

THE CHINESE *100 Years in the South*



Racism, the Klan, and Our Schools



The Chuck Davis
Dance Troupe



Southern Exposure

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Thanks for Answering Your Mail!

The Wolf is at Bay

It has been a hard spring for us. Three months ago, we wrote you about the wolf at our door, and our fear for the survival of the Institute.



Your response was generous, unprecedented and is entirely responsible for our survival. Since April 1, our readers and friends have contributed more than \$23,500 in order that our work might continue, and the Institute Sustainers Program now has over 600 members. We have been able to pay our most pressing debts and continue important Institute projects on campaign financing and electoral workshops.

Thank you. We know that we are not the only ones who have approached you for assistance — unfortunately, there are too many nonprofit groups in our position. We know that many of our readers have limited incomes, and that even small donations mean a sacrifice.

A number of people have offered to help us with their special talents and their time. Supporters in St. Petersburg, Durham, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Boston have hosted gatherings with Institute President Julian Bond, staff members, and people who are interested in hearing more about our work. They have led to good conversations and ideas, and have made us many new friends. Over the next year, we will do several more events across the country. If you're interested in helping out with such a gathering, contact me at the Institute.

There is still a challenge ahead. We have not completely cut our debt, and our smaller staff works longer hours to get the work done. Yet it is good work; people all over the country believe in it enough to share in it. That is what your vote of support meant this spring.

Thank you for joining us.

The Reader's Survey

The response to the *Southern Exposure* Reader's Survey has been terrific — more than 10 percent of our subscribers returned completed questionnaires, and they are still trickling in. We are now compiling the results, and will print them here in the next issue. For those of you who still have surveys sitting on your desks . . . take the plunge and return them. You will be eligible for *Southern Exposure*'s Procrastinator's Award — and you will help us out.

Many thanks for answering your mail.

Dee Dee Risher

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SOUTHERN NEWS ROUNDUP

photo by Earl Dotter



Dan River rebuffed on human experiment

Rate labor groups and questioning scientists have temporarily beaten back an attempt by textile manufacturer Dan River to use workers in its Danville, Virginia, plant for scientific experiments to test a theory on the cause of byssinosis, or brown lung disease.

As part of the proposed study, Dan River received a federal exemption so it could expose mill workers to cotton dust levels higher than federal standards in an effort to determine if brown lung disease is caused by bacteria that grow in cotton or by the cotton dust itself.

The Virginia Brown Lung Association and the AFL-CIO objected to the plan saying the lowering of safety standards to determine if there are any adverse health effects was akin to human experimentation. Critics also contend that the experiment was being used as an excuse by Dan River for not installing some \$7.5 million worth of equipment to comply with federal standards that went into effect last March.

According to Virginia Labor Commissioner Eva Tiegs, Dan River withdrew its proposed experiment in part because unfavorable news reports were damaging the company's image. Virginia officials have given the company until August 15 to come up with a plan for installing safety equipment to comply with the federal standards.

Health researchers have long known that cotton mill workers are susceptible to loss of lung function and chronic lung obstruction or byssinosis, but no one has determined exactly what causes the disabling disease. In 1976 the Occupational Safety and Health Administration enacted cotton dust standards to lower dust levels in mills and to protect workers from the suspected culprit, cotton dust. But studies examining the role of cotton dust and endotoxins found in the mill environment have been inconclusive.

Last year two researchers found thermophilic bacteria, a type of bacteria which need heat to grow and multiply, in the weave rooms of several cotton mills. John Hatcher of Clemson University and Russell Harley of the Medical College of South Carolina believe thermophilic bacteria may cause byssinosis and they proposed a five-year study to test their theory.

The researchers say epidemiological considerations of the study would require Dan River to maintain the same environmental conditions that have existed in the mills; they and the company claim workers would receive adequate protection by wearing face masks.

Critics in the Brown Lung Association (BLA) and textile workers unions say masks are ineffective and engineering changes required by the new cotton dust standards are necessary. "We already know that something about the dust makes people sick," said Velma Brantley of Spartanburg, president of the BLA. "We don't want to see any more people in the shape we're in."

— by Veta Christy

Black U.S. marine refuses combat duty

Marine Corporal Alfred Griffin sits in a U.S. military prison today, because he refused to participate in the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the military occupation of Beirut, Lebanon.

Griffin was tried in a military court in May on charges of taking an unauthorized absence and missing a troop movement. Both charges stem from October 1983 when Griffin missed the departure of his combat unit from the Marine Corps base at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. Military authorities gave Griffin an opportunity to join his unit en route to Lebanon, and later in the invasion of Grenada. He refused both offers, even though he received assurances that his October resistance would be forgotten if he complied. Griffin stated that his religion, Islam, prevented him from fighting. "I felt I would have been a disgrace to myself and my people," he said at his trial.

Sentenced to four months imprisonment at hard labor, six months loss of pay, a reduction in rank to private, and dis-

charge from the military, Griffin remarked, "I feel that if I had not been a Muslim, I would have been treated differently." As a political protest, Griffin went on a short hunger fast after his conviction.

Griffin's attorneys argued that the invasions of Grenada and Lebanon were illegal because Congress had not authorized them and that soldiers have a right to disobey illegal orders. Griffin himself tied his actions to Islamic religious beliefs which prevent him from taking offensive action against other people. His case is being appealed.

Not since the Vietnam war has national attention been given to the rebellion of African-American soldiers opposed to unjust orders or being used as "cannon fodder" in a war against people of color. Black enlistment in the U.S. armed forces has increased from 302,000 in 1975 to 412,000 in 1982, 19 percent of the active military population.

Many of these enlistees are victims of the "poverty draft" — they join because they cannot find decent civilian employment. Griffin is typical of these enlistees. He was attending school and ran out of money, reports Ron Kuby, one of his attorneys. A marine recruiter deceived Griffin, Kuby claims, and led him to believe that the Marines would give him electronics training — training he never received. The recruiter also told Griffin that he should not list his true religion, Islam, on his recruiting papers because it might cause him "problems." By making an example of Griffin, military chiefs apparently hope to stem any movement among blacks and other soldiers towards resisting the Pentagon's orders, regardless of their justification.

Excerpted from an article by Akil Jargas in the Afro-American Liberator.

Southern states vie for high-tech industry

Every region of the country wants high technology to come its way — with its myth of new jobs without pollution, educated high-income employees, and growth without pain —

and Southern boosters are pushing hard for their share. North Carolina has long been the site of Silicon Valley Southeast (officially known as the Research Triangle Park), a joint venture begun in the 1950s by the state government and three major universities in Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill.

The triangle now has about 90 high-tech companies and plants, and its efforts to recruit more got a boost from a \$43 million state-funded Microelectronics Center that promises to channel more university research into private hands.

The Research Triangle has generated intense competition, much of it from newer industry centers across the South. Among the competitors:

- Dallas/Fort Worth, where a military-industrial complex is turning increasingly to microelectronics; Texas Instruments and Rockwell now have about 800 high-tech neighbors.

- Northern Virginia, where Governor Charles Robb convinced the state legislature to create a \$30 million foundation to help the state's major research universities adapt laboratory projects to the needs of the area's 825 high-tech companies.

- Atlanta, the site of about 150 companies and plants.

- Eastern Tennessee, where the two-year-old Tennessee Technology Foundation is trying to build "Silicon Mountain" in the Oak Ridge/Knoxville area, currently home to nearly 100 companies.

- Austin, the overnight sensation of the industry, thanks to its outbidding of 50 other cities in the competition for MCC (the Microelectronics & Computer Technology Corporation, a joint research venture of 20 electronics firms); it now has 110 companies, and MCC's presence is expected to attract many more.

The battle for MCC, which eventually narrowed to hand-to-hand combat between Austin and the Research Triangle, is a prime example of what state and local governments are willing to do for high-tech growth: tax breaks, buildings, the services of publicly supported university faculties and facilities. North Carolina, for example, generously offered to furnish MCC with a multi-million-dollar physical plant for about \$1 million a year. Austin countered with an even bigger complex for one dollar a year.

Industry and government officials, as well as chambers of commerce, seem sold

on the desirability of this kind of economic growth. But there is much to question. Ray Marshall, who was secretary of labor in the Carter administration and now teaches economics at the University of Texas at Austin, recently published a lengthy analysis of "High Tech and the Job Crunch" in the *Texas Observer*, seeking to understand the likely results of more and more reliance on high technology industry.

Citing unpublished data from the 1983 Bureau of Labor Statistics, Marshall reported that the average weekly earnings of the 20 industries with the fastest growing employment were \$210, while the slowest industries averaged \$310. Of the bureau's 10 fastest growing industries, five are directly related to high-tech with many of the others indirectly related.



R.M./CPT

After analyzing the available studies by both optimists and pessimists, Marshall concluded: "In the absence of a comprehensive economic policy, the pessimists will be right: there will be widespread unemployment and a continued polarization of society between a few haves and many and growing numbers of have-nots."

But he continued, "Clearly, though, different policies could cause a different outcome: the technology could be used to improve the quality of life for people, and there could be a more equitable sharing of jobs and benefits and costs of change." Some of what's needed, in Marshall's view: a strategy to achieve full employment, a human resource development strategy to ensure adequate education and training for people, and greater worker participation in production and management decisions.

Credit union assists democracy at work

How many jobs will one million dollars buy? Ten million dollars? Workers in North Carolina will get a chance to find out now that the Self-Help Credit Union has opened its doors. Since January 1, the credit union has collected \$1 million in deposits, money that will be loaned to businesses and individuals in support of worker-owned companies and other democratically structured organizations.

"Our goal," says credit union manager Bonnie Wright, "is to meet the need for financing worker-owned, democratically controlled businesses. We want to help provide jobs for low-income, disadvantaged people — especially in rural areas — and generate grassroots job creation."

The Self-Help Credit Union is the brainchild of the Center for Community Self-Help, an organization established in 1980 to provide assistance to worker-owned businesses. Time and again, the people whom the center assists came up against the same problem — money. Banks wouldn't loan them money for personal or collective use, and the Small Business Administration was usually uninterested.

Banks do not consider job creation a legitimate reason for making a loan and do not look favorably on worker-owned companies. In one case, a loan officer at a major North Carolina bank rejected a loan application from a worker-owned company, despite the fact that a church agreed to secure the loan by making an interest-free deposit for the full amount sought. In addition, says Blair Levin, the chair of the SHCU board, "Workers aren't experienced in dealing with banks, and banks aren't experienced in dealing with workers."

Racism also thwarts the worker-owned companies, which in many cases are led by blacks. For example, an all-white city council in a rural county tried to stop federal block grant funds intended to help a worker-owned bakery. That bakery, established by black workers laid off when a textile factory closed, has also faced resistance from white grocery stores that refuse to purchase its bread.

The SHCU enables a group of people

to cooperatively pool their money for lending. Like worker-owned companies, the SHCU is governed by its members. After paying a \$25 fee (or \$12 for limited membership) to join, members are encouraged to sit on committees, including the one that makes loans. The 100 members include individuals, churches, non-profit organizations, and worker-owned companies. The union expects to have \$2 million in deposits by the end of 1984, and \$10 million by the end of 1985.

The credit union began making loans immediately. Mountain Warehouse, a supplier to food cooperatives throughout the Southeast, received a loan to buy a computer and software tailored to its needs, and a food co-op received a loan to purchase a van and a new cash register. A loan to Space Builders, a worker-owned construction company, provided much-needed working capital. And, while the Alamance Workers-Owned Knitting Company waited for a loan to arrive from the Campaign for Human Development, the credit union promised to bridge the gap if needed. (The company was established by workers who lost their jobs when Genesco closed its textile plant in Burlington.)

The Self-Help Credit Union is modeled in part after the Caja Laboral Popular — the "Working People's Bank" — which provides capital and other services to cooperatives in Mondragon, Spain. Launched in a priest's house in 1959, the Caja Laboral Popular now has 300,000 deposit accounts, assets of a half billion dollars, and branches throughout the Basque region of Spain.

For information about joining, contact: SHCU, P.O. Box 3259, Durham, NC 27705.

SEEN ANY GOOD NEWS?

There's no reason to let us be the ones who sift through the press to choose the material to include in the Southern News Roundup. If you see a feature article in your local newspaper or a magazine that sheds light on what progressive Southerners are doing — or are up against — send it to us. Send the complete article, date and name of publication (with its address if possible) along with your name and address, and whatever additional comments or interpretations you care to include, to: Southern News Roundup, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

Pershing Ploughshares found guilty in Orlando

Orlando, Florida's Pershing Ploughshares Eight were convicted in federal court on July 14 on charges of "degradation of property" and conspiracy for their Easter morning break-in at the city's Martin Marietta Aerospace weapons manufacturing plant. Each faces up to 15 years in prison. The Eight will go on trial once again in August on state charges of burglary and trespassing.

During their daring dawn action on April 22, the group cut through a fence at Martin Marietta, the prime contractor for Pershing II nuclear missile components. Four of them unfurled a banner reading "Pershing into Ploughshares," and then proceeded to hammer and pour their own blood on a Patriot missile launcher. The other four poured their blood on Pershing missile components and used hammers to damage five missile parts. They then hung a banner reading, "Violence Ends Where Love Begins," and gathered together to pray and sing until they were noticed by a security guard.

The Pentagon wants to put 108 Pershing II missiles in West Germany, where their 1,000-mile range will make it possible to strike deep inside the Soviet Union minutes after launch. While the justification often given for producing the missiles is a 1979 request from NATO, the Ploughshares Eight believe the real decision was made in the early 1970s when Martin Marietta began designing the missile for profit and then went searching for a "military justification."

The action of the Pershing Ploughshares in Orlando is the eighth since 1980; each is intended to bring to life the passage in the Bible, "And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks."

In addition to hammers, each action involves human blood to represent the victims of violence and hate who die daily, and also the millions who will die from the use of nuclear weapons. The pouring of their own blood symbolizes the willingness of each Ploughshares member to offer her or his own life for

the life of the world, free from nuclear weapons.

The Ploughshares' defense, which they conducted themselves, was based on three points. They claim the principles of international law establish a duty upon individuals to act to avoid personal participation in war crimes they reasonably believe are being committed by their government. Likening the Pershing II to a gun pointed at human life, they further define their action as essential to human existence. And they contend that the government, in forcing people to place their faith and taxes in nuclear weapons, is creating a state religion which they call "nuclearism"; the U.S. Constitution forbids establishing a state religion and empowers citizens to resist such a development.

The defendants say the federal judge, George C. Young, was prejudiced against them and cite his refusal to allow them to ask any questions of potential jurors and his severely limiting what they could present as a defense. Of the 30 jurors selected as a pool from which the final jury was chosen, half were in the military, had been in the military, or were connected to Martin Marietta Aerospace. Besides themselves, the defendants were able to call only one witness, Daniel Berrigan, who was only allowed to say a few sentences as a character witness for one defendant.

Waste Management under fire in Alabama

Gulf coast environmental groups won another round in their fight to prevent the offshore burning of millions of gallons of carcinogenic waste in late April, when the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) rejected a bid by Waste Management Inc. to burn hazardous chemicals in the Gulf of Mexico.

Further test burns to determine the safety of at-sea incineration of hazardous wastes will be required by the EPA, and permits are not expected to be considered until 1986, after regulations governing waste burning have been drafted.

The EPA decision exacerbates Waste



Management's troubles in Alabama, where it is illegally storing PCB-laden waste it had hoped to burn at sea. Some 2.8 million gallons of PCB waste is being stored at the nation's largest commercial hazardous waste dump located in the majority-black Sumter County town of Emelle.

Toxic waste from 45 states and abroad is trucked to the Emelle dump, which is operated by Chemical Waste Management, a subsidiary of Waste Management. ChemWaste is currently under investigation by the state for possible criminal violations of storage and record-keeping practices at Emelle. The company is also under investigation by the EPA for violation of disposal laws.

Local environmentalists have been joined in their fight to close the dump by the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice (UCC-CRJ), which helped dramatize the controversial PCB dump in predominantly black and poor Warren County, North Carolina. Sixty-nine percent of Emelle's residents are black, with 93 percent of them living below the poverty line.

Dr. Charles Cobb, director of the UCC-CRJ, told the *Guardian*, "We believe Sumter County is yet another example of siting hazardous waste facilities in defenseless poor and minority communities. It is morally wrong and a national disgrace to have built a lethal chemical

waste site in one of the poorest black communities in the country."

A recent study by the General Accounting Office of the racial and economic makeup of the communities surrounding all four licensed offsite hazardous waste landfills in the Southeast shows that blacks make up the majority of the population in three of these communities and at least 25 percent of the residents live below the poverty line. The four hazardous waste sites are in Sumter County, Alabama, Warren County, North Carolina, and Sumter and Chester Counties, South Carolina.

CWP private suit is last hope for justice

"I'm still doing cartwheels — it's a victory for the Ku Klux Klan and all freedom-loving patriots." That was the reaction of Glenn Miller, leader of the Carolina Knights of the KKK, to the April acquittal of six Klansmen and three Nazis on criminal charges of violating the civil rights of five Communist Workers Party members killed in Greensboro on November 3, 1979. That means — in the words of the

Charlotte Observer — "that although five people were shot to death on a public street in broad daylight, before more than 100 witnesses and with TV cameras rolling, no one has been convicted of any crime."

It also means that the only chance left for the victims and survivors to achieve any measure of justice is the \$48 million civil suit filed on their behalf by the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund. Proceeding through the federal courts since 1980, the suit charges that federal, state, and local officials conspired with Klansmen and Nazis to violate the civil rights of the anti-Klan demonstrators. It is now in the discovery phase, which began June 13 and lasts until August 30.

First to be deposed was Ed Dawson, the police informant and Klansman who was among those acquitted in the federal trial. During three days of questioning, Dawson admitted for the first time under oath that he acted as an FBI informant from 1969 to 1976, and that in October 1979 he spoke with Leonard Bogaty, his former FBI control agent, on at least five occasions specifically about the anti-Klan rally proposed by the CWP, telling him of the potential for violence at the rally and asking how to get an injunction to stop it. Bogaty told him to talk to the Greensboro police.

Dawson then spoke to Jesse Warren, an attorney for the police, who told him there was no way to stop it. To this, Dawson said he replied, "Well, next time I'll bring you a bucket of blood."

This and other statements Dawson made in his deposition dispel the claim that local and federal officials were ignorant of what was to occur on November 3. However, the case against most governmental agencies has already been dismissed from the suit by Federal District Judge Robert R. Merhige, Jr. He has thrown out charges against the FBI, the Justice Department, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF), and the State Bureau of Investigation. Individual Klansmen, Nazis, police officers, informants (including BATF agent Bernard Butkovich), as well as the city of Greensboro (including its police department) remain defendants. Their day in court begins October 8, 1984.

Whether the outcome will bring a measure of justice, finally, is open to speculation — especially since the federal and state juries have found the Klansmen

and Nazis not guilty of civil rights violations and first degree murder (see *SE*, Roundup, Mar./Apr. 1984). Observers agree that the federal prosecutors presented a stronger case than the state, so what went wrong?

Most critical was the judge's narrow interpretation that civil rights law required



the prosecution to prove the defendants' actions were racially motivated — a difficult feat considering four of the victims were white. Given this interpretation, defense attorneys argued the Klan/Nazi members were motivated by anti-communist zeal, not racial prejudice. "You are going to hear an awful lot about the fact that Roland Wayne Wood was head of the local Nazi Party," attorney Roy Hall told jurors in his opening statement. "These are not the war crime Nazis. At the end of the war, Roland Wayne Wood was only two months old."

"He is a patriotic citizen, just like the Germans were. The largest ethnic minority in the country are Germans. Many of you on the jury have German blood. . . . The Germans gambled everything and lost all in opposition to communism. Aren't they a lot more attractive now than they were 40 years ago at the end of the war? These defendants are patriotic citizens just like the German citizens. That's why they went to Greensboro — to stop the communists."

Some critics familiar with constitutional law say the prosecutors should have charged the defendants under a different statute, a Reconstruction-era law that would have required proof only that one

private group interfered with another engaging in a constitutionally protected activity such as a legal public rally; motivation would not have mattered.

Defense attorneys hammered away at the ideology of the CWP demonstrators in an effort to portray their clients as patriotic Americans defending themselves against communist revolutionaries. The strategy worked. Although prosecution experts established that all the early shots were fired by Klan/Nazis, the jury decided they acted in self-defense. Jury foreman Ron Johnson told reporters after the trial, "What we saw as evidence in the case was the initial attack on the [Klan] automobiles. . . . Had they not been attacked by the demonstrators, I think the Klan/Nazi caravan would have gone through without stopping. It was a defensive-type action that they took."

The composition of the jury was also a factor in the outcome. The selection process, from which the press and public were barred, began with voter registration rolls. Many experts believe that method precludes obtaining a cross-section of the community. As Duke professor John McConahay told the *North Carolina Independent*, "Judges who think registered voters are a cross-section also think it's okay that minorities are under-represented because they might not be 'good citizens.'"

This jury of six white men and six white women, McConahay believes, found it easier to identify with the defendants than the victims. As he put it, "This set of 'good citizens' said it was all right to shoot someone because they kicked your tires. Their real reason was it's all right to shoot communists."

Coors/NAACP talk while boycott grows

A boycott of Coors beer, which was initiated in 1978 by the AFL-CIO, is gathering new momentum following the comments of company chairman William Coors to a group of black and Hispanic business leaders in Denver, Colorado. (See *SE* Sept./Oct. 1983, and Mar./Apr. 1984.)

Coors told the group that "one of the

best things they [slave traders] did for you is to drag your ancestors over here in chains." Coors stated further, "In Rhodesia, the economy was booming under white management. Now in Zimbabwe, under black management, it is a disaster. ... It is not that the dedication among blacks is less; in fact it is greater. They lack the intellectual capacity to succeed and it is taking them down the tubes."

Amidst threats of joining the labor boycott, the NAACP is negotiating as part of a group for a trade agreement with Coors. But others are not waiting to take action. A letter campaign by the New Orleans Boycott Coors Committee successfully blocked Coors co-sponsorship of the "Family Affair Talent Contest" with local radio station WYLD. Organized by the New Orleans Liberation League, letter-writers denounced the company, citing an array of worker abuses and support of right-wing causes by the Adolph Coors Foundation and company president, Joseph Coors.

Victor Bussie, president of the Louisiana AFL-CIO, claimed, "The company still practices discrimination against



minorities and union people. Their industrial relations policy is a throwback to plantation and Uncle Tom days." The Black Workers for Justice, with members in eastern and Piedmont North Carolina, has begun an educational drive to inform the public about Coors labor practices, anti-black stance, its financial support of such right-wing proponents as Jesse Helms, Phyllis Schlafley, and the American Security Council, a pro-military lobby that has promoted expanded U.S. economic and military assistance for the white supremacist regime in South Africa.

Meanwhile, in Birmingham the Movement Against Racism and the Klan,

(MARK) is still embroiled in a legal battle that began in December 1981 when Coors filed a libel suit against MARK for its references to the company in the slide show, "Unmasking the Klan." MARK has been ordered by the courts to turn over its private organizational documents, which it has steadfastly refused to do. The organization considers the move an attempt by Coors to obtain the identity of anti-Klan activists and organizations around the country. The group faces a \$100 a day fine for its failure to comply with the court order, but it has appealed the decision and is awaiting a ruling.

For information and updates on the boycott write to: New Orleans Boycott Coors Committee, P.O.B. 13857 New Orleans, LA 70185

World's Fair woes hit K'ville & New Orleans

World's Fair fever is gradually taking hold in New Orleans. City residents who once dreaded the onslaught of tourists find they can enjoy the spectacle of international music, food, exhibits, and parades in relative comfort. Financial mismanagement, leading to a slowed construction schedule, almost postponed the fair's opening on May 12, and attendance is still running 35 percent below the 65,000 average daily crowd needed to break even.

The fair's planning director, Jim Brandt, now admits its publicity and advertising campaign was "too little, too late," and incorrectly "concentrated on upper-income customers in the Northeast and not on our own backyard." The total loss to private and public backers of the six-month event could exceed \$90 million.

Like the World's Fair in Knoxville, promoters sold the project as a boon to local business and a ploy to redevelop a "wasted" part of town — a railroad gulch in the case of Knoxville and a row of worn-out Mississippi River warehouses in New Orleans. Unfortunately, the Crescent City didn't learn enough from the Knoxville experience. Figures that made Expo '82 look like a success when it closed — 11 million total attendance, \$25 million in tax revenue for the city, \$500 million

worth of tourist spending pumped into the local economy — have given way to a different picture.

Today, Knoxville faces a \$57 million debt that the mayor says could require an eight percent hike in property taxes to pay. The restaurant atop the Sunsphere, which still dominates the city's skyline, closed several months ago; and except for the convention center and a couple of stores in the renovated railroad station, the 30-acre fair site is a ghost town. The day after Expo closed, federal agents moved in on the banking empire of Knoxville's former mayor and the fair's chief promoter, Jake Butcher. Their investigation led to the collapse of nine Butcher-controlled banks in Tennessee and Kentucky, the largest series of bank failures since the Depression; it also dried up the prime source of capital private developers (including Butcher's close friends) were hoping to use to renovate the site after the fair ended.

New Orleans Mayor Ernest "Dutch" Morial suspected a fair in his city might cause financial trouble, and even what seemed like a safe bet of \$17.5 million in loan guarantees and advances for street improvements now seems lost forever. Business backers expect to lose \$35 million in loan guarantees, and the state of Louisiana has already committed \$30 million just to keep the fair payrolls flowing and banks from foreclosing. A \$55 million deal for the Rouse Company (developers of the Baltimore and Boston harbor fronts) to convert part of the post-event site into a Riverwalk complex of shops and offices hinges on the fair's freeing itself from a lien contractors have placed against it for unpaid bills. The state may be called upon once again for more help.

"I don't really want to vote for it," said one rural legislator in late June when Governor Edwin Edwards was promoting another in a series of state bailouts. "But I've got people in my area who went to the fair and think it's the greatest thing that ever happened."

Indeed, the fair is a marvel to behold, from its half-mile Wonderwall, monorail, and gondola ride across the Mississippi, to a glittering array of Italian jugglers, Nigerian drummers, Texas Country Cloggers, Liberian dancers, Brazilian circus acts, the world's largest ferris wheel, Chinese acrobats, the artistic Afro-American pavilion, a fantasy Kingdom of

Rainbows, nightly Japanese fireworks, a German beer hall, and such performers as Allie Young and the Red Hot Boudin Band, B.B. King, the Everly Brothers, Robert Jr. Lockwood, and Ray Charles.

New Orleans lovers of all that glitters and makes fine music have shown their own affection for what has become almost a private affair: out of a population of 600,000, an astonishing 145,000 people have bought season passes and regularly attend several events each week. Of course it helped when nervous fair officials cut the price of the \$150 adult pass to \$99 — that works out to less than four dollars a visit if you go once a week. "Despite all the problems," says fair president Petr Spurney, "tens of thousands of people are having fun every day. The show is going on."

The fun-loving governor, Edwin Edwards, gave a more sobering analysis: "None of us can even think about the fair closing, because the impact of its closure would send a shock wave throughout the business community in the New Orleans area and create a very serious PR problem for the state."

Southern states grow, but pace could slow

Population growth in every state of the South outpaced the national average during the decade of the 1970s. But if you believe census projections, the rate in four states — Alabama, Mississippi, West Virginia, and North Carolina — will not keep up with the national average between 1980 and the year 2000.

The census bureau says the first three of these states, plus Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, all experienced a slight net outmigration of their citizens between 1980 and 1983, due largely to high unemployment in their basic industries.

The torrid pace of immigration to Florida and Texas is expected to continue, giving those states a combined population of over 38,000,000 — or two out of every five Southerners — by the year 2000. Such population shifts promise to give the South more seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, a prospect which makes

Texas and Florida especially important for competing political parties.

POPULATION GROWTH

	Percent Growth 1970-1980	Projected Growth 1980-2000	Projected Pop. 2000
AL	13.1	13.5	4,415,000
AR	18.9	24.0	2,835,000
FL	43.5	78.9	17,438,000
GA	19.1	22.8	6,708,000
KY	13.7	20.2	4,400,000
LA	15.4	22.7	5,160,000
MS	13.7	16.6	2,939,000
NC	15.7	16.8	6,868,000
SC	20.5	25.1	3,907,000
TN	16.9	18.1	5,420,000
TX	27.1	45.8	20,739,000
VA	15.0	19.5	6,389,000
WV	12.0	6.1	2,068,000
South	21.6	33.5	89,286,000
U.S.	11.4	17.9	267,084,000

Source: U.S. Census, Southern Growth Policies Board

Updates and short takes

LOUISIANA PACIFIC BOYCOTT. A one-year-old strike by workers at Louisiana-Pacific Corporation's mills in the Northwest has touched off a boycott campaign by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters. The move was taken to counter L-P Chairman Harry Marlo's "Southern strategy," which is intended to reduce wages of union workers in the Northwest to match those of the nonunion South. Unorganized workers in the South earn between \$3.35 and \$5.50 an hour, while their counterparts in the Northwest earn some \$10 an hour.

Louisiana-Pacific has withdrawn from the forest products industry's "Big Eight" employers' bargaining group, putting in doubt the future of the current three-year contract with labor. It is widely believed that L-P is out to break the Lumber, Production and Industrial workers union which is affiliated with the Carpenters, and the company has received support for this move from the Reagan-dominated

National Labor Relations Board.

Ed Durkin of the carpenter's union says because there is so much at stake, they are "very vigorously" pressing the boycott, the first in the union's 102 year history. Boycott organizing efforts are currently going on in 20 states, and some 175 stores have been persuaded to join it by removing such L-P products as Cedar-tone, Waferboard, Fibrepine, Oro-Bord, Redex, Sidex, Ketchikan, Pabco Insulation, Xonolite, and Weather-Seal.

VIRGINIA URANIUM MINING. Two years ago, we reported that Virginians were organizing against proposed mining by the Marline Uranium Corporation (*S.E.*, Sept./Oct. 1982). Thanks to widespread opposition, led by the Piedmont Environmental Council (PEC), Marline has dropped its lease on 16,000 acres in the northern Piedmont (between the Shenandoah Mountains and Washington, DC) and is now focusing its activity on Pittsylvania County. However, the PEC stresses that the controversy continues to be statewide, not local, and it believes Marline's retreat from the northern Piedmont may only be temporary. In

Pittsylvania citizens against the mining have organized the Southside Concerned Citizens (SCC), complete with a "yellow cake" bake sale to raise money. Yellow cake is a nickname for uranium ore.

