, then west on I-70 to Denver.

The shipments are carried on board "Safe Secure Transport Vehicles" (SSTs), which are heavily shielded and booby-trapped tractor-trailer rigs. Chevrolet Blazers equipped with sophisticated communications gear and heavily armed guards accompany the SSTs. In spite of their lethal loads, the SSTs carry no placards or markings to warn people of the hazardous contents, as is required for all other carriers of hazardous materials. The DOE maintains that such secretive measures are necessary for security purposes; how-

ever, the SSTs are easily recognizable, to the point of being conspicuous to an observant eye. Any saboteurs capable of hijacking an SST could easily monitor the roads outside the production facilities and follow the trucks as they leave. In fact, pacifist and environmental groups in Hawaii and California have trailed and photographed shipments of nuclear weapons and SSTs to expose their presence.

The most definitive work to date on the possible results from a transportation accident spilling plutonium has been done by Sandia Laboratories in New Mexico. Their analysis indicates that a "large quantity" shipment of commercial plutonium released in an urban area could result in nearly 4,000 latent cancer fatalities, 952 "early morbidities" (non-fatal health disorders) and scores of early fatalities. The costs of clean-up from such an accident could range as high as two billion dollars. No environmental impact statement has ever been completed for the transportation of defense-related plutonium.

The South is home to two private shipyards that have built **nuclear ships**. Ingalls in Pascagoula, Mississippi, has built nuclear attack submarines, and the Newport News shipyard in Virginia is building one nuclear aircraft carrier, eight nuclear attack submarines and a nuclear guided-missile cruiser. Fuel plants operated by Babcock & Wilcox in Lynchburg, Virginia, and by Nuclear Fuel Services in Erwin, Tennessee, build the ships' reactor cores, which are then carried by train to the shipyards. No notice is given to communities along the shipment routes. In July, 1979, Ronald Clary, a structural engineer for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), discovered that in an accident the casks bearing the fuel cores could rupture, allowing the control rods to fall out. If any water then entered the cask, it would start a chain reaction producing an intense radiation field lethal to anyone in the area.

Spent fuel from nuclear ships is handled at Navy shipyards in Charleston, South Carolina, and Norfolk, Virginia. Special DOE courier trains carry the spent fuel to the National Engineering Laboratories in Idaho for reprocessing. Once again, responsible officials along the shipment routes receive no notice of when and where

the shipments are taking place. Those coming from Norfolk pass along the Norfolk and Western line through Roanoke; those from Charleston likely pass along the Southern line through Columbia. As is the case with plutonium shipments, these trains are not marked to indicate their hazardous cargo.

Spent nuclear fuel from commercial nuclear reactors is also regularly carried through the South. In its study of the impacts of transporting radioactive materials, Sandia Laboratories estimates the damages from a maximum credible accident involving spent fuel could range as high as \$700 million. A successful sabotage attack on a commercial spent fuel cask is estimated to result in as much as two billion dollars in damages, scores of fatalities and hundreds of latent cancer fatalities. Other professional health physicists have calculated that such an accident could cause up to 1,300 early fatalities and hundreds of thousands of latent cancer fatalities.

Regulation of spent fuel shipments is jointly carried out by the NRC and the Department of Transportation (DOT). The DOT sets standards for permitted levels of radiation emission from spent fuel casks. The NRC sets design criteria for cask construction. Both DOT and NRC regulations rely on the integrity of the containers to ensure safety in transit. Neither agency nor any other federal authority requires approval of shipment routes, notification of public agencies of impending shipments, emergency response plans along the routes or radiological training for drivers and handlers of radioactive materials.

Because of these major omissions in federal regulations, over the past five years 80 states and municipalities — at the urging of concerned citizens — have enacted some form of regulation for hazardous radioactive materials. This local action has finally spurred the federal government into action. The DOT is drafting regulations which more than likely will pre-empt local authority to regulate shipments, but there is no assurance that such regulations will provide the kind of supervision the local governments are demanding. The draft of this controversial rule will

be published shortly, and should create great debate among active citizens' groups and local governments which have passed what they consider to be needed laws.

In June, 1979, the NRC did issue an interim rule — NUREG 0561 — for spent fuel shipments which for the first time required NRC approval of shipment routes, prior notification of each shipment to the NRC and, "where practicable," that shipments avoid cities with populations in excess of 100,000. Still there are no requirements for emergency response plans, no notification of individual shipments to local and state officials. There is also no provision for public involvement in the approval of routes for spent fuel shipment.

Significantly, the DOE considers itself exempt from the NRC provisions. The department completed at least 13 shipments of spent fuel by October, 1979, without applying to the NRC for approval. This spent fuel is being transferred from the Turkey Point reactors near Miami, Florida, to Jackass Flats, Nevada, for use in experimental programs for long-term storage of the spent fuel. Although the DOE will not confirm the routes used, some of the spent fuel is carried directly to Nevada, probably along I-95 to either I-10 or I-20 through the South. The rest is taken to Columbus, Ohio, for testing prior to arrival in Nevada, and follows I-95 to either I-77 or I-75.

The DOE goes to great lengths to assure the public that the shipment of spent fuel is safe. It distributes films showing dramatic full-scale crash tests of spent fuel casks propelled by rocket sleds into a massive concrete wall at speeds up to 80 miles per hour. The

DOE fails to point out, however, that the type of casks used in the full-scale tests are not the type used to ship spent fuel today! Containers actually in use are of a significantly different design and have not been subjected to such full-scale tests. NRC staff also admit that real-life accident situations can be very different from those encountered in the DOE tests.

The NRC rarely makes field inspections of spent fuel casks; in fact, when a cask is licensed, NRC staff only review the drawing and do not inspect the cask itself. Last April, seven casks were recalled from service (only 17 casks have been licensed in the United States) when it was found that they were not constructed to design specifications and were suffering warpage and bowing that could present safety problems. Currently, an NRC safety committee is reviewing two other unresolved design issues related to the safety of spent fuel casks.

Experience in shipping spent fuel has been limited to date, since there is no place to permanently store or dispose of this highly radioactive and long-lived product. Over the past 30 years, there have been only some 3,000 shipments of spent nuclear fuel.

In the process of approving routes for the shipment of spent fuel, the NRC has identified five major routes which will probably be inspected for approval this year. Three of these five routes are entirely within the South.

The steadiest flow of spent fuel comes from research and materials testing reactors located in foreign countries. The spent fuel from these reactors returns to the United States for reprocessing at the Savannah River Plant at a rate of 50 shipments per

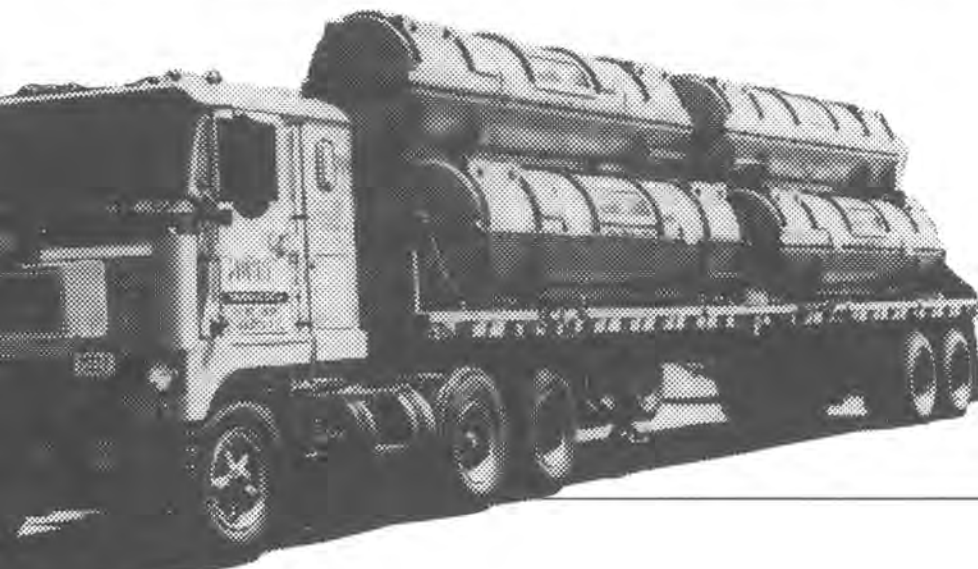
year.

These shipments cross the Atlantic on container cargo lines for unloading in Southern ports. Ports of entry have included Miami, Tampa and Jacksonville, Florida; Savannah, Georgia; and Baltimore, Maryland. The bulk, however, enter at Portsmouth, Virginia, for truck shipment along U.S. 258 to I-95 and I-20 through the Carolinas to Aiken.

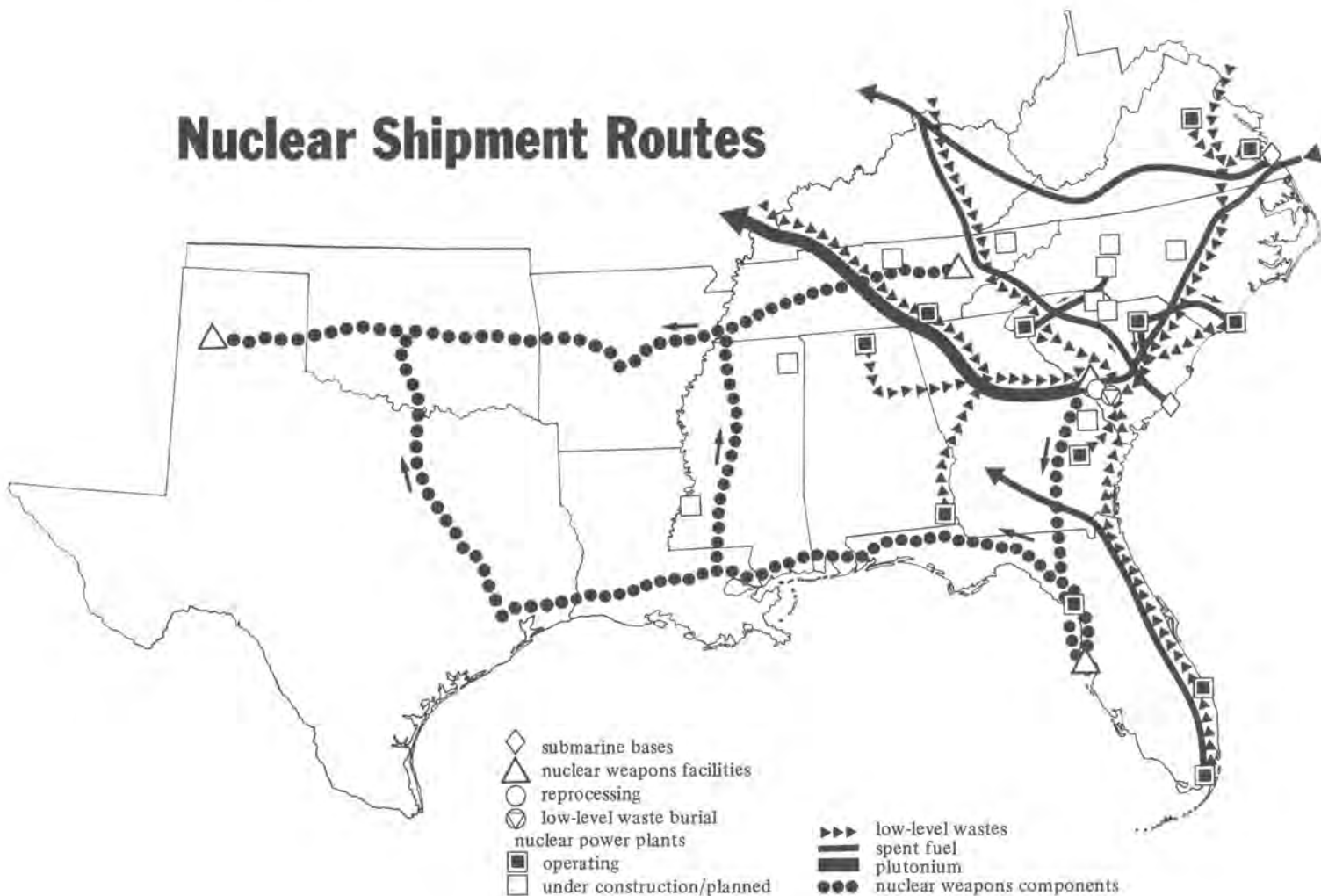
Although Portsmouth is one of the heavily populated areas the agency plans to exempt from unloading spent fuel shipments, the NRC is allowing the port to be used on an interim basis while alternative sites are investigated. Transnuclear, Inc., the spent fuel shipping agent, has not yet found another port willing to accept the radioactive cargoes. William Greene, director of the North Carolina State Ports Authority, wrote Transnuclear in August that "We do not want North Carolina's ports utilized for this purpose." Port Everglades and the Port of Miami, Florida, have also refused to accept any nuclear waste shipment. Several cities, including Charleston, South Carolina, and Garden City and Port Wentworth, Georgia, have also passed laws preventing shipments of spent fuel through their ports. The NRC is still looking for a small port city which will accept the spent fuel shipments.

The first route to receive full approval from the NRC is the route used to ship spent fuel from Carolina Power & Light's Robinson nuclear plant in Hartsville, South Carolina, to the CP&L Brunswick plant in Southport, North Carolina. CP&L is making about six train shipments per year from Hartsville to Southport (casks used to haul spent fuel on trains are capable of carrying 10 times the amount of spent fuel carried in a truck-mounted cask).

The third route in the South would be Duke Power Company's routing of spent fuel from their Oconee reactor in Seneca, South Carolina, to their McGuire nuclear plant just north of Charlotte, North Carolina. In this highly contested proposal, Duke Power would make 420 to 450 individual truck shipments of spent fuel from Oconee to McGuire to create additional storage space at Oconee. The Carolina Environmental Study Group and the



Nuclear Shipment Routes



Natural Resources Defense Council initiated legal proceedings to stop these shipments, arguing that they present an unnecessary risk and exemplify how the nuclear industry is proceeding with its nuclear power program without developing a rational nuclear waste storage program.

Shuffling spent fuel among nuclear reactors is not unique to Duke and CP&L. Nuclear reactors across the country are running out of "on-site" storage space and are searching for temporary means of relieving their waste problems. Pending a permanent solution to the question of how to dispose of spent fuel and high-level wastes, a limited number of alternatives exist for solving this problem:

expanding the on-site storage capability; ceasing to produce further wastes (shutting down the reactors); operating the reactors at a lower capacity so as to produce less wastes; or shipping the spent fuel to reactor sites with excess storage capacity (transshipment) or to an "away-from-reactor" (AFR) storage site. Many utilities have already expanded their on-site storage capabilities; others are finding off-site shipment of spent fuel to be a less costly alternative.

The use of AFRs and transshipments will greatly increase the amount of spent fuel in transit. Estimates by the NRC indicate that shipments of spent fuel will increase nationally from about 200 per year in 1979 to over

2,000 in 1985, if current trends continue.

The DOE has identified at least 27 reactors nationwide which will reach maximum storage capacity by 1985. The utilities which own these reactors will be seeking to ship spent fuel off-site, either by transshipment or to an AFR. Twelve of them are in the South.

Transshipment will only compound the problem of shipping spent fuel, as Duke Power's transshipment plan clearly illustrates. Although shipping spent fuel to McGuire will alleviate storage problems at Oconee, McGuire Unit 1 will reach full capacity by 1981. At that time Duke plans to ship the spent fuel from McGuire to the

Catawba reactors under construction in South Carolina; when Catawba fills up, to the newer Cherokee nuclear plant, and so on.

The dormant Allied General Nuclear Services (AGNS) reprocessing plant in Barnwell County, South Carolina, is the likely site for a federal AFR facility. Existing space at AGNS would allow for the storage of 430 metric tons a year, the amount produced in one year by about 15 nuclear reactors. Each reactor requires 60 to 70 truck shipments or six or seven train shipments to haul the spent fuel produced in one year; a year's supply of spent fuel from 15 reactors equals three truckloads a day, or two trains a week. AGNS officials have stated that it would take about four-and-a-half years to expand the on-site storage capacity to 5,000 metric tons, the approximate amount of spent fuel currently stored at all commercial nuclear reactors in the United States.

In light of the ever-increasing amounts of spent fuel and other radioactive material being carried through Southern communities, private citizens in many areas are working through their city councils and state legislatures to establish needed con-

trols, in spite of the threats of federal pre-emption of local power. In Charlotte, North Carolina, the Carolina Environmental Study Group, the Safe Energy Alliance and Carolina Action arranged public hearings before the city council at which hundreds of people from all sections of the community appeared to express opposition to the movement of spent fuel through Charlotte. In spite of Duke Power's efforts to convince the city and county officials that such shipments are safe, both the Charlotte City Council and the Mecklenberg County Commission passed resolutions urging the NRC to block shipments through Charlotte and to explore other options.

Friends United for Safe Energy (FUSE) had similar success before the Greenville County Commission. Appearing the same night that Duke Power officials showed the DOE film on spent fuel cask safety, FUSE was able to convince the commission to send a letter of concern about the proposed shipment to the NRC. Other citizens efforts have led to regulations covering nuclear shipments in Miami and Charleston.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) at one time expressed interest in establishing an AFR site, which it

would open to spent fuel from across the country. Citizens groups throughout the Valley fought long and hard in opposition to this plan. For instance, Peg Mobley headed up PAWS (Prevent Atomic Waste Storage), a group which mobilized official opposition to the TVA AFR proposal in a number of northern Alabama communities, including Athens, the home of the Brown's Ferry nuclear plant and a stronghold of pro-nuclear sentiment. Other citizens expressed strong opposition to the AFR at numerous TVA board meetings. Eventually, TVA officials shelved the AFR plans.

A simple piece of legislation introduced by Representative Bill Tauzin and passed by the Louisiana legislature in 1978 sums up the feelings of many concerned citizens. It reads: "Notwithstanding any law, order or regulation to the contrary, no high-level radioactive wastes, including spent fuel rods from nuclear reactors, shall be transported into the state for disposal in this state or elsewhere." □

William Reynolds is the director of the American Friends Service Committee's Nuclear Cargo Transportation Project.

...And How To Fight It

CARAVAN FOR A NON-NUCLEAR FUTURE

by Barry Snitkin

When six of us left Florida for Seabrook, New Hampshire, in June of 1978, we had very little idea of what was beginning. We knew the 70-mile "Safe Energy Walk" from Boston to Seabrook meant civil disobedience, arrest and possibly jail. But we didn't know that we would take home insight, knowledge and the idea for a similar action to raise the issue of nuclear power in our home state.

In the course of the seven-day Walk, several of us became increasingly

impressed with the educational value of this action — walking through cities and showing films and sharing information every night; and talking with people who otherwise might not have been exposed to the issue. Once we reached Seabrook, about six of us got together at the Miami-based Conchshell Alliance table. The group discussed a joint action in Florida and set up a planning meeting for August 12 in Tampa. We didn't realize then that the size of Florida called for far more extensive preparations than had the New Hampshire walk.

Fifteen people representing several anti-nuclear groups arrived for the August 12 meeting. Everyone agreed that our basic goals were both to publicize the dangers of nuclear power and to enlist supporters and enlarge the anti-nuclear movement. For seven hours, we talked, brainstormed and debated. Finally we arrived at a rough idea for our action: we decided to focus on the issue of transportation of nuclear wastes in Florida — not only the radioactive wastes from the four operating nuclear plants in the state, but also the spent fuel rods shipped

from overseas through the Port of Miami on the way to the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina.

The focus on waste transportation led to the decision that a caravan of vehicles — a symbolic waste shipment — could accomplish more than a walk. We planned to start at the Turkey Point Nuclear Plant 30 miles south of Miami, go due north to Jacksonville and then head west to Tallahassee for a big rally in the state capitol. The Caravan for a Non-Nuclear Future would last six days and encompass 500 miles of travel, with rallies, debates and seminars scheduled in as many cities as possible.

Though we worked out most of the tasks necessary for the campaign, the most difficult task remained: how to convince the press to pay attention to us. Nuclear power was not then a hot issue in Florida, and our group still lacked credibility.

Over the next few months, every group in the state worked hard to build the necessary momentum. A state-wide mailing in early September brought in enough money to begin our activities and generated additional support for the project. Contact people planned events for the Caravan's stop in their communities. We held four more planning and progress meetings in Tampa to take care of last-minute details. As November 11 approached — the starting date for the Caravan — we finally felt we had logistics under control, a very positive attitude and a batch of new friends, including several in the press.

We also learned that Westinghouse Electric Company was sending out three nuclear engineers to trail us and "correct" our "mistaken" impressions that nuclear power was a less-than-wise energy choice. But we were prepared to present our case to the public and the media, and felt confident we could handle the engineers as well.

On November 10, the participants started arriving at a church in Perrine near the South Miami Conchshell Alliance office. Early the next morning, 40 people assembled across the water from the Turkey Point Nuclear Plant. This seemed an appropriate starting point given Turkey Point's poor reliability record. In fact, Florida Power & Light (FP&L) had recently sued Westinghouse for \$240 million

because the steam generator that was supposed to last 30 years had to be replaced after only six.

We held a brief rally at the plant site topping it off by releasing hundreds of balloons which carried the message, "If you received this balloon, you could just as easily receive radiation [from this plant]." Then the participants piled into 25 vehicles and started up U.S. 1, headed for Miami.

Our day-to-day itinerary suggests the variety of activities we undertook to get our message across:

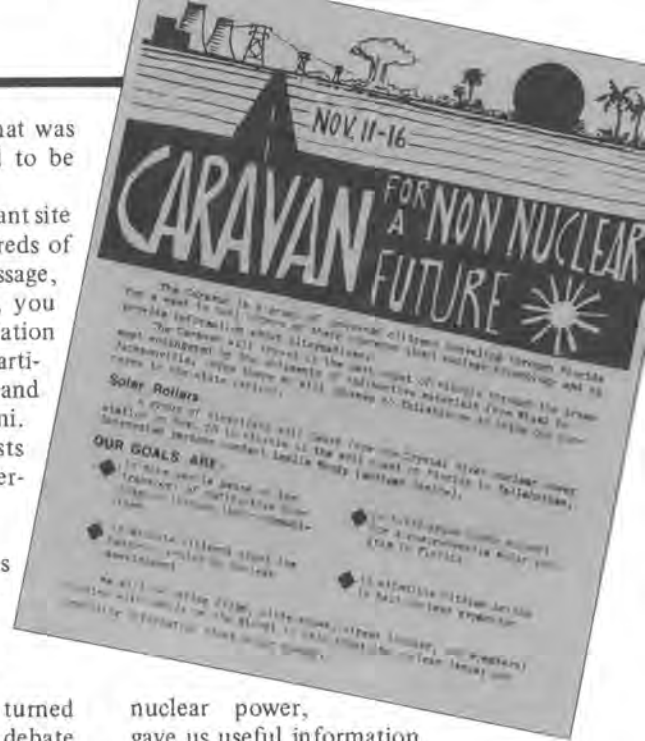
- **Saturday:** Our first stop was in Coconut Grove, where we performed guerilla theatre and leafleted people at a sidewalk art show. We continued on to Miami where about 50 people turned out for an evening film and a debate between Caravan members and the Westinghouse engineers. The engineers were very well prepared, but the comments indicated that no one was convinced.

- **Sunday:** After a short service and a die-in at Hollywood Park, we moved to the beach, where we spent about two hours leafleting and talking with sympathetic sunbathers. Our die-in at the amphitheatre and our songs on the crowded beach attracted a lot of attention.

That night in West Palm Beach over 100 people, mostly senior citizens, came to a public meeting organized with the help of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. A slide show about solar energy led into a lengthy discussion about the pragmatics of alternative technologies and the dangers of nuclear power. We were excited to be so well received.

- **Monday:** Karen Silkwood Day. We journeyed to Fort Pierce, the site of FP&L's St. Lucie Nuclear Reactor. Not much of a crowd greeted us, but a lively debate ensued with the nuclear engineers. As at most stops, local speakers expressed fears about living so near an operating nuclear reactor and concern about the dangers of nuclear waste shipments.

- **Tuesday:** The Cocoa Beach food co-op gave us a great reception. We then toured the Solar Energy Center at Cape Canaveral, and talked with the scientists who work there. They too were concerned about the dangers of



nuclear power, gave us useful information on their own work in solar energy, and generally went out of their way to aid us.

Later that afternoon, three of us taped a debate with the Westinghouse nuclear engineers at an Orlando television station. We used Amory Lovins' statistics from *Energy Futures* and *Soft Energy Paths* to refute their arguments. The rest of the Caravan continued on to Daytona Beach, where more than 50 people watched a film and engaged in a lively discussion.

- **Wednesday:** One hundred people showed up for a rally at the Daytona Beach Junior College, which featured a variety of speakers and some lively guerilla theatre. After a police-escorted parade through town, we headed for predominantly black Bethune-Cookman College. The students listened attentively to our concerns, especially when we emphasized the heavy economic price they pay for nuclear power.

This response sharply contrasted with our reception that evening in Jacksonville. The city hosts Westinghouse's Offshore Power Systems, so we did not expect a warm welcome. But we were unprepared for the packed auditorium at that night's debate. Seventy-five percent of the audience worked at the Westinghouse plant, and they greeted us with laughter, jeers and boos. But Westinghouse has been a bit of a disappointment to the local community, employing only 300 people instead of the expected 12,000, so we did find



a number of supporters among the non-Westinghouse audience members. The hostile reaction shook us, but we later realized that under the circumstances we had done okay.

• **Thursday:** The caravan ended at Tallahassee, the state capitol. Over 100 people cheered us as we entered the city and followed our motorcade to a downtown park. There over 500 people rallied to voice their anger against nuclear power. We capped off the six-day journey with a pleasant afternoon of speeches, music and guerilla theatre.

The Caravan for a Non-Nuclear Future succeeded on many different levels. As it turned out, the presence of the Westinghouse engineers opened the door to widespread press coverage. Before the Caravan the local press had tended to ignore the issue of nuclear power, but Westinghouse made the Caravan a newsworthy item by taking an adversary role. People throughout the state saw us, read about us or heard

about us. The media showed up everywhere, putting the caravan on every major TV network on the east coast and in most of the state's newspapers, large and small. Even the radio stations turned up to cover our activities.

The Caravan also reached and educated thousands of people through direct contact. The most rewarding aspect of this contact was the chance to communicate with new groups of people. The senior citizens in West Palm Beach and black students at Bethune-Cookman College, who were among our most receptive audiences, offered us the potential of expanding our support beyond a younger white constituency.

The diverse groups of people who coordinated the Caravan formed the basis for the Florida Non-Nuclear Network, which has since sponsored an anti-nuclear conference and held two statewide demonstrations. And three new local anti-nuclear groups emerged from the Caravan — a Catfish Alliance group in Broward County, a Conchshell Alliance group in Palm Beach and a Coquina Shell Alliance group in Daytona Beach formed from the local Caravan support team. All these groups have worked hard on the local level and supported the Network's statewide actions.

Now the Network has branched out beyond the issue of nuclear power. Another new group — Live Without Trident — has organized to oppose the Trident nuclear submarine base planned for northeast Florida.

The Caravan produced immediate tangible results as well. Shortly after the event, the director of the Port of Miami banned the shipments of nuclear waste which were being un-

loaded in the city. The concerns and factual information we had presented contributed to this welcome decision.

The Caravan also deeply influenced the lives of the participants. Our encounters with the Westinghouse engineers, no matter how polite on the surface, made us realize how far the nuclear industry would go to protect its image and its profits. After 25 years of deception through half-truths, outright lies and suppression of damaging information, they had the audacity to claim they were following us to clear up *our* misinformation and half-truths.

Those encounters taught us how to answer the types of arguments nuclear advocates use. We, who were not scientists, educated ourselves and held our own with the nuclear engineers. We became credible, understandable and articulate — and persuaded many people that our position was right.

The Caravan was the first time I had helped coordinate and organize a major action. The responsibilities were more than I'd ever taken on in the past, but handling them made me more sure of my own abilities to assume leadership. We were all able to overcome our fears of failure and learn new and valuable skills throughout the months of planning and carrying out the Caravan.

I say this to encourage more people to take the risks and try new roles. Alliances should encourage and support people to try leadership roles, to take on new and often frightening responsibilities for our own futures. This is how people are empowered and this is how our movement can grow. □

Barry Snitkin is an anti-nuclear activist in Tallahassee, Florida.

CHARLESTON SAYS NO

by Steve Hoffius

On June 26, 1979, the City Council of Charleston, South Carolina, passed an ordinance that bans the transportation of highly dangerous nuclear wastes through the city. The event signaled the growing opposition in East Coast cities to the importation of other countries' wastes and demonstrated the effectiveness of

a concrete strategy activists can adopt in organizing against nuclear power in Southern communities.

The South is already the major crossroads for the transportation of nuclear wastes. Truckload after truckload of material travels daily to the South Carolina nuclear dumping grounds — the Savannah River Plant and the Chem-Nuclear low-level waste storage facility in Barnwell. In addition,

some nuclear waste material from Northern power plants has been shipped down the coast, and then trucked inland to Barnwell and SRP. Domestic wastes, though, make up just one portion of the nuclear waste materials that travel through the South.

Most of the material unloaded in Southern ports comes from overseas. Under the Atoms for Peace program, countries which have purchased exper-

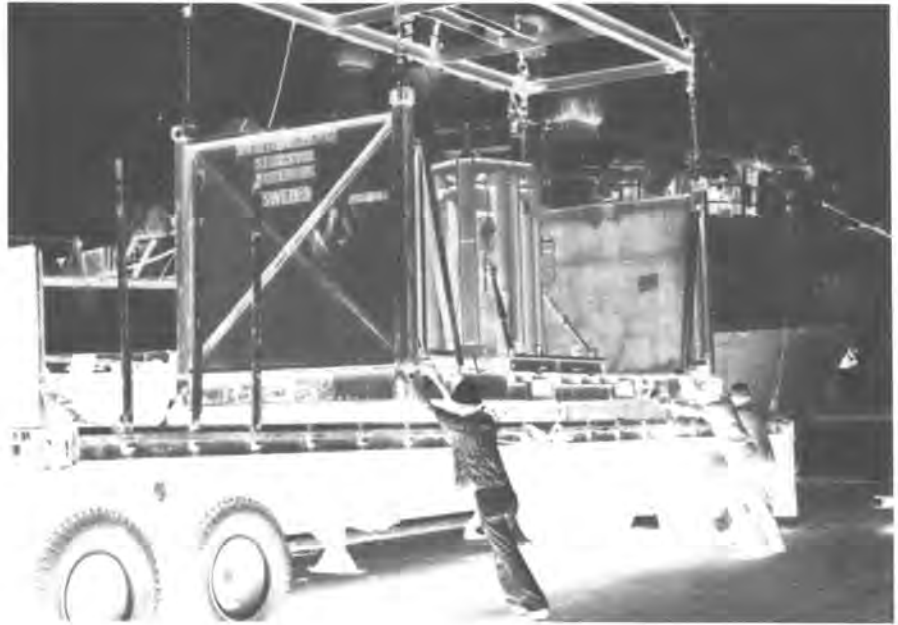
imental and materials testing reactors return the wastes to this country. These spent fuel rods contain highly enriched bomb-grade uranium and are considered too dangerous to leave in just anyone's hands. So the materials are shipped to the Savannah River Plant for temporary storage until the construction of a permanent waste isolation facility.

In the past, most foreign shipments arrived in Portsmouth, Virginia, and were then trucked to SRP. In the summer of 1979, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission proposed a change in the routes these waste shipments take. The commission, in an announcement entitled NUREG 0561, proclaimed that because of the threat of terrorists, spent fuel shipments should avoid any communities with populations of 100,000 or more. That eliminated Portsmouth, and a great many other Southern Atlantic ports. Until the city council took its stand, Charleston seemed a prime target for these shipments.

The Charleston ban followed a prolonged campaign by the Charleston Palmetto Alliance that included speaking before community groups, circulating petitions, researching legal issues, lobbying for the bill, and providing council members and the press with extensive research on the issue. Despite this work, a series of lucky coincidences proved crucial to the ordinance's passage. Council member Arthur Christopher introduced the bill in 1978, but it made little progress toward a vote until the Three Mile Island accident in March 1979.

In the excitement of those first frightened days, a local newspaper reporter called the city attorney to whom the ordinance had been sent several months before for research on the city's authority to pass such an ordinance. The attorney found his draft opinion buried on his desk. It was uncovered, finalized, and then passed quickly through a city council subcommittee without a negative vote. The subcommittee chairperson complained, "If we had passed this when it was introduced, we would have looked like visionaries. Now, after Three Mile Island, we seem like reactionaries."

Despite that boost, the ordinance's future remained uncertain until the week of the vote, when Charleston



media discovered NUREG 0561 and NRC officials announced they would be in town that week to investigate Charleston's potential as a nuclear port. The pressure of that visit was most helpful.

The black Charleston council members took the lead in pushing the ordinance, and stood by it, for the most part, until the end. Their support came from a number of sources: a knowledgeable understanding of the dangers of nuclear transportation; the recognition that the neighborhoods around the docks, those most threatened by the shipments, were mostly black; distrust of the federal government's close ties with the energy corporations; the dockworkers' (in Charleston the docks are worked almost exclusively by blacks) criticisms that nuclear wastes would arrive in containerized packages, cutting down on employ-

ment. In addition, shortly before the vote, an article appeared in the local black newspaper commending the black council members for their "farsightedness" in endorsing the ordinance long before the TMI accident made nuclear safety a popular issue. Combined, all of these factors helped ensure a near-solid black vote. Even when two black ordinance-supporters were unable to attend the meeting because of personal conflicts, the black council members needed only to persuade two of the six white votes.

Individual council members supported their pro-ordinance votes with their own personal experiences. One member, when shown a government film on the indestructibility of transportation caskets, shouted "Films! Listen, I was in the Army, I was in Vietnam, and I saw plenty of films!"



Revised
Number 1979-42

AN ORDINANCE

AN ORDINANCE REGULATING THE TRANSPORTATION OF NUCLEAR MATERIAL.

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE MAYOR AND COUNCIL MEMBERS OF CHARLESTON IN COUNCIL ASSEMBLED:

Section 1.

It shall be unlawful to transport radioactive material in any quantity or form within or through

We saw films on the M16. They told us it was the best gun in the world, that it wouldn't need no oil, that it wouldn't need no work, and then we got over there and it jammed!" He suggested that the people responsible for the Vietnam War were behind nuclear power. Another council member reported privately that his concern about nuclear energy had grown when the Navy admitted a nuclear sub had accidentally released radioactive water near his favorite fishing hole.

The city council vote followed a crowded, four-hour public hearing. Charleston Palmetto Alliance members and their supporters offered detailed information on the possibilities of transportation accidents, and the effects of one in Charleston. Alliance member Kit Gage announced to the council members: "If there were a minimal accident with a high-level nuclear waste shipment, involving a

one-percent spill of solid materials, federal statistics show in Charleston there could be up to 115 deaths within a year, with 2,292 to 14,498 eventual cancer fatalities. If the accident happened during a business day, there would be an increase in early deaths up to 235, with eventual cancer deaths at 4,700 to 30,500."

The council members were convinced. They gave the bill its second and third readings that evening.

Since the Charleston vote, the city councils of Garden City, Georgia (home of Savannah's main port) and Morehead City, North Carolina, have passed ordinances similar to Charleston's. An ordinance is being prepared for the city council of Portsmouth. The State Ports Authority of North Carolina has declared that no spent fuel will be allowed into any port in the state. And the Charleston County Council is now considering an ordinance

that could block spent fuel shipped to the port of North Charleston.

Transportation ordinances, however, need not be used only by coastal cities. With no other port easily available, the NRC has passed a temporary exemption to its 0561 ruling, allowing Portsmouth to receive spent fuel despite its large population. From Portsmouth, wastes are to be trucked hundreds of miles through dozens of inland Southern communities to the Barnwell area. And wastes from most American power plants travel only over U.S. highways to Barnwell. For each community on a waste transportation route, a local ordinance is one means of saying no to nuclear wastes and of raising issues of nuclear safety on a local level. □

Steve Hoffius is a free-lance writer in Charleston, and a frequent contributor to Southern Exposure.

YOUR TOWN CAN BAN WASTE SHIPMENTS

by Susan Dunn

Many local anti-nuclear groups are now considering proposing regulations similar to the Charleston ordinance in their own communities. Our experience reveals that a local initiative focusing on the passage of a transportation ordinance can also be an effective mechanism for raising public awareness of the hazards of low-level radiation, waste disposal and catastrophic accidents and for illustrating the ineffectiveness of present federal regulation. Charleston passes on these words of advice to other groups considering a transportation ordinance.

Can your group handle the task? You do not need 100 active members. You must have several dedicated members who can work hard for an extended period of time and other folks who can rally for needed support. You need not have three or four lawyers in your group, but you must have access to legal information and support. And a receptive political climate is not a requirement. Let's face it, Charleston is not a hotbed of liberalism!

One necessity is flexible and speedy decision-making. Like many anti-



nuclear groups, Charleston Palmetto Alliance's normal mode of decision-making was as a committee-of-the-whole or something close to a full group consensus method. When we started the ordinance work, we made all major decisions as a whole group. This proved to be a tactical disaster —

particularly in relation to press contact. After months of chaos, we finally set up a five-person committee just to shepherd the ordinance. This committee functioned internally on a consensus basis, could make decisions and release statements within just a few hours, and also reported to the full group and co-

ordinated support activities.

Once you decide to try an ordinance, gather information: What spent fuel has been shipped/will be shipped through your community? Why is spent fuel dangerous? What are the consequences of a radioactive transport accident in your town? (A study useful for this purpose is NUREG 0194, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, "Calculations of Radiological Consequences From Sabotage of Shipping Casks for Spent Fuel and High Level Waste," available through National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, VA 22161 (703)557-4600, \$4.50.) Document all information and statistics and try to keep this material in a central location. We were very slow to decide what information was vital and to centralize it. It is also helpful to develop visual aids such as graphs and maps very early for self-education as well as public display.

Determine what local authority has jurisdiction over the flow of material over streets and highways. Usually the city or municipal corporation has this authority, but it could be the county or parish. Perhaps the jurisdiction is shared between city and county, and the county is the dominant force. In such a case, it might be more efficient to skip the city and propose an ordinance at the stronger county level.

After you determine where to introduce the ordinance, find out how that governing body works. Who's on the council? How often does it meet? Who may introduce legislation? Must legislation be referred to committee? How is the agenda set? What are the standing committees? If your council has staff — such as secretary to the council or clerk of council — he or she may prove to be a goldmine of information.

Then draft the ordinance. Carefully. Most municipal ordinances, including Charleston's, echo the 1976 New York City ordinance. But an ordinance must be tailored to fit the locale. Charleston's city budget, for instance, would not allow establishing or enlarging an office for the purpose of enforcing the ordinance as was done in New York City. Instead of having an office issue permits, the Charleston ordinance bans some materials, exempts other materials and requires notice to the chief of police on all other radioactive shipments.

With ordinance in hand, go to the council. In Charleston it proved helpful, if not vital, to cultivate a knowledgeable sponsor to introduce the ordinance and to stand by it until its passage. Don't worry about finding someone who understands nuclear power language. If you can identify someone you trust who is respected by his or her cohorts, you're on your way.

After the ordinance is introduced, muster your legal support. Council members often ask, "Isn't this a federal problem like airplanes that we can't regulate?" or "Doesn't this get us onto shaky constitutional ground by restricting interstate commerce?" Briefly the answers to these questions are "No, not yet," and "No." Legal opinions on these very issues have been written by staff attorneys in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Charleston. If your council has a staff attorney or refers this matter to an attorney for an advisory opinion, don't be bashful about submitting opinions from other communities. Such action may save everyone a lot of time and unnecessary work.

Follow the ordinance through its levels of consideration. We found it helpful to assign two Alliance members to monitor each council person through the course of deliberation. A public hearing may be held. You may desire an "outside expert" to present your case. This usually requires, at the very least, expense money. For instance, we received a big boost from Dr. Karl Z. Morgan, noted health physicist from Georgia Tech, who gave a public address prior to the council's public hearing. Unfortunately, we were not very successful in locating expert support from local physicians, professors, or engineers.

Politics is a game of empty statistics if warm bodies don't give support. The press is a vital link to the public. While the ordinance is being considered, it is crucial to tie every national nuclear incident to the local ordinance, to keep public attention on the ordinance.

At every step of legislation, boosters of the ordinance should be present and ready to show their support. The hazards of a nuclear transportation accident cut across all racial, economic, religious and age differences. The diversity of your visible support will drive this point home.

Cultivate the support of service groups, environmental groups, church groups and neighborhood organizations. Sending speakers to their meetings is a simple way to develop this support, but the timing is critical. If you go too early, as we did in several cases here in Charleston, you can give information but cannot request action. If you go too late, you often preclude an official endorsement.

We also carried out petition drives in public places such as grocery stores and shopping malls and distributed leaflets and bumper stickers. Door-to-door drives in selected neighborhoods along transportation routes might be quite persuasive. A wise tactic would be to deliver copies of the petitions to the mayor or head of council just a few days before the final vote.

Luck, timing and serendipity all played critical roles in the passage of Charleston's ordinance. But they also could have defeated it. Right down to the wire, we did not know if the regulation would pass. The night of the final vote, two sure supporters missed the meeting as a result of unforeseen personal conflicts. One supporter reneged during the debate, but on the last vote abstained.

Our ordinance was being considered during Christmas. Some of our people were months late in finishing work necessary to push the ordinance further. But the delay proved fortuitous as it gave Three Mile Island a chance to fan the fires of public and political support.

Even the best planning cannot foresee such events. All you can do is be as prepared as possible and act quickly when unexpected opportunities arise.

For more information, contact: Charleston Palmetto Alliance, Box 582, Charleston, S.C. 29403. A small packet of ordinance information including the text of the ordinance and the testimony prepared for the public hearing is available from the above address for \$5.00. A large packet — including legal opinions, assorted federal documents, and local statements — is available for \$10.00. □

Susan Dunn is an attorney and member of the Charleston Palmetto Alliance.

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Private Utilities: CORE OF THE PROBLEM

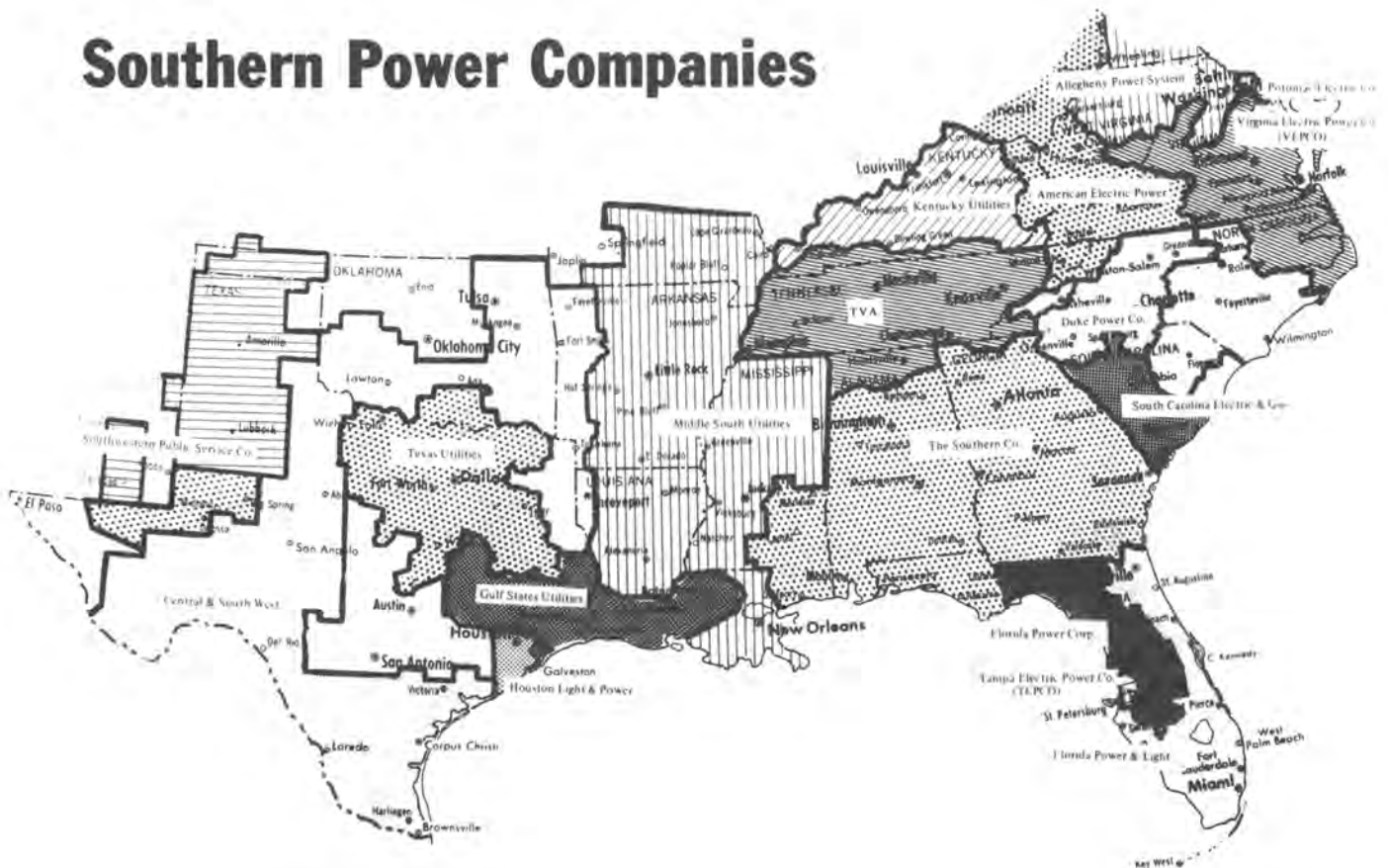
Inevitably the battle against nuclear power leads to the electric utilities who buy nuclear technology and promote its benefits to local consumers and would-be regulators. Every reactor built is both a local symbol of the entire nuclear fuel cycle and an immediate threat to a community's future health and economic well-being. By targeting the electric company and its narrow-minded schemes, activists can effectively organize around a variety of nuclear power issues — as they are now doing, from the highly publicized struggle of the Clamshell Alliance against the Seabrook Plant in New Hampshire to the less-known campaign against Mississippi Power & Light's new reactor.

