

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

A Quarterly of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights



Summer 1968



BLACK BELT, ALABAMA
The Negro in the Rural South

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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Tenants Save Their Community

TENANTS OF black ghetto housing in Harvey, Ill., have saved their community from deteriorating into a morbid slum. This act of rescue came not by chance nor easily. In fact, it required precedent setting negotiations for them to secure their rights as renters with their landlord, an agency of the Federal Government.

In September 1967, the first bargaining agreement between a tenants' organization and a government agency as the landlord was signed in Harvey. The tenants' group is the Coronet Village Improvement Association (CVIA); the Federal agency, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC).

The agreement recognized the CVIA as the representative of the member-tenants over all conditions of tenancy. Its provisions set forth a wide range of tenant rights—from building code enforcement, maintenance of utilities, decorating, to garbage collection, extermination service, landscaping, and snow removal. The agreement reduced and equalized rents

among the tenants and provided grace periods for welfare recipients who fall behind in their rent due to circumstances beyond their control.

The responsibilities of tenants for maintaining their households in an orderly condition were also spelled out contractually. A grievance machinery culminating in final and binding arbitration under the supervision of the American Arbitration Association was also established and included in the bargaining agreement.

A year-long series of sustained and determined efforts by the tenants culminated in the unprecedented agreement. Tenants waged a disciplined campaign of rent withholding and persevered in the face of threats of wholesale evictions. At the critical juncture in the tenants' drive, the cooperation of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights coupled with the willingness of key government officials to innovate, rather than merely ignore the tenants' demands, helped turn a potentially explosive situation into a new and constructive life for the community.

Coronet Village is an all-black community of at-

Children of Coronet Village enjoy their new front lawn.





tached townhouses and apartments. Approximately 110 families live in this segregated development of about a half dozen blocks.

The Village began as part of a larger, all-white residential area. It was only one section of a quickly constructed complex of row houses and apartments covering a large section of Harvey during the post-war housing boom. However, the developers and subsequent owners of the Village ran into a continuous series of financial difficulties. The savings and loan institution holding the bulk of the mortgages on the property in turn became insolvent.

As financial troubles increased for the Village in the 50's, services provided by successive real estate managing agencies decreased. During this period, the Village became "integrated". That is, whites began moving out and the property became available to black tenants.

By the early 60's the FSLIC was forced to take ownership of most of the Village property in order to protect the insured mortgages. Management services by this period had dwindled and become non-existent except for a haphazard garbage collection. The Village had become a black ghetto surrounded by well-managed and well-maintained all-white apartment buildings.

By the summer of 1966 the Village was rat and rodent infested; units had not been decorated during the memory of any of the residents; "lawns" were only piles of loose dirt that became dust clouds with every breeze; window sashes were rotted and broken

panes unreplaced; window and door screens were not provided by the landlord; major appliances and heating systems were completely unserviced; garbage was strewn over the area because of infrequent collection and inadequate containers.

The appearance of the Village, coupled with high tenant turnover, bred substantial rent delinquencies and security problems. The Village was largely ignored by the rest of the city. Street cleaning and snow removal were rare. Police patrolling and protection were sporadic. Occasional complaints by tenants to city officials concerning building conditions received no significant response. Even the political parties thought so little of the Village that non-resident precinct captains made token visits only at the time of major elections.

The frustrations of the tenants began to crystalize into action by the summer of 1966. Initial contacts were made by a few of the residents with tenant union organizations in the Chicago area. They also sought the aid of labor union organizers and attorneys with expertise in the development of tenants' unions. The new partnerships of organizers and attorneys who had technical skills and tenants who had the desire to improve their conditions through personal, direct action, clicked. Through the fall of 1966 and the winter of 1967, the tenants' organization grew and a strategy began to develop. During the winter, written communications were sent to the real estate management agency which FSLIC had engaged to meet with the tenants' organization for discussions and negotiations

over the conditions and management of the Village.

As had been anticipated, the attempts to meet with the agency were futile. When the days began to warm again in 1967, the group was ready for direct action. Tenants began withholding rents in an effort to force recognition of the tenants' organization and bargaining agreement with the FSLIC.

Management responded to the rent withholding by initiating eviction proceedings against the tenant leaders. This did not stop the movement. The tenants' attorneys countered the eviction notices with equitable and constitutional defense suits of their own. The threat of evictions soon receded. By now, the tenants' organization was committed to the principle that their fight could not be resolved without official recognition and a contract with management.

At this point, John McKnight, Director of the Midwest Field Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Chicago was requested by both parties to act as an intermediary between the tenants' representatives and FSLIC officials. As a result, the FSLIC offered to meet directly with tenants' representatives rather than through the private real estate firm managing the property. In response to this offer the tenants presented a complete contract proposal and stated that they were prepared to negotiate upon long-term issues related to the Village, not merely for short-term solutions to individual grievances. Representatives of the Commission on Civil Rights participated in the face-to-face discussions, again only in an intermediary capacity.

Tension between the tenants and their government-landlord that marked the first confrontation began to ease when FSLIC spokesmen announced that the FSLIC was not opposed to the principle of recognition of the tenants' organization or the bargaining agreement concept. Negotiating teams were then arranged to participate in the painstaking effort of developing the contract details. The national director of FSLIC, Gerald Worthy, came from Washington to act as chief negotiator for his agency.

During the course of the negotiations, FSLIC agreed to delay eviction proceedings although the rent withholding continued for the extent of the bargaining period. After a month of these sessions, an agreement was drawn up for the consideration of both parties. Approval of the agreement by the entire tenants' organization and by the governing board of the FSLIC

followed quickly. In effect, the Federal Government had decided to share power with a people's organization. Also, a condition of tremendous conflict between the residents and city authorities had been alleviated and a potentially violent civil disturbance had been defused through a direct confrontation with the issues by the people and government.

Since the signing of the contract last fall, the changes in the Village would be hard to believe unless one had been involved in their historic, step-by-step development. All of the housing units have been completely redecorated, street litter is negligible, heating systems are in order, vermin are under control. In short, the area has become a livable and attractive place.

Meanwhile, the tenants' organization has remained a vital and functioning representative of the residents. Meetings between the tenants' group and Harvey city officials have produced responsive and courteous police protection, new street lighting, street cleaning, and snow removal. A resident caretaker now lives in one of the Village's townhouses whereas in the past the management offices had been located in an entirely different section of town, away from the Village.

After further discussions with the FSLIC, a large, unusable tract of land behind the Village site has been ceded by FSLIC to the CVIA which in turn has ceded it to the city for the development of a recreation park. FSLIC agreed to clear the weed and insect infested area as the first step in providing a playground where there had been no play areas for the children of the Village. In recognition of the significant role played by Mr. Worthy, who recently died, the membership of the tenants' group is considering naming the park in his memory.

There are other side effects of the new agreement. Crime in and around the project has become a minor element. Rent delinquencies are so insignificant that even with the rent reductions obtained by the tenants and improvement by FSLIC, the net financial return to the landlord has increased.

The story of Coronet Village speaks for itself: The fusion of community self-determination with landlord and governmental response, abetted by technical and professional assistance can have dramatic effects in improving the quality of life in communities which have become traps of physical and social decay. □

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THE SCHOOL TEXTBOOK, whether on the elementary high school, or college level, is the time-honored bulwark of the learning process. It would be difficult to dispute this fact, notwithstanding the emergence of a host of new multi-media technological devices. The authoritative position of the textbook seems assured for our time at least.

As a logical conclusion of this position, one has a right to determine that the ideas and information contained in textbooks which are used by the student during his period of learning, certainly influence his mind,

Textbook Distortion of the Indian

bending him spiritually and mentally in a definite ideological direction.

A group of Indian scholars and native historians, members of the American Indian Historical Society, had this in mind when they began a general, independent evaluation of the textbooks in social sciences as they treat the role of the American Indian in the history of the United States. This study is now three years in the process and is continuing. In the course of the study, the Society met with and obtained the full cooperation of Dr. Max Rafferty, California State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and his assistant, J. Graham Sullivan, now Deputy Commissioner of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare at Washington, D.C.

After preliminary meetings, the Indian Society set out to evaluate, more specifically, the textbooks in California's elementary and junior high schools. (Books used in other States will be evaluated later.)

Textbooks in current use, as well as those being considered for State adoption, were carefully studied by a committee of eleven Indian members. Four reports were made to the State Curriculum Commission, and a final report was made to the State Board of Education. At Doctor Rafferty's request, a set of criteria were developed and presented to the commission, for its use in considering books for adoption in fourth grade

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history. It should be noted that the State of California is unique among all other State educational systems, in that it adopts books on the State level, which all districts must use in curriculum. It should also be noted that practically all the books which are offered to the State of California for adoption are also made available for adoption to all other school districts of all other States in the Nation.

The conclusions reached by the Indian Historical Society after evaluating 43 textbooks submitted and in use, in fourth, fifth, and eighth grades, were summed up in a statement to the Curriculum Commission:

The American Indian is barely mentioned in connection with the Colonial period of American history.

The American Indian's contribution to the economy of the Nation and the world are barely mentioned, if at all.

The history of the Indian in the Gold Rush is either not mentioned at all, or is distorted.

The history of the American Indian during the Mission period of California history is misinterpreted.

The description of the relationship between the Federal Government and the Indians is distorted; there is no effort to create an understanding of the current situation. With nearly complete unanimity, this Federal-Indian relationship is given in almost the same phraseology in all the books. It would appear that the information was mimeographed in Washington, D.C., and then utilized whole-hog by the textbook writers. It seems, indeed, that current history as to the American Indian is being written by government administrators and not by scholars. This is not to the discredit of either the government administrators or the textbook writers. On the one hand, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is constantly being asked for source material, which they have hardly the staff or the time to prepare and update. On the other hand, textbook writers have usually been able merely to skim the surface of original sources. One who has the ability to write textbooks, and also incorporate the complex materials required in connection with such a subject is rare indeed. However, the Society questioned the desirability or advisability of utilizing governmental agencies in determining material for textbooks. If this were done consistently in all areas of textbook writing, the American student would soon be faced with "official" history, "official" determinations of what ought to be taught. What would happen to scholarly thought cannot be contemplated without a sense of sadness and futility.

Treaties with the Indian tribes are not mentioned and at best are passed off lightly as of no account. The

true condition of the reservation Indians is completely ignored, or misinterpreted. The current economic situation of the Indian is ignored. If mentioned, it is all one rosy picture of wealth and progress.

"The textbooks are inaccurate," was the final generous determination made by the Indian Society. This evaluation has an excessively bland texture in the minds of most people. But in the mind of the Indian it is one of the strongest condemnations that can be made of instructional materials. If the printed word can be "inaccurate" in any area, how can one believe anything else that is written in that particular book?

The Society stated further: "We do not appear in

this matter as one more complaining minority, but rather as a great race of native Americans, fully conscious that within our history and in the heart of our culture reside the true beginnings of our democratic nation."

The issue, as presented by the Indians, was one concerning pedagogy, involving the whole philosophy of the approach to history as a subject for learning. It was not considered in the light of lending more or less emphasis to the history of any special minority or any particular racial group. The question was raised: What is the effect upon the teacher who must utilize instructional materials which life itself proves to be



After Wounded Knee, 1890. Sitting Bull, the great leader and organizer, had been coldly murdered by the authorities. Frightened, hungry, ragged, desperate groups of Sioux fled the reservations. One large group was gathered up and surrendered, to be slaughtered, men, women and children, by soldiers' rifles, artillery, and bayonets, their tents destroyed, their bodies plundered. This picture (Smithsonian Institution) is drawn from a photograph; the photographer placed his camera where dead women and children would not show—or the

copyist corrected his error. It is typical of white men's thinking of the time that when General Custer and his cavalry were wiped out because they attacked superior numbers, it was called "The Custer Massacre," but when these Sioux with their women and children were murdered in their tents, it was called "The Battle of Wounded Knee." (From A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Oliver La Farge. ©1956 by Oliver La Farge and Crown Publishers, Inc. Used by permission of Crown Publishers, Inc.)

inaccurate, distorted? What is the effect upon the student, when he learns from his textbooks that one race and one alone, is the most, the best, the greatest; when he learns that Indians were mere parts of the landscape and wilderness which had to be cleared out to make way for the great "movement" of white population across the land; and when he learns that Indians were killed and forcibly removed from their ancient homelands to make way for adventurers (usually called "pioneering goldminers"), for land grabbers (usually called "settlers"), and for illegal squatters on Indian-owned land (usually called "frontiersmen")? What is the effect upon the young Indian himself, who is also a student in the school system, when he is told that Columbus discovered America, that Coronado brought "civilization" to the Indian people, and that the Spanish missionaries provided havens of refuge for the Indian? Is it reasonable to assume that the student of whatever race, will not discover at some time in his life that Indians discovered America thousands of years before Columbus set out upon his voyage; that Coronado brought death and destruction to the native peoples; and that the Spanish missions, in all too many cases, forcibly dragged Indians to the missions?

No member of the commission or the Board of Education attempted to answer these questions. There appeared to be general acceptance of the Indians' textbook evaluations. There was also general agreement that the matter was of grave concern to the teaching profession as a whole, as to curriculum development and the development of new textbook material.

But the "meat" of the matter was a different thing entirely. When the critiques of specific books were made known, a general cry of distress was heard from three quarters: from descendants of gold miners who began to telephone school administrators and State legislators in outraged protest; from the chairman of the Conference of California Historical Societies, who issued a general pronouncement opposing the proposed criteria, and from one priest.

Here are some of the specific criticisms made of certain textbooks, only a few among the total number of 43 that were evaluated:

"The Story of American Freedom," a basic textbook in fifth grade history: When dealing with Indians this book handles the subject as though discussing a fossil. It is at best a superficial treatment of the Indians in our history. No Indian tribes are mentioned. The treatment is one of extensive generalization. On page 130, it is stated: "Settlers had gone beyond the Appalachians. The Indians made war upon them. The

President had to see that the settlers were protected." Seven additional passages were quoted, indicating that history was being written on behalf of and from the point of view of a particular dominant race. The authors were queried: Is it true that the Indians made war upon the settlers? Or is it rather true that the settlers had seized Indian land, destroyed Indian hunting grounds and homesites, and were forcing the Indians to defend themselves against further encroachment and even to defend their very lives? Did the President not have a duty to protect the Indians as well?

"California, Our State Today," a basic text for fourth grade, was found to be entirely lacking in any consideration of the Indian in the State's history: The book discusses the Jewish synagogues, Negroes, Spaniards, and Mexicans. But not the Indian. Even the missions are briefly described. But the writer of this book is capable of treating the missions without even mentioning the Indians who peopled them, built them, worked for the padres and the Spaniards, and gave up their land for them.

"The Story of Our Country," basic fifth grade history, contains this statement: "How do we know about the Indians? We know . . . from the books that white men wrote when they first came to America . . . They described the weapons and tools that the Indians made, and everything that seemed interesting and strange." There are many Indians today who know their history, who have written books, given authentic history to eminent scholars who have written and translated and understood Indian life, languages, and culture. On page 112, it is stated: "Settling in towns helped the people of Massachusetts. They could more easily defend themselves against Indian attacks than if settlers lived far apart." It is a fact that the colonists seized and confiscated Indian-owned land, with the exception of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania—that the first clearing was made by digging up Indian cornfields containing a full winter's supply of food. Should not the defense of Indians against white colonizing encroachment be described? On page 279 of the same book: "In order for the cattlemen and their families to live safely, the Indian tribes that ruled the Plains had to be defeated." In fact, the cattlemen continually demanded further expansion. Further expansion could occur with the taking of Indian lands, which the United States Government had promised would belong to the Indians "forever." So the cattlemen engaged in an illegal and unconscionable war against the Indian tribes of the Plains, who were forced to defend themselves as best they could. The enforced removal of Indian tribes

from one area to another, pushing them into smaller and more miserable bits and parcels of isolated lands, was an open violation of treaties, agreements, and sworn promises. To state that all this was done in the name of "progress," is a failure to note the extraordinary efforts and the willingness of the tribes to learn new ways, to farm whenever possible, to speak the alien languages, to abide by the alien laws. It was the insatiable demand for more land that forced the removals, the murders, the destruction of Indian life.

"Westward the Nation," states on page 118: "In 1846, there were approximately only 700 Americans in California." There is complete ignorance being fostered in this textbook. It is a fact that in 1846, in California, there were approximately 75,000 people in the State, of which about 700 were Americans, about 900 were Spanish, Mexican and Negroes; and the rest were Indians. On page 121: "The gold rush was a wild, exciting period. Men poured across the rivers, up over the steep, jagged snowy mountains, and through the burning, waterless deserts. Nothing stopped them—not sickness, death, wild animals, or savage Indians." Is it indeed proper and moral to make heroes and pioneers of the goldminers, who seized Indian land, killed whole bands and families, ruthlessly taking what they wanted? Is it moral to describe the Indians as "savages"? The California Indians were the most peace-loving, friendly people on the continent. They were complete, complex human beings, with a complex society and a complex economy suitable for their period of human existence and their environment at the time they were encountered by the Spaniards.