Approval of uranium mining in Virginia must ultimately come from the state legislature, which established a 14-member Uranium Administrative Group to investigate the issue and recommend action for the January 1985 legislative session. Meanwhile, there are rumors that Marline's probable — and needed — partner to exploit the uranium reserves, Union Carbide, may pull out of the deal no matter what. But mining opponents fear Union Carbide may be replaced by an even more potent foe, the Tennessee Valley Authority.

READER ALERT. Subscribers of *Southern Exposure* will begin receiving their issues in paper wrappers, sent by our mail house. If your copy is damaged, please write our circulation department so we can send you a new one and also determine how effective the new cost-saving method is for you and us.

Mississippi may get black representative

The Mississippi Delta may finally get a congressman who represents its people, the vast majority of whom are poor and a small majority of whom are black. Robert Clark, a veteran of the Civil Rights Movement who in 1968 became the first black elected to the Mississippi legislature since Reconstruction, won 62 percent of the votes in the June 5 Democratic primary. He will face incumbent ultraconservative Republican Webb Franklin in November, who narrowly defeated him for the same seat in 1982, when, according to many observers, the Democratic Party of Mississippi did not properly support its candidate.

Whether that will change in 1984 remains to be seen, but other things *have* changed. On the plus side: a federal court has redrawn the district, which it said diluted black voting strength. Now 53 percent of the voting-age population is black, up from 48 percent in '82, and about 15,000 new voters are on the rolls, signed up in a registration drive last summer. The last time out, Clark lost by only 3,000 votes.

On the down side: Clark, who had united black support in '82, faced vocal opposition this year from younger black activists who think he gets along too well with the state's white political establishment and doesn't run the kind of campaign that excites poor people enough to get them to the polls. Two blacks — Robert Gray, the mayor of Shelby and chair of the Mississippi Conference of Black Mayors, and Evan Doss, Claiborne County tax assessor and winner of 20 percent of the votes as an independent candidate for Congress in 1978 — challenged Clark in the Democratic primary but polled only 16 percent between them. (Richard Barrett, an attorney from Learned who ran on a white supremacy platform, won 22 percent.)

Clark must be counted the favorite in November. His primary showing proved he can attract white Democratic votes, as well as most of the black votes, and both his black primary opponents are expected to support him. Besides, the Democratic proclivities of this region are

strong: in the GOP landslide of 1980, these counties gave Jimmy Carter an 11 percent edge over Ronald Reagan. The 1984 presidential race should boost party unity and a stronger turn out of voters for a Mondale-Clark slate.

Consumer watchdog saves Texans money

Texas was the last state to acquire an agency to regulate public utilities and telephone companies and set their rates — in 1975 — and it quickly became their passive helpmate in gouging consumers (see *SE*, Winter, 1979). Jack Hopper, an Austin economist and utility rate consultant used to say that the Public Utility Commission "gets an A-plus from Wall Street and a D-minus from consumers." Then a new Office of Public Counsel (OPC) opened its doors last September with a mandate from the state legislature to take on the utilities on behalf of residential and small commercial customers.

Skeptics pointed to the relatively small budget, \$657,000, and wondered how much they could do. As OPC director Jim Boyle says, "Most utilities spend more on one rate case than is in our whole budget." OPC hired five attorneys, four economists and analysts, and three support workers to monitor 20 utilities. The results of its first nine months have been surprising. In cases involving Southwestern Bell and three utilities, OPC secured direct savings of \$106.8 million for Texas ratepayers: more than 150 times its budget. The office also helped in a case that brought a direct cash refund of more than \$11 million to residential customers of Gulf States Utilities, which had 23 attorneys on its side.

Boyle, who is asking the legislature this summer for an extra \$646,000, says his staff can save ratepayers \$200 million a year if they are properly funded. Its next 14 months' workload includes rate-increase requests from five major electric and gas utilities, both Southwestern Bell and General Telephone, and a certification request for a \$1 billion coal slurry pipeline.

Mineral owners lose control over your land

Crowning a decade of protest by landowners in eastern Kentucky over the use of their land by the mining industry, a bill reforming the privileges of a broad form deed went into effect on July 13.

These deeds, which often date back to the turn of the century, give extensive rights to mineral owners at the expense of surface owners. Until now, courts have awarded the mineral owner "dominant estate" and allowed strip mining without the consent of the surface owner.

The provisions of the bill give the courts rules to abide by when interpreting broad form deeds and, according to the Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition, (KFTC) which spearheaded the drive for the legislation, these changes will prevent mineral owners from forcing surface owners to allow strip mining on their land. Kentucky was the last state to pass such a law.

Coal industry representatives have said they will challenge the bill in the courts and the KFTC has established a fund to defend landowners' rights.

The KFTC also succeeded in rallying public support for an unmined minerals tax bill. Citing a federal lawsuit filed by KFTC to have unmined minerals taxed at their real value, legislators tabled the bill saying they would not submit to "heavy handed tactics." Killing the legislation was an "obvious power play by the coal industry," according to KFTC's Jerry Hardt. "Even in defeat there was a lot gained," he added. There is an outside chance that the bill will be brought up again in a special session later this year.

In related action, Tennessee legislators unanimously passed a bill to protect surface owners in oil and gas producing areas of the state. The bill, prepared by Save Our Cumberland Mountains, goes into effect on January 1 and requires oil and gas developers to notify landowners when they apply for a drilling permit. (Up until now, the developers could just show up on your land and start drilling.)

Landowners can now negotiate and arbitrate with the developers for an agreement to drill. The bill also provides provisions for drillers to compensate landowners for damages.

Eulogy for J.T. Earl

by Raymond Washington

HATCHBEND, FL — When 1983 faded away, John Thomas Earl faded away with it.

Often we search for superficial connections when we seek consequence in the death of a friend. With J.T. Earl, that is not necessary. More than any other man I have ever known, J.T. Earl lived a meaningful life, and the slow, honorable way he struggled over his 55 years of living gave meaning to his death.

J.T. Earl was born, lived, and died in a hardscrabble settlement called Hatchbend. There beside the Suwannee River, his ancestors had come years before Spain ceded Florida to the United States. So J.T. had a sense of belonging few of us have anymore. One of his great-grandfathers had been a penniless white wanderer seeking adventure. Another was a Seminole Indian chief. When J.T. Earl and I took walks around the region, he would point to tree stumps and riverbanks, explaining which of his forebears had done what at that spot. It was a heritage he loved to share.

Why J.T. Earl was so open-minded and accepting of strangers I never understood, but I suspect this had roots in his peculiar past. He was one-quarter Indian, and had suffered discrimination because of it. Once he told me the Masons refused him membership because of his Indian blood. This seemed to puzzle more than anger him.

I think that much of his tolerance, though, was the result of a horror he witnessed as a young man. When he was 16, he joined the military. World War II ended soon after he joined, but not before he was shipped to Hiroshima to help clean the rotting bodies in the aftermath of the atomic bomb drop. He didn't talk about the experience much, but when he did, you felt the years had done nothing to diminish his revulsion at what he saw. The children haunted him most, he said. He never forgot finding a schoolroom full of them, sitting still at their desks, their cheekbones jutting through the skin of



illustration by Frank Holyfield

J.T. EARL

their faces.

After the war, J.T. Earl had a hard time of it. He drank too much. He fought too much. He misused women. This passed somewhat — he was always basically a good, stable man — but he never resolved the contradictions completely. He liked to drink, so he did. He liked to fight, and he did. Eventually, though, he married a poor woman with whom he began to raise children.

The first children they raised were two orphaned boys. Later, they bore a son and daughter of their own. All his life, though, J.T. Earl continued to take in homeless children. He said, "I love having kids around. It's the bestest feeling they is." Something in his reverence for children suggested he had found a personal expiation for the horrors of Hiroshima.

J.T. Earl was a farmer, an outdoorsman. Yet he respected other pursuits. Once he told me proudly that his daughter was working on her doctoral degree. Actually, she was an undergraduate, but because she was the first of his line to attend college, degrees were new to him. To him, a Ph.D. was a degree. Bachelors were unmarried men.

J.T. Earl himself was probably a millionaire, if you added his many holdings and subtracted his few liabilities. But you would never have guessed that he even

had a bank account. He lived in a tiny, clapboard house he had built himself. He wore faded jeans and an old leather hat, circa 1948. Most of the time he looked unshaved.

The last time I saw J.T. Earl he was dressed as poorly as usual, except that he wore a brand new T-shirt. He had invited me and a few hundred other friends — he was the type of man with friends of every station — to come to his land on the Suwannee for a special celebration he called "Cracker Day." He had cooked up beans, yams, corn, venison, pork, chicken — all the foods he loved. He had trucked in musicians to play bluegrass — the music he loved. He had spent a good hunk of money to share all the things he loved with people he thought would appreciate them.

Later I learned that he knew then that he was dying — of a deterioration begun years before in the dead city of Hiroshima — and had planned Cracker Day as his public farewell.

When I heard that J.T. Earl was dead, I pulled out a snapshot of him taken on that day. In it, he was smiling, looking happy, surrounded by friends. That is a good way to remember him. □

Raymond Washington is a journalist living in McIntosh, Florida.

Soldiers' Rights

If you know someone who's in military service — or if you are yourself — get your friend or yourself a copy of *It's Our Right* from Quaker House, a military counseling and peace education center near Fort Bragg, North Carolina. It's a 36-page booklet written in easy-to-read basic English, specially geared for enlisted personnel. Some of the topics: right to know, right to privacy, right to file grievances, complaints, and charges, right to challenge discrimination and harassment, right to legal counsel.

As the preface says, "Military life is very different from civilian life. In the military, we lose many of the rights that we enjoyed as civilians. . . . We are told over and over again that our duty is to follow orders and conduct ourselves in a military manner. But, where do our rights fit into this? How do we find out what they are? How can we protect ourselves against unfair treatment? What can we do? How do we get help?" The answers are here.

Copies are \$1.50 apiece from: Quaker House, 223 Hillside Avenue, Fayetteville, NC 28301; (919) 323-3912.

Learn to Cooperate

"It's an old story — cooperation is best." That's the gospel preached by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives (FSC), and the federation is once again offering a series of training courses for people interested in starting a co-op or strengthening one already in business. Courses set for the rest of the year, all to be held at FSC's training center near Epes, Alabama: cooperative management practices, October 24-26; cooperative housing, October 3-5; cooperative principles and philosophy, December 12-14; bookkeeping and accounting for co-ops, November 14-16; credit union development and operation, November 17-18; board of directors development, September 26-28; and food buying clubs and cooperatives, September 12-14.

Registration for a three-day course is

\$185; for a two-day one, \$100, including meals and lodging. There are a few scholarships available for low-income people. For more information, or to register, contact: Alice Paris, FSC, P.O. Box 95, Epes, AL 35460; (205) 652-9676.

New Ideas for Peace

As the world situation gets scarier and scarier, thanks to the man in the White House, the peace movement attracts a bigger following and generates new



ILLUSTRATION BY ROSE BAKER FROM *WOMEN, TAXES AND FEDERAL SPENDING*

ideas. A number of new resources are available to help the movement along:

Toward a Nuclear Free Future is Mobilization for Survival's new guide to organizing a local nuclear-free zone campaign, with advice on planning, media work, linking the campaign to military intervention, organizing a referendum, and so forth. Send \$5 to Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Rm. 2109, New York, NY 10003; (212) 533-0008. The group also offers a research guide to uncovering the nuclear industry (\$2) and a nuclear-free zone information packet (\$3). Bulk rates are available.

In Our Hands is a documentary of the June 1982 disarmament rally in New York that attracted over a million people and has been called the "largest outcry for peace in the history of the world." Produced by Robert Richter and Stan Warnow, it was pared down to 90 minutes

from 60 hours of film shot by 41 crews. Not just a tribute to an historic event, it is, says Richter, "a call for continued action in the struggle for peace." For rental information: Libra Cinema 5 Films, 1585 Broadway, New York, NY 10036; (212) 975-0550.

The University of Michigan's Media Resources Center has produced the *1984 National Directory of Audiovisual Resources on Nuclear War and the Arms Race*. It's a 55-page annotated listing of films, slide shows, video tapes, and more, including sale and rental information, a cross-referenced list of distributors, and a subject index. Order from the center: 400 Fourth Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48103; (313) 764-5360.

A poster photographed in *Women, Taxes, and Federal Spending* says, "On this planet we spend \$400 billion annually on arms and 10,000 children a day die of starvation." This booklet has the information to draw the links between military spending and the shutting down of social services used predominantly by women, with a thorough analysis of the Reagan tax package and budget process updating the 1981 publication *Women and the Federal Budget*. Once again, it's the work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Send \$2 to: WILPF, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107; (215) 563-7110.

Workers' Education Local 189 has a new packet on educating for peace, including a speech by Henry Nicholas, the president of the hospital and health care workers union, various newspaper clippings, and information on the nuclear weapons freeze campaign. Contact: Local 189, 4917 Morris Street, Philadelphia, PA 19144; (215) 438-3758.

How to Influence Congress to Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race is an organizing guide for activists by Matania Ginosar, a California advocate of disarmament. He includes practical tips on getting through to your congresspeople. We think his promotional boast — "You can stop nuclear war in 15 minutes a week" — is a bit over-optimistic, but it's still worth a try. Send \$1 (or \$8 for 10 copies) to Dr. Ginosar, 2645 La Mesa Way, Sacramento, CA 95825.

GUATEMALA

Coca-Cola Workers Sit-in to Save Jobs

Faced with a plant occupation by its workers, a strong international boycott, and a corporate campaign in the United States, Coca-Cola backed down in late May on an issue for which it had claimed no responsibility. It wasn't on the 6 o'clock news, but the movement press throughout the world made the plight of Coca-Cola's workers in Guatemala well-known. On February 17, 1984, 460 workers at the Coca-Cola franchise in Guatemala City occupied the factory after the local Coca-Cola franchise declared bankruptcy and moved to shut it down.

The shut-down plant, the Embotelladora Guatemalteca, S.A. (EGSA), has a long history of company/union strife and is the only unionized plant of the three Coke franchises in the country. Between 1975 and 1980, 10 workers, including three secretaries-general of the union (STEGAC), were murdered or disappeared. In 1980, after an EGSA worker was assassinated on company property, 28 representatives of the National Labour Confederation who met to plan a united response to the murder were kidnapped *en masse* by the army. None has been seen since.

After the 1980 killings, the International Union of Food and Allied Workers Association (IUF) organized a solidarity campaign to support the Coca-Cola workers. Facing boycotts in several European countries, Coca-Cola executives in the U.S. put up the money for a Panamanian-based consortium to purchase the Guatemalan plant. That consortium negotiated with STEGAC for its first contract in 1980, and then tried to shut EGSA down this year.

Coca-Cola representatives in Atlanta disavowed any responsibility in the plant closing, but supporters of the Guatemalan Coke workers challenged the company at the annual stockholders' meeting in Houston in April. Coke claimed it was only a creditor, although it does own the

photo courtesy IUF



WORKERS OCCUPYING FACTORY

plant, the machinery, and the mortgage. The Houston action was organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, AFL-CIO, the largest IUF affiliate in North America.

When the settlement was announced, a boycott of Coca-Cola was just beginning in the United States, with local support groups organizing demonstrations in several cities, including Atlanta, New York, and Portland, Oregon.

The IUF boycott was especially successful in Europe. Swedish unions managed to stop the production and transportation of Coke there completely. Strong boycotts were also launched in Finland, Norway, Spain, Italy, and Mexico.

The settlement, announced on May 28, is considered a major step towards protecting the union and job security for the workers. The agreement is among STEGAC, Coca-Cola Inter-American Corporation (a subsidiary of Coca-Cola), and the Coca-Cola Company itself. It guarantees the workers union recognition and their trade union rights, and assures that the current collective bargaining agreement will be honored and the employment rights of the workers occupying the plant protected while new owners are being sought. Until the plant

is sold, Coca-Cola will pay the workers in the factory for maintaining the plant in working order. In the meantime, the workers will stay in the factory. A trust fund has also been established to care for the families of the workers killed between 1978 and 1980.

Messages of support can be sent directly to: Junta Directiva — Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Embotelladora Guatemalteca, 24 calle 6-01 zona 11, Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala, Central America.

The IUF office in Washington is: Food and Allied Service Trades, attn. Sally Cornwell, Room 408, 815 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006. (202)737-7200. □

THREE MILE ISLAND

Five Years Later

— by Paola Kinney

It has been five years since the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island. Sam Totten recently interviewed TMI-area residents asking how the accident and its aftermath have affected their lives. The interviews, including this one with Paola Kinney of Middletown, Pennsylvania, first appeared in Critical Mass Bulletin. Totten is the author of Facing the Danger: Interviews with 20 Anti-Nuclear Activists.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) is expected to allow the TMI-1 reactor to restart in the summer of 1984. This move comes despite the fact that the nuclear station continues to have major design problems, and the fact that a subsidiary of the plant's management recently pleaded guilty to a criminal charge of falsifying records at TMI-2, where the accident occurred. TMI-2 is not expected ever to operate again, but the decision to restart TMI-1 is cause for a major battle between the nuclear power industry and its opponents.

I can see the tip of the TMI towers from my kitchen window, but prior to the accident nuclear power meant nothing more to me than a source of energy.

That naivete ended with the accident.

When the accident occurred I was at home. There were a lot of conflicting reports on the radio about the seriousness of the accident; but finally the governor came on and said that pregnant women and preschool children should evacuate the area. That was it! We left as soon as we could.

Right after the accident there was a certain amount of panic, but not like there would be if there was an evacuation now. I believe, and I'm not trying to be melodramatic, that people would do anything to get their families safely out of here. And that includes murder!

After our family returned home, I attended the meetings which the utility company convened in order to discuss the accident. But at one meeting in one town I'd hear one thing, and then in another town I'd hear the same officials giving conflicting information. The utility people were either lying or honestly didn't know what they were doing. Either way it was frightening. That prompted me to become involved. Initially I joined a group called PANE, People Against Nuclear Energy, which was formed right after the accident. Later I helped form Concerned Mothers, another group concerned about the TMI situation. So for five years I have been extremely active. Five years! And I am tired of all the meetings, and being away from my family. I have three kids, a husband, and a home, and I want to be with them. But I can't give them 100 percent because I know what is going on, and I don't want to see anybody go through another accident.

I always thought that anti-nuclear groups were full of hippies, but now I know better. Up here the people in our groups are mothers, fathers, and grandparents. To them, the bottom line is health and safety. God forbid there is another accident, but if there is my husband and I are prepared for it. We have bought a van that has a double gas tank, and one tank is always full. We're ready.

People who don't live in this area always ask us why we haven't moved. But they have to understand that we have lived here for 16 years. And we love it here. Nevertheless, if we do lose the battle and they do restart Unit 1, we're going to leave. There's absolutely nothing that comes before my kids, and we're not going to take any chances. □

CHICAGO

New Museum Aims To Promote Peace

How can we, who live in the age of nuclear threat, spark greater public consciousness about the fundamental issues involved in building peace rather than nuclear war? How can we promote an understanding that peace is not a platitude but an absolute necessity for human survival? In response to these pressing questions, Chicago's Peace Museum opened its doors in November 1981.

The Peace Museum is a unique institution dedicated to exploring the issues of war and peace through the visual, literary, and performing arts. Although there are many war memorials throughout the country, the museum is the first in the United States dedicated to raising public

consciousness about the issues involved in building peace.

The museum provides peace education through exhibitions, films, lectures, and festivals, as well as through educational outreach, research and awards programs. In addition to exhibits and special programs, the museum is developing a Peace Resource Center and is selling books, posters, and other material.

The current exhibition, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. — Peacemaker, runs until July 22, 1984, and will later go on tour to Atlanta, Gary, and Detroit. The next exhibit, The Indignant Artist, covers the artist as social critic from the seventeenth century to the present. Contact the Peace Museum for a touring schedule for the King exhibit or to arrange for it to come to your community.

The museum is currently located at 364 W. Erie Street, Chicago IL 60610. However, in June the museum's building was sold by the landlord, and a new home is needed by August 31, 1984. □



photo courtesy The Peace Museum

CHICAGO MUSEUM RAISES PUBLIC AWARENESS OF PEACE ISSUES

THE KNUCKLE

by George Osborne

When the garden had been planted and the field crops were in the ground, thousands of tiny germs permeated the air of Pearisburg, Virginia, entering the brains of our ultraconservative citizens, and causing a high fever that lasted until the Giles County Baseball Championship was decided. Tensions ran high. Tempers were short, as was money. But I know of nothing —

with the exception of the fire at Miller's lumberyard — that did more to solidify the people of our small town.

Everyone pulled together. Meals were placed in the warming closets of Majestic ranges while the best of our young athletes were recruited from farms, businesses, and the nearby tannery. Under the semi-professional eye of Doc Booth, our local pharmacist, six brand new baseballs were bought each year. These were reserved for the home games as each town was required to furnish the balls on its own diamond.

In the event that a bat had been broken the year before, a new one had to be purchased. It was a matter of pride that we never enter a game with less than three bats. When a new player was recruited, one of the nine uniforms we owned had to be adjusted to fit his frame.

Each spring a town meeting was called by Herb Lawson, our mayor and justice of the peace. The Circuit Court chamber was used, and it was usually filled to capacity. Here the price of a bat and its brand name were thrashed out thoroughly. Committees were set up to appoint



BUSTER

the official gate-keeper, a man who had to be honest to the core because each two-bit admission fee had to be accounted for.

Others were appointed to construct the backstop; still others were lined up to visit the Giles County fairground board of directors to obtain permission to use it as a playing field. Most of the directors were present at the meeting and could have made their usual affirmative decision then and there. But that was not the way it was done in Giles County.

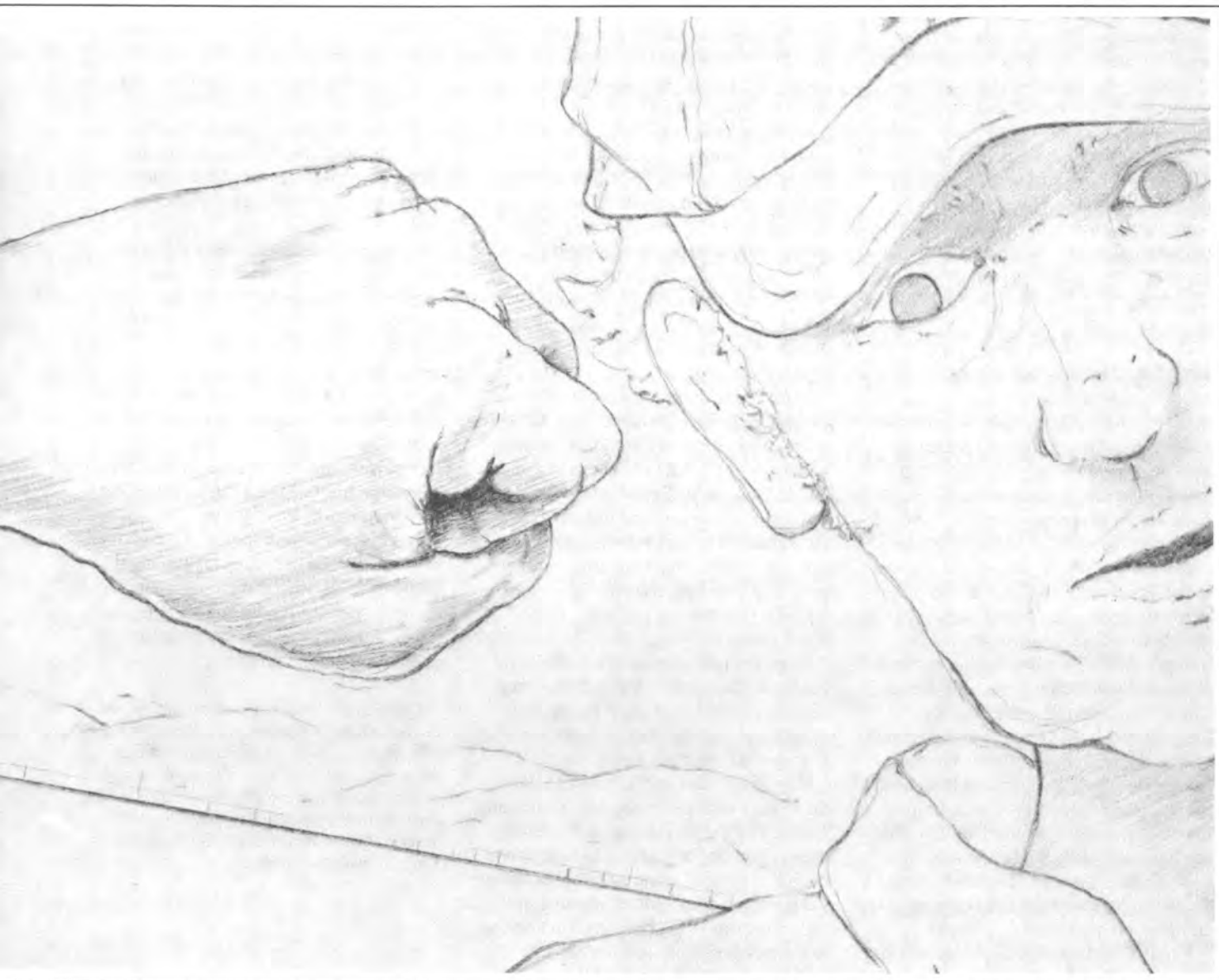
After these matters had been chewed

over and over until all the taste had been removed, the meeting was adjourned and we were officially on the road to another season of baseball.

While the fairgrounds had its own grandstand — a skeleton of timbers over which two one-by-ten planks were nailed for seats — it was located in such a position as to make it useless to accommodate baseball fans. A dirt track ran in front of the grandstand. It was on this stretch that equestrians presented their high-stepping horses in show classes. It was also used in sport by other horsemen

who, with smooth-tipped lances held eye-high, galloped furiously before the spectators, trying to ensnare small rings that hung from wire on posts along the way. Across the track from the grandstand was the bandstand where Willie Marrison, our postmaster, and six of his old cronies huffed and puffed into their brass instruments. Thus, each baseball season a new backstop had to be constructed on the other side of the large tract of fairground land. It also had to be removed before the county fair started.

While we had no Ty Cobb or Babe



Ruth or even a Pete Rose, we did have heroes who loomed just as large in our minds. One of them was my Uncle Charlie.

Uncle Charlie — affectionately known as Cannonball Charlie — was never scouted by the Big Leagues, but, in my opinion, he would have been another Dizzy Dean. He was tall and gangling — in his late twenties at the time — a right-handed hurler who could really pop the mitt. He knew nothing about sliders or change-up pitches. He just threw the ball as hard as he could and tried to get it over the plate. His rising in-curve was a thing of beauty and his out-drop was like a rainbow over the proverbial pot of gold.

There were four small towns in our county — all with populations of between 500 and 1,000. Since our town was the county seat, we were the most hated by the rival teams. All of the villages turned out good clubs every year, but when it came right down to the wire, the championship game was usually between the Pearisburg Bulldogs and the Narrows Pirates.

Narrows was a more progressive town than ours. Their merchants showered them with goodies. They suited up 12 men, owned a dozen bats, and each player had a ball glove. Why, they even had a batboy — their mayor's youngest son.

The air cracked with pent-up tension and nerves were stretched tight as a snare drum when we met one particularly memorable year for the final championship game — which, because of the usual fisticuffs, was always billed as “The Knuckle Buster.”

My Uncle Charlie was on the mound at the fairgrounds that day, a wad of Scrap tobacco in his mouth large enough to choke a horse. I say he was on the mound. Actually, there was no mound. We called it a pitcher's box; the toeing rubber was nothing more than a short piece of two-by-six sunk into the ground.

Abe Whittaker — a tough, rawboned, eagle-eyed man, said to be able to whip his weight in wildcats — stood behind the pitcher, where his loud voice yelled out balls and strikes. He was also the base umpire. Abe was imported from another county for the occasion, so there could be no question of partiality.

Uncle Charlie threw his three warm-up pitches to Dyke Dixon, our catcher,

who stood behind the board home plate. Each time Uncle Charlie popped his fast one into Dyke's mitt, the small wiry catcher seemed to slide back a foot.

A couple of hundred spectators, from all over the county, were either crowded around the U-shaped backstop — made of five tall poles connected with chicken wire — or strung along the first and third base lines. They came on horseback, in wagons, and some in T-Model Fords. The sheriff, his deputy, and the town constable were also present. They had brought along all their handcuffs and an ample supply of “hobbling” string.

The first four innings turned out to be a pitcher's duel. There wasn't a single home run hit by either side. Because there were no warning paths or fences to clear, any home run had to be an inside-the-parker. The ball had to be knocked so far into the outfield that the fielder could not throw it back, or that it became lost in the weeds. In the latter case, the runner walked around the cement-sack bases while the game was halted and everyone looked for the ball.

As the game progressed, Doc Booth could be heard yelling at our batters: “Keep that grain up! We don't want no broken bats!” The grain of the wood showed up in the logo burned into the bat by its manufacturer. When the brand name was held so the batter could read it, the bat supposedly hit the ball “with the grain,” making it less susceptible to breakage than batting “against the grain.”

With the fifth inning score 6-5 in our favor, Uncle Charlie faced Rags Johnstone, a left-handed hitter, the Pirate's power slugger. With the count at 2 and 2, Uncle Charlie let fly one of his famous out-drops. Rags seemed mesmerized. He appeared to lean into the swooping missile, which smacked him just above the ear. A knot the size of a goose egg followed the ball off his head. He fell like a poled ox!

Rags got no personal sympathy from his home supporters. Only the catcher paused a moment to see if he was still breathing; then he, too, joined the melee that was taking place at the pitcher's box.

The Pirate fans had Uncle Charlie down and were pounding him something fierce. With tears streaming from my eyes, I grabbed a baseball bat and ran to his aid. I popped quite a few shins before a large hand came out of nowhere and sent me sprawling. They couldn't do that to him! Not my Uncle Charlie!

After the initial shock of the attack on

Uncle Charlie, our townspeople came to the rescue. Abe, the man who could whip his weight in wildcats, wisely retreated to second base. Bloody noses and black eyes were plentiful before the sheriff shot a couple rounds from his single-action Colt .45 into the air.

The four culprits who had started the fracas were quickly handcuffed to the chicken wire on the backstop. Someone dug out a pint of moonshine, splashed a little on Rags's goose egg, and forced a few swallows down his throat. Rags staggered to his feet, wobbled down to first base, and the game got under way again.

