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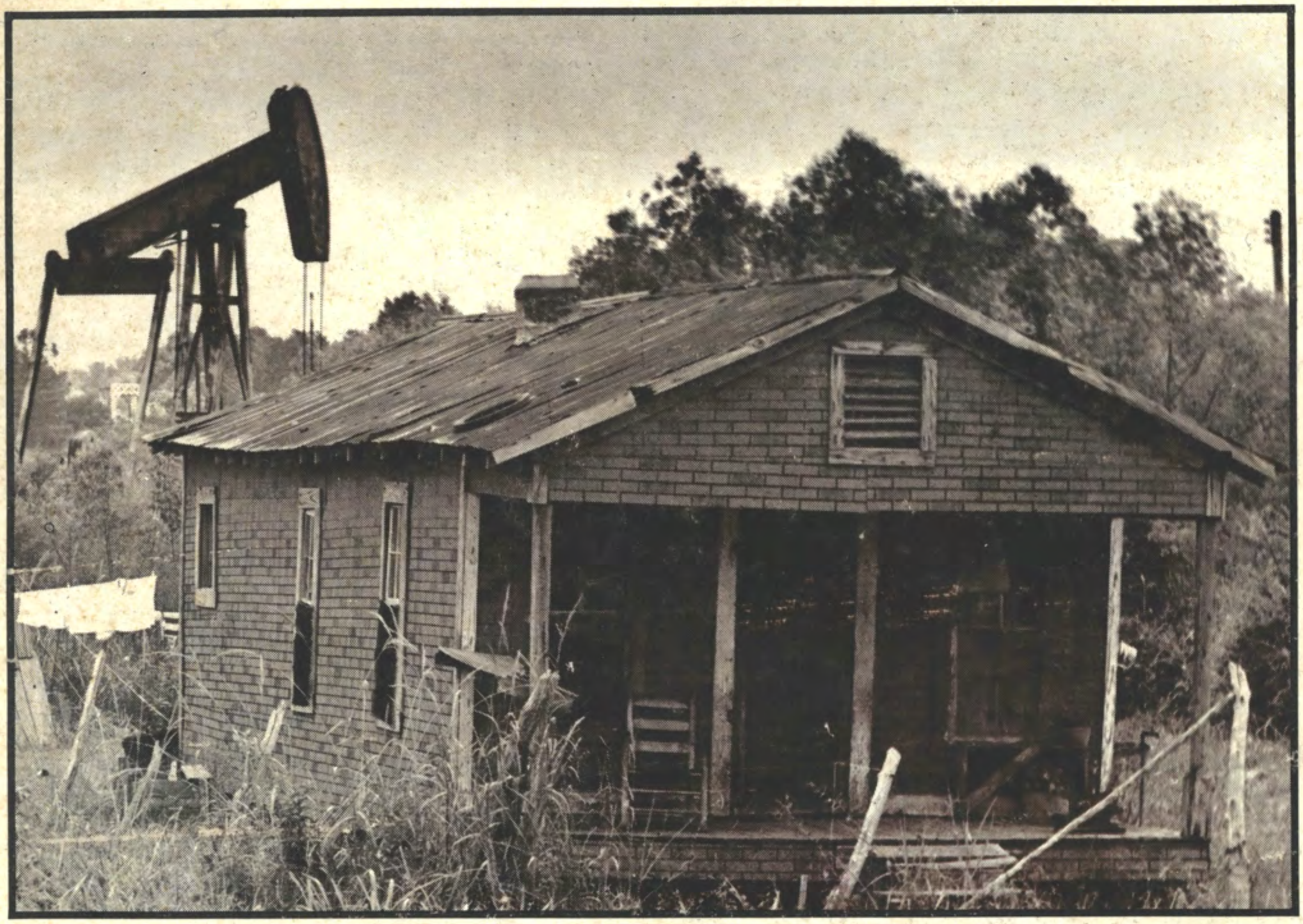
Southern Exposure



Our Promised Land

"Speed now the day when the
plains and the hills and all
the wealth thereof shall be
the people's own and free men
shall not live as tenants of
men on the earth..."

Ceremony of the Land,
Southern Tenant Farmer's Union (1937)

"The paradox of the South is that while it is blessed by Nature with immense wealth, its people as a whole are the poorest in the country. Lacking industries of its own, the South has been forced to trade the richness of its soil, its minerals and forests, and the labor of its people for goods manufactured elsewhere."

National Emergency Council, **Report on Economic Conditions of the South** (Washington, 1938).

"O, it's plain: if every man thoroughly got his rights, there wouldn't be so many rich people in the world—I spied that a long time ago . . . O, it's desperately wrong . . . . I found out all of that because they tried to take I don't know what all away from me."

Nate Shaw, Alabama Sharecropper, in Theodore Rosengarten, **All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw.**

If you live in Canton, North Carolina, or West Point, Virginia, or Savannah, Georgia, you know what wealth from the South's land means for your community's environment and economy. You can see and smell the results of having a paper mill in your backyard. If you're from Claiborne County, Tennessee, or Muhlenburg, Kentucky, maybe you can remember those forested hillsides that are now covered with the stripminers' rubble. And those of you who grew up in the Delta have no doubt pondered the ambiguities of living close to the land. Wherever you're from in this region, it probably wouldn't take you long to trace your town's life back to the special assets of its earth. In the South, identity is still bound up with the land.

Soil, timber, and minerals have shaped the South in peculiar ways and continue to stand in a precarious limbo between potential and exploitation. Not only has profit-oriented development devoured the South's natural resources, it has also produced our own home-grown, land-hungry barons. The by-products of this process are sharecropper and entrepreneur, clearcut forests and ravaged mountains, the cotton plantation and agribusiness. The gas shortage and oil profits, our electric bills and strip-mined coal, skyrocketing food prices—all accent the critical position of land-based enterprises in our contemporary society. This double issue of *Southern Exposure* explores this foundation of southern culture — the land itself.

In the lead article, "South Coast Conspiracy," Bill Rushton, editor of a New Orleans muckraking weekly, dramatically portrays the way soybeans and oil can transform and control an entire section of the South. Then, Theodore Rosengarten reminds us through the eloquent words of Alabama sharecropper Nate Shaw of the central role the black farmer has always played in the evolution of the southern economy. Young, white, and urban, Rushton offers a perspective on the complex, corporate realities of the 1970's. Old, black, and rural, Nate Shaw communicates an odyssey of struggle that spans three generations of southern history. The commonality between the two — the southern land — represents what "Our Promised Land" is all about. Other essays cover a range of land-related problems, from the subculture of tenant farmers in Arkansas to second home development in Appalachia, from alternatives to agribusiness to schemes to save the cities.

Following this selection of articles, the Institute for Southern Studies offers a special research section: "Food, Fuel, and Fiber." As we became aware of the critical nature of the new demands being placed on the region's natural resources, we intensified our efforts to gather information on the land and who controls it. The project led us to three basic segments of the economy — agriculture, minerals, and timber. Understanding who controls food production and marketing demanded an examination of corporate farming as well as of the international economy and the importance of the balance of payments on our inflationary grocery cart. Grasping the power of the coal and oil industries resulted in a complicated web of interrelationships between the largest companies and a discussion of the corporate invasion of the oil reserves of Texas and Louisiana and the coal veins in southern Appalachia. The timber companies have returned to the southern states — where a tree crop can grow faster than anywhere else in the country — and have gained control over vast acreage.

What emerges from these research reports, state profiles, and charts is a picture of a region rich in highly-treasured resources, yet lacking in strategies to keep that wealth in local areas, for the benefit of the many rather than the few. With 52 per cent of the country's mineral production, 40 per cent of its timber, and 27 per cent of its food products, it's time we became conscious of our resources and began making demands on those who desire them.

Ironically, this "land" issue comes at a time when the inflationary cost of paper — from our southern forests and mills — has forced us to our highest price ever. We feel, however, that the diverse articles and the lengthy research section merit the $3.50 cover price for a double issue, twice as long as our normal publication.

We view "Our Promised Land" as a beginning, not as a definitive statement. We hope to stimulate thought, share ideas, present alternatives, and document some conclusions. We encourage our readers to use this issue in creative ways: to preserve the beauty and power of our southern land and to change the methods of control of our primary resources.

Southern Exposure

Volume II, Number 2&3 **Fall, 1974**

FROM OUR READERS . . .

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Steve Hassett of the VVAW Winter Soldier Organization in Buffalo, New York: "I thought your issue 'No More Moanin' was excellent. I passed my copy on to some friends to use in a labor history study group at the Women's Studies College in the University of Buffalo and will be recommending it to the VVAW/USO Chapter study group in Buffalo. . . . Thanks for some really fine history and analysis."

Thelma Stevens, former executive of the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church and native Mississippian: "I wish I had hundreds of dollars to contribute to the ongoing publication of *SE*. It has been great from its first issue! The South needs it, and it might prove to be a good bridge builder in the North."

Attorney Robert S. Brandt of Nashville, Tennessee: "Congratulations on your recent series on strip mining in Appalachia. Your honest revelations of the involvement of the Tennessee Valley Authority in this horrible practice was most encouraging. It is high time the public became aware of what has happened to this agency. TVA, which has done so much for our region in the past, has become an uncontrollable monster with no public accountability whatsoever. Fortunately, more and more citizens are becoming aware of what TVA has become.

"There is, however, much to be done to make the public more aware. TVA still has strong supporters, most notably from industrial development enthusiasts and by business interests. Also, there are many who feel that to question TVA is to defame Franklin D. Roosevelt and all of the progress of the New Deal. The press, especially the progressive papers, *The Tennessean* (Nashville), *The Knoxville News - Sentinal*, and *The Chattanooga Times*, are strongly pro-TVA and, while they do report on strip mining problems, they almost always unquestionably support TVA, regardless of the issue.

"The new awareness of TVA is non-partisan and cannot be identified with any particular ideology. Rather, it is born out of an arrogant abuse of power which is offensive to persons from all walks of life and all political persuasions. While I am not willing to support a movement to abolish TVA, I feel strongly that steps must be taken now to make TVA responsive to the public it is supposed to serve. Articles such as the ones by James Branscome and my friend, John Gaventa, in *Southern Exposure*, are most helpful and informative."

Mary Robertson, long-time employee of the statewide Meatcutters local in Asheville, North Carolina: "EXCELLENT! EXCELLENT! EXCELLENT! . . . Nobody, *nobody*, has ever been objective about Bascom before. . . . Do some more — Bascom isn't the only, or the only best in these mountains!"

(continued inside back cover)

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Photo by Jeff Jacobson

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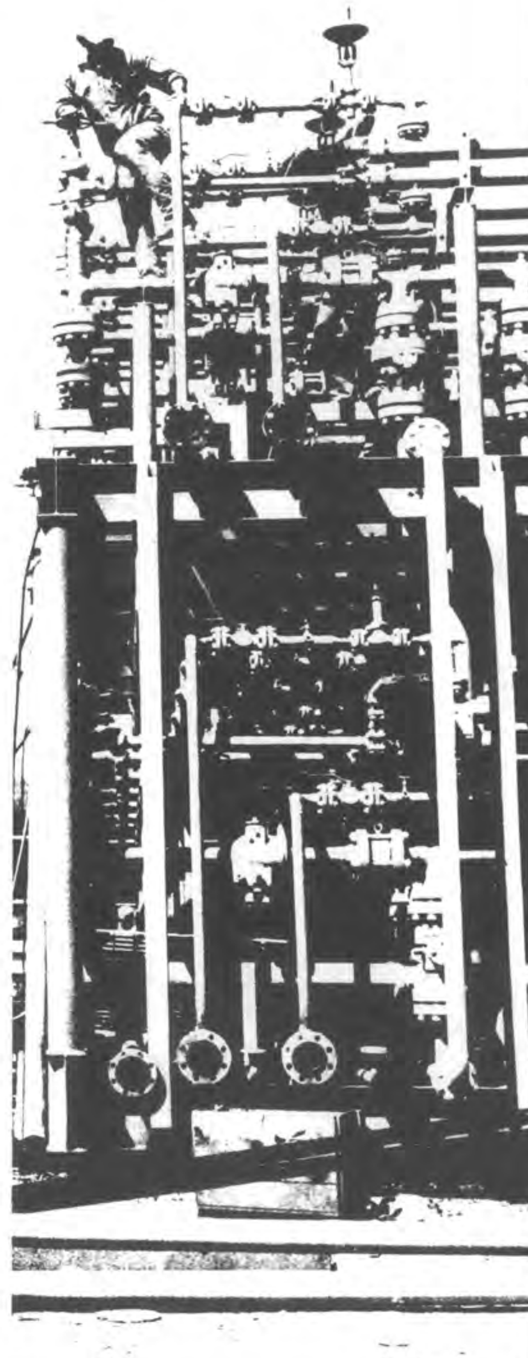
the south coast conspiracy



Soybeans Harvested, 1969

by Bill Rushton

Harper and Brothers once published a children's book on the Mississippi River Valley, *The Story of the Mississippi*, with the letters "Mississippi" writ large across the jacket's cover from one side to the other. In red crayon, with large round confident dots over its i's and rounded serif points inside all the letters not so dotted, "Mississippi" stands with grace and authority at the top of a 19*th* century pastoral scene: a great American romantic vision of rich land hugging a river so brown and fertile that it has grown great white shellfish smoking and steaming their way in all directions along its warm, living flow. It is a dream that flowed, if ever so briefly, in the fertile years of American expansion before the Civil War — and it is a dream that is flowing again after 100 years of sleep, a narcotized slumber out of which arises an accumulated, raging energy not unlike that of the long, brown alligator itself when the spring rains pelt it awake.

"Others call it 'Old Al'," *The Story of the Mississippi* concludes, "the god of the River who lives in the mud at the bottom." Once more the River is reasserting its power, and as the Republic approaches its second centennial, we can with increasing clarity see the way these waters — and the economic gods behind them — rule our land still.

The Gods Begin To Stir

The Mississippi River Valley possesses one of the world's great transportation systems — the River itself, whose main stem and tributaries drain 31 states and two Canadian provinces. Its value as a transportation and communication system has been long recognized: North American Indians had evolved a modest trading practice along its banks in the days before the white man decided to take it for his own. One major Indian ceremonial and commercial center was built in Illinois across the River from what we now call St. Louis, with the earth mound of its urban core still standing starkly in a public park. Another such trading "post" was in what we now call New Orleans and, in fact, the French explorers built their St. Louis Cathedral in exactly that spot where the Indians had gathered to trade.

The French were the valley's first imperialists, leaving militarily-strategic urban settlements and French names behind them everywhere. As rulers, the French were considerably more enlightened and progressive than their English-speaking successors: the land of the riverbank, for example, was owned *communally* with equal access to it for all — including the Indians, who had correctly perceived that assimilation awaited them at the hands of the French, while extermination awaited them at the hands of the English, and later, the English-speaking Americans. The Spanish and French-speaking Creoles of New Orleans — North America's second most important city in 1803, after Philadelphia — were in for their own share of distress at the hands of the Americans who took advantage of Napoleon's financial and military difficulties in that pivotal year. After the American purchase of the bulk of the Mississippi River Valley's territory, the River was to become engorged with the sweaty and greedy men the Creoles contemptuously called "Kaintocks." (For their Kentucky origins, harsh language and bad manners.) Unlike the valley's Indians, however, the Creoles were not to be exterminated by the Kaintocks. Instead, the Americans in their own turn assimilated the Creoles; and in the New Orleans of the pre-Civil War era, the American newcomers' town homes and country mansions and imperial dreams were made all the more outrageous by their determined efforts to compete successfully against the thriving French settlement and "outdo" its culture. The haughty Creoles had been attending grand opera when George Washington was still struggling in the dirt of Virginia, and they never let the Kaintocks forget it.

The Americans were aided in their enterprise by two Yankee inventions: the steamboat and the cotton gin. As the French trade had exceeded by several quantum jumps the value and tonnage of the Indian trade, so the American trade was destined to exceed that of the French. Colonial trade was limited to one direction only: downriver, where it stopped on the levee batture in front of St. Louis Cathedral and was carried and carted over a "land bridge" to Bayou St. John and Lake Pontchartrain beyond, where ocean-going schooners could profitably take it far away. New Orleans sits astride the shortest land bridge between the River and the Lake, which is why both the Indians and the French had chosen to settle here while the English took Baton Rouge and fumbled around with a number of alternative trade routes of their own until, finally, the Americans bought them out also.

French colonial agriculture reflects these technological restrictions: sugar and indigo in large, capital-intensive and labor-intensive plantations that were often dismal financial failures. The cotton gin and the steamboat changed all that, of course, and made New Orleans the unrivaled Queen City of the South and an eventual competitive threat to the same Yankee imperial ambitions that had supported the purchase of Louisiana in the first place. Steamboats meant trade could now move both ways on the River, making New Orleans an import center as well as an export center. The cotton gin offered Southern planters just enough labor-saving economies to

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Bill Rushton is managing editor of *The Courier* in New Orleans and recepient of the 1972 Urban Journalism Award of the American Society of Planning Officials.
Research for this article was partially supported through a grant from The Southern Investigative Research Project of The Southern Regional Council.

make their agricultural enterprises spectacularly profitable.

Seeking these profits, capital investment flowed into the South and into its land on a scale unprecedented in the young nation's experience. Near the mouth of their new River, the Yankees established themselves an enormous granite customhouse (its foundations are made of cotton bales and its stones were brought down the River from the East), a mint to coin the exchange of the new realm, and a garrison that would — in the succeeding century — reach out for control of the Gulf and the Caribbean and the other Americas of the world beyond. When the River's carrying capacity eventually exceeded that of its modest land bridge in New Orleans, the Yankees brought in some ingenious capital investments to solve that problem, too: a railroad, America's second, which carted goods between the River and the Lake down a broad avenue New Orleanians called Elysian Fields. In the same way that the steamboat permitted two-directional trading use of the River, the railroad permitted four-directional trading use of the land. And a great economic battle began between the two modes of transportation, a battle which finally found military expression in the Civil War. Lincoln, a Midwesterner, threw in with the Yankees — and for the remainder of the nineteenth century, our national trading system grew East and West under the control of the Yankees and their railroads instead of North and South under the control of the planters and their River.

This little-appreciated aspect of our national history must be correctly understood if we are also to understand what is happening in the American South of today. There are some observers who have suggested that those in control of our country at the moment are divided into two competing camps: the Yankees, who tend to be found in East Coast cities and those financial or other corporate institutions under their direct and usually "liberal" control and the Cowboys, also known as the Southern Rimsters, an insurgent class of ultra-reactionary capitalist marauders who insist on playing the game by their own new sets of rules. In a certain general sense, it is true that this rising economic alliance stretches out like a fan from California and Arizona through Texas, the Deep South and on to Florida — and artifacts to corroborate this thesis (the route systems of the Southern Pacific Railroad or National Airlines, for example) are abundantly available. But the true Cowboy turf is to be found in the Mississippi River Valley, to which California and Florida are mere appendages of temporary convenience. We are witnessing the rise of a South Coast to challenge the power and prerogatives of both the East and West Coasts, which lack the transportation infrastructure necessary to compete successfully with the new technologies of the New South and its 31-state trading area. Houston is the South Coast's "capital" city, and that capital comes from its oil, brown rivers of oil over which the South Coast has had to learn to exercise its new-found political and economic control before it could hope to re-establish its control over the biggest brown river of them all. That oil has come to play a critical role in the economies of advanced capitalist societies: barge transportation was cheaper per gallon of fuel per ton of freight than airplanes, trucks or railroads even before the "energy crisis," and for the forseeable future those relative economic advantages can only grow more pronounced.