"This Is Our Land," fifth grade supplementary, states: "Today the Indians go to school, join the Army, live where they please. They are no longer the forgotten Americans. They are just like all the other citizens of the United States: Americans." This is an extraordinary over-simplification of one of the most complex problems in American jurisprudence and political life today. It is true, today the Indians are citizens and can vote. But their relations with the Federal Government make them a special section of the population. Their lands are controlled by Federal regulation. They cannot use tribal funds without the consent of Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Their lives as Tribes are controlled by the Code of Federal Regulations, Title 25 (Indians) which in many instances abrogates the civil, political, and personal liberties accorded other sections of the population under the Constitution of the United States. They are

governed by a "Department" of the United States Government. There is no doubt that changes are coming, but there is still the idea that Indians are the recipients of "handouts," receiving per capita payments from Uncle Sam regularly. It is not known, and certainly it is not revealed in the textbooks, that such per capita payments if and when made, are doled out by a well-meaning government to Indians who have tribal rights, out of funds belonging to them, produced from their land and their resources.

"Negro American Heritage," fifth and eighth grade supplementary, states on page 44: "The Battle of Little Big Horn, better known as 'Custer's Last Stand,' lasted only twenty minutes with General Custer and his army being massacred by the Sioux Indians under Crazy Horse." Now this particular book is part of a new series, presumably seeking to remedy the distortions and misinterpretations practiced in the textbooks as to the treatment of minorities in the books. One has a right to expect that such distortions would be avoided. But it is a distasteful fact of life, that even the more progressive writers of textbooks have fallen into the same old ideological format. One might ask: Why is a victory a "massacre" when your opponent wins, and a heroic feat when you yourself win? The Sioux are placed in the position of being aggressors, when in fact they were defenders of their lands and their families. The truth about Custer is not revealed nor even indicated. Material exists in profusion that he was an aggressor, a killer of Indian children, a marauder upon Indian-owned lands.

Why is it necessary to "angle" history, to distort facts, to neglect the truth, or to ignore the very existence of a people whose help made possible the survival and ultimate prosperity of an alien race of white people, who came ostensibly to live in peace and lived at last to conquer by force and violence?

A dedication in a supplementary book, "Stories California Indians Told," carries this brief but "touching" (!) statement: "For all boys and girls who like Indians and animals." It is a fair observation that any Indian who reads such a dedication, if he has any knowledge whatever of his heritage, will be grossly insulted. The California Indians were, and let it be known in resolutions and letters to the publisher.

The above quotations and citations are only a few of the practical evaluations made in the 26-page report to the California State Board of Education. They suffice to give the picture, for there was not one book in all 43 which was free from inaccuracies. A further evaluation of books adopted in certain local school districts was made, since California State law requires

that local districts study the history of their area and provide a textbook in connection with this study. What was found in the "local" histories was infinitely worse than what was criticized in the State-adopted textbooks.

The American Indian Historical Society realizes full well the immensity of the task that is here involved. Among the leaders and members of the Society there are teachers who happen to be Indians, professors and scholars who happen to be Indians, resource native historians who have worked long and unselfishly with linguists and anthropologists and archaeologists to reveal all the truths about their tribes. The Society, faced with this mass of negative criticism rather than positive contributions, has published numerous documents, bibliographies, guides for teachers, and suggestions as to utilization of better materials.

What can we teach the child, when we teach him the truth about Indian history? What can we add to the basic understanding of the child, in terms of fundamental scholarship, when we teach him the unvarnished facts of the relationship between the Federal Government and the American Indian? And what can we add to the stature of the child as a future citizen, when we teach him the truth about the present situation of the Indian in our society? The answers come in these words:

We can give the child a deeper appreciation of the fact that mankind grows, makes mistakes, tries to correct them, and step by stumbling step, Man reaches for understanding, knowledge, and a better way of life.

We can teach the young student to understand other peoples, other cultures, other races. And first of all we teach him to understand the people, the culture, and the race which is entirely native to this land of ours. In this way we can strike a blow at prejudice more powerfully than any picket line.

We can give the child the proud and unique heritage which belongs to the history of the American Indian. These, among others, are some of the things which the Indian has contributed to the Nation and the world: the uses of plants, trees, the soil, protection of forests, and conservation. Among many other contributions made by the Indians are the use of potatoes, corn, beans, squash, tobacco, cotton, pumpkins, chocolate, tomatoes, peanuts, strawberries, avocados, Jerusalem artichokes, tapioca, quinine, maple syrup, chicle, vanilla, cashew nuts, pepper, cocaine, arrowroot, chewing gum, pecans, as well as the hammock, the canoe, snowshoes, moccasins, the uses of the sweat house.

We can learn much from the Indian philosophy of human relations, the uses of medicinal plants, the ability to live with nature, the habits of bodily health, the discipline of family life, the respect for one's elders, and the intense love for one's historic past.

The whole history of man is a history of small beginnings, of error and correction of error, of progress and regression. In studying the history of the American Indians, who made such slow but tremendous progress, within their own culture, in conditions of such simple environmental influences, we study the history of mankind. In teaching these things, we teach the child that the history of mankind through the ages is the broadest and most generous understanding of human relations that he can have. He might learn that Man must live with nature even with a porcelain bathtub in his house, and that all mankind has had the small, tortuous, and slow beginnings, in one form or another, through the ages—no matter what his race. □

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Political Participation

THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION report of the Civil Rights Commission is another milestone in the Commission's long record of "telling it like it is." Just when most people were beginning to congratulate themselves on the huge success of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in taking discrimination out of the electoral process, along comes the Commission and knocks this complacent assumption into the proverbial cocked hat. The Commission's report on the civil rights health of our political system reads no better than "improving but still far from good".

The 1965 Voting Rights Act, following upon the demands of the civil rights groups for direct Federal registration of Negroes, has been a very real success in facilitating registration and voting. More than half the Negroes of voting age, the Commission reports, are now registered in every Southern State. Those who remember witnesses for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party telling the Credentials Committee of the 1964 Democratic National Convention that only 6 percent of the Negroes in Mississippi were registered, can rejoice in the fact that today the figure is 60 percent. And this increase in registration of Negroes in the Southern States has brought with it more Negroes elected to office and more recognition of Negro interests by political office holders generally.

But, as always in the civil rights field, the road ahead looms as long and as rocky as the road that has already been traveled. Precisely because Negro registration has been so successful, new roadblocks to political participation throughout the South have been thrown up at every available point. The Negro vote has been diluted by switching to at-large elections and by redrawing election district lines, thus diminishing the influence that would otherwise be drawn from concentrations of Negro voting strength. Negroes have been prevented from obtaining office by such stratagems as extending the incumbent's term, abolishing the office, raising filing fees, withholding information,

and the like. Negro poll watchers have been excluded from polling places and even out-and-out frauds against Negro candidates have not been unknown. While the worst offenders, of course, are the usual culprits of Mississippi and Alabama, the Commission's findings cover other Southern States as well.

It is in the area of participation within the Democratic and Republican Party structure that Negro progress has been most disappointing. Thus, the Commission reports that out of the approximately 1,700 persons who served on the State party executive committees in the 10 Southern States last year, only about 10 or less than .6 percent were Negroes. While the situation is undoubtedly somewhat better on some county party executive committees in some of these States, no Negro served on any county executive committee in Mississippi last year. Inclusion, not exclusion, may be the rule of the major political parties in most of the Nation, but it certainly has no application to Negroes in the old Confederacy.

The Civil Rights Commission put the blame for this deplorable state of affairs just where it belongs—upon the national political parties—and recommends stern action on their part. The Commission proposes that the national parties require their State organizations, as a precondition to the seating of delegations at the national conventions, to eliminate all vestiges of discrimination at every level of party activity, to publicize all meetings, procedures, and qualifications for office within the party, and to take affirmative steps to open activities to all party members regardless of race. In so doing, the Commission has proposed a new direction in party discipline over State units. Instead of insisting that delegations to the national conventions be integrated, which has been the area of conflict in the past, the Commission is saying that the State and local parties must themselves be integrated before their delegations can be seated at the convention.

In this respect, an analogy might be drawn to the recent struggle over representation at the forthcoming Olympic Games. Initially South Africa was to be received at the 1968 games as long as it sent an integrated delegation of athletes. Now, however, South African athletes are not to be accepted at all because of the apartheid policies at home. So here the Commission is saying that delegations from State political parties which discriminate against Negroes at home should not be admitted to the national conventions no matter how much they dress up their delegations to the conventions. And, of course, the Commission is right in its broad proposal. The State delegation to the national convention is only the part of the iceberg

that is above water. What really counts is what the party is doing back home and it belies any contention of racial integrity on the part of a national political party to recognize State organizations which discriminate against Negroes.

Actually, this is the position which the Democratic National Convention appears to have taken in 1964 as a result of the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. It will be recalled that the Freedom Party's challenge resulted in the ouster of the regular lily-white Mississippi delegation and the offer of seats to Aaron Henry and Rev. Ed King, two of the leaders of the Freedom Party delegation. But the challenge also evoked a change in the permanent rules of the Convention that State parties sending delegates to future Democratic conventions assure to all persons the right "to participate fully in party affairs" regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. Since the issue had arisen in the context of the color of the State delegation not of the State party, this pledge of full participation in party affairs may have been more by accident than design and it will be up to future conventions to decide.

Actually, however, mere exclusions of delegations sent by offending State parties is only the beginning. The thing that really matters is the filling of the seats of the excluded delegates with Negroes and their local white allies. Thus, the regular Mississippi delegates made it perfectly clear all over the Democratic National Convention in 1964 that they did not give a tinker's damn about what happened to them, but they were determined not to have their seats filled by the Freedom Party delegation. Indeed, it was reliably reported during that Convention struggle that Governors John A. Connally and Carl Sanders told President Lyndon B. Johnson that the other Southern delegations did not care about the exclusion of the regular Mississippi delegation, but they would all take a walk if the contesting Negroes were seated.

This is, of course, "practical" Southern politics. Exclusion from the national convention does not affect control of the local party; indeed, standing up to the national party has only too often been "good for home consumption." But if a rival group is seated and thus given recognition by the national party, this might indeed affect local party control back home. Who is included at the national convention may well be more important than who is excluded.

A step in the right direction was taken by the Special Equal Rights Committee of the Democratic National Committee last year. This Special Committee was appointed pursuant to the mandate of the 1964

Convention; its report, adopted by the Democratic National Committee, provides that if any State delegation is not "broadly representative of the Democrats of the State", their seats will be declared vacant and the Credentials Committee should "fill those seats with a delegation broadly representative of the Democrats of that State." Despite the fact that this pledge is couched in terms of the composition of the delegation not the actions of the State party, if the Democratic National Convention lives up to its pledge in Chicago in August, a very important step will have been taken toward reforming the State Democratic parties of the South.

Less is known about the plans of the Republican Party for their coming convention in Miami. There has, of course, been less attention over the years to the integrated or segregated nature of the delegations to the Republican national conventions coming from the States of the South. In part at least this flowed from the absence of a strong Republican Party in many Southern States. But now that this situation is changing, equal interest may soon be focused on this issue at Republican conventions. Roy Wilkins, Chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, recently addressed a letter to Republican Chairman Ray Bliss as well as Democratic Chairman John Bailey asking about their plans for the seating or unseating of delegations which do not adequately represent the black minority in their State parties. As of the time this article was being prepared, neither Chairman had responded despite the imposing strength of the Leadership Conference which represents more than 100 civil rights, labor, religious, civic, fraternal, and other organizations. No doubt neither Chairman has finally determined the course he and his party will follow this summer on this most touchy issue.

In the last analysis, political parties care about votes not issues, even issues as important as civil rights. Thus, if the Commission's report and recommendations are ever to be fully implemented, this can only flow from the pressure of those who feel themselves civil rights Democrats and those who feel themselves civil rights Republicans. The chance for adoption of the Commission's recommendations depends upon millions of party members letting their party leaders know that this is an issue with which they cannot safely trifle. □

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

Mr. Rauh, a prominent Washington, D.C., attorney, is a former chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action and currently serves as counsel for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Insurers Invest in the Ghetto

LET US CONSIDER first some of the problems of our core city areas that have recently become more acute: housing, unemployment, education, health, transportation, air and water pollution, public safety, fiscal difficulties, and racial conflicts."

The speaker is not a university professor lecturing on social problems.

"I don't have to explain to this audience the nature and seriousness of the problems of these various areas. Riots or no riots, this nation has a big job on its hands."

Nor is he a political candidate seeking support and votes or a community organizer calling for citizen action.

He concludes: "Together we are caught up in the middle of an economic and social revolution. . . . Solutions will not come easily; but we cannot, we dare not, and with the help of you gentlemen here, we will not fail."

The speaker is the chairman of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Gilbert W. Fitzhugh.

His audience is a national convention of mortgage bankers.

Fitzhugh was exhorting the bankers to become involved in a life insurance industry program designed to improve housing conditions and create jobs in the Nation's slums. Announced by life insurance officials at the White House in September 1967, the program is now supported by more than 150 life insurance companies that are pledging a total of \$1 billion dollars for mortgages in city core areas where such financing is not normally obtainable.

The rhetoric of social awareness and involvement is not new, but a monetary commitment from a major segment of the private economy is. The life insurance industry, after almost a year's experience, has learned something about the value and the limitations of such a commitment.

The idea and motives behind the billion dollar pro-

gram stemmed from a mixture of human sympathy and social awareness, concern for corporate image, and economic self-interest. Some top life insurance executives speak of the development of sympathy for Negroes and other minorities in city slums, while others frankly admit the public relations value of life insurance involvement in solving the Nation's urban crisis.

But the major impetus to the billion dollar program seems to be that life insurance companies see their economic base being threatened. As Blake Newton, Jr., president of the Institute of Life Insurance, put it, "Life companies are city institutions. They are located in cities. Their investments are in cities. They hire city people and insure millions of city dwellers. For all these reasons we must be concerned about the future of the Nation's urban centers."

There is no doubt that outbreaks of disorder and violence during the past few summers have prompted a growing realization of the profound problems in the cities. Urban violence has forced millions of Americans—life insurance officials among them—to recognize the menacing conditions of inner-city ghettos and to consider ways that blighted areas can be restored to useful, vital neighborhoods.

It is generally agreed that the man in the forefront of life insurance urban involvement was Orville Beal, president of the Prudential Life Insurance Company. Prudential's central offices are located on the edge of the Newark slums and its employees commute through the Newark ghetto daily. Prudential officials, like Fitzhugh, suggest that any person who doubts the need for social and financial action in the slums should merely inspect the ghetto areas of any city.

All questions of social justice and human sympathy aside, life insurance officials realize that something must be done—as a matter of sound business practice—to stop the deterioration of American cities. With the industry's heavy financial stake in cities in mind, movement toward concrete action began early in 1967 when the Institute of Life Insurance, the industry's public relations and advertising agency, called for the formation of a Joint Committee on Urban Problems by the Life Insurance Association of America (LIAA) and the American Life Convention (ALC). The Joint Committee was charged to develop ways in which "the industry can relate closer to social problems." Informal communication and exchange of ideas between insurance executives, urban specialists, and representatives of government had been arranged by the Institute, and had already begun.

The Joint Committee was headed by Metropolitan's Fitzhugh and included Orville Beal and representatives

of six other life insurance companies. The committee considered ways that the life insurance industry could prevent further deterioration of central cities. It concluded that "while jobs and education were top priority needs, the life insurance business was best qualified to make a contribution in the areas of housing and job-creating business." In July, the Joint Committee proposed that life insurance companies, on the basis of a pro rated share of assets, make available one billion dollars for investment in city core areas to improve housing and to finance job-creating enterprises. LIAA and ALC approved the proposal in August 1967.

In the meantime, representatives of the industry were discussing with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), particularly officials of FHA, how private money could be used in conjunction with Federal housing programs. Because of the high risk of slum investment, FHA mortgage insurance would be necessary in almost all cases to protect the private investments. HUD agreed to refer immediately all appropriate projects in need of financing to the Joint Committee, and further meetings were held to devise more formal procedures of cooperation.

Involvement in the ghetto was almost as new for FHA as it was for life insurance mortgage operations. FHA has traditionally ignored inner-city areas in favor of suburban development and the financing of existing housing in "stable" areas. During the housing boom which followed World War II, FHA recommended restrictive racial covenants in new housing developments. This emphasis on suburban building and a policy of condoning discrimination (until 1950) contributed to the deterioration of older areas and the minority concentration in the slums by limiting the mobility of minorities.

However, these were secondary consequences of FHA action; there was a more direct effect. FHA operated under a statutory requirement of economic soundness which mitigated against the relatively higher risk of mortgage insurance on older existing structures. Furthermore, FHA applied the requirement arbitrarily to any structure within specified areas of cities. It was common for insuring offices of FHA to have "red-lined" or "blacked-out" metropolitan maps designating the sections of the city automatically excluded from FHA services. No building or construction project within an excluded area was considered for FHA mortgage insurance, regardless of individual economic merits.