However, after that beating — during which he swallowed the Scrap — Uncle Charlie did not feel so good. He seemed to lose his stuff. After walking four men in a row, he had to be replaced by Hank Harlow, who was also not to be sneezed at as a pitcher.

But the momentum, as they say today, had switched to the Pirates. They were charged up like a bull facing a red flag. Our second baseman was quickly spiked by a Pirate in a close play at third, and one of our substitutes had to be called in to finish the game. Of course this held up the action while our player headed for the barn to don the injured player's uniform.

When play resumed, we got in a few good licks of our own. By the time the game was over, the backstop was lined with perpetrators either tied or handcuffed to the chicken wire.

Needless to say, it was not one of our good days. Our Pearisburg Bulldogs lost by a score of 19-18 — a tight one, for sure. And when the sun hid a shamed face behind the Appalachian mountains, disenchantment, like a thick pall, hung over the town of Pearisburg.

But that was by no means the end of the rivalry. The hot stove league would really crackle during the long winter months. We could hardly wait to get at those Narrows Pirates next year for another “knuckle buster.” □

George M. Osborne was born and raised in Pearisburg, Virginia, and avers, “This is a true story . . . well, as true as I can recall, some years after the fact.” He has sold stories to such magazines as: The Saturday Evening Post, Farmwife News, Empire, Capper's Weekly, Prime Times, New England Senior Citizen, and The Lookout.

The Chinese

100 YEARS IN THE SOUTH

In this special section, *Southern Exposure* explores the history and the presence of Chinese in the South. While growing numbers of Asian people are currently migrating to the region, Chinese have lived here in small numbers for more than 100 years. They are the descendants of laborers originally recruited after the Civil War by unreconstructed Confederates and capitalist speculators seeking cheap



SUI U. CHOW BEHIND THE COUNTER OF HIS MISSISSIPPI STORE, WHICH RECENTLY CLOSED.

labor to work on their railroads and plantations after chattel slavery was outlawed. In this practice, the recruiters imitated Europeans who, throughout their colonies, used East Indian and Chinese labor.

The descendants of the early Chinese settlers are scattered throughout the South, where they occupy an uneasy position between black and white. Although both Chinese and African-Americans have faced oppression, discrimination, and disenfranchisement, they have remained estranged — sometimes even when they share a common ancestor — and they have failed to unite to pursue common political and economic goals. Their common legacy as exploited laborers in this country and as colonized people in their

ancestral homelands has been insufficient impetus to overcome the “divide and conquer” tactics of the dominant culture.

The overwhelming impact of the laws defining race and regulating race relations in the South have led to a common perception of the region as biracial. The perception has most recently been reinforced by the dramatic events surrounding the Southern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and '60s and the rise of

black consciousness which followed. The repressive laws and customs which these twentieth-century movements seek to overturn were originally designed to support the doctrine of white male supremacy which provided the foundation for the South's plantation economy.

To retrieve the hidden history of the nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants to the Southern United States, Lucy M. Cohen conducted an exhaustive search of missionary records, newspaper accounts, census and ships' logs, and plantation and commercial association records. We have excerpted here from her new book, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History*, to provide information on the background and consequences of the Southern movement to replace black with so-called "coolie" labor after the Civil War. Cohen, who focuses on Louisiana, also interviewed descendants of nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants who still reside in Natchitoches to trace the role that "race" has played in the disappearance of this group of Chinese from public record.

Using a different approach, Third World Newsreel, with a philosophy of filmmaking as political action, trained its cameras on another group of Chinese settlers in the South. Their pioneer documentary effort, *Mississippi Triangle*, filmed in the Mississippi Delta by a tri-racial crew, explores the complex relationship that evolved among Chinese and African-Americans and whites. Adria Bernardi, who was present at the film's premiere in Clarksdale, Mississippi, recorded the reactions of some of the Chinese viewers who had also appeared in the film.

While it is clear that the racist practices spawned during the plantation era are still active in the continued political and economic subordination of African-Americans, their impact on other people of color in the South is less visible. Yet a true picture of race relations, and more importantly, a blueprint for progressive change cannot be developed without expanding our understanding of the roots of racial oppression and the impact of racism on all people.

Intersection in the Delta

by Renee Tajima

The year is 1963. Christine Choy has just been uprooted from her Shanghai home to join her father, whom she has not seen in years, in South Korea. Born of a Chinese mother from Vladivostok and a Korean father who was exiled to China during the Japanese occupation, Choy has long been a sojourner between cultures.

At the same time, thousands of miles away, Worth Long, son of black sharecroppers and an activist in civil rights struggles since the Little Rock school crisis of 1955, travels to Mississippi. The black community has organized a boycott to challenge the entrenched segregated economy of the South, and Long has been called in as a mediator. That action, taken not against whites but against the Chinese grocers of Greenwood who serve local sharecroppers, highlights the precarious position between black and white that Chinese in the Delta have occupied for generations.

Alan Siegel is a Jewish kid in Levittown, New York, the prototype of the rows and rows of modest, treelined streets of tract homes which stretch out across all of post-'50s Americana. But this benign suburban exterior belies the transformation in racial politics brewing throughout the nation. Even as a high school student, Siegel senses the urgency of the times and becomes an activist with the local Congress of Racial Equality.

Almost two decades later, the lives of the three converge and Choy, Long, and Siegel travel to the Mississippi Delta to document the history and continuing story of its Chinese community. In the fall of 1983, after six years of work, they completed *Mississippi Triangle*, a film depicting the intertwining lives of the Chinese, blacks, and whites in the Delta.

The Delta, the filmmakers, and America had all changed markedly in that 20-year span. Choy's journey took her from Korea to New York's exclusive Manhattanville College in 1965 during the height of the Civil Rights Movement. But that struggle was as alien to her then as the pristine Catholic women's school she attended. "When I arrived I didn't know about the Civil Rights Movement. And I didn't realize the reason I got a full scholarship was because the blacks had marched to demand equal rights and open admissions for minorities," she recalls.

As the '70s approached, Choy's expanding awareness of the civil rights and anti-war movements led her to Newsreel, a loosely organized group of people who identified themselves as political activists, rather than filmmakers. The group produced roughly hewn and controversial documents on political movements of their era, sending film crews to Vietnam and Cuba. Siegel, a founding member, and Choy reconstituted the

Susan Robeson, Paul Robeson's daughter. But as a new vitality emerged from Asian-American writers, artists, and filmmakers, she began to explore her own heritage. "I wanted to make films about Asian-Americans to support all this energy," she explains. In 1978 while shooting a film about Asian-Americans in the Delaware Valley, she and Siegel met a Chinese-American student who talked about growing up in the Mississippi Delta and the Chinese community there.

"No one had ever heard of it," said Choy. Intrigued, they searched for more information but came across only one comprehensive resource, James Loewen's book, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White*. Third World Newsreel felt this was a story that had to be told.

After receiving funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Third World Newsreel set the project in motion in the fall of 1980 with an extensive research phase. The pre-production

archival footage of the life in the Delta during the early 1900s and during the Civil Rights Movement.

Assisted by an advisory board of scholars headed by Loewen, the team's research unearthed a complex picture of tri-racial social relations. Excluded from white society and from any real civic power, the Chinese, like the African-Americans who preceded them, set up parallel institutions to meet their needs. Those institutions in many ways reflect the influence of the dominant culture. In the Delta there are white, black, and Chinese cemeteries and Baptist churches. The Chinese have assessed the lack of power and resources in the black community and do not want to be identified with the black under-class. Yet the Chinese store owner, who remains a pivotal figure in his own community, must maintain cordial relations with the blacks who are his major customers.

As art imitates life, the filmmakers crafted a production philosophy and process as complex as their subject matter. Thus, what began as a simple documentary of the Delta Chinese evolved into an intricate analysis of race and class. "You couldn't talk about the role of the Chinese without discussing blacks and whites," declares Siegel. "The theory of the melting pot is ludicrous," adds Choy. "The races do not exist in harmony. So I wanted to look at those differences, and have each group express its own point of view. This concept made the process of the film very important. That's why we shot it with three crews: one black, one Asian, and one white."

Siegel, who directed the white crew, explained that the decision to use a tri-racial crew was both philosophical and practical: "In the South there's not a whole lot of substantial communication between the races." By using three separate crews the filmmakers hoped to "be able to get more insight and an honest picture of the way people thought."

The three-pronged production process involved heavy aesthetic coordination in order to preserve a stylistic unity. "It's like a quilt," Choy observed. "Each piece is a different fabric. But in a quilt sometimes there is repetition." Into the fabric of *Mississippi Triangle* these filmmakers have woven the parallel rituals of funerals, religious ceremonies, the education of the young, cotton-farming and work patterns, representing a full spectrum of Delta life.

Like most Third World Newsreel



EUGENE JO OF CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI.

group in 1971, renaming it the Third World Newsreel.

Choy's first films centered on blacks in America, and included the award-winning documentary, *Teach Our Children*, about the Attica State Prison rebellion; she co-produced the film with

team included Chinese-American filmmaker Yuet Fung Ho who, having grown up "in the back of a grocery store" in Hong Kong, felt a particular affinity for the families of Mississippi who shared her background. African-American film historian Pearl Bowser unearthed rare

productions, the story is told completely through the voices of Mississippi people, without analysis by "experts" or the intrusion of a narrator. Project staff conducted over 200 oral histories and interviews. Personal histories of older residents reconstruct the patterns of migration and work that brought the Chinese to the Delta.

Arlee Hen recounts how her father's name was arbitrarily changed when he arrived in Mississippi as a contract laborer. "My father's name is Wong On.

He acquired the name Sing because they had a company they called Sing. Everybody was Sing, but they weren't really Sing, you know. After he stayed there a while he worked with them coming to Mississippi to put down the first railroad tracks for the trains to come this way."

James Chow remembers, "They say we got a good opportunity to make some money. So we go to Mississippi to pick cotton. So they pay so much a pound or so much a day. They said we could make more money if we picked more cotton. They gave them so much a year on how much cotton they sold and how much cotton they picked and they give 'em very little money. They gave 'em just enough to eat and then a little bit of money to spend during the Christmas-time. That's about all. But the people, they tell me, that they not get what they supposed to get. 'Course the farmer's the one that got rich. They got it all."

Arlee Hen adds, "They couldn't get a fair price for the cotton they raised, so they rented a boat or something and went to New Orleans and sold it themselves. And when they came back with the money, they stopped in Greenville and started stores."

A common history of exploitation is Worth Long's starting point for exploring the intersection of the Delta's African-American community with the Chinese. Long, a leading expert in the field of black folk culture travels many of the same roads he followed as a SNCC organizer, struggling now to preserve and celebrate African-American history and heritage.

A front porch was the setting for an interview with a former farmworker. "I'm John Dorsey. Born in 1908, fifteenth day of October. Started off working 50 cents a day. One of the best mule plows in this country. They had me plowing their winter crops. And I'm still on W.A. Percy's farm, Trail Lake, Mississippi. I work in the cotton field all day, come to the gin six o'clock in the evening, work

til two o'clock in the morning. Go back on that cotton picker. Back in those times, when you had that one row stuff and two row stuff, you was working from sun to sun. Some got 50 cents a day, some got 75, some got a dollar a day."

Cotton commerce as the region's economic lifeblood shapes Alan Siegel's approach to the Delta's tri-racial society. He defines power relationships using a wordless, visual dialectic. In a typical

scene, a white cotton grader decides the quality of each bunch of cotton and the black worker puts it into the right box. In scene after scene whites make the decisions and the blacks follow orders; whites do the thinking and blacks the manual labor.

The monolith of black-white segregation would barely budge for the Chinese. In 1924, 30 years before the *Brown* decision, the Lum family filed suit to desegregate the public schools. "At that



ALAN SIEGEL, CHRISTINE CHOY, AND WORTH LONG.

time, the Immigration wouldn't allow them to bring their wives over," Berda Lum explains. Martha Lum adds, "And I guess they couldn't associate with the white women, so they took black women." Berda Lum continues, "As a result, they had children who couldn't go to school.

"So they fought it to the Mississippi courts. We lost the case there. They said that we could have our own school. And we could keep the Negroes out, all the Caucasians out, and only have it exclusively for Chinese. Well, that was one thing that we did not want. We did not want segregation. We wanted to go to the schools like all the rest of the Americans go to school. So, therefore, my dad packed up and we moved to Lakeview, Arkansas."

The film's emotional core is in the words of these Black Chinese who faced the same racial strictures as their mothers and were similarly ostracized by the Chinese community, along with their fathers.

Speaking of the mixed marriages of the older generation, James Chow says, "The younger generation don't do that any more. They feel like they been segregated because of that, you know, of the older people's fault — to marry the mixed."

Ludwig Goon, cinematographer for *Mississippi Triangle*, has experienced the isolation of such a mixed family. His father Henry would normally be on the city council or mayor of the city, according to Long. "Henry Goon is a scholar, a grocery owner, the father of successful children. Every Sunday, Chinese neighbors would drive to his home to get translations and letters back home written in Chinese, but they would park their cars far down the street so people wouldn't know of their visit." Goon is married to a black woman.

In one scene in the film, Henry says to his son, Ludwig, "When you think enough of a person, well, you begin to have feelings for a person. Sometimes you don't look at a person on the surface. Because they say beauty is skin deep. Now what I have done is something different, you see? But I'm still Chinese."

It was no easy task for Choy to bring out the negative aspects of the Chinese community displayed in their treatment of the black Chinese and other chauvinist behavior. "Asian-American filmmakers have tried to promote unity with positive films on Asians because the images of Asians have been so bad. But

we've never really looked critically into our own community," says Choy.

A particularly sore subject is the Chinese apathy toward black social struggles. Sam Block and the other black activists who boycotted Chinese stores in 1963 saw Chinese support as crucial. "Sam didn't want economic support from them but vocal support. He wanted the Chinese to say they were being mistreated too." The Chinese were clearly relegated to the low end of the social stratum and considered "no better than black," Worth Long explained.

Luk Wing, the first Chinese mayor in Mississippi acknowledges that "the Civil Rights Movement helped the Chinese to attain certain status among the white world. Whereas we didn't have anything to gain in the black world, 'cause they didn't have nothing for us to step into. We didn't march."

"You have to put these attitudes in a larger context," Choy reasons. "It's not only an individual's fault for not getting involved, but a function of the American social pattern. Mississippi was built for two races: master and slave. Chinese were a third element. They allied with whites because that meant they were allied with the power structure."

In the black Chinese, Choy found a sensitivity to the black experience in the South that approximates her own. Through them she was able to articulate a keen sense of both the conflicts and the depth of understanding which emerge from a transcultural experience. When Choy's crew shot scenes with Arlee Hen, the daughter of a Chinese immigrant railroad worker and a Mississippi African-American, the crew had to sneak back to her home after pretending to leave town so that the Chinese community would not be offended that she was being interviewed as one of their own.

Mississippi Triangle has had international screenings and will continue on a tour throughout the South. Third World Newsreel hopes to distribute the film in major cities across the country and on public television. Distributing an independent film, particularly one about race relations in the South, is no easy task in a media atmosphere which emphasizes entertainment and flash. But the filmmakers are determined to get the film into theaters; on the air; and in any small town, community center, school, church, or hole-in-the-wall where people could see it. "I'm trying to say something to young people," Choy says. These people in the Delta are dying out



and it's our responsibility to document their history. Your mother, father, grandparents — there's so much history to be told." □

Renee Tajima is associate editor of Independent Film and Video Monthly and LPTV Currents and she is an independent producer.

Heat in the Delta Reactions to the Triangle

by Adria Bernardi

If the audience had paid money to see the premiere of *Mississippi Triangle* at the Carnegie Public Library in Clarksdale, Mississippi, some might well have demanded a refund.

Since they hadn't, the nearly 200 Chinese-Americans who viewed the film about race relations in the Mississippi Delta had to content themselves with a closed door discussion with the filmmakers afterward.

When the initial giggles and whispers of "Oh, there's so and so," died down after the film began, some openly wondered why they had opened their doors to the documentary crew. Most said they didn't think it portrayed the progress of Chinese-Americans. Some objected because they thought it left the impression that Chinese are linked more closely with the black community than the white. Certainly the scenes in small country stores and interviews with people of Chinese and African-

American ancestry did not sit well with the Chinese audience, most of whom were successful merchants.

In one scene set in an old dark store, groups of Chinese sit around crates used as tables while they set their stakes for mahjong, a traditional gambling game, much as the first Chinese immigrants did. Surrounding this game in progress rest stacks and stacks of Pampers.

"If you don't know the area, you don't begin to know it from this film," said Hoover Lee, a merchant in Louise, Mississippi. "You would really believe that Chinese still live in the backs of their stores. We have doctors. We have lawyers and we do have people in public office."

McCain Tom, a young man who works as customer information agent at Federal Express in Memphis agreed. "Chinese have more than grocery stores," he said. "It showed the history. It didn't show the present."

Ruth Wong, a student in elementary education student at Delta State University in Greenville, agreed: "It doesn't show how we progressed. Our parents have been very hard working people. It needs to show the sequence, the progress of the Chinese people."

Again and again, the Chinese-Americans in the audience objected that the documentary dwelt on the past and neglected success. Without a doubt, those interviewed in the film tell us that the past has been hard. The negative reaction from members of the Chinese community wasn't unexpected. Before the showing, rumors had spread through the community that poor Chinese and black Chinese were depicted in the film, much to the chagrin of some community members who wanted to see images of success.

"Like all immigrant groups — the Italians, the Irish, the Greeks, the Jews — the Chinese don't want to talk about suffering," film producer Christine Choy explains. "They don't want to review their hardships. They only want to talk about how they made it." Choy adds that her desire to make the film goes back to her days in New York's Chinatown, where, as a Chinese immigrant, she was confused by a multi-ethnic society and adults who refused to talk about the past. "Being Chinese, I have always felt that I was an in-between," she says.

Many Chinese also sharply criticized the inclusion of an interview with a woman who, when asked to define interracial relationships, fumbled for words and was unable after several false starts to articulate her feelings about the subject. Since she is a well-educated woman, an assistant principal in one of the schools, they thought this depiction of her was unfair. But Choy thinks it simply shows a woman reacting in a very honest way to an obviously disturbing question.

Equally disturbing to the audience was the film's suggestion that Chinese as-



LUK WING, MAYOR OF
SLEDGE, MISSISSIPPI.

sociate more with the black community than the white. In an angry criticism of one scene where a young black man is helping a young Chinese woman with her car, one Chinese man said disgustedly, "It even makes it look like we need blacks to help us fix our cars."

The film shows a young Chinese-American couple getting married in a Protestant ceremony that could have been captured by Norman Rockwell. The bride wears a white gown and a veil across her face. The church is packed with well-wishers. The organist plays inspiredly. After the ceremony, the young woman exchanges her stiff white dress for *chung san*. She then performs a tea ceremony before the father of her new husband.

After the film, an old man said he was angry because the shot of the young woman changing from western to Chinese clothing showed her stripped to her undergarments. "I didn't come here to see an x-rated show," he said. He is the woman's grandfather.

Hoover Lee, who became the first Chinese mayor in Louise, stood by his criticism that the film spent too much time looking at the "down side of things — gambling, pool rooms, rundown stores." But he tempered his initial opinion and later stated that he realized the

filmmakers were trying to portray three races, not just the Chinese.

"You've got to remember that the Chinese people in the Delta are very conservative," said Lee. "As far as the operation of the grocery, the film gave a true idea of the operation. Our business in the Delta is mainly from the blacks, who make up most of the population, especially in the smaller towns."

Choy emphasizes, "This film is not about success and failure. It is a look at race relations in a tri-racial situation. In most films about race relations, it is always two groups, black versus white, Jewish versus WASP, Hispanic versus white. It's more complex than that," she says.

The title of the film is not an accident but a play on words. It is a way to look at three different communities within the Delta. The blacks, the Chinese, and the whites are each a point on the triangle. Delta, in turn, is the Greek letter shaped like a triangle and describes the shape of the land at the mouth of a river.

Most geography books don't mention the Chinese-Americans who settled in the northwestern part of Mississippi. Yet, there are 2,000 of them, in towns like Clarksdale, Louise, and Greenville. Most are now second- and third-generation Americans. And members of the

How to Order

Mississippi Triangle, produced by Christine Choy and directed by Choy, Worth Long, and Allan Siegel is a production of the Third World Newsreel and the Film News Now Foundation. Information on screenings and rental is available through Third World Newsreel, 160 Fifth Avenue, Suite 911, New York, New York 10010; (212)243-2310. The film will be shown at the Los Angeles International Film Exhibition from July 5-20, 1984; and at the Houston Museum of Fine Arts on July 25, 1984.

third generation speak as much Chinese as third-generation Poles in Chicago speak Polish: not much.

"Chris [Choy] had come to the Delta and tried to do a sensitive portrayal of the culture, focusing on the Chinese," Worth Long remarked at the community meeting with filmmakers following the premiere. "I didn't want people to leave that room without recognizing the significance of their even being there." So Long asked the question. "Why is it that we could not have this meeting here 20 years ago?"

One answer is that 20 years ago blacks and Chinese were not let into the library, where the film was shown.

The most valuable contribution of *Mississippi Triangle* is the dialogue it generated, Choy believes. "What is important is the way people think. The film became the focus of a debate, and when that happened, the film became secondary."

Whether the film reinforces stereotyping, as the Chinese in Clarksdale said, whether it changes minds or merely gives us food for thought, remains to be seen. In any case, anyone who sees it will carry away some sharp images, like that of the bent-over Chinese man singing an eerie song that no one on the Delta will sing for much longer. □

Adria Bernardi is a freelance writer now living in Memphis. She was formerly a reporter with the News Bureau of Chicago and an editor with UPI.



FROM LEFT: FOLKLORIST WORTH LONG, CINEMATOGRAPHER LUDWIG LOON, AND ASSOCIATE PRODUCER PEARL BOWSER CONFER AFTER THE PREMIERE OF *MISSISSIPPI TRIANGLE*.

Early Arrivals

by Lucy Cohen

My interest in the Chinese migration to the Southern states is both personal and professional. As the granddaughter of a Chinese immigrant to El Salvador, I have been particularly aware of the paucity of scholarly work on Chinese settlements in the borderlands of the Caribbean region. While conducting ethnohistoric research on the nineteenth-century settlements of Chinese in the Central American region, I became interested in the possible connections between the Chinese immigrations to Central America and the West Indies and parallel developments in the Southern states. The exchange of peoples and ideas between the South and its Central American and Caribbean neighbors was well established, particularly for the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, it seemed important to search for linkages in movements of Chinese and to study the possible implications of these movements of the Chinese and their host societies.

THE EARLY YEARS

The Chinese were not totally unknown to the pre-Civil War South. In the 1840s and 1850s, Christian missionaries to China had returned to the United States periodically with Chinese companions. These Chinese visitors had made a favorable impression as they toured the South and local missionary societies gave their generous support to Southern missionary efforts in China. These missionaries were influential in shaping public attitudes about the Chinese.

In the decade of the 1850s small groups of Chinese men were living and working in a range of occupations in several parts of the East and the South.

Most were located in port cities such as Boston, New York, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans. Some had come from China as representatives of commercial houses involved in the tea trade, others as entertainers, seamen, and servants. Many had lived and worked in Cuba or other West Indian colonies prior to their arrival.

From time to time, an upsurge of missionary interest or a dramatic incident such as the sudden abandonment of a company of entertainers by their sponsor brought the presence of these Chinese residents to public attention. But, unlike the Chinese in California and nearby Western territories, the Chinese in the East and the South during this period received limited attention from public officials and legislative authorities. This was undoubtedly linked to their relatively small numbers.

By 1851-52, the number of Chinese in the United States had increased rapidly because of the arrival of large groups of laborers attracted by reports of the discovery of gold in California. As their population grew, they received an increasing amount of publicity in the South. On January 9, 1854, for example, an announcement appeared in the *Louisville Courier* for the performance that evening of a company of Chinese jugglers, acrobats, and magicians that was touring the nation. When the company arrived in Memphis one week later, the public was urged to patronize them because "as natives of a different sphere, they are curiosities enough, but when they are curiosities enough, but when connected with their unique performances" they command over a full house.

In another locality, brief news announcements noted that the proprietors of the Eddyville Iron Works on the Cumberland River in Kentucky, had engaged the services of "twenty Chinese coolies as iron workers." William Kelly, one of the inventors of the Bessemer iron refining process, had hired the men to work at the Suwanee Furnace and Union Forge in Lyon County, Kentucky. In May 1854, as the men passed Louisville on a steamer, the *Louisville Daily Courier*, quoting from the *Pittsburgh Post*, wrote that they were a "tall healthy looking set of Celestials, and we learn that they have sold themselves for a term of years to work at the aforesaid iron works." The term Celestial was used to refer to the Chinese people as subjects of the Chinese Empire known in China as the Heavenly Kingdom.

The experiment at the forge ended in

failure in less than a year with various sources citing worker conflicts, international complications, and a violent incident as the precipitating factors. While the exact reasons remain obscure, by 1860 only two of the eight persons born in China and residing in Kentucky remained in Eddyville. Chinese resided in other parts of the South at the time of the 1860 census, but of the 35,565 Chinese enumerated, 34,935 were residents of California.



These figures tend to be misleading because outside of California, which took a special count, Chinese were not accorded a separate racial or color classification until the 1870 census. Only two census schedules were used in 1860: Schedule 1 for free inhabitants, which included whites, blacks, and mulattoes, and Schedule 2 for slaves, which listed blacks and mulattoes. The Chinese were generally enumerated along with the European immigrant population. The 1870 census replaced the slave and free categories with black, white, mulatto, Indian, and Chinese.

In spite of the peculiarities of racial classification in the 1860 census, nativity data based on country of birth show that small numbers of people born in China resided in several states in the East and South. In New Orleans there were Chinese working as stewards, cigar makers, kite makers, cotton pickers, and in various other occupations. Some retained Chinese surnames but others used Spanish names suggesting that they may have entered via Cuba or the Philippines.

THE SEARCH FOR CHEAP LABOR

Even before the Civil War, editors of two well-known journals, Daniel Lee of the *Southern Cultivator* and J.D.B. De Bow of *De Bow's Review*, wrote articles and exchanged ideas on the introduction of Chinese and East Indian labor into the British and French West Indies, the Spanish colony of Cuba, and Peru, and discussed the suitability of their use in the South.

Lee asked readers to consider the wisdom of importing Chinese or Africans to the South under contracts, to serve for a term of years as apprentices or hirelings, and then to be returned to their land of nativity. He stressed the value for cotton, sugar, and rice planters of a cheaper supply of agricultural laborers than the slaves from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, whom he thought sold for extravagant prices. Lee suggested that such a labor pool would be equivalent to that provided the North by the influx of 300,000 or 400,000 immigrants from Europe. The importation of laborers from Europe was a profitable business in the North, and Lee saw no reason why the South could not accrue similar advantages through the importation of apprentices.

By 1858, however, Lee was involved in the movement to bring Africans to the South and had decided that Chinese would not be suitable. In a series of articles and correspondence on cotton culture and laborers for the South, he stated that experience and observation since 1854 had led him to doubt the wisdom of mixing Chinese with slaves. He now thought African Negroes were best suited for the South.

Arguments against the use of Chinese laborers in the South also appeared in the records of Southern commercial conventions. Such conventions had originated in the late 1830s to discuss questions of direct trade with Europe and later to consider internal improvements and railroads. By the late 1850s they were considering the feasibility of introducing African apprentices or slaves.

Discussion of the suitability of Chinese labor for the South during the late 1850s was thus overshadowed by arguments in favor of reopening the slave trade. However, interest in the potential value of Chinese contract labor was not confined to the South. In this period Chinese were resettling throughout the world, and the advantages and disadvantages of their labor value became a sub-

ject of national and international debate. The "coolie traffic" consisted of Chinese laborers who were "almost slaves." Vessels from the United States transported many of them to their new work sites.

British and American opinion likened the coolie traffic to slavery because of the coercive recruitment practices and inhumane conditions in ships departing from China, the high incidence of illness and bad treatment, and the terms of service provided by the contracts.

Throughout the 1850s *De Bow's Review* published details of scandals in recruitment and tragedies during the voyages of Chinese to the West Indies and Peru, drawing largely on United States congressional reports and British parliamentary papers.

It criticized the British for opposing slavery in the South on humanitarian grounds yet encouraging the use of coolie labor as a means to increase profits. The "Act to prohibit the Coolie Trade by American Citizens in American Vessels," approved just one year after the secession of the South from the Union, was welcomed by Americans concerned about the regulation of a trade that resembled slavery and posed a threat to American interests. Section 4 of this legislation continued to allow the "voluntary" emigration of Chinese under proper certification by consular authorities at the port of embarkation.

Chinese emigration of the middle and late nineteenth century was conducted by the recruitment of Chinese under two

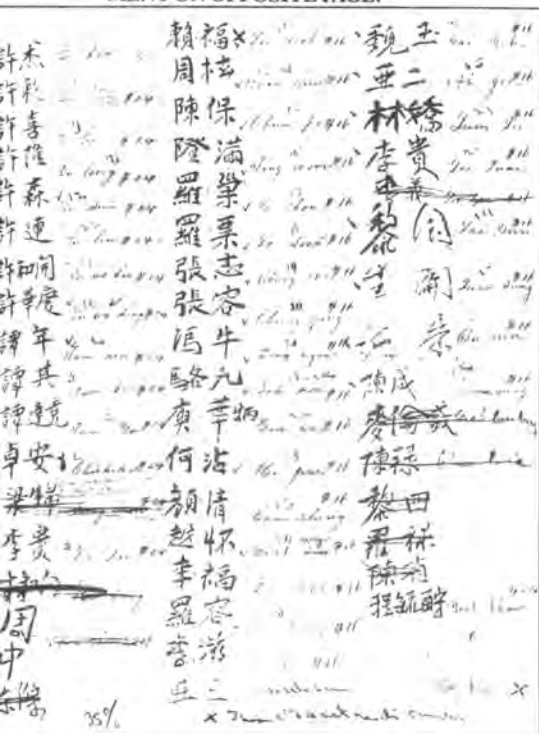
courtesy the Historic New Orleans Collection



systems of organization, the credit-ticket and the contract systems. Under the credit-ticket system Chinese merchants or brokers advanced money for the expenses of the passage of Chinese indentured emigrants to their overseas destination. The broker had a lien on the services of an emigrant until he paid off his debt or until it was paid by relatives of the emigrants or by their prospective employers. In return, the newcomers worked for those who extended the credit until the debt was paid. The credit-ticket system had long been used by indentured workers who left voluntarily to work in what Chinese called Nanyang (South Seas), the region to the south of China that included the Philippines, the former Dutch East Indies, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo, Thailand, Indochina, and Burma. The Chinese who left for Australia and California also used the credit-ticket system.