At the bottom of a utility's choice to go nuclear is greed: privately owned electric monopolies receive a guaranteed profit on their total investment in exchange for government regulation of their rates. Since a nuclear plant requires a large initial investment to build than a coal- or gas-fueled plant of equal capacity, the utility can make more profit for its investors and owners by choosing nuclear. In the last couple of years, however, Wall Street banks and investors have grown more skeptical of nuclear power's long-term costs and unpredictable risks. At the same time, increasing consumer pressure to harness spiraling rates has endangered the power companies' ability to get higher and higher returns

demanded by their investors and, in some cases, their capacity to expand as fast as they desire. Somewhat on the defensive, utilities have risen to the occasion by increasingly spending resources on public "education" and outright lobbying in the state legislatures and regulatory commissions. They recognize that the prospect of keeping nuclear power a lucrative investment and profit-making business depends increasingly on these public officials, and as the following two case studies reveal, many companies are highly successful in turning the overseers of utility policy into rubber stamps for their most ambitious plans.

continued on page 77

Southern Power Companies



POWER TO RULE THE ROOST

CASE STUDY: GEORGIA UTILITY WIRES LEGISLATURE

by Betsy Mahoney

These are not easy times for the Georgia Power Company. Or at least that's what the company would like you to think.

Since the early 1970s, the huge utility has faced steady, and often successful, opposition to its rate increase requests before the Public Service Commission (PSC). In 1977, the General Assembly, under pressure to do something to help the average ratepayer, created the Consumers' Utility Counsel (C.U.C.) to represent consumer interests before the PSC, and a feisty opponent of utility abuses, attorney Sid Moore, was hired to direct its staff.

Last year, the company lost a powerful ally on the Commission when a tough-talking young populist named Billy Lovett crushed PSC Chairman Ben Wiggin's bid for a fifth term. This year, with Lovett browbeating his fellow Commissioners into submission, the PSC flatly denied the company's request for a 17 percent increase, or \$225.6 million more in revenues each year. Meanwhile, politicians around the state advance their popularity by taking potshots at Georgia Power, and legislators regularly introduce bills (though they rarely pass) to prove their sympathy for the beleaguered consumer.

"The political pressure on us is enormous," concludes a Georgia Power public affairs executive. Just countering the "legislative attack," he says,

has required an unprecedented lobbying effort.

Having Georgia Power on the defensive is something a lot of people have waited to see for decades. "I detest those people because they get away with so much," says one legislative observer. "They're the most arrogant investor-owned utility in the South."

In the old days, Georgia Power seemed to glide along, almost oblivious to its detractors. Doubling in size every eight or 10 years, it had more than enough money to attract powerful friends in the 153 of Georgia's 159 counties where it operated. By the 1950s, sociologist Floyd Hunter identified the company as "one of the three most powerful private institutions in the state." Its clout continued to expand in the go-go years of the '60s, with its dollars winning allies in nearly every segment of the community:

- Revenues reached \$295 million in 1968 (\$1,475 million in 1978) and net income hit \$41.5 million (\$166.5 million in '78), making Georgia Power the fourth largest non-financial corporation based in the state, behind Coca-Cola, Delta Air Lines and Southern Bell.

- Income and property taxes paid by the company made it among the biggest sources of funds for the expansion plans of the state and dozens of counties.

- With 6,680 employees in 1968 earning over \$34 million in wages and salaries (12,067 employees and \$202.5 million in payroll in 1978), the company was also among the largest job providers in the state.

- Its construction budget of \$141.4 million in 1968 more than equaled the combined expenditures of *all* new manufacturing plants in Georgia, giving the company phenomenal clout among contractors, building suppliers, etc. Since the company had a policy of using only union labor on construction jobs, it was also the largest plus in organized labor's otherwise tenuous strength in the state.

- In 1968, over \$24 million went to banks — including many in Georgia — in annual interest payments for loans to the company (the figure hit \$129 million in 1978); millions more went to stockholders of Georgia Power's parent company, the Southern Company, which is also based in Atlanta.

- A network of 100 local offices, 31 district offices and seven division offices kept the company highly visible throughout the 1960s (another 60 local and six district offices were added in the '70s). With local managers taking an active part in civic affairs and tens of thousands of dollars flowing to local charities, the company had no problem finding all the friends it needed.

With the inflation, over-expansion and money crunch of the early '70s all that changed. First to be squeezed out were the unions, as the power company began using only non-union contractors to build its new generating plants. The last to hurt were the bankers, since by law the company is guaranteed a "fair return" on its borrowed money and stockholders' equity. In between the battle raged: organizations like the Georgia Power Project fought for consumer rights and public power (see *Southern Exposure*, Vol. I, No. 2) while the company fought back on many fronts, including setting up a miniature police force to spy on its opponents.

Georgia Power no longer takes its many friends for granted. It is working hard to preserve its control and is lobbying with new vigor in the state legislature, a terrain once considered safely its own.

Even before a Georgia Power lobbyist sets foot inside the legislature, much energy — and millions of dollars — go to create a climate favorable to the company. Georgia Power spends over four million dollars each year in public relations and advertising, more than any other utility in the country, according to an Environmental Action Foundation study. Donations to civic clubs, schools and charities approached a half-million dollars in 1978. Recipients include such groups as the Atlanta Area Boy Scouts and the Mount Vernon Christian Academy. In recent years, the company has given increasing attention to propaganda designed for school children. Its "Youth Activities and Education Services" budget reached \$264,000 in 1978 and paid for employees to visit schools with specially prepared slide shows on electricity and power generation. In Macon, for example, a course on energy for ninth graders was introduced after a Georgia Power representative went to the Board of Education with "hordes of material" on electricity aimed at students. The company continues to provide free "educational materials" including films, slide shows and games, as well as "resource people" who give talks to the children at no cost to the school.

Georgia Power's programs to influ-



ence adult leaders are equally sophisticated. It maintains a list of 3,000 "movers and shakers" across the state who are informed regularly about the company's plans. Company vice president George Edwards told the *Wall Street Journal*, "We try to contact everyone on the list at least twice a year. It's important that they know what we're doing because we need their support."

Georgia Power's Industrial Development Department also wins favor among state leaders since its sole purpose is to attract new industry to Georgia. With a 1979 budget of \$111,556 for advertising alone, it gets the message that "buildings cost less in Georgia" to a wide audience of "industrial prospects," through ads in publications like *Fortune*, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*.

In addition to its industrial recruitment process, Georgia Power continues to make bankers happy with its policy of maintaining deposits in many banks across the state and drawing on them for loans. As it turns out, by winning friends among the banks' boards of directors, Georgia Power also gains allies in the state legislature: a 1975 study by an Athens, Georgia, newspaper revealed that 20 legislators were directors of banks which loan money to Georgia Power. Fifteen of these men are still legislators: Claude A. Bray, Jr.; Frank Eldridge, Jr.; W.W. Fincher; James Render Hill; A.W. Holloway; Randolph C. Karrh; E.R. Lambert; James B. Lansford; Hugh Logan; Billy Milford; Sam P. McGill; Ben R. Ross; Terrell A. Starr; Loyce W. Turner; and Ebb Duncan.

How Georgia Power spends over \$2 million in legal fees each year also has a direct impact on its standing in the legislature. State Senator Don Ballard and State Representatives Benson Ham, Roy Lambert, Rene Kemp and Nathan Knight are all on retainer. Many other lawyers in the firms retained by Georgia Power are former legislators, city and county attorneys, mayors and former state agency officials. The bulk of its legal expense — \$4 million in 1978 — goes to Georgia Power's general counsel, the Atlanta firm of Troutman, Sanders, Lockerman and Ashmore. Partner Carl Sanders is a former governor (1963-67) and state legislator (1955-62), with numerous political appointees and allies still in political office throughout the state. With the help of money from Georgia Power operatives, Sanders tried to regain the governor's office in 1970, but was defeated in a bitter primary by south Georgia's Jimmy Carter. For several years thereafter, Sanders personally represented Georgia Power before the Public Service Commission, arguing that the company's rate increases were essential not only to the welfare of its stockholders, but to the economy of the whole state. He now lets younger colleagues in his law firm handle the detailed arguments; but if the PSC does not give the company all it wants, Sanders has been known to take the case on appeal to the Superior Court of Fulton County personally, where some of his old cronies still preside.

"No chairperson of either committee could be selected without the approval of the utilities."

Georgia Power gains extra leverage in the legislature because members of Troutman, Sanders and its other law firms join company executives in making selective contributions to key candidates. Consider the 1978 reelection campaign of Fulton County representative Gerald Horton, chair-

man of the powerful House Industry Committee, which handles utility-related legislation. Georgia Power vice president and key lobbyist George Edwards contributed \$200 to Horton's campaign, vice president Bob Symonette and his wife gave \$75, and Georgia Power president Robert Scherer donated \$75. Troutman, Sanders associates gave a total of \$950, including \$100 from Carl Sanders, and lawyers from King and Spalding — another prestigious corporate law firm retained by Georgia Power — contributed \$665. Horton received a total of \$13,537 in campaign contributions of which \$2,015 came from officials of Georgia Power and their two high-powered law firms.

Inside the legislature, these contributions and the company's various community relations programs pay off well for Georgia Power. Its lobbyists — who receive more in salaries than those of any other Southern electric utility — are careful not to disturb the company's image of smooth efficiency with any overbearing arm-twisting. They are polished performers who know how to court the right legislator at the right time. Their lobbying strategy is two-fold: they work to get the "best" people appointed to the key legislative committees, especially the House Industry Committee and the Senate Public Utilities Committee, which handle all the public utility legislation for the General Assembly; and they concentrate on adjusting, killing or stalling a bill before it ever reaches the full committee or the floor of the legislature. The results are impressive. "No chairperson of either committee," says a veteran lawmaker, "could be selected without the approval of the utilities. And no bills get out of committee without input from the utility lobby."

A lobbyist for a senior citizens organization noted the intensity and concentration that underlies the seemingly low-keyed approach of Georgia Power. "I watched vice-president George Edwards almost daily. He was very selective, putting power in the right places. It was a quiet, careful approach. When it [a particular bill] came down to the floor [for a vote], there wasn't much pressure. They had already done their homework. The stage was set."



Considering the average lawmaker's ignorance of utility issues, one of the power company's chief assets is its ability to provide the members of the utility committees with technical information to support their case. "I think you'd be stretching it to say that even committee members know much about utilities," confesses one senator. Consequently, the company can overwhelm its opponents with data and rely on a general "aura of credibility," as Sid Moore calls it,

"We don't think the power company should be harassed," says one member of the Senate Public Utilities Committee.

to convince enough lawmakers to go along with their arguments. A House legislative aide acknowledges that Georgia Power's lobbyists "are very good at getting ideas across, due to their technical information. They get more technical information in a few hours than the legislative staff can get in days. They're very thorough."

The technical sounding data may be impressive to some legislators, but most consumer lobbyists are unpersuaded. "They don't come in with accurate information," says consumers' utility counsel Sid Moore. "They have things well-typed and they talk smoothly." But in the end, the smooth talk, laced with numbers, adds to a residue of goodwill the company built up

before rates began soaring and the instant verification that comes with the flick of a light switch — it's all enough to convince most legislators to give Georgia Power its way. And those who sit on the committee overseeing legislation related to utility operations are often the most willing to be convinced. "We don't think the power company should be harassed," says one member of the Senate Public Utilities Committee. "You are faced with a society of people who are against utilities. You have to balance what they want to do with what is practical."

The value to Georgia Power of having members on the key committees who maintain such a protective attitude was vividly illustrated in the handling of Senate Bill 238 in 1978. The measure, introduced by flamboyant Senator Roscoe Dean of Jessup, an outspoken critic of utilities, would have limited the utilities' use of the fuel adjustment clause. The bill was voted down by the Public Utilities Committee four to one (Dean cast the only positive vote), but the committee did pass a weakened substitute. Dean managed to get his own bill reintroduced on the Senate floor, and when the Committee's version was rejected, Senate Bill 238 passed 47-4. Significantly, three of the four negative votes came from Public Utilities Committee members. (Another abstained from voting.) The bill then went to Gerald Horton's House Industry Committee. Despite Dean's vigorous objections, Horton's committee stalled the bill until the next-to-last day of the session; the Committee then voted out an amended version of the bill that was so watered down that when it went back to the Senate, that body refused to ratify it. So, despite strong support for the bill, Georgia Power's allies in the House were able to kill it.

During the 1979 session, Georgia Action, a low- and moderate-income citizens organization, managed to get the legislature to write into law a uniform "shut-off" policy it had pressured the Public Utilities Commission into establishing for the turning off of consumers' power and telephone service. Another bill passed empowering the PSC to conduct pre-hearing

discovery (the right to collect testimony and evidence before the hearing begins); but what the General Assembly gave with one hand, it more than took away with the other. The PSC's budget was barely increased, making the possibility of using the full power of discovery remote. The legislature also refused to grant the PSC funds to conduct management studies of Georgia Power and Savannah Electric, or to extend the life of the C.U.C. beyond July, 1980; hence, neither body has the capability to evaluate the

barrage of computer-generated data Georgia Power churns out (see box). Finally, the legislature passed an Election Reform Bill, pushed hard by Georgia Power and Southern Bell, that would allow companies to form political action committees (PACs) to make campaign contributions to candidates. Under strong pressure from Common Cause and others, Governor George Busbee ultimately vetoed the bill. But now a special legislative study commission is considering recommending that the PSC

become an appointed body instead of an elected one. Such legislative action, already endorsed by the Atlanta newspapers and rumored to have the governor's support, would protect Georgia Power from candidates like Billy Lovett who win mass support by promising, as he did, to "never vote for a rate increase."

The cozy relationship between the key legislative committees and the utilities became all too apparent at the end of the 1979 session when Gerald Horton announced his resignation

The story that circulates among Georgia utility-watchers is that the Georgia Public Service Commission (PSC) has hit upon a new method of dealing with the mass of data Georgia Power turns out for each of its rate increase requests: they simply give the company half of what it asks for. Georgia Power, the story continues, now asks for twice as much as it really wants.

Although the public continues to call for tighter control over utility companies, the Georgia Public Service Commission remains a circus-like jumble of confused commissioners who are more likely to be scoffed at by Georgia Power than feared. The surprising upset election of brash young Billy Lovett (who vowed during his campaign never to vote for a rate increase) to the PSC last year has created more internal bickering and publicity than concrete reform in the commission. Even Lovett's assistant Judy Barrow admits that most PSC decisions "are made in the dark."

This handicap is not surprising since the Commission must regulate the state's four natural gas companies, 43 telephone companies, 26 railroads and 2,000 bus and truck companies with a small staff that is ill-qualified and poorly paid. A survey by the Price Waterhouse accounting firm indicates Georgia ranks forty-eighth in the nation in per capita spending for utility regulation.

Lack of support from the legislature contributes to the Commission's ineffectiveness. The PSC has no access to the state computer system because the General Assembly has never provided them with a sufficient budget to make use of it. The 1979 legislature

Georgia's PSC: David vs. Goliath

barely increased the PSC's budget, much of which goes for salaries, and it turned down a number of PSC reforms, including one to give the Commission greater supervision of utility construction and development.



The creation by the General Assembly of the Consumers' Utility Counsel (C.U.C.) in 1977 to represent utility customers in hearings before the PSC has had limited benefits for Georgia ratepayers. Lawyer Sid Moore, who held the position until his resignation in September, openly opposed Georgia Power rate increases and the company's continued construction of new generating plants. But the office, with its 14-member staff, has been no match for Georgia Power's army of accountants and engineers with their voluminous computer data. The C.U.C.'s effectiveness is inherently limited because it must rely on the PSC for its figures, which in turn gets its information from Georgia Power.

The PSC's sad state of affairs became more noticeable when Georgia

Power filed for a 17 percent rate increase last fall. After the PSC requested detailed information on some of the company's financial operations — information necessary to evaluate the merits of the proposed rate increase — Georgia Power officials, in a well-publicized move, dumped 600 pounds of financial data in the Commission's offices and told the PSC to do the necessary calculations themselves. The PSC responded by denying the rate increase entirely.

Former governor Carl Sanders, whose law firm represents Georgia Power, personally led the appeal of the decision in Fulton Superior Court. Supporting the company, the judge sent the case back to the PSC, which then decided to give Georgia Power \$122.9 million, or slightly more than half the \$220 million requested.

What has all this meant for Georgia consumers? First, Georgia Power is earning the highest rate of return of any of the member firms of the Southern Company, Georgia Power's parent firm: 12 percent (the state limit is 12.2 percent). Second, Georgia Power is carrying out a massive construction schedule which has created an excess generating capacity of about 20 percent, and resulted in the company's attempts to sell some of its generating plants to utilities in other states. Finally, Georgia Power continues to dominate the Georgia political economy with its extensive lobbying efforts, real estate holdings, public relations schemes and industrial development efforts. A weak and divided PSC seems to serve the company's interests more than those of the citizens it is supposed to protect.

—Betsy Mahoney

as state representative and chairman of the House Industry Committee to accept the position of Director of Governmental Affairs for the Georgia Power Company. Horton, who was considered a "liberal" by legislative standards, now has an office on the plush top floor of the Georgia Power office building and receives a salary rumored at \$70,000 per year; he directs the company's community, industrial and legislative affairs within its larger Department of Public Information.

With public pressure mounting against the Public Service Commission's approval of rate increases, and maverick candidates like Billy Lovett rising

from nowhere to win seats on that agency, Georgia Power is obviously looking to other arenas to protect its interests. The legislature is at the top of the list. As Gerald Horton explains, the PSC is "politically incapable" of making "reasonable" decisions because it is under strong pressure from the public to keep rates and utility expansion at a minimum. The legislature, he and his new employer believe, will be more "practical" in deciding what's best for the company, the consumers and the state. Georgia Power can be expected to increase its emphasis on influencing legislative decisions, from the proce-

dures for choosing PSC Commissioners to the definitions of what expenses may be included in rate increase applications. And if the company succeeds in getting the General Assembly to harness the PSC and give the utilities what the PSC won't, Georgia Power — a public utility — will achieve its final goal: to become, in effect, self-regulating — a private monopoly in complete control of its own destiny. □

Betsy Mahoney lives in Durham, North Carolina. She has organized utility rate reform campaigns for Carolina Action, and now works for the N.C. Senior Citizens' Federation.

WHO'S TAMING WHOM IN TEXAS

CASE STUDY: REGULATORS COWER BEFORE UTILITIES

by Eric Hartman
and Jack Hopper

As regulatory agencies go, the Public Utility Commission of Texas, established in 1975, is still quite young. In fact, it is the newest state utility commission in the country. But PUC, charged primarily with the task of controlling the state's telephone and electric utility monopolies, has already evolved a long way toward

being what many regulatory agencies become only in their dotage — a passive helpmate of the economic power it is supposed to hold in check. Though it is not yet irredeemably a captive of Texas' big utilities, the PUC is captivated by the economic philosophy of these private corporations and their Wall Street financiers, and the public interest has suffered accordingly.

It wasn't supposed to work out this way, of course. The commission was called into existence four years ago by the 64th Legislature to "operate as a substitute for [the] competition" that is necessarily lacking in the monopolistic business of providing utility service to Texas consumers. This business currently earns Texas utilities about \$10 billion a year, and the legislative mandate to the PUC is to "assure rates, operations, and services which are just and reasonable to the consumers and to the utilities."

Behind this language in the Public Utility Regulatory Act of 1975 lay 40 years of intermittent agitation by consumers for relief from excessive utility rates and profits and from poor utility service, especially for rural customers who lacked even the meager protection afforded by municipal regulatory bodies. Ratepayer pressure finally forced legislators to act only after ousted executives of Southwestern Bell exposed the pervasive mischief engaged in by their company

at the expense of Texas consumers and after the state's electric utilities "adjusted" customers' bill sky-high in 1973 and 1974, ostensibly to cover unexpected fuel cost increases.

Under counterpressure from the powerful utility lobby, the legislature by no means gave consumers everything they wanted. Neither the attorney general nor the PUC's general counsel represents the consumer interests in the state-level rate-setting process. The commission has only three members instead of nine, and they are appointed by the governor rather than elected from single-member districts.

But the law does give the PUC broad powers; and the three commissioners chosen by Governor Dolph Briscoe — conservatives Garrett Morris and George Cowden and the moderate, more consumer-minded Alan Erwin — gave early indications that they would not bow meekly to the regulated companies. Erwin, in particular, talked tough. "If we function properly," he said when he was nominated, "we're going to be like the other [that is, the competing] utility company." Though none of the three had experience in utility matters, they studied hard during the year between their appointment and the commission's assumption of rate-setting power in September, 1976. For his part, Erwin told *Texas Business* magazine that fall, the year-long cram course had

made it plain that "you can't overlook anything and you can't take anyone's word for it."

In their first big rate case, the commissioners granted Southwestern Bell only \$57 million of the \$298 million rate increase the company asked for in 1976. Although the phone company howled and appealed to the courts, the PUC ruling stuck, and the press and the public gave the commission hearty applause.

But the PUC has decided more than 2,500 cases since then, and the applause has died down. Time and again, the commissioners have:

- allowed high profits without independently auditing or examining the supporting data provided by the utilities, thus relieving Ma Bell and the electric companies of the burden of proving that higher rates are "just and reasonable" and instead forcing consumer representatives to try to prove

the increase unwarranted or excessive.

- approved the rate schedules applied by the companies to different categories of customers without always making sure that the total revenue collected does not exceed the authorized level;

- made their recommendations on both rates and rate structures much faster than the law requires, because the companies and Wall Street like it;

- relied mostly on voluntary compliance by the industry with the service standards they have promulgated, pleading by way of excuse that the PUC staff is too small to do more of the job itself, though they have tried only halfheartedly to obtain a larger budget from the legislature;

- pleaded also that this (self-imposed) lack of time and resources has kept the PUC from evaluating other aspects of utility operations, such as sweetheart deals between

affiliated companies — deals which have cost Texas consumers a pretty penny — and the refusal of some major Texas electrics to interconnect their systems with other power grids, even though interconnections could save Texas customers money by opening up new markets where the companies could sell their costly excess generating capacity.

In sum the commissioners seem to have adopted not only the utilities' data but also their outlook as the basis of regulation, as if the PUC's constituency consisted of utility stockholders and bondholders rather than the ratepaying public.

The tilt toward the utilities was already in evidence, even if somewhat obscurely, in that first Southwestern Bell rate case in 1976. The PUC's main purpose is to set fair rates, and in that case it settled — or seemed to settle — on the procedure it would follow. Broadly speaking, rate regulation is a matter of deciding: (1) how much a firm has invested to render the regulated service (the rate base); and (2) how high charges for the service have to be to cover the company's costs and give its investors a fair return on the capital they have provided. The PUC defined the utilities' rate base as the actual, "historic cost" of acquiring its property and investment capital instead of deriving a fictitious "fair value" from projections of what it would cost to replace them in the future. But by choosing the actual-cost method, the PUC also foreshadowed another emerging policy — allowing high earning for large utilities. For even though the \$57 million rate increase granted to Southwestern Bell was just one-sixth of the amount requested, the rate of return — nearly 13 percent on common stock — was higher than almost any state had granted to any telephone utility before.

The PUC's decisions in subsequent telephone cases haven't been quite so generous, but rates of return awarded to the large, privately owned electric utilities of Texas — just 11 of which account for about 70 percent of the state's electrical generating capacity — have consistently been among the highest in the nation. In 1978, 10



courtesy *The Texas Observer*

of the 11 had earnings above the national average of 11.8 percent, based on profit data from 100 of the biggest electrics in the U.S. (The one that reported below-average earnings was Gulf States Utilities, but the Louisiana Public Service Commission, not the PUC of Texas, was to blame for that.)

Electric bills have shot up while the commission has done its best to keep profits for Texas electrics in the top rank nationally.

The irony of these PUC-authorized profit levels can be appreciated by recalling one of the key arguments for creating the agency in 1975. A state utility commission was needed, argued the Texas Public Interest Research Group in a 1974 report, because "the profitability of Texas electric companies is exorbitantly higher than the national average. It is the residential customers who are providing excessively high profit margins. . . . the average annual electric bill in Texas would be reduced from \$195 to \$151 [if] Texas electric companies [were] making a rate of profit in line with the rest of the industry."

But electric bills have shot up, not declined, while the commission has done its best to keep profits for Texas electrics in the top rank nationally.

The PUC has made a practice of granting most electrics a nominal return of 13.8 percent on common stock — which amounts to an actual rate of 15 percent. The actual rate is higher because of the way the PUC treats the phenomenon of "phantom taxes." These are corporate income tax payments that utilities are allowed by the Internal Revenue Service to put off almost indefinitely. The PUC lets the utilities count these taxes they may never pay as a current cost of service; the companies are permitted not only to bill customers

for such phantom taxes, but also to collect a profit on this "operating expense" they appear to have incurred on paper.

The biggest accounting gimmick used by the utilities to ensure continuing high rates of return for Texas electric companies is the way the cost of construction work in progress (CWIP) is handled by the PUC. The utilities represent CWIP costs on their books as useful assets in plant and property, although these assets obviously will not add one iota to utility service until construction is finished. If these expenses for uncompleted plants go into the rate base, today's consumers foot the bill for investments that won't benefit any ratepayers until as much as six years later. The sums of money at stake are considerable. In one Houston Lighting & Power case, for instance, CWIP charges passed on to HL&P's customers accounted for 70 percent of a \$50 million rate increase granted by the PUC.

Texas law allows inclusion of CWIP costs in a utility's rate base only "where necessary to the financial integrity of the utility," but the PUC finds reason to include at least some portion of these costs in the rate bases of *all* the large electric companies. The commission has allowed 40, 50, and even 100 percent in various cases. It is one of the half dozen or so state regulatory commissions that are most generous to the utility industry on this score.

The rationale for this generosity, according to PUC chairman Cowden, is that Texas electric utilities are in a period of very costly transition from the use of natural gas to fuel their generators to reliance on coal and nuclear power. Cowden and former commissioner Erwin (who resigned this spring and was succeeded by a University of Texas finance professor) say that the utilities have been encouraged by the Texas Railroad Commission and the U.S. Congress to make this conversion, and they argue that the heavy financing requirements of retooling old plants and building new ones cannot be met unless enough CWIP charges are allowed in the rate base to keep the rate of return tempting to Wall Street investors.

But the result of the PUC's approach to CWIP costs, according to more

than one lawyer well-versed in Texas utility law, has been the subversion of the rate-setting policy prescribed by the Public Utility Regulatory Act of 1975 and a sharp departure from standard rate-setting methods used by other state utility commissions. The law calls on the PUC to base its determinations on actual costs incurred in an "historic" test year. The PUC staff does indeed use such operating data from the past 12-month period, but the commission has often taken those figures just as a starting point.

Having calculated how much it actually cost the utility to provide service, the agency's staff makes computer projections of the economic outlook for the utility based on estimates of its revenues, expenses and profits. Then the PUC adds enough CWIP costs to the rate base to assure the utility a level of income and profit the commissioners and their staff deem appropriate.

How does the commission decide what level of profit is appropriate? William Avera, the PUC's ex-chief of economic research, explained the staff's recommendation in a Houston Lighting & Power rate case: "We hear from financial analysts what the requirements are for this company — where the company has been and our perception of how the financial community feels about where the company is." The object is to preserve the "very favorable indicators" (Avera's phrase) Texas utilities have long enjoyed and which have caused Wall Street investment analysts to give their stocks and bonds very high ratings.

One key indicator the PUC looks to is "interest coverage," the ratio between a utility's annual income and its annual debt. Keep it high and the Wall Street ratings stay high, making

The PUC relies uncritically on data provided by the utilities in making its projections.

it easier for the companies to raise private capital for more construction — but also making utility service more expensive for the rate payer. An example of the way the PUC balances these considerations comes from the same HL&P case referred to by Avera. HL&P received an increase large enough to guarantee an income 3.8 times the size of its debt on AA bonds through 1981, and HL&P's stockholders were granted an effective rate of return of 15 percent — thanks to the PUC, which included 40 percent of the company's CWIP costs in the rate base. Thus, by relying on estimates of future income and expenses and defining a reasonable rate of return as whatever will keep private investors happy, the PUC has often accomplished what the law was intended to prevent — the use of hypothetical rather than historic data to set rates.

To make things worse, the PUC often relies uncritically on data provided by the utilities in making its projections. Said economic research director Avera in the HL&P case: "We got those figures directly from the company and we did not adjust or check them in any way other than to put them in the machine." Clearly, even if high profits could be justified by the utilities' need to convert to alternative fuels, the PUC wouldn't know it, because it does not make sure the electric companies have correctly estimated their construction requirements for conversion. It does not try to figure out whether the necessary financing could be obtained more cheaply or with lower profit levels; nor does it look for better ways than existing construction programs to take care of Texas' future electric power needs. The PUC has simply accepted utility plans, projections and requirements at face value. The managers of the utilities have decided that their expansion is in the public interest, and the PUC is not inclined to second-guess their judgment. As one PUC-watcher puts it, "The Texas business community wants to keep a good business climate. Regulation that is too tough or that intrudes on management might suggest that Texas is not pro-business. The political establishment doesn't want that."

The lawyers for intervening con-

CITIES SABOTAGED BY PUC "REFORMS"

The Texas Public Utility Commission was a great idea when it was established in 1975. The state agency was supposed to share with city councils the burden of regulating the rates charged by giant utilities and rationalized by batteries of utility lawyers and rate experts that cities could not match. Predictably, consumer groups and cities wanted the PUC; utility companies, by and large, opposed its creation.

But perspectives have changed since the PUC went into action in September, 1976. Maybe we should have seen the handwriting on the wall when companies like Gulf States Utilities, Texas Power & Light and Houston Lighting & Power moved their Austin offices to the same office building as the PUC. But if that message wasn't clear enough, the import of the maneuvering by electric utilities in the 1979 legislative session certainly has been — for most of the state's electric companies are now pushing a bill that would boot cities out of the rate-making process and put the matter exclusively in the hands of the PUC, while consumer and municipal groups are fighting it.

To account for this reversal of roles, it's best to start with the difference between the PUC as it was originally proposed and as it was actually set up by the Public Utility Regulatory Act of 1975. The model bill on which the act was based contained more than a dozen consumer safeguards that were stripped away by compromises. For example, the first draft required the attorney general to represent consumers in rate cases, and it called for elected commissioners from single-member districts. It would have made the commission an active initiator of regulation. What we got instead is a passive PUC that only reacts to utility rate requests.

The 1975 law did, however, give new regulatory authority to cities, creating a dual system in which they set rates inside their municipal boundaries, while the PUC sets rates in unincorporated areas and takes appeals from utilities on city decisions. Many cities have exercised their authority aggressively, and time and again the utilities have appealed to the PUC, where their rate requests have been treated more generously. Naturally the utilities have come to favor the PUC approach.

— Jack Hopper

sumer groups are convinced that the PUC is setting rates improperly, but they are not optimistic about the willingness of the Texas courts to overturn any of the commission's major decisions or policies. Said one: "Our courts assume the PUC has all this great experience and expertise, and they don't want to presume otherwise. But it's not true — the PUC is a long way from having either."

In addition, even though the PUC's rate orders rarely discuss or explain, as a court would, the arguments the commission has followed in reaching a decision, appeals to the courts are hindered by the "substantial evidence" rule governing judicial review of the agency's actions. Under this rule, as the Texas courts have broadly construed it, the PUC's findings of fact cannot be rejected unless there is no data or testimony at all to support them. Thus, with minimal evidence from the utilities, the commissioners have been free to

act on their faith that the companies' construction plans and Wall Street's admonitions on profits and bond coverages accurately reflect the public interest.

When the PUC was established in 1975, the commissioners invited Wall Street brokers to give lectures on utility finance. One of their guests, James McCabe of the firm of Donaldson, Lufkin, Jenrette, said, "I wish you well in your new job and hope your performance will be excellent and that electric utilities here in Texas once again will be viewed as the *creme de la creme* of utility investment." The PUC's rate-setting record thus far has given McCabe and his fellow brokers ample reason to be pleased, and they have rewarded the commission with high marks. Representative is the grade of A-minus awarded to the PUC by the Wall Street bond house of Salomon Brothers, Inc. According to this ranking, the PUC — which owes its existence

WHAT WALL STREET SAYS ABOUT OTHER UTILITY COMMISSIONS

State & Rank	Merrill Lynch	E.F. Hutton	Dean Witter	Smith Barney	Bache	Paine Webber	Goldman Sachs	Blyth Eastman	Commiss. Elected or Appointed
1. Fla.	4+	fine job	among best	among best	rank high	leader	the best	best	5 appointed
2. N.C.	4-	reasonable	average	aver.	above aver.	aver.	pretty good	uncertain	7 appointed
3. Va.	3	difficult	average	aver.	aver.	aver.	aver.	aver.	3 appointed
4. Ark.	3-	improving	responsive	pro-gressive	reserves opinion	aver.	aver.	aver.	3 appointed
5. S.C.	2	reasonable	aver.	aver.	reserves opinion	aver.	uncertain	aver.	7 appointed
6. Ga.	2	difficult	problem	problem	bottom barrel	less constr.	poor	ties bottom	5 elected
7. Tn.*	2-	no opinion	no opinion	no opin.	no opin.	no opin.	no opin.	no opin.	3 elected
8. Ms.	2-	courts necess.	courts regulate	will imprv.	bottom barrel	no opin.	ter-rible	near bottom	3 elected
9. La.	1	small relief	problem	already imprv.	bottom barrel	less constr.	poor	near bottom	5 elected
10. Ala.	2	not resp've.	problem	problem	bottom barrel	less constr.	poor	ties bottom	3 elected

Source: *South* magazine, June, 1979. *Outside TVA only. The phrases used here reflect those chosen by the security analysts. Merrill Lynch gave states "stars," from five for the "most favorable" to one for "highly unfavorable."

to ratepayer unrest and a legislative mandate to look after their interests — is second only to Indiana's commission as a protector of *investors'* interests.

"We let almost anybody intervene. Look at all the consumer groups who do."

"That's a bunch of baloney."

Reporter Ed Curda of the *El Paso Times*, who covered El Paso Electric hearings at the Texas and New Mexico commissions, was struck by the differences in regulatory climate. His description suggests what's wrong with the PUC: "In Austin the atmosphere was like a freight train with the throttle wide open. . . . There was a sense of urgency — one of 'let's get this thing over with.' The procedures and time limits for rate decisions seem to give

New Mexico ratepayers more benefit than their kin in the Lone Star state."

One lawyer experienced in dealing with the PUC has reached a much harsher conclusion. The PUC, he says, is a "hometown situation. The company and commission are like a court in a little town — judge, jury, lawyer for the other side all in sympathy with each other. Practicing at the PUC is very discouraging."

Former commissioner Erwin thinks consumer intervenors expect too much. "Some of those guys would only be happy if they had an equal vote with the commissioners," he says. And

chairman Cowden says, "We protect the public interest, and that includes consumers. Why should they be singled out?" Furthermore, "If that doesn't give them enough protection, and I'm convinced it does, we have a broad, 'liberal' intervention policy. We let almost anybody intervene. Look at all the consumer groups who do."

Juanita Ellis of CASE is one consumer not appeased by that assertion. "That's a bunch of baloney, There's no way we could match Dallas Power & Light's money. It spent \$200,000 on its last rate hearing; we spent \$300. How can we ever be on equal terms?"

There is nothing permanent about the PUC's passive regulatory policy and philosophy. The same public impatience that pushed the legislature into acting in 1975 is mounting again in response to steady and rapid rises in rates, slow improvements in service, and the PUC's failure to make the utilities bear the burden of proving that their rates and operations are in the public interest.

The stage is already set for another confrontation between the utilities and consumers, and unless the governor and the commissioners take measures to avert it, they may find that the people have decided the only way to get the PUC to hear their side of the argument is to elect its members themselves. □

Jack Hopper is an economist and utility rate consultant. He writes and edits Southwest Energy and Utility Watch. Eric Hartman is the associate editor of the excellent newsweekly The Texas Observer. This article originally appeared in the July 13, 1979, issue of the Observer. (©1979 The Texas Observer.)



PRIVATE UTILITIES: The Core of the Problem

To wage a successful campaign against a utility's nuclear plans, rate increase applications or construction program, organizers must continually expose the company's mishandling of public service funds gained for private profit. Tactical information should be collected about how your particular utility works, who owns and runs it, where it spends its money, what influence it exercises on whom, etc. Such information can do everything from publicly embarrassing a utility, to suggesting appropriate places for demonstrations, to supporting new strategies like filing conflict-of-interest lawsuits and organizing specific constituencies at odds with the power company (for example, Middle South's appointment of Alcorn State University president Walter Washington to its board reflects its sensitivity to black residents in the area of the new reactor — who have in fact become a leading force in opposing its construction, as Ken Lawrence explains on page 107).

To help in gathering such practical information, we provide the following charts on each of the major utilities operating in the South. In 1973, we published a guide for "Investigating Your Local Power Company." It's still relevant and still available, along with an exhaustive set of charts similar to the ones that follow, and essays on public power and utility organizing (send \$1.50 to *Southern Exposure* for "anti-utility resources"). Other guides are available from organizations listed on the resource page in this issue.

Some areas we have highlighted in these charts represent new trends by utilities and/or expenses that leave them vulnerable to public criticism for wasting ratepayers' money on pro-nuclear research and propaganda, executive salaries and other privileges, payments to cronies, lobbying, expenses, etc.

Juicing the Young

In the company's 1978 annual stockholders report, Alabama Power president Joseph Farley commented: "It is critical that we concentrate our communication efforts on positive programs that will raise the level of public understanding of our company and its role in a productive society. One of our brightest hopes lies in our ability to communicate with future generations of customers to ensure that they will be better informed on energy matters and our country's economic system. Today's students are our customers of tomorrow. If we can assist in providing useful, sound, accurate information for use in educating our young, then we are obligated to do so."

Every Southern utility is pursuing this "obligation" diligently, offering a variety of speakers, films and other services to public schools in their service areas. The presentations deal with a wide range of energy topics, but the bottom-line message is usually the same: nuclear power is essential to our energy and economic futures. Ironically, the vision of the American economy these government-protected

monopolies project champions the virtues of free enterprise over the evils of federal regulation.

Each company pursues its programs differently. Florida Power & Light employs five "Educational Service Coordinators" to administer their FACT (Florida Aids for Classroom Teachers) program for grades K through 12. In three years, FP&L has distributed 760,000 energy booklets, given schools 310 filmstrip sets and had 9,920 film showings for 990,920 classroom viewers.

Georgia Power owns an energy van which travels to two or three schools each day during the school year. Houston Lighting & Power employs two speakers who addressed 70,000 grade school children in 1978, a full-time "science demonstrator" who instructed more than 10,000 junior and senior high school students, and a Speakers Bureau which reached an additional 17,000 people, including a large number of college students.

Besides directly contacting students, the companies also work with teachers. For example, Florida Power & Light, Duke Power and South Carolina Electric & Gas all conduct summer institutes for school teachers, and Alabama Power has a panel of teachers who advise the company on how to market its energy message in the schools.

Utility companies rarely reveal their budget for educational programs; however, line items in their Federal Energy Regulatory Commission Form I reports indicate that many companies spend substantial amounts to reach school children. In 1978, Georgia Power spent at least \$489,323 on educational programs; South Carolina Electric & Gas, \$237,370; Gulf States Utilities, \$160,047; Texas Electric Service Company, \$129,226; Florida Power & Light, \$61,429; and Alabama Power, \$59,500.

The success these programs have enjoyed should lead to sizable increases in educational budgets over the next few years, as the companies find their devotion to nuclear power increasingly unpopular. Florida Power & Light recently addressed the Atomic Industrial Forum's energy education conference about its educational programs and pointed out how other companies could benefit from similar programs. Now Georgia Power, Alabama Power



and Duke Power have joined Florida Power & Light to form the Southeastern Electric Exchange Educational Committee to devise the best programs to promote the company's energy line to Southern school children.

Image Power

Southern utilities also spend an exorbitant sum each year to promote corporate goodwill through advertising and public relations. The Environmental Action Foundation's 1977 *Utility Scoreboard* found virtually every Southern utility company ranked in the top 20 for expenditures in this field. Georgia Power ranked first in the nation with over four million dollars in expenses; Alabama Power, second; Houston Lighting & Power, sixth; Gulf States Utilities, eighth; and Duke Power tenth. If the expenses of their subsidiaries were combined, Central and Southwest Corporation would have ranked sixth, Middle South Utilities eighth and Texas Utilities tenth.

Though they have increased their conservation-related advertising, utilities primarily promote their pet causes: industrial development and nuclear power. Even advertisements praising the virtues of alternative energy sources always conclude that nuclear power is a must until such *exotic* energy sources as wind and solar power can be perfected.

Recent economic difficulties have led some utility companies to emphasize investor-oriented advertising. For instance, the Southern Company has launched a new campaign with the theme "People are the real power behind electricity." This series of ads features five stockholders from the company service area discussing their

You can't research solar energy in the dark.



Solar energy has the potential to be the most abundant and clean energy source available. But it will only become a reality if we begin to research it seriously. Other energy sources like wind, hydro, and geothermal have their own limitations. But they are not solar energy.

Research is the key to developing a viable solar energy source. It's not just about the technology, it's about the people who will use it. We need to know what the public thinks about solar energy, and we need to know what the public thinks about the people who will use it.

Our research is the key to developing a viable solar energy source. It's not just about the technology, it's about the people who will use it. We need to know what the public thinks about solar energy, and we need to know what the public thinks about the people who will use it.

Middle South Utilities will be conducting a research program to determine what the public thinks about solar energy.

MIDDLE SOUTH UTILITIES
A Division of Southern Company
P.O. Box 10000, Atlanta, Georgia 30368

confidence in the company's stock. Southern Company has reached more than six million people with this ad through Southeastern daily newspapers, regional editions of national magazines, and the *Wall Street Journal*.

The companies have not overlooked the value of more personally oriented public relations, however. Dallas Power & Light has a 20-member speakers bureau and employs 18 people in its communications services department who deliver talks on subjects ranging from "Wild Flowers and Glen Rose, Texas," to "Atomic Power Today" to "Now That the Dinosaurs Are Gone."

The corporate pro-nuclear public relations blitz has now begun to focus on boosting nuclear's image to women. For instance, Duke Power announced recently in a press release that women "know less about the benefits of nuclear power and therefore are more opposed to it." According to the summer, 1979, edition of the southeastern American Friends Service Committee newsletter, *The Shared Plow*, the company has begun a public relations campaign which "will include packets of elaborate information, pre-written speeches, plans for house meetings, help in staging pro-nuclear rallies and a copy of a recent film by the president of Duke Power." Most of these are oriented toward women.

On October 18, 1979, Duke Power kicked off the campaign with an advertisement in 12 North Carolina newspapers. The ad features Duke Power health physicist Mary Birch, who compares a nuclear reactor to a big furnace and refers to Hiroshima as "a test lab for studying extreme radiation expo-

sure and genetic effects."

Duke employee Angie Howard now heads the national group Nuclear Energy Women, which promotes the nuclear industry to young professional women by convincing them of the technology's pluses and encouraging them to seek employment in the nuclear industry. The American Nuclear Society's *Nuclear News* lists the group as a resource for companies threatened with discrimination suits for employing too few women.

For more information on how nuclear power relates to women's issues, contact: Feminist Anti-Nuke Task Force, 747 Connecticut Ave. NW, Room 3903, Washington, D.C. 20006, or Sunshine Southerland, 413 E. Lane St., Raleigh, N.C. 27603.

Industry Boosters

Virtually all the Southern utilities maintain active industrial development departments which solicit new industries through ad campaigns and personal visits and hand out handsomely packaged data on the attractiveness of the company's service area. In addition, all the companies work closely with state and local government development agencies on industrial recruitment, and take an active role in development-minded organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce. For instance, CP&L president Sherwood Smith is the Raleigh Chamber president and Duke Power president Bill Lee the Charlotte Chamber president; respective board chairmen Shearon Harris and Carl Horn are board members of the North Carolina Citizens Association (the equivalent of a state chamber) and Harris served as president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in 1978.

Of course, the main calling card for new industry is low electric rates. In 1977, the industrial rates of all but six Southern utilities were below the national average of 2.53¢. There were only slight increases in 1978. Consumer advocates have argued against these lower rates for industry in recent years by emphasizing that it is the large industrial customers who prompt the need for new power plants, and that they should consequently pay higher rates to decrease consumption and thus lessen demand. But so far these arguments have had little effect on



This is Mary Birch, speaking to you from inside a nuclear reactor building.

rate structures.

The expenses utilities incur to sell themselves to new industries have long been passed on to consumers, but several utility commissions have taken steps to stop this practice. Under strong pressure from consumer groups, Arkansas prohibited utilities from passing industrial development expenditures on to consumers, and Virginia discourages such expenses to the point that VEPCO dropped its industrial development program. More action along these lines could make the utilities worry a little bit more about conserving electricity and a bit less about finding new customers to consume it.

Cronies and Lawyers

Another standard utility practice is hiring a battery of politically powerful lawyers. A quick run through utilities' attorney rosters consistently turns up a high percentage of mayors, county commissioners, local judges and prosecutors, legislators and ex-legislators, all plugging away for the utility companies in their own home towns.

Aside from alerting utility reform advocates to who's on the other side in rate cases and other campaigns, identifying these lawyers can provide tactical weapons as well. For instance, in the past session of the South Carolina General Assembly, one hotly contested bill involved revamping the selection of public service commissioners on the basis of merit rather than by politically determined approval of the legislature. In lobbying for the bill, the South Carolina Utility Reform Coalition revealed that five senators — John D. Long, John D. Martin, Robert C. Lake, Marion Gressette and Rembert Dennis — were on retainer to South Carolina Electric and Gas and filed a complaint seeking to bar the five from voting on the commissioner bill because of their obvious conflict of interest. All five actively opposed the reform bill, yet saw no conflict of interest in their actions.

Though this bit of information did not turn the tide on the bill, it did attract substantial publicity and underscored the serious need for reform. The General Assembly has now passed a weak reform bill, but it should bring some change to the traditionally inept South Carolina Public Service Commission.

Information on attorneys retained by your utilities is contained in the companies' Annual Form I report to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, which should be available at your state utility commission. By cross-referencing these attorney listings with the biographical sketches found in the Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory (any law school has one), you can get a sense of who's representing the utilities' interests — and whom the utility calls on for political support in times of trouble.

Key to Charts

The following charts offer key information on each of the major Southern utility companies — who owns them, who runs them and how they spent their ratepayers' money.

The director information came from the companies' 1978 annual reports and proxy statements, *Who's Who* publications and the corporate directories published by Standard & Poor, Dun & Bradstreet and Moody's Investor Services. Each line represents a direct link between the utility and the listed company. (Asterisks indicate the person is not necessarily a director of the listed firm, but is a partner, owner or officer.) Also listed are the director's home town and the date he or she became a director of the utility.