One hundred years ago the Yankees won a few crucial battles, but the Cowboys have now won the war. The water-based civilization under construction in the Mississippi River Valley is — technologically, at least — destined to outstrip the power of all its predecessors: Mesopotamia, Rome's Mediterranean "lake," Great Britain, all of them *combined*. The technology used to control the Mississippi River Valley and channel its trade through the South Coast is being "exported" to the Rhine basin of Europe, the Amazon basin of Brazil, the MeKong basin of Southeast Asia, and all the other vulnerable outposts of the post-World-War-II American empire. It is the purpose of this essay to explain some — but by no means all — of the elements of this South Coast phenomenon, exploring first the inland waterway system itself; then the oil and energy monopoly which is being manipulated in such a way as to cause the greatest of all possible benefits to this waterway system; the agricultural production and distribution system that is arising in response to these energy and transportation trends; and finally, the effects these economic forces are having on the cityscape of the South Coast metropolis.

America's Ruhr Valley

The levee is not as wide or as deep as the River — just high enough to elude its reach, the true secret of the levee's functional success. Levees must be built wherever men hope to wrest control of the land from the River, and therein lies their potential for political intrigue. One of the South Coast's leading capitalist sports of the moment is that of levee building: publicly-financed levee building permits private speculators to gain and drain "free" land for relatively little private investment and relatively high return; the contractors' pile-up-the-pay-dirt bonanza is guaranteed to keep South Coast Congressmen's campaign treasuries amply replenished; and if the planners can manage to levee in an entire river or stream, some lucky industrialist or two can pick up a free barge canal to his plant site(s) in the bargain.

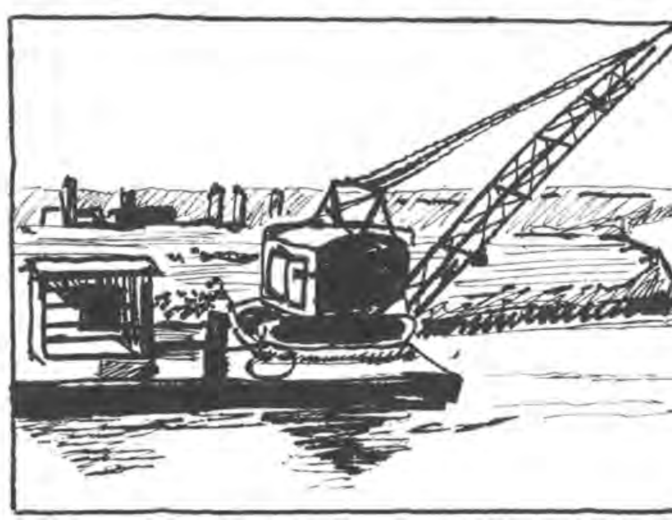
Publicly-financed construction of levees, however, is a relatively recent wrinkle on the international river valley civilization scene. Before the Civil War, the South's riverside planters had their levees built and maintained for them by the labor of slaves — but the Yankee soldiers who freed the slaves lingered on to perform those tasks instead. Since 1879 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has spent two billion dollars all over the Mississippi River Valley building the world's largest network of levees (more than 2000 miles of them), spillways, navigational locks and canals.

The economic consequences have been astonishing, especially in the field of trade. Mississippi River commerce quintupled between 1940 and 1969 alone, transforming the following cities into prosperous inland ports: Tulsa and Little Rock on the Arkansas River; Omaha and Kansas City on the Missouri River; Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis and Memphis on the Mississippi main stem; Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Louisville on the Ohio River; Knoxville and Nashville on the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. In addition, Chicago and the other Great Lakes cities are connected to the Mississippi via the Illinois River. And an unprecedented cross-country barge canal — the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway — connects the Rio Grande River and Mexico to the South Coast deep water ports of Corpus Christi, Houston, Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Lake Charles west of the Mississippi; Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Gulfport, Mobile and Pensacola east of the Mississippi. Birmingham is connected to the Intracoastal Waterway and the South Coast via the Warrior River much as Dallas-Ft. Worth are connected to the rest of the coast via the Trinity River. And several new projects are either on the drawing boards or underway: the so-called Tennessee-Tombigbee barge canal in Alabama to open up a "second" direct Gulf outlet to Mississippi Valley commerce, this time via Mobile; the Red River "improvements" and the ill-fated Cross-Florida Barge Canal, which would have permitted the Intracoastal Waterway's Gulf loop to extend up into the Carolinas.

All these pathways lead — by barge — back to New Orleans, where the so-called "Centroport, U.S.A." is being built (modeled after the Europort of Rotterdam) to serve as a giant marshalling yard for the new generation of super-sized container cargo vessels. One system which picks up the barges and carries them piggyback across the seas — a system designed by a New Orleans naval architect and under mass reproduction at the city's Avondale Shipyards — is being used by Lykes, Central Gulf, Delta and several other New Orleans steamship lines to convert and expand their foreign trade routes. The aggregate international trade of the cities interconnected by these navigational and technological improvements is approaching half the national total and rising (the Russian wheat deal was arranged through South Coast ports).

The Corps makes its contribution principally through an agency called the Mississippi River Commission, authorized by the Congress to make these navigational improvements all over the River and its tributaries. It pursues this control mission with the aid of a toy river study model in Vicksburg and three large emergency drainage ditches in Louisiana that dump excess River water into either the Atchafalaya River basin and swamp to the west or Lake Pontchartrain to the east. This attempt at continent-tide River stabilization has not always proved successful (at least one group of South Coast scientists believe valley levees disrupt Gulf of Mexico salinity ratios in a way that causes increased rainfall in America, as if the River were trying to flush its constipated excretory tract clean), but the attempt has nevertheless succeeded in enhancing the interest in and value of private investments along the meandering 31-state pathway of The Big Brown Road. Investment in petrochemical and mineral refineries, grain elevators, and other manufacturing or trading facilities on the banks of the River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans has now advanced to the point where the area has been dubbed by South Coast business interests as "The Ruhr Valley of America."

Not all the economic consequences have been positive, of course, but the negative consequences have been largely ignored. The Mississippi River has become a stinking sewer draining 650 billion gallons of water a day, some three billion gallons of it pure, poisonous filth left over from industrial processes, human sewerage and other wastes. For those communities that drink this water, that means one glass out of every 200 is a deadly elixir of 21 dangerous organic substances (at least three of which are known to cause cancer) plus lead, mer-



Drawing by Bambi Ogden

Photo by Bill Fibben

cury, arsenic, chromium and cyanide. The fish in the Gulf of Mexico also consume these wastes, an alarming revelation when you consider that the Gulf fisheries off the Louisiana coast alone produce 25 per cent of the nation's annual domestic fisheries harvest.

That harvest has been on the decline, however, for reasons also related to the Corps and its levees and the systemic destruction they occasion: the levee system has completely disrupted the River's historic siltation and land-forming activities. The levee-caused absence of floods and their silt deposits across the broad delta from Texas to Mississippi, complicated by natural land settlement and an increased subsidence of the coastal marshes caused by oil and gas and sulphur extraction, is causing the Gulf of Mexico to chew up sixteen square miles of fisheries-productive marsh in Louisiana every year. At an estimated value of $83,000 in biologically-related benefits per acre per year, that's almost one billion dollars in annual loss just in Louisiana alone.

But the entire Gulf of Mexico fishery is also suffering because of where that marsh-robbed silt *is* being deposited: at the mouth of the River, where it has been sprawling out closer and closer and closer towards the edge of the Continental Shelf. Fish spawn in the estuaries that feed into the Gulf's big bowl of seafood gumbo, and they migrate around the warm, shallow rim of the Continental Shelf that makes the Gulf into such an extraordinarily fine and delicate soup plate. But, the River has dumped so much silt onto the rim that it has broken the flow and restricted the fish to a gradually narrowing passage past the chemically poisonous funnel we have placed there, with both silt and poison spewing quite out of control.

The industrial installations that are the source of this pollution have also heated up the water in the River, and there are those South Coast scientists who theorize that 1965's Hurricane Betsy "homed" in on this heat source — like one of the American military's "smart bombs" over Indochina — catching the hurricane on the River's heat like a fly on a languid lizard's tongue. But the installations and the heat are growing. Louisiana Power and Light (part of the private enterprise Middle South Utilities combine controlling most energy production and distribution in a four-state stretch of the Middle Mississippi River Valley) advertises that 375 miles of sites in the American Ruhr Valley are still available, with full access to Louisiana's oil reserves (1/6 of the nation's total), Louisiana's natural gas reserves (1/3 of the nation's total), salt, sulphur, shell, glass sands, chemicals, and mineral and petrochemical feedstocks from the industries already here, plus agricultural products including lumber, cotton, soybeans and sugar that can easily be barged in. It is everything you need to feed, clothe, house and *control* a whole country, perhaps even the whole world.

The industrial plantations rising in these riverside fields are not unlike the agricultural plantations they are gradually replacing. Both the congruities and the contrasts of the old and new can be easily seen from any afternoon drive along the Great River Road; but they can perhaps be best seen from the Chalmette Battlefield south of New Orleans where General Andrew Jackson, the Valley's first President of the United States, helped the pirate Jean Lafitte and the other residents fight off the British nine years after the Louisiana Purchase. The Battle of New Orleans was in 1815 (four years after the *New Orleans*, the first steamboat to tackle the River, had completed its maiden voyage) and it took place after the rest of the country's War of 1812 was supposed to be finished. The Chalmette Battlefield survives to tell us more about what has happened to our land than any other comparable such piece of southern real estate.

Nestled against the River's levee is a small,pink plantation house — underscaled, as if for dolls at 3/4 the human size — and it looks out over a broad field growing only grass over the bones of the martyred defenders who have, by now, been long consumed by the earth. They died, we are told in a small exhibit maintained by the National Park Service, to protect the Mississippi River Valley from foreign invaders so that the Valley's Freedom could prosper even unto today. An obelisk and ellipsed roadway in the middle of this enshrined planter's field do not compare favorably with their more celebrated counterparts in Washington, D.C., but, then, neither is the backdrop quite the same. North, towards New Orleans, there stands an enormous metallic machine. Its superstructure of airborne conveyor belts connects together a row of storage bins in such a manner as to suggest the appearance of a giant preying mantis or perhaps a locust descent onto the land.

On the modern South Coast industrial plantations that replicate this scene, the slaves live in rows of blue collar subdivisions on the back lot instead of the previous century's more characteristic rows of wooden shanties. The white steamships that call at the levee no longer move on paddle wheels. And something else is different, too. All of these boats run on petroleum; and all of the industries run either on oil or on electricity produced from oil, natural gas, coal or uranium resources owned by the big oil companies; and many of the plantations also turn oil and natural gas into gasoline, plastics and other consumer products. An elaborate production and distribution system for oil and energy has been evolved to service this riverside manufacturing and trading system, and, ironically enough, its geographic structure offers up a parallel lesson in the multi-layered nature of South Coast economic control.

The Great God Oil

The largest oil refinery in North America is owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey, now Exxon, and is located on the banks of the Mississippi River in Baton Rouge — an undistinguished city which houses Louisiana's state capitol and government center, the main campus of Louisiana State University, and not much else. The Exxon reservation houses the plants of other industries that consume its feedstocks, and all of them together belch so much of so many kinds of pollution into the air that occasional shifts in the direction of the wind will mix up an unanticipated batch of tear gas.

Louisiana is rich in oil and natural gas — the reason the refinery was built here in the first place — but the growth of both the nation's consumption and its refining capacity requires more oil than can be pumped out of the ground immediately adjacent to the refinery or brought that far inland by ocean-going tankers. Hence the technological necessity for pipelines, an invention of as much importance to the future direction of American trade as the steamboat and railroad before it. Pipelines are the cheapest form of long-haul transportation possible, and the only form of transportation cheaper than river barges. Pipelines are capable of operating their flow in both directions, but in actual practice almost all American pipelines operate in one direction: from the South and West to the North and East. Needless to say, the nation's most important petroleum and petroleum product pipeline runs past its largest refinery: the aptly named Colonial Pipeline, which runs from Houston (where Exxon also owns an enormous and expanding refinery) through Lake Charles and Baton Rouge, turning up to the East Coast refining centers around Philadelphia and New York where Exxon owns a few more refineries.

Pipelines are an expensive business proposition, and despite the government construction of a few of them for national defense purposes during World War II, all the nation's pipelines are owned, and all of them are now also built, by the oil companies themselves. The pipeline companies are jointly owned by our allegedly competitive oil companies — which is one of many reasons why antitrust aficionados are so determined to see Big Oil divested of both the pipelines and the anti-competitive vertical integration they have fostered. Usually one of the participating companies takes the lead role of operating partner for the pipeline's ownership trust.

Drawing by Bambi Ogden

Shell Oil, for example, is the managing partner in the Capline system, which starts in Louisiana's St. James Parish (county) — the heart of the "American Ruhr Valley" — and winds its way north along the east side of the River to the St. Louis area and then on to Chicago. (Shell operates a big refinery at Norco, Louisiana — also part of the American Ruhr — and another one near St. Louis.) The third major South Coast export pipeline is the Explorer Pipeline Company, which starts in Houston and ends up in Chicago via selected Midwest refining centers west of the Mississippi River.

These three operations alone tie in with almost every major refining center in the Mississippi Valley — but they are also stretching tentacles of energy control in other directions. The Plantation Pipeline loops away from the Colonial and dips through the "Deep South" and the Carolinas en route to Washington, D.C. The Laurel Pipeline from Philadelphia connects the Colonial Pipeline and Delaware Valley refining center to several more Great Lakes area refineries and pipelines en route to Chicago. Yet another major pipeline connection ties Houston to Utah. And several proposed projects would connect Los Angeles to the South Coast's oil reserves as well.

If Texas and Louisiana should seem on the material surface to be the control center for this operation, at least part of the explanation must come from the vast offshore oil reserves along the South Coast's share of the Continental Shelf — particularly that area defined by the prehistoric delta fan of the Mississippi River. The technology for offshore oil and gas exploration and recovery was invented in Louisiana during the 1940's and has been exported to every region of the world since then. Large and therefore comparatively cheap reserves to supplement the abundance of on-shore wells have led inevitably to the national pipeline network we have today. The one-way flow of these products has "hooked" the whole country on South Coast oil — resulting, among other inequities, in "energy crisis" gas station lines that were noticeably shorter in the South than they were in the Northeast.

And now that the pipeline infrastructure is complete, endless price hikes for Yankee users are possible before the investment in an alternative infrastructure will appear to be more feasible. The oil companies have already anticipated these problems, of course, and they have even anticipated the day when all the oil wells in Texas and Louisiana will run dry. And so, to keep those few critically necessary steps ahead of both the public and the government, the oil companies have put together another one of their celebrated joint ventures: the Louisiana Offshore Oil Port, Inc., or LOOP, a consortium of a lucky thirteen of the Mississippi Valley's leading refinery owners.

LOOP proposes to build a so-called "superport" oil unloading depot 21 miles off the coast of Louisiana in the Gulf of Mexico to accomodate deep draft supertankers loaded with Mideast and other foreign crude oil. The supertankers cannot come ashore anywhere in the continental United States except Seattle, so with characteristic abandon, the oil companies have decided to build themselves a floating pump attached to an undersea pipeline — moving the whole unloading operation out into the Gulf of Mexico among their other rigged up toys where the water depth won't get in their way. Four million barrels of oil per day will be pumped through the LOOP facility (by comparison, Louisiana's total rated refinery capacity is only 1.5 million barrels per day) and stored in 100 half million barrel tanks to be built on the banks of the Cajun country's sleepy Bayou Lafourche. This 50 million barrel oil dump will be connected to the Capline with a special new pipeline up the bayou, and from there it will be distributed to over forty refineries in the Valley.

LOOP's 1450-acre Gulf-side tank farm is planned to rise right in the middle of the state-administered Wisner Wildlife Refuge, on a stretch of land only partially protected from Gulf erosion action by the barrier sandbar reef of Grand Isle. Both Grand Isle and the Wisner Refuge are currently suffering heavy erosion because of the Corps' levee system, leading the Corps into desperate attempts to design and construct a compensatory rock and concrete protective system before the LOOP tank farm is installed. In 1974, Hurricane Carmen almost scored a direct hit on this area, which has been targeted for the superport by the oil companies because it is the only area of Louisiana's marshy coast with a sand base sufficiently deep and stable enough to hold the weight of 50 million barrels of oil. And Louisiana is one of the few states in the country whose public officials have not been actively fighting off superport proposals for its coast.

In fact, there are more than a few minor ironies to the political intrigue surrounding this project. The land under the Wisner Wildlife Refuge is owned by the City of New Orleans through a charitable bequest from the late Edward Wisner, a colorful *fin de siecle* Louisiana land speculator who ran around offering the state's levee boards money to construct unauthorized additions to their dirt piles if they, in turn, would give him the land the levees drained. Wisner hoped to turn the Louisiana coast into the Holland of the Americas, but his empire fell apart at his death into two chunks: the Wisner bequest administered by the Mayor of the City of New Orleans; and the Louisiana Land and Exploration Company, a New Orleans-based conglomerate which is the nation's largest "independent" oil producer and which owns large tracts of land carefully matched up to the Wisner bequest's "public" land. LOOP's oil terminal will be built on land that New Orleans Mayor Moon Landrieu — a nominal Southern "liberal" and racial moderate with extensive pinball industry connections and a few vice-presidential ambitions — leased for $72,000 a year, with no bids and no public discussion and only the most cursory notice to the Louisiana Wildlife and Fisheries Commission that its Wisner refuge is suddenly to be no more. Almost all of the land in the southern half of Lafourche Parish is owned either by LL&E or the Wisner bequest, and a curious secessionist movement has recently arisen there to carve out a new and separate parish not subject to the pleasure of the sugar planters in the Lafourche Parish seat of Thibodaux.

But even the sugar planters stand to make handsome financial gains from the South Coast land boom the LOOP project has provoked. Every refinery in the Baton Rouge-New Orleans "Ruhr" corridor has announced a plant expansion; one New Orleans group has formed a corporation to build an independent refinery on the back lot of San Francisco plantation; a Dutch oil company is coming in to build another one; and even Aristotle Onassis has been sniffing around. One of the largest sugar corporations to benefit from the boom is Houston-based Southdown, a holding company for select Houston and New Orleans financial interests that control 119,000 acres of California and Lousiana land including most of northern Lafourche, seven thousand acres of prime Mississippi Ruhr refinery land stretching along one 3-3/4 mile riverside corridor, 288 miles of Louisiana rice irrigation canals with which Southdown barters water for crops, the corporations that make Southwestern Portland Cement and Pearl Beer, plus oil lands in several state and foreign countries that help capitalize these ventures.

Another of these new-style South Coast conglomerates poised for a financial killing is Gulf States Land and Industries, the largest single owner of land in the River parish of St. John the Baptist, where its Belle Terre new town hopes eventually to house 80,000 construction and refinery workers and other Ruhr corridor commuters. GSLI has sold off all of its sugar processing facilities to concentrate on land development, but it still retains significant national and international oil properties. Louisiana Land and Exploration, meanwhile, has begun developing an extensive barge-serviced industrial park facility on the Intracoastal Waterway spur at the Baton Route terminus of the "Rhur," and its Jacintoport subsidiary also operates two other such centers in the South Coast ports of Houston and

Mobile.