Foreigners and Chinese middlemen played a major role in the contract system, through which laborers were hired for a specific time period ranging from five to eight years, with the promise of a fixed rate of pay, often with advances and usually with provisions for rations and clothes. The "coolie" traffic was an extreme form of the contract system. Emphasis on the difference between voluntary labor and forced labor under the contract system obscured the basic realities of the ties of bondage in effect under both systems.

SIGNATURES OF LABORERS ON AGREEMENT ON OPPOSITE PAGE.



When Southern agents and employers began experiments to introduce Chinese laborers to that region after the Civil War, they found themselves subject to the law of 1862 and other statutes and to the tests of regulations and interpretations that public officials felt compelled to make. Northern reformers doubted that plantation owners and other entrepreneurs in the South could adopt new views of the relations between plantation owner and worker, and these fears were reflected in their efforts to stop plans to introduce Chinese labor to the region.

CHINESE FROM CUBA AND ASIA

Following the Civil War, Southerners seriously considered importing Chinese laborers. They were encouraged by Southerners who had lived in the West Indian islands or in China itself. In 1867, the introduction of Chinese laborers to the South finally became a reality, brought in from Cuba by a small group of planters who were neighbors in the parish of Natchitoches, on the Red River in northwestern Louisiana.

Natchitoches, the oldest white settlement in Louisiana, had served as a gateway through which travelers from New Orleans and the eastern states passed on their way to Texas. Its population included people of Indian, French, Spanish, African, Creole, Italian, and German descent and of other ancestries and cultures. According to the 1860 census, the total population numbered 16,698, of whom 9,434 were slaves, 958 were free blacks, and 6,306 were white. The parish covered an area of 366,000 acres in which rich portions of cultivated land were devoted mainly to cotton and corn. After the Civil War, appeals had been made without success to attract white immigrant settlers, especially Germans from Texas. Thereupon Chinese were brought into the parish to supplement the work of emancipated slaves.

The laborers had been recruited from Cuba among Chinese whose contracts had expired. Several small groups of men were contracted to work on plantations in Louisiana and the planters appear to have been pleased with the arrangement. But due to continuing federal objections in the form of unfavorable legal decisions the importation of Chinese from Cuba was suddenly brought to a halt in August 1867.

In spite of federal opposition, by 1869, leaders and promoters of the introduc-

tion of Chinese labor frequently met and participated in commercial conventions and organized gatherings to implement large-scale sponsorship of Chinese.

On June 19, 1869, a group of cotton planters formed the Arkansas River Valley Emigration Company, a joint stock organization. The company engaged the services of George Washington Gift, a native of Tennessee and former Confederate Army officer, to procure laborers from China and from California, if suitable ones could be found.

Gift, along with some 30 other members of the Chamber of Commerce in Memphis, organized a Chinese labor



THE FIRST GENERATION: DR. HILARIO HONGO IMMIGRATED TO NATCHITOCHES FROM CUBA IN 1867.

convention that opened on July 13, 1869, to devise the "best and cheapest means of procuring Chinese laborers." About 500 delegates, representing planting, railroad, and other business interests, came from Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, and California.

Isham Green Harris — a lawyer and former congressman from Mississippi, governor of Tennessee, and Confederate officer — was elected permanent chairman of the convention. General Nathan Bedford Forrest, president of the New Selma, Marion and Memphis Railroad, pledged \$5,000 and his support of the employment of 1,000 Chinese. Impoverished after the war, Forrest returned to planting in Tennessee and became president of the new railroad. He was also the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.

The first guest to address the conven-

courtesy Ora Hongo Mixon

This Agreement, entered into between *Lahmy*, native of China, and KOOPMANSCHAP & CO as agents for *Edward J. Gay of Louisiana and William J. Gay of Missouri*.

We, whose names are hereunto affixed, agree to labor ^{fourthly upon the following terms} upon the following terms:

- 1st. We agree to work for *William J. Gay & E. J. Gay* or *their* assigns, for the period of *three (3)* years, beginning the day after our arrival at *their* plantations in Louisiana, for which we are to be paid by *said Edward J. Gay or Edward J. Gay* or their assigns, at the rate of *Sixteen (16)* dollars U. S. Gold Coin for each man, per month of twenty-six days, payable monthly.
- 2d. A free passage is to be given to us to *their plantations in Louisiana* and at the end of this contract, a free passage back to San Francisco, and all advance amounting to *\$16* in gold we hereby obligate ~~to pay out of our own wages or earnings~~.
- 3d. We are to be furnished by our employers under this contract, with sufficient provision, consisting of rice, pork, fish or beef, vegetables and tea, water, fuel, good quarters and weather-proof sleeping places, free of charge.
- 4th. All tools and implements to be furnished by our employers under this contract.
- 5th. We agree to work ten hours per day, *eight would be paid for*.
- 6th. No labor to be required of us on Sunday.
- 7th. If any of us ^{or} fall sick or are injured so that he is unable to work, wages are to cease till he resumes work, but provisions are to be furnished at the expense of our employers, *for a reasonable length of time*.

In Witness Whereof, we subscribe our names to this contract, in duplicate, in this City of San Francisco, this *8th* day of *Feb*, 1871.

Signed on other side by men - accepts on arrival in Louisiana Oct 29 1870 for such as come to my place. Edward J. Gay

AGREEMENT IN LOUISIANA BETWEEN CHINESE LABORERS AND KOPPMANSCHAP AND COMPANY, APRIL 27, 1871.

tion and to answer questions was Tye Kim Orr, a Christian Chinese educated in a London Missionary Society school at Singapore. He received support from missionaries in London to preach the gospel in British Guiana where he formed a congregation of Chinese Christians in Georgetown and established an agricultural settlement on a tributary of the Demerara River in 1865. After leaving Demerara in 1867, he joined the group of Chinese from Cuba who entered Louisiana that same year.

In his address Tye Kim Orr explained that he had left his home in 1863 and had traveled through the West Indies and South America. He observed that after emancipation the West Indian Negroes had "degenerated and would not work" and that Chinese had been imported to replace them. Tye Kim Orr indicated that he realized there were objections to the Chinese because they were "heathens" but added that "you want cotton and cane and if he makes them you will not object very much."

After applause and laughter from the audience, he challenged the convention to consider "what is the 19th century for, if not to bring the Word to the people who have it not? Do not spurn these people from you. You may be the means of evangelizing them. The Chinese are a docile, patient, susceptible people and will follow and love those who try to teach and benefit from them." He then offered concrete suggestions about conducting the emigration process. He cautioned the audience repeatedly not to rely on "speculating agents, but to send agents to China and pick them up there."

Subsequent to the 1869 convention, efforts to introduce Chinese laborers to the South increased. Both Orr and Gift made separate trips to China returning with several hundred workers each to New Orleans in 1870. Although there were predictions that these arrivals represented only the beginning of a movement to bring large numbers of laborers directly from China to Southern ports, Southerners and their agents

turned increasingly to California as a site for recruitment and left it to Chinese commercial houses on the West Coast and in China. In this way they avoided the legal entanglements that ensued when American ships were involved in transporting the workers.

In spite of the ambiguity of the 1862 act with reference to voluntary and involuntary emigration — which had allowed the continued recruitment of Chinese laborers — planters, entrepreneurs, and their agents had to test the law repeatedly as they attempted to bring workers from China. Assistant Secretary of State, J.C.B. Davis responded to inquiries from interested parties about the legality of their plans to import Chinese laborers:

"The State Department is not aware that there is any legal definition of the term Coolie. Its general signification was understood to be a laborer at servile work but the term has received a particular application to the class who have for many years been the subjects of the commerce known as Coolie Trade which was denounced by the unanimous resolution of both Houses of Congress of January 16, 1867, as a mode of enslaving men differing from the African Slave Trade in little else than the substitution of fraud for force in obtaining its victims."

With regard to contracts, Davis explained: "The fact that an emigrant embarks under a contract by which he is to reimburse the expenses of his transportation by personal services for a period agreed upon does not deprive him of the character of a free and voluntary emigrant, if the contract is not vitiated by force or fraud." He concluded that "the local knowledge and experience of each consul will enable him to prevent the abuses of the coolie trade without impeding immigration really free and voluntary without more specific instruction."

Between 1869 and 1871, entrepreneurs in public works as well as planters established links with recruiters and labor agents. The idea of drawing on Chinese whose contracts in Cuba and the West Indian islands had expired continued to be discussed, although with less intensity than in past years. The problem of the voluntary or involuntary nature of the contracts with Chinese laborers was less important because recruitment was increasingly undertaken in California.

But unfolding events in 1869 showed that the Chinese movement to the South was a large-scale enterprise which could not survive solely on the enthusiasm of

members of newly formed immigration companies under the direction of impoverished former Confederate leaders. The introduction of Chinese to the South required the interest of employers in local communities together with the investment of capitalists and planters with substantial resources, recognized credit

courtesy Oritha Hongo Durel



**THIRD AND FOURTH GENERATION:
MOISE HONGO, IDA PICKETT HONGO,
AND THEIR DAUGHTERS, 1944.**

and an effective network of national and international contacts.

The successful recruitment of Chinese into the Southern labor market, furthermore, called for an understanding of Chinese views about handling employer-laborer reciprocity, business obligations, and contractual responsibilities. The procurement of Chinese was ultimately to depend on the active participation of Chinese businessmen and their agents. The workers and their interpreters were crucial in assessing the advantages and disadvantages of the workplaces to which they were taken. They would be the final judges of the conditions of work and the systems of social relations in the South. During a visit to New York in August 1869, Choy Chew, a Chinese merchant who was a member of commercial houses with connections in China and the United States, made observations about the introduction of Chinese labor to the South that were widely quoted in the press.

The *Charleston Daily News* reported that he had some doubts because the Chinese were to be paid low wages and were in competition with Negro labor. Nevertheless, he believed that the experiment should not be evaluated until it was tried. He explained that the Chinese had the "peculiarity" of waiting for the first reports of those who pioneered in new regions before making decisions. If these pioneers sent positive reports, others would follow. Negative letters about a work site, however, would result

in the refusal of Chinese to migrate to a new location.

Chinese intermediaries such as labor contractors, representatives of commercial houses, and language interpreters were crucial connecting links in the recruitment and employment processes. Few acted as independent agents but were part of a tightly knit commercial alliance characterized by strong patterns of mutual protection. Southern employers had to learn how to do business with them. The laborers expressed their collective grievances through their interpreters, who not only communicated complaints, but engaged in negotiations, initiated litigation proceedings, and if necessary, secured new employment for their men. These headmen served as vital links with employers and local communities, and as such they were the major spokesmen for the Chinese in the South.

Several large-scale projects introduced Chinese laborers from California to Texas, Alabama, and Louisiana. Capitalists in corporations or partnerships, which had been organized as speculative ventures, brought sizable groups of Chinese to work along with freedmen and other hired laborers. More than 200 worked on the Houston and Texas Central Railroad and more than 900 on the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad. The workers on the Texas line, after less than a year, ceased work and brought suit against their employers for "wages and a failure of compliance with contract." Chew Ah Heang, the headman for the Texas workers, placed an ad in a New Orleans paper in November 1870, announcing the availability of the 240 workers for employment.

More than 300 Chinese at work on the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad were forced to stop in June 1871, because a bankruptcy judgment against the company was made by the District Court for the Middle District of Alabama. A "mob" of unpaid, angry employees, which included blacks, whites, and Chinese laborers, seized the trains and refused to allow them to run.

Such problems in interpreting and carrying out labor contracts between Chinese and their employers contributed to the demise of these experiments. Furthermore, the Chinese were not a source of cheap labor. The impoverished planters and merchants who had hoped to find in the Chinese a solution to the adverse economic conditions that they faced during Reconstruction did not have the capital required to recruit Chinese.

The few planters and speculators who did have capital found problems in retaining the Chinese for the duration of a three-year contract.

The basic difference in their orientations to work and the management of work groups set Chinese and their employers apart. Although radical changes in the relations between employers and workers could be expected during the Reconstruction period, planters continued to attempt to exercise total control over their laborers. They expected to be able to change terms of contracts without consultation or negotiation with workers. The intentions of the employers were diametrically opposed to the Chinese tradition of negotiation through their own intermediaries. The experiment with Chinese contract labor gave evidence, on the one hand, of the struggle of planters to maintain values and a system of social organization that they were convinced would assure the survival of the plantation system and, on the other hand, the determination of Chinese to retain their own norms about work and the inviolability of contracts.

The cultural and social organization of the Chinese in the South differed from that found in the work camps and Chinatowns that had encapsulated the Chinese in California into self-enclosed communities. In the South, they were not typically bound by the strict norms and sanctions of commercial houses and their networks of intermediaries and



**SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION:
JOSEPH VIRGIS TELSEDE AND SON,
c. 1911.**

courtesy Odell Hayes



courtesy Oritha Hong

THIRD GENERATION: MARY LEE AIRES TELSEDE AND DAUGHTER, c. 1911.

agents, which were characteristic of California.

Also, unlike their countrymen in the western United States, who came almost exclusively from a few districts of the province of Kwangtung, China, the Chinese in the South came as unmarried men and in small groups, not only from China but also from the Philippines, Cuba, other West Indian islands, New York, Philadelphia, and California. Their widely scattered origins explain the organization of flexible work groups within which individuals adapted and changed according to the circumstances of their conditions of work and social life.

These Chinese retained such cultural patterns and practices as the celebration of the Chinese New Year and the observance of rituals associated with funerals. Within the work groups, the traditional roles of cooks, practitioners of Chinese medicine, and tea servers were filled. The peddler who carried his wares across communities served as a major source of information and thereby strengthened bonds among the scattered Chinese groups. The central unifying link of the work group with the outside society was the Chinese interpreter. Although hired by non-Chinese employers to serve as translator and alternatively as headman, he also acted as a representative for the Chinese and as an advocate for their interests.

The interpreter, typically trained in schools organized by Christian mission-

aries, understood both the world of Chinese tradition and that of the non-Chinese employers. He helped maintain control within the Chinese work group and was also a skilled negotiator when conflict threatened employer-laborer relations. Under adverse circumstances, the interpreter was a leader of protest. Indeed, as he became increasingly involved in advocacy roles for his countrymen, he emerged as a central figure who led the Chinese out of the plantations and other sites of first arrival to new areas of settlement and work.

A MIXED NATION

Students of the Chinese in the United States have given considerable attention to the institutions that helped them to maintain solidarity and retain their cultural identity, notably in San Francisco and New York. These studies have contributed to an understanding of Chinese men who, whether as sojourners or settlers, were set apart from the host society by their distinctive social behavior, speech, values, and other cultural attributes. This emphasis on the social organization of Chinese men has been shaped by the fact that these laborers typically were not accompanied by their wives.

Interracial marriage has received limited attention in the literature of the early settlements of Chinese in the U.S. and there has been little attention paid to the processes through which descendants of Chinese fathers and non-Chinese mothers adopted local values and lost distinctive national characteristics. The Chinese of Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana, for example, virtually disappeared from the consciousness of the public that had been so eager to use their services. The testimony of third and fourth generations of the original Chinese settlers there helps to explain what happened to a group of Chinese of whom no traces seem to remain in an area they had settled.

The first group of Chinese brought to Natchitoches Parish in 1867 bore Spanish first names which they had adopted in Cuba through baptism in the Catholic church or through popular usage. Upon settlement in Louisiana, some of them used Spanish first names as surnames. Surnames of some of the Chinese in census records from 1870 and 1880 are evidence of local officials' ignorance of the Chinese custom of following the surname by the given name, as well as the problem of proper phonetic transcrip-

tion. Hilario Hong was listed as Ely Conker and Philip Wong, Sr. as John Phillip. Over the ensuing years, Hong's direct line of descendants introduced minor variations to the surname. Most of them to the present day use the slightly modified surname Hongo.

Another practice was to adopt parts of the name of a local family, such as that of relatives of a spouse, or to combine the name of the family hiring the immigrant with a name used upon entry. This pattern can be seen in the family of Carlos Potillas, who became known as Carlos or Charles Telsis. His descendants have used several variations of Potillas and Telsede. The Chinese introduced from Cuba to Natchitoches brought no spouses. There were no Chinese women in Natchitoches, and the first generation of men married or established households with white, black, Creole, and Indian women. The granddaughter of one of these Chinese said in a confidential interview: "They settled down and some of them had children and some of them didn't. They married all kinds of people, Creoles, blacks, whites. Some of them married; others at first just 'took up' with their wives. They were a very mixed nation."

These patterns of marriage between Chinese men and women of diverse cultural backgrounds emphasize the necessity of understanding the social organization of Chinese settlements in local



courtesy Oritha Hong Durel

FIFTH GENERATION: VALERIE DUREL, 1970.

communities. Most of the Chinese newcomers settled within established and distinctive non-Chinese cultural enclaves and intermarried with members of these groups, thus dropping from public attention. Like some of their counterparts in Cuba, who have been described by Juan de la Riva, they became "a people without a history."

The children of these Chinese men and non-Chinese women were variously classified as white, black, Chinese, and mulatto, depending on the year the census was taken. These changes in color classification reflected shifts in the public perception of the Chinese and influenced the cultural identity of descendants. Some "passed" into white society, others merged into the black communities, and a few took advantage of "Mexican/Indian" categories to be considered white in some situations or black in others. Nevertheless, all retained a vague sense of Chinese ancestry even though branches of the same family had adopted separate values and identities and had grown apart. Those who have "passed" do not acknowledge their Creole, black, or Chinese background.

As the Chinese heritage has become submerged through time and in view of the values and norms that shape race relations in Natchitoches, it is understandable, perhaps, that the public appears to have forgotten the Chinese who entered the area over a century ago. In private discussions and during periods of con-

flict, however, the descendants of Chinese have kept alive the fact of their Chinese ancestry. Past heritage comes to the fore when conflicts, normally hidden from the public, take place as in an incident described by the granddaughter of a Chinese settler who had intermarried. One branch of this settler's descendants passed for white, and denial of kinship with her family has precipitated conflicts between them. "Years ago, my boy became involved in a fight with a 'white' boy. The white playmate suddenly yelled 'nigger' at my boy. That made me angry, and I told him: 'My daddy and your daddy are first cousins, you half-white b-----. Our grandparents were Chinese and Creole.'" The woman remarked that the boy never returned to her home.

Several factors militated against the retention of a distinct cultural identity among the descendants of the first Chinese settlers in Natchitoches. Descendants of the second and third generation remained in the parish but lived in a dispersed pattern rather than in "Chinatowns" such as were found in towns and cities. The Chinese language was abandoned by the first generation. Surnames were changed, and even among brothers and sisters names varied. There were no formal associations based on occupation such as merchant guilds and commercial houses. Children of intermarriage had physical features that were not clearly Chinese, and they typically became identified

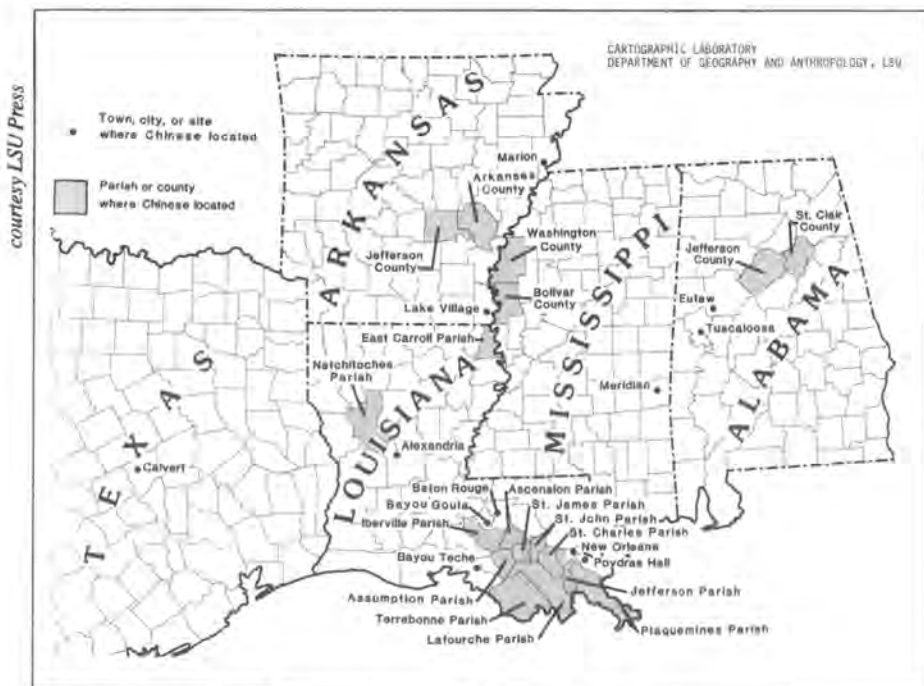
with the groups already established in the parish.

Finally, official documents such as the United States census recorded for posterity an ambivalence about the cultural identity of the children of Chinese who married out. When the twentieth century dawned, these children, who had previously been classified as Chinese, were *de facto* given a new official color classification in the census that erased their Chinese identity from history. But in the pluralistic society of Natchitoches, which had long harbored a rich mosaic of cultural traditions filled with positive and negative evaluations, memories of the presence of individual Chinese and of their descendants were kept alive.

In other areas of the South, after the Chinese moved from the places of first employment to scattered sharecropping sites or locations in towns and cities, few symbols of their culture remained except Chinese stores. The stores provided outsiders with a range of goods and services. Chinese merchants in local communities were highly visible, and, like the interpreters who had preceded them, they became spokesmen for their fellow Chinese.

The Chinese store, owned and operated by the Chinese, was a mirror that reflected two sets of images. One set of images was turned toward the outsiders — the curious customers — who admired its imported goods and exotic products. The second set is turned to the Chinese, who sought the staples for everyday consumption and the social bonds. In a number of rural areas in the South, such stores can still be found. And they still fulfill their earlier role within the Chinese community. □

Lucy M. Cohen is a professor of anthropology at the Catholic University of America. She was previously a research associate at the Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, Smithsonian Institution. Her book, Chinese in the Post-Civil War South, from which this article is excerpted, was published in 1984 by Louisiana State University Press.



SOME PLACES WHERE CHINESE LOCATED, 1865-1880.

PENNY RESISTANCE

photo by Doug Magee



by Donna B. Gorman and Jerome D. Gorman

Because the courts are shortening and making straight the path to the death chamber, the number of executions is rising steadily. Besides judicial efforts and legal protest, it has become necessary to actively seek additional ways to broaden and strengthen opposition to the death penalty. The Commonwealth of Virginia imposes death by electrocution. In a very real way, the electrical network links our home to the electric chair. We have ended our silent complicity in the

premeditated killing of prisoners. While holding back one cent (1¢) from our Virginia Electric and Power Company (VEPCO) bill, we informed VEPCO of our objection to electrocution. Our letter also asks the company two specific questions: How many kilowatt hours are required to kill a human? How much does VEPCO charge for the electricity required to kill a prisoner?

Subsequently, we have had several written exchanges with a VEPCO offi-

cial who repeats that the company is merely obeying the law and that all good citizens should obey the law. The official steadfastly declines to answer our questions, so the exchange continues.

Moreover, in the new local telephone bill format, there is a Virginia state tax listed for the A.T.&T. Information Systems portion of our phone bill. We have begun to hold back one cent (1¢) from this state tax to object to the death penalty, informing the phone company of our reason each time.* Though we have not yet heard from the state on this, we expect that we will.

We refer to this economic and tax resistance as penny resistance. Multiple innovations in economic and tax and other forms of resistance are most urgently needed to impede the various methods of carrying out capital punishment. We pray and we hope that many others will consider joining in this resistance.

March 15, 1984

Virginia Electric and Power Company
(VEPCO)
P.O. Box 26543
Richmond, VA 23290-0001

Acct. No. 48 12 7198 1

Dear Folks:

One cent (1¢) is withheld from our electric bill. This is done to oppose the electrocution of prisoners in Virginia.

Euthanasia of prisoners is morally wrong.

How many kilowatt hours are required to kill a human?

How much does VEPCO charge for the electricity required to kill a prisoner?

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman *Jerome Gorman*
Donna B. Gorman Jerome D. Gorman

March 27, 1984

Dr. and Mrs. Jerome D. Gorman
8319 Fulham Court
Richmond, Virginia 23227

Re: Account Number 48-12-7198-1

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Gorman:

This will acknowledge and thank you

* The telephone tax, because it is imposed by the state, is used in part to support the death penalty.

for your March 15 letter in which you advised you withheld one cent as opposition to the electrocution of prisoners in Virginia.

Veeco as a regulated public utility, is obligated by law to provide electricity upon request without discrimination. The Commonwealth of Virginia has requested electric service to its correctional facilities, one of which contains the instrument of your protest, and by statute is granted the privilege (sic) of such service.

We recognize and support the right of individuals to hold various opinions on various issues. However, these are individual value judgements and not conditions which determine or control the provision of electric service by Veeco. There are other legitimate avenues for you to address this issue.

We are not permitted nor will we allow exception in billing due to personal opinions. Your failure to pay any part of your electric bill is a delinquency on your part and for us to excuse it would be discriminatory and therefore improper.

Again, thank you for your letter. We trust we addressed your concerns. However, should you have any further questions, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

J.S. Lewis
Supervisor-Customer Relations

March 30, 1984

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Thank you for your letter of March 27th; however you did not answer the two questions in our letter of March 15th.

We repeat these questions, and ask that you provide the information requested.

How many kilowatt hours are required to kill a human?

How much does VEPCO charge for the electricity required to kill a human?

Thanking you for your assistance, we are

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman Jerome D. Gorman

April 6, 1984

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Gorman:

I am in receipt of your March 30 letter

in further regard to the electrocution of prisoners in Virginia.

In specific response to the questions posed, we wish to respond that we do not know the answers nor do we ever intend to make the determination. We further feel the questions are in extremely poor taste.

Our position in this matter is as stated in my March 27 letter.

Sincerely,

J.S. Lewis
Supervisor-Customer Relations

Executions January — June 1984			
Anthony Antone	FL	Jan. 26	
John Taylor, Jr.	LA	Feb. 29	
James D. Autry	TX	Mar. 1	
James W. Hutchins	NC	Mar. 16	
Ronald C. O'Bryan	TX	Mar. 31	
Elmo P. Sonnier	LA	Apr. 5	
Arthur F. Goode	FL	Apr. 5	
James Adams	FL	May 10	
Carl Shriner	FL	June 20	

April 7, 1984

Dear Mr. Lewis:

We have your reply of April 6th stating that you do not know nor do you ever intend to determine answers to our questions.

These questions are answerable. To repeat:

How many kilowatt hours are required to kill a human?

How much does VEPCO charge for the electricity required to kill a prisoner?

It is unjust that we are compelled to purchase electricity from a sole-supplier firm which appears indifferent to the use of its product for premeditated killing of humans. Tragically, your two letters inform us that VEPCO has little concern whether its product is used for stir-fry cooking or to fry those in stir.

Could you please refer our questions to someone in VEPCO who will answer them?

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman Jerome D. Gorman

April 11, 1984

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Gorman:

I have received your April 7 letter in continued regard to the electrocution of prisoners in Virginia.

The conviction you hold relative to capital punishment is laudable within the context of your right to hold such an opinion. We also support your right to voice same in any forum of your choosing. That is the right of every citizen. However, we thankfully live in a society where the rule of law is supreme, and under the law, the act to which you object is authorized under prescribed conditions. Our collective and/or individual position is irrelevant for as I stated previously, we are a regulated public utility which is obligated by law to provide electricity upon request and without discrimination. As a customer, the Commonwealth of Virginia is supplied electric service to its correctional facilities, one of which contains the instrument of your protest.

Reasonable citizens may disagree over capital punishment, and while I make no corporate or personal statement here, I wish to reiterate that capital punishment is the law of the land. We will obey the law which by the way, is the exact duty of each and every citizen. In the performance of our duties then, it is indeed unfortunate to be so unfavorably characterized.

As a citizen, you have the right to petition for a change in the law. We suggest that you avail yourself of this.

Specifically addressing your persistent questions, it is our position that it is not our responsibility to make the requested determination, the request is in the poorest of taste, and we will not now nor in the future dignify same with a reply. We are firm in this position.

Sincerely,

J.S. Lewis

April 13, 1984

Dear Mr. Lewis:

In a very real way, the electrical network links our home to the electric chair and death chamber. We have ended our silent complicity in the killing of humans by electrical euthanasia. Our letter of April 7th asked you to refer our questions to someone in VEPCO who will answer them. Please respect that

request.

The questions are the same:

How many kilowatt hours are required to kill a human?

How much does VEPCO charge for the electricity required to kill a prisoner?

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman Jerome Gorman
Donna Gorman Jerome D. Gorman

May 5, 1984

Paul G. Edwards
Vice-President of VEPCO
P.O. Box 26666
Richmond, VA 23261

Dear Mr. Edwards:

In our current VEPCO bill, an enclosed flyer named you as VEPCO contact for questions or suggestions about improving communications between VEPCO and your customers.

We have been corresponding with Mr. J.S. Lewis, your Supervisor for Customer Relations. Though we have repeatedly asked for answers to plainly worded questions, Mr. Lewis has not provided the information requested.

Would you please look into this matter, and inform us of your findings?

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman Jerome Gorman
Donna Gorman Jerome Gorman

May 11, 1984

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Gorman:

I am in receipt of your May 5 letter.

After reviewing the previous correspondence on this matter, I find our prior reply to be appropriate.