FHA exclusion of "red-lined" areas tended to eliminate conventional low down-payment, long-term mortgage financing in older areas of the city. Whatever

legitimate financing was available required high down-payments and was for short duration. In the worst areas, not even this financing was obtainable. The speculator, through such devices as the land contract and the lease-purchase agreement, often exploited the situation, driving land and building prices up. Exploitation often resulted in overuse of buildings, poor maintenance, deterioration. Most who could moved out. Minorities, having little alternative, stayed.

The result was today's urban ghetto, a complex of racial isolation, economic exploitation, commercial failure, absentee landlordism, crumbling buildings, depleted municipal services, high unemployment rates, social disorder, human frustration and despair.

Recently FHA has begun changing its policy and program as related to slums. It hasn't been easy. Racial ghettos are high risk areas, and though FHA's top officials are committed to that risk as necessary, Congress, which controls FHA's appropriations, has remained divided. In the midst of criticism from both sides, FHA began its change of policy in November 1965 with a Commissioner's Letter to its insuring offices.

The directive briefly reviewed the sequence of events that had created the ghetto and pointed out that FHA activity in these areas had been most recently confined to urban renewal activity. Seeking to establish general policies to guide FHA efforts in older neighborhoods, the letter issued general guidelines limiting FHA participation to neighborhoods of stability and reasonable risk that showed "promise or revival."

Even these rather cautious guidelines seem to have been largely ignored. Since no system of audit was included, progress could not be evaluated, and there were isolated cases of active resistance on the part of FHA field representatives to the new policy.

Almost two years later, during the time that insurance officials were conferring with HUD and FHA representatives, a new and more forceful Commissioner Letter was issued. This renewed effort may have been influenced by the prospect of the unannounced billion dollar program, since the insurance industry's investment in inner-city areas would be largely limited to FHA insured mortgages. The letter may have resulted more from the reminder offered by recent urban violence that government programs were ineffective in offering residents of the slums remedy or hope. At any rate, the July 1967 Commissioner's Letter stated a direct "prohibition of arbitrary exclusions of communities and neighborhoods" and included provisions for "waiver of economic soundness in riot or riot threatened areas."

Admitting, "in some cases, the hesitancy on the part of insuring offices to make FHA programs available in older neighborhoods," the letter explained again what had happened in slums: "Real estate brokers and mortgage lenders, when they have knowledge of arbitrary exclusions by FHA, tend to hold back on conventional financing. The non-availability of mortgage funds accelerates decline and increases the costs and problems of financing real estate. It forces the use of second and third mortgages and other means of financing which increases the home owner's risk and housing expense."

The 1967 letter referred FHA staff to the November 1965 directive and a letter of November 1966, which had already relaxed the economic soundness requirements. It required that a reporting system be set up for tabulating commitments made under the "new" policies.

Finally in October 1967—a month after the announcement of the insurance industry's billion dollar program—FHA directors at a conference in Washington were told by FHA Commissioner Philip N. Brownstein that they were to pursue programs in inner-city slums aggressively. After giving a number of reasons why "FHA must mount a major effort to accelerate and expand use of those of our programs which can serve families of low- and moderate-income and revive and rebuild the inner city," Brownstein concluded: "Let me give you one more reason. You should work at this task as though your job depended on it—because it may!"

The efforts of top FHA officials is paying off. The agency is being praised for its new efforts. Representatives of the billion dollar program note drastic changes not only in FHA's policies but also in the processing of FHA project applications, which is many times what it was less than a year ago.

The value of FHA's new tack to the billion dollar program is demonstrated by the fact that the dollar ratio of FHA-insured one-to-four family home mortgages to conventional (non-FHA) mortgages made under the program have been running more than 150 to 1. Seven times as much mortgage money has been going into FHA rent supplement projects as has been invested in conventional multifamily development loans. By spring of 1968, the program had provided total mortgage financing for housing of almost \$400 million.

Under program criteria, this was housing located in areas or districts within cities that are seriously in need of revitalization, areas where life insurance mortgages are not normally available. The program also pro-

vides for "low and moderate income projects located outside the core city areas, provided they are primarily designed to provide housing for those now residing in the city core areas."

Other criteria provides for commercial investments that would "create or retain" jobs for inner-city residents—factories, warehouses, other business. Buildings housing service facilities would provide both jobs and services to the community—hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, facilities for job training, government health and social services. The Spring 1968 total investment for these types of projects was almost a hundred million dollars, with medical and industrial projects accounting for over half the total.

By last May, the program had provided financing for projects in more than 160 cities in more than 40 States. The actual operation of the program varies from company to company.

The program is not a pool of money. Each company pledges to commit a certain portion of its mortgage investments to projects fulfilling program criteria, and each company has its own procedures. Some companies operate with a network of correspondents, usually established mortgage banks or commercial banks who do mortgage business. In a given area, companies commit an amount of money to their correspondent which grants, processes, and services the mortgage loan. Other companies maintain their own agents who grant mortgages directly for the companies.

In some cases, life insurance companies have altered their normal operations somewhat to accommodate the billion dollar program. For example, Prudential, which normally operates through its own mortgage agents, has committed some of its billion dollar money through recently designated correspondents.

Differences in operating procedure have led to some confusion about who represents participating companies in a given area. And there is an additional diversity. Individual companies are emphasizing different aspects of the program. Some companies are making only commercial loans; others are limiting their participation to multi-family housing developments; another few devote their efforts almost exclusively to single family home mortgages.

In a program designed to reach people in areas previously excluded from life insurance mortgage activity, an individual who sought a home mortgage before but was rejected because of area exclusion may now be rebuffed by a company because it is making only commercial loans under the program. An individual rejected once again, this time because he is requesting a mortgage on the wrong type of venture, may cynical-



Heavy equipment and construction workers converge on site in Newark, N.J., a cooperative apartment complex, the first housing financed by the life insurance companies billion dollar investment program.

ly conclude that nothing has changed.

For low-income families, little *has* changed. Home mortgage financing available through the life insurance company program can help only those with the financial capacity to repay a loan. The program bridges the gap between housing cost and paying ability of families only to the degree to which low down payment, long term financing reduces monthly carrying charges. This limitation was illustrated by two Washington Post reporters who found that in the District of Columbia, the billion dollar program had been used primarily to finance homes for families earning more than \$10,000 a year. While most of those receiving mortgages were Negro, this is of no assistance to the Negro slum dweller of real need.

A broader criticism of the billion dollar program is that it could be simply more of the process that helped to create and perpetuate the ghetto—the same cycling of money through white business institutions into, through, and out of the ghetto. William Morris, director of housing programs of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asserts that to the extent that the program does this, it is benefiting those who, by discriminatory practice, helped to create the ghetto in the first place. This criticism is joined by leaders of the Negro business and real estate community who point out that the economic health of the ghetto will not be realized until some way is found to keep profits in the ghetto. Not only absentee landlords but absentee business owners also have carried the financial yield out of the ghettos.

Minority businessmen have experienced difficulty in

obtaining the same financial and credit ratings as whites. The best evidence of this in the mortgage field is the fact that there are at this time only six Negro FHA-approved mortgage bankers in the United States. (The Mortgage Bankers Association boasts 2,053 members, most of them mortgage and commercial banks. The Association admitted its first Negro-owned firm in 1966.)

The billion dollar program was conceived and planned without the assistance of black business. Negro realtors, brokers, and bankers were not included in the initial planning stages, nor was any special effort made to take advantage of their experience in ghetto business and real estate in the operation of the program. Up to this year, no Negro mortgage banking firm had been named mortgage correspondent to a major life insurance company.

Most Negro real estate brokers, although there is no official policy of exclusion, have traditionally been denied membership in the mostly white real estate organization, the National Association of Real Estate Boards. Negro real estate brokers formed the National Association of Real Estate Brokers and, because the term "Realtor" is patented by the Association of Boards, coined the term "realist" as the designation for a Negro broker.

Negro mortgage bankers organized the United Mortgage Bankers in 1962. At least two of its members wrote to a number of insurance companies after the billion dollar program was announced and offered, on the basis of their experience in the inner-city, to serve as mortgage correspondents. They were rejected for a variety of reasons, the most common being that respective companies already had correspondents in the area and did not contemplate naming additional ones.

Early this year, Andrew Brimmer, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, stressed the need to involve businessmen who have actually acquired skills in ghetto housing finance through on-the-spot experience. "In my judgment," Brimmer said, "it is not enough simply to liberalize internal company policy to allow more investment in urban areas; nor is it sufficient to go one step further to press for changes in FHA insurance practices. Rather, it is also necessary to take even a third step to link up with businessmen actually working in the ghetto. I still think such a three-way arrangement would be a powerful instrument in the campaign to finance the reconstruction of the ghetto."

During 1968, there have been meetings between officials of life insurance companies and representatives of Negro business and real estate organizations. At a meeting in New York City in March, Negro representatives suggested that Negro mortgage bankers be appointed as direct mortgage correspondents, and because there are few mortgage bankers, Negro real estate brokers could be appointed in those cities where there are no Negro mortgage companies. It was suggested that business lending and commercial mortgage financing be channeled towards small Negro entrepreneurs in the inner-city in order to establish and expand Negro businesses. In addition to naming Negro representatives, it was recommended that life insurance companies place sizeable deposits in Negro-controlled banks and savings and loan associations to increase the supply of money available to finance Negro homeowners and Negro business firms.

A summary of this meeting, including these and other suggestions, was sent by the Joint Committee on Urban Problems to all companies participating in the program with the recommendation that companies would "find opportunities to draw upon Negro business firms in the course of your investment operations."

Representatives of the billion dollar program admit that not including Negro businessmen from the first was an oversight. Several companies have now made commitments to Negro mortgage firms; one major company has designated five of the six FHA-approved Negro firms as correspondents. A loose coalition of Negro real estate and financial leaders is working with insurance officials, and it is reported that LIAA and ALC are intent on improving the program with regard to Negro participation.

There is a limit, of course, to what the billion dollar program can do to foster Negro business and home purchase. One billion dollars is a relatively small amount when it is spread out over all the cities in the country. And it is not a grant fund; it is investment money that is lent at interest. It represents only about 6 percent of annual life insurance investments, about two-thirds of 1 percent of participating companies' assets.

Mortgage investments alone, no matter how large the total, cannot solve the housing or economic problems of the ghetto. At least one correspondent for a major company in a large city has had trouble placing its investment commitment: "We tried to make loans in the slums, but who wants to live there?" While it is true that other companies report the opposite problem—finding enough additional money to finance

qualifying projects—more must be done than simply to offer the opportunity for old buildings in blighted neighborhoods to change ownership. Due to lack of vacant land and inflated land prices in the inner-city, not much new building will take place there, particularly new construction that can provide housing within the price range of low and moderate income families.

The insurance industry, of course, has not suggested that the billion dollar program can accomplish everything. Industry spokesmen point out that whatever the limitations, the program is assuring mortgage financing where it was previously unavailable. It is also hoped that other sectors of private business will follow the billion dollar lead with commitments for other purposes. There is some indication that this is happening. The American Association of Bankers, for example, has created an urban affairs committee, which is considering a monetary commitment as well as other methods of banking involvement in solving the problems of the city.

Stanley Karson, of the Institute of Life Insurance, has stressed that the educational value of the program should not be overlooked. The life insurance industry, having made a commitment, is now faced with, and being educated to, other problems in the ghetto. "Getting the private sector involved is important financially," said Karson, "but in a way it's even more important sociologically and psychologically. Real changes are occurring. The private sector is becoming even more aware of the problems in our cities. Some attitudes are changing. Sometimes we think this kind of by-product may be the most important aspect of the program."

The Institute has also launched a "call-to-action" advertising program as "an expression of concern of the life insurance business for the conditions of life in the cities." The campaign includes newspaper and magazine advertising and life insurance industry sponsored television special reports on the problems of the city: air and water pollution, the transportation maze, poverty, race relations, jobs, housing, welfare, education, physical deterioration.

The billion dollar program is costing the insurance industry but very little. The program pledge is only about 6 percent of what companies invest in a year, and the average yield from ghetto loans is only around 1 percent less than normal mortgage profit. The industry considers that negligible in terms of the long-term return on their investment.

If the program can be criticized on the points that have been mentioned, it is encouraging that what Fortune Magazine has called the "conservative old

life insurance companies" are aware of urban problems and willing to do something about them. Policy holder reaction has been overwhelmingly favorable. Prudential's letters have been averaging 20 to 1 in favor of the plan, with the majority indicating glowing praise of the program and Prudential's participation in it.

Life insurance companies have made a beginning. Their investment program is not, nor was it meant to

be, a panacea. The gap between the paying ability of the poor and the cost of decent housing must still somehow be closed. Restrictions, legal or de facto, which limit Negroes' choices of housing location, must still be abolished. City services in the inner-city must be extended and enhanced. Much wider and more comprehensive efforts must be launched if our cities are to become decent, healthy, livable. □

ERBIN CROWELL, JR.

Black Women Who Work



ALTHOUGH GAINS have been made, Negro women still occupy the most disadvantaged position in this Nation's labor force. Average annual income of Negro women was four times greater in 1965 than it was in 1939, according to a U.S. Department of Labor study. However, Negro women on the average earned only 71 percent as much as white women.

The study, "Negro Women in the Population and in the Labor Force," shows some progress in terms of education and level of employment, but it also points to the relative hardship that they experience in our society and economy.

An increasing proportion of Negro women are finding employment in white-collar occupations. Yet, only 23 percent in 1966 were in the white-collar category. The majority of Negro working women are household or service workers. This means that more than one and a half million Negro women workers are not covered by Federal minimum wage provisions. In addition, many Negroes, and especially women, work in lowpaying occupations in States which lack minimum wage laws. Minimum wage coverage of private household work is practically nonexistent.

Negro women continue to experience higher un-

employment rates (8.8 percent) than Negro men (6.6 percent), white women (4.3 percent), or white men (2.9 percent). Almost one-third of Negro teenage girls are unemployed. 1966 unemployment rates for youths 14 to 19 years old were: 31.1 percent nonwhite girls, 21.2 percent nonwhite boys, 11.0 percent white girls, and 9.9 percent white boys.

The report shows that only 52 percent of Negro women were married and living with their husbands. About a third were widowed, divorced, or separated from their husbands. This was true of only a fifth of white women. As a result, a higher proportion of Negro women must seek work: about half of the Negro women 18 years of age and over were in the labor force in March 1966. The labor force participation of white women at the same time was something over one-third, 39 percent. Highest labor force participation among Negro women was 63 percent in the 35- to 44-year age group.

Almost half of all nonwhite mothers with children under 18 years of age are working mothers, including many mothers with children under the age of six. White mothers are less likely to work than are nonwhite mothers. Among white women with children

under 18 years of age, 34 percent were in the labor force in March 1966; among those with children under six, 24 percent were working or seeking work.

It is also pointed out in the report that working mothers often find it difficult to secure adequate day care for their children. Nonwhite children were cared for more frequently in someone else's home (22 per-

cent) than were white (15 percent). About 10 percent of all nonwhite and 8 percent of all white children looked after themselves. Among those 12 and 13 years of age, 26 percent of the nonwhite and 20 percent of the white children did so. Only 2 percent of both white and nonwhite children were provided group care such as furnished by day care centers. □

More Minority Lawyers Needed

THERE ARE ABOUT 250,000 lawyers in the United States; it is estimated that only a little more than one percent are from minority groups—2,500 Negroes, around 750 from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, a handful of American Indian attorneys.

These figures raise issues which go beyond the obvious injustice which they suggest: that minorities have not been accorded equal opportunities to become lawyers. Furthermore, underrepresentation of minorities in the legal profession presents a problem more fundamental than the one facing a Negro, Mexican-American, or American Indian who, as a matter of personal choice, might prefer to retain an attorney of his own race or ethnic tradition. (Negroes make up about 11 percent of the population, but only 1 percent of attorneys are Negro, and a large proportion of these are in government or industry. The majority of the approximately 600 Mexican-American lawyers practice in the vast five-State area of the Southwest. The Puerto Rican Bar Association includes only 20 practicing attorneys in New York City. There are about a dozen American Indians in the legal profession.)

One of the broader problems is that the minorities are being deprived of community leadership which attorneys traditionally assume. But most important of all is the fact that the judicial system itself suffers from inadequate minority representation. For a system of justice to be viable, it must sustain the confidence of the populace it serves; it must, therefore, maintain the appearance as well as the substance of equity. The bar, as well as the bench and the jury box, must reflect the racial diversity of the community it serves.

In recent years, the legal profession and law schools in particular have been concerned about the need for greater minority representation in the legal world. Several law schools have conducted wide searches for

promising minority students with top grades and have provided enticing scholarships for legal study. Some law schools seek "average" minority group students and offer them tutorial and remedial assistance during law school to make up for academic shortcomings.

The number of minority attorneys resulting from such recruitment and remedial assistance has been slight. The total of exceptional minority students who choose a legal profession is limited, and many law schools are realizing that special help during the school year tends to attach a stigma to the students and ostracize them from the general law school society. Many of the students in special programs have objected strongly in this regard. In addition, legal representatives admit that such a method of assistance is less likely to produce competent, self-reliant attorneys.