The stockholder lists reveal the organizations which control the major blocks of stock in the utility. Most of these figures come from "Voting Rights in Major Corporations," a staff study prepared by the Subcommittee on Reports, Accounting and Management of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. The listed companies actually voted or managed these stocks as of December 31, 1976. The remaining stockholder lists come from the company's Annual Form I report to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. In many instances, these stockholders — listed in the report by their "street" name (e.g., Cede & Co. for the New York Stock Exchange) — do not necessarily vote or manage these stocks, but instead provide a cover for other corporate interests. The concentration of stock in a few financial institutions, however, does indicate the corporate domination of the utilities' stock ownership.

Information on service areas, reve-

Choose South Texas for all the right money-making reasons.

(The great lifestyle is a bonus.)

Be sure South Texas is part of the plan with the nation's #1 business climate — you can find dozens of good jobs in all regions for the right price. Best place to live. No nonsense in terms of favorable labor laws, absence of a state income tax, business-oriented state and local governments. Plus low living costs. Plenty of low-cost land. An abundance of capable workers. An excellent transportation system, including deep water and barge facilities. A broad range of industrial raw materials. And more.

Then when you've checked off all the profit-making considerations, you can enjoy a by-product of your decision: life in an area where you can have no other but your own.

Central Power and Light Company will work with you in confidence to find the South Texas site that's right for your business. H. Dallas Ford, manager of our Industrial Development Division, can fill you in on the details. Call him at 712-863-2631 or mail the coupon provided.



nues, assets and net income appear in the companies' annual stockholder reports. The price per kilowatt-hour of electricity and the expense items (including salaries, donations, miscellaneous expenses and contract information) are from the 1978 Form I FERC reports. Typical light bills are for 750 kilowatt-hours of electricity consumption per month; these figures appear in FERC's 1977 "Typical Electric Bills."

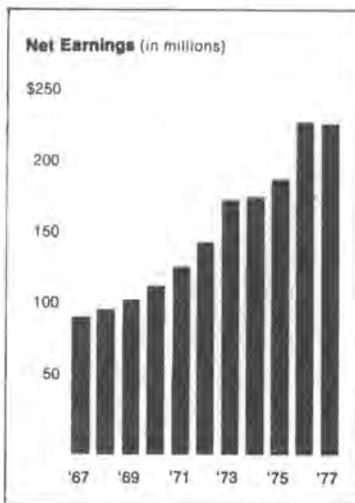
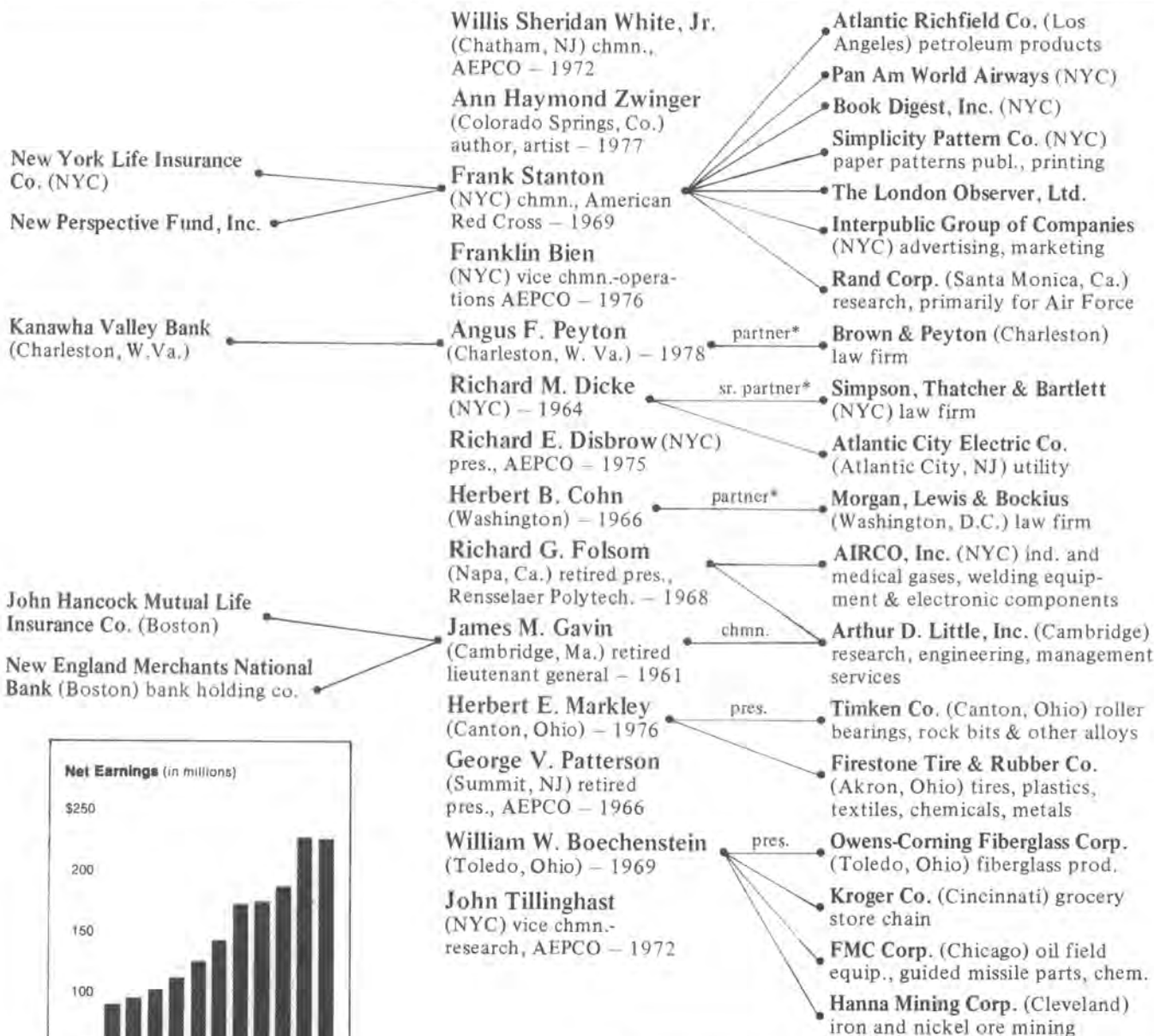
To get a more complete listing of your local utility's operating procedures, consult its Form I report; these reports are available at your state utility commission or at regional FERC headquarters.

Special thanks to Jeannie Peterson, Betsy Mahoney, Bob Guild and especially Pam Farmer and the Southern Economic Development Intern Program for their help in compiling this material on Southern utilities.

Abbreviations

chmn. — chairman	pres. — president
ret. — retired	sec. — secretary
fin. — finance	mgr. — manager
v.p. — vice president	treas. — treasurer
man. — managing	sr. — senior
sub. — subsidiary	mfr. — manufacturer
whls. — wholesale	ins. — insurance
bldg. — building	invest. — investment
matl. — material	ind. — industrial
eng. — engineering	pub. — publishing
aff. — affiliate	const. — construction
mgmt. — management	
gen. mgr. — general manager	
vice pres. — vice president	
exec. comm. — executive committee	
adv. bd. — advisory board	

AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER



Service Area: Virginia (Appalachian Power Co.); Indiana, Kentucky (Kentucky Power Co.), Michigan, Ohio and West Virginia and Tennessee (Kingsport Power)

Employees: 20,000

Revenues: \$2,839,044,000

Assets: \$8,063,483,000

Net Income: \$289,241,000

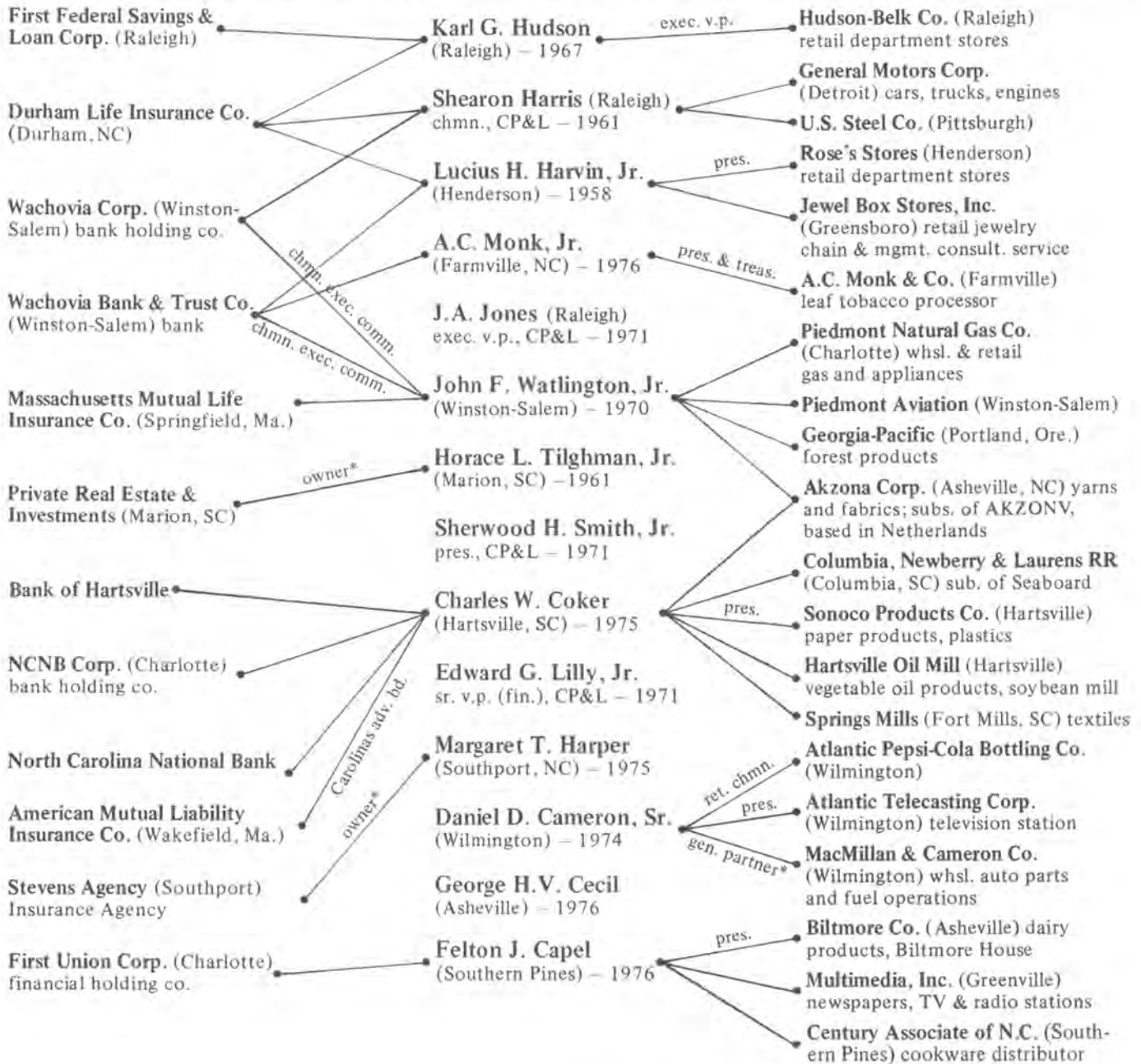
Typical Light Bills: Hazard, Ky., \$23.69
 Kingsport, Tn, \$22.93
 Roanoke, Va., \$27.40
 Charleston, WV, \$24.80

Expense Items - Kentucky Power: Salary of president (W.S. LeFon - resigned 5-1-78), \$58,096; Hunton & Williams (Richmond), attorneys, \$10,482; Gray, Woods & Cooper (Ashland, Ky.), \$81,085; expenses for public service commission hearings, \$54,929; lobbying expenses, \$10,907; Westinghouse Environmental Systems, engineering consultants, \$10,928.

Appalachian Power: Salary of executive vice-president (John W. Vaughn), \$73,000; Hunton & Williams (Richmond), attorneys, \$170,979; Love, Wise, Robinson & Woodrow (Charleston, WV), attorneys, \$298,871; Woods, Rogers, Meese, Walker & Thornton (Roanoke), attorneys, \$225,197; Ebasco Services (New York), rate design studies, \$37,525; United Way, \$51,442; Virginia Polytechnic Institute, \$10,025; United Negro College Fund, \$1,000.

See page 96 for Top Seven Stockholders

CAROLINA POWER AND LIGHT



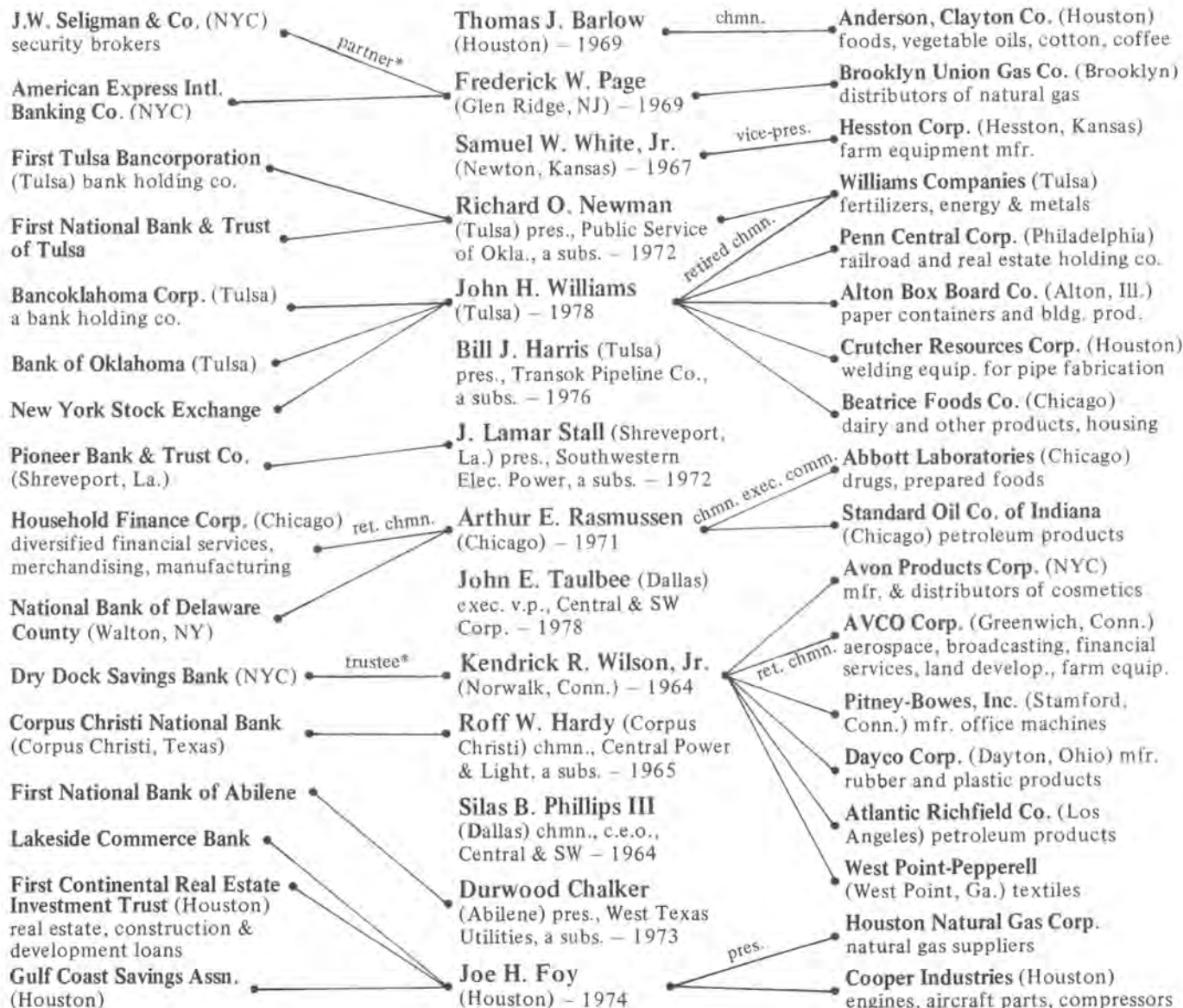
Service Area: western North Carolina and eastern South and North Carolina; population three million
Employees: 5,600
Revenues: \$903,437,744 **Assets:** \$3,135,846,782
Net Income: \$142,742,706
Price per KWH - residential: 4.06¢ **industrial:** 2.77¢
Typical Light Bills: Asheville, N.C., \$32.83
 Wilmington, N.C., \$32.83
 Sumter, S.C., \$35.36

Expense Items: Salary of chairman (Shearon Harris), \$170,000; Citizens Committee on Federal Paperwork (Washington), \$1,000; South Carolina Energy Research Institute, \$12,500; Americans for Energy Independence, \$3,000; United Funds and United Ways, \$38,606; Sponsorship of N.C. Azalea Festival, \$474; Chem-Nuclear (Bellevue, Wash.), health physics services, \$70,252; Ebasco Services (New York), operating, engineering and financial services, \$25,998,778; N.C. State University (Raleigh), consulting and research services, \$1,074,028; Edison Electric Institute (New York), dues and research expenses, \$3,472,338.

See page 96 for Top Ten Stockholders



CENTRAL AND SOUTHWEST CORPORATION



Service Area: holding company with subsidiaries serving 3.5 million people, primarily in Texas but also in Oklahoma, Louisiana and Arkansas

Employees: 5,900

Revenues: \$1,338,758,000 **Assets:** \$3,084,269,000

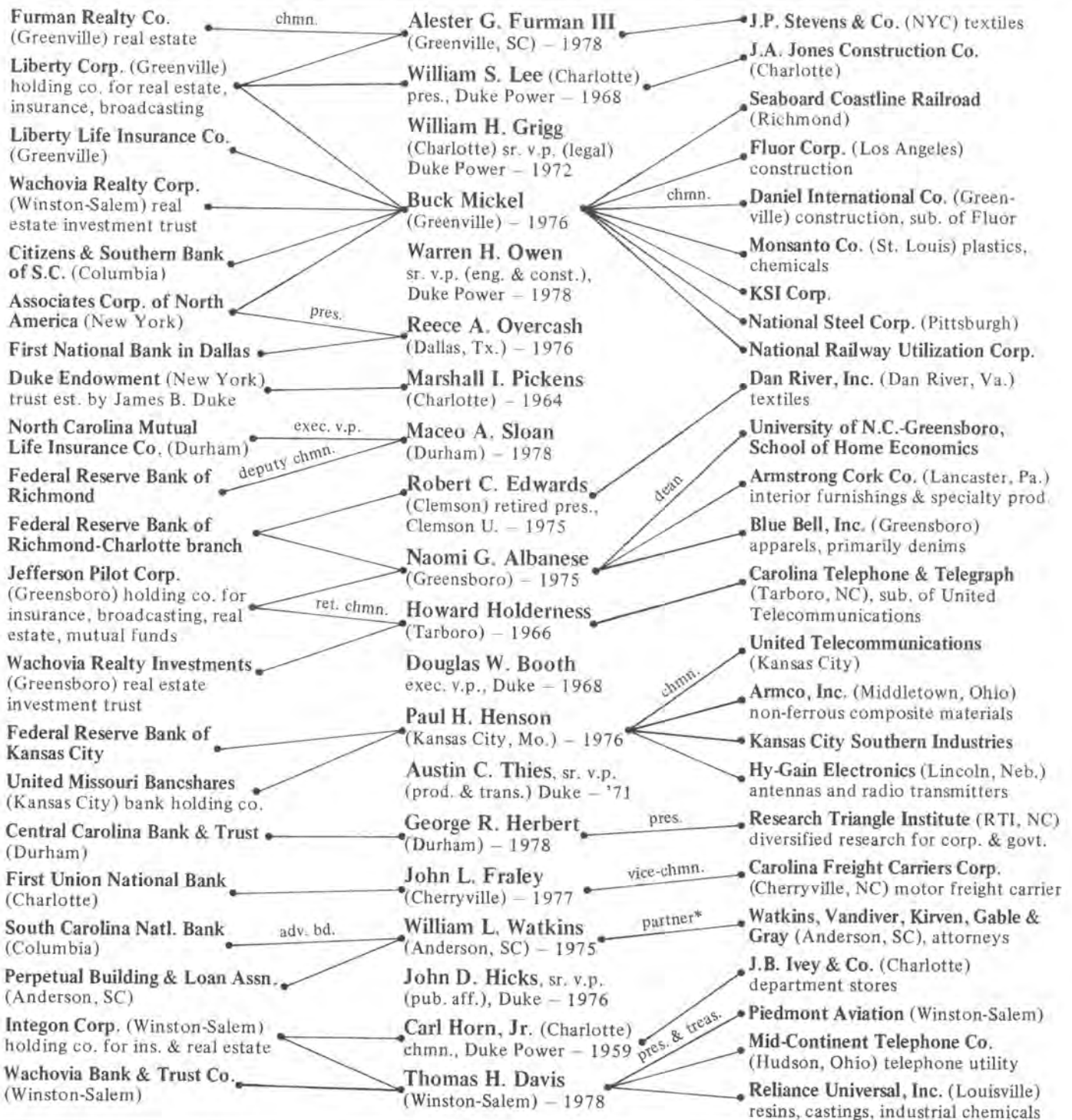
Net Income: \$156,330,000

Typical Light Bills: Fayetteville, Ark., \$22.67
 Shreveport, La., \$18.64
 Corpus Christi, Tx., \$32.37
 Abilene, Tx., \$29.18

Expense Items - Central Power & Light: Salary of chairman (Roff W. Hardy), \$128,671; United Way, \$8,250; United Fund, \$31,100; Texas Association of Taxpayers, \$1,000; Alice Industrial Foundation, \$2,500; Dyer, Redford, Burnett, Wray and Woolsey (Corpus Christi), attorneys, \$311,147; Clark, Thomas, Winters and Shapiro (Austin), attorneys, \$22,006; Atomic Industrial Forum, \$10,989; Washington's Birthday Celebration Assn., \$450.

Southwestern Electric Power: Salary of president (J. Lamar Stall), \$111,604; Arkansas State Council on Economic Education, \$2,020; Central and Southwest Foundation, \$50,000; Jack Hodges III Communications, Inc. (Shreveport, La.), advertising, \$232,815; Arnold and Arnold (Texarkana, Ar.), attorneys, \$160,173; Wilkinson, Carmody and Peatross (Shreveport, La.), attorneys, \$76,422.

DUKE POWER COMPANY



Service Area: the Piedmont of Central N.C. and S.C.

Employees: 17,734

Revenues: \$1,396,720,000 **Assets:** \$4,984,621,000

Net Income: \$230,601,000

Price per KWH – residential: 3.62¢ **industrial:** 2.30¢

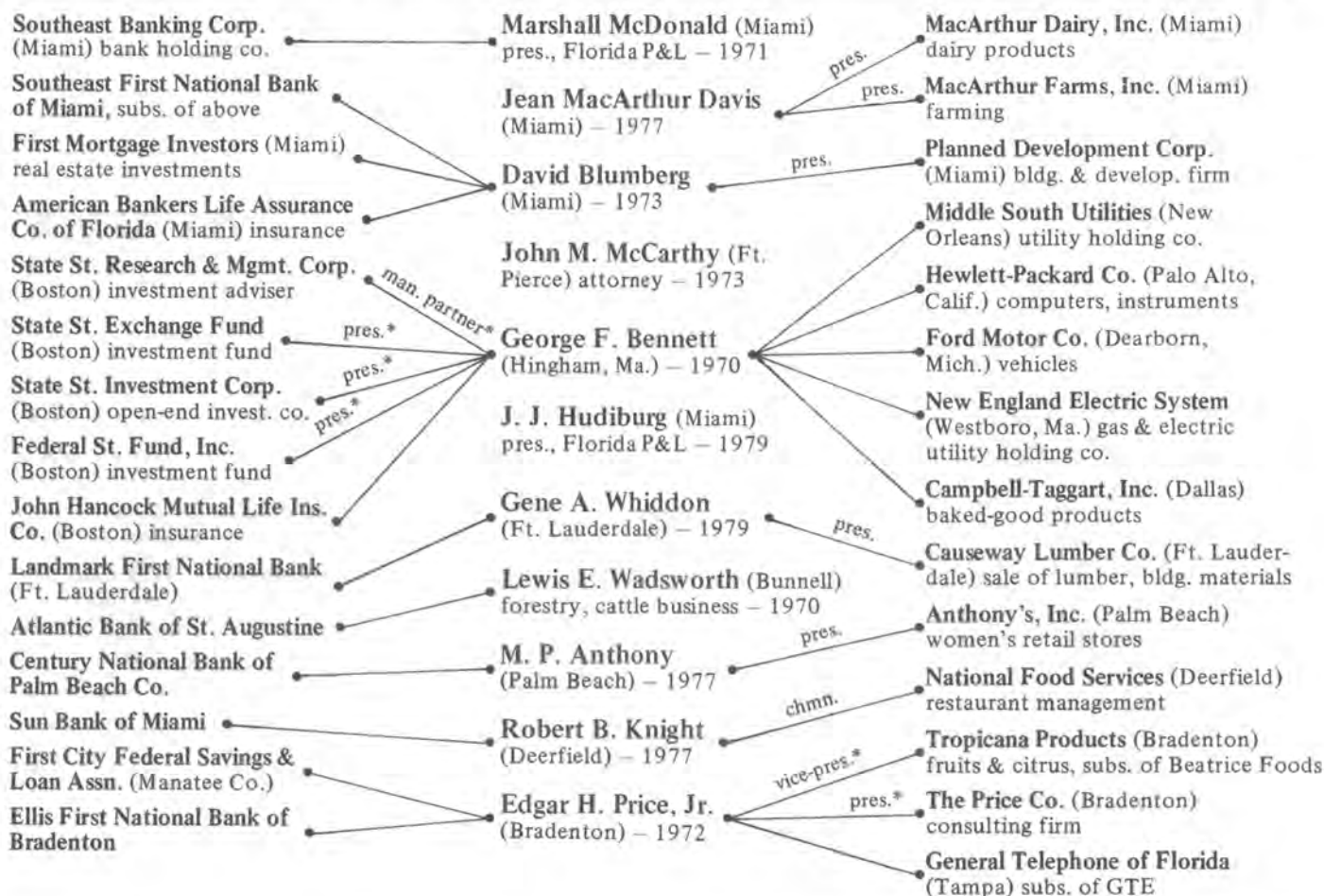
Typical Light Bills: Greenville, S.C., \$27.59
 Durham, N.C., \$28.70

Expense Items: Salary for chairman (Carl Horn), \$175,294;

Atomic Industrial Forum dues, \$21,000; Montanans for Jobs and Energy (lobbying group against anti-nuclear initiative), \$2,000; Reddy Communications, \$14,850; National Right to Work Committee dues, \$3,750; South Carolina Foundation of Independent Colleges, \$22,936; The Conference Board, \$12,000; Americans for Energy Independence, \$6,000.

See page 96 for Top Ten Stockholders

FLORIDA POWER AND LIGHT



The charge? Indecent rate hike request!
 Bill Eulehart, Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette

Expense Items: Salary of president (Marshall McDonald), \$210,000; expenses on rate case hearings, \$443,401; United Fund and United Way, \$162,581; Florida Foundation of Future Scientists, \$2,000; public communications expenditures, \$61,429; University of Miami, \$33,072; donation to Chamber of Commerce, \$7,100; Mercy Hospital Foundation, Inc., \$26,250; University of Florida, \$16,581.

Top Ten Stockholders

Harris Trust & Savings Bank	1,666,329
Bankamerica Corp.	925,804
First National Bank (Chicago)	913,844
New York State Teachers Retirement System	602,700
Wilmington Trust Co. for Du Pont Pension Trust Fund	556,300
General Electric Pension Trust	500,000
National Bank of Detroit	489,632
Commonwealth Fund	475,000
Fidelity Management & Research Co.	430,000
Aetna Life & Casualty Co.	405,100

total number of outstanding shares: 40,314,552
 % held by the top ten stockholders: 17.39%

Service Area: east coast and southern third of Florida; more than two million customers

Employees: 9,750

Revenues: \$1,647,226,000

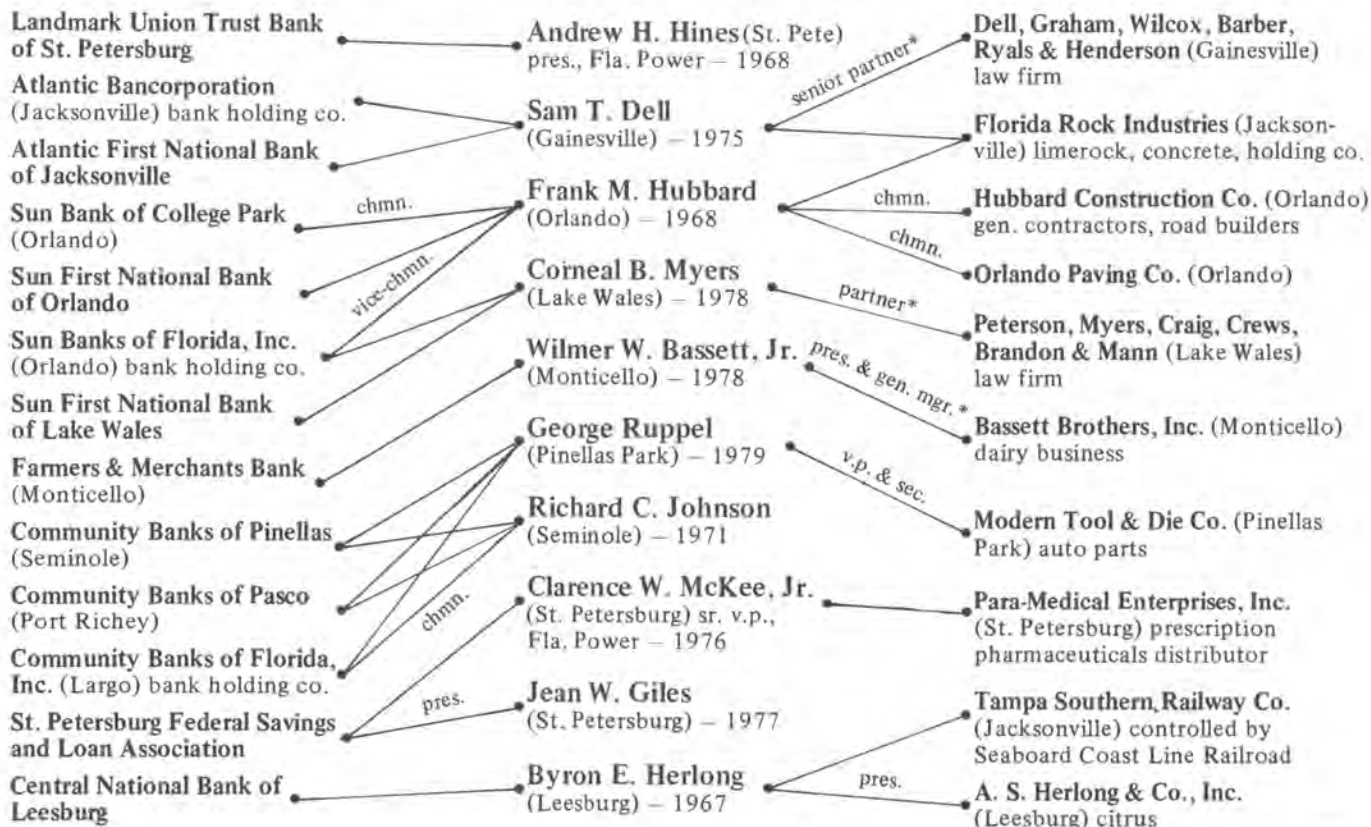
Assets: \$4,460,145,000

Net Income: \$211,241,000

Price per KWH - residential: 4.10¢ **industrial:** 3.40¢

Typical Light Bills: Miami, \$15.16

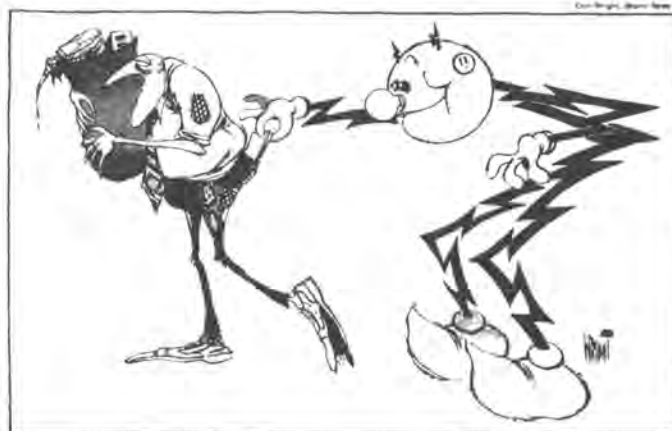
FLORIDA POWER CORPORATION



Top Ten Stockholders

N. Y. Stock Exchange, NYC (Cede & Co.)	2,524,103
Chase Manhattan Bank, NYC (Schmidt & Co.)	560,016
Midwest Stock Exchange Clearing Corp., Chicago (Kray & Co.)	438,700
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., NYC:	
Douglass & Co.	200,000
Stawis & Co.	187,820
National Bank of Detroit (Trussel & Co.)	234,152
Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, NYC	188,072
Harris Trust & Savings Bank, Chicago (Eld & Co.)	151,700
Teacher Retirement System of Texas, Austin	143,710
First Jersey Natl. Bank, Jersey City (Lages & Co.)	135,000

total number of outstanding shares: 14,432,718
% held by top ten stockholders: 33.0%



Service Area: 32 counties in north and central Florida; population 2.8 million

Employees: 3,500

Revenues: \$751,220,000

Assets: \$1,739,081,000

Net Income: \$81,491,000

Price per KWH – residential: 4.78¢ **industrial:** 3.45¢

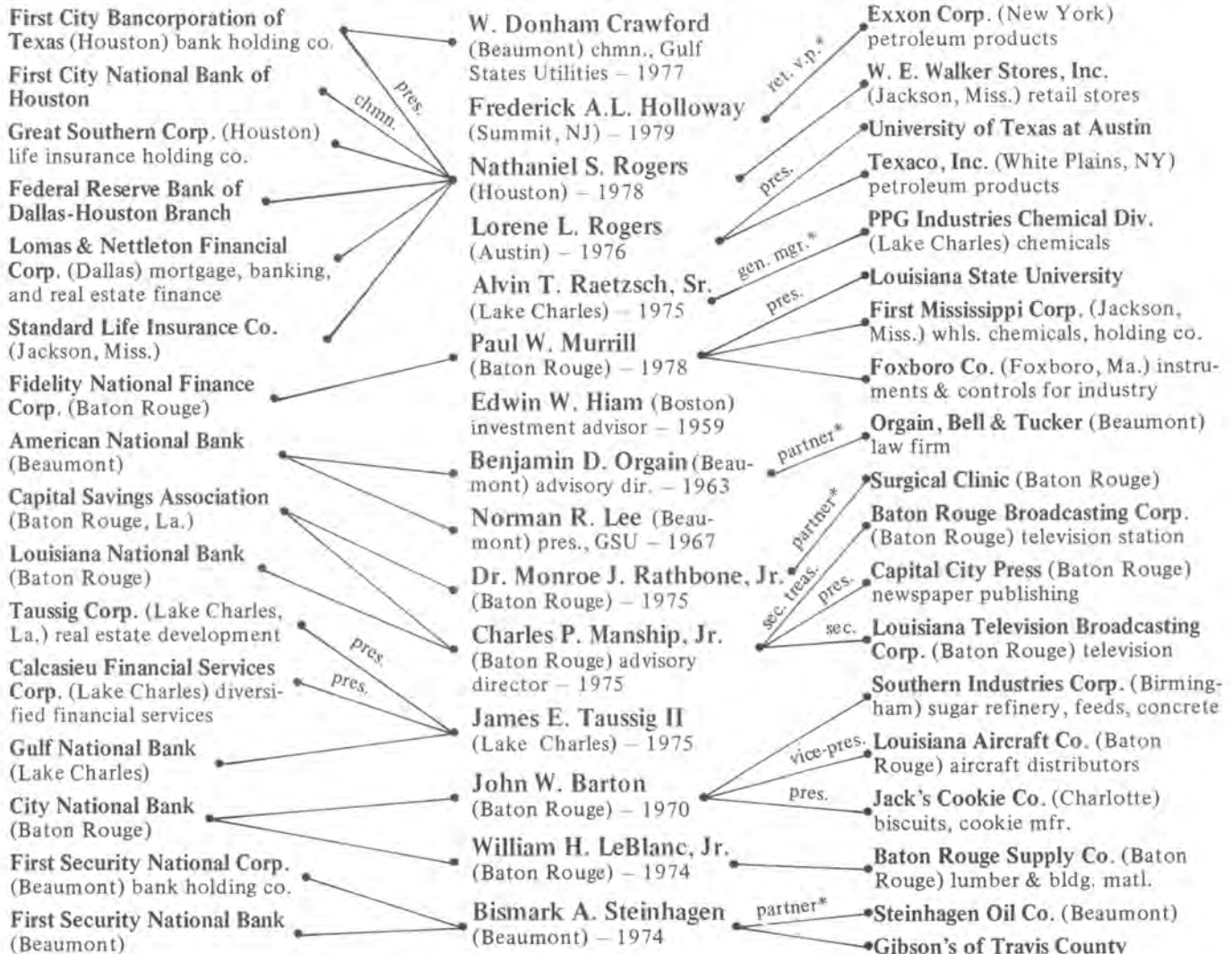
Typical Light Bills: St. Petersburg, \$31.96

Winter Park, \$31.96

Expense Items: Salary of president (A.H. Hines, Jr.), \$133,271; National Alliance of Business, \$27,000; United Fund, \$47,557; Chamber of Commerce dues, \$29,695; University of South Florida, \$27,550; Eckerd College, \$18,000; advertising expenses, \$46,369.



GULF STATES UTILITIES



Service Area: Southeast Texas and South Louisiana; provides electricity, industrial steam and natural gas

Employees: 3,700

Revenues: \$717,958,000 **Assets:** \$2,059,425,000

Net Income: \$70,146,000

Price per KWH - residential: 3.68¢ **industrial:** 2.18¢

Typical Light Bills: Lake Charles, La., \$22.98
Beaumont, Tx., \$27.45(w), \$28.20(s)

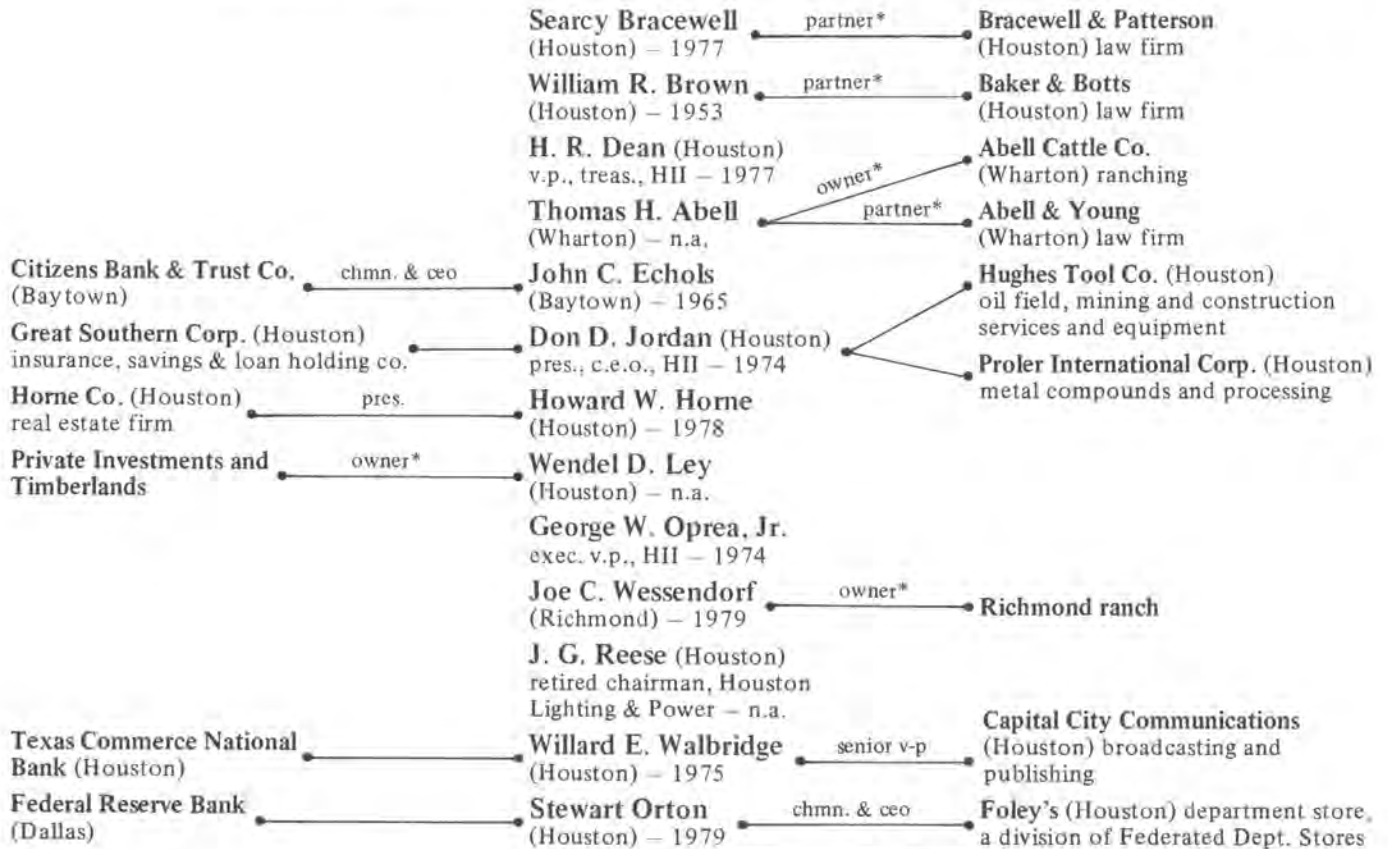
Expense Items: Salary of chairman (W. Donham Crawford), \$131,208; Montanans for Jobs and Energy (lobbying group against anti-nuclear initiative), \$1,000; Americans for Energy Independence, \$1,000; Stone & Webster (Boston, Ma.), engineering, \$23,172,653; Brown & Root (Houston), engineering, \$1,156,562; Orgain, Bell and Tucker (Beaumont, Tx.), attorneys and law firm of director, \$352,121; Taylor, Porter, Brooks and Phillips (Baton Rouge), attorneys, \$136,840; Atomic Industrial Forum, \$27,894; Chamber of Commerce dues, \$24,862; Council for a Better Louisiana, \$1,775; Louisiana State University, \$23,274.

Top Ten Stockholders

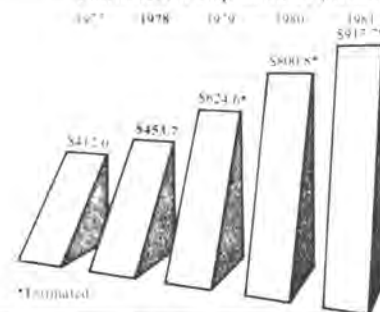
N. Y. Stock Exchange, NYC (Cede & Co.)	7,773,550
Bank of California, San Francisco (Rucal & Co.)	650,000
Teacher Retirement System of Texas, Austin	342,400
First Pennsylvania Bank, Philadelphia (Cross & Co.)	322,335
Texas Commerce Bank, Houston (Perco)	312,321
Treasurer of State of Texas, State Permanent School Fund, Office Education Agency, Austin	296,400
First Natl. Bank of Chicago (Olen & Co.)	239,207
Eagh Co., New York	232,467
Pacific Coast Stock Exchange Clearing Corp., San Francisco (Pacific & Co.)	209,944
Treasurer of State of Texas for the Account of Permanent School Fund, Austin	202,300

number of outstanding shares: 38,302,420
% held by top ten stockholders: 27.6%

HOUSTON INDUSTRIES, INC.



Construction Expenditures (Millions)



Top Ten Stockholders

N. Y. Stock Exchange, NYC (Cede & Co.)	231,544
Aetna Life & Casualty, Stamford, Ct. (Alac One & Co.)	96,500
National Life & Accident Ins. Co., Nashville, Tn.	60,000
Girard Bank, Philadelphia (Charter & Co.)	51,300
Franklin Life Ins. Co., Springfield, Ill.	50,000
Fidelity Union Trust Co., Newark, N.J. (Chubb & Co.)	48,300
Nationwide Mutual Ins. Co., Columbus, Oh.	38,000
First City National Bank, NYC (Gerlach & Co.)	37,750
Pittsburgh Natl. Bank (Alder & Co.)	35,000
Bankers Trust Co., NYC (Barnett & Co.)	31,200

total number of outstanding shares: 2,147,397
 % held by top ten stockholders: 31.2%

Service Area: 5,000 square mile area around Houston;
 2.9 million population

Employees: 6,500

Revenues: \$1,349,000,000 **Assets:** \$3,314,761,000

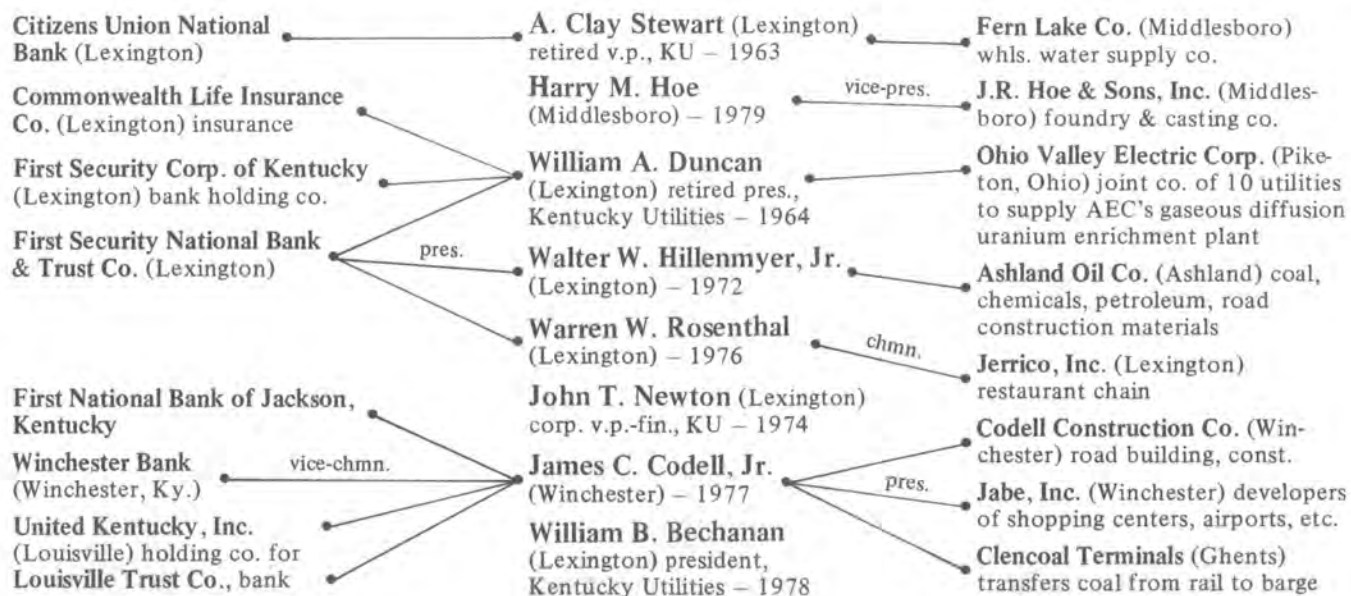
Net Income: \$128,657,000

Price per KWH - residential: 3.36¢ **industrial:** 2.13¢

Typical Light Bills: Houston, \$24.24 (w), \$25.14 (s)

Expense Items: Salary of president (D.D. Jordan), \$169,367; Chamber of Commerce dues, \$29,043; American Nuclear Council, \$9,000; American Nuclear Society, \$3,000; University of Houston, \$30,150; Texas Southern University, \$5,000; United Negro College Fund, \$1,000; United Fund of Houston, \$143,611; Brown & Root (Houston), engineering and architecture, \$14,590,547; Bechtel Power Corp. (Houston), consulting engineers, \$7,713,933; Ebasco Services (New York), construction, \$29,777,086; Baker & Botts (Houston), attorneys, \$1,749,863; Southwest Research Institute (San Antonio), research services, \$396,160; Houston Livestock Show and Rodeo, \$14,320; Houston Rockets tickets, \$1,394; Houston Astros tickets, \$3,482; Houston Oilers tickets, \$1,450; Rice University tickets, \$883; University of Houston tickets, \$471.