Sincerely,

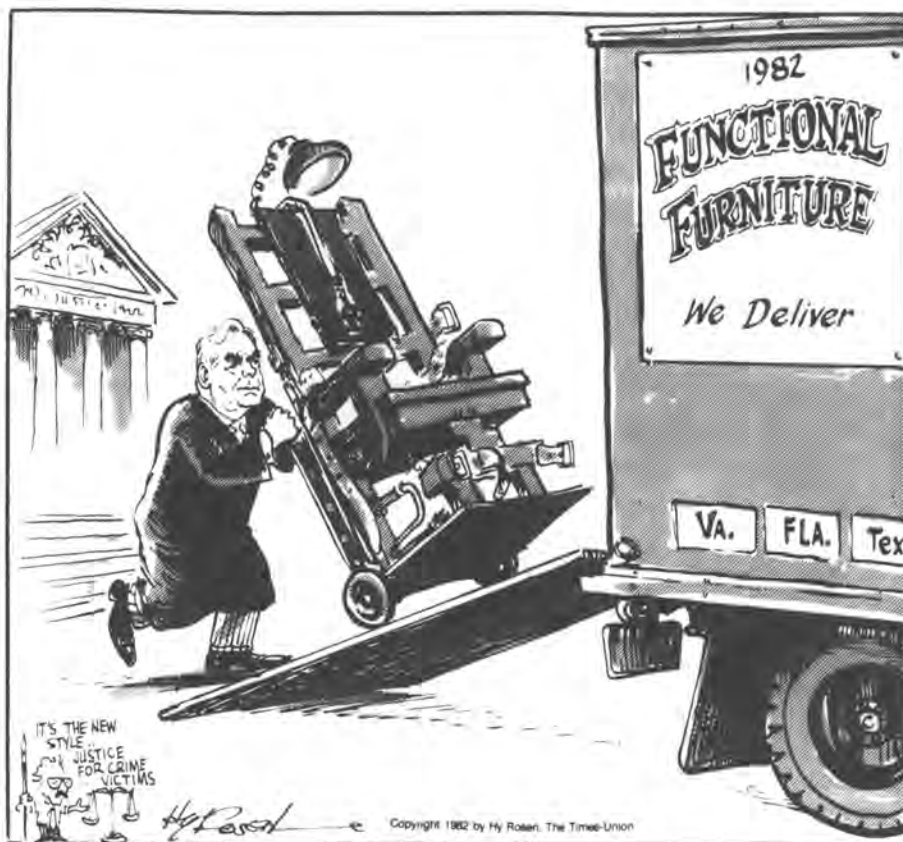
Paul G. Edwards
Paul G. Edwards

May 21, 1984

Dear Mr. Edwards:

As customers of VEPCO, we do not find your letter or those of Mr. J.S. Lewis to be either satisfactory or appropriate replies to our answerable, matter-of-fact and plainly worded questions.

Does your letter of May 11th and those



May 13, 1984

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Gorman:

I would like to thank you for sending the information about your idea to withhold one cent from your utility payment to protest executions in Virginia. I once heard, but have been unable to confirm, that the local utility here in Florida has refused to supply power to the prison for executions (the prison cranks up its own generator); I will write to check this out and let you know what I find out.

Thanks again for sending me the information.

Yours sincerely,

Michael L. Radelet
Michael Radelet

May 15, 1984

Customer Relations Department
Clay Electric
P.O. Box 308
Keystone Heights, FL 32656

Dear Sir/Madam:

I teach a course in capital punishment here at the University of Florida, look-

ing at the issue from all possible perspectives. Recently one of my students claimed that the reason that Florida State Prison uses its own generator for executions is because of a refusal of your company to supply electricity for this purpose. Is this true?

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Michael L. Radelet
Michael L. Radelet, Ph.D.

May 30, 1984

Dear Professor Radelet:

Reference to your inquiry about the supply of electricity for an execution at the Florida State Prison, the present management of the cooperative is not acquainted with the history of "how it came to be" that the prison supplies its own power for executions. However, the cooperative's management does endorse the prison's procedure of supplying its own power for executions.

Sincerely,

L.E. Horne
L.E. Horne
Manager of Communications

of Mr. J.S. Lewis on March 27th, April 6th and April 11th represent the definitive corporate response of both the Virginia Electric and Power Company and Dominion Resource Services, Inc. due to our questions?

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman *Jerome Gorman*
Donna Gorman Jerome Gorman



June 4, 1984

Dear Mr. Lewis:

In continued objection to the premeditated killing of humans by electric euthanasia, we are holding back an additional penny from our electric bill. Our check and bill are enclosed. Your letters implicitly inform us of the grisly fact that VEPCO does provide electricity for the premeditated killing of humans.

We acknowledge this to be an unpleasant circumstance for you, just as it is for us. Besides electric power, does VEPCO provide any advisory, consultative or technical services — either on a continuing or episodic basis — related to the electric chair in the Virginia State Penitentiary at 500 Spring Street, Richmond?

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman *Jerome Gorman*
Donna Gorman Jerome Gorman

June 5, 1984

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Gorman:

Your May 21 letter to Mr. Paul Edwards has been referred to me for reply. The answer to your question is yes.

Sincerely,

J.S. Lewis

whatever action is appropriate under law.

You have other legitimate avenues to address this issue. Deducting a portion of your electric bill is not one of them.

Sincerely,

J.S. Lewis

June 8, 1984

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Thank you for your letter of June 7th. For religious, moral, cultural and social reasons, we are conscientious objectors to the death penalty. VEPCO is only one of the avenues we are pursuing in opposing this atrocity. It is common knowledge that VEPCO spends handsomely to lobby the Virginia General Assembly. We do not believe it is unreasonable to hope that some of the money we have paid to VEPCO over the years could be used to lobby for disconnecting VEPCO from the electric chair, including your enabling act of providing lethal electric power. We would support that lobbying effort with enthusiasm.

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman *Jerome Gorman*
Donna Gorman Jerome Gorman

June 7, 1984

William Berry
President of VEPCO
One James River Plaza
Richmond, VA 23219

Dear Mr. Berry:

We have written several letters to VEPCO about a serious matter. Replies have not been satisfactory, appropriate or acceptable.

Can you please help us?

Yours truly,

Donna Gorman *Jerome Gorman*
Donna Gorman Jerome Gorman

June 7, 1984

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Gorman:

I am in receipt of your June 4 letter, also your remittance of \$95.70 which has been credited to your account.

We do *not* provide any advisory, consultative, or technical services of any kind whatsoever either on a continuing, episodic, or any other basis you may think of relative to the electric chair at the Virginia State Penitentiary. Nor are we associated in any way with the duties of any correctional institution.

Your failure to pay in full for services rendered is unacceptable, not only because it deprives the Company of funds justly earned, but it violates the Company's Terms and Conditions for Supplying Electricity on file with and authorized by the Virginia State Corporation Commission. Section XII A states: The supply of electricity by the Company is contingent upon payment of all charges due from the customer." Also, Section D of the same Section reads in part: "Payments shall be paid without regard to any counterclaim whatsoever." Your failure to adhere to the aforementioned Terms and Conditions subjects your service to

For Further Reading

The Institute for Southern Studies has just revised its Death Penalty Information Packet. The packet contains 11 fact sheets, all reproducible. The items in the packet are: Lost Lives, a statistical portrait of death row; The Case Against the Death Penalty; Common Misconceptions About the Death Penalty; The Bible and the Death Sentence; Quotable Quotes; Surprising Facts About the Death Penalty; The Victims Speak; Perspectives on Crime; Public Officials Speak; Organizations Working Against the Death Penalty; and Graphics.

The Packets cost \$2.00 each (inquire for bulk discounts) and can be ordered from DPIIP, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

African Dance: A Southerner Brings It Home



photo by Tom Caravaglia

By Jane Desmond

Music pumps from a radio on the counter top as Chuck Davis tends a pot of cheese-grits bubbling on the stove. Davis is director of the nationally known, New York-based Chuck Davis Dance Company, one of the leading African-American dance troupes in the U.S. He also serves as a consultant for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, DC, and organizes the annual DanceAfrica Festival at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

A big man — six feet, five and a half inches and 230 pounds — Davis wears a blue ankle-length *wrappa* gathered around his waist African-style and a tie-dyed T-shirt. His presence fills the entire room. Long arms looped with silver bracelets snake out from his body and jab the air as he makes a point. His rich baritone explodes in a whoop of laughter or just as suddenly drops to a compelling near-whisper. The smell of fishcakes seeps from the oven, and Davis, putting

home-baked bread on to toast, breaks out into a snatch of finger-snapping and hip swings, dancing to the backbeat of a funky jazz number on the radio.

What's this man doing dancing around in a kitchen in North Carolina?

In September 1983, Davis moved back to his native South from New York to start his second dance company, the African-American Dance Ensemble. Twenty years in New York is no short stint, and the decision to move was a big one. Davis describes the moment in almost mystical terms: "My move to be here was meant to be," he says. As he sat on the shore of the Atlantic in Senegal the previous May, he recounts, gulls swooped overhead and sand crabs skittered along their frenetic paths. Further down the beach his company was rehearsing, and from time to time the faint sound of a drum call would reach him over the breaking of the waves.

Davis sat, uncharacteristically immobile, sketching figures in the sand. "My spiritual forces, my African and American ancestors, were all around me at that point. I just decided, well, if there is anything you want to do, tis best you just go and do it. I knew I wanted to develop

this company here. I had to develop an outlet for all this energy we were expanding here teaching [through the American Dance Festival, based in Durham, North Carolina]. There are enough dance companies in New York, so I said, 'Well, let me go home.' "

Home for Davis is North Carolina, and despite two decades in New York he still considers himself a Southerner and his family ties to the area remain strong. A Raleigh native, he received the Distinguished North Carolinian award in 1980. In recent years, he spent a considerable amount of time commuting from New York, and traveling throughout North Carolina to conduct residencies for the community outreach program of the American Dance Festival.

Finally deciding to move back home for a while was a relief. "The minute I made that decision, things began to fall into place," he says. "It was as if a burden was lifted from my shoulders." Davis looked down and found that the figures he'd been absent-mindedly scribbling in the sand were completely symmetrical, with an equal number on the right and the left. Right then he realized he had made the right choice.



After two decades of building a life in New York, the move meant leaving some things behind. "I gave up my personal life, my bank account, and any hopes of ever maintaining a totally black moustache," the 47-year-old Davis says, only half facetiously. So far, the change seems to be worth the price. Talking about his new venture, Davis says, "I've gained the world. My feeling is, when you're happy, the universe is yours. You see everything clearer, more in perspective. With work, things will happen."

Davis placed the day-to-day direction of his New York company in the hands of Norma Dean Gibson-Woolbright, who's worked with him for 10 years. He commutes frequently to New York to oversee rehearsals and to maintain his ties with the dance community there. Meanwhile, his 18-member North Carolina troupe of dancers and drummers made their first

professional concert appearance in Durham in February 1984. Like the New York company, their work emphasizes traditional West African dance forms, but also includes pieces based on the black American experience which incorporate modern dance movement styles.

At the debut, an audience of several hundred turned out to welcome the new-

Davis's optimism is not naive, however. Dance companies don't survive in New York on talent alone. It takes guts and savvy to keep an organization afloat for 15 years in that intensely competitive environment. Davis knows his way around city bureaucracies and federal agencies, and fights aggressively for what he wants. The Chuck Davis Dance

photo by Tom Caravaglia



comers, and the dancing was energetic and well-rehearsed. The technical assurance and performing aplomb that characterize the more seasoned New York troupe were missing, but those qualities demand time and nurturance, both of which Davis will provide.

Company has received support from both the New York State Council on the Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts. They've toured all over the United States and abroad to Western Europe, Yugoslavia, and even the South Pacific under the auspices of the U.S.

International Communication Agency. Under his smooth-talking, charming exterior lies a fierce will and burning drive that propels Davis through his endless schedule of rehearsals, performances, and public relations meetings.

Davis demands nearly as much from his dancers as he does from himself, alternately chastising and encouraging to



bring out the best in his performers. There is no question about who is boss.

Towards the end of the dress rehearsal for the North Carolina company's February debut, Davis strides on to the stage, towering a head above the men and dwarfing some of the smaller wom-

en. His eyes flick over each dancer's costume, making sure that their *raffia* tassels, cowrie shell ornaments, seed-pod belts, and cotton sashes meet his standards for traditional garb. He dismisses anything less as vestiges of "oo-gaboogaland."

Even after three hours of rehearsal, his dancers listen attentively. What he says is not always pleasant, but it's spiked with earthy humor to get his points across. "I don't want to see movement, I want to see *dance*," he says, his voice rising. "You men are dancing like dead pigs with maggots in your bellies!" A rag-tag bow at the end of the last piece evokes a torrent of censure. Urging his performers to give 100 percent, he shouts, "If you're dying, you perform. If you are so tired your intestines are *screaming*, you perform. Smile! Even if you got to buy it at Woolworth's, I want to see some teeth!" Even though it's the night before the performance, he threatens to cut the first part of the show, and schedules an extra rehearsal for the next afternoon.

The dancers and drummers of the fledgling company have responded to his demands, bootstrapping themselves from amateurs to professionals in an amazingly short time. Speaking of working with Davis, dancer Levender Burris from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, says Davis has helped him improve his performance by demanding precise movement phrasing and unswerving concentration in rehearsal. "It's a whole different feeling," says Burris. "And it's great to have [this opportunity] right here in North Carolina. I don't have to go to New York or Los Angeles to get that type of motivation. Chuck makes me dance as hard as I can."

The African-American Dance Ensemble differs from Davis's New York troupe in one immediately obvious way: it is racially integrated. Moving South has, says Davis, freed him of the peer pressure from his black dance colleagues in New York, and allowed him to pick his dancers solely on the basis of talent. Two



women in the company are white. "An artist is an artist," Davis states. "People will see them first as black and white, then as a [performing] unit, because the emphasis is on *dance*."

Davis acknowledges that his point of view is uncommon, and expects some resistance: "I am preparing for the flak that is going to happen, and I'm preparing the dancers for it [in case]...there is verbal confrontation." Speaking of his own experiences of racism, he says, "My values are universal. I've been through the hate bit, and I've found it didn't do anything for me, and it didn't do anything for anybody else. As I progressed in my thinking and my growth, I began to see that Africa was the motherland of mankind. We all stem from that one source, and we all have a kinship."

Time after time, Davis has shown his capacity for bringing people of different races, ages, and backgrounds together. In his community work, he does more than simply introduce his audience to African culture. Stressing the communal aspect of African art forms, he brings out the importance of each person's contribution to the success of the whole group. The twin concepts of self-pride and community responsibility give Davis's work an important political dimension.

In his North Carolina residencies, rural audiences respond as enthusiastically as their urban counterparts, and both blacks and whites flock to his workshops, caught up in the mesmerizing rhythms and pulsing energy of the African dances. He is successful with college students; and prisoners take readily to the audience participation portion of the program, joining company members on stage, and clapping and chanting in rhythm.

Children are often a performer's toughest audience, but Davis draws a resounding response from them as well. Young people are attracted to this enormous man who is at once imposing and warmly approachable. And the feeling is mutual. Denise Dickens, director of the American Dance Festival's outreach program, says, "Chuck feels that the older he gets, the more he likes working with the little ones. He just lights up after being with them."

For Davis, working in the schools is a priority. Each visit creates a ripple effect throughout the area. Besides the thousands of students who see his presenta-

tions, parents and teachers are also exposed to his work. In Wilson, North Carolina, for example, Carol Blackwood, program director of the local arts council, raves about Davis's residency in the school system there: "I just can't say enough good things. His impact on the community was amazing to me, and I had expected a lot from the residency. His philosophy of love and respect for

young African village boy uses his special powers and the help of friendly forest animals to save his village from a terrible sickness. For six weeks, 26 students chosen by audition from 10 county schools rehearsed with Davis to prepare the production. Several of these children are so talented, Davis feels, that they may eventually seek careers in the arts. He hopes that for all of them, the dis-

students, commends his work in the schools: "Chuck underscores the power of experiential learning. He's excellent at drawing kids in. As with adults, he gets kids to try things they wouldn't normally do. He's like the Pied Piper."

Davis hopes to expand his work from North Carolina throughout the South. Although there are already a few black dance groups in the region, all could benefit from Davis's long experience and extensive research in Africa. He sees himself as a *griot*, or teacher and historian, and in that role can surely become a catalyst for the arts in the South, possessing as he does the stature of a national reputation and the charisma of a star.

As a rich repository of black cultural history, the South seems a prime base for his activities. Since black and white cultures have influenced each other for hundreds of years in this region, both races stand to benefit from a deeper understanding of African culture. In his workshops, Davis makes some of these historical links clear. He traces the development of popular black and white social dance styles in America from their origins in ancient African animal imitation dances and acrobatic ritual contests through the Charleston, Twist, and Funky Chicken to today's popular break-dancing. By emphasizing that community sharing and respect for the past are traditional African values, Davis helps to create a temporary community out of a group of strangers.

Davis hopes soon to set up a regional touring schedule for himself and his new company. (They have already performed several times in South Carolina.) Then, after his company's a little more settled, he'd like to organize a regional dance conference so that experienced artists like himself can share their expertise with younger dancers and musicians.

And 10 years from now? With a chuckle he muses, then breaks into a big grin. "I hope to have a villa in Africa and a house in America, and I will commute between the two, overseeing four dance companies, covering the United States, Europe, Africa, and South America — all stemming from the same point of view: that art is to be shared!" □



photo by John Bookser-Feister

everyone comes through loud and clear. His residency was probably the best the arts council has ever offered."

Some residencies are one-day events, while others last for several weeks. In Raleigh, Davis recently staged a new theater piece, *Babu's Magic*, in which a

cipline that the performance required will be helpful in other school activities.

Davis expects excellent work from his school-aged performers, and they grow to meet those standards. Leah Wise, a member of the African-American Dance Ensemble and a parent of one of Davis's

Jane Desmond is currently an artist-in-residence at Duke University. She has taught modern dance technique, ballet, composition, improvisation, repertory, and movement for actors, and has served as a consultant for the New York State Council on the Arts and the North Carolina Arts Council.

ZONING IN MIAMI



photos courtesy Miami-Metro Department of Publicity and Tourism

GROWTH FOR PROFIT, NOT FOR PEOPLE

One developer had planned tall — so tall that even if he cut 70 feet off his condominium, Miami's building rules would have left him a wafer of a building: 23 stories tall, two feet wide. Another developer wanted a 20-story hotel where the zoning laws allowed for one only half that size. A third developer claimed he'd made a mistake in his plans. His condo was turning out to be 20 percent bigger than he had originally

said it would be. Cut it back, said city planners.

The developers turned to the Miami City Commission, and it bailed all of them out.

Ten extra floors here, three there. Shaving away parking requirements. Squeezing off required open space. As new buildings climb up, Miami's zoning laws tumble down. What's left is a patchwork of exceptions, always open to a de-

veloper's new request. "I can't see too much difference between having what [planning] we have here and having nothing at all," laments architect Alfred Browning Parker. Parker designed the city-owned Miamarina, a people-oriented complex of docks and shops on Biscayne Bay. He is sensitive to the idea of a city on the bay, open to views of sky and water. Says Parker of that vision, "The opportunity is not blown, but it's

By Bob Lowe and R. A. Zaldivar

certainly wasting."

While the national press portrays a Miami with a taste for cocaine and international intrigue, the city's true love affair is with concrete. During one of its periodic building booms, one might mistake it for one of those Saudi Arabian cities conceived, designed, and built in less than a decade. Cement trucks clog the streets; cranes perch atop every other building. And the news is clogged with stories of starts and completions, cornerstones and top-offs.

The love affair has its costs in human terms, as those who can afford \$200,000 for a two-bedroom condo or similar astronomical rental fees for office space are increasingly the only people with access to a reasonable quality of life in the city.

Only a grassroots initiative in a community with a two-mile stretch of open coastline prevented a complete wall of high-rises from closing it off. A few amenities like view corridors to the water and a 50-foot building setback from the shore are now required.

Coconut Grove, Miami's most walkable neighborhood, with its small shops, restaurants, parks, and sidewalk cafes, faces an onslaught of mid-rise hotels, banks, and apartments.

A pending explosion of apartment and condominium development along the Miami River threatens to price fishing boats and tramp steamers right out of the city.

To assess the impact of Miami's wide-open development on the city and its politicians, and to see whether the regulators of the building industry are doing their jobs, we undertook a three-month investigation of the city's planning and zoning system in 1983. We found a system that has broken down, that is self-defeating at best, corrupt at worst:

- The Zoning Board and City Commission ignore their own laws and procedures in granting variances from zoning restrictions.

- The land development industry is the largest single source of campaign money for incumbent city commissioners.

- Some city zoning inspectors have helped petty violators cheat the system.

- Poor zoning enforcement has contributed to the creation of slums in northeast Miami and Little Havana and to Manhattan-like congestion in high-rent neighborhoods.

Florida law requires cities to plan for future growth, using zoning as a tool to enforce land-use plans, but the way a city applies its zoning laws is largely its own business. Regarding our finding that the record shows an established pattern of zoning law abuse in Miami, Mayor Maurice Ferre told us, "I think your conclusion is basically correct." Mayor Ferre also, however, sees nothing wrong with the haphazard system of planning and zoning. Describing the force behind it, he says, "What determines things in a free society is the marketplace."



The scene of the marketplace is the City Commission, which devotes every other meeting to planning and zoning and spends enormous amounts of time listening to technical presentations. New building densities — the figures that determine how much marketable space a developer will have — are set like prices at a beef auction; developers lobby for more and city planners ask for less. When it is time to act, the commission follows a simple credo: more is better.

Critical zoning decisions that affect the quality of city life are made with scant evaluation of their impact on such basics as traffic congestion or sewer capacity. Brickell Avenue, which follows the shoreline just south of downtown, is a prime example. In 20 years it has changed from a tree-lined avenue of upscale mansions to a congested strip of luxury high-rise condominiums and office buildings housing much of the international banking and commercial enterprises that have turned Miami into the financial capital of Latin America. The city's master plan for the area, the guiding document required by state law, is a one-sheet statement of general principles

littered with inconsistencies and errors, and its principles have been lost in a maze of variances.

Besides the high-rises already in place on Brickell Avenue, another 2.6 million square feet of development are in final design stages, with more on the way. There is a new proposal to hike density on the street by another 70 percent. City planners say traffic congestion there could soon have a choke-hold on the area, but they have never done a full-scale traffic study and don't know how to cope with Brickell traffic or how much it will cost or who will pay. When traffic problems beset the area's Dupont Plaza high-rise complex, the state, county, and city put together a \$34.7 million package to finance a new highway link to Interstate 95.

That illustrates one way to get things done, in Mayor Ferre's opinion: "As mayor of Miami, it's my opinion that there are two ways that major roads get built. One's through political influence. The other way roads get built is where the demand requires it — there's a crisis." What about planning? Says Ferre, "I think all it is is a certain restraint. It slows things down."

Others, however, point out the social costs of this laissez-faire attitude. Architect Robert Bradford Browne, an adviser to the city's planning department, says, "What you do is you shift the responsibility for making a city work to after it's been overcrowded and overbuilt. A guy buys something that can hold 200 units by the [zoning] law. He changes the law to get 300 units and makes that much more money. The little guy gets saddled with the big guy's ability to squeeze the system for profits. You put very expensive solutions down the road onto the taxpayers."

In Miami, the most common way to get 300 units where the law allows 200 is to go for a zoning variance, an exception to the rules that can be granted by the Zoning Board or the City Commission. Variances are intended to take care of unusual circumstances — safety valves to prevent injustice. Generally, they are supposed to be granted only when something unusual about the size, shape, location, or natural features of a piece of land create a hardship for the owner. The hardship, according to theory, may not be caused by an action of the owner. Court decisions have established the criteria, and the city has adopted them in its zoning ordinance.

The textbook example of a hardship is when a lot's unusual shape — triangular,

for example — makes it impossible to build a home on it without violating setback rules. Variances also are supposed to be the minimum revision of the rules needed to allow “reasonable use” of the property. According to zoning experts, Miami — a relatively new city on flat land, where property was divided in a grid pattern — has little property with true hardships. And the city’s professional planners oppose variance requests in most cases, saying they don’t meet legal requirements.

But the Zoning Board and City Commission usually don’t listen. When we examined variance requests in city files, we found innumerable questionable claims of hardship. For example, a duplex owner who wanted to build an addition said, “Granting this will solve a big problem between our children.” A property owner who wanted to build a porch said, “This should improve the value of the property.” A homeowner asking for an addition said, “House too small.” All these requests were granted.

In fact, in 1982 the Zoning Board granted variances in 91 percent of the cases where the city planning staff recommended denial, and the City Commission approved outright rezonings in nine out of 10 cases where planners disapproved. Why do board members and

commissioners so consistently ignore the advice of the people they hire to advise them? Our examination of the campaign finance records of city politicians, which shows the land development industry to be the single largest source of campaign money for incumbents, suggests at least part of the answer.

In 1963 the late Robert King High was mayor and Maurice Ferre, then 28, had just become president of his father’s cement company. Miami’s skyline was a scattered collection of squat buildings, and bayside mansions still lined Brickell Avenue. Martin Fine, an up-and-coming real estate lawyer, stood before the City Commission to argue in favor of a zoning variance for a 13-story apartment house he wanted to build near the Miami River.

Mayor High disqualified himself from voting because Fine had given him a \$25 campaign contribution. High’s abstention, which was not required by law, made headlines. Today, political sensitivities like High’s have gone the way of \$25 campaign contributions and nickel beer.

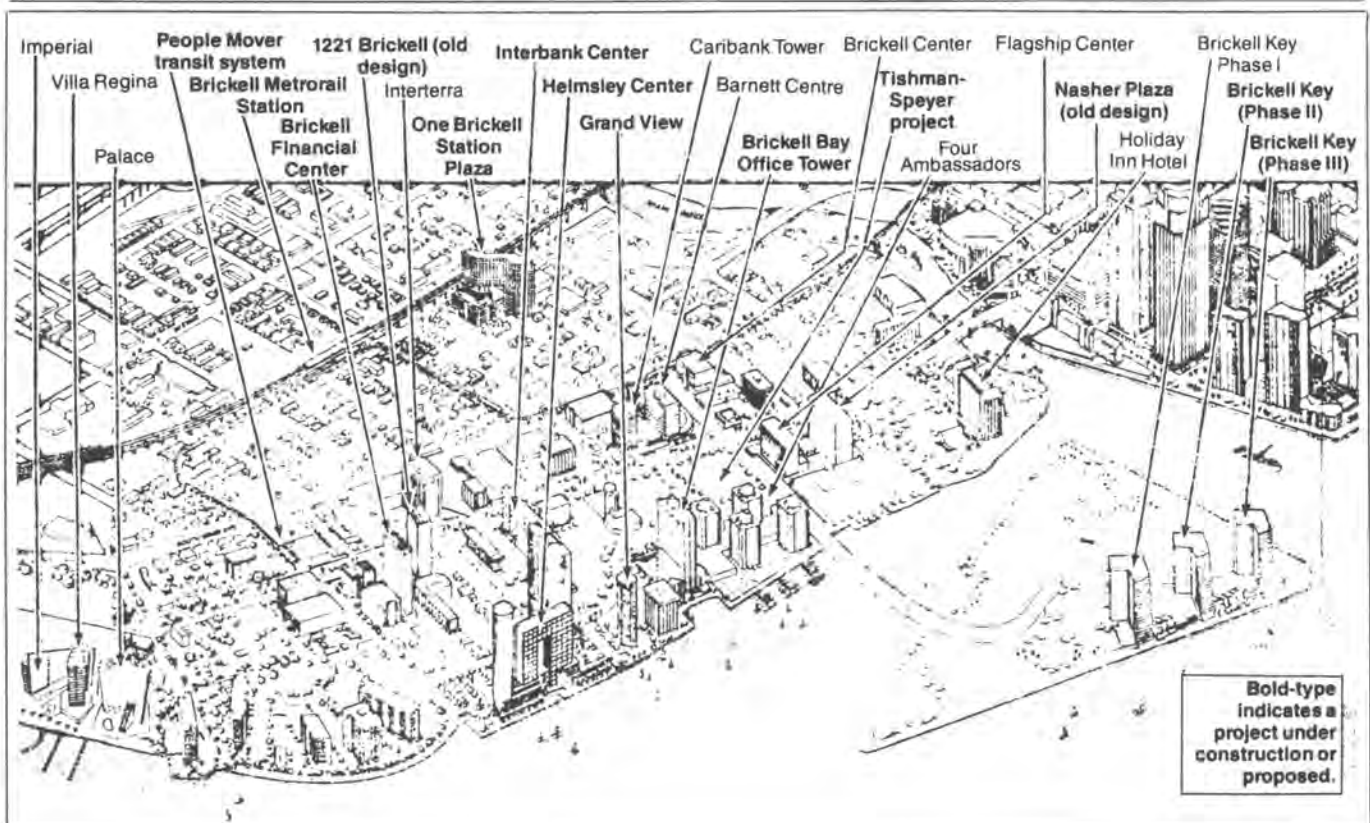
Our study of finance records, done for

the *Miami Herald*, analyzed contribution reports from recent municipal elections, attempting to identify the source of every contribution of \$100 or more. We found that the fundraising role of zoning lawyers, developers, real estate brokers, contractors, and other professionals in the building industry has expanded with the increased cost and complexity of running for office in Miami.

The land development industry gave \$159,100 to Ferre in 1981 — 45 percent of his campaign chest, up from 36 percent (\$65,125) in 1979. Most of the industry’s money goes to incumbents. For example, Commissioners Miller Dawkins and Demetrio Perez, Jr., received only a small share of their campaign money from this source when first elected in 1981: 25 percent and 12 percent, respectively. And Commissioner Joe Carollo received 23 percent from the industry when first elected in 1979. But when Carollo sought a second four-year term in 1983, that share rose to 44 percent. Incumbent Commissioner J.L. Plummer was re-elected in 1979 with industry support accounting for 26 percent of his funds; the figure jumped to 45 percent in 1983.

The politicians generally discount the significance of this support. Says Plummer, “I never look at my contribution list in making decisions.” And Carollo

THE FUTURE FACE OF BRICKELL AVENUE



shifts the subject with his comment, "I'm not as concerned about developers contributing to my campaign as about some other elements of this community. Communists and drug pushers — they're trying to become active in the city of Miami."

The fact remains, however, that the developers, architects, and real estate lawyers who contribute to city candidates at election time appear before the City Commission at one time or another to ask for zoning variances or rezonings, and the financial dividends of favorable rulings are sizable. Comments on what it all means vary widely. As is typical of studies of connections between campaign finances and political influence, direct causal links between particular contributions and particular commission decisions cannot be alleged. Most participants in the game try to downplay its importance, often sounding disingenuous or naive in the process.

Former city attorney George Knox describes the relationship as a "legitimate" form of patronage. He told us, "There is only one major opportunity to exercise patronage under our [commissioner-manager] form of government, and that is zoning." Later Knox revised his statement to: "I believe that these people [commissioners] do what they think is best for the development of the city, and if as an ancillary benefit they get contributions, that's fine."