The number of South Coast financiers mixing water and land and oil is endless, but one of the more spectacularly successful representative cases is that of Coca-Cola magnate and social butterfly Richard W. Freeman of New Orleans. Freeman is a member of the board of Middle South Utilities, which operates one of the Mississippi Ruhr's largest generating stations just across the Corps' Bonnet Carre Spillway from Shell's riverside refinery in Norco. Middle South's bus-transit company in New Orleans buys its diesel fuel from Shell, and that company has also constructed a special pipeline from Norco to fuel New Orleans' International Airport — the principal user of which is Atlanta-based Delta Air Lines, the board of which Freeman formerly chaired and on which he continues to sit. Freeman also sits on the board of New Orleans' Hibernia National Bank, which serves as transfer agent for Middle South bonds and which has recently opened a sumptuous branch banking office at the base of Shell Oil's 51-story southeastern operations headquarters tower in downtown New Orleans. Hibernia's executive vice-president for foreign trade served on a special blue ribbon superport taskforce appointed in 1972 (shortly after his election) by Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards for the purpose of recommending a state superport policy. Two Middle South executives also sat on the committee which, not surprisingly, called for public financing and construction of a state-owned superport facility that could, in turn, be leased back to LOOP. Freeman's niece was the first major New Orleans financial supporter of Governor Edwards' upset gubernatorial campaign, and she now works as a top aide at City Hall in New Orleans keeping a watchful eye on Wisner trustee Mayor Landrieu.

Just for the sake of the big picture surrounding such sordid vignettes, let's take a brief look at the 13 companies which make up the LOOP consortium:

Shell Oil (with 415 tankers, the world's largest private navy), *Exxon Pipeline Company* (a subsidiary of the industry giant that controls 14 per cent of the world's known oil reserves), Toronto Pipeline Company (a subsidiary of *Gulf Oil*), Standard Oil of Ohio (an affiliate of *British Petroleum*), *Chevron Pipeline Company*, and *Texaco, Inc.* — six of the "Seven Sisters" of world oil. The other seven partners: *Union Oil of California* (with big Valley/South Coast refineries in Beaumont and Chicago); *Texas Eastern Transmission Company* (one of the corporations that was to pipe South Coast oil from Houston to Los Angeles); *Clark Oil and Refining Corp., Ashland Oil, Inc.*, and *Marathon Oil Co.* (prominent Midwest refiners); *Murphy Oil Company* (an Arkansas-based conglomerate that owns 20,000 acres of soybean plantations in Louisiana and 50 per cent of Odeco, Inc., the New Orleans-based offshore exploration pioneer); and *Tenneco Oil* (subsidiary of yet another South Coast wonder-conglomerate we'll examine in more detail later).

In the unlikely event that these collective economic interests can be dislodged from the mouth of Bayou Lafourche (the Barataria Estuary between the Mississippi River and this bayou alone produces 10 per cent of the nation's annual fisheries harvest), they have devised an ingenious alternate plan. It calls for moving the pump and pipeline to an offshore position near the Mississsippi River's Southwest Pass where any spills would be carried out to the Middle of the Gulf by the current and thus, presumably, away from the estuaries of the shore. Moreover, if the secessionist South Lafourche fiefdom fails politically, the alternate plan will do nicely

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

in that department: it is located in Plaquemines Parish, the kingdom-by-the-sea of the late arch-segregationist Leander Perez. Onassis is reportedly considering building his New England-rejected Olympic refinery here on a New Orleans banker's plantation where also to be found are Gulf Oil's Belle Alliance refinery and a twin-reactor nuclear power station under construction by a Middle South subsidiary.

That there should be a sufficient supply of loose capital floating around to finance these ventures and adventures is not especially surprising. With their gasoline price hikes and windfall profits, the big oil companies and their independent producer cousins will be accumulating more capital resources still. But they can't possibly spend all of that money building new refineries, or diversifying their holdings to include coal and uranium reserves. Southdown, LL&E and Murphy Oil suggest the emerging pattern for South Coast conglomerates: put that money back into the land and into improvements upon it, agribusiness plantations in particular. Murphy Oil's soybean investments are exactly the sort of agribusiness diversification maneuver we should expect from the well-managed South Coast conglomerate: produce an oil-based commodity and synthetic raw material which requires the same sort of elaborate refining and processing technologies as petroleum oil; produce an agricultural commodity which takes maximum advantage of the inland waterway transportation system for export to the markets of the world.

A New God Appears

The soybean is the preeminent achievement of twentieth-century agriculture, a raw material with synthetic potentials far surpassing those of timber, cotton or peanuts — potentials surpassed only by petroleum. The waxy beans are crushed and dissolved in hexane, a petroleum-based solvent, to yield up two magically useful basic products: soy oil and soy meal from which hundreds of other items can be made.

Soy oil makes up three fourths of all American salad and cooking oils, and has also found its way into 78.6 per cent of all our margarine, 86 per cent of all our mayonnaise and French dressing, and 58.8 per cent of all our shortening. Soy oil has helped create the post-war explosion of franchized quick service restaurants through its use as a cooking oil for frozen French fried potatos, potato chips, pizzas, donuts, fried chicken and other "convenience" foods. The chemical industry uses soy oils in soaps, detergents, drying agents, paints and printing inks. And for many such products with an increasingly costly petroleum base, the soy substitutes are becoming increasingly competitive. This trend has become especially apparent in the glycerine market (split half and half between natural sources and synthetic poetroleum sources) for the production of explosives, drugs and toilet goods, urethane foams, and the processing of tobacco and cellophane.

The explosion in uses for soy oil has, of necessity, created an explosion in the quantities of soy meal left squeezed behind it. Soy meal makes an excellent animal feed, and, in fact, soybeans turned up in two-thirds of all high protein feeds in 1970, including 91.3 per cent of all hog feeds and 92.5 per cent of all poultry feeds. Soy meal has also been found to make a chemically well-disguisable *people* feed, and therein lies the source of the soybean's growing socio-political threat, a threat integral to its South Coast context.

Soybeans can control both the source of supply of meat, milk, poultry and eggs through feedstocks *and* competitive imitations of those products or "analogs" made directly from the meal without any animal aid. These ersatz foods have proved especially profitable in the so-called "institutional" markets of school and factory cafeterias, airlines, hospitals, military bases and prisons. Soy flours are used in sausage, dog food and baked goods including bread. Soy concentrates are used in processed meats, baby foods, and health foods. Soy isolates have proved profitable in meat loaf and frankfurters. Soy textured proteins — spun from machinery similar to that which spins nylon from petroleum and rayon from timber — makes imitation bacon strips and bits; pork, beef and chicken-flavored chunks; imitation mushrooms, bell pepper bits and other items. These materials, heavily doctored with color and flavor chemical additives, are found in a growing variety of frozen pot pies and TV dinners, hamburger extender products, whipped dessert toppings, coffee whiteners, cheese and milk products.

There are a number of frightening geographic implications to these trends in the production and control of our national and international food supplies:

Ninety per cent of the 1972 soybean crop came from 18 Mississippi River Valley states. (The South Atlantic coastal plains of Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina produced the bulk of the remainder.)

Soybeans will not grow in the Northeast nor the Far West because of the climate.

U.S. Department of Agriculture projections say that by 1980 up to ten per cent of our national dairy cattle — somewhere between 230,000 and 831,000 of them — will become "obsolete" because of competitive soy substitutes. In the Mississippi

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale


Photo by Tom Coffin

Valley, dairy farms can be converted to soybean plantations, but that's not the case in the following states where dairy cattle are the leading money-maker in agricultural receipts: New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland and Alaska. Dairy products are the number two agricultural industry in New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon and California.

Beef cattle, poultry and hogs will face eighteen million tons of soy protein competition annually by 1980; in sixteen major processed food categories (not just meats) requiring nine billion pounds of protein annually, USDA says fully one third of those requirements could be met by vegetable proteins by 1980. Beef cattle are the number one agricultural product in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Oregon and California.

Among U.S. crop receipts for 1972, soybeans were number one in the Mississippi Valley states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, and number two in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri and Mississippi. Soybeans were also number two in South Carolina and Delaware, number three in North Carolina and Alabama, number four in Michigan and Kentucky. By the 1980's, USDA says, soybeans will be the number one crop in the nation.

Some thirty per cent of the nation's soybeans are grown on Southern land, and Southern planters have led the entire industry into its present structure through the formation of a little-appreciated organization called the American Soybean Institute. ASI was formed in the late 1960's to help collect and administer a voluntary soybean planter "tax." (In a March, 1972, referendum to extend Louisiana's share of that tax, 831 planters voted "yea" while only 31 voted "nay" — a revealing indication of the small true size of this agricultural cabal.) ASI taxes are now being collected in Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia — plus the Midwest states of Iowa, Minnesota and Illinois, beams ASI president Jim McDaniel, a soybean planter from Tallulah in the upstate Louisiana delta country. Soybean acreage in the tri-state delta region of Louisiana, Arkansas and Mississippi increased thirteen times its 1946-50 average by 1966-70, principally as a replacement for cotton. However, in the ten year period prior to 1971, an additional 1.2 million acres in Louisiana delta land *alone* was leveed and drained and brought into production as new farmland — 90 per cent of it for soybeans.

ASI has used its "tax" to develop new soybean varieties for the Southern clime at LSU and other Southern universities. It has also sought — with spectacular success — to increase U.S. soybean exports. Some four out of every eleven bushels of beans produced in this country are exported — 80 per cent of Louisiana's crop, figures ASI's McDaniel — and the Mississippi River Valley's water transportation infrastructure has made the port of New Orleans into the world's largest soybean collection and export terminal.

Japan is our largest single customer, followed by the Netherlands, West Germany, Canada, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Taiwan, Belgium and France — which buys 90 per cent of its soybeans from the United States. In a world market where the U.S. controls 90 per cent of the supply, Brazil is the only other export nation of any note, and the jungles of the Amazon basin are being cleared and leveed in imitation of the economic system the Mississippi River Valley is perfecting.

Surprise newcomers to the American soybean export scene include the Soviet Union, which arranged for 36 million bushels of soybeans during the same negotiations that produced the "wheat deal," and the People's Republic of China, which is expected to buy 33 million bushels from us this year. Eastern Europe imports of American foodstuffs are expected to hit $700 million this year, mostly in grain and soybeans, and almost all this "new" business is leaving the country via South Coast ports.

"Food is the new currency," Minnesota Senator

Hubert Humphrey told the World Soy Protein Conference in Munich last year, and for the economic interests of the Mississippi River Valley, at least, he's correct. Soybean sales are the number one source of foreign exchange in this country's international trade, and University of Illinois economist Folke Dovring has suggested (in no less a place than the February issue of *Scientific American*) that soybean exports could prove to be the nation's most painless way of balancing our payments with our industrial confreres while paying for the increased price of petroleum and other imported "strategic" necessities extracted from the hungry nations of the third and fourth worlds. ASI, correctly intuiting its role as a representative of South Coast regional economic interests, has made especially diligent efforts to increase soybean exports to America's favorite oil-rich ally in the Middle East, Iran.

The Mississippi Valley corporations cashing in on this phenomenon have moved dangerously close to vertical integration of our food supply in much the same way that the oil companies have vertically integrated our energy supply.

A Valley soybean corporate sampler:

CARGILL, INC., Minneapolis — One of the largest privately-held corporations in the country, Cargill operates fourteen soybean processing plants and export terminals at sixty locations. 1972 sales were estimated at $3 billion and the *Washington Post* says its foreign sales would make Cargill the second largest corporate contributor to the nation's balance of trade. Vertical integration includes Nutrena animal feeds, Burrus flours, poultry-raising, and its own shipping companies..

CENTRAL SOYA, Ft. Wayne — Owners of five soybean processing plants in five Mississippi Valley states, it also owns 26 elevators and 124 barges. Perhaps the most vertically-integrated of the soy traders, it makes and sells "Master Mix" brand feeds through three thousand dealers in 37 states, plus bulk industrial quantities of soy oil products and fractionates. It also produces poultry and eggs; margarine, mayonnaise and salad dressings ("Mrs. Filbert's"); pre-cooked frozen food items for the grocery and institutional markets; soy flours; and "Plusmeat" brand soy extenders for home use.

RALSTON PURINA, St. Louis — The industry heavy of animal feeds, the giant of Checkerboard Square has been steadily diversifying into poultry production, pet foods, Jack-in-the-Box restaurants, Chicken of the Sea tuna (most tuna fish is packed in soy oil), frozen entrees, soybean processing plants, and protein extenders for meat, poultry and fish. Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz came to Washington from Checkerboard Square, changing places with his predecessor, Clifford Hardin. Nixon Administration policies for pushing soybeans into the "number one" crop status for this country by the 1980's are policies developed by USDA under the direction of Hardin and Butz.

But it is the South Coast, rather than Midwest, agribusiness conglomerates that hold some of the most interesting keys to the soybean's imperial future:

ANDERSON-CLAYTON, INC., Houston — This commodity trading-based conglomerate (40.6 per cent of sales) has been steadily abandoning cotton sales for soybean-based food products (now 23 per cent of sales). With soybean crushers in Arkansas and Mississippi, plus five vegetable oil refineries and 23 animal and poultry feed plants, it has been among the first companies to capitalize on the soybean's southward move. It makes salad dressings, margarines, soy isolates, and an imitation cheese loaf advertised to solve the "potentially serious supply problem" caused by the national "decline of milk cow population and milk production." Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski of Houston is a member of the Anderson-Clayton board.

COOK INDUSTRIES, INC., Memphis — Another cotton-based commodity-trader-turned-conglomerate, Cook was the fourth largest supplier of the Russian wheat deal. Cook also owns the Bruce Terminix exterminating company, furniture and construction materials factories, charcoal plants, real estate, cotton gins and a soybean processing subsidiary with 25 plants in four valley states. Edward Cook, the company's president, is a member of delta society and belongs to the elite Boston Club of New Orleans, where he knows New Orleans financier Richard W. Freeman and can keep in touch with the New Orleans shipping and trading establishment.

The financial links between Cook Industries and several Texans gives a revealing picture of how and why southern soybean industry has developed and where it is going.

John W. Murchison, a member of the notorious Dallas oil and football family, is another member of the Cook Industries board. He also sits on the board of the First National Bank of Dallas, a subsidiary of the largest bank-holding company in Texas, First International Bancshares with assets of $3.5 billion in 1972. One of Murchison's fellow members of the First National board is Trammell Crow, like Murchison a man who made his money in oil. Crow has recently invested some of that money in 42,000 acres of land in the wildlife-rich Dismal Swamp area of Louisiana's Concordia Parish — where delta Congressman Otto Passman is trying to get a Corps of Engineers pumping station and 400,000 acres of USDA Soil Conservation Service stream channelization projects built, over the vehement protests of parish residents and the same Louisiana Wildlife and Fisheries Commission that earlier lost its Wisner Refuge to the oil companies. Wildlife and


Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

Fisheries says the losses in deer hunting alone will amount to more than $1 million a year if the project is completed, but one recent analysis has shown that Crow's soybean plantation (11 per cent of the land area of that parish) could probably make a *profit* of $1.26 million in his first year of operation using a work crew of 80 men. Counting land acquisition and clearing costs, Crow can recover his entire investment in 10 years or less — especially if the price of soybeans remains high.

If the South Coast's trade in soybeans stays high, it stands to reason, so will Crow's profits. At this point the Murchison family re-enters the picture through their ownership of a 32,000 acre parcel of marshland in New Orleans called "New Orleans East." The Murchisons want to sell 16,000 acres of this land back to a new town building corporation set up under the administration of New Orleans Mayor Landrieu. They would sell the 16,000 acres for the same price they paid for the 32,000 acres in the 1950's. The proposed Pontchartrain New Town would not only make the Murchison's remaining 16,000 acres free and extraordinarily valuable, it would enhance the value of several tracts Richard W. Freeman also has acquired in the immediate vicinity. Many of the people destined to live in Pontchartrain would work at two major installations along the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway that runs along the southern boundary of their settlement: first, a giant international food processing and canning center and free trade zone in the planning stage by the Landrieu Administration's city-owned French Market Corporation, and second, the previously-mentioned Centroport barge terminal complex. Soybeans, oil and petrochemicals, farm machinery, and everything else leaving or entering the Mississippi River valley or Intracoastal Waterway by barge will pass by this trading facility, the southern terminus of the American Ruhr Valley and one of its most critical cornerstones, a banker's bonanza.

The chief executive officer of Crow-Murchison's First International Bancshares, Joe L. Albritton, said recently in his Houston offices that he expects a "rapid increase" in American food exports, much of which will be financed and shipped by Texas-based businessmen. *"America has learned to produce food in bulk at a cheaper price than anyone else in the world. All along they have been telling us that in ten years, with the population explosion, there will be worldwide shortage of food. Nobody paid much attention to that,"* he says, tactfully omitting any reference to Mssrs. Murchison, Crow and Cook. From the energy crisis capital of the world, a phrase perhaps we've heard before: *"What we're selling the food for, in private opinion, is not nearly enough. . . ."*

This sort of thinking runs rampant in Houston, and it runs nowhere as profitably rampant as it does at Tenneco, Inc., the crown jewel of South Coast conglomerates, the nation's 47th largest corporation, number 37 in revenues and number 25 in profits.

Among U.S. corporations with agribusiness production, according to the Washington, D.C.-based Agribusiness Accountability Project, Tenneco is number twelve in revenues, number five in profits and number three in assets.

Tenneco officials deny that they have either soybean investments or plans to acquire some. Nonetheless, they have quietly assembled one of the world's most astonishing corporate superstructures for the control of oil, agriculture, trade and shipping — all of it based on a surplus government-built pipeline (renamed the Tennessee Gas Pipeline Company, connecting Texas and Louisiana gasfields to the northeast) acquired and mortaged out for capital to finance a dizzying diversification spree in the 1960's.

The Tenneco corporate line-up:

Oil: Tenneco's Chalmette, La., refinery produces oil and motor fuels for sale to farms and motorists in most Midwestern and Eastern states.

Agricultural Machinery: J.I. Case makes most lines of farm equipment and sells them through 2,335 independent dealers and 177 company-owned retail outlets across the country.

Farmland: Tenneco subsidiaries now own or operate 1.4 million acres of farmland, mainly in California, but also in Arizona, Kansas, Michigan and Texas. In the early 1970's, Tenneco began marketing fifteen different California-grown fruit and vegetable items in eleven Western states under its own internally-generated "Sun Giant" brand name.

Packaging: Packaging Corporation of America and its affiliates operate 48 plants in the East and Midwest, specializing in consumer-contact containers for soaps, detergents, food products and beverages.

Transportation: Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock is the nation's largest privately-owned shipyard, making Tenneco the nation's sixth largest defense contractor. Related manufacturing facilities also make truck components.

Retailing: Most new Tenneco gas stations now include fast-service convenience food store outlets, thus completing the circle of Tenneco's food production "chain." Atlanta offices manage distribution operations for these food stores as well as company-owned J.I. Case stores, shipping petroleum and other products to both.

Tenneco's West Coast agricultural production and marketing operations have been kept carefully separate, thus far, from its East-of-the-Rockies oil, packaging, manufacturing and Atlanta-based marketing operations. But Tenneco has the capability, meanwhile, for manufacturing hexane processing solvents; it makes farm equipment necessary for soybean planting, harvesting and transportation to nearby bins and elevators; it owns food storage and packaging facilities, and manufactures printing inks, urethane foams, cellophane and paper products — all of which could package soy foods and absorb soy chemicals in the packaging itself; it can build barges and ships for moving beans and finished products; it owns grocery stores and its own consumer food brand names; its oil operations give it leverage in the control of fertilizers and fuel oil sales to farmers and shippers and competititors; and its accumulated petrochemical technology gives it expertise in exactly those areas of synthetic product manufacturing where soybeans are conquering other chemicals and foodstuffs.

Tenneco is not altogether uninvolved, executive protests aside, in the soybean-rich plantations of the Lower Mississippi Valley's tri-state delta. Tenneco's J.I. Case subsidiary operates one of its 177 company-owned stores on the highway outside Vidalia, the Concordia Parish seat. Concordia is the southernmost tip of the triangle-shaped Louisiana portion of the delta — which contains other company-owned stores in Congressman Otto Passman's district in the towns of Tallulah (the home of ASI's McDaniel), Winnsboro, Monroe and Lake Providence. Salesmen at the Concordia store say new-found farmer Trammel Crow has bought a lot of his land-clearing equipment from them; new tractors and cultivators, tillers' tools and plows are still waiting in the store's showroom window, ready for planting the Dismal Swamp's first crop of soybeans.