KENTUCKY UTILITIES



Top Ten Stockholders

Service Area: central and western Kentucky, and through subs. (Old Dominion Power Co.) southwestern Virginia

Employees: 1,728

Revenues: \$306,114,000 **Assets:** \$799,738,000

Net Income: \$21,548,000

Price per KWH — residential: 3.60¢ **industrial:** 2.70¢

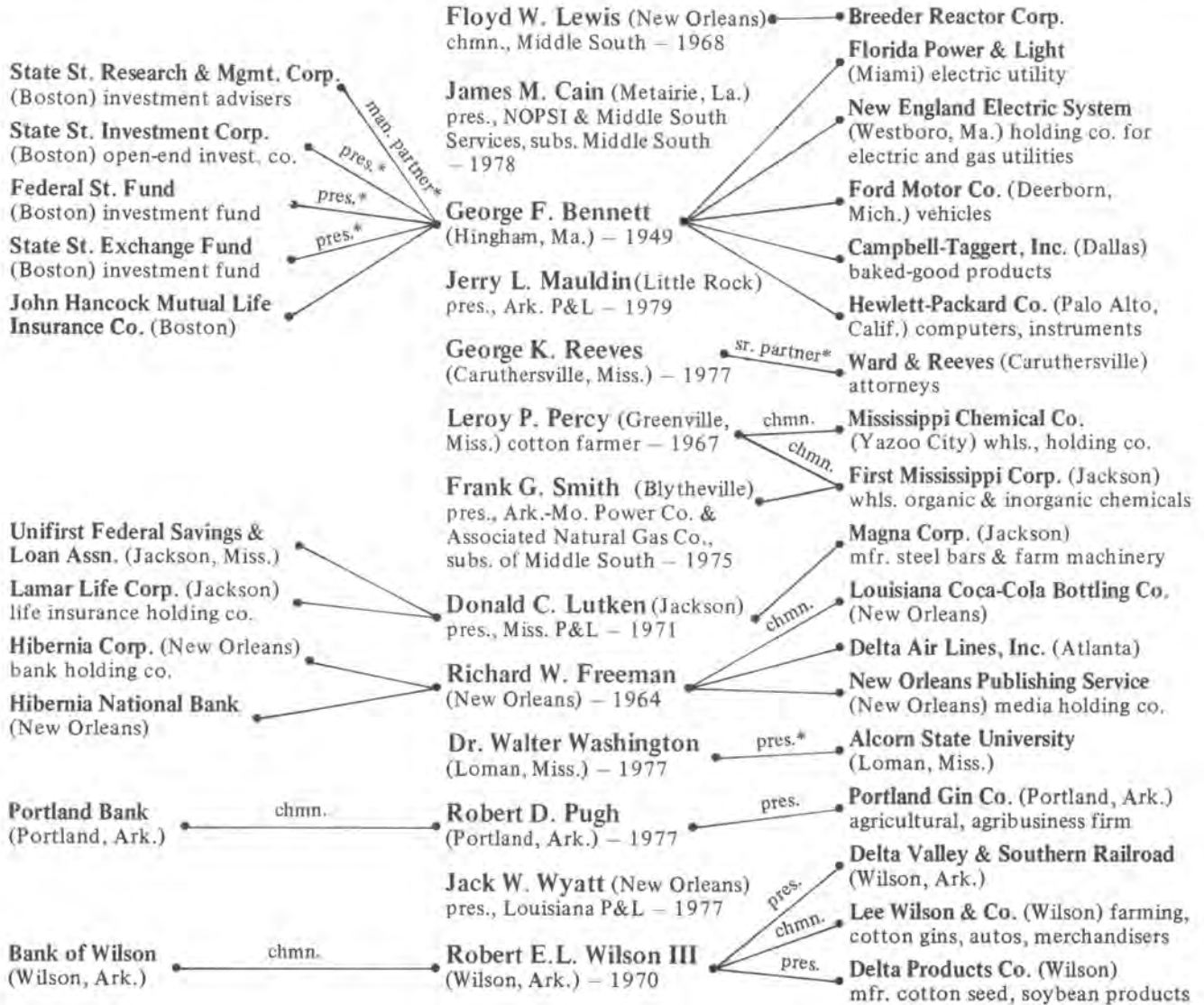
Typical Light Bills: Lexington, Ky., \$24.59
Norton, Va., \$23.98

Expense Items: Salary of chairman (W. A. Duncan), \$73,221; Sargeant & Lundy (Chicago), engineering, \$4,945,651; Edison Electric Institute, research, \$1,000,305; Ogden, Robertson and Marshall (Louisville), attorneys, \$320,822; Boy Scouts, \$1,665; United Community Fund, \$12,835; Kentucky Independent College Foundation, \$15,000.

N. Y. Stock Exchange, NYC (Cede & Co.)	779,668
NLI & Co., Stamford, Ct.	175,000
Louisville Trust Co. Employees Stock Ownership Plan, Louisville, Ky.,	84,799
First Security Natl. Bank & Trust Co., Lexington, Ky. (Tuyl & Co.)	80,554
Bankers Trust Co., NYC (Salkeld & Co.)	70,530
Shareholder Investors Services, Chicago (Sisco)	49,968
Citizens Fidelity Bank & Trust, Louisville, Ky. (Cittrest & Co.)	39,533
Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, NYC	37,838
Pacific Coast Stock Exchange Clearing Corp., San Francisco (Pacific & Co.)	30,821
Hartford Natl. Bank & Trust, Hartford, Ct. (Pride & Co.)	25,000

total number of shares outstanding: n.a.
% held by top ten stockholders: n.a.

MIDDLE SOUTH UTILITIES



Service Area: portions of Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri and Mississippi

Employees: 11,000

Revenues: \$1,622,177,000 **Assets:** \$5,501,027,000

Net Income: \$210,915,000

Typical Light Bills: Little Rock, Ark. (Ark. P&L) \$27.16
 New Orleans (NOPSI), \$28.28
 New Orleans (La. P&L), \$14.79
 Jackson, Miss. (Miss. P&L), \$28.69

Expense Items - Arkansas Power & Light: Salary of chairman (Reese E. Ritchie), \$140,108; Arkansas State Council on Economic Education, \$1,500; Bechtel Power Corp. (San Francisco), nuclear construction, \$20,024,053; Rohrer, Hibler & Replogle (Chicago), industrial psychologists, \$77,967; House, Holmes & Jewell (Little Rock), attorneys, \$596,028; Middle South Exhibit at Walt Disney World, \$1,599; 300 copies of "Nuclear Power" brochure, \$469.

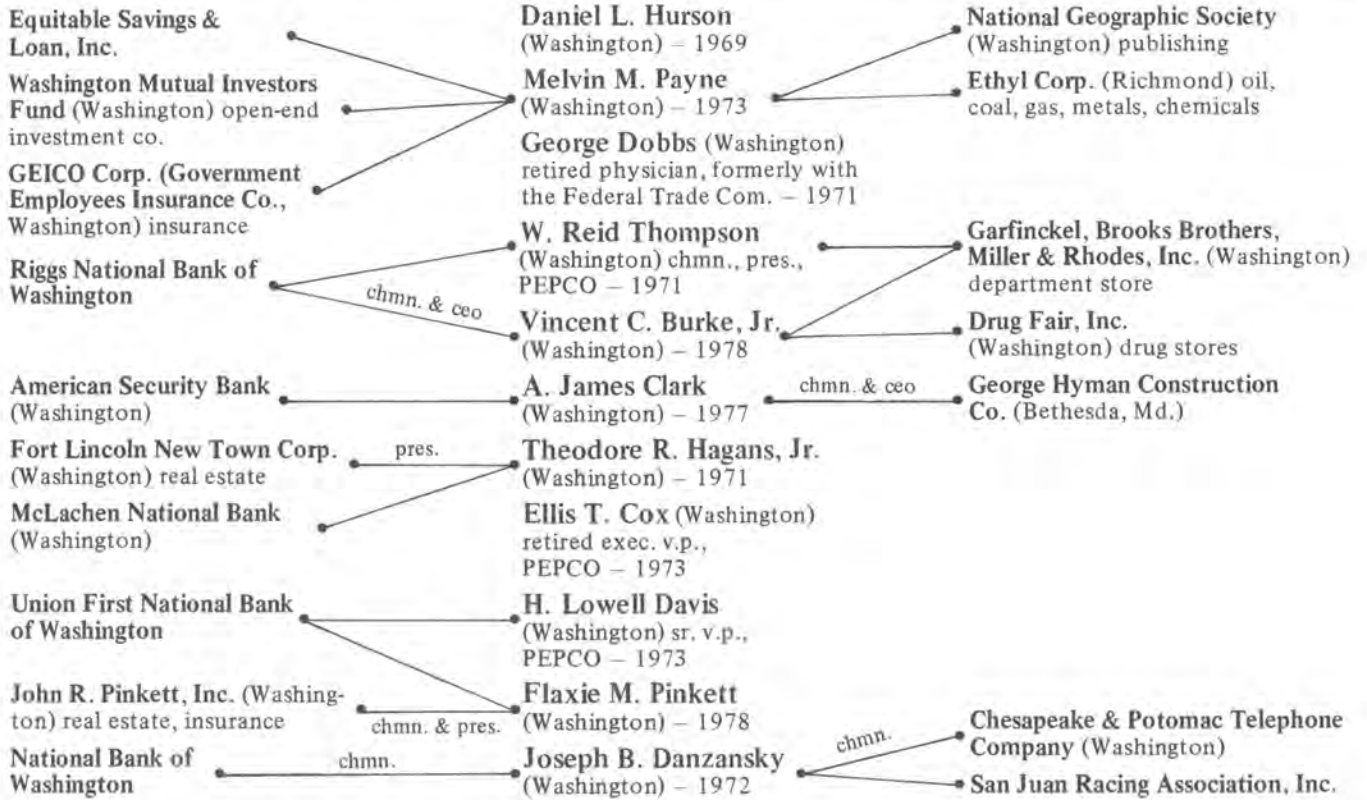
Louisiana Power & Light: Salary of president (J.M. Wyatt), \$100,000; Crawford, Johnson, Hunt & Associates (Little

Rock), advertising and public relations, \$112,651; Fitzgerald Advertising (New Orleans), \$644,743; Monroe & Lehman (New Orleans), attorneys, \$943,115; Chamber of Commerce dues, \$32,307; Ebasco Services (New York), construction services, \$23,949,202; operation of company airplane, \$43,103; New Orleans Mid-Winter Sports Assn., tickets for sporting events, \$755.

Mississippi Power & Light: Salary of president (D.C. Lutken), \$112,063; Central Miss. Growth Foundation, \$20,000; Miss. Council on Economic Education, \$1,000; tickets to Miss. Memorial Stadium, \$4,216; Chamber of Commerce dues, \$20,079; Confederate Oil Invitational, \$325; Rohrer, Hibler & Replogle (Chicago), industrial psychologists, \$15,545; Friends of Alcoholics, \$1,300; Wise, Carter, Child, Stern & Carraway (Jackson), attorneys, \$402,394; Crawford, Johnson, Hunt & Associates (Little Rock), advertising, \$64,899; Bellhaven College, \$52,740.

See page 96 for Top Ten Stockholders

POTOMAC ELECTRIC POWER COMPANY



Service Area: 643 square miles in Washington, D.C. (42% of revenues), southeastern Maryland (56%) and Arlington County, Virginia (4%)
Employees: 4,900
Revenues: \$714,713,000 **Assets:** \$2,083,405,000
Net Income: \$78,756,000
Price per KWH - residential: 4.94¢ **industrial:** 3.94¢
Typical Light Bills: Washington, D.C., \$24.53
 Bethesda, Md., \$31.65 (w), \$31.82 (s)
 Arlington, Va., \$28.56 (w), \$30.93 (s)

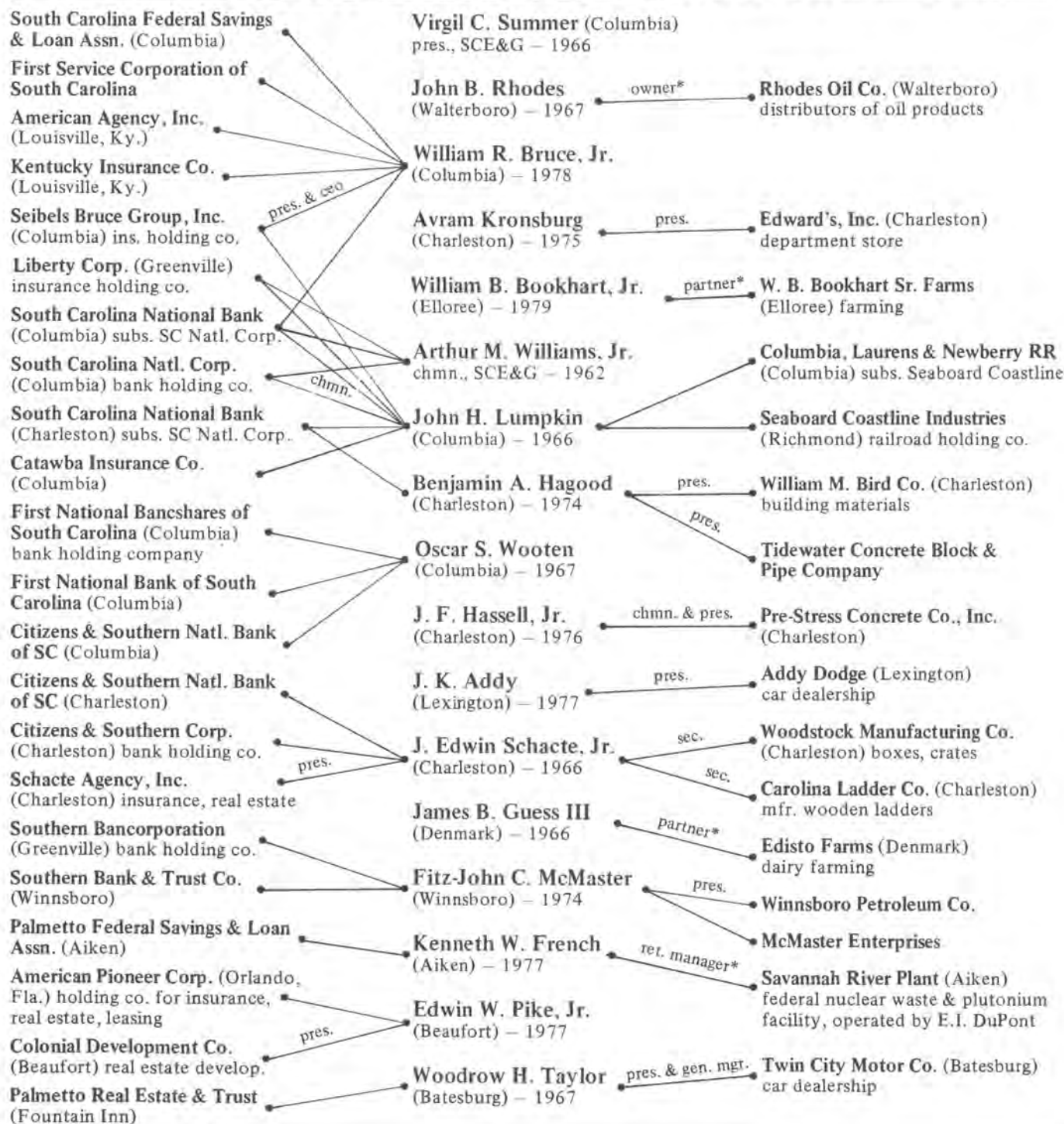
Expense Items: Salary of chairman and president (W. Reid Thompson), \$192,333; Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, water quality services, \$1,622,229; Hamilton & Hamilton (Washington), attorneys, \$78,854; LeBoeuf, Lamb, Leiby and MacRae (New York), attorneys, \$490,650; advertising expenses, \$66,575; Charles County Economic Development Commission, \$1,500; Howard University, \$11,000; United Way, \$100,000.

Top Ten Stockholders

N. Y. Stock Exchange, NYC (Cede & Co.)	5,515,536
Riggs Natl. Bank, Washington (Dissco)	1,494,547
First Pennsylvania Bank, Philadelphia (Cross & Co.)	418,156
Bank of Delaware, Wilmington (Carothers & Clark)	374,859
Midwest Stock Exchange Clearing Corp., Chicago (Kray & Co.)	229,211
Mercantile Trust Co., St. Louis (Pine & Co.)	201,800
Florida State Treasurer, Tallahassee	165,000
Union First Natl. Bank, Washington (Claw Co. A&B)	153,200
American Security & Trust Co., Washington (Johol & Co.)	148,720
State St. Bank & Trust, Boston (Team & Co.)	147,500

total number of outstanding shares: 40,652,400
 % held by top ten stockholders: 21.8%

SOUTH CAROLINA ELECTRIC AND GAS



Service Area: supplies electricity and gas to central and southern South Carolina; population 1.2 million

Employees: 2,900

Revenues: \$486,101,422-

Assets: \$1,522,706,873

Net Income: \$60,346,754

Price per KWH - residential: 4.34¢ **industrial:** 2.57¢

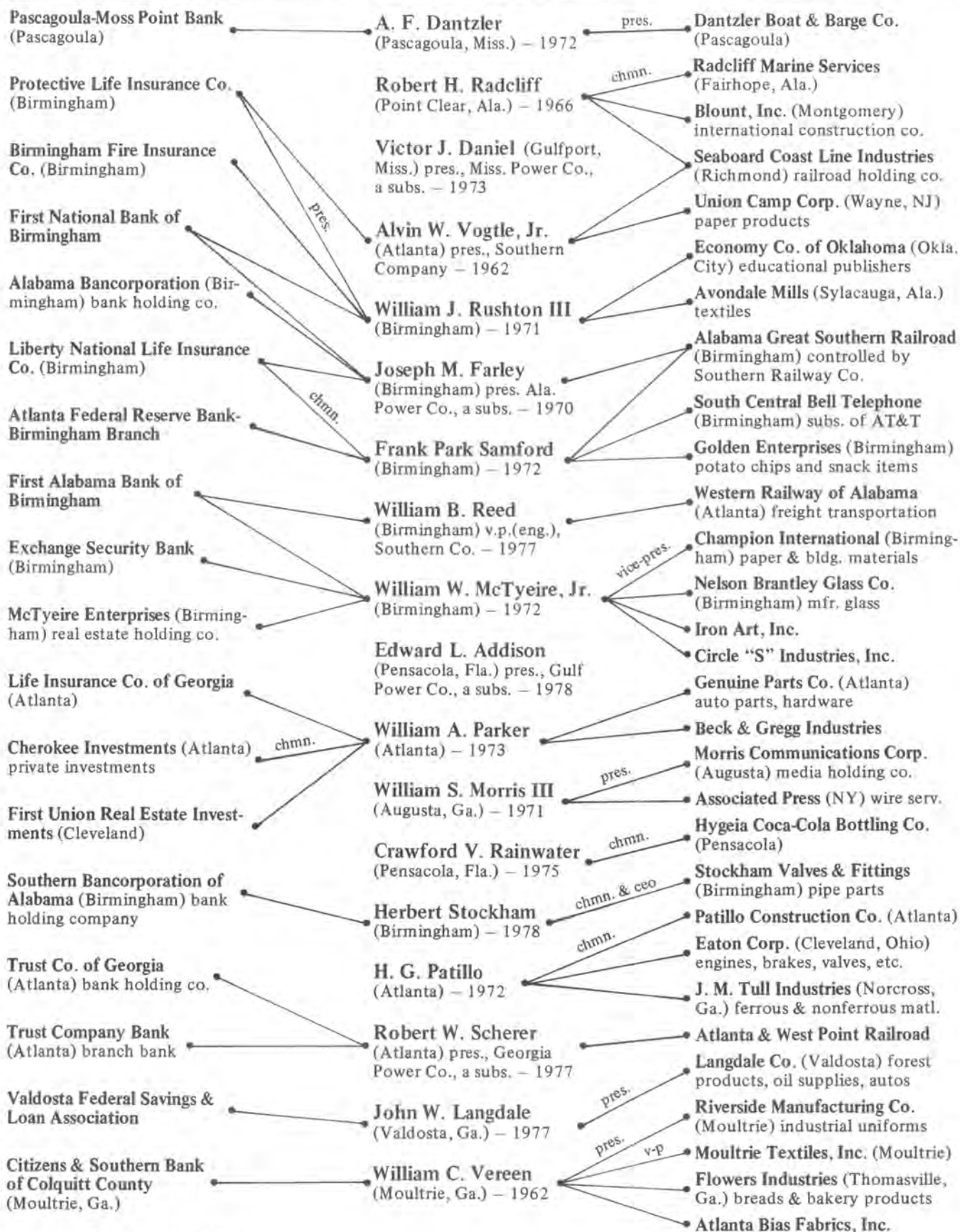
Typical Light Bills: Columbia and Charleston, \$33.86

Expense Items: Salary of chairman (A.M. Williams), \$139,652; Gilbert Associates, Inc. (Reading, Pa.), engi-

neering, \$8,101,095; Rice Associates (Hamlet, N.C.), survey consultants on nuclear research, \$128,207; Blatt, Fales, Bedingfield, Loadholt, Poole and Motley (Barnwell), attorneys, \$14,785; Gressette & Gressette (St. Matthews, S.C.), attorneys, \$13,000; Robert E. McNair (Columbia), attorney, \$12,000; United Fund, \$63,898; educational scholarship funds, \$25,300; public relations expenditures, \$73,875.

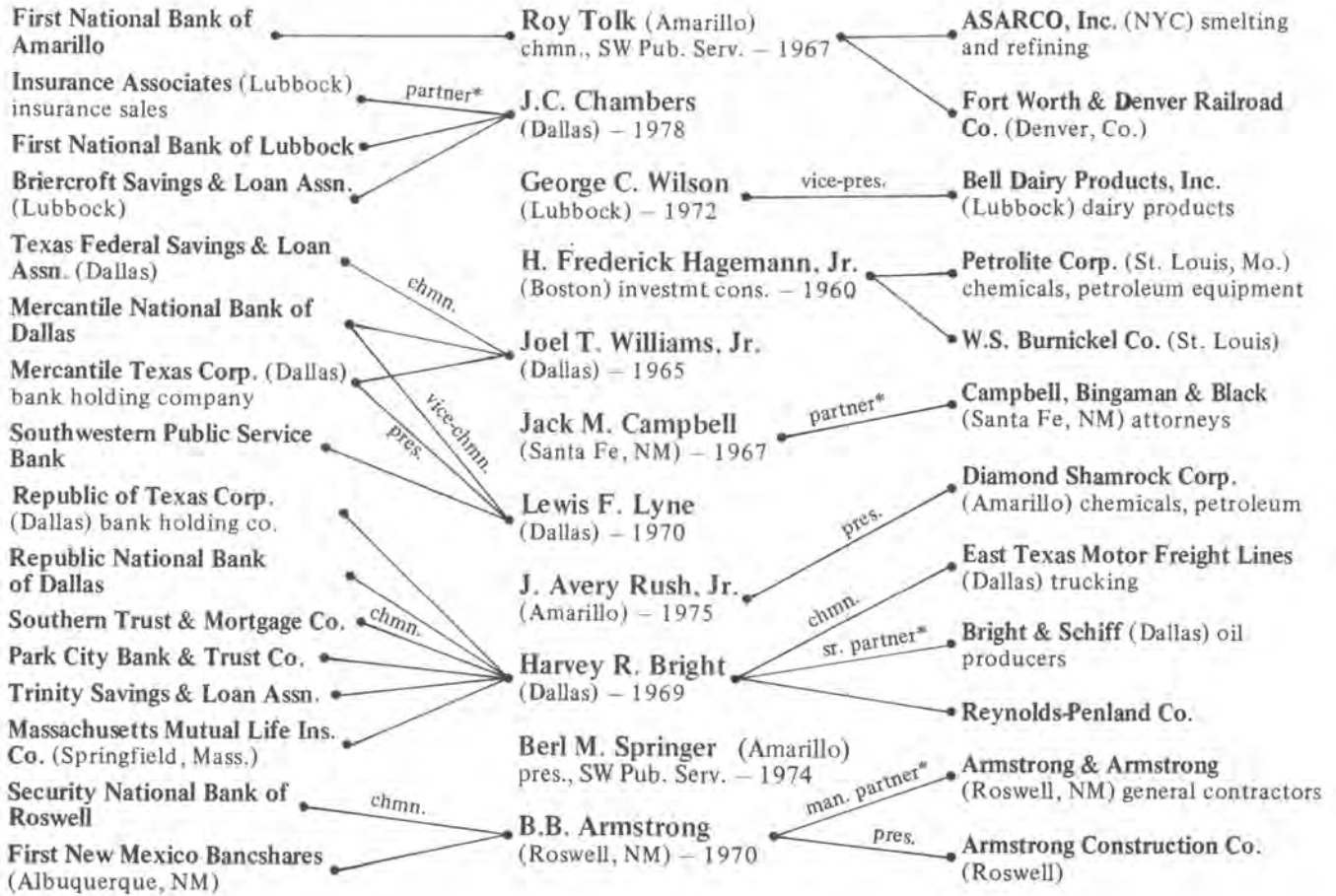
See page 96 for Top Ten Stockholders

THE SOUTHERN COMPANY



See page 97 for additional data

SOUTHWESTERN PUBLIC SERVICE



Source: Environmental Action Foundation

Service Area: electric service to Texas and Oklahoma panhandle and southeastern New Mexico

Employees: 2,246

Revenues: \$355,435,000 **Assets:** \$837,013,000

Net Income: \$46,238,000

Price per KWH - residential: 4.48¢ **industrial:** 2.76¢

Typical Light Bills: Amarillo, Tex., \$27.89

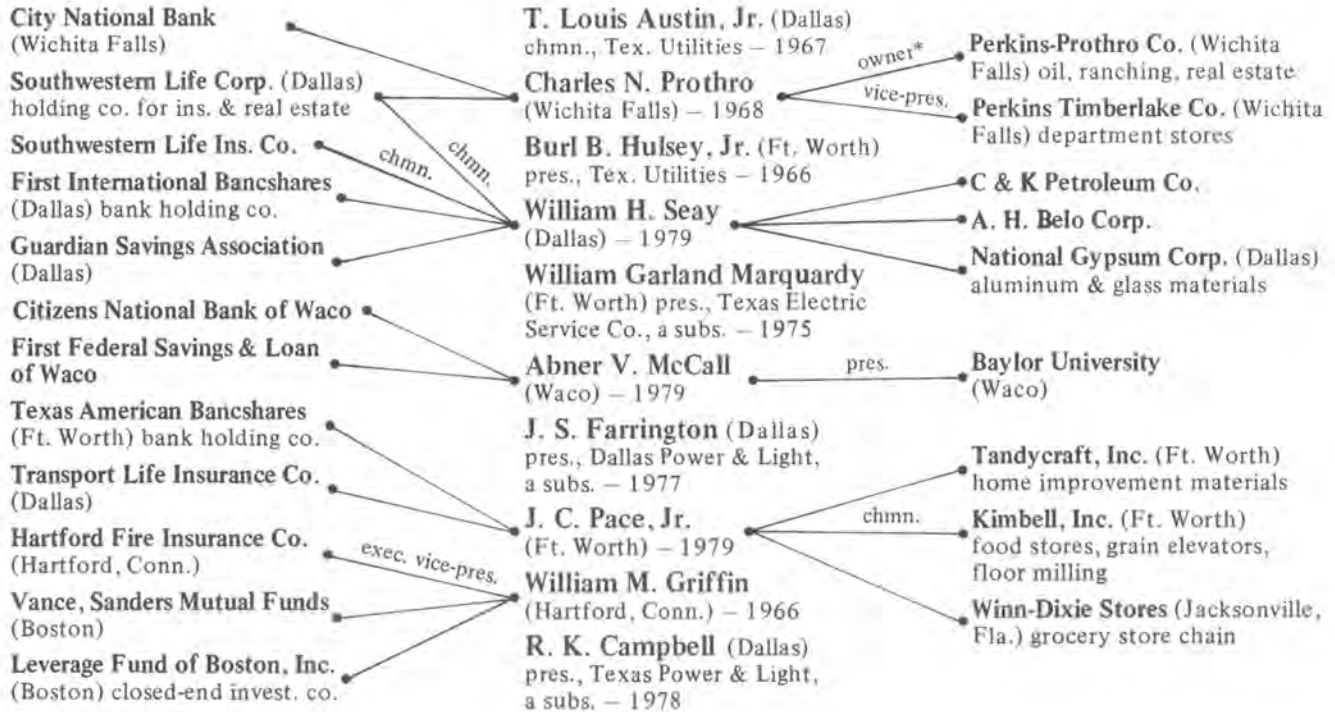
Expense Items: Salary of chairman (Ray Tolk), \$131,000; United Fund, \$42,490; Red Raider Club of Texas Tech, \$1,500; advertising, Amarillo *Globe News*, \$214; utilities commission hearing expenses, \$427,023; Culton, Morgan, Britain and White (Amarillo), attorneys, \$82,050; Peat, Marwick and Mitchell (Amarillo), accounting, \$158,745.

Top Ten Stockholders

N. Y. Stock Exchange, NYC (Cede & Co.)	4,220,976
Provident Natl. Bank, Philadelphia (Saxon & Co.)	761,495
Treasurer of the State of Texas, Account of the State Permanent School Fund, Austin	387,150
Union Bank, Los Angeles (Borla & Co.)	210,001
First Natl. Bank of Amarillo (Duro & Co.)	151,906
State St. Bank & Trust Co., Boston (Transom & Co.)	150,000
Pacific Coast Stock Exchange Clearing Corp., San Francisco (Pacific & Co.)	140,015
Russell B. Stearns, Boston	118,836
Connecticut Mutual Life Ins. Co., Hartford, Ct. (Garden St. Co.)	114,400
Boatmen's Natl. Bank of St. Louis (Rodac & Co.)	111,099

total number of outstanding shares: 25,932,375
% held by top ten stockholders: 24.5%

TEXAS UTILITIES COMPANY



Service Area: 87 counties in north central, east and west Texas; population 4,000,000

Employees: 10,800

Revenues: \$1,604,536,000 **Assets:** \$5,161,108,000

Net Income: \$237,340,000

Typical Light Bills: Dallas: \$25.42 (w); \$26.14 (s)
 Wichita Falls: \$23.29 (w); \$27.43 (s)
 Waco: \$23.52 (w); \$27.70 (s)

Expense Items - Dallas Power & Light: Salary of president (J.S. Farrington), \$106,667; Committee for Economic Development, \$1,250; KERA-TV (educational TV station) \$14,500; United Way of Metropolitan Dallas, \$174,500; energy seminar expenditures, \$20,901; Gibbs & Hill (Newark, NJ), design engineering, \$8,736,673; Brown & Root (Houston), design engineering, \$146,442; Wortham, Forsythe & Sampels (Dallas), attorneys, \$81,338.

Texas Electric Service Co.: Salary of president (W.G. Marquardt), \$110,833; educational service programs, \$50,515; book covers for school children, \$19,626; Chamber of Commerce dues, \$64,242; Texas Christian University Research Foundation, \$60,100; Committee for Economic Development, \$1,250; Cantey, Hauger, Goody, Gooch, Munn & Collins (Fort Worth), attorneys, \$653,257; Edison Electric Institute, breeder reactor research, \$2,054,847; Witherspoon & Associates, advertising and public relations,

\$402,550.

Texas Power & Light: Salary of chairman (J.F. Skelton), \$105,000; Austin Atomic Energy Symposium, \$22,328; Texas Research League, \$6,000; United Fund, \$66,878; Roninger Advertising Agency (Dallas), \$184,856; Bradford & Rayburn (Dallas), attorneys, \$419,007; Texas Atomic Energy Research Foundation, \$86,826; Brown & Root (Houston), engineering design, \$3,897,670; Americans for Energy Independence, \$2,000.

Top Ten Stockholders

First National Bank (Chicago)	2,037,552
First National Bank of Boston	1,564,500
Bankamerica Corp.	1,380,780
Aetna Life & Casualty Co.	672,800
International Telephone & Telegraph Co.	635,300
New York State Teachers Retirement System	619,600
W. M. Griffin (director) and family interests	613,200
National Bank of Detroit	569,874
Prudential Insurance Co. of America	550,000
Wilmington Trust Co. for Du Pont Pension Trust Fund	523,500

total number of outstanding shares: 69,967,500
 % held by top ten stockholders: 13.10%

AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER

Top Seven Stockholders

Chase Manhattan Corp.	272,000
General Accident Fire & Life Insurance Co. (England)	219,726
Fidelity Management & Research Co.	200,000
Boatmens National Bank	180,366
Provident National Bank	143,815
United States Trust Co. of New York	130,200
Citibank N.A.	88,903

total number of outstanding shares: 92,857,894
% held by top seven stockholders: 1.33%

CAROLINA POWER AND LIGHT

Top Ten Stockholders

Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, NYC	2,197,140
Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., Winston-Salem, N.C. (Bull & Co.)	1,045,616
Wilmington Trust Co., Wilmington, Del. (Dean & Davis)	1,000,000
U. S. Trust Co., NYC (Atwell & Co.)	521,614
Chase Manhattan Bank, NYC (Cudd & Co.)	415,688
Bank of California, Sacramento (Calpers & Co.)	362,900
Bloom & Co., Chicago	326,200
Fiduciary Trust Co. of Chicago (Dengel & Co.)	319,815
Bank of New York (Lerche & Co.)	300,000
North Carolina National Bank, Charlotte (Sterco & Co.)	248,181

total number of outstanding shares: 38,565,108
% held by top ten stockholders: 17.5%

DUKE POWER

Top Ten Stockholders

Duke Family Interests	15,029,672
Citibank N.A.	810,016
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.	667,200
Continental Investment Corp.	620,000
Teachers Insurance and Annuity Assn.-College Retirement Equities Fund	500,000
First National Bank in Dallas	453,275
Prudential Insurance Co. of America	440,000
Trust Co. of Georgia	412,967
State Farm Mutual Auto Insurance Co.	336,800
Lord Abbett & Co.	320,000

total number of outstanding shares: 58,976,750
% held by top ten stockholders: 33.21%

MIDDLE SOUTH UTILITIES

New Orleans Public Service: Salary of president (J.M. Cain), \$59,166; Montanans for Jobs & Energy (lobbying effort against anti-nuclear initiative), \$325; State Legislators' Day at the Races, \$234; Anderson, Brown, Orr & Jones (Houston), attorneys, \$162,150; Chaffe, McCall, Phillips, Toler & Sarpy (New Orleans), attorneys, \$67,083; United Way of New Orleans, \$113,551; Rohrer, Hibler & Replogle (Chicago), industrial psychologists, \$30,082; Tulane University, \$28,392.

Top Ten Stockholders

National Bank of Detroit	2,368,488
First National Bank (Chicago)	1,317,032
Bankamerica Corp.	1,189,162
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York	1,047,200
University of California	796,807
Lord Abbett & Co.	574,000
Wilmington Trust Co. (for DuPont Pension Trust Fund)	508,300
Citibank N.A.	448,535
Minnesota State Board of Investment	438,400
Nationwide Corp.	410,850

total number of outstanding shares: 58,777,050
% held by top ten stockholders: 15.48%

SOUTH CAROLINA ELECTRIC AND GAS

Top Ten Stockholders

N. Y. Stock Exchange, NYC (Cede & Co.)	3,489,058
U.S. Steel and Carnegie Pension Funding, c/o U.S. Trust Co., NYC	694,323
SCEG Dividend Reinvestment Plan	498,594
First Natl. Bank of S.C., Columbia	331,668
Home Insurance Co., NYC (HICO)	250,077
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., NYC (Douglass & Co.)	224,000
Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, NYC	220,903
Teacher Retirement System of Texas, Austin	199,748
SCEG Employee Stock Ownership Plan, c/o First Natl. Bank of S.C., Columbia	189,548
U.S. Fidelity & Guaranty Co., Baltimore, Md.	181,000

total number of outstanding shres: 22,439,871
% held by top ten stockholders: 28.0%

total number of outstanding shares: 22,439,871

total number of outstanding shares: 22,439,871
% held by top ten stockholders: 28.0%

THE SOUTHERN COMPANY

Service Area: service to Alabama, Georgia, southeast Mississippi and northwest Florida; population 9,000,000

Employees: 26,000

Revenues: \$2,906,672,000 **Assets:** \$9,866,463,000

Net Income: \$272,451,000

Typical Light Bills: Birmingham, \$28.69
Atlanta, \$26.49 (w); \$27.49 (s)
Pensacola, Fla., \$30.59
Hattiesburg, Miss., \$29.74

Expense Items — Alabama Power Co.: Salary of president (Joseph M. Farley), \$148,050; electric industry exhibit at Walt Disney World, \$4,998; nuclear information program, \$54,502; Southern Research Institute, \$16,667; United Way and United Fund, \$128,188; EAF Reddy Kilowatt litigation, \$2,000; aptitude tests for Farley Nuclear Plant applicants, \$1,984; Committee for Economic Development, \$1,067.

Georgia Power: Salary of president (Robert W. Scherer), \$144,354; Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, \$20,000; donations to United Way, \$250,740; nuclear information program — Hatch Plant, \$113,379; youth activities and educational services department, \$264,475; Atlanta Arts Alliance, \$35,000.

Gulf Power: Salary of president (Edward A. Addison), \$75,237; United Way, \$8,588; rate case expenditures, \$219,864.

Mississippi Power: Salary of president (Victor J. Daniel, Jr.), \$101,985; United Fund, \$10,165; Goodwin Advertising Co. (Jackson), public relations, \$31,340; Eaton, Cottrell, Galloway and Lang (Gulfport), attorneys, \$232,390; community and public services information, \$19,580; tours of Plant Daniel, \$793.

Top Ten Stockholders

Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York	718,000
First National Bank (Atlanta)	677,368
Trust Co. of Georgia	576,746
Lord Abnett & Co.	465,590
International Telephone & Telegraph Co.	427,400
Chase Manhattan Corp.	408,000
City Investing Co.	335,000
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation	316,500
Connecticut General Insurance Corp.	300,000
Pioneer Western Corp.	260,000

total number of outstanding shares: 122,369,700

% held by top ten stockholders: 3.67%

Company	WHAT YOUR LIGHT BILL PAYS FOR								
	Revenues (in 1,000s)	Net Income (in 1,000s)	Chief Executive	Salary	Advertising	Nuclear Research	General Research	Political	Industry Dues
Alabama Power	\$1,018,212	\$ 74,123	Joseph Farley	\$148,050	\$2,951,114	\$ 96	\$4,462,281	\$166,787	\$190,230
Appalachian Power	713,122	56,528	John W. Vaughn	73,000	387,271	78,364	248,774	31,420	190,063
Ark. Power & Light	556,488	87,619	Reese E. Ritchie	140,108	127,434	218,845	2,389,439	3,573	74,537
Carolina Power & Lt.	903,438	142,743	Shearon Harris	170,000	720,859	731,339	2,013,792	62,557	259,766
Central Power & Lt.	487,495	56,424	Roff W. Hardy	128,671	510,876	305,415	n.a.	1,374	146,732
Dallas Power & Light	375,342	42,953	J.S. Farrington	106,667	481,737	236,785	1,409,976	11,953	172,057
Duke Power	1,400,400	230,601	Carl Horn	175,294	408,435	723,565	6,865,272	60,771	302,028
Florida Power & Lt.	1,647,226	211,241	Marshall McDonald	210,000	17,809	—	5,741,248	—	141,711
Florida Power Corp.	751,220	81,491	A. H. Hines, Jr.	133,271	149,976	104,877	521,692	23,014	279,048
Georgia Power	1,479,399	166,494	Robert Scherer	144,354	5,941,461	617,781	6,437,498	82,124	62,024
Gulf Power	214,220	21,755	E. L. Addison	75,238	369,113	76,945	930,151	11,864	270,281
Gulf States	746,991	70,146	Donham Crawford	131,208	275,090	101,160	813,831	6,176	261,696
Houston Industries	1,303,604	139,379	D. D. Jordan	169,367	2,497,226	683,676	6,205,944	37,288	334,474
Kentucky Power	123,250	15,127	Mathews/LeFon	96,513	147,978	n.a.	46,198	10,907	27,605
Kentucky Utilities	302,430	21,548	W. A. Duncan	73,221	139,124	n.a.	1,013,703	21,776	103,205
La. Power & Light	456,375	53,744	J. M. Wyatt	100,000	544,040	214,119	2,014,833	48,998	51,911
Mississippi Power	207,514	16,112	V. J. Daniel, Jr.	101,985	887,360	89,710	39,530	7,100	78,344
Miss. Power & Light	400,276	28,846	D. C. Lutken	112,063	678,815	108,938	1,107,889	51,113	40,561
Monongahela Power	235,603	24,105	D. E. Hollen	63,264	67,941	n.a.	82,107	32,328	88,074
New OrL. Pub. Ser.	299,372	10,643	J. M. Cain	59,167	550,184	89,527	672,045	18,696	59,043
Potomac Electric	238,601	11,081	John M. McCardell	64,750	31,325	n.a.	91,979	2,258	83,215
Potomac Elec. Power	714,713	78,756	W. Reid Thompson	192,333	225,195	289,000	1,901,944	90,913	338,233
S.C. Electric & Gas	486,101	60,347	A. M. Williams	139,652	719,600	1,054	1,453	21,560	145,224
S.W. Elec. Power	294,464	38,083	J. Lamar Stall	111,604	1,086,114	114,491	417,373	5,883	97,359
S.W. Pub. Ser.	346,810	46,238	Roy Tolk	131,000	1,057,438	36,227	55,771	11,932	165,291
Tampa Electric Co.	395,919	42,055	H. L. Culbreath	145,330	141,169	n.a.	1,494,697	48,543	201,919
Texas Elec. Service	502,248	85,179	W. G. Marquardt	110,833	521,045	320,263	2,054,847	48,751	88,593
Texas Power & Light	743,308	123,086	J. F. Skelton	105,000	666,845	76,100	2,236,928	28,288	122,325
Virginia Elec. Power	1,464,405	203,864	T. Justin Moore	154,859	426,046	525,350	4,156,756	21,981	336,439

NOT BY A DAM SITE

BRUMLEY GAP, VIRGINIA

How one community fought back



One of the "givens" of the utility business is that electricity cannot be stored. That is why power companies express so much concern about "peak hour demand," those times of day when electric use is heaviest, when the demand for power approaches, or even exceeds, the generating capacity of the system.

Pumped storage is one way out of that dilemma. Two reservoirs are constructed, one above the other. During the night, when demand is low, power drawn from throughout the system is used to pump water from the lower to the upper reservoir. During the day, when demand peaks, the process is reversed. Water is released from the the upper to the lower reservoir, causing the pumps to reverse themselves and generate electricity.

Pumped storage works, but it is wasteful. On the average, 1.42 kilowatts of electricity are expended for every one kilowatt generated from the pumped-storage facility.

Pumped storage is also expensive. The 3,000-megawatt facility that Appalachian Power Company and its parent, American Electric Power, plan for Brumley Gap would cost more than one billion dollars. Since the total value of all of AEP's operating plants is now \$1.3 billion, that would mean almost doubling the capital investment for a facility that would generate power only six to seven hours a day.

Some pumped-storage projects can have recreational uses. Others cannot. At Brumley Gap, recreation would be impossible — the upper lake would be a three-mile-long

mudflat during the day, the lower lake a five-mile-long mudflat at night. A fishing lake on the Hidden Valley Wildlife Management Area would be destroyed by the upper reservoir, while 120 homes and farms would be inundated by the lower.

Pumped-storage projects are generally paired with nuclear plants since, to be efficient at all, they must be connected to a generating system with the lowest possible fuel costs. Once the initial investment is made in nuclear plants, it is relatively inexpensive to run them overtime at night to pump water uphill. Also, nuclear plants are more efficient when run at full capacity at all times of the day; the process of pumping water back to the higher reservoir takes care of the excess output during the off-peak night-time hours. The "nuclear connection" for Brumley Gap would be the Tennessee Valley Authority's Phipps Bend plant, now under construction, and a nuclear plant which APCO and AEP are proposing near Charlottesville, Virginia.

Opponents say pumped storage is an obsolete way to meet peak hour demand. In the case of Brumley Gap, the Coalition of Appalachian Energy Consumers, the citizen group that is leading the fight against the project, is calling for alternatives that include: direct utility investment in conservation; marginal cost pricing, which gives the consumer more incentive to save electricity; and production alternatives, such as the construction of coal-fired fluidized bed turbine plants, which are both clean and efficient.

In addition, the Coalition has petitioned the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to study AEP's development plans using the "Willey Model" as a guide. Named after its principal designer, economist W.R.Z. Willey, this computer model analyzes a utility company's own cost figures to see how the costs and benefits of alternatives compare with those of new construction projects. In 1978, the Willey Model, applied to Pacific Gas & Electric, which was planning eight new plants over an 18-year period, demonstrated that alternative sources could provide enough energy to eliminate all but one 800-megawatt coal unit from the utility's plans. The California Utility Commission ordered partial implementation of this alternative and praised it for "demonstrating the potential benefits to both rate-payers and shareholders of investments in conservation, as opposed to new plant."