Martin Fine, who doubles as attorney for private developers and finance chairman for Ferre — the mayor credits him with raising at least \$25,000 in 1981 — denies any link between campaign dollars and zoning decisions. "I think that these decisions are not made on the basis of patronage. They are made in part on the recommendations of professional staff, on the factors in each individual case, and the developer's past track record."

Fine is a frequent petitioner before the commission. Besides his private law practice, he is a board member of the city's Downtown Development Authority and chair of the Downtown Action Committee of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. Besides his fundraising for the mayor, he is a \$1,000 contributor to Commissioners Plummer and Carollo. Whether seeking an increase in density for a client in the burgeoning uptown area or rewriting a zoning law to protect a Brickell Avenue client, Fine is seldom turned down, even if city planners disagree with him. As one long-time city planner told us, "You feel you're at a dis-

advantage when you face Mr. Fine at a public hearing." Then he added, "Don't quote me. I like my job."

Mayor Ferre, for his part, insists that Fine keeps his political and business interests apart. "Marty Fine is a very poor example of what you're trying to research," Ferre told us. "There are others who are better. There are others who are bolder about saying, 'I want this and I want that.' Some of them get pretty rough."

Ferre says it would be "hypocritical" to say that campaign contributors don't expect something in return. "People who give money in government . . . usually have the expectation of being heard — access." But, he said, "I totally



deny and I totally reject the premise that it categorically, by implication, explicitly or implicitly, goes beyond that. I don't deny that there are developers around here who are important people in the structure of government and they make contributions. But honest to God, I don't think I would have voted any different if they had or hadn't."

Industry insiders had various things to say when asked about the money/zoning link:

- Al Cardenas, a fundraiser for the mayor, a local partner in the company that holds Miami's cable television franchise, and a well-known political activist: "Whether my public involvement lends credibility or not to my arguments, I don't know. That has to be answered by the people who hear them."

- Earl Worsham, a real estate developer: "Unfortunately, it's kind of a necessary evil. Candidates have to spend a bunch of money, and the only place they can get that money is from people that can afford it."

- Tibor Hollo, who convinced the commission to grant downtown zoning intensity to his uptown apartment development and who got zoning variances for two other uptown projects, claims not to know the effect of his campaign contributions: "That's a damn good question. I'd love to answer it. I don't

know. I don't want to speculate. When I make a contribution, it is done from my heart and I couldn't care what happens to me."

- David Weaver, a Canadian developer who built Brickell Avenue's Barnett Bank Centre: "The people who are in real estate are sooner or later going to be forced to go before the City Commission. That leads to a whole question of motivation. One level is just purely that when you stand up in front of the commission you would like to see some friendly faces. "But he also says he supports politicians whose philosophy and actions in general create a good climate for business. "You're not buying the right to a guy's mind." Nevertheless, he describes campaign contributions as a "form of investment" for anyone in the land business in Miami.

- Robert Traurig, an attorney whose list of clients reads like a roster of Brickell Avenue developers and a politico who raised \$10,000 for Mayor Ferre in 1981, says being a political contributor "is not concomitant" to having a successful zoning practice in Miami; making contributions is "a normal thing to do" when "a relationship develops as a result of ongoing contact" with an elected official.

"The fact that I make contributions has no relationship generally to the matters I present. My contributions have never been related to land-use issues."

- Steve Ross, a political deal-maker and unofficial historian of Miami's backroom politics: "In the federal government and in the state government, there are hundreds of different issues and interest groups involved. . . . The city of Miami is restricted to five areas: police, fire, sanitation, parks and recreation, and zoning. Only one of those leads to a source of political contributions; the others don't. It's where the action is, in the building industry basically." Ross, who sometimes lobbies for developers with zoning problems, also acknowledges readily that land industry contributions are a means of gaining an "edge." He says, "People in business don't have the vote strength of newspaper endorsements or a homeowners federation. Contributions are how they support those they agree with."

Brickell Avenue development, on close inspection, yields a revealing picture of how the system works when big

money is involved. The city touts the neighborhood envisioned by its plan as a cosmopolitan, urban one where city dwellers on their way to work will stroll by plazas, shops, cafes — even sidewalk Shakespeare — amid the corporate headquarters, international banks, and luxury condos. But the vision is threatened by developers overrunning the building limits.

“There really is no [zoning] ordinance for Brickell,” says Zoning Board administrator Aurelio Perez-Lugones. “Every time someone comes in for a variance it’s granted.” After-the-fact planning and a pending avalanche of new construction now threaten the green, open setting that drew people there from Miami’s paved-over downtown.

Variations are almost routinely granted to accommodate buildings larger than the zoning ordinance allows. Then the city relaxes zoning rules to allow higher density. And then more variances are granted, as the cycle begins again. Brickell Avenue has become “Variance Valley,” where market forces, rather than a city plan, dictate growth.

The boom began in 1960 with approval of a development at the southernmost end of the avenue near the Rickenbacker Causeway, which connects the mainland with Key Biscayne. KWG Associates received variances for two 21-story apartment buildings on land zoned for single-family homes. The design changed — a single Y-shaped apartment, the Town House that exists today, was eventually built — but the high-rise pattern was set.

Next came developer James Albert with a plan for an upper Brickell site where the Four Ambassadors hotel and condo complex now stands. After an initial rebuff, Albert won approval of eight variances. A futile, but prescient, protest was raised by then-planning director Dudley Hinds: “Conceivably, in a few more years we could have these things lining the bay front between . . . the Miami River and the Rickenbacker Causeway. It would be proper to consider the implications throughout the area.”

The Four Ambassadors project as finally built on the site required 11 variances in 1965, including one to increase floor area by 80 percent over what the law permitted. “If we create a variance for this site,” warned Hinds, “there is no reason whatsoever for refusing similar applications . . . all up and down [the bay].”

Today, after scores of variances and several rewritings of the zoning laws,

Brickell developers make the early builders look like pikers.

A cluster of condominiums midway along the avenue represents the latest in residential developments in the area — prime examples of oversized buildings, in the opinion of some planners. Some residents of the Villa Regina, for instance, will have a close, unobstructed view of a red wall 30 stories tall. The wall forms the north side of its neighbor, The Imperial.

The Imperial, a slab-like building, sits on a long, rectangular lot perpendicular to Biscayne Bay. It is so tall that required setbacks on the relatively narrow lot left no room for the building. It was made possible by variances that knocked some

ways to get in and out of Brickell. Biscayne Bay lies to the east. The aging Brickell Avenue Bridge is the only link north to congested downtown Miami. Interstate 95 blocks access to the west. Crowded South Dixie Highway and the Rickenbacker Causeway converge at Brickell’s southern tip. Routes to I-95 — the most promising relief valve — are limited to two east-west streets, but existing buildings hamper expansion of the road system.

City planner Jack Luft says, “We lost sight of what makes sense on Brickell. How much is too much? How far is too far? How little is too little?” But Mayor Ferre says the traffic crunch, already acute at some intersections during rush

MIAMARINA, OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE CITY, IS A PEOPLE-ORIENTED COMPLEX OF DOCKS AND SHOPS ON BISCAYNE BAY.



50 feet off each setback requirement.

When variances granted The Imperial, the Villa Regina, and the still unbuilt Santa Maria were challenged in court in 1982, a circuit court judge struck down the city’s planned area development ordinance. With another suit pending against The Imperial, the City Commission accommodated the threatened developments by approving a tailor-made revision of the zoning laws for the entire lower Brickell area. Drafts of the new law were prepared by the firms of lawyers Martin Fine (representing The Imperial), Murray Dubbin (Villa Regina), and Robert Traurig (Santa Maria).

Upper Brickell’s commercial area is the stage for the next round of zoning changes and bigger buildings. Planners fear the additional rush-hour traffic created by new office buildings will push the road system beyond its limits. The basic problem is that there aren’t many

hour, poses no obstacle to development. “Don’t worry,” he says. “When all these people put up those buildings, we will find solutions collectively. Oh yes, it’s going to cost \$40 million, or \$10 million, or whatever. But I want to tell you I would rather have the growth pattern that I think is necessary.”

Ferre, who envisions Miami rivaling New York, Boston, and Houston in downtown density as well as importance, believes anything short of skyscrapers in Brickell is a luxury the city can’t afford. In defense of his build-now-plan-later philosophy, Ferre says heavy congestion like that which choked Dupont Plaza is acceptable. “If we had done nothing [about traffic at Dupont Plaza] it wouldn’t be as bad as New York City, and New York City survives pretty well.”

The latest higher-density proposal to amend zoning laws, which Ferre has en-

dorsed, would benefit two major developments, the 1.2 million square-foot Nasher Plaza and the 1.1 million square-foot Tishman-Speyer project. The attorney for both developments and the author of the amendment are one and the same: lawyer Traurig.

They are only part of what's expected to happen soon. The city believes at least eight projects with a combined floor area totaling nearly five million square feet will soon be built in the upper, or north, Brickell area — more than doubling what exists now. They will be taller and larger than anything now in the area, and demonstrate once more why we dubbed the neighborhood Variance Valley.

Miami's high-rent districts hold no monopoly on lax enforcement of zoning laws, unfortunately, and the City Commission has thereby allowed several healthy neighborhoods to degenerate into slums. For the once thriving neighborhood of East Buena Vista on the city's northeast side, the long slide began nine years ago when the owners of a house there illegally divided it into several apartments. Neighbors say they complained to city zoning inspectors, and a now-familiar cycle of complaints and inaction was born.

Fifty years ago, the area was home to Miami's elite, as they built two-story Mediterranean villas with sweeping arches and Spanish-tile trim. In the 1960s the area evolved into a middle-class, integrated neighborhood. Then the mid-1970s trickle of Haitian refugees into Miami turned into 1980's flood of boat people. With it came illegal rooming houses, absentee landlords, and overcrowding, much of it in East Buena Vista.

Today, rotting mattresses and rusted, abandoned refrigerators vie with other rubbish for space along the shady streets. A home on one corner doubles as a takeout restaurant where cars double-park at dinnertime. Rundown homes are everywhere.

"We consider poor enforcement of zoning laws the primary cause of the deterioration," says Richard Rosichan, who moved into his home there 13 years ago. "It's easy to get mad at the Haitian refugees and the absentee landlords. But the city has been reluctant to take action

from day one."

East Buena Vista is only one of many Miami neighborhoods that have stood in the flow of immigrants and refugees. The city official responsible for zoning inspections agrees that poor enforcement has contributed to their decline. Miami deputy fire chief David H. Teems, who took control of the city's building department in 1982 when it merged with the fire department, says, "Zoning enforcement was nil. It was totally ineffectual as far as I was concerned. There was no way to tell if the laws were being met. Without good zoning enforcement . . . you allow the neighborhood to deteriorate. You start the cycle that allows a slum to occur.



What happens in the neighborhoods is the crime of it all."

Miami's poor black neighborhoods, Liberty City and Overtown, have felt the effects of lax zoning enforcement as well. Wellington Rolle, a black who served two terms on the city's Zoning Board, believes the *carte blanche* that's been given builders has hit black areas particularly hard, producing a hodge-podge of building types that reduced property values and sped up deterioration. "If you go through the records, you'll find in the black areas that people got variances expressly to make a higher profit," he says. "It's been obscene in the black community. There's been so much overbuilding that in places there's no room for air, ventilation, or light. And children are living in there."

Although there are recent signs that zoning code enforcement in inner-city neighborhoods has improved, few are optimistic that Miami's attitude of neglect toward planning and zoning will change. Our examination showed that, until recently, the city's zoning enforcement was hampered by what Teems describes as systematic corruption, po-

litical interference, and poor management. "It was a den of thieves," says Mayor Maurice Ferre. We found:

- The damage from poor enforcement may already be irreversible in some areas. In addition to East Buena Vista, Little Havana merchants and property owners blame the city for a growing slum in eastern Little Havana now known as "Vietnam" because of its resemblance to a war zone. "Enforcement fell off and a large influx of refugees and other factors started to move that area toward a slum," says Teems. "We're trying to turn that around."

- In the past year investigations into the city's building and zoning inspection force found evidence of corruption. Five city inspectors resigned, retired, or were fired during zoning-related investigations. Officials believe that inspectors hired to enforce zoning laws actually aided zoning violators in circumventing the law and provided such services as drawing bogus plans — work clearly in conflict with their city jobs, officials say.

- Disappearing files, doctored plans, and altered building permits were a way of life in the inspections department. To some extent, those problems still occur. When one building inspector was fired in late 1982, his lawyer obtained a series of intracity memos from police and other officials describing the firing as unjustified. They were forgeries.

- Developers and contractors routinely gave gifts to city employees, a practice that continues. Some developers regularly visit the building department around Christmas time, handing out bottles of liquor to employees. Whenever superiors challenge the practice, such gifts are simply sent to employees' homes, according to former employees.

- Those who have violated Miami's poorly enforced zoning rules range from slum landlords to Thomas Gallagher, the minority leader of Florida's House of Representatives. Some friends and supporters of top city officials have successfully ignored or delayed enforcement efforts. One is restaurateur Felipe Valls, a supporter of Mayor Ferre. For five years, Valls was repeatedly cited for improperly converting a house into the headquarters of his small business empire. Valls was never fined for the alleged violations, and the city never halted what it considers the illegal use of his office. Says one inspector who cited Valls, "He thinks he has an 'in' in the mayor's office. He's one of those guys who thinks he's got political pull."

• Until recently, the city had no way to determine whether zoning inspectors actually check on the more than 2,000 complaints they receive annually. The city also failed to monitor rechecks to see whether violators were complying with zoning rules. In fact, inspectors rechecked only one-fourth of the violators in the 1981-82 fiscal year. When the city tightened supervision of inspectors in 1982, such rechecks quadrupled. Top inspection officials cite examples of inspectors tearing up complaints without checking them and issuing citations without turning in copies to the city's master file.

• Only in 1982 did the inspection division of the building department start keeping a centralized file. Before that, plumbing, electrical, zoning, and structural inspectors could each cite the same property without knowing about the other citations.

• During the 1982-83 fiscal year, the equivalent of just three city employees performed all the field inspections in Miami. In 1983 the number of field inspectors was increased to seven, and neighborhood zoning sweeps were instituted under the fire department's control. But inspectors still aren't required to report all zoning violations, just the ones for which they receive complaints.

• When violators face fines or court action, they often win variances from the Zoning Board and City Commission. The ease with which such variances are obtained further undermines enforcement efforts.

The case of Felipe Valls, who gave Mayor Ferre free use of his Versailles restaurant for a \$500-per-person campaign breakfast in 1981, epitomizes the city's shoddy zoning enforcement. The case involves a house just off Calle Ocho, the main street of Little Havana, located on a lot zoned for residential use near the Versailles.

City officials contend that several years ago Valls illegally paved the lot, which is now used for extra restaurant parking. The city also says Valls converted the house into his business office without permits and in violation of zoning rules. The city notified Valls of a violation once in 1974, wrote letters threatening court action in 1978, notified him of violations again in 1981, and sent Valls a new round of zoning and building code violation notices in 1982. After that, Valls applied to have the City Commission rezone the property for commercial use.

The enforcement efforts never inter-

rupted his business operations. A sign, called illegal by the city, still directs restaurant patrons to the allegedly illegal parking lot.

Valls denies using political pull: "I never called Mayor Ferre or any commissioners for any of my zoning problems." Says Ferre, "I don't know anything about it. I may have seen Felipe Valls twice since the [1981] election."

"It was like everything else going on around here," says Teems of the Valls case. "Either somebody keeps [the case] out of the system or the particular inspector involved was not interested in doing anything. Things would get into a niche and not go anywhere. God knows what other cases like this will pop out."

COCONUT GROVE, MIAMI'S MOST WALKABLE NEIGHBORHOOD, FACES AN ONSLAUGHT OF DEVELOPMENT.



What does the future hold? Urban designers worry about the high price Miami will pay if it continues to grow without a plan. The bayfront and riverfront will disappear behind a curtain of concrete, "people places" like Coconut Grove will be threatened, and increased traffic will choke overbuilt areas.

The waterfront faces the greatest development pressure in the next five to 10 years. "Views of the bay and the river — those are the resources that are limited," says Miami planning director Sergio Rodriguez. There are several areas of concern:

• The Edgewater neighborhood, a prime area for new high-rise development, a few blocks wide between Biscayne Boulevard and the bay, running north for a couple of miles from just uptown to the crosstown expressway connecting the international airport with Miami Beach. One of Miami's older neighborhoods, Edgewater now contains medium-sized apartment houses and single-family homes. A new zoning ordinance will permit medium to high-rise apartment complexes. And, because parcels of land are relatively small, planners fear that overbuilding will squeeze out open space. "You could end up with a lot of walls, parking garages, security gates," says city planner Jack Luft.

• The Miami River, a home for tramp steamers and fishing boats just three blocks from downtown. Planners consider the river a virtually untapped resource with vast development potential. They want the present industrial users of the river to co-exist with restaurants and residential development. Says planning director Rodriguez, "It's a working river, that's part of its character. We don't want to take out the industrial uses." But if apartment houses and condos are allowed to take over the river, the steamboats and fishers will head north to Port Everglades, near Fort Lauderdale. "There's no place else for them to go," says Luft.

• Coconut Grove, where high-rises are already marching up South Bayshore Drive. Though Luft predicts that the Grove's waterfront won't develop much more, he says the North Grove and the business district will change: "The downtown area will be much more intensified. The scale [of buildings] will change from one- and one-and-a-half-story profiles to three to five stories." One long-time Grove activist feels the once-neighborly urban village is being slowly consumed. "There's a tension between what the old Grove was and what it's going to be," says Joanne Holzhauser. "The Grove is a living thing. You reach a point at which damage cannot be reversed."

If the city's record of giving in to developers' demands doesn't change, some observers see a bleak future. According to Nicholas Patricios, director of the urban and regional planning program at the University of Miami, "We're losing all these unique places and we don't seem to have the ability to create them anew. When we try to create new urban places, we don't seem able to make them as attractive as the ones we replace."

The loss of water vistas and quaint neighborhoods troubles planners, but the traffic generated by new development is a more pressing problem, and one the city alone can't handle. Barry Peterson, director of the South Florida Regional Planning Council, says the future will pit city demands for new roads against the highway needs of neighboring counties and the state as a whole: "I don't think the state and federal governments have an obligation to rebuild [roads] just because local government allows so much development that it overwhelms the existing facilities. It's not reasonable to expect people in other parts of the state to send their tax money here to solve problems we created locally."

At some point, Peterson feels, Miami-ans will face a simple question: can they get from one place to another in the new Miami?

Former assistant city manager Jim Reid acknowledges that traffic and transportation problems must be solved if the new Miami is to be economically viable. "Access," he says, "is marketability." Though the traffic problem won't be easy to solve, Reid says that Metrorail and additional people-mover loops to serve the Brickell Avenue and uptown areas will ease the crunch on the streets. He said the additional people-mover loops carry a \$200 million price tag. But Peterson says Metrorail alone won't solve the traffic problem, and Patricios adds, "There's a lot of new development that doesn't seem related to any mass transit system."

Once again, Mayor Ferre's preferred solution is to allow the market a free hand and deal with crises after they've occurred. But Peterson says that's inviting chaos: "The market doesn't understand all the consequences of the players' actions. That's why we have overbuilding and boom and bust in office and condo development. The market isn't all-knowing and it's very bad at predicting side effects." The market can also turn against a city, Peterson adds: "If there's too much [traffic] friction, people will make the choice to relocate somewhere else."

Many say the key failure of Miami's haphazard planning is inadequate preservation of the city's most valuable resources — easy access to the bay and river, subtropical greenery, and an outdoor lifestyle. "We need to better

balance the public's needs with the interests of private developers," says Patricios.

Reid sees a similar need: "The nature of the system is that people want to get more out of it. At every point you try to respond to [developers'] requests by trying to get something extra for the public." But, while the city staff argues for zoning that guarantees setbacks, open space, plazas, and other people-oriented amenities, the City Commission usually sides with developers.

For change to take place, in the opinion of architect and occasional city adviser Robert Bradford Browne, planning and zoning must become politically important issues to average Miami-ans.



"Philosophically, the town and its leaders have to embrace the idea that zoning is important to a better living environment. You have to make [voters] aware that they need some kind of control in zoning so they elect people who have [a pro-planning] philosophy. Without the active desire on the part of the political masters of this town, you're not going to change. Zoning should not be the political power base of politicians. It should be something that assures the quality of life."

The main politically active force in Miami planning and zoning is the land development industry, the adversary of the planners. And, according to political power broker Steve Ross, the reason the

commission can carry out its planning-by-variance zoning is that the city's large Hispanic and black voting blocs don't care. He says debates over buildings on Brickell Avenue are remote issues for a shopkeeper in Little Havana or the mother of an unemployed teenager in Liberty City. "I never met a black or Latin environmentalist," says Ross. "The environmentalists are upper-class Wasps or Jews who say: 'I've got mine, I don't want any more people.'"

Politically active architect Willy Bermello agrees that zoning is a low priority with Miami voters, but resents Ross's linking that to blacks and Hispanics. "That would apply to any large metropolitan area in the United States," says Bermello. "Zoning isn't a high priority issue, whether the voters are black, Latin, or Anglo. Generally the masses aren't interested. They view zoning as something far from them and the perception is that no matter what happens, deals are being cut."

Wellington Rolle agrees that black voters in Miami generally understand little about zoning: "The black community is able to discern the bottom line, but it isn't able to discern that zoning eventually has an effect on the character of the community. It is a lack of education. More interest on the part of the black community must go toward that process."

As Alfred Browning Parker, the visionary architect who designed *Miamarina*, says, poor planning hurts everybody: "A society is going to get pretty well what the society demands. If society is going to opt for crowded streets, impossible traffic, for making a buck as fast as you can and building as high as you want, that's what it's going to get. And we're certainly getting it." □

Bob Lowe and R.A. Zaldivar are reporters for the Miami Herald. This article is excerpted from a five-part series in that newspaper.



Tomato Song
by Dorothy Allison

Born in Greenville, South Carolina, Dorothy Allison now lives in Brooklyn where she is a member of the editorial collective of Conditions magazine. Her work has appeared in numerous journals, and this poem is taken from The Women Who Hate Me, her first book, published by Long Haul Press.

© 1983 by Dorothy Allison

I'm going to give up my last name
and maybe my first
call myself Nitedaughter or Pusskicka
or something really crude
fulls of 'ucks and thrusting gestures

I'm going to grow a rage like a tomato,
kind of a great red fruit could
wreck bridges or bring down sauce
on half the city;
tell low-down jokes;
proposition old ladies
lick their cheeks, offer to
climb up under their skirts
for free.

Might as well live up to my reputation.
Might as well play the movie out
roll my tomato up Broadway
knock people over
from half a block further
than Brooklyn,
move to Canarsie,
buy a shotgun.

Throw parties? Hell,
I might as well throw parties.
Anybody here want to go to a party?
You're gonna have to dress for it;
might make a movie of it,
put you all in the Tomato epic,
premiere it on Times Square.

No apologies, explanations, excuses,
nothing but me, my tomato, my rages,
my name,
my name.

On January 17, 1984, Glenn Miller, Grand Dragon of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, walked into North Carolina Attorney General Rufus Edmisten's office with a written demand: if the state does not establish a "citizen's militia" to protect white school children from violent racial assaults, the Klan will do so.

THE KLAN ATTACK ON SCHOOLS



photo by Scott Van Osdol

Miller

threatened, "1,000 white men will begin armed patrols in the areas of selected public schools in North Carolina," if the attorney general did not respond within 30 days.

That a Klan leader could target the public schools so boldly indicates both the strength of the Klan in the state and the failure of law enforcement and elected officials to take action against a growing crisis. The National Anti-Klan Network considers North Carolina's groups of Klans to be the most active and most dangerous in the country. Miller's faction is responsible for much of this rapid growth.

One of a new generation of media-wise Klan leaders, Miller is an expert at manipulating media coverage. Financed by his army retirement pay, he claims to work eight to 10 hours a day "for the rights of white people." And his farm in Johnston County hosts one of three Klan paramilitary training camps in North Carolina.

Present in the Klan/Nazi caravan that rode into Greensboro and killed five anti-Klan demonstrators on November 3, 1979, Miller switched from the Nazi Party to the Klan after the Greensboro massacre. Following the April 1984 acquittals of the men responsible for the murders, he proclaimed he would recruit "hundreds of thousands" of white people into the Klan.

Miller likes to present the Klan as a

"law and order" organization. The state's failure to prosecute illegal Klan activity allows him to claim, "There hasn't been a Klansman convicted of a violent crime in North Carolina in more than eight years."

In his January 17 memo delivered to David Crump, the state's deputy attorney general, Miller set himself up as protector of white children against violent blacks: "White-on-Black crimes of violence in our schools are virtually nonexistent, while Black-on-White crimes of violence is [sic] rampant and indeed, out of control. Simply [sic] crime statistics proves that North Carolina's law enforcement agencies can not, and are not controlling violent crimes against White school children. This rampaging racist violence directed against White school

children will no longer be tolerated by the White citizens of North Carolina. We will act to protect our own children."

The Klan's century-long history of lawlessness — hanging, branding, castrating, lynching, tar-and-feathering, dynamiting, clubbing, raping, fire-branding, and shooting make such law-and-order posturing ironic to those familiar with Klan history. A look at the Klan's disruption of public education in North Carolina in 1984 shows that in most cases the violence and provocation come from racist whites.

THE IMMEDIATE inspiration for Miller's statewide school campaign came from Ronald Reagan. The President released a report on "Disorder in Our Public Schools" in early January. On January 7, Reagan told a national radio audience that "we can't get learning back into our schools until we get the crime and violence out." Nationally, educators immediately disputed the President's conclusions. According to Scott Thomson, executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, discipline problems are "nowhere near as bad as they were five years ago — there has been an important swing in student and parent attitudes." Educators explained that the national figures cited in the President's report were gathered by the National Institute of Education between 1975 and 1977. In a National Education Association survey of its members in 1983, only 45 percent of the teachers questioned thought that discipline was a major problem, against 74 percent in a 1979 survey.

In the weeks prior to the March 5 deadline for Miller's threatened Klan school patrols, various state agencies made some preparations. It was clear that the Carolina Knights could not put 1,000 armed men near public schools, or even 100. But *any* armed Klansmen threatening children could be dangerous. The attorney general's office was faced with trying to minimize the publicity Miller was getting — one of his chief goals — while working to head off any trouble that might occur.

At the request of the state's Human Relations Council, executive director Gene Causby of the North Carolina School Board Association sent out a memo on February 27 to county school boards. Alerting them to the possibility of Klan

activity in the school system, Causby's memo provided information about the legal steps school officials could take to counter the Klan. The attorney general's office also issued instructions to local law enforcement officers reminding them of these same laws.

In Durham County tensions rose. Members of the United Klans of America had plastered recruitment posters all over the north half of the county in February. Black children came home from school asking, "Who is the Klan? Will they get you?" Rumors were rife all over town until the principal of Durham High School called an assembly to explain the situation and to reassure students of their safety. Said one parent of a Durham High teenager, "The students were very upset. I was not just concerned, but outraged. I was prepared to go and sit in at the school for a week, but my daughter asked me not to. She felt that the principal, who is black, could handle it if they did show up."

The March 5 deadline also presented Miller with a problem. Clearly he was bluffing with his numbers. The "massive White march, rally, and demonstration" he had called for March 4 in downtown Raleigh never materialized. But he continued the bluff. The week before the deadline, he announced that Klansmen would drive by schools in unmarked cars and only make themselves known if they saw acts of violence, in which case they would make citizen's arrests. This plan allowed Miller to claim on March 6 that 3,000 to 5,000 Klansmen and sympathizers were patrolling near schools.

Attorney General Edmisten's office checked with several law enforcement officials and school administrators and turned up reports of Klan activity in only one place. In Sanford, according to school superintendent William Johnson, two cars containing men dressed in battle fatigues drove onto the school bus driveway at Lee County Senior High, then quickly drove off. Two cars also

rode by W.B. Wicker School in Sanford; occupants yelled something unintelligible and drove off. Later, reports unconfirmed by the Attorney General's office placed Klansmen near schools or on campuses in Chapel Hill, Raleigh, Durham, and Wake Forest.

While Glenn Miller's March 5 statewide threat worked mainly for purposes of publicity and intimidation, since that date, Klan disruption has



plagued schools in at least three North Carolina counties. In each case, briefly described below, the school's experience presents lessons: if local government, law enforcement, and school officials do not clearly and quickly make it known that the Klan is not welcome, the tensions within the schools — the same tensions the Klan seeks to exploit — will continue to fester. And when public officials and the general citizenry do not organize against the Klan, parents will

LEE COUNTY

Lee County's Sanford schools have experienced the most harassment by adult Klansmen in the past year. By and large, school officials and community leaders have handled the situation well.

Miller's January demands to the attor-

In Lee County the Klan continues to be a problem to the county's school children and school officials. But elected officials, school officials, law enforcement officers, and parents have acted together to deal with local problems and the extra problems the Klan has created. "The Klan is trying to use this as a racial thing and it's not," said Libby Johnson, a parent who patrols at McIver.

ON SLOW COUNTY

In coastal Jacksonville, as in Sanford, Miller's Klan tried to exploit problems within a school. Trouble at Dixon Senior High School started when white students passed around a racist joke. Black students were insulted, and their verbal protests were "loud and upset, though not violent," according to white principal James Rochelle. He suspended students who violated the school's rules against weapons and fights: four whites and one black for carrying knives, and a black and a white student for fighting.

When Leroy Gibson, longtime Carolina racist troublemaker and a resident of Onslow County, heard about the suspensions he moved in to "protect" the white students who, he said, were being treated unfairly. (Here is an example of Klan/racist logic: black students are more violent, but when three times more white students are expelled for violence than blacks, then white students are being persecuted.)

Gibson called for a Klan rally near the school and Rochelle responded by making a strong statement to the press about not wanting the Klan involved in his school's affairs. If Klansmen appeared on the campus, Rochelle said, they would be asked to leave. If they refused to do so, they would then be arrested and charged with trespassing and disturbing the normal activity of public education. Both black and white students at the school made it clear that they did not desire the help of the Klan and Gibson's threatened rally never materialized.

ROWAN COUNTY

At the close of the school year, West Rowan High School in Salisbury presented the most volatile situation in

the state's public schools. This case illustrates how racial tension can escalate when school administrators and local officials do not take strong stands against the Klan and Klan-related activity.

Tensions started at the beginning of the school year when two black male students with white girl friends received letters threatening Klan action if they continued to date the girls. When the students went to take the letters to the office, someone painted "KKK" on their lockers. Two white students were suspended for 10 days for this action.