A new organization—conceived less than a year ago and operating the first stages of its program this summer—intends to increase the number of minority lawyers in the Nation and, at the same time, avoid the imperfections of comparable efforts. The Council on Legal Education Opportunity (CLEO), believing that the paucity of minority lawyers deprives people of minority groups of representation in the courts and communication with society, has acquired \$493,530 from the Office of Economic Opportunity to begin its summer program and a three-year Ford Foundation grant totalling \$450,000. In addition, it has received contributions from law schools and private gifts.

Specifically, CLEO plans to increase the number of lawyers from minority and disadvantaged groups and from economically deprived backgrounds who are not motivated or able to pursue a legal career under present standards for admission to law school.

The CLEO project is designed to enroll at least 100 minority students in law school for each of the next few years. The program is directed to Negro, Ameri-

can Indian, and Spanish-speaking students.

The Council includes representatives of the American Bar Association, the Association of American Law Schools, the National Bar Association, and the Law School Admission Tests Council. The chairman of CLEO is Millard H. Ruud of the University of Texas Law School. The executive director is Professor Melvin D. Kennedy, chairman of the department of history at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Professor Kennedy, a member of the Morehouse faculty since 1941 and now the pre-law advisor at the college, has had considerable experience with students with problems which discourage minority students from pursuing a legal career. "We've had several students right here at Morehouse," says Kennedy, "thought by their teachers to have a very good potential for law but who, for a variety of reasons, don't pass the law school entrance exam." Kennedy gives as an example a Morehouse senior who was in the top 10 percent of his class and had received, among other awards, an overseas study grant to Sweden. He failed the law school entrance exam twice. Kennedy agreed with other professors that the student's potential was worth further effort. "We did some calling around, and Harvard Law School decided to take a chance on him. We were all confident he could make it, and sure enough, he had only the normal first-year difficulties—not unusual for any law student—and he finished Harvard, not at the top of his class, by any means, but with a reputable standing. He's now beginning on what we're sure will be a successful law career."

Kennedy lists three major roadblocks to law practice for minorities. The first problem is one of motivation: too often, minority students find it difficult to conceive of themselves as attorneys. Prominent Negro attorneys notwithstanding, there are just not many examples of minority lawyers, particularly those with whom the student is likely to have a personal acquaintance. Second, most good or average minority students because of a variety of cultural and academic reasons simply are not able to meet the rigorous entrance requirements for law school. Then there is the problem of money. For most minority students and their families, undergraduate study already represents a considerable financial sacrifice. Law school is expensive, and those who can muster the finances seldom have enough support to free them from the anxiety over money which detracts from concentration on studies.

CLEO hopes to deal with the specific problems of motivation, academic preparation, and financial need. This summer, the four-phase program began with summer institutes at the law schools of Harvard, the Uni-

versity of Denver, Emory University in Atlanta, and the University of California at Los Angeles (where the University of Loyola and the University of Southern California are also participating in the institute).

CLEO institutes are serving postgraduates and senior-year undergraduates. All fees and expenses, including travel, are paid for CLEO-sponsored participants. (In some cases, institutes will be open to non-CLEO students.) Many law schools have said they will admit all CLEO institute "graduates" whether they pass a law entrance examination or not.

The second phase of the project is a program of law school scholarships for those who complete the summer institutes—and others, as funds allow. Phase three is a promotional program described by Kennedy as "down in the community where we'll awaken interest in studying law and provide orientation to minority disadvantaged students." The last phase includes research and evaluation of the program. Although CLEO is highly optimistic, its project is still considered experimental and subject to improvement.

One indication of the reputation achieved by the program—apparent even before its actual start—is that several law schools have already set up summer institutes patterned after the CLEO courses and are asking for the overflow of CLEO applicants. "Some law schools," says Professor Kennedy, "have even requested names of the institutes' overflow for consideration of immediate acceptance into law school, promising to include them in the tutorial and remedial assistance programs while they are in law school." He adds that law schools have assured CLEO of financial aid to augment CLEO scholarships.

CLEO institutes will provide a variety of courses and experiences touching on the law. Classes will focus on basic law subjects and legal orientation; field trips will provide the opportunity to meet with policemen, judges, prosecutors, public defenders, attorneys in general practice, and community leaders who will discuss the importance and opportunities of law careers with the students.

Plans are already being made to double the number of CLEO institutes next summer. CLEO hopes each year to increase the number of minority group attorneys directly traceable to CLEO assistance. And these are persons who, by CLEO's definition, would not otherwise enter or complete law school. By providing Mexican Americans, Negroes, American Indians, Puerto Ricans and others a better opportunity to become attorneys, the CLEO program promises to increase the confidence of the Nation's minorities in their chances for a more equitable day in court.—E.C.□

The Hungry School Child

A CHILD FORCED to go hungry all day while his classmates eat a hot, nourishing lunch. The idea seems fantastic, but a recent study has revealed that in fact more than two-thirds of the 6,000,000 school children who deserve a free lunch starve from morning to dinnertime. To many it could mean missing the one nutritional meal of the day.

The National School Lunch Program is just not providing the noon meals that are needed, the study sponsored by five national women's organizations has reported. Six million school-age children in America belong to families who earn less than \$2,000 a year or who receive welfare payments for Aid to Dependent Children. Yet less than two million of these boys and girls receive a free or reduced price school lunch.

Although racial statistics are not available, the report, "Their Daily Bread," suggested that a disproportionate number of such disadvantaged children are from minority groups. As the report states, "it is small comfort to them to learn they are discriminated against not because of their color but because they are poor. To a hungry child this is a very fine distinction, indeed, and one without meaning or humanity."

The report, based on interviews with more than 1,500 Federal, State, and local officials, teachers, and parents, was conducted by local volunteers in 40 communities in 39 States. It makes extensive use of quotations from the interviews. The five sponsoring groups included the Church Women United, National Board of the Y.W.C.A., National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Jewish Women, and National Council of Negro Women.

A slum area elementary school principal in St. Louis, Mo., stated that the majority of the school's more than 1,000 children were from welfare families, but only 12 of the school's children were receiving free lunches. An elementary school principal in Mobile, Ala., reported that lunches were rotated among needy children on a weekly basis. Of 1,000 children estimated to need free lunches, only 15 were provided a meal. A welfare mother in Springfield, Mass., stated that when she could not afford to buy her children lunches at school, she just kept them at home.

Children suffer discrimination because of their

minority status, the report said. In a Mississippi county, it was reported that lunch and milk programs were discontinued at a school which white children abandoned after 18 Negro students enrolled. A Southern State school lunch director was quoted as saying, "We went over to one of them all-Indian schools later and those Indians are worse than the 'niggers.' I wonder what that black rascal gonna say now? You tell that boy in Washington we're gonna feed his 'nigger' children."

The report stated that many needy children must suffer the humiliation of being identified as poor. In many schools, special cards or tokens are given to needy children so that they may receive free lunches. Others are steered into special lines or assigned to different eating times from those who can afford to pay for the lunches.

There are no uniform standards of need to govern eligibility, so deprived children in one community may receive free lunches while children in the same circumstances in another community may not, the report pointed out. In some schools, the choice of who receives a free lunch may be left to the principal or teacher. In Sumter County, Ala., children must come from a family with an income of less than \$2,000 a year. But this standard applies to a family regardless of the number of school-age children in it. In some school districts, only children of welfare recipients are eligible, but in others only children from low-income families not receiving welfare are eligible.

The report states that many schools cannot provide lunches because they lack food preparation facilities. For this reason, none of the children in the elementary schools of Cleveland, Ohio, participate in the school lunch program. Of 79 elementary schools in Detroit, Mich., which have no lunch program because of lack of facilities, 78 are located in slum areas. The Department of Agriculture, which provides food commodities and financial assistance for the program, estimates that there are nine million children in America who are excluded from participating in a lunch program because their schools do not have the facilities to provide lunch.

When the price of lunches goes up, the report noted,

participation goes down. In California, where there has been a 5 cent per lunch increase in each of the last 5 years, there has been a 25 percent reduction in the number of children participating. In the State of Washington, a price increase resulted in an 18 percent reduction in participation.

The report recommends that:

- The price of school lunches be reduced to place them within the reach of most children and contributions be increased to permit free and reduced price lunches to needy children;
- A universal free lunch program for all school children be developed as a long range goal.

- A uniform standard of need be established for needy children to make them eligible for free and reduced price lunches.

- Practices which unnecessarily identify those children receiving free lunches be discontinued;

- School food services be placed under one administration to promote uniformity and efficiency in funding and record keeping, and;

- A national commission be appointed to evaluate school food service programs and prepare a blueprint for a total nutritional program to include not only the school lunch program but all the nutritional and health needs of America's school children. □

Commission Hearing on Rural Poor

PUBLIC AGENCIES in Alabama are doing little to break the cycle of poverty and dependency and assure the victims of slavery and discrimination the opportunity to lead decent and productive lives. Black citizens of 16 counties in "blackbelt" Alabama are not being helped to stay on the land; nor are they being equipped with the education and skills to work in the towns. Left with little choice but to leave rural areas, black citizens are moving to urban areas. In effect, the South has transformed a regional problem into a national one to the extent that it exiles its poor and their problems.

William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, announced these preliminary conclusions in mid-June on the basis of staff investigations and a five-day public hearing in Montgomery, Ala., April 27-May 2, on the issues of economic security as they affect black people in the State.

"The weight of the evidence at our hearing in Montgomery was that the legacy of slavery still continues in the form of widespread racial discrimination, poverty, and economic dependency," Taylor said.

Taylor added that the issues and information covered in the six-month staff investigation and at the hearing were "particularly relevant" to current Congressional debates on spending, to issues raised by the Poor People's Campaign, and to the crisis of race and poverty in America.

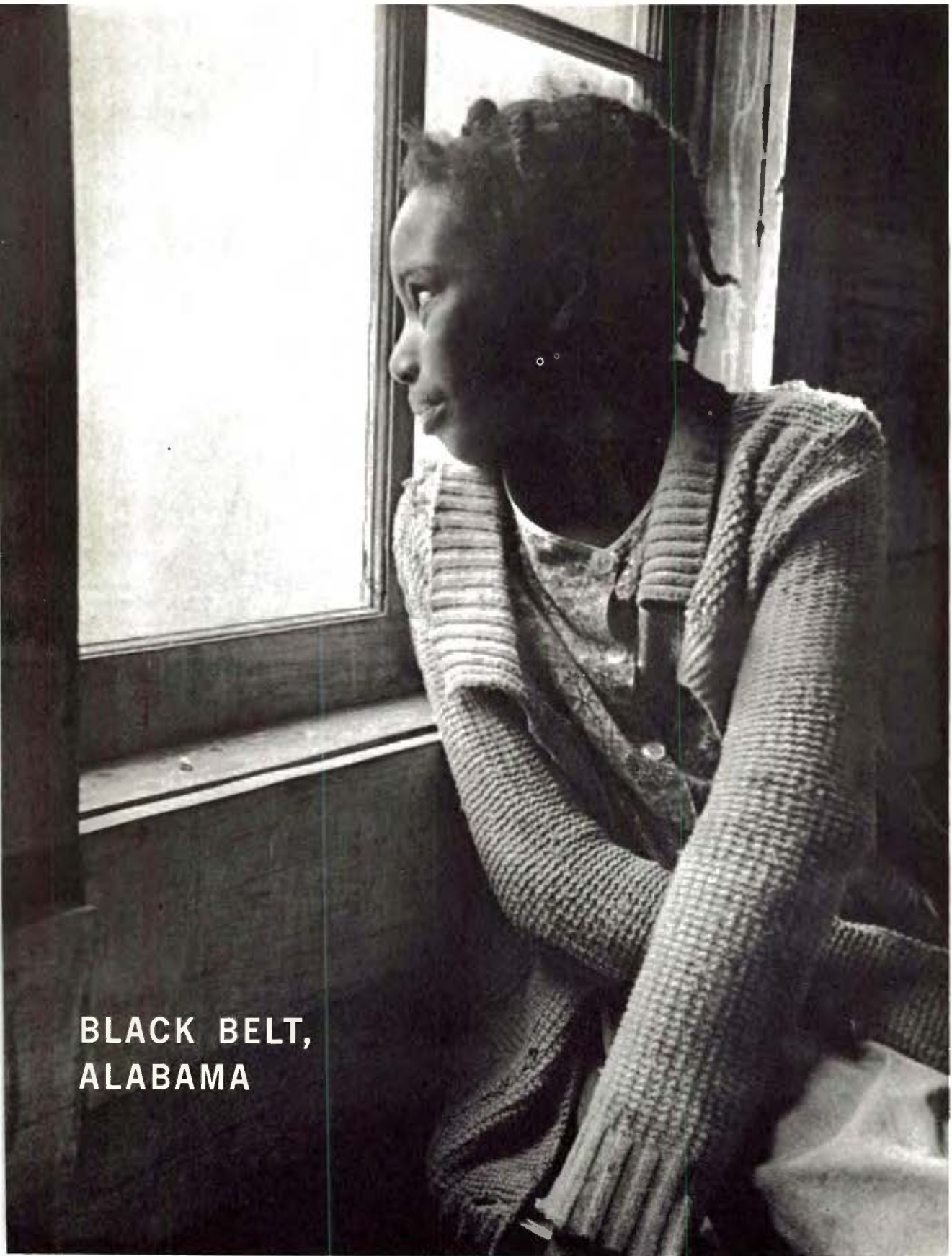
In other findings, released in the form of four staff papers, it was pointed out that black families in the area studied rely on a noncash system of credit ob-

tained from merchants and employers so that there is no regular use of money.

As a result, the report said, poverty is pervasive in the 16-county area covered by the Commission's inquiry. Federal programs which could at least allay the problems of inadequate diet, health services, or welfare assistance, the staff reports disclosed, have been insufficient or totally unrealized in many counties. The almost completely segregated school system had taken its toll, along with the ill effects of meager diets, in stunting the educational capabilities of Negro children. Alabama's segregated schools have deprived Negro children of proper schooling, equal facilities, and even of courses with an equivalent future job potential as those for white children.

Lack of educational achievement and training in skills evidenced itself in the kinds of jobs open to black citizens, but "blatant" racial discrimination—even by large government contractors—had limited job opportunities as well. In agriculture, many farmers continue in marginal or total dependency due to their relegation to methods dating back to the 1930s. The Cooperative Extension Service and the Farmers Home Administration were both found to discriminate in providing programs and benefits to Negro farmers, the staff reports said.

Because of economic subjugation and dependence, the staff reports said, Negroes are deterred from seeking to improve their lot by asserting themselves politically, voting in greater numbers, and seeking election to public and party office. □



**BLACK BELT,
ALABAMA**



"I hope for my children a better education than I had."

"I've got four out of school because they didn't have shoes and clothes."



"Here in Alabama I don't feel like I'm living
. . . Demoted from a Staff Sergeant down to a boy
is kind of hard to take."



"If things were changed, I would love living here"

". . . We don't have enough of nothing."