One other unamusing coincidence: Ralston Purina's Secretary Butz, whose USDA pushes not only soybean research but also the Soil Conservation Service stream channelization projects that permit soybean plantations to be carved out of Southern swamplands, also has an interesting Houston connection. He just happens to have been a member of the J.I. Case board when Tenneco bought it in 1967.

St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans, Houston and Washington — are part of a great mid-continent capitalist alliance strengthened by financial, transportation, agricultural, energy and government ties far stronger in the days of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford than any which that first Republican front man, Abraham Lincoln, could ever have dreamed possible.

And it is probably no mere coincidence that Anderson-Clayton and Tenneco and First International Bancshares and Southdown and most of the major oil companies have all become creatures of Houston. Houston, the nation's third largest port (after New York and New Orleans) is the largest city of the South Coast in both population and wealth. Its control of the oil industry of the nation and fully half of the multi-bank holding company system of Texas permits it to build corporations like Anderson-

Clayton and Tenneco that spread out across the land, refashioning it in the new image of the South Coast. But these changes in the land are not limited to levees and rivers, to oil fields and industrial installations, or to soybean plantations and new towns. The landscape of the cities that grew this South Coast creature is beginning to change, to create architectural monuments to the power that has been seized. No look at the Southland raped would be complete without a closer examination of the architectural evidence the South Coast's capitalists are leaving behind them.

Building Babel

Houston is just an unbelievably alien and ugly city. It stretches out on the coastal plain by the Gulf of Mexico like Los Angeles stretches out along the Pacific, but it has none of LA's mountains to redeem its man-made visual delinquency or to render its residents escape from the choking smog.

The skyscraper precinct of its central business district does, however, give its corporate executives a place to dwell in the clouds — and on those low-cloud days of Gulf-bred thundershowers, the tops of the towers touch the sky like a multiple Babel. Blocks in downtown Houston are square and, by other cities' standards, small — producing the urban form of one tower-per-block marching up and down Main Street with a Manhattan-like grandeur that could well rival the size and density of the original model by the end of the century. Exxon and Shell occupy the two highest buildings in the freeway-ringed core; Texas Eastern Transmission owns the largest single parcel of land and plans to erect a micro-city of its own on a raised platform spanning intersecting streets.

Houston is the headquarters city for these corporations and their oil-based cousins ranging in size downwards to Southdown;its metropolitan area is the headquarters for five of the 10 largest Texas bank-holding corporations with combined 1972 assets of $7 billion, and the site of several dozen bank branches and representative offices from Europe and Japan; and it is also the headquarters city for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

NASA animates the spiritual life of Houston in much the same way that Hollywood animates the spiritual life of Los Angeles. The space cowboy myth incorporates elements of alienation and isolation far in excess of that which would be tolerable for Hollywood stars. And Houston's freeways and vernacular architecture reflect this alienation: freeways bigger and uglier than the ones in LA, buildings bigger and gaudier than the ones in LA — worst and foremost among them the Astrodome, which sprouts another micro-city precinct of its own several miles south of the skyscraper core.

The Astrodome sits in the middle of the largest parking lot in Texas, surrounded by high-rise motels, an office tower park owned by Shell Oil, and the Astroworld amusement park's feeble answer to Disneyland. The Astrodome has a floor of plastic grass; a world-famous scoreboard without equal; a well-guarded super-tier of glassed-in, air-conditioned box-seat apartments for the Texas super-rich; and a Coca-Cola consumption rate that causes fountain-service cannisters to pile up in service entrances like bombs in a Nazi bunker. The son of the man who built the dome is now the mayor of Houston, a sure sign that Houston's nouveau riche are beginning to settle down to the standard ruling class tasks of dynasty-building.

The city they will one day rule will not be known merely as Houston but perhaps as HONOMO — the Houston/New Orleans/Mobile slurb corridor now taking form along the spine of the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway (the Erie Canal of the South Coast) and Interstate Highway 10 (the U.S. 1 of the South Coast). The urbanization of Greater Houston already extends into the state of Louisiana — Houstonians come to gamble and race their horses just outside the industrial city of Lake Charles. The Baton Rouge-New Orleans corridor nearby stretches out not only along the American Ruhr Valley, but also around the top edge of Lake Pontchartrain (the South Coast's answer to San Francisco or Chesapeake bay) all the way to Mississippi. The "gold coast" from Bay St. Louis to Mobile has been rebuilt following 1969's disastrous Hurricane Camille, and Howard Hughes has bought up bargain basement quantities of hotels and underdeveloped property in anticipation of a new international airport and change in Mississippi's laws against casinos.

In the South Coast megalopolis scenario, Houston is to HONOMO what New York or Los Angeles are to their respective coastal slurbs. New Orleans compares to Boston or San Francisco. Pensacola is the South Coast's answer to Norfolk and San Diego. The Mississippi River Valley will drain through HONOMO via Mobile and New Orleans, extending this urban structure into the nation's heartland in a way that the mountains of both the east and west coasts have always prevented their coastal city-states from so doing.

NASA installations in the HONOMO corridor are Lyndon B. Johnson's lasting economic legacy to the South Coast and a remarkable, history-deflecting asset in its power struggle with the rest of the country and the world. The Manned Spacecraft Center on the floodplain between Houston and Galveston adjoins a poorly-planned new town — Clear Lake City — developed by a subsidiary of Exxon. NASA's Michoud Assembly Plant for Saturn boosters in New Orleans is located on the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway adjacent to the Murchisons' New Orleans East tract and the Centroport barge terminal complex. NASA's Mississippi Test Facility in Hancock County is similarly located on the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway system, and is adjacent to the proposed John Stennis International Airport and Hughes' largest South Coast realty holding. Alabama gets NASA money through upstate Huntsville, as does Florida through Cape Kennedy, as do most South Coast universities with aerospace or medicine research facilities tied into this system.

NASA puts mastery of the world's skies into South Coast hands, and those hands have been busy. One of the fall-outs from NASA's satellite omnipresence is a project called the Greater New Orleans Systematic Transportation Analysis Research Project (STAR), a proposal to use spy satellites to plan the growth of New Orleans and other cities by counting cars on the streets and using infrared equipment to separate the hot, moving vehicles from the cool, parked ones.

This space cowboy control of the ground is also useful for navigational aids and general supervisory control of the seas. Tenneco's Newport shipyards, Litton Industries' much-debated automated shipyard in Pascagoula, Avondale Shipyards in New Orleans and other, smaller shipyards all over the South have been among the leading beneficiaries of the Navy's post-war push for bigger and better aircraft carriers, submarines and other equipment. The aircraft carrier program is of particular interest to South Coast oil and shipping companies — their mammoth supertankers and containerized cargo vessels have a variety of engineering and steering problems that the Navy has been solving for them at public expense. And naval power will continue to be necessary, even with NASA's satellites, to guarantee these super-ships free imperial access to the oceans and river valleys and raw materials markets of the world.

One of the South Coast's favorite imported raw materials of the moment is travertine marble — the favorite building material of Mussolini and the earlier Roman empire, as well. Buildings of any social note in Houston are lathered with the stuff — Jones Hall, the Houston opera house, carries off the Roman temple theme with considerably more grace than most of its peers. The most bizarre marble building in Houston is the Nieman-Marcus store in the suburban Galleria mall: the only windows in the place are marble sheets shaved so thin they turn translucent and look particularly tomb-like at night. The Galleria is owned by a flashy Houston real estate developer who also owns the tallest pile of marble in Texas — One Shell Plaza, Shell's downtown corporate headquarters tower — and an almost exact duplicate of it that is the tallest pile of marble in Louisiana — One Shell Square, the phallic centerpiece of New Orleans' imperial redevelopment scheme along Poydras Street.

Houston money and travertine marble are spread all over Poydras Street, especially after a good, hard wind. The street has also attracted international banking branch offices of Citizens and Southern Bank of Atlanta and First National of Memphis, joining several other regional corporate biggies in an urban showplace its promoters call the "Park Avenue of the South." It runs a mile from the Mississippi River, where an X-shaped tower for the International Trade Mart architecturally anchors the underlying premise of the entire undertaking, all the way back to where I-10 comes looping through downtown New Orleans. Among the institutions that have decided to join Shell and the banks on this edifice complex: Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, South Central Bell, the Federal Reserve Bank, and a few new hotels. A passenger cruise liner is being built next to the Trade Mart, part of a massive air rights project full of outside and South Coast money. Further down Poydras, the street passes New Orleans' City Hall and veers around the street's massive mammary complement to One Shell Square, the project that is the biggest building and the biggest scandal in town: the Louisiana Superdome.

The Superdome is bigger than the Astrodome, New Orleanians are fond of reminding the Texas invaders, and it has been built downtown as the cornerstone of an urban revitalization attempt that is running into serious economic difficulties. It was financed entirely with South Coast money after the Chase Manhattan Bank refused to buy its bonds, and it is believed to be the largest such Southern real estate venture ever entirely regionally financed. During the dome's first major financial crisis involving the sale of site acquisition bonds, Freeman's Hibernia Bank bought the largest multi-million dollar share of any of the local banks — except for the slightly-larger First National Bank of Commerce, Louisiana's first billion dollar bank, the principal stockholder of which also runs the third largest multi-bank operation in Houston.

Originally scheduled to cost $35 million and now pushing $200 million, the Superdome is owned by a state agency presided over and controlled by none other than New Orleans' Mayor Landrieu. The Superdome is built on what had been the railyard and Southern terminus of the Illinois Central Gulf Railroad — the Mississippi Valley's most important — and its planners shrewdly put the stadium on the property so that a large parcel between the federal building and City Hall would be left vacant and still owned by the suddenly cooperative railroad. The property subsequently came into the hands of something called the Ayshire-LaSalled Joint Venture, which owned by the railroad, the family of New Orleans' omnipresent Richard W. Freeman, and a Houston real estate syndicate. They're building "Poydras Plaza" on it now, an office and hotel superblock featuring an elevated walkway from the Superdome straight through the lobby of what will be, when it is finished, the Regency Hyatt House chain's flagship hotel.

With the River at one end and this domed assembly hall at the other, Poydras Street now resembles a plan once proposed but abandoned for the center city of Berlin. For land-locked Berlin, the passenger terminal was for railroad trains instead of cruise liners; but the boulevard leading to the domed assembly hall was similarly to be lined with office tower headquarters for the largest German corporations. The Berlin plan was developed by Albert Speer, architect to Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich, and it was planned to last a thousand years. Ten years this side of 1984, their plan is finally taking shape on the banks of the Mississippi River instead, and it speaks to the world with an unmistakable Southern drawl.

Photo by Ralford Ragsdale

All God's Dangers

by Theodore Rosengarten

Editor's Note: *Since the publication of Studs Terkel's* **Hard Times**, *a number of books based on oral interviews have been hitting the market. Many of them are done quickly in order to capitalize on the current trend; their methodology is weak and the content superficial. Others are well done and more in keeping with the standards set by Terkel. None, however, comes close to the excellence of Theodore Rosengarten's* **All God's Dangers**. *Based on over 120 hours of taped conversation, this book is the story of Nate Shaw, an Alabama sharecropper born in the 1880's, who lived to see the confrontations of the civil rights movement in the 1960's.*

All God's Dangers *is an evenly-flowing narrative of Shaw's life — his selfhood, family relationships, his labor on the land, and the ever-present necessity to cope with the white man. In 1932, Shaw joined the Sharecroppers Union, an organization that he perceived as "working to bring us out of bad places where we stood at that time and been standin since the colored people has remembrance." Later that year, when the sheriff's deputies came to confiscate a neighbor's livestock, Shaw, knowing that his would be next, stood his ground. It was a decisive moment in his life. The consequences sent him to prison; released twelve years later, he began again — a mule farmer in a tractor world.*

A unique individual "aiming to leave his trace on the world," Shaw, nevertheless, "made no claim for the uniqueness of his struggle." It is with this perspective that the life of Nate Shaw is put forward. Its historical value lies not only in the intensive study of one individual, but in the commonality of Shaw's experience with that of other black sharecroppers.

Nate Shaw could neither read nor write, but he could tell a powerful story. In his recognition of the significance of Shaw's stories "grounded in the ordinary occurrences of the tenant farmer's world," Rosengarten has shared with us a precious resource. It is an outstanding example of how oral history can reclaim those parts of American history that might otherwise never be told.

All God's Dangers *is a rare and beautiful book — to be held, and read, and then read out loud again to a friend. The following selections are excerpted from Part II, "Deeds."* **Southern Exposure** *is grateful to Theodore Rosengarten and Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., for permission to use this material.*

I.

1923, I got what the boll weevil let me have — six bales. Boll weevil et up the best part of my crop. Didn't use no poison at that time, just pickin up squares. All you could do was keep them boll weevils from hatchin out and going back up on that cotton. Couldn't kill em.

The boll weevil come into this country in the teens, between 1910 and 1920. Didn't know about a boll weevil when I was a boy comin up. They blowed in here from the western countries. People was bothered with the boll weevil way out there in the state of Texas and other states out there before we was here. And when the boll weevil hit this country, people was fully ignorant of their ways and what to do for em. Many white employers, when they discovered them boll weevils here, they'd tell their hands out on their plantations — some of em didn't have plantations, had land rented in their possession and put a farmin man out there; he was goin to gain that way by rentin land and puttin a man out there to work it; he goin to beat the nigger out of enough to more than pay the rent on it. And the white man didn't mind rentin land for a good farmer. That rent weren't enough to hurt him; he'd sub-rent it to the fellow that goin to work it or put him out there on halves. Didn't matter how a nigger workin a crop, if he worked it it's called his until it was picked out and ginned and then it was the white man's crop. Nigger delivered that cotton baled up to the white man — so they'd tell you, come out to the field to tell you or ask you when you'd go to the store, "How's your crop gettin along?" knowin the boll weevil's eatin away as he's talkin. Somebody totin news to him every day bout which of his farmers is pickin up the squares and which ones aint.

"You seen any squares fallin on the ground?"

Sometimes you'd say, "Yes sir, my crop's losin squares."

He'd tell you what it was. Well, maybe you done found out. He'd tell you, "Pick them squares up off the ground, keep em picked up; boll weevil's in them squares. If you don't, I can't furnish you, if you aint goin to keep them squares up off the ground."

Boss man worryin bout his farmers heavy in debt, if he ever goin to see that money. Mr. Lemuel Tucker, when I was livin down there on Sitimachas Creek, he come to me, "You better pick them squares up, Nate, or you won't be able to pay me this year."

Don't he know that I'm goin to fight the boll weevil? But fight him for my benefit. He goin to reap the reward of my labor too, but it aint for him that I'm laborin. All the time it's for myself. Any man under God's sun that's got anything industrious about him, you don't have to make him work — he goin to work. But Tucker didn't trust me to that. If a white man had anything booked against you, well, you could just expect him to ride up and hang around you to see that you worked, especially when the boll weevil come into this country. To a great extent, I was gived about as little trouble about such as that as any man. I didn't sit down and wait till the boss man seed my sorry acts in his field. I worked. I worked.

Me and my children picked up squares sometimes by the bucketsful. They'd go out to the field with little sacks or just anything to hold them squares and when they'd come in they'd have enough squares to fill up two baskets. I was industrious enough to do somethin about the boll weevil without bein driven to it. Picked up them squares and destroyed em, destroyed the weevil eggs. Sometimes, fool around there and see a old weevil himself.

I've gived my children many pennies and nickels for pickin up squares. But fact of the business, pickin up squares and burnin em — it weren't worth nothin. Boll weevil'd eat as much as he pleased. Consequently, they come to find out pickin up them squares weren't worth a dime. It was impossible to get all them squares and the ones you couldn't get was enough to ruin your crop. Say like today your cotton is illuminated with squares; come up a big rain maybe tonight, washin them squares out of the fields. Them boll weevils hatches in the woods, gets up and come right back in the field. You couldn't keep your fields clean — boll weevil schemin to eat your crop faster than you workin to get him out.

My daddy didn't know what a boll weevil was in his day. The boll weevil come in this country after I was grown and married and had three or four children. I was scared of him to an extent. I soon learnt he'd destroy a cotton crop. Yes, all God's dangers aint a white man. When the boll weevil starts in your cotton and go to depositin his eggs in them squares, that's when he'll kill you. Them eggs hatch out there in so many days, up come a young boll weevil. It don't take em but a short period of time to raise up enough out there in your field, in the spring after your cotton gets up — in a few days, one weevil's got a court of young uns hatchin. He goin to stay right in there till he's developed enough to come out of that little square, little pod; taint long, taint long, and when he comes out of there he cuts a little hole to come out. Pull the little leaves that's over that

Theodore Rosengarten lives in Somerville, Massachusetts, where he is completing work for his doctorate from Harvard University. He was awarded an Ethnic Studies grant by the Ford Foundation in 1972-73 for his oral history of Nate Shaw.

little square, pull em back out the way and get to the natural little pod itself. Pull that pod open and there's a little boll weevil and he don't come out of there till he get developed, and then he do that hole cuttin. Cut a hole and come out of there, little sneakin devil, you look at him — he's a young fellow, looks green colored and sappy. Aint but a few days when he comes out of that square — aint but a few days stayin in there, and when he comes out of there —

I've pulled them squares open and caught em in all their stages of life: found the old egg in there, and I've found him just hatched out and he's right white like a worm, just a little spot in there, that's him; and if he's a little older he looks green-colored and sappy; and after he gets grown he's a old ashy-colored rascal, his wings is gray like ash. I've known him from the first to the last. I've picked him up and looked at him close. He's just a insect, but really, he's unusual to me. I can't thoroughly understand the nature of a boll weevil. He's a kind of insect that he'll develop in different colors right quick. He'll grow up to be, if he lives to get old enough — don't take him very long to get old — he'll grow to be as big around as a fly. He's a very short fellow, but he's bigger than a corn weevil. And he'll stick that bill in a cotton pod, then he'll shoot his tail back around there and deposit a egg — that's the way he runs his business. Then he done with that square, he done ruint it, and he hunts him another pod. And he's a very creepin fellow, he gets about, too; he'll ruin a stalk of cotton in a night's time. He crawls along gradually from one square to another; he gets on a limb where it's rolled off with blooms or young squares and he traces his way from one to the next, and he punctures every one of em just about, in a short while. Then he's creepin on, all over that stalk. Maybe he's so numerous sometime you can catch three or four, as high as half a dozen or more, that many off of one stalk of cotton.

If you meddle the boll weevil — you can see, travel amongst your cotton crop, I've done it myself, walked around amongst my cotton and looked, and you can see a boll weevil sometime stickin to a stalk and if you mess with him the least bit, he goin to fall off on the ground. And you watch him, just watch him, don't say a word. And he'll get up — he aint quick about it, but he'll get up from there and fly off, you lookin at him. Common sense teaches a man — how did he get in your cotton farm out there? He got wings, he flies. And you can get a handful of em in your hand, I have had that, and them scoundrels, if you don't bother em, they goin to eventually fly away from there.

When I seed I couldn't defeat the boll weevil by pickin up squares, I carried poison out to the field and took me a crocus sack, one of these thin crocus sacks, put my poison in there enough to poison maybe four or five rows and just walk, walk, walk; shake that sack over the cotton and when I'd look back, heap of times, that dust flyin every whichway and the breeze blowin, that cotton would be white with dust, behind me. Get to the end, turn around and get right on the next row. Sometimes I'd just dust every other row and the dust would carry over the rows I passed. And I'd wear a mouth piece over my mouth — still that poison would get in my lungs and bother me. Now they got tractors fixed with boxes to elevate that poison out, carry poison four rows, six rows at one run.