Currently, seven pumped storage projects are under construction in the South: Fairfield and Broad Creek in South Carolina; Rocky Mountain and Wallace in Georgia; Booth County in Virginia; Davis in West Virginia and Raccoon Mountain in Tennessee. Six more, including Brumley Gap and Powell Mountain in Virginia, have been planned.

by Bill Blanton

You see stuff like this on TV, but you never think it'll happen to you. The worst thing about it is the thought that you'll have to give up your home. I've lived in the valley since 1946. Now I go through the house and picture the things that have happened here. The house — it's nothing compared with the fancy homes you can buy — but it has our memories, the marks on the walls are from our children growing up, all our life is right here. No mansion can take the place of that.

— “Cricket” Woods, Brumley Gap Resident

It started quietly enough, with an announcement in the newspapers in August, 1977, that Appalachian Power Company (APCO), the wholly owned subsidiary of American Electric Power (AEP), the nation's largest privately owned utility, would seek preliminary permits to “study the feasibility” of two pumped-storage hydro-electric plants in the southwestern, Appalachian portion of Virginia.

Only the year before, AEP (which supplies power to western Virginia and parts of West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan) had lost a 14-year battle to build a twin-dam pumped-storage facility on the New River in North Carolina and Virginia. Those dams — the Blue Ridge Project — were scuttled when President Ford signed a bill incorporating 26.5 miles of the New into the nation's scenic river system.

“Son of Blue Ridge,” as opponents quickly dubbed the new project, would be constructed in one of two locations, or perhaps both, if both seemed favorable: Brumley Gap in Washington County and Powell Mountain in Wise and Scott counties. Each facility would have a generating capacity of 3,000 megawatts, which would make them the largest pumped-storage projects ever built. They would also be very costly, with a price tag of one billion dollars or more each. 765-kilovolt transmission lines would extend from the plants south to the Tennessee Valley Authority's Phipps Bend Nuclear Plant, now under construction, and northeast to a nuclear plant Appalachian would later propose for central Virginia, in Nelson County near Charlottesville.

In applying for the preliminary permit, APCO/AEP have requested permission from the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) to reserve the two sites while they study them for about three years. If the studies prove favorable, the utility can petition for a license to build. Construction would begin sometime in the mid-1980s.

The Powell Mountain project would destroy 25 homes and part of the Jefferson National Forest, including one section, Devil's Fork, being considered for wilderness designation. It would also render useless the Big Cherry Reservoir, which supplies drinking water to the town of Big Stone Gap.

The Brumley Gap Project would flood out 120 families and inundate parts of a state game preserve, making the preserve's Hidden Valley Lake unsuitable for any kind of recreational activity. It would also destroy lands that may have tremendous archaeological significance. Over the years, residents have found thousands of Indian relics. Hunter Holmes, who used to operate the Country Store in the valley, recently found, and had verified, a flint arrow point that dates to the Paleo period — 9,000 years ago. A local archaeologist says the valley is “just one Indian camp after another.”

There wasn't too much excitement about the projects at

the time the announcement was made. Few people outside the immediate area had ever heard of Brumley Gap or Powell Mountain; even in nearby towns there wasn't much concern. After all, the nation needed energy, didn't it? And these projects weren't like the old Blue Ridge dams, where a priceless natural legacy — the New River, reputed to be the second oldest in the world — would be destroyed. Only a few farmers and sportsmen would be affected, and they, of course, would be fairly compensated for land they were forced to give up.

That was two years ago. Things are far from quiet now.

With the help of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund and the quickly formed but carefully organized Coalition of Appalachian Energy Consumers, those few farmers and sportsmen have confronted APCO and AEP with an opposition that is as well-organized, as effective and as determined as the resistance to damming the New River.

As a result, APCO/AEP have cancelled plans to study the Powell Mountain site. Brumley Gap residents have kept the utility company from disturbing their land, they've held their own in the legal and political confrontations that have taken place in the past two years, and they are now working to convince the FERC that the project is not needed, that better means are available to meet future energy needs.

“They don't ask for nothing.”

Brumley Gap is an unlikely place for a struggle of such such intensity. It is a narrow but fertile valley that lies between the Clinch and Little Mountains in northern Washington County, on the edge of Virginia's coalfields and immediately adjacent to state-owned gamelands in the Hidden Valley Wildlife Management Area. Brumley Creek, which flows down the slopes of the Clinch from Hidden Valley, harbors trout, both native and stocked, in its clear, unpolluted waters.

The valley was settled sometime soon after the Civil War by five families — the Lees, the Lillys, the Mitchells, the Warrens, the Scotts. Those names are still prominent in Brumley Gap today, as are relatively “new” names like Duncan, Alexander, Wise, Woods, Scyphers. Even the newcomers can, in many cases, trace family ties back three and four generations.

It would not be not accurate to say that Brumley Gap is one of those places where “time has stood still,” or anything like that. Certainly, changes have occurred. For those residents who still farm, the tractor has replaced the mule; the automobile, or the ubiquitous pick-up truck, has replaced the horse and buggy. Most working-age men and women commute to jobs in Abingdon or Bristol or Lebanon or other nearby towns. They farm part-time, or simply garden.

However, in many ways the area has changed less than most other parts of the country. People still raise corn and beef and milk cattle, and still grow burley tobacco as a cash crop. Community life still centers around Mike Wise's S&W Grocery and the Davy Crockett Coon Hunters' Club, a metal building that once served as a chicken house but is now the headquarters for the Brumley Gap Concerned Citizens' Association as well as the coon hunters.

At the heart of the community are three churches — Methodist, Baptist, Church of Christ.

Remnants of the rural mountain way of life still exist, not as nostalgic curiosities, but as elements in a living culture. Women still gather to quilt, men still hunt and fish and work the land. People still believe in the verities of religion, hard work, neighborliness.

One of the most cherished values of Brumley Gap people is independence. Lee McDaniel, secretary of the Concerned Citizens Association, explains: "They cleared the mountains. Everything they ate they grew. They don't ask for nothing from society — they *give* to society." Then, thinking about some of the people she's encountered on the other side, she adds: "I'd like to see some of those people who make a living by lying and cheating and being politicians go over there and try to make a living by the sweat of their brow."

Despite the emphasis on self-reliance, there is a recognition that cooperation is necessary — not the kind of cooperation that civic groups talk about when they conduct a fund-raising drive, but something deeper, something known in our society by a very few, realized most profoundly, perhaps, by dirt farmers and their descendants, people who have come face to face with an environment that is rarely benign and often hostile, who have developed over the years a visceral understanding that to survive, men and women must work together.

Lee McDaniel recalls the time when men from surrounding farms would gather at her father's place to help with the work while the women went into the kitchen and cooked for the crew. Later, it would be her father's turn to donate

city, I'm afraid we'll lose those things."

There is another trait common to the valley. Sam Dickenson, the high school social studies teacher who is president of the Concerned Citizens, explains that, until recently, land wasn't sold to outsiders. Instead, it was "passed back and forth in the valley."

That's not as true today as it was just a few years ago, but the sentiment is still there: a deep love of the land, not just the land as an abstract, as an ideal — people of the valley are not environmentalists in the usual sense of that word — but of particular pieces of land, tracts that have become inextricably associated with family and friends, with a way of life and a belief in the harmony of God's creation.

Pumped Storage Test Case

None of those qualities appeared to be of much use in late 1977 and early 1978, when the full impact of APCO's plans for the valley was beginning to be felt. There was a desire to fight but little understanding of what needed to be done. Lee McDaniel puts it succinctly: "We're hillbillies. Everything works against us being able to deal with something like that."

Help came unexpectedly from neighboring Scott County, in the person of Richard Cartwright Austin, a United Presbyterian minister who lives near the proposed Powell Mountain site.

Austin, who calls himself an "environmental theologian," has extensive experience in dealing with social and environmental issues. He is the author of a book, published by the Sierra Club, on the environmental effects of strip mining, and has been active in a Scott County organization, Save Our National Forest, which successfully pressured the U.S. Forest Service to prohibit strip mining in the area. Austin and his group also petitioned the Forest Service to include part of Powell Mountain — Devil's Fork — in the nation's wilderness system.

The members of Save Our National Forest were alarmed that an area as unique as Devil's Fork would be destroyed. More than that, they were concerned about the 25 local families who, like the people of Brumley Gap, would lose their homes and way of life.

Early in 1978, Austin met with APCO representatives. Later, he drove to Blacksburg to talk to professors at Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University — VPI's Center for Environmental Studies had a contract with APCO to do environmental studies of the two dam sites.

What he discovered at VPI made him angry. The college



An arm-wrestling contest at Mike Wise's S&W Grocery

his labor to his neighbors.

Sitting in his store, Mike Wise brings that up to date: "If I need a piece of equipment," he says, "I know I can get it from a neighbor. If I need a helping hand to move something, here I know I can get it. If we had to move into a

professors had agreed, for \$500,000, to do a highly restricted "study" that would ignore several important environmental concerns. The university consented to keep the results of the study secret for a year after it was completed. Moreover, the contract with APCO gave the utility company the power to "modify" VPI's findings as it desired. In an article for *The Plow*, a regional newspaper in Abingdon, Austin wrote that VPI had betrayed its responsibilities as a land grant university: "For a half-million they have sold their academic souls to become spokesmen for a private interest on this critical regional issue." He characterized the university officials as "nice, well-intentioned people. Unlike professional whores, they don't know when they've been bought and sold."

By March, Austin and his group had decided they would oppose the Powell Mountain and Brumley Gap projects. "We needed some kind of wide-ranging coalition that would include the Brumley Gap people — it would be foolish to fight the dams off here just to send them down there. And we needed sophisticated legal help."

The legal help came from the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, which was just setting up a Washington office when Austin visited there in early spring. James H. Cohen, the Fund's chief Washington attorney, thought the time was ripe to fight the concept of pumped storage in general. There was ample evidence that, besides rendering many square miles of land totally useless, pumped-storage projects were too expensive, wasteful and out-dated as a method of meeting peak demands for electricity. Brumley Gap and Powell Mountain would be test cases for the 30 or so similar projects either underway or planned throughout the nation.

From May to July, Austin worked with Sierra Club lawyers to prepare the first document the Club and his recently organized Coalition of Appalachian Energy Consumers would submit to the FERC: a request that they be recognized as intervenors in the permit process.

In May, Austin went to Brumley Gap and talked with Mike Wise at his store. It was a Thursday, and Mike told him to come to the coon hunters' club the next Monday night. He would get "a few people" together.

When Austin got there on Monday he found almost 100 gathered, representatives of nearly every family in the valley. Thinking back on that now, he says, "I've never had a clearer experience of working as a catalyst. Everybody was ready to do something, but no one knew where to start."

After he discussed strategy with them, the Brumley Gap people didn't waste any time. On that same night, they elected officers and a steering committee, authorized participation in the organizational meeting of the Coalition, and assessed every family in the valley \$100 as the beginning of their own legal defense fund — to hire lawyers to keep APCO from coming on their land to conduct site tests.

The people learned fast. In the course of two years, members of the Brumley Gap Concerned Citizens held festivals, staged beauty contests and turkey shoots and fishing contests, sold quilts and chicken dinners and T-shirts emblazoned with the Coalition motto, "Not By A Dam Site." They even planted a crop of burley tobacco

for the cause.

Lee McDaniel recalls, "I started in Abingdon one night and by the time I got to Brumley Gap I had \$3,000, either in hand or promised. Everybody in the valley paid \$100 except for about five families. Some of those who couldn't pay that — old people or young couples just starting out — well, they gave \$25 or \$10 or \$15."



Lee McDaniel, secretary of the Brumley Gap Concerned Citizens

The Concerned Citizens also learned to handle the press. The first time Lee talked to a reporter she got a shock. "I knew he was going to print what I said, but I didn't know he was going to say I said it. Now I know — don't say anything you don't want to see in print."

Local papers, which usually contented themselves with printing power company press releases, began to do in-depth articles about the opposition and even, in some cases, to question the need for the dams. *Time*

featured Brumley Gap, as did the English *National Guardian*. An independent filmmaker came to the valley to document the struggle.

People outside the valley were impressed by how well organized the Brumley Gap Citizens became, but those inside took it for granted. "I wasn't surprised," says Sam Dickenson, "I knew the people."

The Coalition held its first meeting on May 13, 1978, in Abingdon. Seventeen groups, representative of citizen interests throughout APCO's service area, joined: from Virginia — the Brumley Gap Concerned Citizens, the Consumer Congress of Virginia, the Council of the Southern Mountains, the Old Dominion Sierra Club, Save Our National Forest, the Scott County Sportsmen's Association, United Citizens Against Fuel Adjustment; from West Virginia — Citizens for Environmental Protection, Save Our Mountains, Save New River, Stop the Powerline, West Virginia Citizen Action Group; from Kentucky — Knott County Citizens for Social and Economic Justice, from Ohio — Ohioans for Utility Reform; from Tennessee — Kingsport Power Users. The Environmental Policy Center in Washington also joined.

Eventually, the total membership rose to 20 groups. Grant support came from the United Presbyterian Church and the Youth Project. The Catholic Daughters of the Holy Spirit sent a sister, Kathy Fazzina, to serve as a coordinator and field worker.

Others joined the fight. Because of concern over the "nuclear connection" — the fear that the two projects might mean a turn away from coal — the city of Charleston, West Virginia, and three United Mine Workers locals filed to intervene. The town of Big Stone Gap, Virginia, also filed because of the chance that its water supply could be destroyed.

Back in Brumley Gap, the primary concern was keeping APCO off the land. By submitting a preliminary application to the FERC and announcing its intention to study Brumley Gap as a dam site, APCO had started a process that, according to most interpretations of Virginia law, gave it the power to come on the land and make site tests.

On June 11, residents received a letter from the power company, asking permission "to make such surveys and examinations as are necessary to determine if the site is suitable for the possible location of a pumped-storage hydro-electric generating facility." The letter promised "no harmful effect on the property," but warned that unless permission was granted, APCO would exercise its right to enter the land without the owners' permission.

In response, the Brumley Gap citizens got together and sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" while 76-year-old Roby Taylor burned the letters.

APCO wrote again, this time sending the letters by registered mail. All but a few residents refused to accept them.

Tension ran high in the valley. Some of the older residents began to show signs of physical distress, caused, relatives said, by worry over the prospect of having their land disturbed. People talked about greeting APCO with buckshot, and discussed the prospects of going to jail to protect their land. Austin told them that if everyone stuck together, "They just might have to build a bigger jail over in Abingdon."

Austin was concerned about two things – first, that violence might occur, and second, that the people would not be prepared to resist APCO effectively. He called for help from the Movement for a New Society, a non-violence training group which had emerged from the American Friends Service Committee. In August, during the week before APCO would have the legal right to come on the land, Pete Hill and two other trainers came to the valley and began conducting workshops in people's homes. The subject: non-violent civil disobedience tactics.

Some of the Brumley Gap people were nonplussed by the workshops, others thought they were useful, a few thought they were "silly" – but they attended them with the same enthusiasm they had directed to every other task.

Whatever the people thought about them, APCO took the classes seriously. Two days before the power company was scheduled to begin site testing, sheriff's deputies served warrants on 62 residents.

The warrants indicated that APCO had stepped back from the possibility of confrontation. Instead of forcing the issue directly, it had decided to go to court, to seek an injunction which would prevent the citizens from barring entry to the land.

The papers were served on Saturday morning, August 11, the first day of the First Annual Brumley Gap Festival. At a rally on the next afternoon, Austin explained the significance of what had happened: "APCO would rather pretend they're up against individuals and try to 'pick us off' one by one. They can't do that now. By going to court, they've recognized that we're together. Now we'll stand together and fight them."

Meanwhile, information about the "tests" began to sur-



Doris Beach and Dick Austin lead singing of "The Ballad of Brumley Gap," which Doris wrote, at the first Brumley Gap festival, 1978

face. They weren't quite as harmless as the power company had claimed. Test pits and trenches would be dug, roads would be cut across private property, a tunnel would be drilled back into the mountains. The people agreed – if APCO was permitted to do this kind of work, they might as well move out. The valley would be ruined.

Lawyers were hired – a Republican, Strother Smith; a Democrat, Emmitt Yearly. (Later, Yearly's partner, Mary Lynn Tate, would also work on the case.) The Citizens weren't taking any chances on slighting anyone politically.

As the November, 1978, hearing approached, neither the lawyers nor Austin were confident. The law seemed clear – APCO had the right to come on the land.

Then, says Austin, "a beautiful thing happened." The first witness to testify at the hearing was Kenneth L. Dickson, Director of VPI's Center for Environmental Studies. APCO had brought Dickson to the hearing so he could testify about how the environmental studies would serve to protect landowners. However, under cross-examination by the Brumley Gap lawyers, he admitted that the environmental studies could not be conducted properly unless they were completed *before* the site tests were made.

"There was an immediate recess and a huddle around the judge's table," Austin recalls. "Then they came up with a compromise – we agreed not to stop APCO and VPI from surveying and conducting environmental studies, but they agreed not to do anything that would disturb the land. We gave up something we didn't really care about; we kept the one thing that wasn't negotiable – they could not tear up the valley."

Another hearing was scheduled for February 26, 1979.

"They were going to sell us out."

In the meantime, another, more difficult battle was going on – that was to convince local politicians to get off the APCO bandwagon and keep an open mind about the projects.

Soon after the project was announced, APCO Division Manager Jerry Whitehurst had toured local governments

and, according to Austin, “dangled multi-million dollar tax benefits in front of their eyes.” As a result, several local governments, including the Washington County Board of Supervisors, had quickly endorsed the studies without even notifying the Brumley Gap citizens that the matter would be on the agenda.

The endorsement came in April, 1978. Two months later, the supervisors rescinded that action, since no public hearing had been held on the issue, and said they would remain “neutral” until more information became available.

The Brumley Gap citizens weren’t reassured by the move — they felt that the board, which was dominated by real estate and land development interests, was simply waiting for the most propitious moment to endorse APCO’s study once again.

Lee McDaniel tried to give the supervisors copies of the brief the Coalition had sent to the FERC. She told them it would prove that the project wasn’t really needed. Only one of the supervisors who had voted to endorse APCO’s study accepted her offer. The others said they weren’t interested.

If the members of the board of supervisors weren’t convinced by the arguments advanced by the Brumley Gap citizens, they *were* concerned about one thing — the threat of violence.

On July 26, to reduce tensions, the board appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee, made up of county residents, including some of the Brumley Gap people, to “discuss all details” of the project and “make a full report” to the board in the fall. The supervisors also requested that APCO cease work on the project until the committee had made its report. (The power company ignored this request.)

Most people felt the creation of the committee was merely a way of pacifying the Brumley Gap citizens without really doing anything. The power company didn’t take any chances though. Shortly after the committee formed, APCO’s Jerry Whitehurst made an unscheduled appearance before the board of supervisors and announced he had some good news — if the Brumley Gap project was built as planned, the county would reap

a tax benefit in excess of \$4 million. Whitehurst claimed this would double the county’s tax base and make it possible to cut property taxes for local residents. The project would also,



Ethel Scyphers tells members of the Brumley Gap Methodist Church that prayer and faith will help save their valley. This moment occurred during a gospel sing at the Brumley Gap festival.

said Whitehurst, mean lower electric rates in the future.

The timing of the announcement made members of the committee furious. They felt it was a deliberate attempt to undermine their work. Hunter Holmes, one of the Brumley Gap representatives on the committee, says, “They [the county supervisors] were going to sell us out. They intended to ignore us for the ‘betterment’ of Washington County.”

Nevertheless, the committee dug in and began work. They got into more than just pumped storage. Their 70-page report to the board discussed alternatives to pumped storage, conservation, APCO’s past and future rate hike demands, the “nuclear connection,” the potentially harmful effects of 765 KV lines, and ways that citizens and local governments could take part in the licensing process.

The committee made one recommendation — that the board of supervisors submit a late intervention to FERC “requesting an evidentiary public hearing on APCO’s preliminary permit application. . . .” Only in this way, they felt, could the interests of county residents be protected. The public hearing would also let the Coalition and the Brumley Gap citizens submit updated information to FERC.



Jerry Whitehurst, APCO division mgr.

Winning Friends

From mid-October, when the committee delivered its report, through mid-December, the board of supervisors met four times to discuss the issue. A lot was said, but no action was taken. The Brumley Gap citizens felt the board was stalling, trying to find a logical reason for not honoring the request for a public hearing.

In the meantime, APCO stepped up its efforts. Whitehurst had come back before the board, telling the supervisors that tax revenues from the dam project "... would eliminate worries which farmers have about being taxed off the land, would just about eliminate worries about financing the Washington County school operation, would make the county even more attractive to industry."

Other company attempts to gain political support for the project came to light. In Abingdon, a regional newspaper, *The Plow*, published an article entitled, "How To Win Friends

In The Utility Business," which detailed the following:

- In late 1977 or early 1978, APCO had gone outside its regular purchasing procedures to buy two Jeeps from a dealer in Big Stone Gap. The purchases were not made on the basis of a low bid, as was usually the case, and the salesman was Robert Whitt, at that time one of the three Big Stone Gap Town Councilmen who had voted to endorse the Powell Mountain Study. When enraged citizens cornered him after the meeting, he is reported to have explained his vote by saying, "They bought a couple of Jeeps from me." (Whitt denies making the statement).

- Another Big Stone Gap Town Councilman experienced job pressure after voting against endorsing the Powell Mountain study.

- Lee McDaniel's employer received a letter of protest from Jerry Whitehurst after she listed her office telephone number in an ad concerning an APCO rate hearing. She felt the letter was intended to place her job in jeopardy.

- In Washington County, APCO remained silent as the county planning commission and board of supervisors acted to rezone a property next to one of its industrial sites for residential use. The property was owned by Warren McCray, a developer who is also a member of the board of supervisors and the local planning commission. McCray had worked with APCO in the past to develop a "total electric" subdivi-



Whitehurst and an APCO p. r. man

sion in Abingdon. He was a personal friend of Whitehurst's. He had also voted to endorse the Brumley Gap study. A local planning official commented, "That [the APCO property] is a speculative site. There's no way it wouldn't have an ill effect on them to have the land rezoned. . . ." (The manager of a Westinghouse plant, which is also next to the rezoned land, protested the change before both the planning commission and the board of supervisors.)

Whitehurst tried another approach — to discredit the committee's report and to identify those who opposed the study as outsiders. At one board meeting, he termed the committee report "propaganda." In private conversation he described one member of the committee as a "long-haired, bearded radical."

At a board of supervisors meeting on October 24, this kind of rhetoric backfired. Whitehurst told the board members, "Appalachian has been a good citizen of this community for over 50 years. Some of the people who are speaking against us are here today and possibly won't be here tomorrow."

Brumley Gap residents burst into laughter at that. One remarked to another in a voice that could be heard across the meeting room, "He's makin' dam sure of that."

Coming to Grips

Finally, on December 20, the Washington County Board came to grips with the question of a public hearing on the Brumley Gap project. In a meeting which lasted more than two hours, citizen after citizen came before the board and made quiet but impassioned pleas for a chance to take their case to a public hearing before the FERC. One board member commented that APCO had never said it wanted to take the valley — it just wanted to *study* it. To this, Brumley Gap resident Jim Woods responded that he knew another politician who was an undertaker: "I bet he never 'studied' a grave unless he had a body to put in it."

Mary Lynn Tate, one of the Brumley Gap lawyers, stood before the board to talk about things which had come to light since the committee delivered its report. Holding a copy of a sworn deposition taken from Jerry Whitehurst in her hand as she spoke, Tate told the board members the APCO division manager had admitted under oath that he had no documentation on hand, nor did he know of any documentation, for the claim he had made that electric rates would drop and four million dollars in tax benefits would result if the Brumley Gap project were built.

There were a few more comments after Tate's remarks, then Jim Litton, the supervisor whose district includes Brumley Gap, moved that the board honor the advisory committee's request and petition the FERC for an evidentiary public hearing. The room was silent as the supervisors raised their hands to vote, then the Brumley Gap citizens began to cheer — the vote was four to three in favor of the hearing. Two supervisors had changed their minds.

Other victories followed. On February 23, 1979, APCO unexpectedly announced that the utility was giving up its study of the Powell Mountain site. On the same day, APCO attorneys asked the state court to postpone indefinitely

their request for an injunction against the Brumley Gap citizens. They had decided, they said, to delay site testing until all of the environmental studies were finished. (Austin says the real reason for the delay was that APCO had seen the strong pre-trial briefs filed by the Brumley Gap lawyers.)



Roby Taylor urges the Washington County Board of Supervisors and APCO to spare the "most beautiful valley in Virginia."

A Cautious Optimism

In spite of the victories, the people in Brumley Gap express only a cautious optimism that they will be able to save their valley. They recall the hard work that enabled them to raise the remarkable sum of \$18,000 in only two years. Then they consider the millions of dollars that APCO and AEP would spend simply to run tests on their land, the billion or more dollars the utility would spend to build the project.

People in the valley have seen copies of the detailed work plan APCO sent to the FERC in defense of its request for the preliminary permit. It calls for 25 core drill sites, 55 test pit sites, 20 soil bore holes, an unspecified number of bulldozer trenches, plus approximately 40 sites not yet located by APCO.

The citizens have inspected the sites. They estimate the work would require over 13 miles of new roads, remove 246 acres of land from productive uses, pollute streams and wells and involve dangers to children and livestock. One core drill site, they note, would be only 10 yards from a home.

In September, a four-man inspection team from the FERC staff came to Brumley Gap to get a first-hand look at the valley and to examine some of the test sites. The visit itself was an encouraging sign — it's the first time the FERC has sent a team to inspect an area during the preliminary permit process, an indication the agency takes the Coalition and the citizens seriously.

On the other hand, Brumley Gap residents received no assurances from the FERC team members that the regulatory

agency will deny APCO the preliminary permit, or that the FERC will require the utility company to carry out studies of alternatives *before* doing the site tests. It seems certain the preliminary permit will be issued.

During their visit, the FERC staff members urged the Citizens to "negotiate" with APCO to minimize land disturbances while the site tests are going on. The citizens say they aren't going to do this. For one thing, their case in the state courts is stronger now. The local lawyers have done their homework well — case law in Virginia and other states suggests that APCO may have to demonstrate the need for the dams before it can come on the land without the landowners' permission. Or, the company may have to go to court and try to condemn all the land in the valley — purchase it outright at a price established by the courts. APCO doesn't want to do that at this stage of the game.

There is a feeling in the valley that it's time to force APCO's hand. Lee McDaniel says, "If they want to come on our land and mess it up, let them go to court and prove the need. That's all we ask — let them prove they really need our valley."

Determination still runs strong. FERC is expected to rule on the preliminary permit application this fall. The Citizens have chartered a bus to go to Washington and attend that meeting. They say they want to "look the FERC in the eye."

Sam Dickenson contemplates the damage that would be done to the valley if, after all this, APCO is able to do the tests, then adds, "Even then, we might try to stop the dozers."

Thirty miles away at his farm in Dungannon, Dick Austin talks about some of the legal steps open to the Coalition. Phase I of an archeological study has just been completed and a second phase recommended. That will buy some time. The Coalition and the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund have the option of going to court to try to force APCO to do a complete Environmental Impact Statement on the test sites. That would buy more time. "There's still a hard fight ahead," he says, "but the threat to Brum-



Sam and Catherine Dickenson and their son Jimmy. Sam is president of the Brumley Gap Concerned Citizens Association.

ley Gap today is a lot less than it was two years ago.”

Back in Brumley Gap, Hunter Holmes sits on his front porch and thinks back on the experiences of the past two years. He’s not bitter, he says. “I still think our judicial system is basically sound. The common man has a chance against big corporations. That’s what America should be all about – giving the little man a chance.” He smiles wryly and adds, “Too often, though, people get bought off. Then you don’t have justice, you have ‘corporate’ justice.”

A few miles down the valley, Cricket Woods sits in her living room, surrounded by photographs of her five children and other mementos of more than thirty years in the valley. She recalls a trip she took to Charleston, West Virginia, to attend an American Electric Power Company stockholders’ meeting. There she talked with John Vaughn of APCO. “I asked him why they didn’t come and talk to us if they wanted our valley. He said, ‘Maybe we should have.’ He

told me that APCO learns by their mistakes. So I asked him, ‘Suppose you woke up in the morning and read in the papers that they were going to take [your] home? How would you feel then?’ He didn’t answer that.

“We’ve had to do a lot of work to keep this valley, but we’ve enjoyed it, and enjoyed each other. Even if we lose, APCO has brought us together,” she reflects.

“You get up each morning and look at the valley. It’s always seemed pretty, but now you take it in more, appreciate it more. I always look up in the hills at Pinnacle Rock when I’m working outside, and I thank God for my life here. If I have to leave, then I’ll just thank him for letting me live in the valley all these years.” □

Bill Blanton is a former editor of The Plow in Abingdon, Virginia. He is now a free-lance writer and photographer working out of Scott County, Virginia.



Seedtime and Harvest

The resourceful people of Brumley Gap planted burley tobacco to raise money for legal expenses. As their movement grew, so did their tobacco. Here Jim Woods and J.C. Scott haul a wagonful to the barn. Lee McDaniel and Roby Taylor unload the stalks to be dried.



CRACKS IN THE TOWER

MISSISSIPPIANS ORGANIZE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER

by Ken Lawrence

Although anti-nuclear activists have been attempting to organize in Mississippi since the early 1970s, the movement in those years consisted of just a handful of environmentalists and white college students who opposed Mississippi Power & Light Company's application to build a nuclear power plant at Grand Gulf, not far from Port Gibson.

All that began to change this year, and today the movement is interracial and broad-based, involving hundreds and reaching thousands of people throughout the state. Local coalitions on the Gulf Coast, in Natchez, Hattiesburg, Jackson, Starkville, and Oxford are loosely affiliated with one another through the Mississippi Catfish Alliance.

Even before the disaster at Three Mile Island, the Catfish Alliance was commanding increased attention in the Mississippi media, highlighted by coverage of the demonstration at TVA's Yellow Creek reactor site near Iuka last March 24. That's when Catfish became a statewide organization. Since Three Mile Island, interest in the movement has escalated enormously.

The issue of nuclear danger has arisen in a number of ways in Mississippi. In southern Mississippi during the 1960s, a series of atomic bomb tests were set off underground in geological formations called salt domes. In the past couple of years, despite assurances by the government that nobody could possibly be harmed by the results of those tests, the water supplies in the area have been found to contain higher than normal levels of tritium. Toads and salamanders with severe deformities have also been found in the ponds. Despite these findings, the salt domes in that part of the state are now designated by the government as the likeliest place for the disposal of high-level radioactive waste. As a result, a group of citizens in Hattiesburg organized Mississippians Against Disposal (MAD), and have vocally opposed the use of the salt domes for high-level waste disposal.

In the northeast corner of the state, members of the Sierra Club have helped organize the Mississippi Catfish Alliance to oppose TVA's plan to build a nuclear reactor at Yellow Creek. More recently, people have become concerned about the 100,000 houses in northern Mississippi and Alabama built on foundation blocks made from slag furnished by TVA which has turned out to be radioactive.

Meanwhile, opposition to the Grand Gulf plant has grown, and Three Mile Island isn't the only reason. In April, 1978, a tornado hit the Grand Gulf site, cracked a large hole at the top of a nearly completed cooling tower, and dented the dome of the containment building. Zurn Industries, the construction contractor for the cooling tower, now says the damaged tower is unsafe and needs to be torn down. But MP&L, unwilling to spend any more than required and eager to get the reactor completed and into operation, has

declared that the tower is safe and has gone to court to force the contractor to patch up the damage and finish construction as quickly as possible.

Even before the tornado revealed MP&L's willingness to subordinate safety to profit, the black community of Claiborne County (where Grand Gulf is located) had begun to question MP&L's credibility. In 1973, before construction started at the site, a meeting was held at Alcorn State University between MP&L and local black leaders. Claiborne County is 74.9 percent black (1970 census), and MP&L promised that jobs and supply purchases would be justly allocated. Today the whole community sees how false these promises were. Only 17 percent of the skilled workers at the construction site — and only 20 percent of the manual laborers — are black. Supplies, too, have been purchased mostly from white merchants, according to Port Gibson residents. Charges of violating equal opportunity guidelines have been filed against MP&L by the U.S. Justice Department; the chief contractor, Bechtel Corporation, faces similar charges.

After Three Mile Island, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission ordered a delay in the Grand Gulf plant construction. MP&L president Donald Lutken responded with threats, promising higher rates and power shortages if construction is not completed on schedule. (This is especially ironic considering MP&L plans to use only 20 percent of the plant's power in Mississippi.)

All this has brought new people, including many black leaders, into the anti-nuclear movement for the first time. Representatives of the United League in Holmes County participated in an anti-nuclear music festival in Jackson in May, and invited a Catfish Alliance speaker to address a United League rally in Lexington the following month. The high point of interracial solidarity reached so far was a demonstration at the Port Gibson courthouse on June 2. The demonstration was unanimously endorsed by the Port Gibson NAACP (which still faces a legal battle with the local power structure over a boycott 12 years ago; a \$1.2 million judgment against the NAACP has been under appeal for some time). Evan Doss — Claiborne County's tax assessor-collector and one of Mississippi's veteran black elected officials — was the leading speaker at the rally. Doss' speech was well received. He spoke mainly about the threat to public health and safety; the fact that there seemed to be no emergency evacuation plan; and the power company officials' poor efforts at communication with the community.

A full range of topics and politics were covered by the other speakers. One was a local farmer who lives downwind from the reactor site and was concerned about the safety not only of his family but of his livestock and therefore of his livelihood. Some speakers were longtime Sierra Club environmentalists. Wayne James, one of the Republic of New Africa Eleven, sent an anti-nuclear statement from Parchman State Penitentiary. A speaker from Hattiesburg focused on the dangers of waste disposal. Another speech highlighted the political repression related to nuclear power and weapons, and MP&L's own racist and reactionary political record.

More than 400 people — including 100 blacks — participated in the rally. After speeches and entertainment at

the courthouse, demonstrators went by motorcade to the reactor site. There, in front of the damaged cooling tower — and in front of reporters and television cameras — they released helium-filled balloons complete with tags giving the date and place of release. Anyone who finds one of them downwind is thus informed that the path of the balloon would be the path of radiation in the event of an accident. The same day, about 100 demonstrators addressed the community of Iuka with a similar message about the dangers of TVA's Yellow Creek nuke.

It is too early to know how TVA will respond to the growing anti-nuclear sentiment in Mississippi, but MP&L's response was immediate. A week after the June 2 demonstration, the company held its own meeting at the Port Gibson courthouse and tried to refute what had been argued during the demonstration. Activists from Jackson, Hattiesburg, Natchez, and other areas got calls from Port Gibson asking them to show up at that meeting. The power company representative tried to put down the objections from the community people, arguing that he was a nuclear engineer and knew how safe it was and that their fears were based on ignorance. He then tried to brand articulate anti-nuclear speakers as "outside agitators," but they and the local people responded that they had been asked by citizens of Port Gibson to come and provide this information. The anti-nuclear speakers clearly gained the favor of the Port Gibson audience.

In July an MP&L nuclear promoter told an audience of Tougaloo College and Jackson State University students and faculty members that the anti-nuclear movement "reads like a Who's Who of the anti-Vietnam War movement." The audience responded by applauding the reply: "We were right to oppose the war, and we're right to oppose nuclear power." The MP&L man, swamped with penetrating questions and anti-nuclear arguments, launched into a defense of the U.S. war in Indochina. For the first time since announcing its nuclear plan, MP&L appears to be losing its composure in the face of mounting opposition.

Anti-nuclear activists are now reaching out politically with their message. A slate of independent candidates for Public Service Commission is campaigning against nuclear power. The candidates are Linda Lewis, a white Catfish Alliance activist from Oxford in the Northern District; Sarah Johnson, a black councilwoman from Greenville in the Central District; and Ayres Haxton, a white welder from Natchez in the Southern District. Their platform also calls for an inverted utility rate structure to lift the burden from the poor while penalizing wasteful users of energy.

Editor's update: On November 6th, the three candidates polled over 55,000 votes, or about 11 percent of the state-wide vote. Linda Lewis received over 14 percent of the votes in her district, and Sarah Johnson defeated three other candidates in her home county, where the Greenville Delta-Democrat Times endorsed her. The Mississippi Conference of Black Mayors supported the campaign's platform, and predominantly black counties voted more heavily for the alternative slate of candidates. Lawrence called the final vote "a strong showing especially considering the lack of money for media exposure. . . . We'll be back."

ONE OF THE most insidious aspects of nuclear power is the increased use of police surveillance of anti-utility activists under the guise of protecting the public from sabotage. "Nuclear Power & Civil Liberties: Can We Have Both?" documents this surveillance on a state-by-state basis. It is available for \$5 from Citizens Energy Project, 1413 K St., N.W., Washington 20005. Linda Lotz at the Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 20002, can also help locate information about spying in your area.

The following memo, written by Ken Lawrence, describes a Southern example of police spying.

Last Monday I received a visit from Detective J.D. Savell of the Jackson Police Department's intelligence division. He was seeking information about Jacksonians United for Livable Energy Policies as a result of a letter from JULEP to the mayor requesting use of a meeting room at city hall. I told Detective Savell that JULEP considered police interest in our activities to be an unconstitutional violation of our rights, and an abuse of authority. I learned later that he contacted at least one other JULEP member who was apparently unaware of our policy on police misconduct.

I have three times attempted to reach Mayor Dale Danks to discuss this matter, but he has failed to answer my message. This morning I telephoned Police Chief Ray Pope, since I had been unable to reach Mayor Danks. Chief Pope was aware of my concern, and attempted to trivialize it, saying, "This is a tempest in a teapot." Chief Pope stated he just happened to be in the mayor's office when the mayor's secretary received the letter. She wondered out loud what kind of group JULEP was, and he told her he could probably find out. As a result, I was visited.

I reminded Chief Pope that he has told me and other members of the public that he does not permit the police to investigate lawful activity of any individual or organization or group, that they investigate only criminal activity. If the chief's version of the facts is true, he is saying that he has the personal authority to use his intelligence-gathering unit as his own private snoop agency. Of course, it is possible that the actual request for an investigation originated with the mayor's office, as Detective Savell said. That also would be illegal. Even were these officials unaware that such surveillance is illegal, Chief Pope's public pronouncements that the police do not engage in such surveillance when in fact they do is an example of why the police are so distrusted and why police-community relations have deteriorated so much over the past several months.

Ken Lawrence is a member of Jacksonians United for Livable Energy Policies (JULEP) and former director of the American Friends Service Committee's Mississippi Surveillance Project.



Haxton

Johnson

Lewis

RESOURCES: Organizations to Contact

- Alabama Conservancy, 1816 E. 28th Ave. South, Birmingham 35209.
 Catfish Alliance, Box 923, Huntsville 35804.
AL Safe Energy Alliance, Box 3241A, Birmingham 35205.
 Prevent Atomic Waste, Rt. 5, Box 215, Athens 35601.
 Safe Energy Alliance, 3354 Drexel Rd., Montgomery 36106.
 Concerned TVA Ratepayers Assoc., c/o Tom Paul, 1530 Monte Sano Blvd., Huntsville 35801.
-
- AR** ACORN, 523 W. 15th St., Little Rock 72202.
 Flo Carlson, Box 58A, Rushing Route, Mountain View 72560.
 Arkansas Consumer Research, 1852 Cross St., Little Rock 72206.
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- FL** Florida ACORN, 1616 Silver St., Jacksonville 32206
 Tallahassee Catfish Alliance, U-5862, Fla. State U., Tallahassee 32313.
 Florida Non-Nuclear Network, Box 775, Tallahassee 32304.
 Conchshell Alliance, Box 430735, South Miami 33143.
 Live Without Trident, Box 1009, Fernandina Beach 32034
 Sunshine Action Group, 5401 4th St. South, St. Petersburg 33705.
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- GA** Koinonia Partners, Rt. 2, Americus 31709.
 Consumers Utility Counsel, 15 Peachtree St., Atlanta 30303.
 Georgians Against Nuclear Energy, Box 8754, Stat. F., Atlanta 30306.
 Dogwood Alliance, 1310 Murphy St., Augusta 30904.
 Georgia Action, Box 7803, Atlanta 30357.
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- KY** Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, 850 S. Fourth St., Louisville 40203.
 Paddlewheel Alliance, 2226 Payne St., Louisville 40206.
 Appalachian Science in the Public Interest, Box 612, Corbin 40701.
-
- LA** Oystershell Alliance, 4515 Canal St., New Orleans 70115.
 ACORN, 628 Baronne, New Orleans 70113.
 Public Law Utilities Group, One American Place, Suite 1601, Baton Rouge 70825.
-
- MS** Catfish Alliance, 1305 Madison Ave., Oxford 38655.
 Mississippians Against Disposal, 1100 S. 28th Ave., Hattiesburg 39401.
 Mississippi River Alliance, Box 661, Natchez 39120.
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- NC** American Friends Service Committee, Box 2234, High Point 27261.
 Kudzu Alliance, Box 3036, Chapel Hill 27514.
 Safe Energy Alliance, 2215 E. 7th St., Charlotte 28204.
 Carolina Action, 305 E. Chapel Hill St., Durham 27702.
 Conservation Council of N.C., 307 Granville Rd., Chapel Hill 27514.
 Guilford Citizens for Safe Energy, 1008 Fairmont, Greensboro 27401.
-
- SC** Southeastern Natural Guard, Box 1065, Barnwell 29812.
 Palmetto Alliance, 2135 1/2 Devine St., Columbia 29205.
 Palmetto Legal Services, 1316 Main St., Columbia 29202.
 Citizens for Responsible Energy Policy, Box 5264, Columbia 29250.
-
- TN** Tennessee Valley Energy Coalition, 1931 Laurel Ave., Knoxville 37916.
 Jeannine Honicker, 362 Binkley Dr., Nashville 37211.
 Faith Young, Concerned Citizens of Tennessee, Dixon Springs 37057.
-
- TX** Citizens Concerned About Nuclear Power, 106 13th St., San Antonio 78215.
 Austin Citizens for Economic Energy, 7606 Elm Forest, Austin 78745.
 Armadillo Coalition of Texans, 2710 Woodmere, Dallas 75233.
 Texas ACORN, 3814 Ross, Dallas 75204.
 Jack Hopper, 2501 Barton Hill Dr., Austin 78704.
-
- VA** SAFE, Rt. 2, Box 170, Afton 22920.
 Piedmont Alliance for Safe Energy, Box 52, Charlottesville 22902.
 Citizens Energy Forum, Box 138, McLean 22101.
 Coalition of Appalachian Energy Consumers, Rt. 1, Box 174, Dungannon 24245.

A SAMPLING OF NATIONAL GROUPS

- Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS), 1536 16th St., N.W., Washington 20036. Provides a wide variety of useful information and reprints to grass-roots organizations; also publishes *Groundswell*, a monthly newsletter available for \$10.
- Critical Mass Energy Project, Box 1538, Washington 20013. Publishes *Critical Mass Journal* and can help with contacts and info.
- Union of Concerned Scientists, 1028 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. Good source of technical information on reactor difficulties, structural flaws, and health and safety problems.
- EARS Reprint Service, 2239 E. Colfax Ave., Denver, Colo. 80206. Has low-cost reprints of many articles useful in public education.
- Environmental Action Foundation, 724 Dupont Circle Bldg., Washington 20036. Publishes *Power Line* each month and provides excellent information on utility and nuclear power issues, including research and organizing guides.
- Environmentalists for Full Employment, 1101 Vermont Ave., N.W., Room 305, Washington 20005. Connects labor and energy issues and distributes *Jobs & Energy*, a booklet detailing the advantages of solar energy over nuclear power.
- Mobilization for Survival, 3601 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Provides materials and contacts on nuclear power and weapons.
- Citizens Energy Project, 1413 K Street, Washington 20005. Resource group for anti-nuke and alternative energy organizing with catalog of pamphlets and books available through them.
- Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, Room 401, 1300 Connecticut Ave., Washington 20036. Works on a variety of energy issues ranging from promoting utility rate reform to opposing oil deregulation.

NO NUKES NO BLACKMAIL

WORKING PEOPLE

... have the greatest stake in putting an end to the nuclear menace. It is the workers who must suffer daily exposure to radiation; it is the workers who transport the nuclear fuel... and the hazardous wastes; and it is the workers and their families... who will be the immediate victims in the event of a catastrophic accident.

— JERRY GORDON,
Amalgamated Meat Cutters
& Butcher Workmen of
North America, AFL-CIO
April, 1979

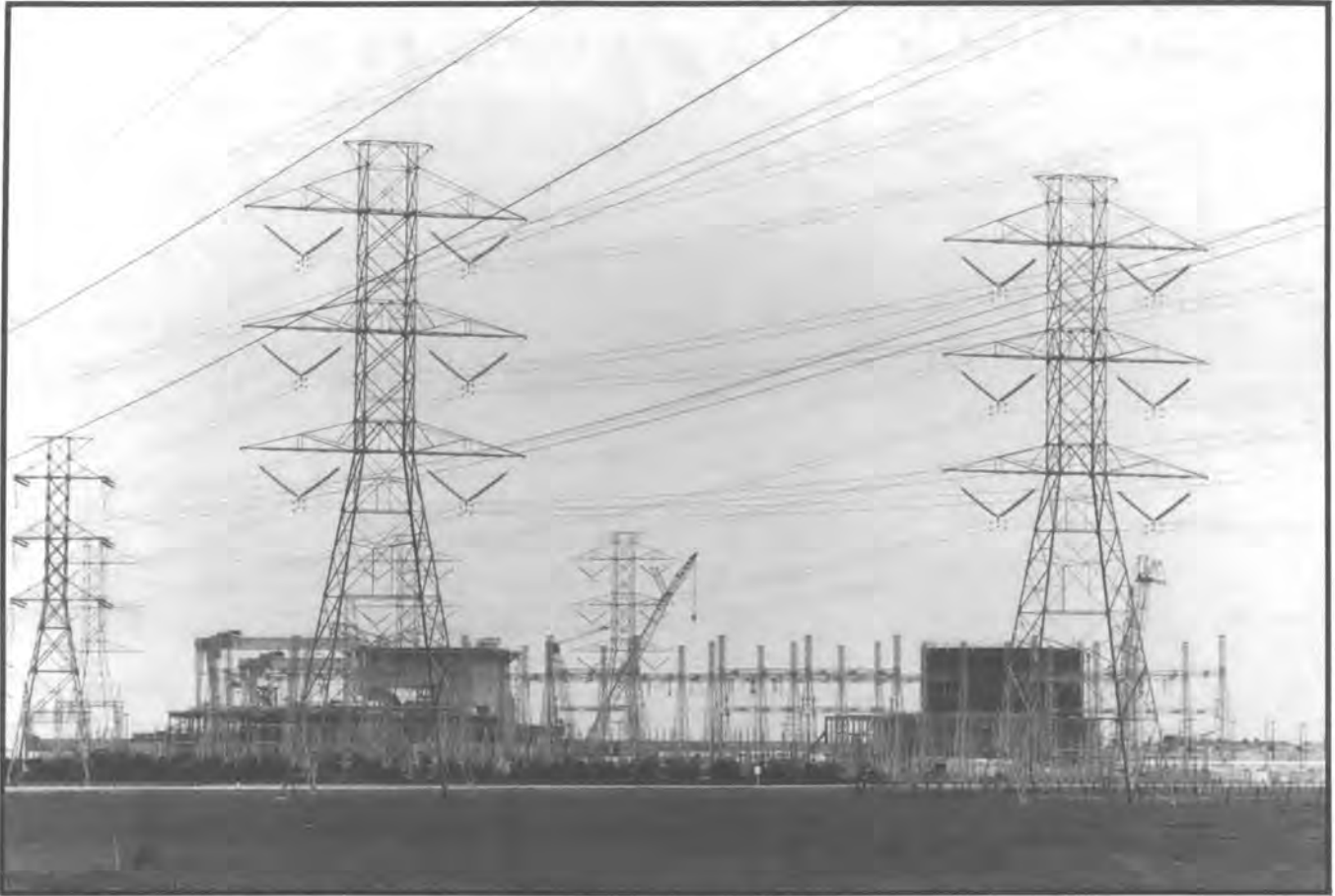
Twenty trade union members have joined with Environmentalists for Full Employment (EFFE) to demand an end to nuclear power, and to nuclear jobs blackmail.