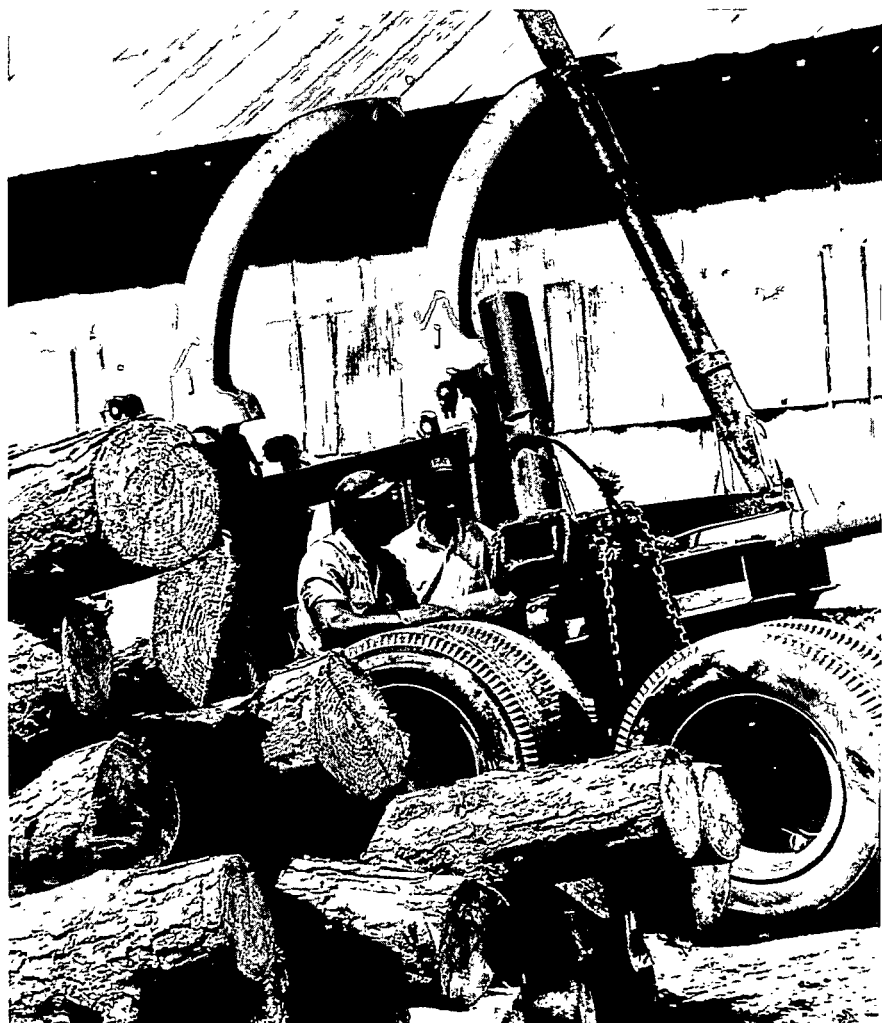
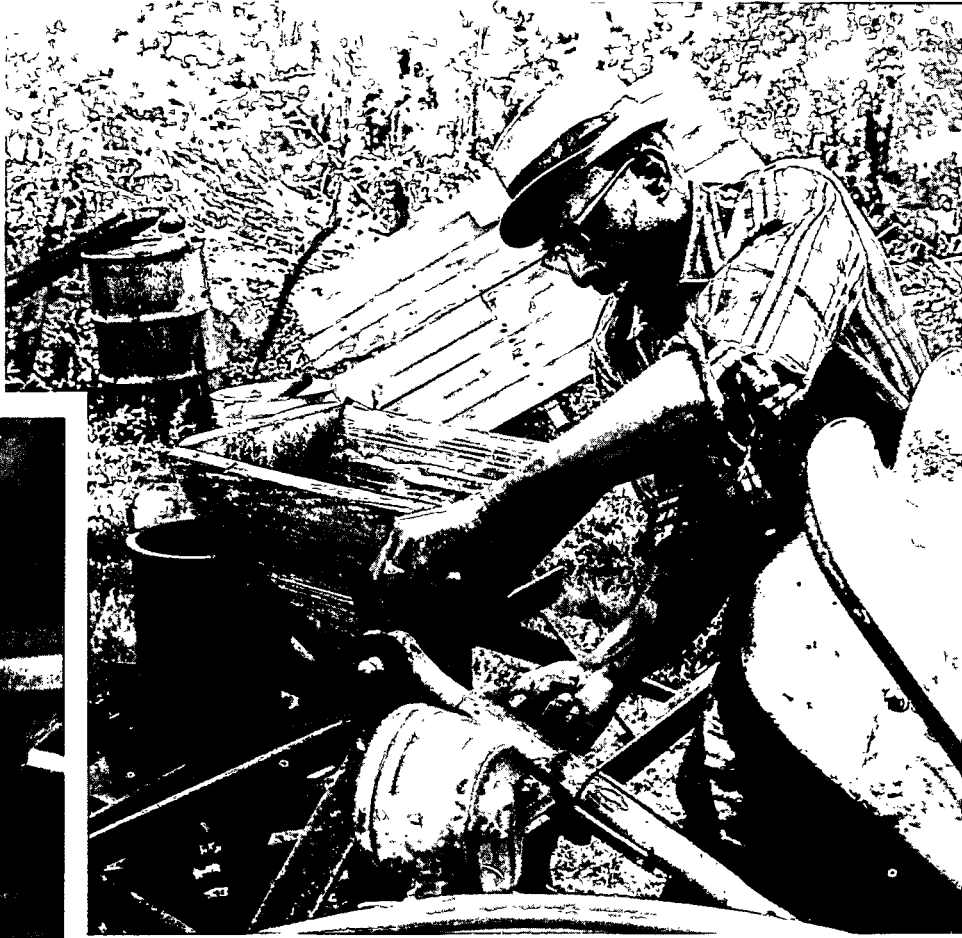
"I did mine the hard way, plowing a mule, making it by a lot of sweat there . . .



... but it could be made better than that."



"If they would give us more
job opportunities . . . we would have
better housing and more food . . ."



"I was just blind, didn't know nothing but work . . .
Just 25 or 30 years too late . . . hope it ain't
though . . . I hope I have some more
years to live"





Photographs by James Pepler

*Text from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Hearing,
Montgomery, Alabama, April 1968.*

Racism and Mental Health

The Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, in the process of a three-year study, is developing recommendations to promote and preserve mental health and overcome mental illness among the Nation's children.

The comprehensive report of its study and findings will be submitted in 1969, but the Commission, created in 1965 by an amendment to the Social Security Act, has made an exception to its policy against piecemeal release of its research.

Its special Committee on Children of Minority Groups has studied the effects of racism on mental health in this country. Because of the urgency and current significance of the topic, the following interim report was issued last April.

RACISM IS the number one public health problem facing America today. The conscious and unconscious attitudes of superiority which permit and demand that a majority oppress a minority are a clear and present danger to the mental health of all children and their parents. Traditionally, the criteria for defining public health problems are: (1) a problem that threatens a large number of people; (2) a problem that costs a large sum of money; (3) a problem that is impossible to treat on an individual and private basis; and (4) a problem that could cause chronic sustained disability.

This committee believes that the racist attitude of Americans which causes and perpetuates tension is patently a most compelling health hazard. Its destructive effects severely cripple the growth and development of millions of our citizens, young and old alike. Yearly, it directly and indirectly causes more fatalities, disabilities, and economic loss than any other single factor.

Over the last two decades, there has been a proliferation of scientific papers in the behavioral sciences attesting to damage to children, black and white, that can be directly traced to this endemic condition. This is true whether we study the degradation of Indians, the subjugation of Mexican Americans, the exploitation of the Puerto Ricans, the brutal relocation of the

Japanese, the callous treatment of Orientals, or the unresolved black question.

We must accept that the United States is not a white nation. The idealized image of the melting pot has, fortunately, never been realized. Our strength as a society rests in cultural pluralism. Biological evolution demonstrates the survival value inherent in a range of physical types within the species. So does a nation profit when the unique cultural skills, styles, and genius of diverse peoples are valued as societal assets.

The country is now experiencing an acute crisis. The legitimate demands of the alienated and emerging groups of this country, if unmet, constitute a threat to our continued existence as a nation, as well as our potential role in the international sphere. Social scientists now have the predictive ability to forecast that the Mexican Americans in the Southwest, the impoverished Appalachian residents, the newly assertive Indians, and the isolated urban dwellers all have the same capacity for a violent resolution of our social crisis.

There are indications that the history of black people in the United States will be paralleled by other minority groups in America in the near future. Hope was generated by the 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court decisions.

During the late 1950's and early 1960's, hope sustained while the blacks petitioned for economic viability through nonviolent means. However, the failure to correct social and economic inequities and injustices following the 1964 Civil Rights Act and other socio-economic programs resulted in mobilization of frustration and anger to the point of rebellion. Currently, the black population, filled with despair and ever aware of the failure of the actualization of bright promises, has become mindful of its need to unite in order to defend itself against the institution of repressive measures by the majority population. In a shorter order, the Mexican American, the Puerto Rican, and the American Indian, without social intervention, may travel the same historical path.

The response to date by the mainstream culture has not been amelioration of grievances but punitive action. There have been few basic social or economic changes directed toward altering the value system of

this society. There has been tragically little self-examination. The pathology of denial and lack of awareness have reached massive proportions. This indifference has robbed all Americans of the psychic energy so necessary for healthy functioning.

One of the realities of present-day America is that increasingly large segments of the minority population will be obliged to live in segregated communities, at least over the next couple decades. In general, without massive intervention, this means that minority children between now and the end of the century will be growing up in mentally unhealthy atmospheres rampant with substandard housing, inferior education, and poor health care.

The country must outgrow its legacy of racism. There must be massive outpourings of resources, both financial and human, if the problems are to be resolved. A minority child in the ghetto must grow up seeing himself and his life as having positive value. The white child must be equipped to live as a member

of a multi-racial world. This will allow them both to grow up less handicapped by the effects of guilt, fear, anger, and anxiety.

The mutual distrust so prevalent in this country is leading to the polarization of Americans. The growth and viability of our society are dependent on everyone achieving a full measure of growth and development. This is true no less of the majority white than the minority group member. While the financial cost of eradicating racism in all walks of national life will obviously be immense, the result of making it possible for millions of wasted human beings to contribute to our national production and creativity, the development of millions of new consumers for our national product, the improvement of our commercial relations with problems of other nations, the cut in the present enormous costs of inadequate welfare programs would seem to make it a relatively sound investment. The society can truly find new strength and integrity by an acceptance of all diversity. □

Hard Times in the Hollers

YOU CAN ONLY come to understand and love the mountain people of Appalachia by trudging up the muddy hollers to their homes, by learning to share their care for the land they speak of as a close and longtime friend. And then you begin to wonder with them what is to be done to save the land from those who strip away its wealth and to save its people from those who undermine their rights.

If you start up Sugartree where it branches off Moore's Creek, you'll pass about seven houses before you come to Barney Gatliff's place, two miles up the road. Barney's a pretty good one to talk with; his family has lived up Sugartree for so long now, he can even tell you stories about Daniel Boone's adventures in these Kentucky mountains.

He points across the valley to a mountain—sheared flat by strip mining.

He and 200 other men used to work that mine once, then the number dwindled to 30 when they started stripping it. And the road continued another eight miles until it connected with Little Greasy Creek, but now you can't even walk it, it's so bad.

There once were 300 families living along this

creek; there was a commissary, a dance hall, shops and stores, a movie house — all sorts of things. But now, there isn't any work, so everybody has to move up North, to Detroit and Dayton and Chicago, especially all the young folks. Last year, when the post office burned down, nobody even bothered to rebuild it. Now that's just the final blow when they take the post office away. When the mines were running, the coal company owned the whole area. Then, just before the company pulled out, they sold the houses for about ten times what they were worth. And now, though the company hasn't used it for ten years, it won't rent the coal depot so it can be used for Head Start.

What coal companies do is just strip the land clean and drain the people dry, and don't give anything in return for all that they take out. And they don't like it when you try to do something for yourself, either.

But there isn't anything poor people can do, because the companies control all the politicians, and the politicians control the counties.



So if Barney were to vote wrong at the next election, or wouldn't go along with things, there's a good chance he'd lose his job as a school bus driver — Barney's got five children and a wife to care for on \$3,450 a year.

Down the road on Moore's Creek, Andrew Johnson (A.J.) Mills had his first heart attack four years ago, when he was 50. Since he could never work again, he drew \$56 a month from Social Security. Once he had asked the welfare woman about public and medical assistance, but she had answered abruptly that he wasn't eligible. Axey, A.J.'s wife, looked after her mother for \$20 a month, but since she herself had glaucoma and a heart condition, she couldn't do harder work. A.J.'s three children by a former marriage had moved north ten years ago; he hasn't heard from them since.

In late February of 1967, I learned that A.J. might be eligible for medical assistance, which would relieve him of his \$45 monthly medical bills, so we drove, together, to the Public Assistance (P.A.) Office to apply. After the doctor filled out forms certifying A.J.'s physical disability, we waited while they were proc-

essed in Frankfort. The P.A. Office notified us in May that a specialist would have to examine A.J. (for a \$40 fee payable in advance) so we wrote to Frankfort requesting that a payment to the hospital be authorized. Four weeks later we drove to Middlesboro for a free examination.

After the hospital people confirmed the diagnosis and extent of A.J.'s illness, two months elapsed before assistance was certain. Then, success—A.J. and Axey were eligible not only for medical assistance, but for an additional \$20 from welfare. The welfare check and the medical card arrived in the middle of September, seven months after we had first applied.

Our joy however, soon turned sour: On September 20, five days after the doctors had discovered an abdominal tumor the size of a sofa cushion in his stomach, A.J. died. And now Axey, also very sick, was ineligible for assistance—even from the Social Security check they had lived on for years. We went to the doctor and to the P.A. Office, searching for a loophole. Although too sick to work, Axey was not bedridden and could not qualify. She receives \$24 a month to care for her mother. With \$20 she can buy \$36 worth

of food stamps per month, but medicine still averages \$20.

Tommy Miller, who at 18 could not read or write, had been accepted into the Job Corps and was thrilled with the prospect of a good job and an education. Two weeks later, Tommy was back home. He was considered too retarded for the Job Corps.

So now Tommy is out of luck—there are no other possibilities. But his brother, Henry, left for a Job Corps Camp about five months ago and seems to be liking it all right. Mary, his sister, entered first grade after a summer in Head Start, and by next September she and her sisters will enter the new grade school. Since their mother died, they do the cooking and washing, but they don't mind that, because their father draws welfare now, and at least there is food to cook and dishes that need washing. Except for Tommy, they manage pretty well, and if they work at the community center—sweeping, cleaning up, sewing—they can earn free clothes from the Charge-Card store. The Emergency Fund and Services, Inc. (EFSI), a local non-profit organization, operates the Charge-Card Store on the principle that people get more out of working for something than getting it free. The clothes that the Millers earn are donated from all over the country; the community worker who organized EFSI and manages the Charge-Card Store works through the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council (KCEOC).

The KCEOC, which is funded by the Office or Eco-

nomic Opportunity (OEO), operates 14 community centers throughout the county, staffed mostly by community people. These centers provide adult education classes, home improvements, recreation, health care, information, and a meeting hall. Twelve of the centers operate year-round Head Start programs.

On a larger scale, the government-financed highway project is giving the area a new look; a greeting card company is starting a factory in nearby Corbin that will employ a thousand people; Knox County was able to close nearly all of its one-room schoolhouses last September. But although most of the advances of the War on Poverty were made possible entirely by the Federal Government, many have come through local initiative: the new blacktopped road that leads up to Messer Center in Knox County is there because of constant pressure from poor people; Cannon Industries, which makes toys and employs about 10 people, began when members of the Cannon Community Council decided they needed more industry; local newspapers established by poor people to challenge the political hierarchy are providing a public forum that cannot be found elsewhere.

At the same time, Lost Fork Park, a recreation project, has become bogged down in local feuding; many leaders involved with organizing have become disgruntled and static; friends have broken long relationships when one and not the other was hired by the poverty program. While some are concerned that OEO is making poverty more bearable without even at-



tempting to eliminate it, many more have given up because politicians control the program, and these politicians are quite satisfied with the present situation.

The apprehension and the conflicts are not without cause, for the pox of "politics" still plagues the mountains. The OEO programs that are controlled by local politicians far outnumber those that have been able to break away from the political stranglehold. There have been, however, a few encouraging, if short-lived, exceptions.

In January 1967, the Board of Directors of the Cumberland Valley Economic Opportunity Council, which administered the Community Action (CAP) Programs for eight counties in southeastern Kentucky, fired the CAP director and his assistant. OEO had previously warned the directors that the funds would be discontinued if any personnel action were taken before the board was reorganized to include one-third representation of the poor. This outright disregard of OEO regulations infuriated the poor people who then called on OEO to withhold all funds allocated to the Cumberland Valley Program.

Since the summer of 1966, however, the poor people had been steadily organizing: the United Appalachian Communities, an indigenous organization, was gaining tremendous momentum; poor people were writing their Congressmen; some were raising money to visit Sargent Shriver, then OEO Director, in Washington; and the overall poverty program was gaining allies through constructive action.

So when four members of the Washington OEO staff arrived in Knox County, 850 poor people—some from as far away as 150 miles—unleashed their grievances in a meeting at Union College. When OEO stood its ground and withdrew funds, the situation might have become politically entangled had not the poor people exerted themselves as a force no longer to be ignored.

After the Cumberland Valley EOC was financially eviscerated, the poor did not seem prepared to handle its administration, so OEO appointed the Council of Southern Mountains, an independent organization, to continue operations.

Within two months, everything had cooled off, everyone was played out—those once involved were again content to bicker among themselves. Nonetheless, that exhilarating show of strength should not be lightly dismissed, as it cannot be isolated from comparable incidents elsewhere. Three years ago, Tim Gish, editor of the Whitesburg, Ky., *Mountain Eagle*, aroused national concern by denouncing the poverty program for being politically controlled. Last summer, poor people of

Pike County, Ky., exercised a similar flexing of muscles in their protest against strip mining, which erupted when three anti-poverty workers (one with the Appalachian Volunteers, two with the Southern Conference Educational Fund) were arrested on sedition charges. (The charges were later dismissed by court ruling.) In early 1968, a miners' strike in western Pennsylvania quickly spread to neighboring states.

Challenging the status quo by seeking political and economic freedom is nothing new in the mountains. What becomes significant today is its affinity to the more violent urban discontent, a fact that is increasingly more evident to politicians particularly after the Cumberland Valley and Pike County situations.

Yet there is no place for Tommy Miller until a new program opens for mentally retarded but educable children, or until he moves North where such educational opportunities might be found.

There is nothing for Axey Mills until a law is passed that will provide for disabled, childless widows in her age bracket that are not bedridden, or until she moves North where such a law has been passed.