Racial tension at West Rowan peaked in mid-March, according to an article in the *Salisbury Post*, when one hundred black and white students squared off in a shouting match in the school's courtyard. The near-riot grew out of an incident where a white student blocked a black classmate from going through a door. The two later got into a fight at an evening movie. The white student started the fight. The following day, a white student threatened that Klansmen would be at the school the following week to "resolve" the problem. Rumors of a Klan school patrol spread through the black community, upsetting many parents.

Their response was spearheaded by a black parents' group, Concerned Parents, which had formed the previous May to seek better representation of blacks on West Rowan's band, cheerleading squad, and other school organizations. Mrs. Essie Hogue, spokeswoman for the group, said, "We felt like if the Klan is going to come to West Rowan, that they'll also invade other schools in the area." Members of Concerned Parents received an alarming number of calls from black students who believed that white students were trying to recruit Klan members in the schools. "It can't be isolated when you've got this many reports going on," Hogue said. And the *Salisbury Post* quoted the parent of a son victimized by racial slurs, "He has reached the point where he virtually despises the place, and I know he's not alone."

The trouble at West Rowan High can be traced to an organized gang of white students called the "Bannys," named after the bantam rooster because of their cocky attitudes. Although the Bannys deny it, there are indications that they are Klan-influenced. Black students have seen Banny members talking with known Klansmen, and white students have warned black students that the Ban-

nys are indeed the Klan.

While much of the trouble at West Rowan originates with Banny activities, the presence of robed adult Klansmen on the Methodist Church grounds across from the school on March 28 exacerbated the already volatile situation. One of these Klansmen reportedly stepped in front of a school bus and tried to make the driver, a black female student, take Klan literature. The Associated Press reported that in the group was the White Knights of Liberty Grand Dragon, Joe Grady. Six black and two white students left school that day; three students were suspended, one white for writing KKK on the wall, and one white and one black for racial slurs.

Various forms of harassment continued. Toward the end of the year a white student drew a picture on a black student's test paper of a robed Klansman, a burning cross, and a black



CAROLINA KNIGHTS LEADER
GLENN MILLER

spotch. Along with the drawing was the note, "This is your grave." In addition, a white basketball player who had a black friend came down to the locker room to find a note hanging over his locker saying: "If you don't stop hanging around with blacks, you will meet bodily harm."

At least 22 students have been suspended since the March public meeting of the Concerned Parents. Despite these suspensions, Concerned Parents feels that the school administration and the county school board have not taken strong enough action to counter the problems at West Rowan High. Nor, they feel, have the disciplinary actions been fairly distributed between black and white students. Concerned Parent Hogue says that attention from outside groups

United Klans of America

NOT AFFILIATED WITH ANY OTHER "KLAN".



such as the state Human Relations Council has helped bring the situation more under control and they have asked to appear before the school board at its June meeting.

These three cases alone illustrate an alarming trend in North Carolina's schools. Yet they are perhaps only the tip of the iceberg. State officials have on the whole failed to treat the resurgence of the Klan in North Carolina with the seriousness it deserves. "Moderate" North Carolina politicians such as Governor James Hunt and Attorney General Rufus Edmisten — who are running for the U.S. Senate and governor, respectively, in 1984 — have not taken strong stands against the wave of Klan intimidation and violence that has crested during their administration.

Hunt, locked into a race with Jesse Helms for the U.S. Senate, is playing it safe for conservative votes. Edmisten won the Democratic nomination for governor, but now must face a strong challenge from Republican Jim Martin. Both have referred the problem back to local law enforcement and elected district attorneys in the state's 35 court districts. According to Don Stephens, of the special prosecutions division of the attorney general's office, "Our office has not been requested [by any district attorney] to assist, participate, or handle cases involving Klan violation of the law in at least six or seven years."

In these districts with original juris-

diction over Klan offenses, law enforcement often appears either apathetic or sympathetic with the Klan. In Johnston County, the sheriff participated in a Carolina Knights of the KKK parade. In Iredell County, lawmen allowed 15 robed Klansmen from Joe Grady's White Knights of Liberty into the jail to offer to "bond out" a black man accused of raping a white woman. Generally, local law enforcement officials view cross burnings as "pranks," and thus avoid prosecution under a state law prohibiting cross burnings for the purpose of intimidation.

In view of the state's inactivity, Miller's boast about the lack of convictions of Klansmen becomes not proof that his group is law-abiding, but an indictment of state and local law enforcement.

In light of this lack of prosecution of illegal Klan activities, citizens should know what laws are on the books to protect children and their parents from Klan harassment. The North Carolina School Board Association's February memo cites several statutes which school officials can use against Klan school patrols.

Under criminal law statute G.S. 14-288.4, a person can be convicted for disorderly conduct if he "refuses to vacate any building or facility or any public or private education institution in obedience to an order of the chief administrative officer of the institution." An intruder can also be convicted if he "disrupts, disturbs or interferes with the teaching of students of any public or private educational institution or engages in conduct which disturbs the peace, order or discipline at any public or private educational institution or on the grounds adjacent thereto."

Under section 14-288.5, a law enforcement officer may command citizens to disperse if he "reasonably believes that a riot, or disorderly conduct by an assemblage of three or more persons, is occurring." Any Klan member or supporter found possessing a weapon on a school campus can be convicted of a misdemeanor. Maximum penalties for these offenses are fines of \$500 and imprisonment for six months.

To offer students effective protection, these laws require the cooperation of both local police and school administration. There is also a state law (127A-151) against organizing a military company without authority: "If any person shall organize a military company, or drill or parade under arms as a military body, except under the militia laws and regula-

tions of the State, or shall exercise or attempt to exercise the power or authority of a military officer in this State, without holding a commission from the Governor, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Given these laws, many people are asking: when Glenn Miller threatens to usurp the police function of the state government if public officials do not comply with his demands; when he has a paramilitary training camp on his land and appears with men in fatigues and parades with uniformed men — hasn't he organized a private army? When asked about this statute prior to Miller's March 5 deadline for the school Klan patrols, an official in the attorney general's office replied, "We are looking at it."

That organizing a private army is a misdemeanor indicates the weakness of the legal protection against Klan intimidation. Jim Bowden of the North Carolina human relations council supports the need for state anti-Klan statutes to be reviewed and updated: "For people to intimidate other people without fear of reprisals beyond a \$50 fine is a farfetched situation."

Federal laws also protect public education — 18 U.S.C. 245 makes it a federal crime to "by force or threat of force willfully injure, intimidate, or interfere with . . . any person because of his race, color, religion or national origin and because he is or has been . . . enrolling in or attending public school or public college." When Miller calls for a boycott by white students and threatens Klan patrols and as a result double the normal number of students stay away from school, is this not intimidation? Or when six students leave West Rowan High because the Klan is leafletting next door, hasn't their right to attend public school been threatened?

Unwilling to wait until Klan harassment escalates into serious injury or death to North Carolina school children, a coalition of educators, state agencies, and activist groups are planning a statewide conference in September. As the state's schools close for the school year, almost exactly 30 years to the month after *Brown v. Board of Education*, the struggle to give black children equal access to quality education continues. □

Mab Segrest, a member of North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence, teaches adult basic education. She is writing a novel set during the desegregation of Alabama public schools in 1963.

A LONG WAY TO GO

TEACHING YOUNG PEOPLE THE TRUTH ABOUT RACISM

BY ANNE BRADEN



I first learned United States history almost 50 years ago in the public schools (white) of Alabama. Certain “facts” were undisputed.

One was that the Reconstruction period following the Civil War was a “tragedy” — because ignorant former slaves (manipulated by “carpetbaggers” and “scalawags”) took over state governments, refused to let whites vote, threatened white womanhood, wreaked chaos throughout the South, and stole public treasuries blind. However, we were told, all eventually ended well when the “better class” of white Southerners, through brains and skill, regained control.

A turning point in my life came when I found out that not a word of this was true.

I discovered this fact only after I had been through four years of college and was in my early twenties, when I read *Freedom Road*, by Howard Fast. Pub-

lished in 1944, this book of fiction based on documented fact tells the story of Reconstruction from the viewpoint of a former slave who helped set up the Reconstruction government in South Carolina and who represented that state in Congress.

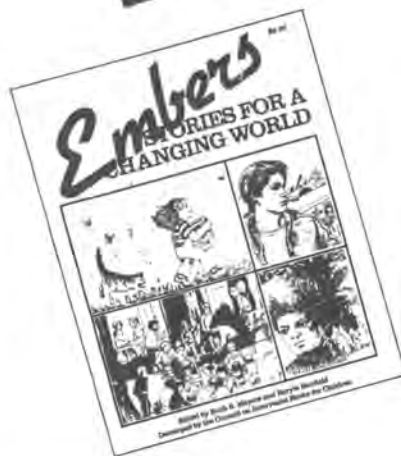
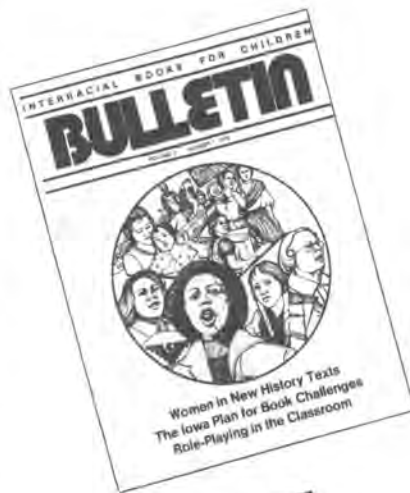
Later, I learned more from other sources. But it was *Freedom Road* that first made me aware that Reconstruction was a glorious, if imperfect, moment of promise in U.S. history: that there developed then the most democratic governments the South had ever known; that these governments established universal public education, built hospitals and other institutions to meet people's needs, created more humane criminal justice systems, and broadened rights for women. I learned that at least some poor white people joined the courageous freed slaves in building these governments and that, like the blacks, some paid for it with their lives as the new governments were overthrown by force and violence.

Books alone rarely change one's life. By the time I read *Freedom Road* I was already something of a "liberal," groping toward what would become a lifetime commitment to social change. But this book provided the historical underpinnings for the new vision I was seeking. It turned everything upside-down I had ever heard about my region. This I realized, was my history too. It was my heritage, and if it happened once it could happen again.

I remember thinking as I closed the book at dawn one morning: "This should be required reading in every high school in the nation."

Thus it was a dream come true when more than 30 years later, in 1981, I read a new curriculum prepared for high school students. There it was: a long excerpt from *Freedom Road* of a scene in which a black congressman visits President Ulysses Grant in 1877 and implores him to expose the deal that had been made to remove federal troops from the South, leaving those who supported the new Reconstruction governments to be tortured and murdered by vigilantes.

The new curriculum was issued by the National Education Association (NEA), its Connecticut affiliate, and the Council on Interracial Books for Children. It is called *Violence, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Struggle for Equality*. Designed to equip students to oppose the Klan resurgence that began in the mid-'70s, it has become known as the "anti-Klan curriculum."



Actually, it is about more than the Klan. It is a short history of our country, recounting how racism has shaped that history, and how the long struggle of blacks, often joined by some whites, has pushed the nation toward a realization of the vision of democracy. It was designed to help students understand what gives rise to groups like the Klan, so they can combat the causes as well as the effects of racism.

The 1980s are not the 1940s, and a few years ago *Freedom Road* was even made into a TV movie. But reactions to the

new curriculum make it clear that efforts to tell the truth about racism still provoke sharp opposition. The NEA curriculum received wide acclaim, but it also came under virulent attack from powerful forces, including President Reagan, who referred to it in a July 1983 speech as part of an effort "aimed at frightening and brainwashing American school children."

Today, many teachers are using the curriculum in their classrooms, and churches are using it in religious education programs. Unfortunately, only a few school systems — none in the South — have officially adopted it as resource materials. A total of 22,000 copies are in circulation. "It should be 10 times that many," says Brad Chambers, director of the Council on Interracial Books for Children.

The concerns of several groups meshed in the late '70s to produce the curriculum on the Klan. Southern Klan leaders descended on Connecticut, trying to recruit young people, and teachers asked for material to counteract their appeal. Meanwhile, the Council on Interracial Books for Children was alarmed by a 1980 article in *Junior Scholastic* magazine, read by 800,000 junior high students; it pictured the new Klan as a benign organization that supports family values and opposes drugs and communism. Racist violence was rising, and in 1979 citizen groups formed the National Anti-Klan Network, which today includes more than 50 organizations. The network asked NEA leaders to develop educationally sound material to counter the Klan.

All this came together in a joint effort of the three curriculum publishers. The format is an attractive, illustrated 72-page booklet containing 11 lesson plans. The first lesson documents recent racially motivated violence. From there, the lesson plans move back into history — slavery and the beginning of white supremacy; the origins of the Klan after the Civil War; the social forces that have brought its repeated revival; the civil rights period of the '60s when mass movements produced important changes; and on to the new forms of racism in the '70s. A final lesson provides facts showing the continued gap between white and black incomes and living conditions and demolishes the main thesis on which the Klan recruits today — that blacks have made "too much progress" and that whites are now discriminated against.

Educators, church bodies, and com-

munity leaders immediately praised the curriculum. The National Council of Churches endorsed it. Even Reagan's Secretary of Education, T.H. Bell, sent a letter to the Connecticut Education Association commending it as "instructive and informative." (After Reagan's attacks on the curriculum, Bell denied writing this letter.)

But opposition was brewing even before the booklet was published. Its authors sent drafts to human rights organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), a highly respected monitor of Klan activities. The ADL condemned the main thrust of the document and later made its criticism public. This negative cry was taken up by the rival union to the NEA, American Federation of Teachers, and by AFT president, Albert Shanker.

Before publishing the curriculum, its authors met with ADL critics in an attempt to achieve unity. But some philosophic differences could not be resolved. The crux of the dispute is that the curriculum presupposes that racism is basic and endemic to U.S. society and that the Klan is simply the "tip of the iceberg." Critics in the ADL and AFT claim this is not so — that the Klan is an aberration in a society that has moved steadily away from racism. Critics also claim that the curriculum stresses social change through mass action (demonstrations, etc.) to the neglect of progress through court action and legislation, and that its emphasis on the continuing effects of racial discrimination fosters "an active dislike of American society."

Curriculum supporters sprang to its defense. The NAACP expressed shock that the ADL could deny that U.S. society is institutionally racist. The Anti-Klan Network said: "Students who study this curriculum will think differently from previous generations. . . . Many, both white and black, will join new crusades to create a just society."

But the attack continued. Much of it centered on the Council on Interracial Books for Children, whose staff wrote the curriculum. The council is, to a considerable extent, an outgrowth of the Southern civil rights movement, and began with an incident in 1964: a volunteer in a Mississippi freedom school sent an S.O.S. to his mother, an author of children's books, asking for material relevant to black children. The author, realizing the dearth of such material, worked with other writers and librarians to form the council. In 1966, it began a quiet campaign to persuade textbook

publishers to include material other than stories about white middle-class Americans and to encourage publication of children's literature by and about people of color.

The curriculum on the Klan is only one of many products of the council's labors. It has produced careful analyses of racist manifestations and stereotypes in textbooks, as well as quantities of original curricular material. An example is a widely acclaimed elementary reader called *Embers*, with stories of people who overcame barriers based on sex, race, or disability. The council also circulates a popular curriculum called *Winning Justice for All*, designed to encourage sensitivity to racism and other biases in elementary school chil-

WE WILL NEVER MOVE IN A TRULY HUMANE DIRECTION UNTIL WE RID OURSELVES OF THE ASSUMPTION THAT THIS WAS DESTINED TO BE A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY.



photo by Walter Smalling, Jr.

dren, who are at an age when educators say they are especially concerned with "fairness."

As time passed, the council broadened and deepened its scope. It now analyzes texts not only for manifestations of racism, but also for sexism, militarism, and biased treatment of disabled persons, the elderly, gay men and lesbians, and poor and working people. And it has probed deeper into the basic assumptions of children's literature and genre, seeking to replace values of competitiveness and greed with more humane ideals. The council also publishes, eight times a year, the *Bulletin* which contains consciousness-raising articles, book

reviews, lesson plans, and other information to assist parents, teachers, librarians, and others seeking to purchase — or create — positive, bias-free materials for children.

Many educators use and swear by the council's material. Joel Taxel, who teaches language education to teachers and future teachers at the University of Georgia, calls it "invaluable." "I don't always agree with the council," he says, "but their material on racism and sexism is just what I need to awaken our students to these issues."

Other teachers disagree. Some critics of the council find its material "abrasive" or "dogmatic," words often used when controversial issues are raised. But even some of the council's critics were outraged by the nature of the recent attacks on it.

In 1983, the official magazine of the American Federation of Teachers featured articles on "extremism of the left and right." The example on the "right" was Lyndon LaRouche and his "National Democratic Policy Committee," a group which the article says advocates a dictatorship in the name of industrial capitalism, a purging of the Jews, and "total war" to drive the enemy from the land. The example on the "left" was the Council on Interracial Books for Children. Shock waves rocked the educational community when it was discovered that the AFT article on the council, written by David Asman, had originally appeared in a publication of the Heritage Foundation, the right-wing think tank financed largely by millionaire Joseph Coors, one of America's leading anti-union employers. Many teachers in AFT were outraged.

The attack on the council has probably boomeranged. More people are ordering its material than ever before. Purchasers include librarians, teachers, church leaders, parents, and others in such places as Yazoo City, Mississippi; Tallahassee, Florida; and Hopkinsville, Kentucky; as well as in cities like Atlanta and Birmingham. Teachers say that far from making students "dislike" U.S. society, as critics said it would, the curriculum on the Klan makes them want to act to correct society's wrongs.

Mark Simon, a history teacher at Maryland's Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, uses the curriculum in three courses. He says students are always shocked to learn how widespread racist violence is today, and "they always want to become involved in doing something about it." In 1983, over half the students

RESOURCES ON THE KLAN

You can order the curriculum on the Klan for \$4.95 from the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023. Also available is a free catalogue describing the council's many booklets, lesson plans, film strips, and curricula. The council's *Bulletin* costs \$12 a year (eight issues) for individuals, \$18 for institutions.

The booklet by Klanwatch costs \$1.50, from the Southern Poverty Law Center, 1001 South Hull Street, Montgomery, AL 36101. Sample copies of the American Federation of Teachers curriculum on the Klan, *Flames in the Night*, are available free from AFT, 555 New Jersey Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20001.

Films, Inc., 1213 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, IL 60091, distributes the Klanwatch film on the Klan. Purchase of 16 mm. film: \$520; video cassette: \$315, purchase; \$55, rental.

The National Anti-Klan Network, P.O. Box 10050, Atlanta, GA 30310, also has copies of the Klanwatch film that are slightly used but in good condition. They cost \$150. The network also has other information on the Klan and publishes a regular newsletter.

Southern Exposure's special issue on the Klan, "Mark of the Beast," published in 1980, is available for \$3.00 each (\$1.80 each for five or more) from P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

high schools. Klanwatch also produced an award-winning film on the Klan.

And the AFT came up with its own curriculum. It is much sketchier (23 pages) than the NEA's and, predictably, does not deal with the deeper manifestations of racism. But it is a useful guide to the Klan itself.

The Anti-Defamation League has also produced its own curriculum, *Extremism in the U.S.: A Curriculum Guide*. Like the articles in the AFT magazine, it draws parallels between racist groups and organizations on the left.

Meanwhile, the Council on Interracial Books for Children probes deeper into the literature that shapes our future generations. With the National Council of Churches and the Maryknoll Fathers, it is conducting a massive study of 15 social studies textbooks, analyzing their entire coverage of social justice issues. The council has also produced a booklet analyzing treatment of the Reconstruction period in 12 high school history books, as well as a film strip and discussion guide on the subject for middle-school students.

Textbooks currently used in the schools do not give the blatantly distorted picture I absorbed 50 years ago. Most devote at least a paragraph to listing some accomplishments of the Reconstruction governments. But they rarely reflect the views or the courageous struggle of the freed slaves, and stereotypes and wrong assumptions also persist. For example, *Rise of the American Nation*, the text most widely used in high schools in North Carolina and many other states, presents a relatively balanced picture of Reconstruction. Yet its chapter on the end of Reconstruction includes this subtitle: "White Southerners Regain Control of Their State Governments." (Emphasis added.)

We will never move in a truly humane direction in this country until we rid ourselves of the assumption (and quit teaching it to our children) that this was destined to be a white man's country. Learning the truth about Reconstruction is key to understanding our own history, because it was during that period that for a brief time our Southern region moved away from that assumption — and democracy and humanity flowered. We have a long way to go. □

Anne Braden is co-chair of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice. She is one of the founders of the National Anti-Klan Network and now serves on its executive committee.

at his high school signed an Anti-Klan Network petition asking the U.S. Justice Department to act against such violence.

Frances Cummings, president of the North Carolina Association of Educators, calls the curriculum on the Klan "most timely and just what we need, if we are in the business of educating children rather than spreading ignorance." The North Carolina teachers' organization held a workshop on the curriculum at its Instructional and Professional Development Conference in 1983. Cummings said the material was "very well received" there.

Anti-Klan Network director Lyn Wells says the critical need is for local school officials to approve the curriculum as resource material. "I do workshops on the curriculum with teachers in Georgia, where the Klan is organizing," Wells said. "The teachers want to use it. But they are literally afraid to unless their school systems approve it, for fear they will be fired." She says the network's Georgia Counter-Klan Project and the Georgia Association of Educators have asked school officials in that state to approve the curriculum. The network is urging community and teacher groups across the country to make similar requests in their communities.

Several other curricular resources on the Klan have now appeared. Klanwatch, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, published an excellent booklet, *The Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism and Violence*, and mailed it to social studies departments in all the nation's



In this letter, U.S. Secretary of Education T.H. Bell praised the Council on Interracial Books for Children curriculum on the Klan. Bell denied writing the letter after President Reagan, in a July 1983 speech to the American Federation of Teachers, attacked the National Education Association for "promoting curriculum guides that seem to be more aimed at frightening and brainwashing American school children than at fostering learning." President Reagan was referring, in part, to the NEA-backed curriculum on the Klan.



"CINDY IN THE SUMMERTIME" — RECORDING THE ELLER BROTHERS

Traditional music and song in North Georgia

Folk Visions and Voices. Field collecting, text, drawings, and paintings by Art Rosenbaum; photographs by Margo Newmark Rosenbaum; musical transcriptions by Bela Foltin, Jr. University of Georgia Press, 1983. 240 pp. \$27.50

— by *Linda Rocawich*

A remarkable series of expeditions into the backwoods and neighborhoods, cities and towns, of north Georgia has produced a surprising number of assort-

ed offshoots, and *Folk Visions & Voices* permanently records some of them, in a beautiful volume of songs and photographs, drawings, paintings, and profiles of the singers. Art and Margo Rosenbaum (and friends) clearly had a wonderful time for several years beginning in 1977 collecting material and turning it into something they could share with those of us who couldn't go along on the adventure.

The profiles tell the story well. The reader gets to meet the likes of Jake Staggers, black banjo-picker of Toccoa; W. Guy Bruce, white banjo-picker of Screamersville; the Brown's Chapel Choir of Bishop; Chesley Chancey's family string band of Boardtown; and many more. Pete Seeger, who contributed a

foreword to the book, says it "reads like a good historical novel. One gets immersed in the 'collecting,' in the people and their families, and in their lives." We think he's right. Meet the people from two of these chapters:

Doc and Lucy Barnes live in a small house they built with their own hands — "and never missed a day of work" — on a red clay road on the south side of Athens. Their home is known to their friends as "Holy Ghost Headquarters" because, says Doc, "I have mo' singin' at my house than they do at lots of different churches! There's no other church in the state of Georgia or nowhere else that have mo' singing' than I do at my house!" He has a notebook with the hand-written titles of 529 sacred pieces, and it doesn't

include their whole store of songs. Rosenbaum tells us, "On any Saturday afternoon Doc will be rehearsing the Gospel Chorus, a small group of older singers from the Greater Macedonia Baptist Church, where he is a deacon, and any number of other people are likely to come by. . . . Almost any other day of the week Doc and Lucy are singing for visitors who drop by, or just for themselves, sometimes until after midnight."

Maude Thacker grew up in a log house at the foot of Hendricks Mountain, 45 miles north of Atlanta; the family land is now the site of a development called Bent Tree. "Hit's changed, I reckon," she says. "Creek's still there. Golf course is there, the ninth hole is right up near the old house." She is the only person the Rosenbaums found who knows and sings all the old ballads of British-American folk music as it existed in the Southern highlands before their relative isolation was shattered by the era of mass communication. She learned her songs from her father, Eli Fields, who would take her squirrel hunting on weekends: "Me and him'd take our dinner and go all day on them mountains. And he'd siiiiiing! He didn't have to sing a song to me but twice, til I knowed it. He just knowed all kinds of songs." As she recalls it, he learned much of this store of songs as a convict laborer in the coal mines of Tennessee, where he served two years for refusing to inform on a friend who set fire to the house of a man who "reported stills." She remembers that he had a clear voice that could be heard from the top of the mountain, and she has kept his songs alive by singing them to her children, then to her three grandchildren, and finally to her five great-grandchildren.

The book also features the songs themselves. There are dozens, all transcribed from live performances, with words, music, and annotations. And the illustrations are beautiful. Margo Rosenbaum's photographs are sharp evidence of the rapport she developed with her subjects, and seem to bring the reader into the homes and terrain of these musicians. Art Rosenbaum has included 16 charcoal drawings, two of which are on these pages; four have been transformed with oils and reproduced in full color. Art Rosenbaum is a widely exhibited painter, a professional who cannot be thought of as a "folk artist," but his work certainly shows that he takes his inspiration from

the folks.

Two other offshoots of their project are worthy of notice: (1) two record albums (*Goin' to Georgia: The Eller Brothers and Ross Brown*, a Flyright Company release, and *Down Yonder: Old-Time String Band Music from Georgia with Gordon Tanner, Joe Miller, and John Patterson*, a Folkways release); and (2) an exhibition of the drawings, paintings, and photographs at Nexus, an Atlanta gallery, in late 1980 — opening with a two-day festival of singing, playing, and dancing put on by most of the people in the book.

We will let Pete Seeger have the final say: "This book can help in the struggle. 'Think globally, act locally.' . . . If we do our job right, there will be people in future centuries. They will carry on traditions of homemade music. When we are pushing up daisies, our children's children's children, playing among those daisies, will be singing some of these songs." □

Linda Rocawich is a staff member of the Institute for Southern Studies.

Blessed are the children

Hiroshima No Pika, by Toshiro Maruki, Lothrop, Lee & Shephard, 1980. 46 pp. \$13.25.

The Bomb, by Sidney Lens. E.P. Dutton, 1982. 139 pp. \$11.50.

— by Liz Ketelle

Each year, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Jane Addams Peace Association award the Jane Addams Children's Book Award to the children's book that, in their opinion, most promotes the cause of world peace. Ironically, the 1983 award winner and one of the winners of the runner-up Honor Book Awards both seek to teach peace by dealing with the subject of nuclear war. The ultimate concern of humankind, the threat of nuclear annihilation, has filtered down to our children as writers of children's books have begun to ask serious questions about the role children are destined to play in a world faced with possible nuclear disaster.

The 1983 award winner is one of the most unusual and powerful children's books ever written. *Hiroshima No Pika*,



INTERIOR, "HOLY GHOST HEADQUARTERS"

a picture book by Japanese artist Toshiro Maruki, plunges children into the living hell of August 6, 1945, when the atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima "like a thousand lightning bolts all striking at once."

Maruki's story follows a seven-year-old girl, Mii, and her mother as they thread their way through the city after the "Flash." The casualties are described in vivid detail. "Mii saw children with their clothes burned away, lips and eyelids swollen. They were like ghosts. . . . There were heaps of people everywhere." Bodies float down the river. A woman holding a dead baby drowns herself.

The heart of the book, however, lies not in the narrative but in Maruki's illustra-



tions. The painting of the initial blast is a picture straight from hell, a page and a half of flame engulfing minute and fleeing human beings. The chaos of the flame stretches across page after page; dead bodies are overrun; beings living and dead cry and scream in agony amid fire and smoke. In the darkness that follows the blast, the survivors drag themselves over dead and wounded, all primitive representations of nude or partially clothed writhing human beings.

Maruki's painting of the remains of Hiroshima shows an absolute wasteland. Such destruction and desolation are virtually unprecedented in a children's book. *Hiroshima No Pika* is so graphic and full of horrible images, however, that a child

should not be called upon to face this book alone. The Jane Addams Peace Association is obviously of the opinion that this book will foster world peace, but world peace is a heavy burden to place on a child's shoulders. The heavy burden of this book should be placed on the adult who reads it with the child and who must be willing and able to soften its rough and jagged edges with love and understanding.

A Jane Addams Honor Book Award was given last year to a book which also deals with the nuclear question. *The Bomb* by Sidney Lens was written for an older audience (junior high and high school) than was *Hiroshima No Pika*. Lens's book is a history of nuclear weapons and has none of the emotionally wrenching qualities or overt horror of Maruki's book; it does, however, contain elements of a horror story, simply because of the nature of its subject matter. For example, Lens tells us that at the first explosion of a nuclear device in 1945 at Alamogordo, New Mexico, Robert Oppenheimer was speculating on the possibility that the explosion would set off a chain reaction in the atmosphere and that Enrico Fermi "was making bets with his colleagues on whether the bomb would ignite the atmosphere and, if so, whether it would destroy only New Mexico — or the entire world."

Lens traces the history of the Bomb from that first explosion through Hiroshima and the A-bomb to the development of the hydrogen bomb, with all of its contemporary delivery variations. His book is a solid chunk of information for young people who are curious about what the Bomb is and why it is such a dangerous weapon. The burden of history is every bit as heavy as the burden of the future. In awarding its prize to *The Bomb*, the Jane Addams Peace Association is acknowledging the tremendous role that history must play in shaping the future. Lens's book shows an endless repetition of nuclear escalation, a kind of house of cards built a story at a time. If today's young can grasp the historical significance of nuclear development and proliferation, there may yet come a time when the threat under which we now live will be greatly diminished, if not eliminated. □

Liz Kettle, a long-time friend of the Institute for Southern Studies, is a librarian and teacher at the high school in Garden Valley, California.

The Immigration Service and Ideological Exclusion

— by Geoffrey Rips

We don't often turn our space for essays on writers and artists over to thoughts on non-Southern ones, but rules are made to be broken. When we read this essay, we wanted to share it with our readers, who stand to lose as much as anyone else if Congress doesn't heed its message.