These joint labor-environmental demands are contained in a new brochure available from EFFE at no charge.

Help us put it in the hands of union members. Use it to expand your outreach and organizing. Work to spread the word that people across the country are prepared to stand up to the energy giants and their threats and bluster.

To order copies, contact:

EFFE
1101 Vermont Avenue NW #305
Washington, DC 20005
202-347-5590



AUSTIN DEBATES THE ATOM CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC POWER **by Susan Reid**

Austin voters have trudged to the polls five times in seven years to decide whether the city should be a partner in the South Texas Nuclear Project, a twin-unit 2500-megawatt nuclear plant under construction 160 miles from Austin at Bay City on the Gulf of Mexico. The timing of the most recent vote, 11 days after the reactor accident at Three Mile Island, focused national attention on the election. Cameras from major television networks zoomed in on election workers tallying votes at the city's electric building while commentators strained to divine the future of nuclear power from the returns. Votes from the last boxes gave the edge to Austin's continued participation in the nuclear project. By a 51 to 49 percent margin voters turned down the proposition that Austin should sell its share, and by a 53 to 47 margin additional bonds were approved to finance cost overruns at the plant.

The vote was a victory for nuclear power in Austin and for the city's electric department, the Chamber of Commerce and the city's financial elite, who have promoted energy growth and the nuclear project. On the other hand, Austin's nuclear experience has been unique, and the vote was still too close to point to a national mandate on the nuclear issue. The most telling lesson of the April referendum is how uneasy the city's association with nuclear power is.

"No issue," says Bruce Hight, chief chronicler of energy news for the largest daily newspaper, "has rubbed as persistently and as painfully at Austin's body politic as its participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project."

Since the City of Austin Electric Utility first began producing electricity in 1895, it has served the dual purpose of providing both electricity for Austin consumers and revenue for the city's coffers. Profits from the city's electric system swelled the city's general fund last year by \$17 million, which is two-thirds the amount raised by property taxes. Because large chunks of Austin land occupied by the state government and the state university are tax-exempt, a loss in profits from the utility would mean an increase in property taxes. The utility, an electric department publication asserts, "provides a very equitable means of obtaining revenue from tax-exempt sources." Since the number of city property taxpayers is much smaller than the number of electric customers, the profit-oriented utility is very important to the city's well-being, and has generally been indistinguishable from Texas' private utilities in promoting energy growth.

Among municipal power systems, the Austin utility is a

large one, ranking eleventh in the nation in the number of customers. Most of the growth came in the boom following World War II. In 1945 the city could produce 22 megawatts of electricity. By 1972 the utility had a generating capacity of 1,000 megawatts — all produced by natural gas — and the electric department was calculating an annual growth rate in electric consumption of 13 percent a year.

“Back in the early 70s nuclear power was the in thing with utilities. It was a new toy in a way.”

It was in this halcyon period of energy growth and abundant money that the city staff first proposed that Austin get into nuclear power. Two large private utilities — Houston Lighting and Power and Central Power and Light Company (a subsidiary of Central and Southwest Corporation) — were collaborating on plans for a nuclear plant, and they invited the Lower Colorado River Authority (a central Texas version of TVA) and the city utilities in Austin and San Antonio to join as partners. The plant was in the initial planning stages at this point; a building site had not even been selected.

“Back in the early ’70s nuclear power was the in thing with utilities,” says Roger Duncan, one of nuclear energy’s most persistent local foes. “Every ‘modern’ utility wanted to have nuclear as part of its fuel mix. . . . It was a new toy in a way.”

September 9, 1972, was set as election day for approving \$433 million in construction projects, 289 million of it earmarked for a 19.6 percent share in the nuclear project.

In the first of its many editorials endorsing the project, the *Austin American* admitted that there were “legitimate safety concerns” about nuclear power but attempted to neutralize the issue by pointing out that the plant would be built whether Austin participated or not. “We support . . . the bond election, as absolutely necessary to the orderly growth of this city.”

But three days before the election, in a move that the *Austin American* labeled “dirty pool,” the Lower Colorado River Authority directors pulled out of the project. “We have decided not to participate,” they announced, because of their “feeling that nuclear power plants are still in the experimental stage and that the economics of such plants are questionable.”

Austin voters rejected the nuclear project by a narrow margin, while passing all the other construction projects and approving the addition of fluoride to the city’s water. The nuclear option seemed closed, but during the following year, several events shook the confidence of Austin’s populace in complete dependence on natural gas for electricity.

A full year before OPEC made “energy crisis” a household phrase, people in Austin talked of little else. Austin’s crisis started on November 6, 1972, when Lo-Vaca Gathering Company, the city’s natural gas supplier, called R.L.

Hancock (manager of the Austin utility) to say that the gas supply to the electric generators was being cut back. The company at first claimed “mechanical problems,” but within a few days Austin learned the grim news: Lo-Vaca did not have enough gas to live up to its contract.

Lo-Vaca had won a 20-year contract from Austin in 1962 to supply natural gas at a low, fixed price. The fledgling company had also wrapped up contracts with Corpus Christi and San Antonio.

During that winter of ’72, a particularly cold one by Texas standards, the natural gas supply was curtailed on 65 days. The city’s boilers were forced to switch to fuel oil, but oil could not be burned for long without serious maintenance problems, and was hard to find — especially since San Antonio, 80 miles away, was in the same fix and was competing for the oil supply. Street lights in Austin were doused at midnight, and one week in January the University of Texas campus was closed and registration for the spring semester postponed due to inadequate heating supplies.

There was a breathing spell in March and April, says Hancock, “and then in May the bottom fell out. The most harrowing experience I personally had was one day in May when we had a day and a half of fuel at our major plant, and there wasn’t another utility that could spare any. We really had to sit down and consider whose lights were going to be cut off.”



With the citizenry's attention riveted on the problems that can arise from having all your energy eggs in one basket, the city council appointed a citizen's committee to work with the electric department on a plan for future energy needs. The product of that collaboration was the city's *Electric Generation Plan*, released in mid-October, 1973. A bond election to finance the plan was called for November 17th. Proposition I designated \$236 million for an oil-burning plant and \$228.6 million for a coal or lignite-burning plant. Proposition II called for \$161 million to buy up to a 16 percent share (400 megawatts) in the South Texas Nuclear Project. (At that time the total estimated cost of the STNP was one billion dollars. The Bay City site had been selected, but construction was still not underway.)

The campaign to pass the bonds was short and heated, with the city staff taking an active part. City manager Dan Davidson reported to the *Austin American* that his staff was scheduled to speak for the plan at 78 meetings.

The next morning,
the *Austin American*
proclaimed,
"Austin Propelled
Into Atomic Age."

SAVE (Save Austin's Valuable Environment) and other environmental and neighborhood groups organized to fight the STNP. These organizations held frequent press conferences, but they couldn't finance a campaign to match the barrage of city-produced literature. The city printed 10,000 copies of five pro-nuclear brochures, including a four-color report on STNP called *Electricity for the '80s and Beyond*. Every householder found a flyer promoting the nuclear bonds in the envelope with his or her monthly electric bill.

On election day the oil and coal plants passed by a 21,092-vote margin, but the STNP barely squeezed through with 722 votes to spare. The voter turnout was very light. Nevertheless, the next morning the *Austin American* proclaimed, "Austin Propelled Into Atomic Age," and Austin was launched into the new generating plan — one that would generate far more electricity than the city would require, but which promised "diversity" of fuel sources.

The electric department soon became a major source of public outrage as electric bills soared. In 1974 a 17.8 percent rate increase was approved by the city council, but what really hurt customers when they opened their monthly statements was a new item on the bill termed "fuel cost adjustment." After the natural gas curtailments of 1972-73, the Texas Railroad Commission — the powerful state agency that regulates oil and gas — allowed Lo-Vaca to wiggle out of the fixed-price provision in its contracts. By 1975 Austin was paying Lo-Vaca nine times the original contract price, and the Austin utility passed these increased costs

directly on to its customers through the fuel cost adjustment. For most consumers, the fuel cost was higher than the electric rate, and owners of air-conditioned, all-electric homes found that their monthly electric bill often exceeded their mortgage payments.

The promise of lower utility bills had been a major selling point for the new coal and nuclear plants, but those lower bills were now described as "the light at the end of the tunnel." They could not become a reality until the early 1980s when the new nuclear plant, with its allegedly lower fuel costs, would start operating. In the meantime, the department could see nothing ahead but rising prices for its customers.

The price of electricity was a major issue in the 1975 city council election. Former councilperson Jeff Friedman swept into the mayor's office by vowing to lower the rates for small electricity users, and he appointed an electric rate commission to come up with a plan.

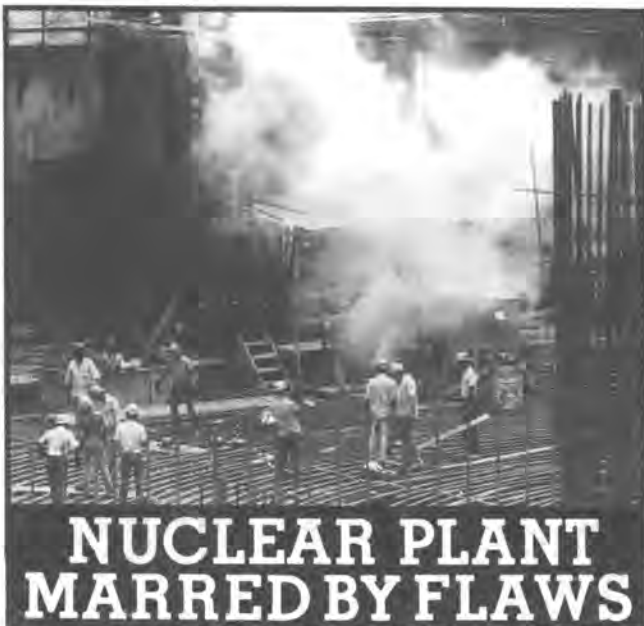
The commission found itself locked into the fuel adjustment costs on the one hand and long-term contracts at fixed rates with the two largest electric users — an air force base and the university — on the other. In addition, the national pitch for energy conservation was seen as a threat to the profit-based utility. Low electric use meant higher per-unit costs, lower profitability and the spectre of rising property taxes. There was not much financial maneuvering room for the commission to restructure electric rates.

The commission began searching for ways to slash expenses just as the first bad news about the nuclear project hit the papers. Westinghouse announced that it was reneging on its contract to supply uranium for 10 dollars a pound; instead, it planned to quadruple the price. Austin filed suit, but more bad news followed. The first cost overrun at STNP would add \$18 million (11 percent) to the price Austin had to pay for its share.

Margaret Hofmann, a councilperson with strong anti-nuclear sentiments, produced a study forecasting more cost overruns as well as rising uranium prices. She contended that the nuclear project was no longer a good deal. The electric department disputed her finding with a study of its own, arguing that the STNP was still the cheapest alternative for energy, despite the soaring uranium and construction costs.

With support from the electric rate commission, Hofmann pushed for an election to authorize the city to withdraw from the nuclear project. A new state law prescribing dates for local elections forced her to settle for an August, 1976, election. "It was bad timing," admits Roger Duncan, then Hofmann's aide. "The students [usually strongly anti-nuclear] were out of town, and there wasn't much time to campaign." The proposition to get out of STNP failed by a two-to-one margin. Austin's continued participation seemed assured.

In 1977 a more conservative mayor, Carole McClellan, took office. For the electric department, that year was the quiet before the storm. The calm ended in March, 1978, when the Texas Mobilization for Survival, an anti-nuclear group, unveiled its economic study of the STNP. It predicted that the plant's cost would rise to two billion dollars.



NUCLEAR PLANT MARRIED BY FLAWS

When Houston Lighting and Power Company and its partners in the South Texas Nuclear Project asked the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission in 1973 for permission to build their nuclear-fueled power plant in Matagorda County, only a few farmers and ranchers tried to protest, and their objections were brushed aside by the feds in what was officially deemed an "uncontested" proceeding. But now that construction of STNP's two reactor units is halfway toward completion, HL&P has applied for a permit to begin operating in 1983, and the same federal authorities have ruled that two citizens' groups — Citizens Concerned About Nuclear Power and Citizens for Equitable Utilities, Inc. — are entitled to a hearing on their claim that the plant could be too hazardous to operate.

Whether the plant can be run safely is, of course, what the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has to decide before it can issue an operating permit to HL&P. That decision will largely depend on the records amassed to document the soundness of STNP's construction, records for the most part kept by employees of the builder, Brown & Root. But the NRC is also keeping track, and concerned citizens and reporters have found evidence in the agency's public records that construction mistakes are a big problem at STNP. NRC official reports contain, as well, repeated references to inadequate inspections by Brown & Root's own quality control personnel:

- Air pockets in portions of the steel-reinforced, concrete wall of the reactor unit 1 containment building were not discovered until long after the concrete was poured.
- In several instances welding of reinforced steel in the same containment building was not performed according to standard NRC procedures for installation, inspection and documentation, leaving the strength of the welds open to question.
- About 1,100 bolts that did not meet design specifications were installed to anchor parts of the maze of pipes that will bear radioactive water from the reactor vessel to the electrical generating plant.

- Due to a surveying error, the foundation laid for an auxiliary building that will also be linked through pipes to the reactor unit ended up one foot short.
- Construction crews observed during one NRC inspection had not been furnished with revised blueprints after changes in design.
- Brown & Root inspectors have been cited for failure to monitor work in progress according to NRC requirements, and several times their inspection records have been found to be inaccurate.

The latest example of such problems came to light in June, 1979, when HL&P stopped work on reactor unit 1 after air pockets were discovered in a section of the concrete containment shell that was completed last year. According to Clyde Wisner, a spokesman for the NRC regional office in Arlington, one of these was "reported to be approximately five square feet by 10 inches deep."

Such voids could be hazardous in the event of a reactor accident that causes pressure to build up inside the containment because, according to Wisner, the thinner-than-designed wall would not provide the intended degree of radiation shielding.

The overriding inspection problem at STNP, according to two engineers who have worked at the plant, is a safety system that emphasizes form over substance. They maintain that the primary purpose of the voluminous documentation of construction and inspection processes is to fulfill the paperwork requirements for HL&P's operating license application now pending before the NRC. In other words, says former plant engineer Dan Swayze (who was recently fired from the project after he had raised numerous questions about Brown & Root's construction procedures), "If the blanks are filled in and the paper is in order when the job is done, they will get their license."

Whether or not the intervenors manage to force the adoption of more stringent safety precautions or stop the STNP altogether will depend largely on the accuracy of the information now seeping out of the plant. At least the inspectors are now more concerned about the results of construction flaws.

In the words of one former inspector: "They told us not to worry about deficiencies; nuclear accidents can't happen. Well, it did happen and I'm not going to be responsible for another one." □

— Andrew Sansom
The Texas Observer
July 21, 1979

APRIL 7 IS OUR LAST CHANCE

... to guarantee an economical, diverse supply of energy for Austin. Because on April 7, voters will decide once and for all whether to support Austin's participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project. Now is the time.

Austin Needs More Energy.
Our energy needs are rising at the rate of 6% every year. Right now we're completely dependent on oil and gas for our generating needs. But Federal law says we've got to find new sources of energy. Coal for ligate, a similar fuel, is a partial answer, but we never want to put all our eggs in one basket again. The transportation problems of a whole lot of coal producing states, a whole lot of factors could devastate us if we rely exclusively on coal.

Nuclear Energy is the Cheapest Energy.
For a family paying \$100 a month for electricity, the South Texas Project will save more than \$200 a year. Here's how the costs compare: South Texas will produce electricity for 2.7 cents per kilowatt hour. Our own coal fired plants at Fayette will do it for 4.8 cents. And the only viable alternative to South Texas — a ligate plant — would cost 4.9 cents.

The South Texas Project is Not a Big Ripoff.
Yes, the original cost was underestimated. But the revised cost is well within normal range. And (based on the original cost) it's only penny more.

The Proposed Alternative Would Cost More Than Twice As Much in Bonding Authority.
Voters have already approved \$161 million for a 16% share of South Texas including fuel — a very conservative estimate — \$212,850,000 for a total of \$374,850,000. The only real alternative — a ligate plant — would cost an additional \$263,200,000 for a total of \$538,000,000.

Nuclear Energy is Safe Energy.
The South Texas Project, located near Houston, will be built farther from populated areas or not. There's never been a U.S. nuclear power plant and safeguards are being strengthened every day in addition, safe methods for storing waste materials have been developed.

The proposed ligate plant will have the same problems that face at home. The bottom line is this: do we want to keep our share of the South Texas Project, with an additional cost of \$216 million? Or do we want to spend an additional \$434 million for a ligate plant that will produce the same amount of electricity at a higher cost?

Vote for the least expensive choice. For Austin. For your own pocketbook.
Vote for proposition 1... against all the rest.

Published and printed by the Campaign for Zimmers Energy, 1979.

Numerous cost estimates were bandied about during the following months. STNP participants created a special task force to investigate the problem. Their report, issued in November, 1978, confirmed the Mobilization's prediction — the STNP would cost two billion. The estimated price had doubled since 1973, and to retain its share Austin would have to come up with an additional \$160 million.

The task force pointed to construction delays and to grossly inaccurate engineering estimates of material and labor costs; inflation, it said, played only a minor role in the rise in costs. The report stated that 122 percent more steel would be required than originally estimated; 83 percent more concrete; 88 percent more piping; 100 percent more wire and cable; and 200 percent more person-hours of labor. The report also predicted that the first unit of the project would be at least 18 months late.

"The calculations did shake us initially," allows R.L. Hancock. He adds, "It was hard to see how a reputable, experienced engineering firm [Brown & Root] could be so far off." But he contends that STNP doesn't look so bad "after looking around at what has happened to other engineering firms and other [nuclear] plants." Within a few days the electric department churned out another study that took into account the overruns and also the new price contract for uranium that had just been negotiated in an out-of-court settlement with Westinghouse. The department's study still predicted "significant economic advantages" through continued participation in the project.

The city council, fresh from a skirmish with the department over misinformation about funding for the coal plant, was skeptical of the utility's new STNP study. Three council members wanted to get out of STNP and three were cautiously urging continued participation. Mayor McClellan was the swing vote.

In a December 5th interview with *Austin American-Statesman's* Bruce Hight, she indicated that "she was leaning toward getting out." But on December 14, she announced: "I strongly believe in energy diversification. Therefore I support some participation." She advocated keeping a stake in the plant, but did not favor committing further funds to STNP. The city staff had circulated a memo warning that selling all of the city's share of the STNP would create serious financial problems, and this perhaps helped to influence McClellan against complete abandonment of the nuclear project.

Seven hundred people turned out for a city council meeting called to decide the wording for the nuclear proposition on the January, 1979, ballot. About two-thirds of the crowd was pulling for a straight "yes" or "no" vote on selling Austin's entire share. But the wording the council adopted for Proposition 14 — by a four-to-three vote — asked for authorization for the city to sell off only that portion of its share in the STNP that could not be financed by the original \$160 million investment.

Proposition 14 failed at the polls in January. "I have a lot of theories as to why it didn't pass," says McClellan. "One is that it didn't please either camp . . . those who wanted in completely or those who wanted out." Members of Austin Citizens for Economical Energy (ACEE), a group headed by Duncan, wanted out completely. Duncan acknowledges that to win this specific referendum, ACEE

waged a campaign "that would appeal to the pro-nuclear vote. . . . We won 54 percent of the vote," and he feels that "five to 10 percent was pro-nuclear" — people who wanted to retain a full 16 percent interest in STNP.

"It would take a political genius to pull this one out," said a pro-STNP organizer just after Three Mile Island.

Defeat of Proposition 14 meant that the council did not have voter approval either to sell Austin's share or to pay for it. A staff memo informed the council that they could issue revenue bonds without voter approval, but McClellan emphasizes that "never has that been done in Austin, and I would never do it." Another bond election was called for April, to coincide with the city council's own election.

Again, the wording on the ballot was crucial. "I believe we really lost the election when the council decided to set up the ballot as they did," contends Duncan. He maintains that the issue was clouded by the fact that two of the four propositions on the ballot dealt with coal facilities to replace South Texas, making it appear that Austin had only two options — coal and nuclear. The coal proposition called for \$433 million, "which included the mining, the transportation cost, everything. . . . And then, of course, they just put the cost overrun of the nuke [a little over \$215 million] on the ballot and ran a campaign saying that it was obvious which was cheaper. Nuclear was cheaper."

"We had to word the ballot as we did," McClellan claims, "because we had been advised by our bond attorneys that if we had a vote to get out of STNP we would have to replace that with a new facility of equal value."

Frank Cooksey, an attorney who serves on a committee of the state's energy advisory council, disagreed with the city's bond advisors. "Sale of the [city's share in the] project would have brought in cash or the equivalent, and if the proceeds were put into an escrow account," he maintains, "it would give adequate security to bond holders." His arguments didn't sway McClellan.

After the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor started spewing out radiation on March 28th, the wording of the ballot seemed irrelevant. "It would take a political genius to pull this one out," John John Rogers, who managed the pro-STNP campaign, told a reporter on the weekend just after Three Mile Island. "I've never been involved in a situation where we don't have any control, where the opposition has the lead on CBS, NBC and ABC television; all three local television stations; the lead story in both daily papers." The following Wednesday McClellan looked at the logs of pro-STNP phone banks, and she says, "I had never seen a higher

negative on any issue." But that was the day that McClellan's own reassuring and frequently repeated television spots began.

McClellan remembers that her decision to prepare the media spots in support of STNP was made after "I spent Saturday and Sunday talking with people at Three Mile Island. I re-examined my position and came back to the same conclusion. I decided to pull out the stops and let everyone know where I was."



Her ads emphasized that safety features at Three Mile Island had worked, that Austin needed energy, that the nuclear power project was the cheapest alternative and that Austin might as well get its share of the energy since the project was going to be built anyway.

Television advertising sponsored by ACEE – and there was a lot of it – carried exactly the opposite message to the voters. Duncan says, "We tried to point out that Austin did not need the energy coming from that plant, that safety and other factors . . . would definitely delay us, that nuclear plants were not dependable, and that we would be facing even further cost overruns in the future." ACEE was also pushing the city to promote insulation and other conservation measures – and solar energy.

"I knew they would be gaining ground the whole week" as Three Mile Island faded from the news, recalls Duncan, "but I really felt that we would win it with them snapping at our heels."

But, once again, Austin's 16 percent share of the nuclear project was pulled from the jaws of defeat. It was saved by the mayor and a coalition from the Chamber of Commerce, Austin's well-heeled citizens (people who raised \$85,000

for the campaign from contributions of over \$50 each), and the city government. This coalition is the same group that first sold the project in 1973 and has protected it through each successive election. Unlike the November, 1973, bond election – where city staff spoke at dozens of public meetings and the utility barraged its customers with fancy leaflets – this time the city staff and the utility both kept low profiles and the pro-nuclear forces depended largely on mass media promotion. Ultimately, Mayor McClellan's television ads played the pivotal role in swinging the voters back to supporting the STNP.

Austin's participation in the nuclear project continues to be uneasy. In August the cost of Austin's share of the STNP jumped by at least \$64 million. Although the city council had anticipated another overrun – the \$215 million figure on the April ballot was intentionally \$55 million more than immediately needed – it was unprepared for the cost to escalate so quickly or so drastically. While still defending nuclear power "as the most economical approach," McClellan has focused her anger on Houston Lighting and Power Company's management of the project. The council is seeking to get a handle on the costs through an independent audit, but nuclear critics foresee even more overruns in the future. They are beginning to plan for another vote.

The nuclear project has other problems besides spiraling costs. The STNP has requested an operating permit from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and a battle is brewing over the question of whether the plant can operate safely (see box).

The basic issue, however, is whether power from the plant will ever be necessary at all. Austin already has power plants that can generate 2,000 megawatts of electricity, even though the city has never needed more than 774 megawatts at any one time. (Some of the excess is sold to Houston Lighting and Power.) In fact, the plant's justification rests on the assumptions that electricity consumption will continue to grow rapidly over the next 15 years, that solar power and related technologies won't be useful during that period, that natural gas will become increasingly scarce (and thus far more expensive) and that nuclear power will remain the cheapest source of electricity – all highly debatable assumptions at best.

In light of all this, the question persists: why, just one week after the ominous warning of nuclear disaster from Three Mile Island, did 51 percent of the voters mark their ballots against selling Austin's share of the nuclear project? It's true that the nuclear plant is 160 miles away, and many people didn't believe that Austin could stop it from being built anyway. But Duncan concludes that people still basically believe in the expertise of the utility company and the rest of the pro-nuclear coalition. "I just don't believe the anti-nuclear movement has any credibility yet," he says. "I think that is shifting, but it hadn't shifted to the point where we could win an election this April." In the face of cost overruns, however, public faith in the utility company may waver. □

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CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC POWER

NUCLEAR BAILOUT OR GRASSROOT ALTERNATIVE

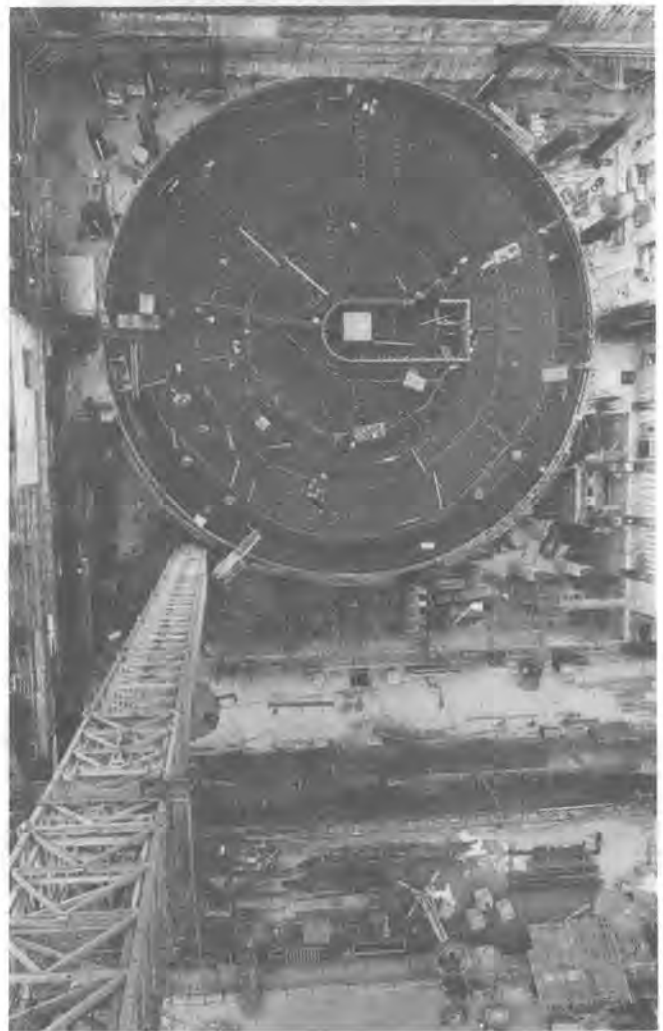
by Jim Overton

Austin is not the only publicly owned electric utility which has bought into nuclear technology. Under mounting attack from the private investor-owned utilities which supply them with electricity, consumer-owned power companies – municipally owned systems and rural electric cooperatives* – have sought to buy their own power supply and thus become independent of the private companies. Unfortunately, the most accessible power supply has too often been a share of the private companies' nuclear reactors. Municipals and coops in eight Southern states have already bought shares of nuclear reactors, and are currently negotiating further purchases. These investments have provided financial stability for the private companies' massive construction programs – and left the public utilities in an even more precarious situation, facing further manipulation by the private utilities and leaving them severely vulnerable to any further quirks in the already unstable nuclear reactor industry.

Municipals and rural electric cooperatives have historically provided a workable, competitive alternative to private utilities. Municipal systems have traditionally offered low rates and plowed their income back into the city governments to finance other municipal services; they first arose in the 1910s and 1920s. Rural electric cooperatives organized in the 1930s when private utilities refused to extend service into rural areas, leaving potential customers in these areas powerless. The creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1934 and the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) in 1936 sparked the formation of numerous rural electric cooperatives in the South and also led many towns to vote in their own municipal systems, most of which are still in operation today.

Few of these systems generate their own electric power. Larger municipalities like Austin and Jacksonville, Florida, do own generating stations. However, in most instances the forming municipals were too small to build their own power stations and were not allowed to pool their resources on joint projects under then-existing state laws. Rural electric cooperatives received REA loans for distribution but little for generating and transmission; therefore, they generally lacked the resources to build their own power plants. These systems have received power from TVA and from federal hydroelectric projects operated by the Southeastern and Southwestern Power Administrations. For the most part, however, municipals and coops have had to purchase their power wholesale from the private utilities.

* In the truest sense of the term, coops are not publicly owned; they are private non-profit corporations with each customer owning an equal share of the coop. However, they are publicly owned in the sense that their customers do control them. Municipal systems are publicly owned and operated by municipal governments in the same fashion as water and sewer systems. To simplify terminology, coops are lumped with municipal systems as *public* power agencies.



Private utilities have long opposed municipals and coops, complaining that such institutions were examples of "creeping socialism." They criticized the supposed subsidies available to public power – municipals can issue tax-free municipal bonds, and REA loans to cooperatives have carried interest rates as low as two to five percent – conveniently neglecting to mention that they too have received funds from REA. They have bought out any systems they could, and aggressively fought to protect their turf against municipal takeovers.

A typical example of this pattern occurred in 1938 when Chattanooga voters went to the polls to vote on establishing

a municipal utility. The prospect of receiving low-cost TVA power was a major incentive to vote yes. The Tennessee Electric Power Company — a defunct subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern Corporation (now the Southern Company) — illegally contributed \$20,000 of the \$22,000 raised to fight the proposal and had its employees hand out liquor at the polls on election day. Nevertheless, residents still voted for the municipal system 19,000 to 8,000.

Such skirmishes have continued ever since. In 1954, private utilities — under the leadership of the Southern Company and Middle South Utilities — successfully blocked a program to build a number of federally owned nuclear plants which could have supplied wholesale electricity to public systems. In 1962, Georgia Power paid the city of Rome, Georgia, \$50,000 not to establish a municipal electric system. Other utilities bought out municipals and coops and began distributing retail electricity to the public systems' old customers. Many of these practices were essentially unregulated until 1966, when the Supreme Court ruled that the Federal Power Commission had the authority to regulate the wholesale rates of private companies. The municipals and coops prepared to protect themselves against further abuses by taking their complaints to the commission.

Pancaking greatly increases the power costs of public utilities and places them in a difficult, if not impossible, situation.

However, the Nixon administration was not sympathetic. Under the leadership of Donald Cook, chairman of American Electric Power Company, the private companies promoted the concentration of the utility industry under the control of a dozen or so companies, all connected by a national grid. Municipals and coops had no place in this new order. Nixon's newly appointed FPC chairman, John N. Nassikas, became a staunch ally of the effort. At the same time, the Nixon REA cut back on funding generating and transmission cooperatives ("second-degree" coops formed by a pooling of small coops to finance and operate power plants and transmission equipment), a move which weakened the cooperatives' bargaining power in obtaining wholesale power from the companies.

With federal support in place, the private companies systematically worked to drive wholesale power rates through the ceiling. Virginia Electric Power and Georgia Power both applied for 33 percent wholesale rate increases in 1970; other companies quickly followed suit. American Public Power Association director Alex Radin describes the resulting situation:

Private utilities in recent years have filed an increasing number of wholesale rate increase petitions, at a much faster rate than the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission [formerly the FPC] has been able to review them. After a five-month period, the requested increases automatically go into effect until such time as FERC can reach a decision on them. In many cases, the waiting period and review process have lasted for years. The result has been a stacking up — a "pancaking" — of successive wholesale rate increases. This practice of pancaking has greatly increased the power costs of hundreds of small publicly owned utilities — and in many cases, it has placed them in an extremely difficult, if not impossible, competitive situation.

As the wholesale rates rose, public power institutions looked less and less attractive to the public. Searching for a way to fight back against the private companies, municipals and coops undertook a new campaign: purchasing shares of nuclear reactors. In a little-noticed amendment to the Atomic Energy Act of 1970 by Vermont Senator George Aiken, a long-time supporter of public power, Congress required the Atomic Energy Commission to consider the antitrust implications of a private company's nuclear reactor construction. Starting with the AEC hearings on Georgia Power's Hatch reactor, municipals and coops pursued antitrust proceedings on numerous reactor projects, claiming they were denied the opportunity to participate in the project and were thus placed at a competitive disadvantage in providing power to their customers.

The private companies, still interested in eliminating public systems, fought back aggressively, challenging the antitrust actions and in some cases filing countersuits against the municipals and coops. They were unwilling to sell their reactors and were prepared to take the battle as far as necessary.

However, the 1973 oil crisis drastically altered the private companies' approach to public power's interest in nuclear reactors. In the face of a shrinking supply of finance capital and the plummeting demand for electricity, the companies welcomed the opportunity to get low-interest capital from the municipals and coops.

Several changes took place to aid this development. First, the REA altered its policies and began offering loan guarantees to generating and transmission cooperatives. Previously, only the distribution coops had received these guarantees. Loan guarantees from REA decrease interest rates on borrowed capital by providing a surer return for the investor.

The municipal systems also set up new financing structures by pursuing state-by-state legislation to enable the formation of joint municipal power agencies — a pooling of municipals similar to that of a G&T cooperative which could issue tax-free revenue bonds to finance joint action construction projects. In the past, private utilities had opposed such agencies for fear they would provide cheaper service and entice other towns to set up similar municipal systems, but now they welcomed these laws. Georgia and North Carolina passed joint action laws in 1975. Since that time, South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi and Texas have passed joint action legislation, and municipalities in Louisiana, Arkansas and Florida are seeking similar authority.

With this combination of low-interest financing available, private and public power have now entered a friendly if uncertain alliance. Coops in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia have bought or are negotiating for shares in joint action nuclear projects. The same applies to municipal power agencies in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

The case of Georgia provides a good example of how these changes have worked for public and private power. In May, 1970, the Georgia Power Company

applied to the FPC for a 33 percent increase in wholesale rates to 39 rural coops and 50 municipalities. The executive manager of the Oglethorpe Electric Membership Corporation (a state-wide coop organization) declared, "It means all-out war, and we shall do our utmost from a professional and legal standpoint to defeat this undertaking."

"The deal made a lot of sense in terms of economics – if not ideology."

In the summer of 1972 the Oglethorpe EMC and the Georgia Municipal Power Agency intervened in the AEC's hearings on Georgia Power's Hatch nuclear reactor, and the Justice Department filed an antitrust action under the 1970 Atomic Energy Act. Then, early in 1973, Georgia Power applied for a construction license for the Vogtle nuclear reactor, and again intervention and antitrust proceedings ensued.

Initially, Georgia Power fought back aggressively. However, their resistance weakened rather quickly, perhaps because of the nosedive in available finance capital. "In 1974 when we went to the bond market, there was no one there," says Grady Baker, senior vice-president for the company. "Raising money on our own would have been a tremendous burden." Suddenly the tax-free municipal bonds and low-interest REA loans the companies had criticized so harshly began to look like an enticing prospect for construction financing.

In May, 1974, the company negotiated a deal to sell part of the Hatch and Vogtle plants to the municipals and coops and to arrange more equitable wholesale rate structures. Then the municipals and coops went to work on securing the necessary capital for the purchases. The municipals successfully lobbied for a new law enabling joint action financing. The Georgia Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this law on November 30, 1976, clearing the way for the newly formed Municipal Electric Authority of Georgia (MEAG) to float \$1.6 billion in tax-free bonds by 1985. During the same period, the Oglethorpe EMC arranged \$1.4 billion in loan guarantees from the REA.

Finally, the contracts were signed guaranteeing that the municipals and coops would own 20 percent of Georgia's electric capacity by 1985. The Municipal Electric Authority of Georgia bought 17.7 percent of the two-unit Hatch and Vogtle nuclear reactors, and 15.1 percent of the four-unit Scherer and two-unit Wansley coal plants. The city of Dalton (not part of MEAG) bought 2.2 percent of Hatch, 1.6 percent of Vogtle and 1.4 percent of Scherer and Wansley. And the Oglethorpe EMC bought a 30 percent share of each of these generating plants.

Georgia is not the only state where public power systems have invested in coal plants. Coops in Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky and Louisiana are all purchasing or negotiating for shares of investor-owned companies' coal units.

The 1970 antitrust provisions, in conjunction with a 1966 antitrust decision, have provided additional benefits to public power. For years, Louisiana Power & Light had refused to wheel electricity from federally owned Southwestern Power Administration hydroelectric plants to Louisiana's municipals and coops. By intervening in the

construction license hearings for LP&L's Waterford Three nuclear reactor, these agencies forced LP&L to deliver power from SWPA; the municipals will get 50 megawatts in 1980 and the coops 100 in 1981. Alabama coops used the same law to win a new power distribution agreement from Alabama Power during licensing proceedings for the Farley reactor.

What does the new alliance mean for the utilities? For the private utilities the most obvious advantage is the supply of construction capital. While Wall Street flounders, the underwriting and trading of tax-free bonds is booming. Last \$5.9 billion worth of public power bonds were sold (compared to \$750 million in 1970), and joint action bond sales rose from \$611 million to \$2.2 billion in only three years. The amount of government-backed REA loan guarantees to rural electric cooperatives has increased by 500 percent since 1973, and in 1977, 40 percent of these guarantees went to coops participating in nuclear projects. By the end of 1979, REA will have committed approximately five billion dollars in loans and loan guarantees to nuclear projects. In testimony before Congress on cooperatives and alternative energy development, the Environmental Policy Institute's Jack Doyle stated: "By the year 2000, REA financing may account for as much as 20 percent of all electric utility industry financing."

Public power funds now go a long way toward maintaining the private utilities' gigantic construction programs. In its 1978 annual report, Duke Power vice-president William Grigg noted: "The sale [of the Catawba reactor] would help us financially in two ways: First, we would receive a substantial cash payment for the investment that we've already made in the agency's share of the unit, plus a reasonable profit. That money would be applied to our other construction, thereby reducing our outside financing requirements." In the case of Georgia Power, the three billion dollars from public power allowed it to resume construction on the Vogtle reactor, which had been postponed for 18 months. Had the company cancelled construction altogether – a move it had seriously contemplated – it would have incurred \$100 million in cancellation penalties.

"...when government owns business, it has in its hands both political and economic power..."

The irony of this situation – private utilities depending on the same public agencies they had so long opposed – is not lost on the companies. Grigg's fellow vice-president Douglas Booth notes about the Catawba sale, "The deal made a lot of sense in terms of economics – if not ideology." *Forbes* magazine comments:

Even 15 years ago, the private utilities were spending millions on ads warning against the evils of public power. One advertisement, particularly chilling, showed a young man standing next to a barbed-wire-covered wall with this message: "... when government owns business, it has in its hands both political and economic power. ... Isn't it time to call a halt to the expansion of government-in-business?" Strange bedfellows.

But not strange enough to convince the private utilities to

keep their hands off the capital available through public power agencies.

On the other side of the coin, public power officials clearly desire a source of stability against the continuous wholesale rate increases they have faced in recent years and the occasional threats that private companies will not renew contracts for generating power. Louisiana Power & Light has already driven five municipalities out of business in the past two years by offering to supply their retail customers electricity cheaper than the municipals can provide service and by advertising that they would not renew contracts with those municipal systems once they expire. By purchasing their own source of power, the municipals and coops can bolster their defense against such raids.

In addition, the private utilities continue to pancake rate increases, demanding more money from their wholesale customers without exacting similar increases from their industrial customers. In one particularly grating example, on December 30, 1977 — shortly after their joint action programs were finalized — Georgia Power filed for a \$28.4 million wholesale rate increase. The rate hikes have brought hardships to municipals and coops throughout the South. As Charles Tolley, manager of North Carolina's French Broad Electric Membership Corporation, notes: "One of the big problems with [buying power from] Carolina Power & Light is that a big industrial customer can buy cheaper retail from CP&L than we can offer the power wholesale." Many private utilities' wholesale rates now exceed their retail industrial rates. Industrial customers shun the areas served by municipals and cooperatives. Of course, in many areas, federal power — usually in the form of low-cost hydroelectricity — can balance out the public power rates; this is especially true in the case of TVA. But the emerging trend is for the long-standing competitive advantage of public power to erode even further.

Purchasing a piece of a nuclear reactor will theoretically prevent this state of affairs. Obviously, since private utilities average the costs of new plants in with the costs of older ones, electric costs from the public utilities' new nuclear plants will be more expensive than the rates offered by private power. However, as Tolley notes, "There's gravy out in the 10- to 15-year period in the lifetime of the plant." Private utilities' rates will begin to soar, especially the wholesale rates, so investment in a reactor today should ultimately produce lower rates for the public power systems.

However, several problems remain unresolved concerning joint action projects. The higher prices public power will face over the first decade of the nuclear plants' operation could be a threat to their own existence. Certainly, the private companies will use their rate advantage to entice large industrial customers away from the public systems. The suspicion lingers that once the private utilities have used the low-interest capital to bail out their own construction programs, they will seek to buy out municipals and coops on the basis of offering lower rates and of being able to bring large industry to the public systems' service areas.

Private utilities have the upper hand in deciding how to operate the plants. Tolley comments: "In the truest sense, that's not being a generating and transmission coop. The [Catawba] plant would be taken off-line at Duke's

convenience, not ours." In essence, the public power agencies will still depend on the private utilities, rather than having their own generating facilities which they can manage to suit their own needs; and they will have to offer the private utilities a profit for operating their generating capacity.

The long-term agreements binding the public utilities to joint action projects offer little substantive protection to these systems. North Carolina's generating and transmission cooperative is asking the distribution coops to sign 48-year contracts requiring them to purchase all their power from the G&T coops' generating facilities — which will most likely involve Duke's Catawba reactor and VEPCO's Surry reactors. "To commit our membership for 48 years is like writing a blank check," says Tolley. Municipalities enter into similar long-term arrangements — at least 30 years — in their own nuclear purchases. Maintenance outages, or — in the case of nuclear reactors — temporary or long-term shutdowns because of safety concerns, could prove disastrous for the coops' and municipals' power supply.

In fact, the lingering uncertainties surrounding nuclear power pose more serious threats to the smaller public utilities than to the oft-complaining private companies. "Most tax-exempt municipal bonds are secured by 'hell or high water' contracts made between the joint action agencies and the cities they serve," notes *Forbes*. "The cities have to pay whether or not the power is delivered." With regard to the potential shutdown of the Seabrook site, *Forbes* asks, "Who pays for the incomplete structure? Ratepayers in the cities that now own 20.5 percent of the installation will be liable."

Even if the plants are completed, any cutback in their operations could be devastating to public systems. The costs related to an accident like Three Mile Island — repairing the facility, purchasing replacement power, and the like — could put many small power systems out of business. "We are a very small operation," emphasizes Charles Tolley. "That [contract] represents a tremendous monetary liability for us. To become party to that kind of liability — even for a non-life-threatening accident — could wipe us out." Tolley recalls that at the North Carolina EMC meeting to discuss buying into Duke's Catawba plant, he asked, "What is our liability should Catawba have an accident? The answer was that an accident was too unlikely to worry about. Then Three Mile Island happened three months later."

Now some public power systems are taking a second look at nuclear power investments. For instance, municipals in Louisiana are currently negotiating with Gulf States Utilities on a joint action project, but, says Lafayette Utilities System director Sylvan Richard, "We're not interested in nuclear power right now." Tolley's French Broad EMC has decided not to participate in any nuclear ventures until it receives stronger guarantees against substantial losses in the event of an accident.

However, most public power officials have leaped to the defense of nuclear power, in some cases more extremely than have the private utilities. A recent poll by *Public Power* magazine, for instance, found overwhelming support for nuclear power from municipal systems managers across the country. Support was strongest in the South, where 90

percent of the officials affirmed their strong support for the continuation of the nuclear power construction program.

"You've got the mechanisms to make the changes local people want to make."

Coops have also not been swayed by the emerging controversy about nuclear power. The July, 1979, issue of *Rural Georgia*, the magazine of the Georgia Electric Membership Corporation, editorializes:

Nuclear power generates electricity economically and has caused no fatalities. Its existence and future well-being, however, seem to be in question even though any logical analysis of the nuclear power industry would reveal the public's interest is being served. If Jerry Brown, Ted Kennedy, Jane Fonda and others want to save American lives, it would seem they should look into those areas where lives are already being lost. This does not include the nuclear power industry!

Even more disappointing, these systems have not taken an active role in developing alternative energy sources. As Jack Doyle noted to Congress:

The involvement of G&T systems with investor-owned utilities in joint ventures and regional power pools, and their recent orientation toward large-scale power development and planning, have made many coops less inclined to pursue energy conservation and more localized alternatives, despite the fact that they are in an ideal position to capitalize on small-scale alternatives. . . . For the most part, rural electric cooperatives are more often found resisting and/or avoiding conservation and renewables than they are promoting them.