There is nothing for all the young people who have been forced to move North to find jobs until industries are attracted to the Appalachians.

To attract industry, you need good roads, good schools, a good labor supply, and good communities.

And to get those things, you need concerned political leaders, who by responding to power are responding to people, i.e., getting political power into the hands of poor people.

Barney Gatliff would say it's gonna be a long hike up that holler.

But the trek has begun. There have been enough accomplishments by OEO and the people to give clearer focus to the road ahead. More and more mountaineers are beginning to realize that they are "just going to have to walk that lonesome valley" — without politicians, without OEO. They see that the only lasting solutions will come when poor people unite into an effective and viable political force. Likewise, they see this to be the goal of all those, including OEO, concerned with eliminating poverty. Because everything else is, ultimately, secondary.

That's why people like Barney are wondering if it might not be high time to "stand up for what's right." □

FELICITY WRIGHT

Miss Wright was a VISTA worker in eastern Kentucky in 1967. She has resumed undergraduate studies at Bennington College, Vermont.

How Much Longer The Long Road?



FLAT DUSTGREY FIELDS, burdened with fruits and vegetables, span to the right and left of Highway 99 in California; fields just like them, but broken more often by trees, spread out along U.S. 83 in south Texas; farmlands swell out over the subtly rounded earth beside Highway 49 in southwestern New Jersey.

99, 83, and 49 are major arteries of America's agricultural industry. To people who follow the crops, they signify miles of cramped, sweat-sticky travel by car or bus, dry swallows of roadside meals, the down in the gut fear of being too late or too early for a job.

How much longer this long road for the migrant farm worker? How many more the years of kneeling and picking down the rows of tomatoes or strawberries, of bending to the short-handle hoe, of being cheated out of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, of camping on a river bank or renting a broken down shack, of pulling your children out of school before they get a chance to really learn or even make a friend?

Daily, the migrant seasonal farm worker suffers the want of physical or material goods and the denial of civil and human rights. Whatever his racial or ethnic origin, the oppressive conditions of farm labor debase him to the level of a stepchild of poverty and discrimination.

The rootlessness of his life and his dependency on external measures of supply and demand which he can neither alter nor understand have made of the migrant field worker a man on the fringe of society.

His dominant fear is that he will lose his job, however lowly or poorly paid. Yet, his inmost desire is to settle down, in or out of agricultural labor, for his own and his children's sake. That he cannot really influence the course of his life may constitute the most critical injustice exacted of the farm worker.

How this situation has come about and what the current conditions of farm labor are in America have been well documented. The character of farm labor has altered radically since World War II. Certain problems in the present makeup of the farm workforce owe their existence to the shortage of domestic hands during the war years and the subsequent importation of foreign workers. A more crucial issue—the farm worker's unequal standing in the organized labor movement—dates back to 1935 when, in the enactment of the Wagner Act (precursor to the Taft-Hartley Act) by the 73rd Congress, agricultural workers were explicitly excluded from the definition of "employee". Since then they have been barred from basic Federal labor law.

The introduction of modern, specialized machines into the fields coupled with the development of new and more efficient farming techniques has created new forces to displace or further undermine the wage earning potential of the human harvester. Efforts of Federal, State, and local governments—even private church, union, and civic groups—have resulted in some progress over the years in certain areas such as health, housing, education, but too often for varying periods

of time and degrees of effectiveness. The inclusion in 1966 of farm laborers under the Fair Labor Standards Act might be of more lasting significance. However, even this legislation affects only 380,000 or one-fourth of the farm workforce, restricts farm workers to a top minimum wage projected for 1969 of \$1.30 an hour, and excludes them all from overtime provisions afforded other workers covered by the Act.

The farm worker's situation is complex but generally it can be understood as consisting of three major trends, two within the migrant stream, one in the external development of equitable rights and treatment under law. As to the stream, some individuals are striving to drop out, to learn new job skills, to upgrade their education, to establish a permanent homebase; others will continue or join the stream for seasonal work, preferring the work they know best and rural living to the city, but desiring a better life where they are. Outside the stream but closely related to it, is the provision through legislation of rules and regulations governing work and wage conditions and other essential services or programs which afford the farm worker, whether he is getting out or remaining in the stream, the same extensions of the law as are due other workers. Given this complex situation, it is apparent that simply raising wages to an arbitrary level which is inherently discriminatory cannot begin to affect realistically and broadly enough the fundamental farm labor issues.

To arrive at any clear conclusions or recommendations for action about so complex an issue is difficult. Where do you start? What are the facts? What insights can be provided the concerned person? The very routes farm workers travel to harvest the Nation's food and fiber provide at least an itinerary for gathering information and placing the issues in perspective.

California's Central Valley is one of America's richest agricultural areas. The State boasts some of the largest farm corporations in the country; its economy is one-third dependent on farming for jobs; its income at farm level annually amounts to more than \$4 billion. In such an economic setting the California farm worker would be expected to do relatively better than his counterparts in other States. *Relatively*, this is true: in 1967, hourly farm wage rates were highest in California and Connecticut at \$1.62. The average wage rate nationwide for farm workers, however, was \$1.33 an hour last year, 40 cents lower than the average for laundry workers, traditionally a low wage group. (Four southeastern States paid fieldworkers an

average wage below the \$1.00 minimum of 1967.) Work patterns, too, are somewhat more stable since there are many of the seasonal farm workers who move generally within the State or have developed a year-round farm work pattern. Also the opportunities for non-farm or even farm-related jobs are greater in the Golden State. Nevertheless, the California field-hand is still at the bottom of the social pyramid, short on job skills, basic education, decent housing, and income.

Why is this so in such a valley of plenty? In Delano, a farm town between Bakersfield and Fresno, a farm workers' union and grape growers have been engaged in a crucial economic encounter since September 1965. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) has been on strike against major producers of wine grapes during the first two years and most recently against fresh table grape growers. The union is headed by Cesar Chavez, a Mexican American farm worker. During the nearly three years of strikes, there have been several incidents of friction and physical clashes between growers and union members or supporters, unrelenting opposition to the union from many sides, and legal encounters as well. Contracts have been won from nine growers, often at great hardship.

The 1968 Report (No. 1274) of the House Committee on Education and Labor dealing with Coverage of Agricultural Employees under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), noted, that "the strike for recognition, with all its disastrous consequences, has largely become a thing of the past—in manufacturing, in transportation, entertainment, publishing, food processing, broadcasting, retailing—in all industries but agriculture. There, the law of the jungle which generally prevailed 33 years ago still exists." The Committee report recalls a strike by 5,000 cottonpickers in Corcoran, Calif., near Delano, which in 1933 resulted in mass evictions, mass picketing, mass arrests, and the death of two workers when a union meeting was forcibly broken up. "Labor unrest on the farm to varying degrees, continues to this date—in California, in Texas, in Florida, in Michigan, in Ohio, in Wisconsin, and elsewhere . . . And the testimony before this committee indicates that in the absence of law, it takes ugly forms which can harm the employers, the employees, and the community."

The "law of the jungle" described by the committee is due in large measure to the fact, then, that farmers and farm workers are outside the jurisdiction of basic labor law and therefore subject neither to the benefits nor the prohibitions of Taft-Hartley.

Tendrils thread their way along trellises, glossy and almost transparent against the light and dark greens of the foliage of the thickening vines. A group of farm workers clusters alongside the orchard. Some men stand, gazing down the road; others hunch down, clutching at weeds; a woman rests against a vine trunk—their talk is confidential. The sun is still high and the shadows dense under the vines.

It was the first day following an agreement by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice with the United Farm Workers to enforce a regulation of the Department of Labor prohibiting immigrant Mexican citizens in the United States with Alien Registration Cards (greencard workers) from being brought into the country as strikebreakers when the Secretary of Labor has certified a bonafide labor dispute.

On that Friday, April 26, *la migra*, as the Border Patrol is known throughout the Southwest, performed its usual function of scouting by air for suspected aliens, relaying information to a ground team, then chasing suspects down in the fields by jeep or on foot. Early that morning at a farm road intersection outside Delano, two border patrol officers engaged in a brief and heated exchange with Chavez and Roberto Bustos, a union captain. One officer questioned the two union men, asking for their papers, their names, what their purpose was. Chavez refused to give any information and charged the officers with neglecting their duty in the fields. In an apparent effort to intimidate the two men, the officer asked, "Do you want to get arrested?" Shrugging the ploy aside, Chavez replied, "No, but if you want to arrest me, go ahead." The two officers returned to their car and as they drove off, Chavez called out: "What's your name so I can report you to your boss?" The officer behind the wheel retorted, "I'm not telling you my name if you don't tell me yours."

Later that afternoon, *racimos*, or small groups of union members were assigned to strategic exits of one of the fields owned by Giumarra Vineyard Corporation, largest of the 24 table grape producers being struck in the Delano area. The *racimos* were to pursue strikebreakers seen leaving the fields for their homes. The "scabs" would later be shamed out of the fields by the union through various means: leaflets, word-of-mouth, and door-to-door marches in towns such as Earlimart, Richgrove, McFarland, all near Delano. The United Farm Workers has also been conducting a nationwide boycott of all California grapes in an effort to force its primary target, Giumar-

ra, to the bargaining table. There have been mass arrests, beatings, and economic intimidation by the growers, the farm workers have alleged and charged in various court suits.

Perhaps the open hostility toward the strikers and the counter reaction of unionization tactics such as the "scab" hunt would persist, but the damaging effects to both sides from the recognition strike and the secondary boycott as well as the physical clashes would be mitigated or entirely obviated by amendment of the NLRA. Efforts in Congress to do this, in House Bill 16014 and Senate Bill 8, however, so far have been stymied, one in the House Rules Committee, the other in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. If farm workers are included in the basic legislation, coercion by either side would be a prohibited unfair labor practice and when voluntary recognition does not occur, 30 percent of the workforce can demand an officially supervised election to decide whether the union will be the sole bargaining agent for the employees.

Chavez asserts that through the union, the farm worker can achieve economic, health, housing, and education standards equivalent to those of workers in other industries. "It is an error to think of programs; this is not what we're after because taking handouts merely destroys the individual. Programs don't mean anything, education doesn't mean anything, unless you



have bread on the table. Migrant workers must be given a chance to form a union. The Government can provide the rules; let the workers do the rest."

Other union members echoed Chavez's thoughts. Waiting under the harsh sun, an old traveler of the migrant road crinkled his eyes as he peered along the glaring roadway. "The union is the only way," he said. "My wife and I have four children and a home in Delano. I am getting too old to travel. The oldest girl is in high school and we hope she will graduate. One of my boys is not doing too well but may make it. But I don't want them to follow me."

The woman resting against a vinebush was telling about the years she had spent among the grapevines. Her fingers were distorted and calloused from the work, her skin dusk brown from the sun. Her joy was a son who, she said, was especially bright and looking forward to college and an engineering career. "It's hard our being on strike because we want to help our son get through college. He's a very smart boy. He's never had to work out here and I hope he never will. There's a chance of him getting a scholarship that will help."

A grizzled, work-creased man, the father of eight children, recalled the eight years he had spent in San Antonio, Texas, in various city-type jobs, some of them good-paying, but that he had returned to farm work and rural life where he felt more at ease. "I had enough of that city life. It's too fast and mean. I like working out in the fields. I'm strong and I can do the work. But I think we can have it a little better here in Delano. I liked Chavez and the union from the beginning. I've been in the union since before we started the strike—I walked from here all the way to Sacramento where we had the march two years ago. I think we're doing the right thing to get our rights."

A crucial factor that must be considered in amending the NLRA, of course, is the extent of coverage of farmers under the new legislation. A key criticism and stumbling block to the inclusion of farm workers in NLRA has been the contention that small, family farms might be affected adversely by such a change. In fact, House report No. 1274 anticipates that coverage under the wording of House Bill 16014 would extend only to about 30,000 American farms, "roughly nine-tenths of 1 percent of the 3.2 million farms in America,"—only those farms which employed at least 12 employees at a time and paid a wage total of at least \$10,000 in the past year according to the proposed amendment.

Given these conditions, the House report added, only 44,000 farms were found to fall within the minimum

annual expenditure figure of \$10,000 according to the Bureau of the Census, Agriculture Division. This number (1.4 percent of all American farms) in the peak final week of May 1966, employed 622,000 farm workers—60 percent of the 1,083,000 who worked on farms that week.

Under the limitation of 12 or more employees, the total number of farms that might expect to be affected by new legislation, the report stated, falls to 30,000 since "most livestock, dairy, and poultry farms" having an annual wage cost of \$10,000 or more probably do not hire a dozen or more hands. The 30,000 farms which would be affected by Taft-Hartley, then, would be the fruit and nut, vegetable and cotton growers, who, in turn, hire the most peak harvest workers and, therefore, expend larger amounts in wages.

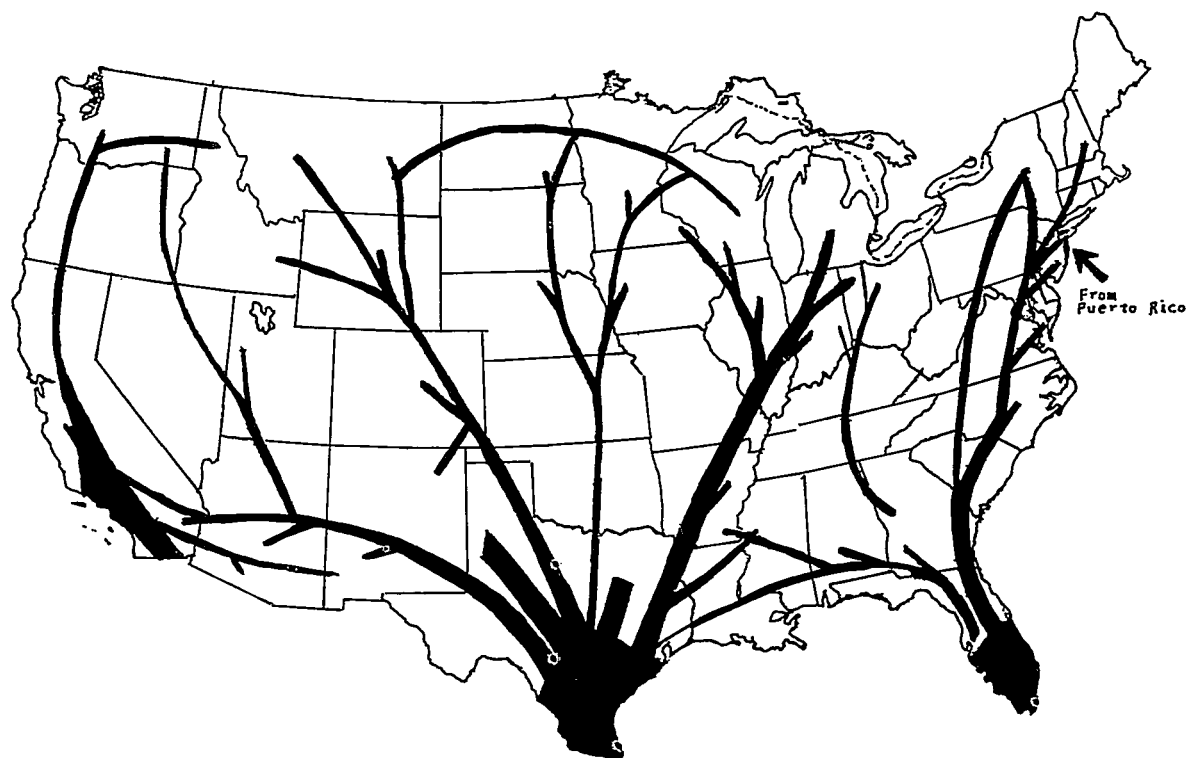
It is a fact that the UFWOC has been striking, not the small farmer, but the biggest grape growers in the country. These same producers of the grape, it is significant to note, who can best afford the move, are turning in the direction of eliminating, completely if possible, the hand picker, the hoer, and the gleaner from the fields.

Mechanization, a mounting threat to the agricultural laborer in many areas or crops, is less of a specter to Chavez, however, than the strikebreaker, of whatever variety—domestic, greencard, or illegal alien. "The growers are trying to kill the union by scaring us with talk of mechanization," he stated. He said of a grape harvester being developed at the University of California at Davis that even if the machine is perfected, it will pick only one of 22 kinds of wine grape.

Basically, it could be sensed from Chavez' words and the comments of farm worker after farm worker, that to the man who picks the crops, the union or community organization in general is the only way that their lives will be improved, that they will be able to exercise their rights fully. As one of the union captains put it, a key objective of the workers is to make the union a major issue on which everyone will have to take sides, on which no one can be neutral. Literally, to them, the union is a life or death issue.

Suddenly, a car came speeding up the road, another behind it. In the first auto were perhaps four or five men who apparently had been in the fields. They were being followed by a racimo. By evening, the homes of the "scabs" would be pinpointed and a campaign literally to shame them into staying out of the fields would begin the next day. In a moment the two cars were whirls of dust visible at the vine tops.