Old weevil, he can't stand that, he goin to hit it out from there; maybe, in time, he'll take a notion to come back; you go out with your poison again. Sometimes, if the cotton's good and you keep him scared out of there and dusted out as much as you can, the boll, at that rate, gets too far advanced for him to handle it and that boll will open with healthy locks. But that's the only way to beat the devil, run him out of the field.

It's like the tale they told on the old sheep. A sheep is a thing that the nature of a sheep is to be scared of dogs. And — it seems like a old tale, but old folks have told me in olden days, olden days, everything could talk. It just might be a tale, I wouldn't know, I wouldn't swear to it. Well, one day, the old mama sheep carried her little ones all out of the barn on the ranch to graze. When they got out there, the little sheep, little lambs, always believed in keepin up with their mother. And said, one day she carried em out on the ranch to graze and she got em out there and showed em what to do, and put em all to grazin, nippin grass. And she turned and went back to the barn after she had let em out on the ranch and put em to grazin. And she got off a little piece from em and one of the little sheep called his mama. Didn't want to graze nohow, wanted to follow her back to the barn. This little lamb raised up, said, "Mama, must take the long grass or the short grass?"

"Take it all long," she answered him.

He weren't satisfied. His native wants was to follow his mama back to the barn. After a while, soon as he got that word out and his mama started on her way to the barn, the little lamb raised up again, "Mama, it's rainin."

She told him, "Crop the long grass, crop the long grass."

He was pickin a excuse to leave the ranch and follow her back to the barn. First excuse was he didn't know which grass to eat; second excuse was it was rainin; third excuse, "Mama, yonder come a dog."

"Come on, my child; come on, my child."

He kept throwin excuses to her until when he called the dog, she didn't like the dog herself — it's a sheep's nature to be scared of a dog — and she told him, "Come on, my child," and he took off with her.

Farm Security Administration Photo

Hoe Culture, Anniston, Alabama, 1936

So, it's that way with the boll weevil, it appears to my mind. A boll weevil is going to take it all long; he'll ruin your crop if there's barely enough in there. And there's no way he'll leave your field less'n a man come through there dustin poison. Then they'll take out from there, all ages of boll weevil, but they'll be back when the man leaves and the dust settles.

Old boll weevil, he don't leave the country in the fall. He goes out there in the woods under the pine straw, or he goes under the earth. But I couldn't say definitely where he goes, to save my life and be truthful. I don't know what his full nature is. But come next spring, you plant your crop, he comin in. Everything, every creature in God's world, understands how to try to protect itself. And I believe that scoundrel goes right into the forests and finds his appointed place to wait; spring of the year, he right back in the field, soon as your cotton come up, he right back on it.

God understands his insects here, He knows em well. And everything God created He created for a purpose and everything drops to its callin, and most of the things obeys His rulins better than man do.

II.

I was climbin up in the world like a boy climbin a tree. And I fell just as easy, too.

I was livin on Mr. Watson's place, buyin from him since he took full control from the Federal Land Bank, and Mr. Grace just went ahead and drifted my business over to Mr. Watson's hands. And in that, I learnt that the banker had a disposition to help this man Watson dig at me. That was in '31. And when Mr. Watson got a little toehold, he told me, "Bring me the cotton this fall, bring me the cotton."

When he told me that I got disheartened. I didn't want him messin with me — still, I didn't let him take a mortgage on anything I owned. I was my own man, had been for many years, and God knows I weren't goin to turn the calendar back on myself.

I always sold all of my cotton myself but one year, 1907, the first year I worked for Mr. Curtis; brought him my cotton to sell by his orders. I seen my daddy sell his own cotton; and sometimes the white man would sell it. And if my daddy owed him any money, he had no choice but to let him sell it. Mighty seldom my daddy ever got anything out of a cotton crop. Many times the white man wouldn't tell my daddy nothin bout the price he got for that cotton; weren't no use for him to tell him nothin, weren't no way to dispute him.

I was shy of Mr. Watson, I didn't want no business with him at all. But eventually, he pulled at me so hard I decided I'd trade with him a little. I got about fifteen or twenty bushels of corn from him. How come did I get that corn? Well, my plow horses would eat it, but my mules wouldn't eat no corn at that time; they didn't eat nothin but sweet feed. But my plow stock, regular plow stock, would eat corn. And I fell a little shy of corn that year; didn't need much and I went to Mr. Watson to get it — just givin him enough of my business, I hoped, to keep him off of me. But it didn't do no good. And that corn he let me have, he took it away from somebody else, I knowed that, but I couldn't do nothin about it.

That's all I traded in Mr. Watson's store except for a few things, spring of the year. Startin late up toward July and August I quit goin in there at all; wouldn't go in there for a pinch of salt. I didn't owe him but forty or fifty dollars and I had plenty of cotton to pay all of my debts — and cotton was bringin a low price, too. He had done taken my business over with the Federal Land Bank and I just thought: weren't no use of me cryin, I had enough cotton to pay him what I would have paid the Federal Land Bank and all I owed him at the store, too.

He wanted more than that. Kept trying every year, practically, to get a mortgage on my stuff, but he didn't get it. That poisoned him. Sure as you born, he picked at me all the time. But he couldn't move me. We was on a seesaw and a zigzag, but I just shed him off as best I could by not goin his way. Along them times I wasn't botherin with any of the white people too much because I was makin it on my own. I was buyin guano from whoever I wanted and I wasn't buyin it from him.

So I carried him three good bales of cotton. He was out of his store and gone when I got there. His clerks was in there but they couldn't tell me nothin, and I didn't particularly ask them. Carried the cotton to the warehouse, had it weighed, left it there in Mr. Watson's name, by Nate Shaw. A few days after that I went back to town to see him about it, see about a settlement for what little I owed him and get my business reconciled. Jumped up and told me — I asked him for a settlement — "Aw, there aint no use of that, Nate, there aint no use of that." Walked away from me.

I seed if he couldn't do me one way he was goin to do me another. He wouldn't give me no settlement, wouldn't recognize that I'd paid him. He just ignored me and talked his big talk. He read just exactly his pedigrees that I knew and felt in my heart and had heard a whole lot about. Denied me altogether. And that three bales of cotton would have overpaid him, I know; it wouldn't a stopped at no forty- or fifty-dollar debt. It was bringin a price enough, even at five cents — that would have brought over seventy-five dollars. Don't you see? Don't you see? Five hundred-pound-weight bales — I weren't a straight fool, I knowed I paid him more in the cotton than I owed him. Wouldn't go to his book here he had me charged, tell me what the cotton brought definitely, just took the cotton and went on.

But in '32 I wound up with all of em. I went on to the government and the government furnished me. The news was out through the settlement — the federal people was in Beaufort puttin out for the farmers.

I told my wife one mornin — I'd made up my mind that I was through with Watson, I was burnt up. And I said, "Darlin, I'm goin to Apafalya this mornin to take care of some business at the depot. And after that, I don't know if it will be today or tomorrow, I fully intend to go to Beaufort to see the federal people."

I drove my car to town and parked it. He had done meddled me there before about havin a closed Chevrolet car, '28 Chevrolet; done walked up to my car and looked it over, had the assurance to tell me, "I see how come you can't pay your debts —" just doggin at me — "I see how come you can't pay your debts, sittin in a closed model car."

I said, "Mr. Watson, what have I ever owed you and didn't pay you?"

He said, "You just a fool Negro," and he walked on off. He had it in for me. He knew I had good stock and I was a good worker and all like that. He just aimed to use his power and break me down; he'd been doin to people that way before then.

All right. That day I drove into town on my Chevrolet and parked it as soon as I got there. I walked on down the street and looked ahead of me and there was Watson standin there with his foot propped against the bank — bank was just below his store and the drugstore was between his store and the bank. Fellow by the name of Mose Todd, was supposed to be a little relation to me — I seed it was him Mr. Watson was standin there talkin to. I walked on by and got a little below em, just in hearin distance, and I stopped to hear their conversation. Mr. Watson considered me to be one of *his* Negroes too, and that gived me good encouragement to stop and sidle around and listen at him. I aint said a word that mornin to nobody. Just held my breath and looked at him and listened. Mose was standin there on the walkway with his head down and it looked like he was tryin to beg Mr. Watson to do somethin. I heard Mr. Watson tell Mose Todd, "No, I aint puttin out a dollar this year. I aint puttin out a thing. All of my men has got their own stock, they got their land to work, they got corn enough to feed their stock, and I aint puttin out a dollar. They all in shape to make a crop. And I'm goin to let em go and go ahead; I aint puttin out nothin."

I thought to myself right quick, 'You aint goin to put out nothin, how do you expect for em to make it? I know them people needs fertilize if nothin else, and you not puttin out a dollar. That's mighty bad — farmers can't get no furnishin at all out of you. They come to depend on you and now you leavin em to theirselves. I know what you goin to do; you goin to look for what they make this fall. You goin to do it, I know, you goin to look to take it and aint furnished em nothin.'

And just as sure as you born, if he had a claim against em they couldn't transact with nobody else. They was his niggers and he could do with em like he wanted to and nobody else wouldn't fool with em. I figured this, and I might have been a fool to think it, me being a colored fellow and knowin the rules of the state of Alabama, partly, if I didn't know em all: if you furnishes nothin, right and justice should say it's nothin you get. If you don't carry me on and help me, the law ought to take care of me and give me how much time I need to pay you whatever I owe you. Cotton was down then, too, wavin about at the bottom, five and six cents.

I standin there catchin it, wouldn't say a word. I hadn't even whispered to Mr. Watson, and wouldn't do it, just stood there until I caught all I could catch. And I understood, reasonably, that they was talkin bout Mose's business, and Mose had been one of Watson's customers for years. Now Watson was turnin him away. He just definitely told Mose to his head, right before me — I didn't question him because I had my route picked out. I was aimin to go to Beaufort to see if I could get furnished by the federal government, branch line. I just set out to move my little concerns out of his reach. O, he went down on Mose that mornin; told him what he were goin to do and what he weren't.

I just eventually walked on off and went on to the depot where I'd started to go. Seed after my little matters down there and I turned around and went right straight back up through town. Watson and Mose Todd both, when I looked up the street, was gone. Well, it didn't matter a continental with me where they was gone, I weren't takin hold with him no more for nothin. I had a right to get loose from him and he didn't have no sort of papers against me — that's what I was dotin on. His first step in business with me, he proved he just wanted to wind me up and get a mortgage on every bit of my personal property and take it over with the land, and if I

Photo by Dorothea Lange/Farm Security Administration

Hoe Culture, Anniston, Alabama

crooked my little finger or wanted to leave, I'd lose everything I had, leave it right there. He woulda had a mortgage on it and I couldn't a moved it. Do you reckon I was goin to be fool enough to stand around and let him do that? I did have a little goat-sense and I was goin to stick him up right when I left him and wind up with him.

So, I kept movin till I got on my car and I come on home. Next day, with the full consent of my mind what to do, I crawled on my car — there was Leroy Roberts, Virgil Jones, and Sam MacFarland wanted to go to Beaufort with me on the same occasion to get in with the federal loan deal. Virgil and Leroy was Watson's niggers too, I know they was. So, me and them three fellows went on to Beaufort that mornin and when we got to Pottstown on route — it was cold that mornin and the boys took a notion they wanted to stop for some smokin tobacco. We stopped there and they disappeared into one of the stores and I walked on in to Mr. Billy Thompson's store — he sold dry goods there and run a little druggist business too — and I went on around to the back room where the heater was. And Mr. V. Basil, white gentleman, was sittin by the stove crosslegged. The whole community knowed Mr. Basil, coloreds and whites.

I said, "Good mornin, Mr. Basil."

"Hello, Nate."

We talked and from one thing to another he put in talkin bout how the times was for furnishin people — the pressure was on. I stood there and warmed, talked with Mr. Basil. He was a man that wore a mustache so long you could almost tie it around the back of his neck, Mr. V. Basil. Stood there and talked with him awhile bout the hard times, men puttin out money on farmers and couldn't get it back, farmers weren't able to pay their debts and he, too, he was goin to quit, he weren't goin to let his farmers have nothin, wouldn't put out nothin. He talked Mr. Watson's talk that mornin — I listened at him.

I said, "Well, Mr. Basil" — in a friendly way — "you a moneyed man," why don't you help the boys this time around? All of em has stuck by their word in the past" — I weren't talkin at him for nothin for myself, I wouldn't fool with him. I said, "Why don't you help the boys? You got plenty of money —" with a smile on my face.

He said, "Hell, yes, Nate. I got plenty damn money. And I got plenty damn sense with it."

I laughed.

He said, "What kind of fool would a man be — No, I aint goin to keep puttin out my money until they drain me and get the last dollar I have, foolin around here farmin, and I can't get it back. No, I aint goin to do it."

He went rock bottom against puttin out his money. I said to myself, 'I don't want your money. I'm just feelin out your mind on the subject.'

The boys got ready to go. I got on my car, cranked it up, and we pulled out. When we got to Beaufort, all we boys, they took us in the office there one by one — didn't meet us all there standin at once — and one by one let us put in our complaints and what we wanted and all. All of em went in before me and when they come out they told me they went through all right, got agreement to be helped. I was the last man in before the federal people to talk to em — all white people, businessmen, no colored folks in it; only way a colored person was in there, he went in there to be furnished. So I told em my circumstances: didn't owe anybody anything. I was clear and I knowed it, told em straight. Well, I had done paid what I owed the devil — Watson — and got wound up with him, unbeknownst to him so he made out. I thought I had the privilege then to do business with anybody I wanted to because I had done cleared myself up and I knew Watson didn't have no mortgage on nothin I had. And I knowed I stood a better chance with the government than I did with any of these folks here, absolutely. I wouldn't turn around to look at one of em if the government was beckonin me to come in with them. *They* knowed it too, and they didn't like for the government to come into this country and meddle with their hands.

Well, they just gladly fixed me up. The federal government took me over and furnished me that year, 1932. Less interest, less interest on the loan money with them than with anybody I ever knowed. Altogether a different proposition.

They told me, "Look out in your mailbox on such-and-such a day and you'll find a check there for you to buy your fertilize. And after that, you can draw your other checks, all that you need to make your crop."

That certain date I went out to my mailbox and the check was there. I took that check and I come over here to Calusa with my wife to have it cashed. And when they cashed it for me they asked me if I wanted to leave it there in the bank. I said, "No, sir, I don't want to leave nary a penny. That's my fertilize money and I need it."

Went right on back home and in a day or two I got Mr. Horace Tucker to take his truck with a long trailer to it and when he stopped drivin we was in Union Springs. Drove right up to the guano factory in that little old city and bought all the guano I needed and loaded it on Mr. Horace's truck — the company did, the hands there workin — and carried it on home. Couldn't get me no soda there, soda was scarce, and the next day Mr. Horace carried me to Opelika on that truck — same man, same truck. He weren't gettin nothin for hisself, he went for me. Of course, I paid him, didn't expect but to pay him for them trips, drivin that trailer truck and haulin my fertilize. Well, couldn't get no soda at Opelika but I got some ammonia chemical to answer in place of it. Mr. Horace Tucker — wasn't a nicer white man for accommodatin you in the whole settlement.

The second government check was my supply check; it come several weeks later and I used the money strictly for groceries — and that was flour, sugar, and coffee, but for no meat and lard, I didn't need that, raised my meat and lard at home.

I went on and made my crop that year, '32. Didn't go to Apafalya nary a time for nothin. And after crops was laid by I hauled a little lumber, spot haulin, no regular operation. I got home one evenin — night — I was workin right close to my home then, and my wife told me, "Darlin, Mr. Watson come through here today."

I said, "He did?"

She said, "Yes."

I said, "Did he stop?"

She said, "No, he never did quit drivin, just drivin along slow and lookin every whichway."

All right. That was on a Thursday. He went right on back to Apafalya after he drove around the men what had been dealin with him and he printed up some cards and sent em around, one to me, one to Leroy Roberts, one to Virgil Jones — we was *his* men. Said on the card, "Those who consider that they are my customers, come out to Apafalya Saturday evenin and get em some beef."

My wife asked me, "Darlin, is you goin to go to Apafalya like the note say?"

I said, "If I do, I'll walk on my hands."

Weren't nothin to that note but a sham. He just wanted us to come out there so he could question us about how we was doin our business. The other boys done as they pleased along them lines, they was all grown. I never did ask Virgil Jones did he go get that beef, and I never did ask Leroy Roberts; it weren't none of my concern. But I know what Nate Shaw done. I weren't hungry for none of his beef, and I never would get so hungry that I couldn't get something to eat other ways. I wouldn't be fool enough to go out there huntin no beef if I were down to my last piece of bread. My children will tell you, any of em, they never knowed what it was to get hungry and couldn't get somethin to eat.

III

A heap of families, while I was livin on the Tucker place down on Sitimachas, was leavin goin north. Some of my neighbors even picked up and left. The boll weevil was sendin a lot of em out, no doubt. I knowed several men went north, some with their families and some without; they sent for their families when they got to where they was goin. More went besides what I knowed of, from all parts of this southern country. They was dissatisfied with the way of life here in the south — and when I was livin on the Pollard place it come pretty wide open to me and touched the hem of my garment. But my family was prosperin right here, I didn't pay no attention to leavin. I wanted to stay and work for better conditions. I knowed I was in a bad way of life here but I didn't intend to get out — *that* never come in my mind. I thought somehow, some way, I'd overcome it. I was a farmin man at that time and I knowed more about this country than I knowed about the northern states. I've always been man enough to stick up for my family, and love them, and try to support em, and I just thought definitely I could keep it up. In other words, I was determined to try.

And durin of the pressure years, a union begin to operate in this country, called it the Sharecroppers Union — that was a nice name, I thought — and my first knowin about this union, this organization, that riot come off at Crane's Ford in '31. I looked deep in that thing, too — I heard more than I seed and I taken that in consideration. And I knowed what was goin on was a turnabout on the southern man, white and colored; it was somethin unusual. And I heard about it bein a organization for the poor class of people — that's just what I wanted to get into, too; I wanted to know the secrets of it enough that I could become in the knowledge of it. Now I heard talk about trucks comin into this country deliverin guns to the colored people but I decided all that was talk, tryin to accuse the niggers of gettin into somethin here that maybe they weren't — and maybe they were. But didn't no trucks haul no guns to nobody. Colored people hadn't been armed up for nothin; it was told like that just to agitate the thing further. Of course, some of these colored folks in here had some good guns — you know a Winchester rifle is a pretty good gun itself. But they didn't have nothin above that. It weren't nothin that nobody sent in here for em to use, just their own stuff.

Well, they killed a man up there, colored fellow; his name was Adam Cole. And they tell me — I didn't see it but I heard lots about it and I never did hear nothin about it that backed me off — Kurt Beall, the High Sheriff for Tukabahchee County, got shot in the stomach. He run up there to break up this meetin business amongst the colored people and someone in that crowd shot him. That kind of broke him up from runnin in places like that.

And these white folks woke up and stretched themselves and commenced a runnin around meddlin with niggers about this organization. And it's a close thing today. One old man — and he was as big a skunk as ever sneaked in the woods — old man Mac Sloane, come up to me one day — he didn't come to my home, he met me on the outside — old man Mac Sloane come to me hot as a stove iron, "Nate, do you belong to that mess they carryin on in this country?"

I just cut him off short. I didn't belong to it at that time, but I was eager to join and I was aimin to join,

Farmer and Mule, Epes, Alabama, 1974

just hadn't got the right opportunity.

"No, I don't belong to nothin."

Mac Sloane, white man, said, "You stay out of it. That damn thing will get you killed. You stay out of it. These niggers runnin around here carryin on some kind of meetin — you better stay out of it."

I said to myself, 'You a fool if you think you can keep me from joinin.' I went right on and joined it, just as quick as the next meetin come. Runnin around and givin me orders — he suspected I might be the kind of man to belong to such a organization; put the finger on me before I ever joined. And he done just the thing to push me into it — gived me orders not to join.