Despite the already strong commitment municipals and coops have to nuclear power, it is important for utility reformers and anti-nuclear activists to work against further proposed purchases and concentrate on developing innovative energy delivery structures through public power. The very nature of private utilities makes significant change in their structures and policies — particularly the implementation of alternative energy sources — nearly impossible. Instead, activists must repeatedly seek minor concessions through their state utility commissions, rather than create a fresh approach to solving energy problems.

In contrast, the customers themselves control municipals and coops, and therefore can shape the management of these institutions. As *Public Power's* editor Vic Reinemer emphasizes, "You've got the mechanisms to make the changes local people want to make." In most municipals, the city council directly controls the electric system, so a well-organized campaign to elect an alternative slate of candidates can lead to radical policy changes. In many coops, a quorum of only three to five percent of the members elects a board of directors at the annual meeting; organizing a small percentage of the coops' members can bring in a new board and a new outlook on energy planning. Members of the Arab, Alabama, cooperative managed to elect two board members from the floor in 1978 and get a fresh voice in coop affairs. And members of the Joe Wheeler EMC in Hartselle, Alabama, flocked to their annual meeting to vote in a reform board which immediately took action against the corrupt practices of the previous board.

Equally importantly, most municipals and coops have a very low system demand which can be met in ways other than investing in centralized power plants. Over 90 percent of the coop systems in the country have a peak demand of 50 megawatts or less (one-twentieth the size of the average nuclear reactor). Many municipal systems have similarly low demand; for instance, the 19 municipalities which have bought 75 percent of one of Duke's Catawba reactors will share approximately 760 megawatts of power, an average of 40 megawatts each.

The range of possibilities for power supply are endless. Says Jack Doyle:

The use of passive solar design features, active solar systems for agricultural and residential use, wind systems, methane systems, maximum weatherization standards, all in combination with small-scale generation facilities, could enable many local coop systems to meet their annual energy needs with some measure of efficiency and considerably more local control than they have now. Moreover, for some local systems, a mix of local generation and on-site strategies for meeting local demand may improve reliability through diversification since no one source would control the whole system's supply.

Already such projects are underway in the South. The city of Greenville, North Carolina, has undertaken a comprehensive energy conservation program through its municipal utility. The Baldwin County, Alabama, EMC — which actively involves its members in coop decisions — has one solar water heating and one solar space heating monitoring project in operation. The coop is also studying alternative energy sources and is seeking to meet other service area needs by providing group insurance and low-cost housing. Similar programs are flourishing in the East Mississippi Electric Power Association. Municipalities and coops in Louisiana and North Carolina are studying the restoration of abandoned low-power hydroelectric facilities. And recently the North Carolina Electric Membership Corporation announced it was considering the construction of four 150-megawatt peat-fired plants which could be fueled by the inexpensive peat abundant in northeastern North Carolina.

By further developing alternative energy plans, the coops and municipalities can provide themselves with a sounder defense against the continuing assaults of the private utilities — and reassume their role as the primary innovators in electric energy supply. □

Jim Overton, a founding member of the Kudzu Alliance, directs the Energy Project of the Institute for Southern Studies.

Much of the material on coops contained in this article is derived from an excellent new book entitled *Lines Across the Land* by Jack Doyle. It is available for \$12.50 (plus \$1.50 postage and handling) from: Nancy Davis, Environmental Policy Institute, 317 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Useful reading on the history of the fight between public and private power can be found in Richard Hellman's *Government Competition in the Electric Utility Industry* (Praeger, 1972). For more information on municipal systems, see *Public Power* magazine, published by the American Public Power Association and now edited by Vic Reinemer, a long-time crusader against utility abuses. Also check the monthly magazines of your state's municipal power association and electric membership corporation.

Institute for Southern Studies Report

The next chapter in some of our stories



Since we wrote about Mississippi's United League in "Passing Glances" (*Southern Exposure*, Vol. VI, No. 3), their confrontations with the Ku Klux Klan have erupted into national headlines on several occasions.

The League, operating primarily in nine northern Mississippi counties, continues to demonstrate for improved social programs, greater job opportunities for black workers and an end to police brutality. It has played an active role in voter education, voter registration and the election campaigns of several black candidates in those counties, despite continuous harassment from local police and party officials.

In Marshall County – where the League's founder Skip Robinson now co-chairs the county's Democratic Executive Committee – black candidates for district county judge, sheriff and board of supervisors survived the August primaries. Several other League-sponsored candidates were defeated amid charges of voter intimidation and the curious arrest on election day of Robinson and another League leader by the incumbent white sheriff. After the polls closed, both men were released. Robinson vowed the League would run more candidates in the general election as Independents.

"We'll be back in November," he told Tom Tuthill of Liberation News Service. "We got the votes out there." For more information, write: United League, P.O. Box 517, Holly Springs, MS 38635.

Meanwhile, the Klan menaces an ever-growing number of communities across the nation, from Castro Valley, California, to Columbus, Georgia.

In Barnegat, New Jersey, 300 chanting radicals, mostly whites, broke up a meeting of about 20 Klansmen who were listening to David Duke announce his intention to run for the Presidency of the U.S. In Columbus, Georgia, several hundred blacks held a counter-rally to a Klan march that mustered only 80 of the faithful. But in Middletown, Ohio, on July 21, some 400 Klan members armed with tree limbs, bats and clubs chased two dozen anti-Klan demonstrators from Dixie Park. Earlier in

the evening nearly 100 anti-Klan demonstrators had left the park peacefully after singing freedom songs.

Like other progressive organizations, the Institute is concerned about the rapid rise of the Klan and the increasing racism that surfaces in times of economic stress. We are now planning a special section in a forthcoming issue on the history, ideology, structure and activity of the Klan. To learn more, two *Southern Exposure* staff members attended a mid-August conference on the upsurge of Klan activity sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Norfolk, Virginia. Representatives from 30 organizations attended workshops and agreed to work together to confront the new wave of Klan militance.

Solidarity among anti-Klan forces is especially effective considering the fragmented nature of the Klan itself. At least five different organizations – each with its own officers, membership and by-laws – claim to be the true KKK. The most active are the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headed by Bill Wilkinson and centered in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana; and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan led by David Duke and most visible in Tennessee and Kentucky. Robert Shelton's United Klan of America, based in Virginia, has been less menacing since his release on parole from federal prison.

SCLC has spearheaded the counterattack on the





most militant wing of the Klan, Bill Wilkinson's Knights in Alabama. Wilkinson began stirring up racial hatred in mid-1978 during the trial of Tommie Lee Hinds for raping a white woman in Decatur, Alabama. Hinds, who is 25 and severely mentally retarded, was eventually convicted despite medical evidence that he was physically incapable of driving the alleged victim across town as she claimed. Hinds is now serving a 30-year sentence in Alabama state prison.

On the May 16th anniversary of Hinds' arrest, SCLC sponsored a march in Decatur to protest mounting racism and the Klan's intimidation of police, court and city officials. Wilkinson's club-wielding Klan members attempted to block the peaceful marchers, and when police began pushing the Klan members back, a hail of bullets ripped through the crowd. Two SCLC demonstrators were wounded, and the wife of SCLC president Reverend Joseph Lowery narrowly escaped murder when bullets pierced the windshield of the pickup truck she was driving at the rear of the march.

SCLC responded by calling for a show of non-violent force against the Klan on June 9, 1979. Over 2,500 demonstrators turned out on short notice to tell the Klan and city officials that racism and violence would not go unchallenged.

According to SCLC president Lowery, the march was not only against "the terrorist activities of the Klan" but also "against the racist atmosphere in this country which permits encouragement of such hate groups as the Klan." He told the rally that "Americans frustrated by economic uncertainty" and "a loss of direction and spiritual values" want to blame their troubles on "those

who are most vulnerable, the poor – and the black and the brown are the poorest of the poor."

Speaking to the KKK and poor whites, Lowery shouted, "We know you don't make enough money, but don't get mad at us. Hell, we don't pay you!" Calling for "interdependence," he said there is "no road of fulfillment" that does not involve all races working together.

Two months later, Wilkinson countered Lowery's call for cooperation among the races with a four-day "White Power" march from Selma to Montgomery. The march, which retraced the historic route taken by SCLC founder Martin Luther King, ended August 12th on the outskirts of Montgomery with the arrest of 176 Klansmen. City officials refused to grant Wilkinson a parade permit because of pressure from black activists who promised to work against Mayor David Vann's re-election bid this November if he did not confront the spread of Klan violence through Alabama.

Wilkinson had begun the march in Selma vowing to go "armed to the hilt" and to "destroy any challenging enemy." But after a tense face-off, Montgomery police arrested the illegal marchers without incident and confiscated more than 100 weapons, including pistols, shotguns, carbines and a Thompson submachine gun.

For reports on more recent Klan activity and SCLC's fight against its re-emergence, send \$1 for the July/August issue of *SCLC* to: SCLC, 334 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

If you see items in your newspaper or articles in magazines that would help us prepare our forthcoming section on the Klan, please send them to: Klan Report, *Southern Exposure*, P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

At the SCLC-sponsored conference in Norfolk, Virginia, participants from 18 states and 30 organizations pledged to confront the Klan wherever it appears with demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins and other forms of non-violent action.

In agreeing to form a National Anti-Klan Network, the groups, including the Institute for Southern Studies, called for a full-scale congressional investigation into the Klan resurgence. They also agreed to respond to requests for national support in particular trouble spots.

Participants heard a number of testimonials about Klan violence, including those who have been victimized through two generations. James Haygood, who is fighting efforts of the Klan and his employer to destroy his union in East Point, Georgia, told about witnessing a Klan beating of a black man when he was growing up 50 years ago.

"My father stood out on the sidewalk to watch," said Haygood, President of Paintmakers Local 1961, "and my mother told him to come inside before he was hurt. He said, 'No, I have a right to be here, and I'll never stop fighting this kind of wrong.'

"Today, I'm saying the same thing. No matter what happens to me, I'll never stop fighting the brutality and evil of the Klan."

Haygood and his union are struggling for reinstatement of Kenneth Chastain, a Lumbee Indian and militant union member who was recently fired by PPG Industries, paint manufacturers in East Point. Chastain was attacked by three Klansmen

employed by PPG Industries and brutally beaten. Later his car was burned, he was subjected to constant harassment, and his wife lost an unborn child from the strain. Then the company fired him, saying it could not determine who started the fight.

The Anti-Klan Network voted to mount a national campaign to support Chastain's fight to get his job back. Individuals and organizations are requested to send letters of protest to: Nick Marvich, plant manager, PPG Industries, 1377 Oakleigh Drive, East Point, Georgia 30344. Copies of the letters should also be sent to: James Haygood, President, Paintmakers & Industrial Workers, Local 1961, 250 10th St., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, 30309.

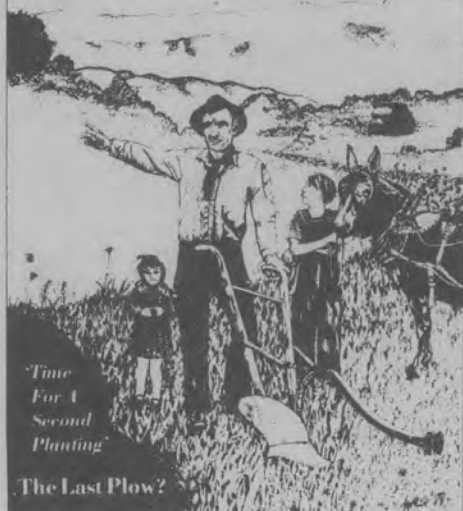


HELP FOR A FRIEND

THE PLOW

Aug. 13-31, 1979

50 cents



The special energy

section of this issue features a long article by our friend Bill Blanton. Bill is now a free-lance writer, but for years he was managing editor and one of the driving forces behind *The Plow*, an alternative magazine serving southern Appalachia. We are grieved to learn that the paper has been forced to suspend operations because of financial difficulties.

The Plow, which was published two times a month in Abingdon, Virginia, covered a variety of issues and tried to blend investigative reporting with "down home" features about things like bluegrass and old-time music, mountain culture and just plain folks.

In 1976, during the time residents of Ashe and Alleghany counties in North Carolina were fighting to save their homes and the New River from Appalachian Power Company's Blue Ridge dams, *The Plow* ran a special issue on the people of the New River Valley. Six hundred copies of that issue were purchased by the National Committee for the New River and

distributed to members of Congress in the successful effort to save the New River.

Other *Plow* articles have focused on working conditions in wood products plants, mine safety, strip mining, agriculture, land use and another pumped storage dam project — this one at Brumley Gap, Virginia.

In 1977 and 1978, *Plow* coverage of U.S. Forest Service plans to build a 63-mile "scenic" highway on mountain crests in southwest Virginia was largely responsible for modification of those plans.

A fund-raising effort is now underway to bring *The Plow* back in the spring. A benefit concert has netted \$2000 toward that goal. Other events are currently being planned.

It's possible to make a contribution to *The Plow* and get a tax deduction at the same time. Checks should be made to the Youth Project (a public foundation which is assisting in the fund-raising effort), 405 Union Ave., Room 208, Knoxville, TN 37902. Indicate on the check that the funds are to be used for *The Plow*.



One of the most exciting

— and challenging — programs the Institute has attempted in its nine-year history is *Facing South*, a syndicated column designed for small county newspapers and aimed at a wholly different audience than *Southern Exposure*. Since its first appearance in the spring of 1976, the column has expanded greatly in readership and changed appreciably in approach.

The 700-word syndicated feature is now published weekly in over 100 newspapers and magazines from Texas to West Virginia, in county and small-town weeklies, a few large dailies, and even the North Carolina truckers' magazine, *Tarheel Wheels*. This means that each week over a million people read these short interviews, stories and essays — people who for the most part have never seen *Southern Exposure*.

Letters received in response to the column leave little doubt that here is an opportunity to communicate directly with "the People":

"I can read in 10 minutes these stories better than reading a book," writes a Wytheville, Virginia, woman. "That man Machen [an herb doctor who travels the flea market and carnival circuit] is right. I remember most of the old people used herb medicine for ailments and got well. . . . I would like to have a book on Indian Herbs for health. Can I perhaps get any leaflet of medicines used from herbs from Mr. Machen? Looking forward to read more interesting things about people and things. Enclosed \$1 contribution."



A prisoner in the Pitt County (N.C.) jail saw a *Facing South* column by Wayne Brooks — currently doing time in Raleigh's Central Prison — which clearly set forth the connection between wealth and one's chances of being incarcerated. He responded: "I from any point of viewing the issue agree with the writer. I might add that I'm a con and a master of any wrong doing, except all of my habits was pick up in prison. . . . There's only one solution to the prisoners problem. The public or society (itself) must take justice out of the hip pocket and put it on the square."

A high school student in Albertville, Alabama, writes, requesting: "some free information, pamphlets or very Southern stories. It is for a subject I have in school called 'Southern Literature.'"

And the letters keep coming. . . . *Facing South* has, in fact, become a kind of regional conversation, encouraging people from scattered parts of the South, and coming from very different backgrounds, to share memories, ideas, plans of action. Possibly one of the most exciting results of this sharing has been a process of discovery — a consciousness of exactly what it means to be Southern grows as readers consider their own lives: "When you speak of south your pointing my way for I usto be an old South Georgia farmer myself. I loved it but didnt know it. I wanted to get



away from it, that plowing, picking cotton, shaking peanuts, carrying fertilizer, corn, beans, peas and what have you, and burying buckets of seed to get through and thinking my dad wouldn't know it, but in a few days when it started coming up I wanted to hide. . . ." So writes a Fairfield, Alabama, grandmother, recalling with humor and eloquence the world of her childhood. "My dad usto make cotton baskets, bean droppers, make his turtle hooks, go turtle hunting, opossum hunting, or I could go and on with these precious memories, it makes me live again so I will sign off for now, but keep thinking of the days gone by. I like your life history enjoy reading things like that, so I thought I would put in my plug. PS if you want to put this in the paper."

"Reading *Facing South* reminds me a lot of my own thoughts as I have moved around this country alot in the past 10 years," writes an ex-soldier and student. "I've lived since 1968 in Texas, Florida, South and North Carolinas, California, Maryland, Virginia, Mexico, Wisconsin and Kentucky. Still I call a small town in the foothills of the Apalachians my home. It was there I grew up and I wouldn't take anything for that heritage and those years. . . . This is why one loves the South. The physical shape of the country, the weather, the abundance of wildlife and trees and such. The people and their joy in the simple pure things in life. . . . My hope in this life is not to go back there to die but to go back while I still have some of my youth and to find a place to live on. I wrote this in response to reading *Facing South*. I hope to see this column again."

Facing South

The conversation expands as columns generate stories by readers, many of whom have never written anything for publication before but are (in some cases) born writers: "I am afraid you flatter me by calling my writing a career. I consider it more of a hobby," explains a retired inventor, chiropractor, and one of our most popular columnists from Hartsville, South Carolina. "I am 63 years old and wrote my first story seven or eight years ago. For years I have written 'crazy letters' to friends but had never considered writing stories until a friend urged me to try. . . . I write to relieve an innate urge to put some things I remember or feel in an interesting, entertaining and tangible form. The stories I sent you are true. . . . In 1962 I entered a hospital for the treatment of tuberculosis. It was thought to be terminal. After staring at a ceiling for about a year, I left the hospital, got my bird dog and went to the woods and hunted myself back to a reasonable state of health, all things considered. . . . PS I am presently working on two more stories for you."

This development — readers becoming writers — has caused some changes in the style and content of *Facing South*. We no longer distribute the impressive list of novelists, journalists and free-lancers who were to produce the columns. It has become unnecessary as school teachers, retired farmers, doctors, housewives, historians, activists and small-town newspaper editors send in their own stories about their lives or those of their neighbors.

Besides the two-way educational process involved here (in many cases, several letters and numerous versions are written before a final feature emerges), *Facing South* serves as an information exchange: a story on a young woman becoming a leader in county politics results in a speaking invitation from a woman's club in a neighboring state; an article on an energy-saving woodstove brings a flood of requests for more information; an interview with Ernest Gaines sparks the interest of a junior college student in black literature; a story on brown lung disease brings angry denials from a vice president of Cone Mills in Greensboro, North Carolina. The possibilities are awesome. . . .

A surprising element of the *Facing South* project has been the extent to which it interweaves with *Southern Exposure*. Sometimes, articles which have appeared in the journal are used in shorter versions as a column. For example, Wayne Brooks' hard-hitting essay on class and imprisonment was

Facing South

a syndicated column:
voices of tradition
in a changing region

Abner Jay: "I'm your classical American music."

WHITE SPRINGS, Fla. — Officially, the museum at Stephen Foster Memorial State Park in White Springs, Florida, honors a man who helped shape the legendary music of the Old South, but who never set foot in Dixie. Stephen Foster found the name of the Suwannee River, which he made famous in song, on a map.

Unofficially, however, a descendant of the authentic Old South holds forth at the Park's snack bar with his version of the region's musical heritage.

Abner Jay, who calls himself the "last of the minstrels," learned the trade from his father and grandfather. He plays his one-man-band and sings Stephen Foster songs on the hour during the Park's summer season. In between performances he tells everybody who'll listen that the real minstrels were black and that the white performers, such as the ones pictured in the museum building, were imitators.

"How far back does American music go?" Abner asks the audience. "Back to jazz? That's not very far. Back to ragtime? That's still not far. No, American music goes back to slavery.

"Forget about your Tchikovsky," Abner says. "He Russian. I'm your classical American music. Like it or not — I'm IT."

Every so often, when the crowd is big and he's in the right mood, Abner plays the bones the way it was done in the old minstrel shows.

He hangs an enormous leg-bone of a cow around his neck by a string. With a bone held in his right hand, he beats out a rhythm on it. In his other hand, he holds

two smaller bones like castanets and plays an accompanying rhythm with them. To play the "hambone," his body becomes the instrument; he beats a complicated rhythm by alternately slapping the back of his thigh and the top of his hand.

It's hard work for a man his age, and he ends up panting. He's glad to sit down, have a drink and rap with the customers. The Lord only knows how old he is — Abner sure isn't telling — but he says that his Granddaddy, Louis W. Jay, was born a slave in Irwin County, Georgia, in 1821. Abner is still using his grandfather's banjo, an American invention that the slaves adapted from an African instrument.

The bones are also an old tradition.

"Mr. Bones" was a staple of the old minstrel shows, America's most popular form of entertainment in the nineteenth century. Originating on plantations and performed by slaves, the minstrel shows were eventually taken over by white men in blackface who continued right up to the time of Al Jolson in the '20s. Ironically, whenever black men became minstrel performers, they, too, had to wear blackface — thus, imitating whites who were imitating blacks.

Long before "Roots," Abner was teaching Afro-American history and culture. He doesn't call it teaching, though. He plays and sings and tells stories to make people laugh, such as his talking song, "The Backbone of America is a Mule and Cotton." But he gets his point across.

Because blacks are often not credited for their contributions to American culture,



Abner Jay has become something of a nut on the subject of the history of American music.

"Some educators make me sick," he says, blaming them for the fact that children, both white and black, know so little about their heritage.

Abner Jay has traveled a long, long road since he said farewell to the back end of a mule and "lit out" for the city: to New York to study music and voice, back South for radio and TV shows, out to Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and Louisville in the '60s when he took his act into the schools.

Now he's come full circle back to the South. As long as people will listen and he can sell a few of his record albums, this is where he'll take his stand.

"Hurry up and get your record," he hustles the crowds. "They'll be worth a lot of money when I'm dead."

And then, almost as an afterthought: "When I'm gone, there ain't gonna be no more."

— BARBARA DEANE
free lance
Tampa, Fla.

FACING SOUTH welcomes readers' comments and writers' contributions. Write P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

excerpted from the special issue on prisons, "Still Life" (Vol. VI, No. 4). Likewise, writers who originally learned of the Institute through *Facing South* have later expanded their work for publication in *Southern Exposure*. The "Through the Hoop" (Vol. VII, No. 3) article on the Stone Junkies softball team, for instance, first appeared as a *Facing South* column. And we expect next summer's special issue on "Growing Up Southern" to draw heavily on the column's network of writers and readers.

As for future directions, we are just beginning to realize *Facing South's* great potential as a tool for self-knowledge and change. In order to

reach more people, we must continue to increase our list of subscribing newspapers throughout the South and in border states — especially concentrating on urban dailies, university newspapers and black-owned publications. Most importantly, we must use the opportunity presented by a widely read newspaper column to the fullest, shaping rather than merely reflecting, Southern values. We are already seeing how, through the column, stereotypes and myths can be dispelled. But more stories of Southerners in conflict — preserving valuable traditions, working for a just society, organizing for change — are needed. Some of the most controversial columns published

have also been the most popular, so the next step for *Facing South* seems clear.

Seven hundred words are precious few to tell a story, so *Facing South* has come to rely more and more on the line drawing which accompanies each week's column. We have been fortunate in having artist Frank Holyfield working with us since the beginning.

Frank's illustrations elicit as many comments as the articles themselves, and his evolving style has been a

source of fascination and delight to editors and authors as well as readers.

Obtaining stories for each week's column is no problem, but getting the most informative and challenging articles out to the people is a continuing effort. Please, if you know of individuals, projects, movements or struggles which would be or should be of interest to our readership, contact us right away. Writers' guidelines are available from: *Facing South*, P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

George Polk Award

This spring, *Southern Exposure* received a telephone call announcing that we had just won one of the top distinctions in American journalism — the George Polk Award.

Not being pros in the field, we weren't sure what it all meant. But on arriving at the New York hotel to receive our citation, it all became very impressive. The head brass from the three networks, Carey McWilliams, the legendary editor of *The Nation*, black-listed filmmakers, "Today Show" host Tom Brokaw, and an assortment of street-wise administrators from Long Island University, which hosts the awards, were among the hundreds mingling in the banquet room.

George Polk, we learned, was a CBS correspondent murdered during the Greek civil war while trying to reach one of the guerrilla leaders for an interview. Long Island University established the awards in his honor in 1949; each year since then, a panel of 150 distinguished journalists, media executives and journalism teachers recommends winners in several categories. This year the winners included, in the category of television reporting, the NBC news team of Don Harris and Bob Brown, who were killed in Guyana by members of the Peoples Temple; Russell Baker of the *New York Times* for his commentary; *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in the category of education reporting; "Scared Straight" for film documentary; and in the area of regional reporting, *Southern Exposure*.

The citation that went along with a handsome marble plaque read in part: "Disputatious, provocative, probing, the magazine has drawn critics on many fronts, but it pursues its tortuous course with spirited independence, presenting material available from no other source, and challenging old attitudes with fresh insights."

Now that's a mouthful.

Needless to say, we were deeply flattered and most appreciative — even if the award didn't come with a fat check!





Southern Workers

Over the past ten years, the needs of working people have been of major concern to the Institute for Southern Studies. For example, the Institute has been involved in the union campaign in Harlan County, Kentucky, and in the effort to organize J.P. Stevens; most recently, we have worked on the furniture workers' campaign in North Carolina. Such projects have often been reflected in articles in *Southern Exposure* — a special Institute report on the history of J.P. Stevens which was used for labor education efforts with Stevens workers and then appeared in "Packaging the New South" (Vol. VI, No. 1) is a recent example. "Facing South" (Vol. III, No. 4) contained a special section on textiles with oral histories of both industry executives and three generations of textile workers. In 1974 and 1976, entire double-length issues of *Southern Exposure* were devoted to labor: "No More Moanin'" (Vol. I, No. 3-4) focused on the organizing struggles of the 1930s and "Here Come A Wind" (Vol. IV, No. 1-2) brought the picture up to date, with stories of the Farah, Oneita and J.P. Stevens campaigns; on runaway shops; on labor education; on OSHA and EEOC. Both "No More Moanin'" and "Here Come A Wind" have since been used extensively for courses in labor history, labor economics and sociology. Because of their widespread use, both issues have been reprinted.

The strong and positive response to the articles dealing with labor topics

has spurred a new project. Using the best *Southern Exposure* articles on labor as a core and commissioning several new articles, we are now putting together a book on labor in the South. The volume will be published in the summer of 1980 and distributed by Pantheon books. We hope it will be able to reach a much wider audience than is possible with the magazine, serving as a basic text in the history of Southern labor both for college courses and in union and other labor education programs. More than any single issue of *Southern Exposure*, this book brings together the threads of worker history over the past 100 years.

While assembling the labor book, we realized that only rarely in recent years had representatives of progressive organizations gotten together to pool our knowledge and experiences towards understanding the forces affecting workers today and in the coming years. As a result, the Institute recently held a meeting which brought together a small number of progressive organizations and labor organizations and labor organizers to assess our activities in the past and to coordinate our projects for the future. Discussions at this meeting ranged from analyses of the future of unions to the potentials for financing our own projects in support of workers. One realization we came to is the need for future meetings to enable organizers to shape tactics that could match the level of sophistication of current anti-union campaigns.



Some of the articles we run in *Southern Exposure* stir up more controversy than others.

Sometimes we never hear about the consequences — good or bad — of material we print; other times, we get vague rumors. The legal counsels of several corporations, like J.P. Stevens, are now regular subscribers, and every now and then a company will make noises about suing us over some transgression they find annoying or worse.

A recent special report on Greenville, South Carolina, in "Behind Closed Doors" (Vol. VII, No. 1) drew plenty of fire from that city's elite. The two-part case study — written by Cliff Sloan, *Southern Exposure* editor Bob Hall and the associate director of Southerners for Economic Justice, Mike Russell — analyzed three generations of Greenville's tightly knit power brokers and their vigorous (though often covert) efforts to keep unions out of town.

As soon as the report appeared, it became a hot item of conversation; the newspapers claimed it "distorted beyond recognition" the truth, which they reduced to "Greenville's success in wedding a non-union environment and genuine progress and development." But an anonymous subscriber in Alabama sent a letter from a friend, a businessman in Greenville, who privately acknowledged the accuracy of nearly everything in the articles.

Southerners for Economic Justice reprinted the study in an attractive pamphlet and distributed it widely in the Greenville area, where Russell and another SEJ associate director, Lucille Samson, have been working for several months. According to Russell, the report "sparked the first visible discussion of unionization in the area." He writes, "On Monday, following the report's release, the Chamber of Commerce announced that it had approved release of a film portraying unions as the major threat to continued economic well-being in the Piedmont. The special report's criticism of the Chamber was linked by the press to the release of the film and nearly all the coverage characterized the Chamber as 'coming out of the closet' about its anti-unionism, and now being 'avowedly anti-union.'

"The Chamber's admission that it intended to thwart unionization added credibility to the report's analysis. Acting on these events, the Green-

ville Ministerial Alliance passed an unprecedented resolution supporting workers rights to bargain collectively and expressing their concern that the Chamber was unfairly polarizing the labor climate.

"The report itself has been widely disseminated. George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union, ordered 1,500 copies to send to every Central Labor Union in the U.S. and to use in their internal courses on union busters. The Southeastern Office of the AFL-CIO's Community Service Department ordered 100 copies for use in its programs, as did a West Virginia OCAW local.

"Copies of the report reached the South Carolina State Senate where passages were read into the record, curbing a debate over building a new State University dormitory, to characterize the influence of the dorm's opponents.

"Daniel International, a prominent character in the report, continues to play an active role in keeping unions out of the county. Daniel's Vice-President for Professional Development, John Bauer, is also a Greenville County councilperson. Bauer has been active in the National Association of Counties, leading seminars on keeping your county union-free. In August, Bauer told the newspapers he would oppose taking federal mass transit money if it meant bus drivers would have the right to vote for a union. Bus drivers are now state employees and therefore prohibited from organizing. Bauer also indicated that he would oppose other federal strings such as special transit services for the handicapped and elderly.

"Anti-unionism has thus spread beyond a workplace issue to become a community services issue, as business leaders and government officials like Bauer would deny needed services to the poor, the working poor, the elderly, and the handicapped to avoid the possibility that bus drivers might be allowed to vote for a union."

Reprints of the articles are available from: SEJ, P.O. Box 3084, Greenville, S.C. 29602. Ask them to put you on the mailing list for their newsletter, *Fair Share*, which regularly profiles labor struggles around the region.

Another organization whose newsletter describes the activities of unions and labor support groups is SOC (Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice). Write: *Southern Fight-Back*, P.O. Box 811, Birmingham, Alabama 35201.

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Green
ville

Kingsport

Another recent article, which raised the ire of town fathers, exposed a plethora of pollution problems in Kingsport, Tennessee and its environs. Written by six mountain researchers known as the Kingsport Environmental Health Study Group, the article focused on Tennessee Eastman's huge chemical complex and its ill effects on workers, who often don't know what hazardous materials they handle, and on the area's residents, who suffer higher rates of respiratory disease, among other things, because of the Eastman-polluted air and water.

Shortly after "Smells Like Money" appeared in the *Southern Exposure* special on health care ("Sick For Justice," Vol. VI, No. 2), the Kingsport newspaper featured a full-page analysis of its contents along with rebuttals from officials of Tennessee Eastman, the state's largest industrial employer and a subsidiary of Eastman Kodak. Other articles followed, including a feature in *The Elements* and a special paper, "National Sacrifice Area," published by the Appalachian Alliance.

Many area residents seemed resigned to the higher health risks, or reluctant to criticize the industries that put bread on their tables, but some — including local doctors — confirmed the report's findings. With the help of a National Science Foundation grant, the Group sponsored a series of public hearings in the area and produced a booklet entitled "I'm Afraid For My Children" profiling the effects of industrial pollution on several families.

The Group has since helped several groups in smaller towns: They took a radiation specialist to discuss leukemia and other dangers with interested workers at Nuclear Fuel Service's Erwin, Tennessee, plant. And they've helped angry citizens from nearby Bumpass Cove fight an industrial dump that has endangered the water supply and resulted in mysterious deaths.

Members of the Group are now seeking funds to continue their work. For more information, write the Kingsport Study Group at Rt. 2, Box 129, Nickelsville, Va. 24271.



JUST SCHOOLS

No issue of *Southern Exposure* has given the magazine and the Institute as much publicity, nor sold as many copies so quickly, as the recent issue commemorating the 25th anniversary of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision.

"Just Schools" (Vol. VII, No. 2) came out just ahead of the historic May 17 anniversary and was widely used by other newspapers and commentators as they poured forth the obligatory rivers of ink on "the state of desegregated education in America." It's too bad not more policies were changed to commemorate the date, or that more school officials and legislators didn't change their current cynical attitude about the possibilities of integrated, quality education in our public schools.

But we were heartened by many papers' accurate account of past racism and forthright challenge for the future. William Raspberry of the *Washington Post* used "Just Schools" to extend his personal experience with segregated education in the South and North into a hard-hitting column that concluded, "School desegregation has come a long way since the days of the jeering mobs and the grim-faced National Guardsmen in Little Rock and New Orleans. But not far enough to turn this week's 25th anniversary observance into a celebration. Who knows: The second 25 years may turn out to be the hardest."

Literally dozens of people from media of all sizes, shapes and colors called us for background information

and copies of "Just Schools." Several newspapers and magazines reprinted or borrowed heavily from parts of the book-issue for their own mini-sections on desegregation struggles over the quarter century.

Then the orders started rolling in. HEW's National Institute of Education bought 1,000 copies to distribute to its mailing list of educational researchers and social scientists across the nation. The elders at Tessie Prevost's church ordered 40 copies for their congregation so they could read her personal reflections on integrating New Orleans' William McDonogh Elementary School. The NAACP, with the aid of the Sherwood Forest Fund, sent several hundred copies to chapters across the country. Several of the federal government's regional desegregation assistance centers ordered 20 or 30 copies, as did groups like the American Friends Service Committee. A number of individuals and organizations concerned with civil rights and education ordered one or two copies, and then in July the Ford Foundation made a grant to the Institute to enable us to send 2,000 copies to several lists of such "policy leaders."

We are now considering the possibility of hosting, or co-hosting, a meeting on the problems discussed in the issue, of black colleges and white-dominated university systems in the South. That kind of follow-up with people actively involved with the topic covered in one of our issues is something the Institute would like to do more regularly. (Other types of follow-up, with the prison and labor specials, are described in other parts of this section).

People looking for a steady dose of critical analysis in the field of education policy should contact two young publications: *Politics & Education*, a bi-monthly collection of excellent articles, reviews and resource listings, available for \$10 from the Center for the Study of Education and Politics, Wesleyan Station, Fisk Hall, Middletown, Conn. 06457. (We're especially grateful to *Politics & Education* for allowing us to reprint James Lyons' article "A Case for the Black College" in "Just Schools.") We also recommend *The Measuring Cup*, a monthly newsletter focusing on issues related to testing in schools. To keep up with the many aspects of this controversial subject, and with who's doing what to protect the interests of poor and minority students, send \$15 to *The Measuring Cup*, P.O. Box 22723, Savannah, Georgia 31403.



John Beecher has been helping *Southern Exposure* for years.

He's been helping the Southern freedom movement for much longer.

Back in 1923, while working in a Birmingham steel mill, he began writing poetry, mostly about the broken dreams and broken bodies of the men around him. "I used all nouns and verbs, almost no adjectives," Beecher recalls. "Very stark, as stark as I could make it because what I was trying to say was stark."

Like a host of others of his generation — including Paul Green, whose work is reviewed in this issue — Beecher spent the next decades combining his literary and political interests to fight the plethora of injustices around him, especially Southern racism.

Through the years, Beecher has been a chicken farmer, professor, sailor, novelist, New Deal administrator, shepherd, historian, printer and lecturer. But most of all, he has been a man of fiery passion, of intense feeling for his fellow human being, and deep love for what he calls "the common language."

Beecher is now back at San Francisco State University, where he was fired in 1950 for refusing to take the McCarthy-inspired loyalty oath. Many of those who through the years denounced him are now recanting. The City of Birmingham, where he grew up, proclaimed "John Beecher Day" this past spring when he returned to keynote a literary festival. And San Francisco State just appointed him a full-time professor — but that ironic twist has not stopped Beecher from suing the state of California for \$867,175 in back wages and damages.

Despite a series of illnesses, chronic lung fibrosis that keeps him hooked up to a permanent oxygen supply, and a duodenal ulcer, John Beecher at age 75 is still inspiring students through his full load of classes in four departments at the university. In early September he wrote us:

"I had another health crisis or I would have written sooner. They rushed me to the hospital and hooked me up to a *perpetuum mobile* EKG for 36 hours, in the forbidding Coronary Care Unit, then transferred me to the Cardiac Monitoring Node for four days. . . . The Autobiography is ready to go. First volume (1904-1926) ready for printer, should be out in 1980. This summer . . . I put 300,000 words on cassettes as draft autobiography for 1926-1979. Lots of work still to do on that, but the tapes aren't bad and, if I should terminate betimes as seems not improbable, somebody else can edit for publication. I confess all. After all, the truth is the only stock in trade I have as a poet and person."

The truth, as revealed in Beecher's collection *Report to the Stockholders and Other Poems*, is illustrated by a poem written about the president of the Confederacy:

JEFFERSON DAVIS INAUGURAL *Capitol Portico: Montgomery, Alabama*

*A brazen star
marks where his haughty feet were set
who later fled
in womanly disguise while near and far
the vengeful victor spoke in flame
and insult till the broken land was red
not with blood and embers only but with shame*

*A star inlaid
marks where he postured on the marble for a day
with his people ranged below
and seeking to stay history he bayed
the sun like Joshua
The sun impenitently set
and once more rose on irreversible woe*

Other poems from his collections appeared in "No More Moanin'" (Vol. 1, No. 3-4) and "Packaging the New South" (Vol. VI, No. 1).

This summer, Beecher donated 100 copies of *Report to the Stockholders* to us for use in soliciting new subscribers and encouraging old ones to buy more copies to share with friends. If you take advantage of the Christmas gift-givers special offer described on page 145, we will be delighted to send a free book (as long as the supply lasts) which you may accept as a present to yourself or pass on as a gift to another friend. Anyone who owns a copy knows what a treasure it is and why we are pleased to be able to make this offer. Thank you, John.

(*Report to the Stockholders* is being reprinted this winter by Vanguard Press in Chicago, along with a first printing of Beecher's 31-year-old manuscript on the farmer-labor movement in Minnesota. For details, contact Vanguard at P.O. Box 3566, Chicago, Illinois 60654. John's *Collected Poems, 1924-1974* is available from Macmillan, Inc., of New York for \$8.95 – order through your bookstore.)



Other Old Friends

There are many other old heads and helping hands who joined John Beecher in carrying a radical spirit through the 1930s into the red-baiting '50s, and who have been especially generous and inspiring and instructive to us at Southern Exposure.

Some, like Virginia Durr and H.L. Mitchell, still write us regularly with relevant advice on how to fight today's Fascists and unite the labor and farming classes.

Others have now passed. Two who left us this summer, Claude Williams and Arthur Raper, spent much of their later years guiding young upstarts like ourselves. We were fortunate to have included something of their wisdom in our past issues: Claude in "Our Promised Land" (Vol. I, No. 3-4) and "On Jordan's Stormy Banks" (Vol. IV, No. 3), and Arthur in "Behind Closed Doors" (Vol. VII, No. 1). We will miss these gifted friends-supporters-teachers deeply.

In future issues of Southern Exposure, we hope to feature more about and by this remarkable generation of Southerners. Jim Dombrowski, co-founder of Highlander Center and the Southern Conference Education Fund, also a painter and writer, now lives in New Orleans and is the subject of a forthcoming book by Frank Adams, a regular Southern Exposure contributor. H.L. Mitchell's fascinating autobiography, *Mean Things Happening In This Land*, unravels his adventures as a co-

founder of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and as a labor organizer and socialist; it is available now for \$10.95 from the STFU Association, P.O. Box 2617, Montgomery, Alabama 36105.

Marie Jemison, whose account of Alabama suffragist Pattie Ruffner Jacobs appeared in "Behind Closed Doors" (Vol. VII, No. 1), is now editing the voluminous letters of Virginia Durr; they stretch over 40 years and include correspondence with an incredible variety of politicians, radicals and socialites. And Pare Lorenz, a West Virginia native and the father of American documentary films, has just sent us a collection of his writing. (A small aside: If you're involved in films in any way, you should do everything in your power to get this pioneer filmmaker – whose works include "The Plow That Broke the Plains," "The River" and "The Fight for Life" – to come to your city or school to speak about documentary films and the role of movies in our society; Lorenz, at 74, is still a spellbinding speaker. Contact: Pare Lorenz, 19-21 Whipoorwill Road, Armonk, New York 10504.)

Hopefully we can bring you portions of these and other works by and about members of the generation whose radicalism shook up the South and America in the '30s. And if you're writing about a personality or movement of the South's progressive past, we'd love to see something to share with our readers.

Prisons

"If you are seeking ways to become personally involved in the movement to change our criminal justice system. . . ."

This final message of the Winter, 1978, issue "Still Life: Inside Southern Prisons" (Vol. VI, No. 4) invited guides for classes, organize local prisoners' support groups, begin writing men and women behind bars, spread the word.

Now, nearly a year later, the letters, orders, questions, allegations and pleas continue to come in steadily. "Still Life" opened (to *our* eyes, as well as to our readers') the grim Pandora's Box of prison realities. Each new revelation underscored the need for further investigation, more work, more action, more awareness. Never has an issue of the journal fallen so short of "wrapping up" its subject! On the contrary, "Still Life" represents a beginning.

Some of the most original and powerful material in the issue was written by prisoners themselves. But creativity and communication didn't halt "upon publication." Authors of poems or stories used in the magazine, those whose work was returned, prisoners who know of the journal by hearsay, their cellmates, their relatives, their friends behind bars or free — all continue to write us, keeping us up-to-date, inspiring us and daily reminding us *it's real*.

"I'm not working at present," a regular inmate-correspondent at Angola Prison informs us casually. "I'm still healing, yet that was only a case of extreme Southern hospitality, which I will go into details later! . . . The last crops I saw in the Field, was a symbol that represented the South over two hundred years ago, cotton, yes, King Cotton!

"My living quarters at present is two people in a eight by six cell, there's still not much peace yet it's better than usual, we here in these cells don't have any opportunity for class, it's possible to study, if there's the right type of material within reach, I'm afraid I only have four books that serves that purpose. I'm not allowed access to the library. . . . Approximately three weeks ago today I refuse to go to work and after being told to pack my property which I did, after being

taken to administration lockdown, a officer told me to take my plaits down, I told him no, it all beginn there, once it was over with, I came away with stitches on the side of my left eye, stitches in the inside of my upper and lower lips, a few bruise ribs, pain in my back, and a dislocated arm, the next day my eyes were close. I received some medication for a few day and was lock in the dungeon for trying to get medical attention, I've been attempting to get someone to handle the above matter, which proved to no avail, yet I'm still breathing and that's saying a lot after still being incarcerated and that only leave room for struggle and a smile ever so often. . . . They even fabricated a story that I am a mere 170-pound man attack four officer weighing around 700 pounds, which is a vivid case of what happens here on a regular basis. . . ."

It's not an extraordinary letter — just further documentation of a way of life which, incredibly, is recognized

as routine by those on the inside and ignored by most who aren't. We have been encouraged by the many letters from readers who want to learn more. Law students, housewives, judges, ministers, teachers, even prison professionals have requested further information, contacts in their local area and guidance on "where to begin."

The study guide, which was designed to help classes or community groups use "Still Life" as a text, has been widely distributed; the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church alone purchased 500 copies of "Still Life" for use as a resource in its special emphasis on criminal justice this year.

It's obviously an important time to focus on prisons and capital punishment. Even 18 months ago, the section titled "Ritual Sacrifice" was a painful and shocking one to compile. Since John Spenkelink's execution by the state of Florida, such discussions of the death penalty have become, hor-



ribly, more demanding of attention and action. Awareness of the impending flood of "legal murders" in Florida and other Southern states has led to personal involvement by several Institute staff members in the anti-death penalty movement. We are working to help the anti-death penalty movement in Florida get the funding they need to keep organizers in the field and, with a workshop in late September, have begun to assist the local and statewide groups in devising ways to maximize the use of media attention on the issue.

This fall, the Institute is preparing a sizable press packet, in cooperation with the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons and the Death Penalty Information Center, to be distributed to thousands of newspaper, radio and TV reporters and editors. Articles included will range from statements by national religious groups to statistical profiles of who's on death row, to eye-catching graphics which may be used to illustrate stories about the death penalty. The idea is to provide background materials which will at least allow reporters and editorial writers to bring some rational counterbalance to the heated emotional cries for executions.

An excellent new brochure for protesting Florida's leading role in reviving state-sanctioned murder is now available from the Florida Clearinghouse on Criminal Justice, 222 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32201. The message is: "Don't Visit Florida - The Sunshine State That Kills," and the brochure includes a detachable "picture postcard" of protest which can be mailed to Governor Graham, stating your intention to vacation elsewhere. One to 10 copies cost 10 cents each; 100 or more are nine cents each.

As for the sorrow, anger, guilt, which come once again with the thought that all of this is *too late* for John Spenkelink, let the accompanying poem (written by John's fellow-inmate at Starke Prison, Henry N. Lucas) speak for us.

But, Still, He

for Jimmy Lohman,
worker for the Florida Clearinghouse on Criminal Justice

*unhumans walk around
and jazzchant down.*

*jazzchant,
one down, in the name of God.
one down, in the name of morality.
one down, in the name of the law.*

one down.

*we killed one down, they say,
so people can have humandreams.
oh, one down
but, still, he
screams the silent screams.*

*and after death, truculent rhythm
flows shoutingouts: T-shirts
get your T-shirts
from the governor's mansion.
get your T-shirts
sanctified by the church.
get your T-shirts
dipped in J.S.'s blood. get your T-shirts.
with iceblooded winks, they whoop,
have electrical dreams.
but, still, he
screams the silent screams.*

*in a bebopping solo
that spiritpains against life,
they scat justice.
Florid-id-id-id-*

idian justice

*burned God's soul in the chair
Florid-id-id-id-*

idian justice

*wouldn't let a penniless drifter live.
Florid-id-id-id-*

idian justice

*got to have money
before you get any.*

Florid-id-id-id-

idian justice.

*you killed the good in America's dreams.
but still he screams.
but, still, he
he screams the silent screams.*

— Henry N. Lucas
July 2, 1979

BOOK REVIEWS

The Making of Jazz Jazz: A History

By James Lincoln Collier. Houghton Mifflin, 1978. 498 pp. \$20.00.

By Frank Tirro, W. W. Norton, 1977. 364 pp. \$16.95.

By Archie Hobson

Where is jazz, the child of the South, going? Is it dying? Or is it healthier than ever? The world now seems more widely aware of jazz, but what in fact jazz *is* is less clear.