Travel Patterns of Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers



Along the Rio Grande, U.S. 83 runs the gamut of poverty. Appalling conditions of hovel housing, hunger, economic dependence, lack of opportunity, unemployment, injustice are in permanent residence here. Highway 83 is a main artery of the migrant stream flowing from south Texas through New Mexico into Arizona and California or up through the Texas Panhandle into the Rocky Mountain States. (The chart illustrates the general outflow of migrant workers from south Texas as well as southern California and Florida.) Main portions of the migrant population move upward to the Great Lakes region, the North Central States, and some to Florida.

In the Rio Grande Valley, a community movement is groping its way into becoming an independent, self-help organization under the name, Colonias del Valle. Its headquarters in San Juan, a small one-street town east of McAllen, operates as the Valley Service Center.

Colonias in this part of the country are small housing developments, subdivisions sold lot by lot to local migrant people who build their own houses or contract with the developer. Many are small, tidy homes but with few if any of the modern conveniences. Most are unfit for the people who live in them because they are usually vermin or rodent infested, offer little protection against the weather, and are too small for the number

of people they shelter. In colonias such as El Gato and El Rincon, the thatch-roofed *jacal* is common, shacks pieced together with strips of tin, wire, sticks, odds and ends of boards. There are no paved streets here, no street lights, running water, or indoor plumbing. Water must be hauled into the colonia in many cases, because wells pump up a bitter, salty brew. Yet in certain areas, too much water, in a flash flood of the Rio Grande, can severely damage crops and communities.

Late one spring evening, a large group of farm workers, their wives, and a few of the young adults settled into rusted metal folding chairs and overstuffed sofas, set in a wide circle in the meeting hall of the Valley Service Center. The colonia president presided, standing with one foot on a metal seat. Each point on the agenda was carefully examined and clarified before another was taken up. Occasionally a passerby glanced through the large plate glass windows of the center. Chairs squeaked, a baby cried for a while, the voices rose and fell. Each person was having his say.

In September 1967, Hurricane Beulah roared into south Texas, killing and maiming people on both sides of the border. The hurricane also devastated fields,

churning them into sloughs, wiping out, too, many of the already scarce jobs available to the valley residents. The wage-depressing influx of greencarders into this valley has forced families to seek work as far away as Washington and New York—Beulah turned the economic clamp about the farm worker several more notches. From January 1967 levels, farm jobs fell by about two-thirds in 1968 in Hidalgo County alone.

The fear that dominates the migrant is that of losing a job, of not finding the job available that he had last year because of mechanization, demise of a farm, or arriving too late for the first good pickings. Here, in south Texas, the fear begins—fear for the few days of hoeing or running a tractor, for the prospect of out-of-State jobs, how soon to leave, where to go, getting a loan in time.

Amador is the father of four children; his wife is pregnant. The cooling system in his pickup truck had needed repairs lately and then for two days the vehicle had been missing, stolen. When it was found, the engine was burned out. The cost to repair the engine, he had learned, was more than he could earn in a month on the road. How could he move out now without transportation? For three years he had been among the more than 86,000 people who had engaged in interstate travel out of Texas, and among 39,000

who had ventured out of only four Rio Grande Valley counties: Hidalgo, Starr, Cameron, and Willacy. (Other figures compiled by the Texas Employment Commission and the Texas Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that in 1966, more than 100,000 families or groups left the State while 129,000 sought farm work within the State.)

The story of Amador can be multiplied with minor alterations thousands of times over. The oldest of six children he began field work at the age of nine. He dropped out of school in the 10th grade. At present, only the youngest child, a girl, has a chance to finish high school, the first and only person in the family to do so. For a time he enrolled in an adult education program in Starr County where he could earn some money while learning, but he had to leave to join the harvest.

Now Amador's chances are dwindling. Perhaps he'll fix his pickup or find another job, or he may have to leave his family, join a single men's group to hunt work in the Great Lakes area or even in Chicago where he lost a finger last year in a potato packing plant. He was an early member of the *huelga*, the strike in Starr County which pitted the No. 2 local of the UFWOC against the large farm employers along the Rio Grande. If he happens to get a job in south Texas now, Amador believes, he would be out of a job as soon as the employer learned about his union activities. But he asserts that it had been a lack of education that made his parents think that earning \$13 a day or less in the fields was enough. "We think differently now," he says. "We have to work together and defend ourselves to better ourselves."

The persistent pressure exerted by the need for work had enveloped Amador. It appeared, too, in the dry, matter-of-fact words of an old man wielding a hoe in a jalapeno field for \$1 an hour: "If we leave now, the children won't learn anything, and they'll end up here." The time was toward the end of May, school was almost over, and many families were already gone, or waiting till the last school bell rang. Their homes would be left, boarded up, at the mercy of weather or anyone who might break in, take what little might be there. Forces pulled at them, pressing them into the stream. Yet, a chunky farm worker could still look ahead as he slapped on a thin coat of white paint to protect the clapboard sides of his home. The next night, as soon as he could sign up with the Farm Labor Service in McAllen, he would be on his way.

Beyond the vagaries of weather and timing, the south Texas Mexican American, who makes up a good part of the 103,000 persons of Spanish-surname who





migrate for work, must contend with the presence of the greencarder, not by the tens, or hundreds, but by the thousands.

The border crossing at McAllen-Reynosa, one of the major crossings in the area, teems with people from Mexico, dressed for field work, of all ages and sizes, male and female. The people come to work in the U.S. because wages are higher than in Mexico and since the American dollar is worth more in pesos, it is extremely beneficial for a Mexican to obtain a greencard and work on this side during the day, returning to his home in Mexico at night.

Yet, annual income per capita in Starr County, for example, is about \$1,500, and according to the report, *Hunger, U.S.A.*, by the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the U.S., Starr County's percentage of poor families was 71.4 and its newborn death rate was at 9.7 per 1,000 in comparison to the national rate of 5.9 per 1,000. There is also evidence of greater numbers of illegal entrants into the U.S. Notably since the termination of Public Law 78 (the "bracero" program), the number of Mexicans deported for illegal entry increased to 14,248 in 1965, nearly half again the number that had been deported just the year before, and was up to 24,385 in 1966.

The actual number of illegal workers is difficult to gauge but it is possible to surmise a total twice the 1966 figure of those who are not caught.

Of major importance in evaluating the impact of the greencarder is that apart from the loss of jobs to resident workers and the suppression of wages, the situation forces upwards of 75 percent of the Mexican American population out of the area to find work. The migrant is thus deprived of opportunities in education, job training, housing, and the exercise of certain civil rights. As long as he must leave home for three to six months of the year, he cannot build a sound and solid base of political and social involvement in his home community. The Colonias del Valle, however, point toward a method by which the migrant can maintain an organization from which will flow the kinds of activities and services other regions take for granted. Ed Krueger, a United Church of Christ minister doing non-denominational work in the valley since 1966, has been like the rock fallen into the stream which little by little catches branches floating down willy-nilly until an island, even a dam is formed. Twenty colonias have formed self-help committees since October 1967. In turn, the colonias have set up a joint council to work on common problems. It is still too early to

become too enthusiastic about the colonias' organizing efforts, Krueger said, and summer will be the first major test of the new movement.

There are signs in Starr County that things are changing for the better, he added. For example, a coalition of the poor people, the United Farm Workers local in Rio Grande City, led by Gil Padilla, national vice president of the union, and some teachers and businessmen concerned with the conduct of government, ousted several county officials and elected two people to the school board in the May primary elections.

A coalition like this had never succeeded before in south Texas; the current efforts may fail, or be long in making changes but a new start has been made in which the farm worker himself is crucially involved. A colonia leader, who had a large family and who could ill afford to migrate, said: "We are fighting for the children. We must keep faith in one another—that is what counts. We face indifference everyday here but even though we've never united before, we know that this is the only way to change our children's future."

Someone suggested that the group should petition the county health department to send a county health nurse to the colonia perhaps every two weeks or once a month. The president canvassed the room, listening to every opinion, drawing out by a nod of his head each word. There seemed to be consensus; he asked for a vote and it was unanimous. The migrant population was about to appeal to government for services due them. It was a start.

Lou Tyser shared a converted school bus for the trip up from West Palm Beach and traced New Jersey's Highway 49 for the first time last summer when he signed on with a crew leader to pick strawberries. He had cut sugarcane for a while but he hadn't kept too long at that; besides most of the cutting operations have been assumed by Jamaicans under contract with growers' labor supply associations. He knew that the squeeze for jobs was getting tougher here in the southern area of the Garden State. Lou had been at one of the farm camps for three days without work and the strawberries were still not ready except for some spot picking.

There were about 15 men in the crew to which the tall, angular Negro belonged. At another nearby camp, its front step practically alongside 49, another 30 men sat idle.

Clipping onions in a south Texas field

The land is fertile here and follows the gentle wave of old hills; farm homes and silos touch off with bright whites and reds the swelling green landscape. Along many slopes, too, farm worker barracks stand out in starkly white rows, one for Negroes, farther back another for Puerto Ricans. In the shade or in doorways, several Negro men pass the time. The young ones speak loudly, laughing often; the older ones say little—expressionless, they watch and wait. Down the road a dozen-man crew of contract Puerto Ricans worked a patch of collard greens. The crew leader, a white man, turned a scornful look at strangers who stopped by the field. His "Whadyawant" discouraged further conversation.

The migrant in New Jersey seems not to be aware of the means by which other farm workers are trying to gain self-sufficiency and self-determination. The tenacity and conviction of Delano are not here nor the new sense of community togetherness of south Texas. Predominantly, the migrant to this region is the Negro from the South, Florida in particular. But here also a variety of other segments of the farm work force augment the Negro crews; Puerto Ricans who are nearby residents, such as those from Vineland, a city heavily populated by Puerto Ricans; white workers; even a few Mexicans.

The dominant worker in the field is the contract Puerto Rican, brought here under an agreement between the Glassboro Service Association and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Workers hired under the



contract are guaranteed \$1.40 an hour and 160 hours work a month, regardless of whether they actually work that length of time. A health insurance plan is provided, the worker paying 25 cents, and the employer 75 cents. In 1967 Puerto Rican contract workers numbered 7,500; Negro migrants, 2,350; day-haul and local or walk-in workers, 10,800; and Puerto Rican non-contract workers, 5,500. (New Jersey already has a statutory wage minimum of \$1.40 an hour which will be raised to \$1.50 an hour in 1969.)

There is every indication that the interstate or migrant Negro worker will in a few years be unable to find farm work in New Jersey. He will not be wanted or needed. The growing trend toward greater use of contract Puerto Ricans and local day-haul workers suggests that the economy would rather do without him.

Walter Gathers is a short, block-built Negro who has experienced every aspect of farm work short of owning a farm. He has mainly been a seasonal farm worker, but in recent summers he has recruited a crew of Southern Negroes for work in the Garden State. Gathers was the only true migrant on the Migrant Labor Task Force commissioned by Governor Richard J. Hughes to investigate the farm labor situation in his State. The Task Force report, *Seasonal Farm Workers in the State of New Jersey*, was published in March.

The Task Force, Gathers thought, had had visibly good effects on living conditions in many camps once growers had become aware of the official concern for the situation of the farm workers. Garden State was a good name for New Jersey, he pointed out, since the foodbasket comprised of some 10 New Jersey counties serves a market of millions of people within a few hours' haul—to Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York.

Nevertheless, Gathers said, the problems of the Negro migrant worker have not improved: he is still subject to changing patterns of demand and the weather, while, in fact, he cannot juggle income and outgo to provide his family a decent living in comparison to the Puerto Rican contract or non-contract worker who has relatively better work conditions.

The inequity of treatment of the interstate Negro along Highway 49 is obvious—Dozens of Negroes stand idle while contract workers earn an income far higher than the interstate worker can possibly make. The Task Force report disclosed that Puerto Rican contracts worked longer and earned an average of \$76 weekly last year, while interstate Negro migrants worked less weeks and made only \$55 weekly. Day-

haul and local workers who are less dependent on farm work for a livelihood averaged \$41 per week while non-contract Puerto Ricans (many apparently under informal agreements with growers) grossed \$77 weekly. The contract workers who are single men paid out 34 percent weekly for food and meals; Negro migrants including families, 40 percent. In turn, Negro workers were not able to save as much as contract or non-contract workers did.

A burl-armed young Negro, who had brought a younger brother and a young son with him, leaving his wife and two other children in Florida, typified many of the black migrants. He had joined the stream up into New Jersey because he could not find work where he lived and hoped to tide himself over until something turned up. But for three or four years nothing had turned up and he had remained in the stream. "I'm tired of coming up here," he said, "Maybe this will be the last time. I been thinking of taking a course in barbering, maybe get a job that way. It's expensive to come up here and then you don't make any money to speak of."

It had drizzled off and on in Bridgeton during the day but now in the evening the water slashed down outside the migrant project office of the Southwest Citizens Organization for Poverty Elimination (SCOPE), an agency funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. What glimmer of hope might be found for the transient farm worker stems from the ground-work being conducted by the young people administering the migrant program. SCOPE Migrant pro-





Tendrils . . . glossy and almost transparent against the light, dark greens . . . of the thickening vines.

poses to establish a kind of community reception center to provide various services to the migrant as well as welcoming him to the area.

The SCOPE migrant program director, Al Federici, indicates that the community development type of program will be the first of its kind to aim at the people who have only passed through the New Jersey farm towns of Bridgeton, Cedarville, Salem, Vineland, Glassboro, Rosenhayn.

The purpose of the program would be to offer the migrant avenues of escape from the migrant stream, direct him into training programs or adult education courses, and orient him to the opportunities and problems of the cities. Federici recognized that the Negro migrant today could become the slumdweller of tomorrow and that efforts had to be made now to break the cycle of migrancy smoothly, not abruptly and traumatically. He saw that the Negro migrant was being squeezed out here as he had been in the South by imported labor or mechanization. Hopefully, he said, the county and State agencies and the people of the communities would support the SCOPE programs to help the migrants who had harvested their crops for years.

The distinct diversity of treatment and disregard for

the black southern migrant or day-hauler is re-emphasized in the Migrant Labor Task Force report: "Labor requirements exceeding the supply of Puerto Rican Contract Workers are met through the employment of Negro Interstate Workers or the use of urban Negro Day-Haul Workers from Philadelphia, New York, Trenton, and Camden. The last two categories of workers therefore serve an economic function which traditionally makes them the last persons employed and the first persons laid off when the harvest is late or below the expected level."

A labor contract is in effect with some 7,500 Puerto Rican workers enjoying benefits for themselves and their families. Yet, Negro workers, who are already being crippled by economic pressures at home, must contend with the same kind of forces when they travel, often on their own, without benefit of any guarantees, pushing down their anxiety, hiding it behind loud laughter, an emotionless face.

The highways of the migrant stream inevitably lead back to the legislative and administrative problems which slow progress or block change for the itinerant farm worker. A detailed and comprehensive program which would affect most phases of the farm worker's

life is set forth in the February 1968 Report (No. 1006) of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Suggestions for revisions or provisions in the law dealing with collective bargaining right, foreign workers, voluntary farm employment service, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, old age, survivors, and disability insurance, residence requirements for public assistance and for voting eligibility, and for a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor—all of these basic factors—are covered by the Senate Report.

From the evidence in Delano and south Texas, perhaps in the future for the Garden State, the migrant farm worker may yet obtain the essence of the American dream: self-determination through personal participation in the forces which shape our lives. He will

have to do this in spite of the indifference and resistance of certain sections of society, but he is becoming more aware that he can achieve a measure of dignity through his own efforts. The migrants, one realizes, are among the most oppressed and disadvantaged people in America. On the other hand, their economic deprivation could be the easiest problem to resolve. How a man can be brought back to self-respect, self-confidence, is another thing. Perhaps, it is only through unionization and community organization that this is possible. As long as inequities of law and practice persist, farm workers will continue to be denied rights and opportunities even while other groups are achieving them. They simply will not have the choice to stay on or to abandon those highways of misery. □

ARMANDO RENDON

Summary of the 1968 Civil Rights Act

THE 90TH CONGRESS acted on three major problem areas in assuring equality of opportunity and treatment for minority people in America with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The rights of persons participating in civil rights related activities are protected by Federal statute, equality of opportunity in acquiring decent housing is promoted, and certain Constitutional rights and protections are afforded American Indians.

Title I of the Civil Rights Act is divided into two parts. The first part is a criminal statute designed to offer protection against violent interference with activities protected by Federal law or the Constitution.

The statute prohibits the use of force or threats of force by private individuals or public officials to interfere with participation by others in specified areas of protected activity, including:

Voting and related activities as well as running for office; participating in or enjoying the benefits of Federal programs; Federal employment, and serving on Federal juries.

Other activities protected by the Title from interference when it is motivated by the participant's race, religion, or nationality, include:

Enrolling in or attending public schools; participating in or enjoying the benefits of programs, facilities or activities of State or local governments; enjoying

private, State, or local employment, union membership, or the services of employment agencies; serving on State juries; traveling in interstate commerce or using the vehicles or facilities of common carriers; enjoying the facilities of hotels, restaurants, gasoline stations, theaters, sports arenas and similar public accommodations (specifically exempted are rooms rented on the premises of the proprietor's residence).