The teachers of this organization begin to drive through this country — they couldn't let what they was doin be known. One of em was a colored fella; I disremember his name but he did tell us his name. He wanted us to organize and he was with us a whole lot of time, holdin meetins with us — that was part of his job. We colored farmers would meet and the first thing we had to do was join the organization. And it was said, we didn't want no bad men in it at all, no weak-hearted fellows that would be liable to give the thing away. It was secret with them all that joined it; they knowed to keep their mouths shut and meet the meetins. And this teacher said — don't know where his home was; he had a different way of talkin than we did — "I call em stool pigeons if they broadcast the news about what's happenin." And said, if a nigger, like myself, went and let out any secrets to the white folks about the organization, the word was, "Do away with him."

Had the meetins at our houses or anywhere we could have em where we could keep a look and a watch-out that nobody was comin in on us. Small meetins, sometimes there'd be a dozen, sometimes there'd be more, sometimes there'd be less — niggers was scared, niggers was scared, that's tellin the truth. White folks in this country didn't allow niggers to have no organization, no secret meetins. They kept up with you and watched you, didn't allow you to associate in a crowd, unless it was your family or your church. It just worked in a way that the nigger wasn't allowed to have nothin but church services and, O, they liked to see you goin to church, too. Sometimes white people would come into the Negro church and set there and listen at the meetin. Of course, it weren't nothin but a church service goin on. But if a nigger walked into a white church, he'd just be driven out, if they didn't kill him. But if a Negro was a servant for white people, then they'd carry him to church with em, accept him to come in and take a seat on the back seat and listen at the white people. But if you was a independent Negro you better stay away from there. But if you was a white man's dear flunky, doin what he said do, or even on the woman's side, if they was maids for the white people, well thought of, they'd take em out to their home churches, dupe em up in a way. They knowed they weren't goin to cause no trouble — and if they did, they'd just been knocked out of the box and called in close question. But they never did act disorderly; just set there and listened at the white folks' meetin quiet as a lamb. And when the white folks would come in the colored churches, good God, the niggers would get busy givin em first class seats — if there was any in that buildin the white folks got em. They was white people; they classed theirselves over the colored and the colored people never did do nothin but dance to what the white people said and thought. White people was their bosses and their controllers and the colored people went along with it. White men, white women — I been there — go in colored churches and be seated. Nigger aint got nothin to do but run around there and give em the nicest seats.

IV.

The way I caught it and the way I can explain it accordin to my best ideas, this here organization was workin to bring us out of bad places where we stood at that time and been standin since the colored people has remembrance. They didn't say to us how this was goin to happen — we didn't have time to work up a plan; only I felt it, I could feel it was somethin good. It was goin to rise us out of these old slum conditions which that we had been undergoin since slavery times, bring a clearer life to live, push the white man back.

I heard this spoke by the officials, the people that was advertisin this union: they was tired of the rich man gettin richer and the poor man gettin poorer. They seed it was a freeze-out. Tired, tired of that way of life. That's the way I looked into it, and the rest of em, some of em looked at it that way too. And we put these thoughts in our literatures. I didn't never put out none myself; if I'd a done put em out I couldn't a read em. But we had some in our home when I was arrested — they never was sharp enough to get em, but they got so many others. And it's all got lost today. My people was treated in such a way that they done good to save their lives by the help that helped em. Couldn't save no literatures.

The first teacher attracted the attention of several of us by his talkin bout the future comin. He told us, and we agreed, the future days follows the present. And if we didn't do somethin for ourselves today, tomorrow wouldn't be no different. But you know, people is people in this world. You can show em a thing that means a benefit to em and they'll run off; can't see where today might end and tomorrow begin. They held the meetins all right, but they was shy like rats. And what was they lookin for? They was keepin their eyes open for stool pigeons and giveaways; that throwed a check in the business. It showed that they — we — didn't have no confidence in each other.

Well, we was taught at our meetins that when trouble comes, stand up for one another. Whatever we was goin to do, whatever that was, we was goin to do it together. And by colored people in this country havin any kind of sense that was profitable at all, they joined this organization. I was eager for it, eager.

I paid a small dues when I joined, nothin to hurt me, not more than a few cents. Somebody had to take care of the teacher. He was helpin us, that was his job, and we had to look out for him. I don't know whether he had a wife and children or where they was if he did have, but *he* had to live. He was coming regular and holdin meetins — he had more knowledge and authority than we had and from his words I went out and talked it over with folks. I went to several places, even out the other side of Apafalya, and informed some people I knew about the organization. Some of em went in, too, by my descriptions. I told em it was a good thing in favor of the colored race and it was so far a over-average help — as far as I was taught I told em what the organization was goin to do. The organization would back you up and fight your battles with you, do this and do that and do the other, as far as I was taught by the travelin man.

I recommended it thoroughly to particular ones I knowed — some of em was too scared to join and some of em was too scared not to join; they didn't want to be left alone when push come to shove. I recommended it to my brother Peter, but he never did join it. He was livin on Mr. Watson's individual place at that time, about a mile and half from me on the Crane's Ford road toward Apafalya. He got along with Mr. Watson by givin him what he made — Mr. Watson got it all, that's the truth to it. My brother Peter was easy and hush-mouthed and he just settled down to that. He made up his mind that he weren't goin to have anything, and after that, why, nothin could hurt him. He's my own dear brother — he said he was discouraged of this organization but I knowed he was afraid.

Here's the rule of our colored people in this country, that I growed up in the knowledge of: they'll dote on a thing, they'll like it, still a heap stays shy of it. They knowed that their heads was liable to be cracked, if nothing else, about belongin to something that the white man didn't allow em to belong to. All of em was willin to it in their minds, but they was shy in their acts. It's just like the old man and the bear. When the bear was comin in the house, he warned his wife about it — we colored people, some of us is like that today — the old man jumped up and run up in the loft where the bear couldn't get him. The old woman, when the bear walked in, she grabbed the fire iron and she labored with the bear until she killed him. And when she killed him, then the old man come down from the loft, sayin, "Old lady, aint *we* brave, aint *we* brave. We killed that bear. We killed that bear." And hadn't done nothin but killed hisself runnin. He'll talk a whole lot but he's too scared to take a hold.

THE CLEARING OF THE HIGHLANDS

by Steve Cummings

1.

Their kilts were dyed red
passing through valleys carpeted with strawberries
on their way to the Georgia hills

away at last from the hellish coastal rice fields,
taking orders in the English they barely knew,
giving angry commands in Gaelic
to bewildered men who knew only Gullah.

So many years homeless,
since gunpowder crushed them at Culloden
and they were chased through the hills by dogs,
forbidden their language, their church, their wild dancing music.

On their way now to a place to rest and build,
the new Highlands.
They raised glad voices in a homeward hunter's song.

2.

High above the hunter's trail
on a rock balanced on the side of Bear Mountain
the shaman watches with trained eyes
the progress of those he knows
will crush the Cherokee with gunpowder,
hunt them with dogs, destroy their speech, faith, and music,
clear them from the Highlands like autumn leaves swept
from a springhead.

Softly chanting, throwing handfuls of dust into the mountain wind,
his voice rises and floats
like the pipes on the Isle of Skye.

3.

The cousins wake sweating
forty miles apart
not knowing their relation or the others' existence.

Still drunk, they light cigarettes and walk outside their trailers,
staring at the mountains separating them.

Their scarred, dark bulk
lies quietly waiting through cycles of ice, fog, and sun
through the processes of the lichen, the pine, the laurel.
Waiting in the knowledge that the cousins cannot forever deny
their birthright, that which makes them both look for solace
in the tortured Highlands.

Cigarettes out, sober, they watch the sun rise,
feeling again something they have no name for yet,
a stirring in the old, strong systems
of the blood, the muscles, the heart.

at graham training center:
NEW LIFE FOR THE SMALL FARMER

I don't believe farmers have as much ulcers as business people 'cause their life isn't quite as fast. But I'll say there will be more as time goes on. 'Cause farming is changing more. It's more a business now . . . It's not the labor . . . it's the management end of it.

Pierce Walker, farmer, from interview with Studs Terkel in Working.

by Bill Finger

In 1974, Jim Pierce, director of the National Sharecroppers Fund (NSF), and Charles Dixon, farm manager of the NSF's Frank Graham Training Center, share a vision similar to that of sharecropper organizers two generations before: ways have to be found to change the powerless state of tenants and small farmers in the South. Pierce stands in the tradition of the founders of NSF — Norman Thomas, Frank Porter Graham, Eleanor Roosevelt, and A. Philip Randolph. Dixon left his small tobacco farm in Halifax County, Virginia, in 1971 just as Clay East, H.L. Mitchell, and others abandoned their tenant plots and fledgling businesses in the Arkansas delta for the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in 1934. While the STFU organized in the depression decade, the small farmers of the 1970's struggle in a technological era whose blessings of efficiency have become a nightmare of cybernetics.

Alternatives for small farmers in the South may be even fewer today than in the 1930's. The overt violence of those times has subsided, but the intimidation of guns has been replaced by the power of soaring property taxes, oligopolistic marketing, vertical integration, automation, and corporate ownership of farmland. In the summer of 1972, the National Sharecroppers Fund embarked on a bold new course. With the purchase of 500 acres of abandoned land in Anson County, North Carolina, the NSF set out to build a demonstration farm and training center for cooperative farm managers and small farmers.

In two years, this farm has produced acres of organically grown vegetables and a small herd of cattle and has acquired a vegetable grading facility. At the same time, a training center has begun to take form: funds have been secured, a multi-purpose building has been constructed, local support and a technical staff have been developed. The vision of the Graham Center represents one contemporary manifestation of southern agrarian radicalism; the

Photo by Pat Goudvis

present reality is a small and youthful project that must compete with complex economic and social forces.

I.

Angry southern farmers formed a vanguard of resistance as post-Civil War industrialization transformed the agrarian South into a land of railroads, coal mines, and textile villages. During Reconstruction, the Grange called for regulation of the railroads, control of interest rates, and cooperatives. As agricultural conditions worsened in the 1880's, the Farmers' Alliance demanded government ownership of transportation facilities and unlimited coinage of silver. Forming a political coalition with the Knights of Labor, the Alliance asserted significant power in local and statewide elections. The Populists in the 1890's and the agrarian Socialists before World War I continued this tradition of struggle for cooperative ventures and political programs which would give small farmers more control over their lives.

The poverty of the depression years revived this radicalism in the rural South. In 1931, black farmers in Alabama organized a Sharecroppers' Union and in 1934, black and white tenants in the Arkansas delta launched the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. When the STFU strikes began and outside support was needed, Norman Thomas and his liberal allies initiated National Sharecroppers Week. This event was held annually from 1937 until 1943 to raise money for the STFU and publicize its struggles. In 1943, the National Sharecroppers Fund became a year-round permanent organization.

For over thirty years, the Sharecroppers Fund and its offshoot, the Rural Advancement Fund, have supported tenant farmers and migrants with money, technical expertise, research, manpower, lobbying, and institutional credibility. Never a membership organization, it has maintained a valuable network of liberal financial and political supporters but has operated with various degrees of activism and with inconsistent success. Its basic purposes have persisted: to encourage tenant farmers to stay on the land; to develop techniques and skills as farmers fought to remain on small parcels; and to teach cooperative methods of buying supplies, raising crops, and marketing produce. The strategies through which these goals have been pursued have evolved to meet the changing realities of the rural South. And these changes have been dramatic.

In 1927, at the time of the first Sharecroppers Week, 31.3 million people or 24.3 percent of the country's population lived on farms. By 1971, only 9.4 million or 4.6 percent of the nation's 206 million people lived on farms. In the Southern states, the 6.8 million employed on farms in 1935 plummetted to 1.8 million by 1971. While the number of farms decreased from 3.2 million in 1935 to 1.2 million in 1971, the average farm size doubled and in some cases tripled.

Such dramatic demographic shifts reveal the overwhelming societal forces with which small farmers have had to contend and within which the NSF has had to develop. Building on the successes of Sharecroppers Week, throughout the forties the NSF continued to publicize the plight of southern tenancy and raise funds for various groups. During the 1950's the NSF provided financial resources for the sustained organizing campaign of the National Agricultural Workers Union among the sugar cane workers in Louisiana; organized a major conference in 1958 from which emerged the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor; and pursued an aggressive lobbying effort in Washington for minimum wage bills, migrants' needs, and housing assistance to the rural poor.

Growing rapidly in the 1960's, the NSF suffered from overfunding and institutionalization. Inundated by large grants from the Department of Labor to begin the Southern Rural Training Project and from OEO for the Southern Rural Project, the NSF contributed to the illusion of the "Great Society" that social service delivery systems and short-term manpower training programs could serve as engines of real social change. Local leadership was developed and cooperatives were begun, but grantsmanship created an overstaffed New York office and overly dependent, transient co-ops. Frustrated by programs which were defined as much by federal guidelines as by indigenous leadership and by the lack of commitment to sustained projects, the Fund revised its priorities. It began to concentrate its energies on cooperative projects in Halifax County, Virginia, and in Burke County, Georgia. At the same time, the large federal grants were terminated, and in one case a large chunk of money was actually returned — unheard of in OEO circles.

The Halifax County Co-op now includes about 300

Photos by Rob Bildner

farmers who have shifted from tobacco on their small, isolated farms to vegetable crops which are marketed jointly. The co-op dates from 1967, when black farmers in the area began negotiating with the local CAP agency. Charles Dixon, who owned and operated one of those tobacco farms, remembers distinctly that "the farmers got their co-op together when the white power structure of the county began to oppose us." The farmers knew, he explains, that they were doing something that might make a difference when the white forces felt so threatened. In Burke County, the East Georgia Farmers Co-op began to replace single family plots with cooperative vegetable farming in 1972, and a cooperative filling station has also produced income for the participating farmers. During these critical initial stages of growth, the Sharecroppers Fund has contributed funds, technical assistance, and equipment to the Halifax and Burke County farmers. Problems remain as scattered farmers try to buy and sell through a central location, share limited machinery, and market organic vegetables independently of the corporate chains. But a growing sense of stability offers hopeful signs of success.

By 1972, the Fund had survived over thirty years, but its direction seemed unclear. The efforts at Halifax and Burke Counties were encouraging but limited by the small number of farmers affected and by their restricted buying and marketing capabilities. As the need for a central training center became clearer, Jim Pierce, hired as director of the NSF in 1970, gained firmer control over the diffuse efforts of the Fund. Excited by the possibilities of a rural center, Pierce located a philanthropist enthusiastic about organic farming, and in August, 1972, the 500-acre farm was purchased outright.

II.

The farm is eight miles south of Wadesboro, North Carolina, on land that lacked high humus content or high yields. As one NSF board member cautioned, "We should buy poor land because that's what small farmers own." Volunteers and NSF staff began to transform overgrown fields that had not been cultivated for over twenty years into an operating organic farm. By the spring of 1973, a land use plan for the farm had been developed, a special organic fertilizer formula using Norwegian seaweed prepared with the help of Clemson and North Carolina State Universities and fields laid out. Vegetables and grains, a small herd of beef cattle, and a well-stocked pond gave life to these plans and new buildings. And an interracial staff of two local farmers and two NSF field workers was located on the farm.

The overwhelming demands of making a farm function in such a short time took priority over long-range planning. Even immediate needs like an ade-

Charles Dixon, Farm Manager and Jim Pierce, NSF Director.

quate marketing plan for the first year's crop went unmet. While the Halifax and Burke farmers sought to ship their crops to food co-ops on the east coast, the produce on the Graham Farm was never successfully marketed. Without a canning or freezing facility, vegetables were sold locally and marketed in nearby cities, and some never left the fields.

But growing pains were expected, and the demonstration farm made progress in its second year. The farm staff became more committed to the venture: Charles Dixon left Halifax County to become the resident farm manager, and the two farmers from Anson County, Bennie Gaddy and Leonard Dutton, became firm believers in organic farming. Small terraces improved the lay-out of the fields and the 1974 planting increased to 50-60 acres of organic vegetables and grains. The farm itself is the most tangible product of the idea of the Graham Center. But demonstrating that organic crops can be produced on poor soil represents only one aspect of this multidimensional facility.

An intense, chain-smoking paragon of focused energy, Jim Pierce has been the driving force behind the farm's conception. Steeped in the struggles of the southern labor movement, he has organized for the International Union of Electrical Workers, served as regional coordinator for the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and as regional director for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Plagued with doubts about the institutionalization of a movement and the long-term value of union victories, Pierce rechanneled his commitments in 1970. He became convinced that new options were needed for rural people seemingly destined to become a part of the industrial work force.

For example, an official at the General Electric plant in Hickory, North Carolina, a plant with a strong IUE local union, has offered Pierce positions for Graham Center trainees who would learn a particular skill at nearby Anson County Technical School. While federal manpower training programs would view this as an opportunity, Pierce fears the subtle dangers of training people for unstable labor markets. From his long-time friendship with this G.E. official and his intimate knowledge of the local union's history, Pierce recognizes that fluctuating volumes of work and increasing automation at the plant cause displacement of the most recently-hired workers. Moreover, uprooting a person with his family from a rural environment to a more urban-oriented work cycle causes complex and often destructive cultural and personal changes.

Within this transition in philosophy, Pierce maintains the distinctive style of a labor organizer. Fast paced days, long and numerous telephone calls, and mediation at all levels of the organization contrast sharply with the slower paced rhythms of the farm's setting. Motivated by the possibility of what the farm could be, Pierce's pragmatic and anxious day-to-day patterns reveal the uncertain future of the embryonic Graham Center.

III.

During the brief two-year history of the Graham Center, specific training strategies and fund-raising plans have been vigorously debated and rapidly refined. Three members of the NSF's Board, rural sociologist Arthur Raper, Ben Poage of the Commission on Religion in Applalchia and Bob Browne of the Black Economic Research Center, formed a Graham Center Steering Committee. In conjunction with Pierce and the NSF's research director, Pat Mullen, they explored possible uses of the Center. Could the Center train migrant workers to be co-op managers, or teach small farmers organic farming skills, or encourage displaced black farmers to stay on the land rather than join the industrial work force? Also, what kind of facilities, staff, and funding were needed? Seed money of over $1,000,000 was sought from the Department of Labor for a one-year pilot training program but was eventually refused in the spring of 1973, when Republican controls intruded on program guidelines. In early 1974, an HEW planning grant stalled early in the bureaucratic pipeline. Finally, in the spring of 1974,foundation support was obtained which provided the Graham Center with the means to launch its initial program.

When trainees arrived at the farm during June of this year, plans for the training aspects of the Center became a reality. Combining local resources with regional contacts, Pierce nurtured commitments from such local agencies as the Anson County Technical Institute, the Employment Security Commission, Soil and Conservation Department, and the Agricultural Extension Service. In addition, he received support and cooperation from groups throughout the South such as the Delta Ministry and Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association. As the training program expands, it ideally will incorporate three groups of people: four or five trainees will come to the farm each year to learn every aspect of co-op management; a larger group of small farmers will go through a one-crop cycle; and a group of young people who participate in the center's activities, will be encouraged to stay on farms in their areas.

Providing adequate skills for a successful co-op manager is not an easy task. Pierce feels the Center will be capable of teaching skills ranging from organic farming to record keeping, marketing to canning/freezing operations, fundraising to a technical skill taught in conjunction with Anson Tech, such as brick laying or carpentry. Because farmers know their problems and weaknesses better than any program guidelines, the sequence and method of instruction must evolve slowly through the first year, determined by the trainees as much as by the staff. The goal is to provide a farmer planting five to ten acres with the knowledge of organic farming and access to a market so that he can stay on his small plot. His income could then be supplemented with work in small construction during the winter months.