Three deaths near the end of last year provide a poignant reminder of what this country can be and what it has become. With major revisions in the Immigration and Nationality Act scheduled for congressional consideration this year, the failure to discuss the "ideological exclusion" clause of the act bodes ill for the future of our culture.

Juan Roura-Parella was a teacher to all who knew him. Roura was a native of Catalonia in Spain and studied psychology with the Frankfurt School in the late 1920s and early '30s. He was a professor and thinker of high standing in Barcelona when Franco's Falangists revolted against the Spanish Republic. An ardent Catalan and a more ardent Republican, Roura remained in Barcelona until it became clear that Franco's victory was inevitable. Then, in the last days of the civil war, he crossed the Pyrenees into France, following routes he had known as a child growing up in the town of Tortella north of Barcelona. Crossing with Roura and several others was the Spanish poet Antonio Machado, who died in the French border town of Collioure a few days after the crossing.

From France, Roura went to Mexico, following his future wife Teresa, the daughter of a Catalan leader. In 1946 the Rouras moved to the United States, and Sr. Roura eventually took up residence as a professor at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. If humanism can be absolute, Roura was an absolute humanist, imparting his love for thought and humanity to two generations of students. In the introduction to a novel, he wrote, "All knowledge which does not lead to some kind of action is useless. The main concern of an educator is not knowledge but to make out of a man something which he was not be-

fore. . . Pascal is right; the kingdom of values is not an order of the reason but an *ordre de coeur* [of the heart]." The greatest praise Roura could bestow on any person was that he or she was a liberal man or woman — liberal in the largest sense of the word: open to ideas and to humanity, liberated and humane.

In the 1970s the Rouras began making trips back to their native Catalonia. Sr. Roura delivered a paper at the opening in Barcelona of the museum dedicated to his friend Joan Miro. They stayed for several months each year in his ancestral home in Tortella. He escorted visitors — I was fortunate to be one of them — down the three main streets of the town, two paved and one unpaved because the former Republican mayor had resided there. There was a lesson in everything. But the Rouras always returned to Connecticut, where Sr. Roura died on December 26, one day after his friend Miro.

One month earlier, the crash of a jumbo jet in Madrid had claimed the lives of Angel Rama and Marta Traba. Rama had edited the Uruguayan journal *Marcha*, which was a cornerstone for the Latin American literary and intellectual boom. As the editor he had written extensively about the cultural and political intervention of the United States in the affairs of Latin America. In 1968, with a Uruguayan crackdown on a number of artists, intellectuals, and labor leaders, Rama went into exile. In Venezuela he became the literary director of the Biblioteca Ayacucho series of Latin American literary classics. Traba was an Argentine exile, who founded the first Museum of Modern Art in Colombia and wrote art criticism and fiction.

Rama and Traba moved to the United States in 1980, when Rama was named a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at the Smithsonian Institution. They both taught at Princeton later that year. In 1981 Rama became a full-time tenured professor at the University of Maryland and Traba was employed by the art museum of the Organization of American States.

In 1982 Angel Rama's application for permanent residence was denied by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) under the "ideological exclusion" clause — Section 212(a)(28) — of the Immigration and Nationality Act. This clause permits the exclusion of the foreign-born who have advocated, taught, written, or published information con-

sidered to be communist, anarchist, or terrorist in nature or who have belonged to political parties of this nature. The catch here is that the INS would not inform Rama, never a member of any party, of the nature of the information that led officials to exclude him.

I spoke several times with Rama during his battle in 1982 to gain permanent residence. As the coordinator of the Freedom to Write program of PEN American Center, I was working with other human rights organizations mounting a protest on behalf of Rama and Traba. Rama told me that what he called this "Catch 22" might have been based upon his Uruguayan writing about U.S. cultural imperialism or, perhaps, on his signature on some petition protesting U.S. intervention in Vietnam or Latin America. The catch was that he never knew from what the exclusion stemmed, so he was never able to defend himself. One INS official suggested that he publicly denounce his previous pro-communist tendencies — tendencies which he never had.

Last spring Rama received a Guggenheim Fellowship, with which he and Traba moved to Paris to continue their work. When they were killed on November 27, they were on their way from Paris to a conference in Colombia.

The point to be made here, of course, is how much we have lost in losing teachers like Rama and Traba. The great debate about the decline of U.S. education must at some point address the fact that we so closely guard our intellectual and cultural borders to prevent the intrusion of new ideas and new perspectives.

It is our good fortune that Juan Roura-Parella came to this country before the ideological exclusion clause of the McCarran-Walter Act was adopted during the early 1950s and the age of McCarthy. It is likely that a liberal, democratic humanist fleeing Franco would have a rough time establishing permanent residence in this country today. For three decades writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Julio Cortazar (also recently deceased), and Carlos Fuentes have existed in an immigration purgatory regarding their applications to visit, lecture, and teach in the United States. Was the loss theirs or ours?

Clearly, the Reagan world view is well served by an enforced myopia brought on by the exclusion of foreign perspectives. As the Immigration and Nationality Act

re-emerges this year for congressional consideration, attention should be paid to the ideological exclusion clause. Applicants for temporary or permanent visas should be given the opportunity for due legal process or fair judicial review. Exclusion should not be based on ideology, publication, or affiliation — real or purported — and should only be invoked in those cases in which it can be proven that exclusion of the applicant would prevent imminent harm to U.S. citizens. Until we tear down these cultural, intellectual, and educational barriers obstructing our vision, we will produce fewer and fewer "liberal" women and men.

Geoffrey Rips is the editor of the Texas Observer, in which this essay originally appeared. Repeal of the ideological exclusion clause will be one of the topics discussed at a conference on free trade in ideas to be held September 18, 1984, in Washington, DC. Participants will include Carlos Fuentes, Dennis Brutus, Hortensia Allende, and Regis Debray. Contact: Deborah Trevino, Center for National Security Studies, 122 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202)544-5380.

Books on the South

This list consists of books published through September 1984. All books were published in 1984. Dissertations appeared in the Dissertation Abstracts Index from January through March 1984. All dissertations are dated 1983.

The entries are grouped under several broad categories for your convenience. Mention of a book here does not preclude its being reviewed in a future issue. Unsolicited reviews of publications of general interest to our readers are welcome. Recent works are preferred.

Copies of the dissertations are available from: University Microfilms International, Dissertation Copies, P.O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; (800) 521-3042.

ECONOMICS, HISTORY, AND POLITICS — BEFORE 1865

"Castro's Colony: Empresario Colonization in Texas, 1842-1865," by Bobby D. Weaver. Texas Tech Univ.

"The Development of the Second Party System in Mississippi, 1817-1846," by Melvin P. Lucas. Cornell Univ.

Forty Years of Diversity: Essays on Colonial Georgia, edited by Harvey H. Jackson and Phinzy Spalding. Univ. of Georgia Press. \$25.00.

"Free Blacks' Quest for a National Identity: Debates in the African American Press on Assimilation and Emigration, 1827-1861," by Kwando Mbiassi Kinshasa. New York Univ.

Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839, by Frances A. Kemble. Univ. of Geor-

REVIEWS

gia Press. \$9.95.

North Carolina: Reflections of 400 Years, by M. Glenn Morris. JCP Corp. of Virginia. \$30.00.

Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War, by Edmund Wilson. Northeastern Univ. Press. \$11.95.

"People of the Cross Timbers: A History of the Tonkawa Indians," by Thomas F. Schilz. Texas Christian Univ.

"Petty Felony, Slave Defiance, and Frontier Villainy: Crime and Criminal Justice in Spanish Louisiana, 1770-1803," by Derek N. Kerr. Tulane Univ.

Slavery in Colonial Georgia, by Betty Wood. Univ. of Georgia Press. \$22.50.

"Tempering the Wind: The Southern Response to Urban Poverty, 1850-1865," by Barbara L. Bellows. Univ. of South Carolina.

ECONOMICS, HISTORY, AND POLITICS — 1865-1984

"An Analysis of the Economic Impact of Agricultural Production Expenditures on the Louisiana Economy," by Liang Chew Huam. LSU.

Arkansas: A History, by Harry Ashmore. Norton. \$7.95.

"Dispute Settlement in a Southern Small Claims Court," by Elizabeth D. Purdum. Univ. of Florida.

"An Experiment in Welfare Capitalism: The Health Care Services of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company," by Marlene Hunt Rikard. Univ. of Alabama.

"Family and Class in the New Industrial City [Ciudad Juarez and El Paso]," by Susan Marie Christopherson. UC-Berkeley.

"The Fiscal Impact of the Coal Industry on Kentucky," by Richard G. Sims. Univ. of Kentucky.

Fifty Feet in Paradise: The Booming of Florida, by David Nolan. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. \$15.95.

Following the Drum: A Glimpse of Frontier Life [in Texas], by Teresa G. Viele. Univ. of Nebraska Press. \$19.95/6.95.

"The Georgia Juvenile Justice System, 1960-1980: Two Decades of Challenge and Change," by Robert E. Croom. Emory Univ.

"A History of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, from Roots to Redirection, 1920-1968," by Jan Gregory Thompson. Auburn Univ.

Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984, by James C. Cobb. Univ. Press of Kentucky. \$19.00.

"'Let Us Die to Make Men Free': Political Terrorism in Post-Reconstruction Mississippi, 1872-1896," by Clark L. Miller. Univ. of Minnesota.

"Longleaf Pine Lumber Manufacturing in the Altamaha River Basin, 1865-1918," by Mary Ellen Tripp. Florida State Univ.

Louisiana: A History, by Charles Edwards O'Neill, et al. Forum Press. \$24.95/15.95.

Making the Invisible Woman Visible, by Anne Firor Scott. Univ. of Illinois Press. \$29.95/12.95.

"Oppositional Education in the Southern Farmers' Alliance: 1890-1900," by Theodore R. Mitchell. Stanford Univ.

"Organizing the Movement: A Case Study of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now," by Gary Delgado. UC-Berkeley.

The Outer Banks: An Historical Adventure from Kitty Hawk to Ocracoke, by Martin Conway. Carabelle Books. \$12.95.

The Polish Texans, by T. Lindsay Baker. Institute of Texan Cultures. \$8.95/5.95.

"The Reconstruction Dilemma: Northern The-

ory and Southern Tragedy," by Ernest P. Black. SUNY-Buffalo.

"See What the *Afro* Says: The Baltimore *Afro-American*, 1892-1950," by Hayward Farrar. Univ. of Chicago.

"Social Origins of a New South Carolina: The Upcountry in the Nineteenth Century," by Lacy K. Ford, Jr. Univ. of South Carolina.

Southerners All, by F.N. Boney. Mercer Univ. Press. \$12.95.

Speaking for Ourselves: Women of the South, edited by Maxine Alexander. Pantheon Books. \$10.95.

Texas and the Mexican Revolution: A Study in State and National Border Policy, by Don M. Covert and Linda Hall. Trinity Univ. Press. \$20.00/10.00.

Texas Sheriffs, by Kent Biffle. Pressworks. \$19.95.

The Wendish Texans, by Sylvia A. Grider. Institute of Texan Cultures. \$8.95/5.95.

"'We Lived on an Island': An Afro-American Family and Community in Rural Virginia, 1865-1940," by Marilyn M. White. UT-Austin.

West Virginia: A History, by John A. Williams. Norton. \$7.95.

LITERATURE

"Black Harlem in Poetry, 1919-1981," by James L. DeJongh. New York Univ.

"Ellen Glasgow: The Shaping of a Social Conscience," by Luke W. McCann. Columbia Univ.

"Emblem of Motion and Power: The Railroad in Modern Southern Fiction," by Bes Stark Spangler. UNC-Chapel Hill.

"Eudora Welty's Oral Chorus," by Mary Alice Fisher. Univ. of Nebraska.

"Henry James and Mark Twain: Public Image versus Literary Reality," by Richard M. Marshall. Purdue Univ.

"The Law According to Mark Twain," by Janet M. Youga. Univ. of Iowa.

"Mark Twain as Theologian: A Perspective from a Selection of Posthumously Published Manuscripts," by Harry R. Snider. Kent State Univ.

"Network of Resemblances: Fictional Technique in Caroline Gordon's 'The Malefactors,'" by Mary K.B. Henderson. Univ. of Dallas.

"The Reader in the Work: Fabulation and Affective Response in Joao Guimares Rosa and William Faulkner," by Luiz Fernando Valente. Brown Univ.

"The Role and Rhetoric of Female Characters in James Baldwin's Fiction," by Barbara S. Bayne. Indiana Univ.

"Tennessee Williams and the Fugitive Kind," by Harry A. Kinney. UC-Berkeley.

EDUCATION

"Black Colleges Since 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education*," by Katherine Harris White. Univ. of Pittsburgh.

"A Comparison of State Level Funding of the Minimum Program for Education of Alabama to That of Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee," by Jimmy Lee Winn. Univ. of Alabama.



Knoxville 37996-0325

TWENTIETH-CENTURY RICHMOND Planning, Politics, and Race

Christopher Silver

Silver explores the role of planners, citizen groups, and planning policy, as a major southern city makes the transition from white elitist domination to more racially balanced government. Twentieth-Century America Series. 352 pages. Illustrations. \$29.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper

HOLLYBUSH

Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community

Charles E. Martin

Making innovative use of the techniques of oral history and material culture, Martin discovers in this architectural case history a paradigm of the social change wrought by industrialism elsewhere in America. 160 pages. Illustrations. \$14.95

MINERS, MILLHANDS, AND MOUNTAINEERS

The Modernization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930

Ronald D. Eller

An examination of the social and economic history of the Appalachian South from 1880 to 1930, describing the revolutionary changes in mountain life as the region was swept up in the American drive toward industrial maturity. Twentieth-Century America Series. 336 pages. Illustrations. \$23.50 cloth, \$12.50 paper

"Historically Black Public Higher Educational Institutions: An Analysis of the Impact of Federal Desegregation Mandates on Institutional Identity and Mission," by Clayton D. Grisby. Univ. of Cincinnati.

"The Relationship of School District Size and Property Wealth to Expenditure Patterns for Georgia's School Districts in the Decade of the 1970's," by Michael S. O'Neal. Univ. of Georgia.

"A Study of School Boards in North Carolina: Their Meetings, Activities, and Decisions," by Brenda Davenport Rivenbark. Duke Univ.

BIOGRAPHY

Crockett: The Man Behind the Myth, by James W. Burke. Eakin Publications. Price not set.

"Lugenia D. Burns Hope: A Black Female Reformer in the South, 1871-1947," by Jacqueline Anne Rouse. Emory Univ.

"Duff Green and the South, 1824-45," by David Wayne Moore. Miami Univ.

"Eddie C. Kennedy, West Virginia Educator: A Biography," by Peter Lee Paulson. West Virginia Univ.

"John Brown Gordon: Soldier, Southerner, American," by Ralph L. Eckert. LSU.

"Roland Q. Leavell: A Biography," by Mary D. Leavell Bowman. LSU.

"The Senatorial Career of Clyde R. Hoey," by Susan A. Hatcher. Duke Univ.

Their Adventures Will: Profiles of Memorable Louisiana Women, by Diane M. Moore. Acadiana Press. \$24.00.

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

"The Image of the Black Family and the White Family in American Prime-Time Television Programming, 1970-1980," by George W. Sweeper. New York Univ.

"The Preaching of J. Frank Norris: An 'Apologia' for Fundamentalism," by Lee Roy McGlone. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

"The Quality of Life among Black and Hispanic Elderly in Three Southern Cities," by Gayle Yvonne Phillips. Univ. of Pennsylvania.

"Shared Living in Florida: Alternative Living Arrangements for Older People," by Mary Anne Hilker. Univ. of Florida.

"Southern Exposure: Photography and the Civil Rights Movement, 1955-1968," by Larry H. Spruill. SUNY-Stony Brook.

"Theological Perspectives on the Nature of Jesus Christ in the Black Church," by Aaron L. Parker. Emory Univ.

Correction: An error appeared in the review section of the May/June 1984 issue of Southern Exposure. On page 57, the first paragraph of the second column should read:

The police, too, were a factor in Savannah's story. Unlike those in most Southern cities, they did not generally contribute violence to the nonviolent demonstrations. There were some incidents, of course, and some police officers who, left to themselves, would have caused more. But, as parent and demonstrator James C. Middleton, Sr., recalls, "The police treat the marchers all right. See, Mayor Maclean, he told them to protect them. If they didn't protect them, why then they wouldn't have no job."



2nd National Conference On Desegregation In Postsecondary Education

The Continuing Search for Equality

**Sheraton University Center • Durham, North Carolina
October 9-12, 1984**

Sponsored by The Institute on Desegregation at North Carolina Central University, with supportive contributions and services from the American College Testing Program, the North Carolina State Department of Community Colleges, ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, the Institute for Higher Education Law and Governance, the Southern Education Foundation, the Educational Testing Service, the Offices of University Affairs and Institutional Research of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the General Administration of the University of North Carolina system, and the Adele M. Thomas Trust.

Major Topics Include:

The Impact of Desegregation in Higher Education on:

- Student Recruitment and Enrollment
- Traditionally Black Colleges and the New Technology
- The Survival of Traditionally Black Postsecondary Institutions
- State-wide Systems of Higher Education
- Student Retention
- What Can Be Learned From Research On Elementary and Secondary School Desegregation

Including general sessions with keynote speakers, pre-conference workshops, concurrent sessions, and an array of contributed papers.

Among The Major Speakers Are:

- Mary F. Berry, Professor of Law and History, Howard University, and member of the United States Commission on Civil Rights
- Edgar G. Epps, Marshall Field IV Professor of Urban Education at the University of Chicago
- Willis D. Hawley, Dean of Peabody College, Professor of Education and Political Science, School of Education and Human Development, Vanderbilt University
- Michael A. Olivas, Associate Professor of Education and Law and Director of the Institute of Higher Education Law and Governance, University of Houston

REGISTRATION

Date _____

Name _____ Phone () _____

Title/Institution _____

Complete Address _____

Conference Fee: \$65 (\$80 if postmarked after Sept. 18, 1984) includes 3 Continental breakfasts, 1 luncheon, and 1 banquet dinner

Student Fee: \$30 (meals and a copy of the proceedings at additional cost)

A hotel reservation form will be mailed to you along with a registration receipt.

Make check payable to: Institute on Desegregation. Mail form and check to: Jeff E. Smith, Director; Institute on Desegregation; North Carolina Central University; Durham, NC 27707 (919) 683-6433.

BULLETIN BOARD OF THE SOUTH

Announcements

Join the Freeze Lobby

The Arms Control Computer Network is offering memberships to the Freeze Lobby Alert Network. The Network will contact you when key nuclear weapons votes are coming up in the House and Senate so that members can contact the Representatives or Senators to tell them how to vote. Members will also receive information on the MX, wasteful Pentagon spending, and other arms race issues. 1984 membership costs \$10 and entitles members to approximately 15 mailings. All action alerts from ACCN are available for \$15. Contact: National Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Blvd., Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108.

Reparations

Black Reparations are your due. Act now! For more information send SASE to: African National Reparations Organization, 1330 North Bond Street, Baltimore, MD 21213 (301) 563-1533.

CAL/NEH Taped Dialect Search

The Center for Applied Linguistics, with NEH funding, is compiling a list of collections of tape-recorded American English speech. The goal is to facilitate access to the untapped resource of privately-held tapes and to increase awareness about their importance to our cultural heritage. Later, the project will gather a representative group of recordings for a Library of Congress collection.

If you have recordings or want more information, write: Donna Christian, CAL, 3520 Prospect Street, NW, Washington, DC 20007.

Events

Women and Poverty

Leadership Conference for Women organizing women on poverty issues in the Southeast will be held November 30-December 2, 1984 in Montreat, N.C. Sponsored by the Southeast Women's Employment Coalition. Scholarships are available for low-income women. Contact: P.O. Box 1357, Lexington, KY 40590 (606) 276-1555.

International Folk Festival

Folk-moot-USA, the first annual North Carolina Folk Festival of International Music and Dance will be held August 1-13th in Maggie

Valley, N.C. Performers from the USA and eight foreign countries demonstrate traditional folk music, dance and culture. For information and performance schedule call (704) 452-2997 or write Folk-moot-USA, P.O. Box 523, Waynesville, NC 28786.

Demonstrate in Dallas

The Alliance for Justice 1984, an umbrella coalition, will sponsor several activities at the Republican National Convention to be held in Dallas, TX, August 18-20. A rally will be held before the convention opens. Jesse Jackson will lead an inter-religious service on the 19th. Also on the 19th, voter registration will be held. There will be a march to the opening of the convention on the 20th.

Contact: Carolina Action, 305 E. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27702; National Office: 413 E St., NE, Washington, DC 20003.

Black Sociology Conference

The Association of Black Sociologists will have a conference August 23-28 in San Antonio, Texas. Contact: Lena Wright Meyers, Department of Sociology, Jackson State University, Jackson, MS 39217.

Pilgrimage to Pantex

"Pilgrimage to Pantex" (where nuclear weapons are assembled) will be held on Hiroshima Day, August 6. This statewide walk will be held in Texas. Contact: Red River Peace Network, 1022 W. 6th St., Austin, TX 78703. Roxanne Elder, (512) 472-2399.

Jobs

Grassroots Fundraiser

Save Our Cumberland Mountains, a Tennessee grassroots organization tackling stripmining, property tax reform, toxic waste, oil and gas development. SOCM has a collective staff of six.

Duties: Managing grassroots fundraising program: 75%. General: 25% (responsibilities negotiable based on your skill and SOCM's needs).

Salary: \$9,096 plus benefits
Qualifications: Fundraising experience. Writing skills helpful. Organizing experience preferred.

Position Available: September 1, 1984

For details: Peggy Matthews, SOCM, P.O. Box 457, Jacksboro, TN 37757.

Regional Coordinator

CORA, the Commission on Religion in Appalachia, seeks a coordinator for the new Northern Regional Office to be located in Northern West Virginia or Southeast Ohio.

Duties: Develop coalitions among constituent churches; promote and develop church-based citizen organizing; develop relationships between churches and secular coalitions; provide consulting services to groups on issues and actions; promote and implement the objectives of CORA; be available to denominational caucuses; manage and administer the office; develop appropriate programs and projects.

Requirements: Knowledgeable about the Church and public issues; citizen organizing experience; knowledge of the region; conversant with religious values; willing and able to travel regionally.

Salary: Negotiable

Contact: CORA, P.O. Box 10867, Knoxville, TN 37939.

Merchandise

Nuclear Free Zones

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In the Birmingham Jail, 1963

by Barbara Deming

Many people had their lives changed by their experiences in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963. Barbara Deming, for four decades one of America's foremost writers on the issues of feminism and nonviolence was one. The following originally appeared in The Nation on May 25, 1963, and is part of a new collection of Deming's writings, We Are All Part of One Another, edited by Jane Meyerding and published by New Society Publishers.

The day I went to jail in Birmingham for joining a group of Negro demonstrators — children most of them — who were petitioning, “without a license,” for the right to be treated like human beings (“that’s what it boils down to, that’s all we ask”), I experienced more sharply than I ever had before the tragic nature of segregation, that breakdown of communication between human and human which segregation means and is

The steps which took me from the Negro church in which I spent the early part of that day, May 6, sitting among the children as they were carefully briefed and finally, in small groups, one after another, marched, holding hands and singing, into the streets — “marching toward freedom land” — the steps which placed me swiftly then in the white women’s ward of the city jail provided a jolt for the mind that can still, recalling it, astonish me. . . .

Now and then, when the wind was right, I could hear the children’s voices from their cells, high and clear — “Ain’t gonna let nobody turn me round, turn me round, turn me round. . . . Woke up this morning with my mind set on freedom!” — the singing bold and joyful still; and with that sound I was blessedly in their presence again. I strained to hear it, to bolster my own courage. For now I was a devil, too, of course — I was a “nigger lover.” The warden had introduced me to my cell mates, in shrill outrage, and encouraged them to “cut me down” as they chose. They soon informed me that one of the guards had recommended that they beat me up. No one had moved to do it yet, but the glances of some of them were fierce enough to promise it. “What have you got against Southern people?”

I was not an enemy of the Southern people, I answered as calmly as I could. I happened to believe that we really were intended to try to love every person we met as we love ourselves. That would obviously include any Southern white person I met. For me it simply also obviously included any Negro. They stared at me, bewildered, and I didn’t try to say any more. I lay down on my bunk and tried to remove myself from their attention and to control my fears of them. . . .

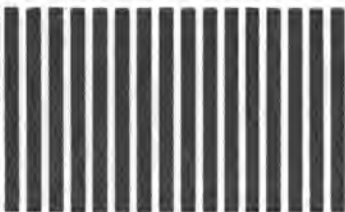
As the days passed, I stopped fearing my cell mates and made friends with them. After a little while this wasn’t hard to do. Every woman in there was sick and in trouble. I had only to express the simplest human sympathy, which it would

have been difficult not to feel, to establish the beginning of a friendly bond. Most of the women had been jailed for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, or prostitution. That is to say, they had been jailed because they were poor and had been drunk or disorderly or had prostituted themselves. Needless to say, I met no well-to-do people there, guilty of these universal misdemeanors. A few of the women had been jailed not because they really had been “guilty” once again this particular time, but because they were by now familiar figures to the cops; one beer, the smell of it on her breath, would suffice for an arrest if a cop caught sight of one of them. The briefest conversations with these women reveal the misfortunes that had driven them to drink: family problems, the sudden death of a husband, grave illness. All conspicuously needed help, not punishment — needed, first and foremost, medical help. The majority of them needed very special medical attention, and many while in jail were deprived of some medicine on which they depended. One woman was a “bleeder” and was supposed to receive a blood transfusion once a month, but it was many days overdue. Each one of them would leave sicker, more desperate than she had entered; poorer, unless she had chosen to work out her fine. One woman told me that the city had collected \$300 in fines from her since January. From those who have not shall be taken.

One day, in jest, one of the women cried to the rest of us when the jail authorities had kept her waiting endlessly before allowing her the phone call that was her due: “I ought to march with the Freedom Riders!” I thought to myself: you are grasping at the truth in this jest. Toward the end of my stay I began to be able to speak such thoughts aloud to a few of them — to tell them that they did, in truth, belong out in the streets with the Negroes, petitioning those in power for the right to be treated like human beings. I began to be able to question their wild fears and to report to them the words I had heard spoken by the Negro leaders as they carefully prepared their followers for the demonstrations — words counseling over and over not for the vengeance they imagined so feverishly (“They all have knives and guns! You know it!”) but forbearance and common sense; not violence but nonviolence; I stressed for them the words of the integration movement’s hymn: “Deep in my heart I do believe we shall live in peace some day — black and white together.” One after another would listen to me in a strange, hushed astonishment, staring at me, half beginning to believe. By the time I was bailed out with the other demonstrators, on May 11, there was a dream in my head: if the words the Negroes in the nonviolent movement are speaking and are enacting ever begin to reach these others who have yet to know real freedom, what might that movement not become? But I was by then perhaps a little stir crazy. □

At Southern Exposure we listen to the voices of many people for guidance and inspiration. We want to recapture the indomitable spirit of those who have spoken for human dignity, for egalitarianism, and for collective social action. We want to celebrate those ideals. We welcome submissions from our readers for this feature. Send ideas to: Voices From the Past, Southern Exposure, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

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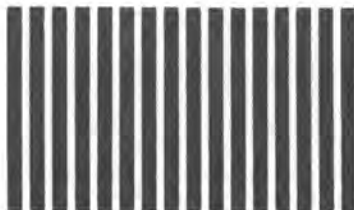


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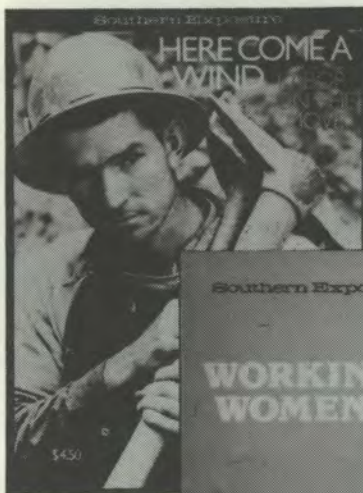
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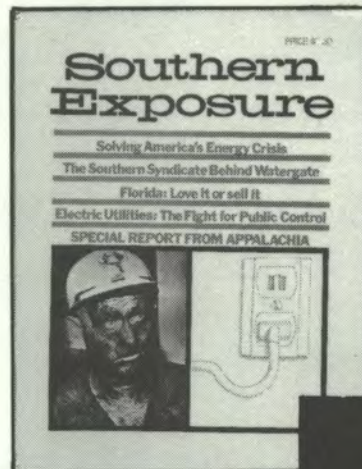
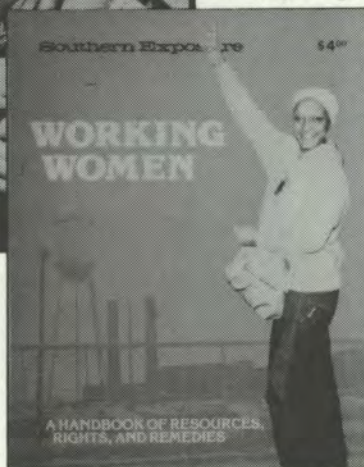
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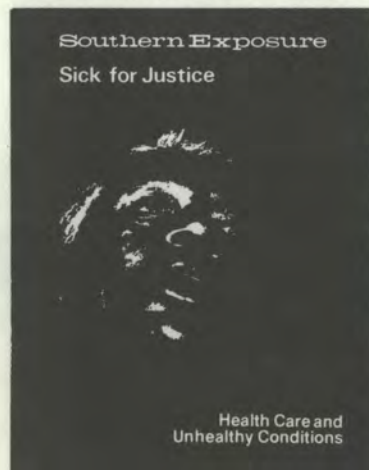
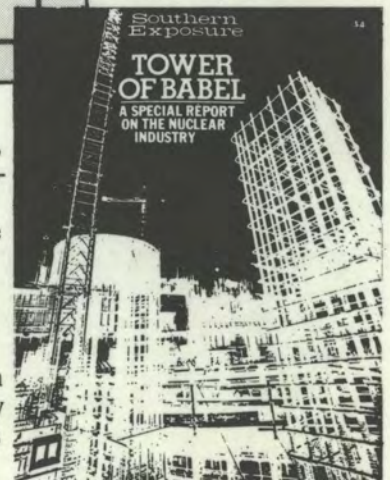


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