Furthermore, the Title specifically protects from interference persons who urge or aid participation in the protected activities, as well as those who lawfully speak in favor of such participation, so long as riots or acts of physical violence are not encouraged. Interference during a riot with any person engaged in a business affecting commerce is also prohibited. Neither law enforcement officers lawfully carrying out their duties, nor law enforcement officers or members of the armed forces engaged in suppressing riots, are covered.

The penalties prescribed are graduated according to the seriousness of the results of the violation. If no physical harm results, the maximum penalty is a \$1,000 fine and one year imprisonment. If bodily injury results, the maximum penalty is a \$10,000 fine and 10 years imprisonment. If death results, the maximum penalty is life imprisonment.

Existing laws are amended to increase to life imprisonment the maximum penalty for conspiring

against the constitutional rights of citizens or depriving people of such rights where death results. The Title does not prohibit the enforcement of similar State or local laws and prosecution under this section may be made only upon the personal certification of the Attorney General or Deputy Attorney General that prosecution is in the public interest and necessary to secure substantial justice.

The second part of Title I makes criminal interstate or foreign travel or the use of interstate or foreign travel facilities, such as the radio, telephone, and the mail, for the purpose of promoting or inciting riots. Violation only occurs where such promotion actually occurs or is attempted.

A riot is defined as a public disturbance amongst an assemblage of three or more persons involving an act of violence or threatened violence to persons or property. The maximum punishment prescribed is a \$10,000 fine and five years imprisonment.

The Attorney General or other appropriate officer of the Department of Justice is directed to prosecute promptly all violations of the Title or to notify the Congress of the reasons for not doing so.

In no way are State or local officials prohibited from prosecuting acts which are violations of this part as well as local law. However, a conviction or acquittal in a State or local court is a bar to prosecution under this law for the same acts.

Closely related to the second part of Title I is Title X. This title prohibits (1) teaching the use of, or making of, firearms, explosives, or incendiary devices, knowing, having reason to know, or intending that they will be unlawfully employed in furtherance of a civil disorder which may adversely affect commerce or the performance of a federally protected function; (2) transporting or manufacturing for transportation in commerce any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, knowing, having reason to know, or intending that it will be used unlawfully in furtherance of a civil disorder, and (3) obstructing firemen, police or soldiers engaged in the suppression of a civil disorder affecting commerce. The penalty prescribed is a maximum \$10,000 fine and five years imprisonment.

Title II grants to the American Indian basic constitutional rights and protection from arbitrary tribal action. Tribal governments are prohibited from:

Abridging the freedom of religion, speech, press, or assembly; conducting unreasonable searches and seizures; subjecting persons to trial for the same crime twice; compelling a person to testify against himself in a criminal case; taking private property without just compensation; denying a defendant in a criminal case

the right to a speedy, public, and fair trial, including the right to counsel; requiring excessive bail or fines or imposing cruel and unusual punishment (maximum penalty in an Indian court for any offense is a \$500 fine and 6 months imprisonment); denying to any persons within their jurisdictions equal protection of the law or due process of law; passing bills of attainder or ex post facto laws; denying to any person accused of an offense punishable by imprisonment the right, upon request, to trial by jury of not less than six persons.

To insure the protection of these rights the legality of a person's detention by an Indian tribe may be tested in the United States courts by the writ of habeas corpus.

Title III implements the provisions of Title II by directing the Secretary of the Interior to propose to Congress a model code to govern the administration of justice by Indian courts. The new code will provide the same rights in Indian courts as are guaranteed in Federal courts and will assure that the defendant is made aware of these rights. Furthermore, the code will establish proper qualifications for judges and provide for their training.

Title IV provides for the assumption by States of jurisdiction over tribal affairs. It authorizes States to assert criminal and civil jurisdiction in Indian country with the consent, expressed by a majority vote, of the tribes concerned. State laws would have the same effect over Indians as they have elsewhere within the State, but would not interfere with any privileges and rights enjoyed by Indians under Federal treaties, laws, or agreements. Indian tribal laws, not inconsistent with State laws, would be applied in State civil courts.

States having obtained jurisdiction under earlier Federal law are permitted to cede such jurisdiction back to the Federal Government.

Criminal and civil cases pending in Federal courts at the time of session of jurisdiction by the United States to States under this Title will not be affected.

Since Indian courts cannot impose a penalty in excess of six months imprisonment, Federal courts under the "Major Crimes Act," have jurisdiction over major crimes committed by Indians, except where States have assumed criminal jurisdiction. The effect of Title V is to amend the "Major Crimes Act" by adding criminal assaults resulting in serious bodily injury.

Title VI provides that applications related to the employment of legal counsel made by Indian tribes and other Indian groups to the Secretary of the Interior or Commissioner of Indian Affairs are deemed approved

if no action is taken within 90 days from the date of filing.

Title VII attempts to assist Indians in achieving their legal rights by requiring the Secretary of the Interior to revise and bring up-to-date various publications and documents and compile opinions relating to Indian affairs.

Title VIII of the Act—the open housing title—forbids discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in the sale, rental, financing and advertising of dwelling units and vacant land to be used for residential purposes. It also prohibits “blockbusting” and requires that membership in real estate boards and participation in multiple listing services shall be on a nondiscriminatory basis.

COVERAGE

The provisions of Title VIII take effect in three stages:

1. As of the date the Act was signed (April 11, 1968), the Title applies to federally-assisted housing, with coverage substantially similar to the coverage of President Kennedy’s Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing (No. 11063) issued November 20, 1962. At this stage coverage includes:

- (a) dwellings owned or operated by the Federal Government, such as homes and apartment buildings repossessed by the Federal Housing Administration or Veterans Administration for default on payment of mortgages guaranteed by those agencies;
- (b) dwellings provided by loans, grants, or contributions from the Federal Government, such as Federally-assisted low-rent public housing projects. (Although coverage of public housing projects is restricted to those built under agreements entered into after November 20, 1962, and where repayment has not been made prior to April 11, 1968, most public housing projects receive annual contributions from the Federal Government and discrimination is forbidden by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.)
- (c) dwellings provided under a slum clearance or urban renewal program of a state or local public agency, where the program has received Federal assistance since November 20, 1962 (e.g. urban renewal housing) ;
- (d) dwellings provided by loans insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government unless the loans were fully paid off prior to April 11,

1968, e.g., one and two-family homes and multi-family buildings built in recent years and to be built in the future under FHA and VA mortgage insurance and guarantee programs.

2. The second stage goes into effect January 1, 1959, when coverage will be extended beyond federally-assisted housing to include, among other transactions, all apartment house rentals, sales of houses by subdivision developers, and sales of units in cooperative developments. Coverage in the second stage will include sales and rentals of residential property involving all buildings containing five or more dwelling units; buildings with two, three, and four dwelling units if the owner does not reside in the building, and one-family houses sold or rented by owners of more than three such houses. An owner of three or fewer such houses is covered at this stage if he sells more than one house, other than the house in which he resides, within any 24-month period.

In the second stage, the Act also prohibits discrimination by mortgage lending institutions. In addition, real estate boards and other organizations relating to the business of selling or renting dwellings are forbidden to discriminate in their membership policies and in participation in multiple listing services.

3. In the third stage, effective January 1, 1970, coverage will extend to all one-family houses sold or rented with the aid of a real estate broker or any other person engaged in the business of selling or renting dwellings. The law also will cover all one-family houses sold or rented by owners who have advertised the property offered for sale or rent in a discriminatory manner.

PROHIBITED ACTS

The following acts are prohibited if they involve discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin:

- (1) To refuse to sell or rent or negotiate for the sale or rental of a dwelling.
- (2) To discriminate against any person in the terms or conditions of sale, rental, or financing a dwelling;
- (3) To make any statement or advertisement with respect to sale or rental of housing, indicating any discrimination or intent to discriminate;
- (4) To represent falsely to any person that housing on the market is not available for inspection, sale, or rental;
- (5) For profit, to attempt to induce any person to

sell or rent any dwelling by representations regarding the entry or prospective entry into the neighborhood of persons of a particular race, color, creed, or national origin.

INTERFERENCE WITH RIGHTS

One section of the Act makes it unlawful to coerce, intimidate, threaten, or interfere with any person exercising or encouraging others to exercise rights granted or protected by the Federal open housing law. This section authorizes civil suits against such interference.

Also, Title IX of the Act authorizes criminal prosecutions against persons who use or threaten to use force which injures, intimidates or interferes, or attempts to do so, with any person because of his race, color, religion, or national origin and because he has been selling, purchasing, renting, financing, or occupying a dwelling or exercising other rights granted under the Federal fair housing law, or lawfully aiding or encouraging others to exercise rights under the law.

ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT

The Act establishes three methods of enforcement: administrative conciliation by HUD, private civil suits by aggrieved persons, and lawsuits by the Attorney General of the United States.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development is primarily responsible for the administration of Title VIII. The Secretary of HUD is directed to conduct studies and issue reports and recommendations regarding the nature and extent of discriminatory housing practices in representative communities, cooperate with Federal, State, local, and private agencies in preventing or eliminating discriminatory housing practices, and administer the programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner effectively to further the policies of the Act.

Conciliation efforts will be handled by the Secretary of HUD, who will refer the case to a State or local agency if State or local law provides rights and remedies similar to Federal provisions. Where State remedies do not exist or are not promptly implemented, the Secretary will proceed with his own investigation. The Secretary, who is authorized to subpoena witnesses and examine necessary records, may attempt to elimi-

nate discriminatory housing practices through informal conferences, conciliation, and persuasion.

An aggrieved person may bring a civil suit to secure rights granted by the Act. Such a lawsuit may be filed without filing a complaint with HUD or can be instituted after a failure of HUD or a State or local agency to settle the complaint satisfactorily. The court, however, must suspend proceedings if it thinks conciliation efforts by the Secretary of HUD or a State or local agency administering a fair housing law may resolve the matter.

A private civil suit must be brought within 180 days after the alleged discriminatory act. The action may be brought in a Federal court unless the aggrieved person has a judicial remedy under a State or local fair housing law which provides rights and remedies substantially equivalent to those provided in the Federal open housing law. In such a case the suit must be filed in a State court.

The court may appoint an attorney for the plaintiff and may authorize the commencement of the civil action upon proper showing without payment of fees or costs. If the plaintiff is successful, the court may award actual damages and up to \$1,000 as punitive damages, in addition to court costs and reasonable attorney fees (if the court finds that the plaintiff is not financially able to pay the attorney fees).

The court may also issue a temporary or permanent injunction or other appropriate order. However, a sale or rental of the housing in question, to a third party who is a bona fide purchaser or tenant, made before issuance of the court's order and without actual notice to the third party of the existence of the complaint or court action, cannot be affected.

The Attorney General may seek enforcement of the Title, through court action, in cases where he has reasonable cause to believe that there is a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of rights granted by the law or that a group of persons has been denied rights under the law and such denial raises an issue of general public importance. □

DAVID RUBIN

Mr. Rubing is Deputy General Counsel of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Correspondence

Gentlemen:

In perusing your quarterly publication, the Civil Rights Digest, Spring 1968, with particular attention to the roster of Negro elected officials under the listings of Colorado officials who are elected and of Negro ancestry, we noted two important omissions.

The first is Elvin Caldwell, who was elected to the City Council in 1955 and has been re-elected on four occasions. Councilman Caldwell represents District 8 in the City and County of Denver.

The second is Mrs. Rachel B. Noel, who was elected to the Board of Education for the City and County of Denver, School District No. 1. Mrs. Noel's election is on a city-wide basis, and she is the first person of Negro ancestry to be elected to the Board of Education for the City and County of Denver.

MINORU YASUI
Executive Director
Commission on Community Relations
City and County of Denver

Gentlemen:

Having scanned your Spring 1968 issue, I regard it as slanted and unrealistic, and a waste of taxpayers' money.

Be that as it may, I did note an omission. Councilman William Fountain was elected to his seat in January. As background, you may be interested to know that he is the first Negro councilman seated in this

small Sussex-Kent County town of Milford. Mr. Fountain is a school teacher, and is both active and popular in his duty as councilman.

WALT RYKIEL
News Editor
Milford (Del.) Chronicle

Gentlemen:

It was with interest that I noted the Roster of Negro Elected Officials in the Spring 1968 issue of Civil Rights Digest. The fact that such a roster can be put on only four pages—while showing where we are—highlights how far we have to go.

Two corrections that involve Richmond, Calif., should be brought to your attention: On the City Council, Bernard Evans was defeated in the election of April 1967. However, in that same election Nathaniel Bates, also a Negro, was elected. Therefore, the racial composition of the City Council is unchanged. In May 1968, George Livingston, a Negro city councilman, was elected Vice Mayor by the City Council. In the school board election (Richmond Unified School District) of June 1967, Terry Hatter was defeated in his bid for re-election leaving that board with no Negro or other minority members.

MR. ADRIAN ISABELLE
Human Relations Officer
Richmond Commission on
Human Relations



READING LIST

The Autobiography of W. E. B. DuBois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century, edited by Herbert Aptheker. New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1968. 448 pp.

A unique, personal commentary upon a century in which Dr. Du Bois played a most consequential role—the life story of a leader since the turn of the century in the movement for black liberation and a panoramic view of the great social revolution of our time.

Black Power U.S.A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, by Lerone Bennett, Jr. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1967. 401 pp.

Relates the story of the men whose genius flowered in the Reconstruction, but were destined to bear a sour crop of humiliation and defeat as the threat of black power came to disturb the equilibrium of white complacency.

The Civil Rights Commission: 1957-1965, by Foster Rhea Dulles. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1968. 274 pp.

Describes the Commission's activities, what the Commission by and of itself sought to accomplish, and relates these activities to the broad spectrum of the political and social history of the late 1950's and early 1960's.

The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, by Harold Cruse. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1967. 594 pp.

A comprehensive examination of the Negro intellectual as a class—a class that the author feels is functionally impoverished and in the midst of a serious crisis because it lacks continuity with its cultural, creative, and ideological antecedents.

The Ground Is Our Table, by Steve Allen. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966. 141 pp.

Presents the dramatic story of the long-standing plight of the Mexican American farm workers of the Southwest and suggests what can be done to alleviate their miserable conditions.

The Indian in America's Past, edited by Jack D. Forbes. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964. 181 pp.

A sad but informative commentary on a collision of worlds which tainted Indian life and custom, and which, to this day, threatens the very survival of the native Americans.

Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, by Celia S. Heller. New York: Random House, 1966. 113 pp.

A study of the male Mexican American youth population in general—their ambitions and their values as well as their difficulties.

The Negro and the American Labor Movement, edited by Julius Jacobson. New York: Anchor Books, 1968. 430 pp.

Discusses the position of the Negro in the American Labor movement from the Civil War to the present and points out how and why the movement has failed to meet its responsibility to the Negro worker.

The Negro in American Life, by Mabel Morsbach. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967. 273 pp.

Successfully weaves the single strand of the Negroes' history into the broader events of American history, vividly recording the diversity of achievement through capsule biographies of pioneers, industrialists, politicians, educators, scientists, soldiers, athletes, and artists.

The Police on the Urban Frontier: A Guide to Community Understanding by George Edwards. New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1968. 89 pp.

Examines the relationship between the police and minority groups in the big city ghettos and offers a guide for the development of better police-community relations.

The Puerto Ricans: Strangers—Then Neighbors, by Clarence Senior. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965. 128 pp.

Debunks the myths of the Puerto Rican "invasion" and presents a factual, candid picture of the largest immigrating group in the Nation today.

Rebellion in Newark: Official Violence and Ghetto Response, by Tom Hayden. New York: Random House, 1967. 102 pp.

Examines the Newark, New Jersey riot which took place in July of 1967 and seeks to explain why riots are occurring in so many of America's major cities.

Teachers' Guide to American Negro History, by William Loren Katz. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1968. 192 pp.

Provides a complete plan for integrating American history curriculums by using supplementary books and materials and provides up-to-date bibliographic and audio-visual information, a core reference library, and specific guidelines and objectives for classwork.

White Reflections on Black Power, by Charles E. Fager. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1967. 118 pp.

Describes the major elements of the "Black Power" concept and finds the concept not only legitimate, but sweeping in its implications and decisive for the future role of the white liberal in the Negro struggle.

RECENT STUDIES

Hunger, U.S.A., A Report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States. Washington, D.C.: New Community Press, 1968. 100 pp.

Political Participation, by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968. 256 pp.

Their Daily Bread, A Study of the National School Lunch Program by the Committee on School Lunch Participation. Atlanta, Ga.: McNelley-Rudd Printing Service, Inc., 1968. 135 pp.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

John A. Hannah, *Chairman*
Eugene Patterson, *Vice Chairman*
Frankie M. Freeman
Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Robert S. Rankin
William L. Taylor, Staff Director

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial

of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress; and,
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.