The task of combining this training scenario with the needs of a maturing demonstration farm represents an ambitious program of staggering dimensions. The trainees for cooperative managers must be carefully screened to be sure that they are committed to returning to their local areas to provide leadership to the area farmers. After producing organic crops on marginal land, a reliable and profitable marketing system must be developed to accomodate the yield of the farm and other cooperatives brough into their "organic" network. A responsible follow-up system must be developed for the trainees so that the learned skills are useful in an economically viable setting. The need for a canning and freezing facility and other improvements on the farm require long-range projections and adequate financing. And innovative fund-raising techniques for the training progran and for the farm's operations (until it can support itself) must be developed.

The long-term capacities of this youthful project of the Sharecroppers Fund can only be anticipated. During the first two years, mistakes have been made in planning as well as in operations, but the training has now actually begun. Serious questions remain about the viability of the Graham Center's vision. Combining technical training in small construction with farming is demanding on the participants and

Photo by Pat Goudvis

Bennie Gaddy, Anson County Farmer

may not be economically viable to the post-trainee. The need for more land for small farmers to work cooperatively means competing in a skyrocketing land market, often with prohibitive down payments and property taxes. Attracting technical staff who can both train small farmers and develop sound marketing systems that circumvent corporate controls will prove difficult. And the ability of the Graham Center to survive financially without compromising its program and to expand so as to train more than a handful of farmers remains problematic.

Despite these obstacles, the Graham Center represents a significant attempt to develop alternatives for small farmers in the South. Examining such a project at its initial stages provokes less an analysis of its success or failure than a discussion of its history and its possible future. Success will not come easily, for large corporate powers have invaded the food industry at every point of production and distribution. But the Graham Center's creative model of support provides exciting possibilities for one of the most vulnerable victims of the omnipresent conglomerates — the small farmer.

Photo by Pat Goudvis

the federation of southern cooperatives: hard times & high hopes

by David Dyar Massey

That old sayin, "Them that's got are them that gets"
Is something I can't see.
If you gotta have something before you can get something,
How you get the first is still a mystery to me.

— Ray Charles

Recent American history dating from the government's rediscovery of poor people in the early 1960's demonstrates that the "cycle of deprivation" has successfully repulsed almost every offensive from the War on Poverty to the Salvation Army. The battlefield, which has never really moved from the tenements into the banks and corporation offices where it rightly belongs, is strewn with misused taxes, blasted hopes, and scarred lives.

Obviously some poor people have benefited from poverty programs, but the clearest beneficiary is the army of well-meaning poverty workers — the researchers, academicians, government bureaucrats, foundation officers, journalists, and social workers who make their living ostensibly helping those who, perhaps not so mysteriously, remain trapped in the cycle.

Nowhere is the cycle more insidious and more entrenched than among black poor people in the rural South, not only because of long-standing institutional racism and antagonistic agricultural policies, but also because of the chronic lack of adequate education, health care, housing, and job training. Over 90 per cent of the nation's rural blacks live in the South, the great majority of them poor, and every available index reveals their place on the bottom rung of the nation's economic ladder.

Even successful programs have usually been *ad hoc* and piecemeal, but there is at least one organization which is attempting a more wholistic approach on a regional scale. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the subject of this article, is composed of 134 low-income co-ops across the South. Headquartered in Sumter County, Alabama, the Federation provides its member co-ops with centralized bookkeeping services, technical and financial assistance, and resource development.

Similar efforts to organize the rural poor in the South date back as far as the 1880's and 1890's with the all-white Farmers Alliance and the Colored Farmers Alliance and Cooperative Union. More recently, the Farm Security Administration, a New Deal program begun in 1937, established a large number of poor people's cooperatives and even collective farms. While some blacks benefited from

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from FSA programs, most were excluded.[1]

The most recent wave of low-income cooperatives is a by-product of the civil rights movement of the sixties. Field staff workers of SNCC, SCLC, and CORE organized many of the early co-ops with assistance from groups like the National Sharecroppers Fund, Southern Regional Council, OEO, the Cooperative League, and Credit Unions National Association.

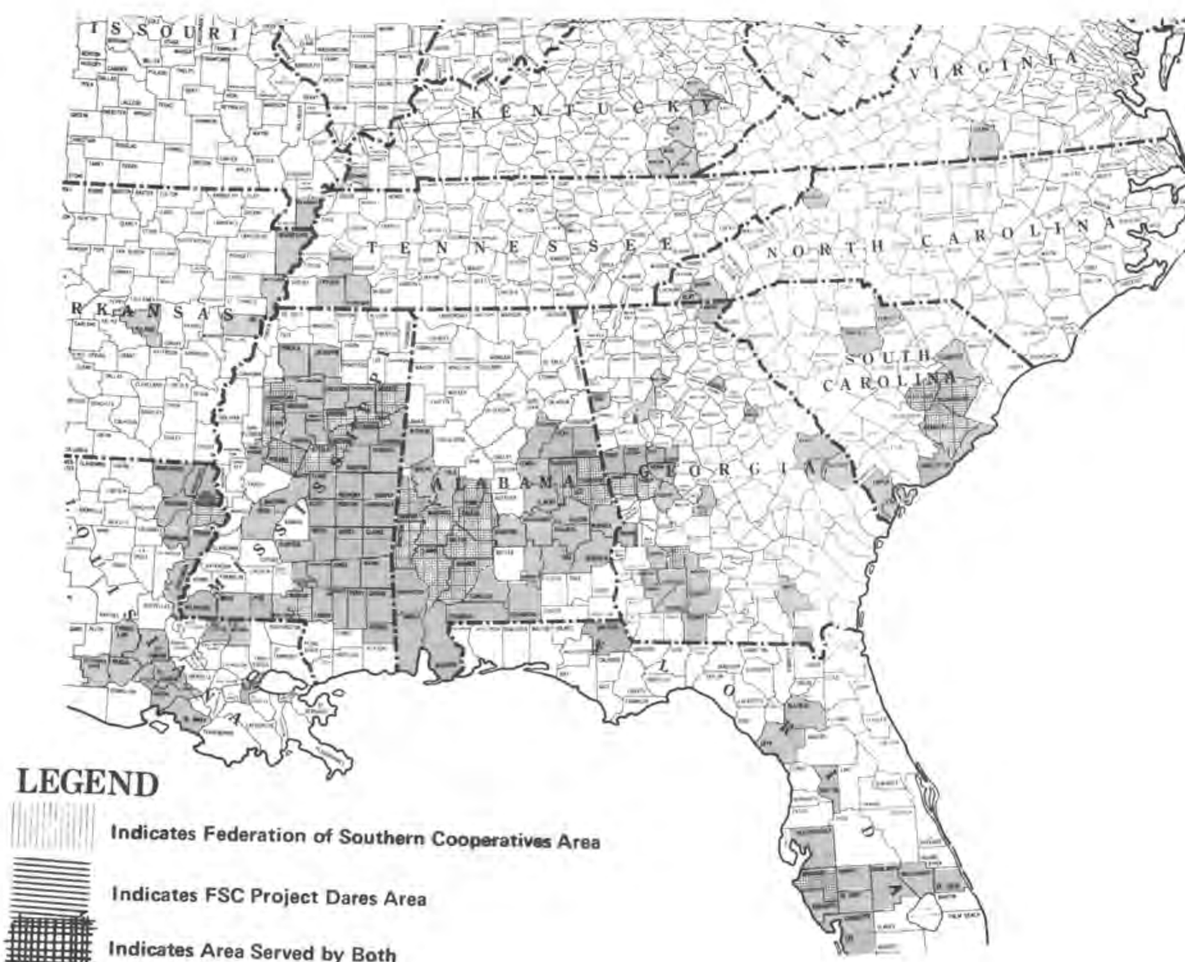
Catholic priests and Protestant ministers also organized cooperatives. The Delta Ministry, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, assisted various co-ops and established its own cooperative community, "Freedom City," near Wayside. Perhaps the best known of the early organizers is Father A.J. McKnight, a black Catholic priest based in southern Louisiana. Father McKnight, a native of Brooklyn, N.Y., organized the Southern Consumers Education Foundation and the Southern Consumers Cooperative. Working closely with Father McKnight was Charles O. Prejean, a native of Lafayette, La. Prejean, who had been teaching adult literacy classes with McKnight, became general manager of Southern Consumers Cooperative.

In February, 1967, representatives of 22 low-income co-ops formed the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and elected Prejean its first president. A year later Prejean became the executive secretary of the Federation at the age of 27.

Meanwhile, economists Ray Marshall and Lamond Godwin had convinced the Ford Foundation of the potential for rural development that existed with the cooperatives, and in June, 1967, Ford gave $578,000 to the Southern Cooperative Development Program to demonstrate the feasibility of low-income co-ops. Under the direction of McKnight and New York-born civil rights worker John Zippert, SCDP helped organize new co-ops and provided technical assistance to existing ones. SCDP was merged into FSC in 1969.

In seven years the FSC constituency has grown to 30,000 low-income families in 134 co-ops in 14 states, stretching from the eastern shores of Virginia to the Rio Grande Valley in southern Texas. While 97 per cent of its membership is black, the FSC co-ops also represent native Americans in Mississippi; whites in Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Tennessee; and Chicanos in Texas.

The cooperatives vary from memberships of twelve people in small handicraft co-ops to 2,000 families



engaged in farming over a ten county area. About one-third of the co-ops in FSC are agricultural marketing and purchasing concerns. The rest include consumer groups and buying clubs, credit unions, a health center, and handicraft, housing, fishing, and light manufacturing co-ops (e.g. sewing, metal stamping, a bakery, building materials). Each member co-op is owned and controlled by its constituent members who elect a board of directors. FSC itself is a cooperative of cooperatives, chartered under the Cooperative Association Act in Washington, D.C.

Low-income cooperatives have been plagued by a host of problems, including poor management, under-capitalization, and difficulty in obtaining credit. Even in those rare instances where a co-op might be considered a safe "risk" for traditional lending institutions, they have had difficulty obtaining loans. Commercial banks, savings and loan associations, and even the Bank for Cooperatives (established in 1933) have all closed their doors to low-income co-ops. As FSC newspaper cartoonist Aldox puts it, "You have to prove you don't need the money before you can get it!" Loan packaging and credit assistance alleviated this situation somewhat, but FSC saw a need to establish its own lending institution. When McKnight's Southern Cooperative Development Program was phased into FSC in 1969, the Southern Cooperative Development Fund (SCDF) was created with McKnight as president. As it was originally conceived, the Fund was to be the lending arm of FSC, allowing the Federation to concentrate on technical assistance. However, FSC and SCDF now operate independently of one another.

Cooperatives, Agribusiness, and the USDA

A cooperative is a business enterprise governed by certain principles, including open membership, democratic control, membership education, limited interest on stock, restrictions on number of shares owned, and services at cost. Social consciousness and human relations, ideally, are critical components.

In the United States alone there are approximately 7800 cooperatives of all stripes and colors, and a number of regional and national associations and federations. Some of these have grown quite large through merger, and seven of them rank in the *Fortune Magazine* list of the top 500 industrial corporations of 1972. The largest (*Fortune* No. 133) is Associated Milk Producers, Inc. (AMPI), of Watergate fame. The Agribusiness Accountability Project has documented the increasing trend toward loss of membership control to cooperative management, which then tends to operate the cooperative according to strictly business rather than cooperative principles.[2]

While the volume of business handled by the traditional American farmer cooperatives is very small compared to the large agribusiness concerns, even the least successful of these conventional cooperatives have excluded the poor farmer, especially if he is black, precisely because he is poor and therefore a liability. When the Federation and other groups began organizing co-ops, they were unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain assistance from established cooperatives in the region.

Poor farmers and low-income co-ops are further crippled by the rapid growth of agribusiness. AAP reports that "nearly a quarter of total U.S. agricultural production is integrated by processing and marketing corporations, with many of our foodstuffs solidly in the hands of food middlemen."[3] AAP listed the top 25 U.S. corporations like Standard Oil of California, General Motors, Exxon, RCA, ITT, Greyhound, and Sears, Roebuck involved in agriculture at three levels: production, input (chemicals, machinery, feed), and outputs.[4]

Small farmers face a swarm of disadvantages *vis-a-vis* agribusiness power: the spiraling cost of land, driven upwards by speculation and development; the resulting higher taxes, with land over-taxed for agricultural purposes and under-taxed for development; inability to compete against economies of scale; inability to obtain credit; and U.S. agricultural policies which subsidize capital over labor. Corporations, of course, can cover huge losses in farming operations and stay in the food business, whereas the small farmer can be wiped out by one bad crop.

There is a wide difference of opinion over just how effectively low-income cooperatives can assist small farmers in competing against large-scale farming, whether by corporations, large cooperatives, or wealthy families. Ray Marshall and Lamond Godwin point out that many authorities believe mechanization and agricultural technology have made small farms obsolete and inefficient.[5] They contend, however, that it is the U.S. Department of Agriculture which has done the most to erode the competitive ability of small farmers. "Our agricultural policies have done more damage to small farmers and black farmers than anything else, period," Godwin says.

The land grant college system, which includes the agricultural colleges, the State Agricultural Experiment Stations, and the Extension Service is a prime example of how federal policies have neglected the small farmer. With an annual budget of $750 million, this complex has devoted itself to "efforts that have worked to the advantage and profit of large corporations involved in agriculture." In its important

1972 report *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times*, the Agribusiness Accountability Project demonstrates the ways in which land grant research has benefited chemical and farm machinery companies to the detriment of almost every other segment of American society, from the small farmer to the consumer. The most graphic illustration appears in the research priorities of the experiment stations. According to USDA research classifications, nearly 6,000 scientific man years (smy) were spent on doing research on all projects at state experiment stations in 1969. Only 289 of those years focused on "people-oriented" research. Thus 1,129 smy were spent to improve the biological efficiency of crops, and only 18 smy to improve rural income; 842 smy on control of weeds, insects, and diseases in crops, and 95 smy to insure food products free from toxic substances; 88 smy to improve management systems for livestock and poultry production, and only 45 smy for improving rural institutions.[6]

The Extension Service, the out-reach arm of the colleges and the experiment stations, has also failed in its goal to help the people of rural America "identify and solve their farm, home, and community problems through use of research findings of the Department of Agriculture and the State Land Grant Colleges." The Extension Service, in addition, is a crucial link between farmers and accessibility to USDA programs like credit and subsidies. Yet it, too, is preoccupied with efficiency and production of the large-scale farms rather than servicing its intended constituency.

In addition to favoring large corporation over small farmer, the land grant college system also favors white over black. Funding tells the story. The land grant colleges were established by separate Morrill Acts in 1862 and 1890. The 1890 act created separate schools for black students in states which desired dual systems, and 17 southern and border states did. Not only has that legislation never been altered, but the blatantly racist funding policies have never changed either. In 1971, of the $76.8 million in USDA funds which went to the agricultural colleges in the dual system states, 95.5 per cent went to the white schools.[7]

In the same year, all $28.8 million for agricultural and forestry research at state experiment stations went to the white colleges. "The basic, substantive, and essentially permanent programs of southern agricultural research and education remains firmly and exclusively in the hands of the white land grant colleges, colleges which have concerned themselves largely with the promotion of agricultural technology and the interests of white, relatively prosperous farmers," charges Peter H. Schuck of the Center for the Study of Responsibilities in Washington, D.C.[8]

These federal policies have made a lasting impact on black farmers in the South and, indeed, on the entire nation. The migration of blacks from the rural South to the northern cities during the 1940's is, of course, legend. Yet the dispossession of black farmers continued unchecked through the next two decades. Since 1954 black people in the South have been losing their land at the rate of 333,000 acres per year.[9] In 1950 there were 560,000 black-operated farms; in 1971 there were 98,000 left. Black farm population dropped over two million during the same period, from 3,158,000 to 938,000.[10] Black Farmers have been displaced at a much greater rate than whites: three blacks for every ten whites in 1950, down to less than one black for every seven whites on farms in 1969.[11] The outpouring of the rural dispossessed into the nation's cities is the *prima causa* of the urban crisis of today. The experience of the last decade alone is evidence enough to suggest the significance of building viable rural alternatives for people and not just the sprawling farms of the food giants of agribusiness.

These conditions point up the importance of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. As Lamond Godwin says:

> Small farmers are not going to make it unless it is through some kind of cooperative arrangement. The co-ops organized through and with the support of the Federation are the best of all the organizations currently on the scene, as far as small black farmers in the South are concerned. The significance of FSC must be viewed from that perspective. Whatever their shortcomings, FSC represents the best that is available to small black farmers in the South, in terms of both expertise and experience.

Federation Projects and Programs

FSC currently maintains a staff of 120 persons on an annual budget nearing $2 million. Eighty of the staff members comprise a Business Development Network funded by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, U. S. Dept. of Commerce. Through 11 outreach offices serving over 100 counties in the deep South, the network secured $11 million in loans for 114 minority businesses during the first contract year. A portion of the ventures assisted are members of FSC. OMBE granted FSC an additional $1.4 million to continue the network through March of 1975.

Regular FSC staffers provide the co-ops with marketing assistance, bookkeeping and accounting, management training programs, classes in cooperative economics, and technical training in production of livestock and new crops. Much of this training takes place at the FSC Rural Research, Training, and Demonstration Center in southwest Alabama, near the small town of Epes in Sumter

Drawing from F.S.C. proposal.

County. Located on a 1,325-acre tract of land, the center includes a demonstration farm, greenhouses, dormitory, classroom building, administration building, and media center. Over $350,000 has been invested in these facilities.

The farm operation includes a mix of beef cattle, swine, vegetables, soybeans, and grains. The goal is to make the farm self-supporting so that it covers its own expenses, pays off the mortgage on the land, and even provides profits for the overall operations of the Federation.

In November, 1973, the FSC training center was licensed by the Alabama Department of Education as a private vocational school. The center has sponsored a wide variety of training programs, including:

• a $700,000 MDTA Section 241 Contract to train 90 cooperative managers and 400 cooperative members between 1971 and 1973.

• During the past year, the center trained 100 men in heavy construction skills for job openings on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, which borders federation land for ¼ of a mile along the Tombigbee River.

• Handicraft production and management training sessions for 14 women in June and July, 1974, to sharpen skills in crocheting, sewing, quilting, ceramics, and jewelry-making, as well as improving design and marketing skills.

FSC plans to seek accreditation for its training center as a two-year technical college. One element in upgrading its facilities for accreditation is already under negotiation with a Texas university: opening a computer terminal at the Epes center.

Recognizing the fact that most small farmers in the South derive at least a portion of their income in non-farm labor and the additional fact that most of the rural poor are non-farm, the Federation has organized the Minority People's Council on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, a coalition of some 30-40 minority groups who seek to insure full participation of minority people in all phases of this $500 million project which will connect the Tennessee River to the Tombigbee River in Alabama and form a navigable system to the Gulf Coast. (FSC has recently landed a $100,000 contract from the Recruitment-Training-Program of New York City to identify, recruit, and place manpower in construction and other employment created by the TTW project, upon which construction has already begun.) In addition, FSC has been instrumental in organizing a Minority Contractors Association and several skilled trade associations in southwest Alabama.

In the area of health, FSC organized the Black Belt Family Health Care Center (BBFHCC), an ambulatory preventive health care cooperative, to serve residents of a multi-county, medical-scarcity area within a radius of 25 miles of Epes. Intended as a prototype rural health care delivery system, BBFHCC was originally funded by HEW in July 1972. Local pressure from politicians and medical societies, however, succeeded first in getting funds to BBFHCC stopped and then, when HEW bowed to local outcry, in obtaining HEW funds for another center controlled by local doctors and politicians.

BBFHCC, whose whole 11-member consumer board is independent of FSC, decided to proceed with its own medical facility at Epes. The 72'x28' building, now under construction with volunteer labor and materials, will include three examining rooms, an X-ray room, laboratory, and drug dispensary. Two local doctors have pledged to work with the BBFHCC, with or without pay. Medical schools have been contacted to provide students and residents, and BBFHCC is seeking to fulfill qualifications to utilize Medicare and Medicaid programs. FSC hopes to extend its experience in establishing BBFHCC to other community-sponsored health care ventures by the Federation.