The roots of jazz in the post-Civil War South, the role of music in African societies and the contributions of African music — the dominant force shaping jazz — have all been traced into the present. Similarly, the music of black churches and the work songs of slaves, the military band craze of the mid-nineteenth century and its effect on jazz instrumentation, minstrel music, “light” concert repertory, European dance forms, revival music — all played a now widely studied role.

By an accident of history, the music we now recognize as jazz moved north and was first committed to record at almost the same moment. Jazz became a national phenomenon and an “art” overnight, the protests of the musical establishment notwithstanding. Once on record, this American music was open to interpretation as *art*: it became what it had never (except in the case of ragtime sheet music) been before: *artifact*.

Recording froze jazz to a far greater degree than has generally been recognized. A regional music with an undetermined range of style and rate of change became a music of a limited number of national styles. The testimony of musicians from this early period, for instance, reveals that black music in many forms permeated the South and Southwest. But because New Orleans musicians recorded first, New Orleans style dominated, and came to be thought of as the *real* jazz.



Joseph “King” Oliver’s Dixie Syncopators, Plantation Cafe, Chicago, 1925. (Front, from left) Bud Scott, Banjo; Darnell Howard, Albert Nicholas and Barney Bigard, reeds. (Rear) Bert Cobbs, bass; Paul Barbarin, drums; King Oliver, cornet; George Field, trombone; Bob Schofner, trumpet; Luis Russell, piano.

Jazz on record became available for the kind of analysis — and, inevitably, categorization — that had been applied to European compositional music. The European musicological tradition lay in wait for jazz, armed with stylistic analysis; worth was defined as stylistic interest.

European music also grew out of folk sources. But one result of the high-art emphasis has been the increasing sterility of the European compositional tradition: “classical” music has become almost entirely reliant on massive subsidization for its survival. The same may happen to jazz. While jazz is now recognized worldwide, it is increasingly defined within a narrow mainstream as a “serious” music. As a result jazz now faces the

warning signs reflected in the gap in European music between “serious” and “popular.”

Writers on jazz from an art perspective can be expected to embrace this separation, but those concerned with the survival of people’s music should concentrate their awareness on what keeps it alive. Jazz, or some music called jazz, can easily become a concert music. But can any concert music, even jazz, retain its vitality?

In this situation, the challenge to jazz writers is to lay open the functional history of Afro-American music, to assist our understanding of its present and future. Considering the spread of jazz, comprehensive historical studies of the music have been infrequent. For over two decades, the

standard history has been Marshall Stearns' *The Story of Jazz*, published in 1956. Recently, however, two new entrants have appeared in the field: *The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History*, by James Lincoln Collier, and Frank Tirro's *Jazz: A History*.

The authors have a good deal more to contend with than did Stearns. There have been stylistic upheavals in jazz since 1956; but more importantly, there has been the explosion of rock and other siblings of jazz – musical expressions best taken as part of jazz in the wider sense. The uses of these musics and the uses of jazz have diverged, calling for writers to look with flexibility into American music as a whole, to resist rejecting any of our “popular” musics and their uses because they fail to fit into critics’ categories. Jazz cannot live if it is relegated to the concert hall. But jazz can flourish if we recognize that stylistic advance is only one of its values, that its unique participational, democratic nature is its strength.

Frank Tirro’s book is strong in its exposition of the African and nineteenth-century American backgrounds. He describes the encounter between purely functional tribal music and an entirely new social system in the New World. The recognition that our music has these tribal roots is an important

insight into the popular nature of jazz. Discussing the state of American music through the last century, Tirro avoids the common impulse to treat art and popular expressions as two separate traditions; in fact, he makes clear that art music had little place in most of America until this century. This “vacuum” helped prepare the way for the elevation of jazz to art status; had the European tradition been more ensonced, jazz might have remained more a non-establishment music.

Unfortunately, due largely to the fact that *Jazz: A History* is organized around a series of recordings – the Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz – Tirro’s account of jazz after it appeared on records retreats to essentially stylistic analysis. Tirro’s book, superbly illustrated, with many annotations and transcriptions, is thus valuable especially for its handling of all that came before the recording era; in this it can serve as a model.

James Lincoln Collier keeps his sights closer to the social environment throughout *The Making of Jazz*, and his book will probably be accepted as the new “standard” jazz history. While Tirro is expressly making a survey, Collier is writing a narrative history, and he takes many aesthetic stands.

Collier does not center his study on records, but he does follow another

common approach: a focus on the individuals who make the music. The appearance in the mid-20s of the first overpowering jazz soloist, Louis Armstrong, established the star system in jazz; since then, the personalities of the major figures has been a convenient center around which to write on jazz. Collier takes this approach in places to the extent of writing jazz psychohistory. But a focus on stars becomes an art focus, misleading in an attempt to understand the unique strength of jazz.

What makes jazz special is that it brings the musician in the act of creation into a direct cooperation with the audience. Jazz musicians do not merely render the creation of a composer; they are charismatic or distant or sensual – whatever aura they create grows out of their interaction with the audience. It is always possible to look into the psyches of the greats, but the guts of jazz is the average working musician. He or she creates a music that owes aesthetic apologies to no one, a music which is involved – giving and taking – with the emotions of the people whose ears it reaches. □

Archie Hobson is a free-lance writer and amateur saxophonist living in Washington, D.C.

Bill Tuck: A Political Life in Harry Byrd's Virginia

By Frank Adams

William Mumford Tuck entered political life when Warren Harding was president. He retired as Richard Nixon sought vainly to conceal Watergate. During these years – seven as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, nine as a state senator, four as governor of the state and 16 as Southside Virginia’s representative to the U.S. Congress – Tuck established himself as an unremitting foe of working people, blacks, President Harry S. Truman and supposed communists. In his own words, he did all he was able over those years “to give them unshirted hell.”

The life of an architect of white supremacy is now honored with a careful, admiring biography, deserved, as one of Tuck’s apologists put it, because “he was colorful . . . he was beloved . . . and, in the Virginia of the mid-Twentieth Century, he stood near

center stage.”

But for those who endured Tuck’s spleen, or were the objects of his demagoguery, the book is valuable for other reasons. We are given, unwittingly I suspect, a careful look at the life and insecurities of a political puppet, a man who governed only at the whim of another. The title itself is suggestive; so too are his admirers’ remarks metaphorically defining his relationship to Virginia’s political ruler, Harry S. Byrd, amidst his apple orchards, was Virginia’s epicenter. Together, the man you see in this book, Tuck, and the man he so desperately wanted the unqualified friendship of, Byrd (whom one sees but fleetingly), illustrate how durable is Ulrich B. Phillips’ thesis that the central theme of Southern history has been and remains the white man’s determination to maintain a segregated society. Back in 1928 Phillips wrote that Southernism derived from a “common resolve indomitably maintained” that the region “shall be and

By William Bryan Crawley, Jr. University of Virginia Press, 1979. 272 pp. \$14.95.

remain as white man’s country.” The outcome of these premises, he continued, “whether expressed with the frenzy of a demagogue or maintained with patrician’s quietude, is the cardinal test of a Southerner and is the central theme of Southern history.” So for these additional reasons we are indebted to Crawley for his labors.

Tuck’s history is studded with virtuoso performances wherein Byrd’s patrician voice, albeit disguised as backwoods, emitted from the jowly Tuck. Twice in 1946, as governor, he moved with high-handed resolve against labor unions. When the Seafarers’ International Union struck the Chesapeake Ferry Company, thus disrupting public transportation in Tidewater, Tuck persuaded the legislature to authorize him to seize the ferry company and incorporate it into the state highway department. That ended the strike. Electrical workers later that postwar year threatened to strike the Virginia Electric and Power

Company. Invoking a little-known 18th Century law, Tuck drafted the union members into the unorganized state militia on March 29 "to provide electrical service to the people of Virginia customarily served by it." Lamenting the action, but powerless to do anything, one union leader told *The Wall Street Journal*, "The Lord notes even the fall of a sparrow. Apparently Governor Tuck notes only the fall of the profit bird."

In 1948, Tuck, having gotten his signals from Senator Byrd, led Virginia's legislature to adopt "anti-Truman" legislation, designed to oppose President Truman's civil rights program and keep his name off the Virginia ballot. Truman had offended Byrd and dozens of other Southern political leaders on February 2 by asking the U.S. Congress to adopt the most sweeping civil rights program up to that point in the nation's history. He wanted a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, federal protection against lynching, voting rights protection and a permanent civil rights division in the Justice Department. By February 26, Governor Tuck was before the legislature declaring, "These proposals, if adopted, will open wide the door for the establishment of a totalitarian form of government in this country. . . . This is sufficient power to create in America the counterpart of a Hitler or Stalin." Tuck helped deny Truman the traditional Solid South's votes that November.

Tuck had barely been elected to Congress when the Supreme Court ruled in the *Brown* case that segregated public schools were unconstitutional. The new congressman, who'd been weaned on *The Birth of a Nation*, was outraged. He told a crowd of 2,500 segregationists in Halifax, Virginia, "We have met here tonight because of our interest in preserving the purity of our race, as well as our liberty and freedom. . . . I intend to resist with all the might I have this effort to distort the minds, to pollute the education, and to defile and make putrid the pure Anglo-Saxon blood that courses through the innocent veins of our helpless children. . . . In this matter there is no middle ground. There is no compromise. We are for integration or we are against it." As he helped establish the policy and political climate which resulted in closed public schools in Norfolk, Prince Edward County and Front Royal, he vowed, "On the subject of integration, I am not a 'gradualist,' I am a 'neverist.'" He was a most massive resister.

In Congress he was a valued member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The red hand of communism was, in his mind, a plot "not only of the Supreme Court, the left-wingers, the one-worlders and other destructionists, but also of the Communists as well." He was on the committee when Carl Braden of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and Frank Wilkinson of the Committee to Abolish the HUAC were cited for contempt of Congress and jailed for refusing to talk, arguing instead HUAC ought to be "investigating the bombings, and other disturbances and such agencies as the White Citizens Councils" which were thwarting the Court's decision. "I, for one, am not interested in playing pacifier to pinks, punks or party-liners," Tuck said.

In the shadow of this pugilistic bombast, which often shocked Virginia's genteel and courtly, was the patrician Byrd. No politician in Virginia during the period in which Tuck lived moved without "the nod" from Byrd. As lieutenant governor, having tasted power, Tuck, a farm boy from South Boston, wanted more, wanted to be governor. But when no endorsement from Byrd was forthcoming, and as the time to announce his campaign drew near, Tuck fretted he was "quite uneasy about the attitude of the Senator." To test the waters, he put out a tentative announcement of his candidacy, immediately reproaching himself for timidity. "I feel somewhat like a weakling," he said in a long letter revealing the agony of a political

man who does not own his own soul. "I certainly had the courage to run, for I don't see how my friends in Washington could have fought me, as I have been so loyal to them throughout many long years. I have loved Senator Byrd . . . have made many enemies on that account. . . . I have fought many battles that I otherwise would have never touched just to protect what I thought was their interests. . . . It is the disappointment of my life that Senator Byrd is reluctant to come to me. . . ."

As the Strom Thurmonds and Jesse Helmses now try to soften their public images, it is important to remember just how evil was the generation of politicians of which Bill Tuck was a part. □

Frank Adams is a teacher and writer and long-time friend of the Institute.



"On the subject of integration, I am not a 'gradualist,' I am a 'neverist.'"

A Return Visit: Paul Green

By Bob Brinkmeyer

Most people who have heard of Paul Green know him primarily as a dramatist and as the developer of the symphonic drama – what he describes as “plays derived from the people’s history, their legends, folk-customs and beliefs, their hopes and ideals, and produced in hillside amphitheatres built for that purpose.” Others may know him as a collector of tales and folklore from the Cape Fear River Valley region of North Carolina. And then a very few others know him as a writer of fiction.

Paul Green’s two novels, *The Laughing Pioneer* (1932) and *This Body the Earth* (1935), and his several collections of short stories were for the most part written early in his career, and were effectively overshadowed by his other work and interests. But they most assuredly don’t deserve oblivion. Not only are they works of art (they make great reading), but they are also important sources for students of Green’s ideas and for anyone interested in the folkways of eastern North Carolina. They illustrate both significant patterns of experience ingrained deep in the American imagination and the peculiar problems faced by Southern writers of Green’s era in approaching those patterns. Like his plays, Green’s novels are set in a democratized South, drawing both plot and dramatic tension from the contradiction between myth and economic realities.

The Laughing Pioneer is the story of the futile relationship between spinster Alice Long and “the laughing pioneer,” Danny Lawton, a young man who roams the countryside singing and doing odd jobs to support himself. When Danny wanders onto the Long plantation, a declining remnant of the aristocratic South, Alice is immediately smitten with his youthful verve and energy. Danny sets to work improving the farm – mending the fences, cutting down the broom sedge, repairing the buildings. But old Judge Long, entrenched in his aristocratic mind-set, orders Danny off the farm. Alice, however, takes control of the farm when the Judge suffers a stroke, and she allows Danny to stay. She then in effect murders her father by fanning him too hard during an attack of asthma. She has chosen with which man her loyalties

lie, and now, with her father gone, Danny can be hers.

But Danny doesn’t deliver. As much as he likes working on the farm, and as much as he likes Alice, he makes no plans to marry. His failure to fulfill her dreams, the increasing pressure from neighbors (who believe she is living in sin – the Klan makes a visit one night to make the point clear), and her guilt for her father’s death, combine to push her to a total breakdown and an early death. After paying his last respects, Danny takes off once more to the countryside, to roam free and unattached.

One of the most interesting things about *The Laughing Pioneer* is what it says about the relationship of the Southern artist to his heritage. The novel is narrated in retrospect by a man (not Danny) who had watched the events occur years before when he was a boy. The narrator, born puny and with a bad leg, grew up aloof and detached from his community. During the period covered in the novel, he kept a journal of the events so that one day he could write out the full story. But when Danny sets off to continue his roaming and the narrator lights off with him, leaving behind his family and his community, he also leaves his journal. He says the journal is no longer important, for “The real story was beginning now – beginning for me and the silent pioneer by my side. And the answer to both our lives lay yonder where the shining road ended in a blurry point on the high horizon’s rim.”

The message embodied in the narrator’s situation is that the Southern artist never quite fits into the community. Like the narrator, the artist grows up within Southern society but at the same time remains detached from it. As a result he is not so caught up in the community that he blindly endorses all its values and actions. This double vision allows him to be a social commentator, to see through local customs, questioning their problems and paradoxes (such as the Klan’s use of violence to uphold peace). And like both the narrator and Danny (whose musical talent makes him an artist in his own right), the artist must finally leave home and experience some of the rest of the world before he can fulfill his destiny.

At the end of the book, we hear the narrator say that the real story is beginning as he leaves home. But we

know he is wrong. For the real story, the answer to the riddle of his life, actually lies in the events of the novel he finally writes – *The Laughing Pioneer*. Leaving home, trying to cut himself off from his past, makes him realize this; and so the novel he writes is the same story from his journal that he once discarded as meaningless. He has come to see that he will create his art not by forgetting his past, but by returning to it and plumbing the depths of his love/hate relationship with his homeland.

Another interesting aspect of *The Laughing Pioneer* is the implied idea that men like Danny who possess life and zest must remain free from the snares of women, representatives of the hearth and home. As much as Danny enjoys living and working on the Long plantation, he is never content. Like his forbear Huck Finn, he doesn’t want to be “sivilized.” His strength – and his happiness – lie finally in his freedom. This is a thoroughly American – and sexist – outlook, and it runs throughout our literature. Women, by this code, are the ensnarers of heroes, out to domesticate them and make them forget all of their plans for heroic adventures. Green is not this crude in *The Laughing Pioneer*, for he emphasizes Alice’s own heroism; indeed, Danny’s wanderlust has disastrous effects on Alice and on Danny’s own family. But it is Danny who brings power and energy to desolate Little Bethel County; and it is Danny who carries the day at the end: the life force lies within him, not Alice, who is destroyed when she tries to exert her freedom.

Green’s second novel, *This Body the Earth*, is very different from *The Laughing Pioneer*. Here Alvin Barnes, the son of a shiftless sharecropper, struggles to break free from the oppressive caste system that holds him back. There is a good deal of emphasis, not found in *The Laughing Pioneer*, on the social and economic problems of the South: the bondage of the sharecropper, the unscientific farming methods which quickly wear out the soil, the vicious system of banking and credit which allows a few powerful men to control the entire countryside and everyone on it. Particularly in the early chapters, the novel reads like Steinbeck set in North Carolina. But as we soon see, this is not solely a novel of social protest: the focus finally comes to rest on Alvin Barnes’

struggle with himself, rather than with the social forces.

Alvin dreams of becoming the most powerful and successful farmer in the region. As a boy he starts on his quest, working long and hard hours and taking on extra jobs. He quickly rises in station, and it is not long before he is able to buy his own plot of land.

In his meteoric rise, Alvin emerges as a heroic figure. But there is something disturbing about him, too: in his rise to power he coldly cuts himself off from his family, refusing to share his wealth with them. His response to his sister, who has come to ask for money to help the family, is typical: "I've got a few dollars saved up, Thelma, but I'm going to keep it." And like the possessor of energy in *The Laughing Pioneer*, Alvin tries to steer clear of women. They will just be a hindrance in his quest, he thinks. But finally he is smitten with a young beauty whom he marries.

Alvin's early fears of women prove accurate: his wife cares more about her pretty face than the bursting bolls of cotton that need picking. Alvin's luck soon changes: he suffers a breakdown from working too hard, the weather does him wrong, the bankers foreclose his mortgage, his wife takes up with a city slicker. Finally Alvin lands in prison, having assaulted his wife's admirer.

Alvin is now a broken man, and when he gets out from behind bars he is barely able to survive. He marries another destitute sharecropper, and together they struggle to support their growing family. Alvin's dream is dead, and with it goes Alvin, who dies from a lung disorder years before his time, shattered emotionally and physically.

This Body the Earth underscores the idea of nature's and the economic system's indifference to human endeavor. People may work from sunup to sundown to make a crop, only to have a drought, poor market prices and bankers destroy their dreams. In another sense, the novel reiterates the view of women seen in *The Laughing Pioneer*: strong, heroic men had better watch out because women are out to get them. We never know if Alvin could have fulfilled his dreams of land and power if he hadn't married, but that seems to be the case, for his luck suspiciously runs out as soon as he takes his vows.

Going it alone, cutting oneself off from friends and family, which brings on them hardship and grief, is the only way for a person to make anything of himself in Paul Green's novels. To re-

main true to his dreams an independent person must look after only number one. This cold-hearted, strenuous route to success lies right at the heart of the American experience. □

Bob Brinkmeyer is currently on leave from North Carolina Central University and is working on a study of Catholic writers of the modern South.



*Paul Green, probably in the late 1940s, at a rehearsal of *The Lost Colony*, a symphonic drama.*

An Interview with Paul Green

In an interview with Jacquelyn Hall of the Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina in 1975, Paul Green reflected on his dual role as an artist and as an activist in such matters as integration, capital punishment and penal reform. An example of his latter interests is his involvement in the case of Fred Beal. Beal was charged with murder in connection with the Gastonia mill strike in 1934 (see "No More Moanin'," Vol. 1, No. 3-4). He had fled to Russia while out on a bail of \$20,000, furnished by the Civil Liberties Union. He remained there several years and wrote a couple of books in which he defended himself against the charges and the unjust punishment — as he called it — visited upon him.

One day I got a letter from Beal. He had returned to the United States

and wanted to surrender and take his punishment. Evidently he had had enough of Russia, like Paul Robeson and Richard Wright and others later. Why he wrote me I don't know, except that maybe because I had been involved with some cases which he had read about. He said, "Would you arrange to have me returned to justice? I would like to do it through you." So I wrote him a letter in reply and said, "Sure, Fred, I will be glad to do anything I can." He had a lawyer and said he would come to Raleigh on a certain day and that he would, if I would get a room at the Sir Walter Hotel, come to that room at ten o'clock in the morning and surrender himself to the law. Well, I said, "Okay." Then I got to thinking I should have some witnesses. So I asked Frank Graham if he would go with me and help receive Fred Beal. He said, "Paul, I'll

be glad to.” Then I called Jonathan Daniels, the Editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, said, Jonathan, how about this?” “Sure,” he said.

So, on that particular day Frank and Jonathan and I went over to the Sir Walter Raleigh. I had made a reservation and let Fred know. We were sitting in the room waiting, and pretty soon there was a knock on the door and there was Fred. I had never met him before. He was a rather short fellow with red hair. With him was his counselor. After we chatted a bit his counselor said, “Well, Fred, good luck.” They shook hands and he left.

In the meantime I had called Governor Clyde Hoey, and he was waiting for the four of us. We walked up Fayetteville Street to the old statehouse, and the governor was very glad to see us. He said, “Mr. Beal, you

have done a noble thing and, as governor, I’m going to remember this. I am going to see that this action is put to your credit,” and so on.

I thought that Fred would be out in 30 days, that’s what it sounded like. So we turned him over to Governor Hoey. The sheriff came in and we shook hands and they took Fred away to the penitentiary in Raleigh.

Now and then I wrote to him, and the first thing I knew I had a note from him that he had been moved to the tough Caledonia Farm, way down in eastern North Carolina where they put the bad guys. He wrote, “Your governor sent me down here.”

Anyway, the governor had promised me on that surrender day – “Paul, before I go out of office I’m going to do something for Fred. I’m going to lighten his sentence a great deal.”

At that time I tried to pin him down as to how much it would be, because he was going out of office in about six months. I tried to urge him to cut the sentence to a year, but I never got an answer. So now I called and said, “Governor, I would like to get in to see you if I could.” “Sure,” he said, “come on over.”

“I want to talk with you about Fred Beal.”

“Oh, sure, sure. Come on over, Paul.”

So I went to Raleigh. “Governor, you are going out of office next week,” I said, “and I want you to remember about Fred Beal.” He said, “Oh yes, I remember Fred. Fred did a good thing in turning himself in. But I am not going to take a day off his sentence. He has got to serve it.” And his face got hard. □

The Perils and Prospects of Southern Black Leadership

By Raymond Gavins. Duke University Press, 1977. 221 pp. \$11.75.

By Burly R. Page, Jr.

The Left in this country has at various times criticized the goals of the civil rights movement and the Southern black leaders who laid the foundation for its development. The criticism, though at times accurate, often fails to account for the pragmatic and consistent nature of the struggle to overcome American petty apartheid. One such pragmatic yet controversial leader, prominent in the 1930s and '40s, was Gordon B. Hancock. While a professor at Virginia Union University and pastor of Richmond’s Moore Street Baptist Church, Hancock became involved in a series of abrasive exchanges between both moderates and the political Left over the focus of the emerging mass movement. Moderates sought to reduce the possibility of racial confrontation, but the Left argued that the crux of black people’s problems lay in a system of racial discrimination and class exploitation.

Attuned to the larger political realities of his day, Hancock followed a practical course, knowing when to advance and when to retreat, while always holding his goals in sharp focus. His efforts were aimed at attaining political and economic equality for black people without their surrender of cultural traditions. He understood that racial oppression and class exploitation threatened black people’s existence in America; however, he would frequently support programs



Gordon B. Hancock

that would ease the threat of racial confrontation.

One example is his advocacy of a black “informal” economy based on a triad of jobs, land ownership and purchasing power. The program would in effect provide a means of survival for blacks while expanding their role in the political system. It became the target of criticism because of Hancock’s failure to identify the exploitative relations of private capital within his black economy. Ira DeA. Reid, a black sociologist, accused Hancock of chauvinism; he argued that segregation restricted the flow of capital into the black community, thereby placing black entrepreneurs in the role of petty exploiters relying on segregated

markets. Hancock, in his usual practical fashion, replied that Reid’s assessment was correct, but that the survival of blacks required a measure of political expediency.

During the same period, Hancock and other black leaders worked in desperation with liberal whites to define the problems of Southern blacks and to project what steps must be taken to solve them. Perceiving the need for an effective joint organization, Hancock called a conference of Southern black leaders in Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942. The conference identified the problems confronting Southern blacks and placed liberal whites in a position which ensured their responding to racial segregation with a definitive statement. Whites reacted by organizing a conference in Atlanta. The result of these two separate conferences was the founding of the Southern Regional Council in 1944. Since its inception, SRC has carried out research on the racial, economic and social problems of the South through the support of public and private groups.

In *The Perils and Prospects of Southern Black Leadership*, Raymond Gavins synthesizes the major ideological currents among black leaders during the two decades prior to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. His use of interviews and access to extensive collections and documents on race relations and social conditions in the South could, however, have resulted in

a more thorough analysis of Southern black leadership and the relevance of their platforms to the problems that are endemic to the Southern plantation economy.

Blacks, as sharecroppers and tenant farmers, provided a disproportionate share of the unskilled labor in an unmechanized, agricultural economy. Whether they worked as nominally free wage laborers, agricultural workers or petty entrepreneurs, blacks could advance neither their social nor their economic positions to a level higher than that allowed by segregation.

Gavins' failure to provide an analysis of those social relations prevailing in the South makes it difficult to relate the role of black leaders to those conditions with which they were concerned. The book leaves an impression that matters crucial to the black community were debated in closed circles rather than across open lines of communication between the black community and their leaders.

On the whole though, the example Gavins provides in the person of Gordon B. Hancock broadens our knowledge of those lesser-known indi-

viduals who made solid contributions to the movement for black civil rights and to an awakening of the American consciousness. In understanding and accepting these traditions in American political life, we may reduce inevitable conflict to the level of reasoned, organized social planning that recognizes individual rights and identifies social responsibility. □

Burly R. Page is a graduate student in Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and has worked as an intern for the Southern Regional Council.

Sunspots

By Louie Crew. Lotus Press, 1976. 60 pp. \$3.50.

By John L. Natkie

"Sunspot: any of the temporarily cooler regions appearing as dark spots on the sun." (Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, 1975, pocket-size edition.)

Sunspots: 34 experiences which place the reader into a cool area of love and understanding, a way-station of poetic bliss much needed as we struggle through this maelstrom of bigotry and hatred which threatens to destroy our nation. (Life-size edition.)

For several weeks, I have struggled to review this first book of poetry by Dr. Louie Crew. Each time I would get set to write, Louie's thoughts and images symbolizing his struggle to attain freedom would ensnare my mind into the paradoxical sight of our two-faced nation. Half a dozen times I have thrown this collection down, and paced back and forth, with tears burning the edges of my vision.

Louie and I first met during January, 1975, when I was invited to join the Fort Valley Writers Association, an after-hours gathering of Southern writers and poets, which met bi-weekly at the Thomas Library. He had founded the group in 1973. Dr. Crew kept a low profile and allowed the unestablished writers and poets to give readings and preen their material before an audience of their peers. It was a time of self-conscious literary floundering, with hard critiquing sessions and Louie always saying the right word at the proper time to keep us struggling towards our personal aspirations.

It wasn't until a few years later that I learned that Dr. Crew is an accomplished editor, a playwright, a non-fiction writer, a fiction writer, a critic and a lecturer. Yet, there

is one obstacle that is restricting Dr. Louie Crew from attaining the stature he so justly deserves upon our literary scene. You see, Louie is gay. Queer as a seven dollar bill on Thursday. A faggot.

Lord, Last Spring

"That's when I stopped liking my body,
Wished I hadn't put all that time
Making it so male, so butch;
That's when baby,
I started peeping out,
Before my debut

Read him, honey!

That's when I first wanted to
be fucked. . ."

Sunspots is more than a collection of gay poems on the American homosexual experience. It is the love story of a gay inter-racial couple struggling in the Deep South to achieve the measures of freedom and privacy which are guaranteed them by the basic tenets of this nation. Louie, quite eloquently, is demanding his right to be, and his poetry emancipates the homosexual experience from the bigoted veils of fear which have shrouded his gender in madhouse myths for far too long.

Congratulations, to my favorite sock-sucking rhymester. Give 'em hell, Sweetheart! Don't stop until the whole nation screams. Screams that'll say: *Queers! For Christ's Sake* — which, by the way, is Louie's second collection, now looking for a publisher. □

John L. Natkie is serving time at Florida State Prison, Starke, Fla. A published poet, he edited the prison's magazine Starke Reality until it was banned.

Order Sunspots from Lotus Press, Box 21607, Detroit, MI 48221. 1980 will see the debut of Swish. 8\$/yr. (two issues); \$5 per issue. Write Louie Crew, Box 754, Stevens Point, WI 54481.

Up Against the Wall

*Up against the wall
hands high, feet wide
apart
move an inch and I'll bust
your heart
spread 'em nigger — you know
how it go
move your ass, ain't gonna
tell you no more
you ain't got no rights boy
you going to jail
one funny move
and you going to
hell!*

Talking Bad — Doing Nothing

*Principles
were dismissed
the rationals cursed
they talked about everything
but using guns
or kicking ass Che style
when it was over
the situation remained
the same
perhaps in a state of
hopelessness*

—Cleve Phillips, No. 011369
Raiford, Florida

Social Origins of the New South

By Jonathan Wiener. LSU Press, 1978. 247pp. \$14.95.

By Paul M. Pruitt

With the publication in 1954 of his *Origins of the New South*, C. Vann Woodward established the outlines of late nineteenth century Southern history for a generation of scholars. In brief, Woodward brilliantly maintained that following the Civil War, leadership of the regional Democratic Party passed from impoverished planters to hitherto submerged businessmen, lawyers and editors. By 1876, thanks to a state-by-state alliance of entrepreneurs, ex-Confederates and white terrorists, the South was "redeemed" from Republican rule. At the grass-roots level, meanwhile, socio-economic power was increasingly vested in the middle-class supply merchants who, through usurious advances and loans to needy white yeoman and propertyless freedmen, reduced both groups to serfdom. Such merchants were often thoroughly bourgeois, and yet the most successful of the storekeepers — like Faulkner's Will Varner — became landowners and planters by a steady process of foreclosure. As such, they were a cornerstone of a new patrician class, ironically called Bourbons, tied to industrialists and bankers by a common commercial outlook, and protected by the rhetoric of white supremacy and — supreme irony — the carefully appropriated aura of the Lost Cause.

With regard to the ideology of the New South's Bourbon class or the operation of the crop lien system, Woodward's interpretations have seldom been questioned. Still, it was inevitable that Woodward's work would be challenged and supplanted by that of younger historians. Judging, moreover, by Jonathan Wiener's *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1885*, the first steps toward revision have been taken by one who, respectful of Woodward's belief that "social conflict has lain at the root of Southern politics," has proceeded without rancor. A fine example of state history placed in a national framework, Wiener's *Social Origins* may signal the beginnings of a comprehensive re-evaluation of the New South.

Wiener views the Civil War as a crucial episode of "the nation's transformation to modern society." In crushing the power of the plantation South, a Republican coalition of

Northern businessmen and workers and Midwestern farmers assured that the future of the industrial North would be one of unlimited capitalistic enterprise. Yet in the South of cotton liens and sharecropping, Wiener notes, unrestrained capitalism never flourished. Despite the military triumph of the middle class, he says, it is plain that "the differences between postwar Southern society and the rest of the nation were differences in kind, not just in degree."

Seeking to understand how the compelling power of commercial society had been diverted and blunted, Wiener began a painstaking study of state and census records pertaining to Alabama's western Black Belt, a stronghold of the planter class. There he found that the one-time slaveholding oligarchy had not merely endured, but had prevailed: of the more than 200 men who made up the wealthiest 10 percent of the Black Belt landowners in 1860, 43 percent remained in that position in 1870. These figures compare favorably with persistence rates compiled for Alabama's "golden years," 1850-1860.

The continuing domination by the planter families can be explained by a variety of factors, including the

Confederate policy of granting military exemptions to substantial slaveowners; but socio-economic survival depended primarily upon the planters' ability to retain ownership of the land. This they were able to do because the Republican Party never carried out a policy of redistribution, despite limited wartime confiscation and land-purchase incentives in the Freedman's Bureau Bill of 1865. As a result, far from suffering the consequences of what Woodward called a "revolution in land titles," the Alabama planters held a decisive advantage in subsequent battles for control of cotton production.

At the close of the war, the freedmen were passionately determined to exercise their freedom, and the planters were equally insistent upon maintaining "discipline." Like quantitative historians Ransom and Sutch, Wiener believes that sharecropping, which grew out of these conflicting aims, was essentially a compromise which allowed for both liberty and supervision. Wiener follows the conventional view of sharecropping as economically regressive, but in assessing its social significance he draws upon the ideas of his Harvard professor, Barrington Moore. In *Social Origins of*

In summer of 1980, *Southern Exposure* will publish a special issue exploring the distinctive nature of "Growing Up Southern." The issue will chronicle the changes of cultural patterns over several generations — and the tension in the lives of many children today between mass American consumerism and the traditions of the pre-Sunbelt South.

We urge you to send in diaries, articles, scrapbooks, interviews, graphics and essays, as well as creative work by children. Because we have already begun to accumulate manuscripts dealing with Southern childhood in the past, we are especially interested in receiving material about (and from) children today. Ideally, material submitted should be triple-spaced, and accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope. Maximum article length: 3,000 to 5,000 words; shorter pieces accepted too. Copy deadline: January 1, 1980. Send to: GROWING UP SOUTHERN, P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

Growing Up Southern



Dictatorship and Democracy (1966), Moore describes the "capitalist road" as "a mutual development of productivity in agriculture and industry," presided over by a strong middle class. The "Prussian road," on the other hand, is a structure which preserves "the authoritarian . . . element of traditional social relations." In Wiener's view, the post-bellum planters chose the Prussian, authoritarian road. Out of the turmoil of Reconstruction emerged a system by which production could be resumed and the social values of the plantation left intact — providing, of course, that the planters could vanquish the true capitalists who, in the 1860s, were invading their world by the dozen.

With surprising facility, Wiener found, the landed gentry began to advance supplies to tenants, thus fighting the merchants' fire with fire. However, the Republican lien law of 1866 made no distinction between planter-businessmen and full-time supply merchants, which gave the latter, with superior access to credit, a

practical advantage. The 1866 statute remained in effect for four years, while the planters fought to gain agricultural and political hegemony.

Persistently, with no awareness of self-contradiction, such Bourbon journals as the *Montgomery Advertiser* denounced the mercenary instincts of the bourgeoisie while demanding that the "true" leaders of society retain exclusive right to deal with the freedmen. Acting more directly, Klansmen worked to break up relations between sharecroppers and merchants. Finally, the Democratic legislature of 1870 passed a measure which specifically granted landlords a first lien for supplies advanced. With this master stroke, merchant capital began flowing steadily to North Alabama, where land-owning small farmers were hungry for credit. The rejuvenated planter class was increasingly sure of its power; and in the hills, middle-class storekeepers gradually undermined the independence of the white yeomanry — a sort of consolation prize.

By the 1880s, the average Alabam-

ian's life was dominated by one of these two oligarchies: planter-merchants in the South and merchant-landlords in the North. Wiener errs when he assumes that the two oligarchies remained fundamentally hostile even after the Democratic "redemption" of 1874. In actuality, the downfall of the state GOP forced hill country businessmen to align themselves with the Bourbon Democracy, as did Birmingham promoters, doomed to an endless losing struggle against the conservative agrarianism of Black Belt politicians.

Nonetheless, the shortcomings of *Social Origins* are minor compared to Wiener's accomplishment. With clarity and forceful good taste, Wiener has shown that in Alabama, the New South was no flawed replica of Gilded Age America. Rather, it was the creation of a strong-willed, ruthless class which Faulkner fittingly called "the unvanquished." □

Paul Pruitt teaches history at the Episcopal School of Acadiana in Lafayette, Louisiana.

BOOKS on the SOUTH

This list consists of books published since May, 1979. Book entries include works up to November, 1979. All books were published in 1979. Dissertations appeared in the Dissertation Abstracts Index during June, 1979 — July, 1979.

The entries are grouped under several broad categories for your convenience. Mention of a book here does not preclude its being reviewed in a future issue. Unsolicited reviews of publications of general interest to our readers are welcome. Recent works are preferred.

Copies of the dissertations are available from: Xerox University Microfilms, Dissertation Copies, P.O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. The cost is \$7.50 for microfilm and \$15 for xerographic.

ECONOMICS, HISTORY AND POLITICS

Abstracts of Vital Records From Raleigh, North Carolina, Newspapers, 1799-1819, by Lois S. Neal (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co.). \$35.00.

Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War, by Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press). \$22.50.

"An Analysis of Vertical Market Structures in Southern Timber Markets," by Louis Welsh Eckstein, Jr. University of Georgia, 1979.

"Anvil of the Revolution: The Making

of Radical Louisiana, 1862-1877," by Ted Tunnell. University of California, Berkeley, 1978.

Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era: Liberalism and Race, by John B. Kirby (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press). Price not set.

Black Social Thought: From Reconstruction to the Pan African Congress of 1921, by William Toll (Philadelphia: Temple University Press). Price not set.

Civil War Tennessee: Battles and Leaders, by Thomas L. Connelly (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press). \$8.50.

Company Shops, North Carolina: The Town Built By A Railroad, by Durwood T. Stokes (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Pub.). \$12.95.

Cry Comanche: Second U.S. Cavalry in Texas, 1855-1861, by Harold B. Simpson (Hillsboro, TX: Hill Junior College Press). \$12.00.

Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s, by Donald Worster (Fair Lawn, NJ: Oxford University Press). \$14.95.

"Economy and Society in Early Georgia: A Functional Analysis of the Colony's Origins and Evolutions," by Donna Marie Rabac. University of Michigan, 1978.

"Eighteenth-Century Beaufort: A Study of South Carolina's Southern Parishes to 1800," by Lawrence Sanders Rowland. University of South Carolina, 1978.

"An Evaluation of the Earnings Effects of CETA in Title I in South Carolina," by Robert B. Garey. University of South Carolina, 1978.

"Grain and Flour in Eastern Virginia, 1800-1860," by T. Allan Comp. University of Delaware, 1978.

The Grave of John Wesley Hardin: Three Essays on Grassroots History, by C. L.

Sonnichsen (College Station: Texas A&M University Press). \$6.50.

The Howling of the Coyotes: Reconstruction Efforts to Divide Texas, by Ernest Wallace (College Station: Texas A&M University Press). \$15.95.

The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860, by John M. McCordell, Jr. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co.). \$16.95.

"The Impact of Civil Rights Policies on Achieving Racial and Sexual Income Equality, 1954-1976," by Richard J. Hardy. University of Iowa, 1978.

Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America, by Ronald T. Takaki (Westminster, MD: A. A. Knopf). \$15.95.

"Labor Skill Composition, Elasticities of Substitution, and Industrial Migration: The Case of Cotton Textiles," by James Robert Rook. North Carolina State University, 1979.

"The National Association of Colored Women, 1896-1920," by Tullia Kay Brown Hamilton. Emory University, 1978.

Paths of the Past: Tennessee, 1770-1970, by Paul H. Bergeron (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press). \$8.50.

"The Political Structure of Charter Revision Movements in Atlanta During the Progressive Era," by Willie Miller Bolden. Emory University, 1978.

The Politics of Soft Coal: The Bituminous Industry From World War I Through the New Deal, by James P. Johnson (Champaign: University of Illinois Press). \$16.50.

"The Rise of the Modern American Negro Press, 1880 to 1914," by Betty Lou Kilbert Rathbun. SUNY-Buffalo, 1979.

Shadow of the Plantation, by Charles S. Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). \$9.50.

Popular Influence Upon Public Policy: Petitioning in Eighteenth-Century Virginia, by Raymond C. Bailey (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press). \$18.95.

"The South Carolina Judiciary, 1669-1769," by Rayford Boles Taylor. University of Georgia, 1978.

Southern Commercial 1837 to 1859, by Herbert Wender (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press). Reprint of 1930 edition. \$19.50.

"Southern Congressional Politics: Change and Continuity Since the 1965 Voting Rights Act," by Larry White. Yale University, 1978.

Tennessee Valley Authority: In Their Own Words, ed. by Charles W. Crawford (Memphis: Memphis State University Press). \$12.95.

Texas Metropolitan Area Profiles, by Charles P. Zlatkovich et al (Austin: University of Texas Bureau of Business Research). \$4.00.

To Set the Law in Motion: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Legal Rights of Blacks, 1865-1868, by Donald G. Nieman (Millwood, NY: KTO Press). \$19.95.

Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South, by Dickson D. Bruce (Austin: University of Texas Press). \$16.95.

"Wealthy Planter Families in Nineteenth-Century Alabama," by Ann Williams Boucher. University of Connecticut, 1978.

Writing North Carolina History, ed. by Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press). \$17.50.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

"The Advocacies and Ideological Commitments of A Black Educator: Mary McLeod Bethune, 1875-1955," by Barbara Grant Blackwell. University of Connecticut, 1979.

"Black Woman Activist in Twentieth Century South Carolina: Modjeska Monteith Simkins," by Barbara Woods Aba-Mecha. Emory University, 1978.

Correspondence of James Knox Polk, ed. by Wayne Cutler et al (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press). \$25.00.

"Depression Era Extremists: A Study of Three Demagogues and Their Tactics," by Michael Wickham Bouton. Illinois State University, 1978.

Explorers of Tennessee, ed. by William Windham (Memphis: Memphis State University Press). \$11.95.

Frank Porter Graham: A Southern Liberal, by Warren Ashby (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Pub.). \$14.95.

"Ida B. Wells-Barnett: An Exploratory Study of an American Black Woman, 1893-1930," by Mildred Thompson. George Washington University, 1979.

Jimmie Rodgers: The Life and Times of America's Blue Yodeler, by Nolan Porterfield (Champaign: University of Illinois Press). \$10.00.

"King Cotton's Advocate: The Public and Private Career of Oscar G. Johnston," by Lawrence John Nelson. University of Missouri-Columbia, 1972.

Lucy Breckinridge of Grove Hill: The Journal of a Virginia Girl, ed. by Mary Robertson (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press). \$14.00.

Major Black Religious Leaders Since 1940, by Henry J. Young (Nashville: Abingdon Press). \$5.95.

A Mississippi Painter: The Memoirs of Karl Wolfe, ed. by Clyde N. Wilson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press). \$27.50.

"Two Warring Ideals: The Dialectical Thought of W. E. B. DuBois," by Keith Eldon Byerman. Purdue University, 1978.

The Presidency of Andrew Johnson, by Albert Castel (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas). \$15.00.

"With Flaming Sword: The Reactionary Rhetoric of Thomas Dixon," by Stephen Joseph Karina. University of Georgia, 1978.

EDUCATION

"A Case Study of Desegregation in the Public Schools of High Point, North Carolina: 1954-1972," by Carolyn Wagar Mackey. Kent State University, 1978.

"Dramatic Activities and Workers' Education at Highlander Folk School, 1932-1942," by Anne W. Petty. Bowling Green State University, 1979.

"Epperson v. Arkansas. A Question of Control Over Curriculum and Instruction Decision Making in the Public Schools," by John William Keienberg III. Texas A&M University, 1978.

From Brown to Boston: Desegregation in Education, 1954-1974, two vols., by Leon Jones (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press). \$69.50.

"Perceptions of the Capability of Elizabeth City State University to Meet Student Needs as a Part of the University System of North Carolina," by Floyd L. Robinson. George Washington University, 1979.

Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment, by Elizabeth Jacoway (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press). \$22.50.

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

"Aspects of Verb Usage in Appalachian Speech," by Donna Marie Christian. Georgetown University, 1978.

Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966-1979, ed. by Gayrand S. Wilmore and James H. Cone (Mary Knoll, NY: Orbis Books). \$12.95.

Catalogue of the South, ed. by Karen Irons and Mary J. Haddon (Birmingham, AL: Oxmoor House). \$7.95.

Jazz: A Photo History, by Joachim-Ernst Berendt (New York: Schirmer Books). \$30.00.

"Johnny Reb in Perspective: The Confederate Soldier's Image in the Southern Arts," by Guy Stephen Davis. Emory University, 1979.

Lost Highway, by Peter Guralnick (Boston: David R. Godine, Pub.). \$6.95.

Old Memphis: A Documentary View, by Daniel A. Yanchisin and Oscar J. Norris (Memphis: Memphis State University Press). \$11.95.

The Ozarks: Life and Land, by Milton D. Rafferty (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press). \$14.95.

People of the Bayou: Lost America in

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A Personal Country, by A. C. Greene (College Station: Texas A&M University Press). \$12.95.

"Practitioner and Patient: The Practice of Medicine in Eighteenth-Century South Carolina," by Diane Meredith Sydenham. Johns Hopkins University, 1979.

Segments of Southern Thought, by Edd W. Parks (Great Neck, NY: CORE Collection Books). Reprint of 1938 edition. \$29.15.

The Storyteller's Nashville, by Tom T. Hall (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc.). \$9.95.

The Texas Gulf Coast: Interpretations by Nine Artists, by Leon Hale and Annintro Holmes (College Station: Texas A&M University Press). \$29.95.

Those Bold and Beautiful Country Girls: An Illustrated Tribute to the History of Country Music, by Michael Kasser (New York: Mayflower Books). \$6.95.

The University of Texas: A Pictorial Account of Its First Century, ed. by Margaret C. Berry and Joe B. Frantz (Austin: University of Texas Press). \$25.00.

LITERATURE IN THE SOUTH

"The Bacchae of Jean Toomer," by Ronald Davis. Emory University, 1978.

"Comedy in Faulkner's Fiction," by Elizabeth Troy Haynes. Syracuse University, 1978.

"A Fable of the Invincible Dust: Faulkner's Vision of Man in A Fable," by Chung-Hei Kim Yun. Syracuse University, 1978.

Highlights of the Nashville Theater, 1876-1890, by Lewis S. Maiden (New York: Vantage Press). Price not set.

"The Integrative Vision: Ritual Action in the Novels of William Styron," by Elaine Amanda Palm. University of Rhode Island, 1978.

"Opposition to Secular Humanism in the Fiction of Flannery O'Connor and Walker Percy," by William Henry Fox. Emory University, 1978.

"Phil Stone of Yoknapatawpha," by Susan Snell. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1978.

The Poetry of William Gilmore Simms: An Introduction and Bibliography, by James E. Kibler, Jr. (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co.). \$32.50.

"The Redeeming Form: Tradition in Ransom, Davidson, Tate, Lytle and Warren," by Daniel Boone Ahlport. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1978.

"Reflections of the Artist in Eudora Welty's Fiction," by Rachel Victoria Weiner. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1978.

"Seeing, and Seeing Again: Self-Discovery in the Plays of Lillian Hellman," by Frances Rowena Morrison. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1978.

The Theatre of Black Americans, Vol. I, ed. by Errol Hill (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall). \$9.95.

Voices of Change: Southern Pulitzer Winners, by Maurine H. Beasley and Richard R. Harlow (Washington: University Press of America). \$7.95.

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