Thus the Federation of Southern Cooperatives is developing a multidimensional program for the rural poor (agriculture, handicraft industry, non-farm labor skill training, health delivery, etc.) along with a regional resource network. It is a program which is as specific as an $85,000 program to raise the income of 100 small farmers by $1000 in one year in three co-op locations, and as broad as a regional marketing network to eliminate middlemen between small farmers and the consumer.

The idea of black people organizing anything in the South has been a difficult concept for rural white folks to accept peacefully. The Federation and its member co-ops have often encountered stiff opposition from local "court house gangs," governors, congressmen, and bureaucrats at all levels. Back in 1967, for example, when the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) was just getting started, the major processors in the area, Whitfield Pickle and King Pharr, were forced to raise their prices for peas and cucumbers by 50 per cent because of competition from SWAFCA. In its company jet, Whitfield Pickle flew politicians and probate judges from the ten counties served by SWAFCA to Washington, D.C., where the group, joined by Gov. Lurleen Wallace and the entire Alabama congressional delegation, descended on Sargent Shriver's office to demand the co-op not be funded by OEO. Gov. Wallace vetoed the grant because of SWAFCA's "Black Power" and "Communist" connotations, but Shriver over-rode her veto and a second one later by Gov. Albert Brewer.[12]

The Federation itself has received similar opposition in its organizing efforts in health and job training in the Sumter County area of west Alabama. Yet, strangely enough, the major hassle of its seven-year history came not from local politicians but from OEO and the Ford Foundation, its major funding sources.

Funding Controversies

By far the most serious threat to the life of the Federation emerged in the fall of 1971 and the first half of 1972 when OEO and then the Ford Foundation withdrew their critical financial support. In one season FSC lost one million Ford-OEO dollars, a one-two punch which temporarily crippled its services to cooperatives and from which it has never fully recovered. The blow did not, however, doom the Federation to extinction, as many people at that time predicted.

Over two years have passed since FSC lost the OEO-Ford support, but the side effects from that controversy, for better or worse, continue to embroil the cooperative movement. Basically, the Federation was defunded because it refused to bow to Ford pressures and OEO demands which FSC felt were contrary to the principles of cooperation and self-determination. Those principles and the issues raised by the application to the relationship between FSC and its funding sources have not diminished in significance.

Much more damaging than the financial squeeze on FSC was the split that developed between FSC and its lending arm, the Southern Cooperative Development Fund (SCDF, or the Fund). When FSC quarreled with OEO and Ford and lost their support, SCDF stepped in and accepted the money that FSC refused "on principle." While OEO and Ford did not actually create the philosophical differences that existed between the two organizations, they did exacerbate those differences enough to drive the two groups apart.

OEO began funding FSC in 1969 under Section 232 (research and pilot programs for community action) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Altogether, FSC received some $2 million in OEO funds, including $515,000 to support SCDF. This compares with $1.4 million per year or a total of $7 million which OEO trickled into rural development between 1967 and 1971. Section 233 of the same act provides "for the continuing evaluation of programs

. . . including their effectiveness in achieving stated goals, their impact on related programs, and their structure and mechanism for the delivery of services."

Accordingly, in the summer of 1971, OEO awarded a staggering $385,000 research contract to ABT Associates, a white-owned consulting firm in Cambridge, Mass., to evaluate the rural cooperative programs funded by OEO. FSC/SCDF was the only regional program included; the rest were individual cooperatives funded directly by OEO.[13] The crucial and controversial goal of the study was "to determine the effectiveness of a rural cooperative strategy to alleviate rural poverty."

Although the evaluation was technically legal under the terms of the grant, FSC, SCDF, and the individual cooperatives to be evaluated formed an Association of Cooperative Directors to oppose the study. Their opposition was based on a number of grounds. They were consulted on neither the selection of the firm nor the criteria for the evaluation. They were appalled by the $385,000 price tag, which they deemed a waste of public money. Another study, they claimed, would merely duplicate previous efforts and internal evaluation mechanisms operating under the terms of the grant. It was particularly galling that the contract had been awarded to a white-owned, New England firm composed of individuals who had most likely never been significantly exposed to the rural South. The ABT study was merely the latest in a seemingly endless series of evaluations of FSC and rural low income co-ops by firms and individuals who "have become rich and successful from the contracts they received to work with cooperatives." Since 1969 OEO, Ford, and other private foundations have spent over $2 million for monitoring, advising, and evaluating low-income co-ops.[14]

"Black folks do not need to be studied by white folks like they study rats and pigs," Prejean wrote in early 1972. "We don't exist as inmates in white folks' laboratories for their personal, scientific, or other grotesque aggrandizements. We are human beings forced in a situation of servitude . . . and this situation was caused and is being perpetuated by white folks, not us. How in the hell can they study us and come up with any findings that will help our situation when the causes of our basic problems are not internal, are not with us? Our problems are caused by them and will not cease to exist by studying us, but will stop when they stop causing them."[15]

Respect for the integrity of poor people and their right to determine for themselves what they need, emerged as a central issue of the controversy. In addition, many people felt that the stated purpose of the study — to test the economic viability of co-ops as a tool for economic development among the rural poor — had already been demonstrated in this country and overseas. Extant literature and experience supports this position for cooperatives generally. Data on marginal, low-income co-ops in the rural South is necessarily limited since the current movement is less than ten years old. Their future in a largely hostile economic and political environment is not at all secure. That cooperatives (or CDC's, or similar ventures) are crucial to the survival of the rural poor, both farm and non-farm, both black and white, is virtually unassailable. But their immediate "effectiveness" depends, for now anyway, as much on government policies and external support as on the cooperatives themselves. Moreover, no one, least of all the cooperatives, claims that co-ops can fight rural poverty alone. Thus for OEO to order a sweeping evaluation of their ability to "alleviate rural poverty," was more than enough to cause FSC and its companion groups to be "somewhat leery" of the ABT study when it was first unveiled.

Their skepticism changed to "genuine alarm" when, on the basis of conversations with OEO Director Frank Carloucci and other government staff, they concluded that the primary purpose of the evaluation was to justify a severe cutback in OEO's commitment to low-income co-ops.

The cooperative directors learned from official OEO publications and OEO staff people themselves that OEO was contemplating a reduction in its research and development budget. Although he was later to reverse his position, Father McKnight of SCDF opposed the study in his August 17, 1971, "Progress Report" in which he described an initial meeting with OEO representatives: "From the discussion we were informed that OEO had already made the decision to stop funding rural cooperatives . . . " It was not difficult to ascertain that the real purpose of the study was to help OEO justify its decision to stop funding rural cooperatives. . . "Long before the national media exposed the infamous attempt to dismantle OEO, FSC staffers were getting the word. "We had been told by some officials in the government that Nixon was thinking about shutting up OEO entirely and discontinuing support for programs like cooperatives," Prejean recalls. "What else could it (the evaluation) have been other than a need on the part of the administration to justify our defunding?"

Dr. Lamond Godwin, a one-time consultant to the Ford Foundation on rural cooperatives, concurs. "In reality," he says, "the OEO cut-back came because OEO itself was being eliminated. The study was designed to help them close the books. What OEO wanted was to have somebody show a lot of money was wasted. They were doing this systematically for all OEO programs. It was important politically to

Photo by Pat Goudvis

Freedom Quilting Bee, Alberta, Alabama.

Photo by Pat Goudvis

demonstrate these programs were not working, so that OEO itself could be destroyed."

As it turned out, the Nixon attempt to disband OEO was revealed in the press and finally halted by federal court order in April, 1973. As for ABT Associates, it did eventually proceed with the study. Their final conclusions, lavishly fitted in charts, tables, and endless pages of sociological verbiage, were basically no different from previous, smaller, and less expensive investigations into rural cooperatives. "When you boil it all down," says John Zippert of FSC, "ABT got $400,000 to discover that 'Cooperatives are a good thing, but they have to be managed well.'"

In any event, every source then available strongly suggested that OEO was asking the cooperatives to collaborate in their own defunding. The Association of Cooperative Directors drafted a position paper detailing their objections. They were finally granted an audience in January, 1972, with new OEO Director Phillip V. Sanchez (now U.S. ambassador to Honduras) who, according to McKnight, assured the directors that they could help shape the guidelines for the study (but not replace ABT). Sanchez also intimated that if they cooperated with the evaluation, they would continue to receive OEO support. After receiving inquiries from a number of Senators and Congressmen whose support had been enlisted (including Sparkman of Alabama, Cook of Kentucky, Talmadge of Georgia, and Hollins of South Carolina), Sanchez finally committed that statement to writing. With his promise on paper, SCDF and the individual co-ops, seeing no practical reason for opposing the study, agreed to go along.[16] Prejean and FSC continued to resist, feeling that the funding was less important than the need to establish greater respect for their integrity and ability to plot their own future free of unnecessary governmental interference. McKnight and SCDF, on the other hand, apparently felt that the greater priority was to channel as much money as possible into the cooperative movement while funds were available, so long as the strings attached were compatible with their goals.

In any case, OEO moved quickly to defund FSC once it was isolated in its refusal to go along with the study. In mid-February OEO gave FSC until March 15, 1972, to agree to the evaluation and submit a proposal for refunding. FSC asked for an extension until May 30 to allow time for further consultation with its membership, which had opposed the study in its December annual meeting. By the end of March FSC had submitted two proposals — one for $590,000 to provide technical assistance to the co-ops and another for $500,000 for SCDF loan packaging. But on April 4 OEO telegraphed FSC that it would not be refunded for 1972-73 because it had violated the terms of the grant by not agreeing to the evaluation.

Meanwhile, the Fund, either on its own or at the suggestion of OEO, had submitted its own proposal, and their application for $650,000 was approved in June, 1972. (OEO's support did not end there. A year later, in May, 1973, SCDF received another $1.4 million for a two-year period ending in June 1975.) Thus the Fund broke away from its parent organization, signaling the beginning of a painful and often bitter dispute between the two organizations, a rift that was widened and exploited even further by the Ford Foundation.

Ford Foundation: Does Father Know Best?

When FSC submitted its first funding proposal to the Ford Foundation in 1969, it asked for $30 million, a ludicrous figure by any standard except what was actually needed for human resource development in the rural South. The request represented about ten per cent of the total Ford giveaway that year, and the Foundation gently suggested a second, less ambitious proposal. Even so, when the Foundation began funding FSC for about $500,000 per year, the Federation emerged as one of the chief recipients of Ford money in the South.

The partnership lasted four years. In the spring, 1972, in the middle of the hassles with OEO, Ford informed FSC it would lose its support unless FSC concentrated Ford's money on a fewer number of cooperatives. It was Ford's view (shared by both Father A.J. McKnight of SCDF and economist Ray Marshall of the Task Force on Southern Rural Development) that limited funds are most effectively used by establishing a respectable "track record" among a few co-ops, i.e. building "success stories" which would then have a "multiplier effect" in generating massive public and private funds for more co-ops. This "model" approach, a foundation favorite, is deemed safest to insure success for co-ops at a time when the poor need anything but more failures and dashed hopes. Marshall, for example, contends that the poor are actually skeptical of co-ops and turn to them out of desperation, not faith.

While the "model" theory has its merits, there is certainly no guarantee that major private and public support would materialize even if the models are successful enough to please potential funding sources. Moreover, to help small farmers pool their resources so they can compete against the larger volume mounted by agribusiness and large farms, a regional marketing network is needed. Such a program is not possible in the "model" approach.

FSC believes its limited resources are more wisely employed in building a broad-based, general support program for co-ops across the entire South. "Raising the income of 30,000 families in 14 states by $100 a year has more impact than raising the income of 3,000 families by $1000," asserts John Zippert. Individual co-ops might achieve financial independence in the prevailing economic climate, he says, but co-ops in general cannot reverse current trends until U.S. agricultural policies are revamped. To force a change in those policies, requires a strong support constituency "in the backyard of every Congressman and Senator."

Yet Ford maintained (and supposedly had maintained all along) that it was a misuse of money to spread a half million dollars over the entire FSC membership. "We were not able to put up enough money to support 125 cooperatives," said Bryant George, the controversial program officer in charge of the FSC file, "and we couldn't sit by and fund 125 with too little money."

In fact, FSC was already concentrating Ford's half million on agricultural co-ops, which comprise about one-third of the FSC membership. According to Zippert, FSC offered to concentrate two-thirds of the Ford money on 12 agricultural co-ops and use the remainder on an agricultural marketing program which would benefit the twelve but whose success would depend on involving as many co-ops as possible. Ford apparently rejected this offer.

George claims that when Ford first began funding rural cooperatives in 1967 a number of other sources had promised up to $30 million to FSC and SCDF, sources which "vanished" as the economy began to falter in 1969. "Ford and OEO stayed and maintained their commitment," he says, "but now the game had changed. Before, we were going to be part of a much larger funding package, and no doubt a great deal of very good work could have been done with very needy organizations . . . . Instead of having about $30 million to do this with, they now had about a million dollars."

One wonders how Bryant George thinks the "model" approach will generate massive support ("real money, big money," as he calls it) when it so mysteriously de-materialized in 1969 after a successful, Ford-funded demonstration program of two years' duration. The fact is, no one else but Mr. George remembers commitments totaling $30 million. That was the amount of the original FSC request to Ford, but the figure rings no other bells.

Foundations like to use their grants as a "leverage" to generate other funding for the groups they support, and applicants are well aware that foundations and government agencies follow each other around. Bryant George apparently thought Ford's money was not having this effect at FSC and he uses it as one justification for abandoning ship. Yet FSC did, in fact, continue to receive new and substantial grants from both government and private sources (mostly for specific programs) after Ford's departure, and had Ford remained FSC probably could have generated even more support for their general budget.

Charges of collusion between Bryant George's office and certain individuals within OEO were never proven. George himself says Ford would have bailed out even if OEO had not. A more likely explanation for George's growing dislike for FSC was his own enchantment with the Community Development Corporation idea which came into vogue about the time he joined Ford around 1970-71.

Ford not only wanted the Federation to concentrate its money on five co-ops, but it also wanted to name which five. FSC felt this constituted internal manipulation and a violation of their own self-determining powers. Their distrust of Ford was deepened by pressures they felt from Bryant George to change board and staff members and to merge with SCDF. "We tried everything we could within reason, as reasonable men, to be able to continue to fund the Federation," George intoned. "We suggested that perhaps they would want to have structural changes, change in personnel." Asked if he had advocated the resignation of Charles Prejean as executive director, George replied, "Let's put it this way, I don't think that would have resolved anything . . . . The FSC board simply could not change their position. They felt thay had to go with their whole membership."

No one denies that foundations have a right and indeed an obligation to see that their money is being spent honestly and in the most effective manner. The Tax Reform Act of 1969, in fact, holds the foundations accountable for how its funds are spent by certain types of organizations. Moreover, as Ford board member Vivian Henderson says, "If a group doesn't want to abide by the guidelines, they don't have to accept the money." Yet, taking all of this into consideration, was Ford justified in insisting that FSC concentrate its funds on five co-ops which Ford wanted to hand-pick? Was Bryant George justified in even suggesting structural and personnel changes in FSC? "Foundations don't necessarily have all the answers," says Charles Prejean. "Until foundations can allow people they assist to determine how those resources should be spent, then we're going to have the problems with them we have right now. Just because a person has needs but not resources, does not mean he has to be manipulated by folks who have the money, especially by an organization which pretends to assist the under-privileged. Certainly they are accountable, and they should be accountable first to the persons they are supposed to be serving."

Perhaps the worst offense Ford committed in the whole affair was putting Prejean and his board into an impossible bind. The Ford ultimatum (concentrate or die) placed FSC in a no-win situation. To accept Ford's conditions meant not only abandoning the weakest co-ops to help the strongest five (and creating political havoc internally), but also forsaking its own strategy for a regional resource network. To reject Ford's conditions, of course, meant kissing good-bye a half million bucks — a move which, given OEO's recent departure, could prove suicidal.

But in the end FSC had no choice, and its time ran out. In mid-summer 1972, less than four months after OEO had pulled out, Ford informed the Federation that the objectives of the two organizations were "no longer compatible." Like OEO, Ford switched its support to SCDF, which organized a Southern Development Foundation the following November to channel $450,000 for technical assistance to five selected cooperatives.

The Aftermath

FSC was in no position to lose $1 million, and the loss hit them hard, requiring severe cut-backs in technical assistance and developmental capital for co-ops, floating field staff, educational programs, and demonstration projects at the Epes center. Hard-core staff remained, but salaries were divided and belts tightened, recalling the earlier civil rights days when people worked 70 hours for $40 a week. As various grant proposals (e.g. the Business Development Network) were approved, FSC began to bounce back, but it is still hampered by a lack of funds for technical assistance and developmental capital for co-ops.

As mentioned earlier, a much more serious development was the rift between FSC and SCDF, which has never really been resolved, although leaders on both sides continue to hope for some accord. Various attempts to bring the two groups closer together have not borne much fruit thus far, and now about all they share are one board member (it used to be several) and their attorney, George Howell of Atlanta.

During 1973 Charles Prejean took a "leave of absence" from his post as executive director, returning in January, 1974, at the request of staff and board. Jim Jones was executive director for part of that year, and Jones feels the Federation staff profited from the defunding experience by becoming aware of the "danger of getting sucked into the grant syndrome." The period of hardship, he said, forced the staff to think about its priorities and to realize its primary goal is independence, not survival-at-any-cost.

Partly as a result of its experience with OEO and Ford, the Federation is exploring ways to become less dependent on external resources. While most cooperatives, community groups, and minority businesses are still unable to pay for such FSC services as marketing, bookkeeping, purchasing, and research studies, they are expected to do so when they are able. Too, the Federation is developing business enterprises in which it will share in the profits created. One vehicle for this is PanSco Inc., a wholly-owned, for-profit corporation which presently operates concessions at Epes and leases equipment to FSC and other groups. It is also hoped that farm operations at Epes will one day generate needed monies; the proximity of FSC land to the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway holds great promises for industrial and recreational development. Possibly the most ambitious attempt at self-reliance is the Forty Acres and A Mule Endowment Fund which FSC hopes to capitalize with grants, bequests and long-term no-interest loans. Funds will be invested in rural banks and the interest proceeds used for general programming. FSC projects a $10 million FAAM Endowment by 1980, but no major donors have yet materialized. Finally, the best example of the FSC staff's desire for independent success for their organization is their Staff Contribution Fund. Each staff person contributes at least one per cent and up to ten per cent of his income to this fund, which is currently covering the $16,142 yearly mortgage on the 1,325 acres at Epes. The $28,000 administration building at the Epes center was financed entirely by the fund.

For the forseeable future, however, financial self-sufficiency is about as remote as a pot of rainbow gold, and the scarcity of resources for general services means that FSC and its struggling member cooperatives are not out of the woods yet — not by a long shot. Perhaps it is because of this relative fragility that FSC is turning with greater frequency to outside technical assistance and far-reaching marketing/resource/service strategies.

When Prejean returned to his post as executive director in January, 1974, one of the programs he revived was the Technical Advisory Board which, as its name implies, is intended to provide the Federation with highly sophisticated technical advice from agronomists, horticulturists, marketing specialists, transportation and logistics experts, systems analysts, and the like. The Cummins Engine Foundation has loaned FSC one of its executives to put this board together, identify available resources, and create a program for internal income generation. In addition, FSC has obtained the assistance of several other advisory boards, including a Cornell University "Ag Team" composed of blacks with post-graduate training in a variety of fields who will serve as adjunct and full-time staff to the Federation. Some of these team members were originally FSC staffers who were encouraged to seek advanced technical training.

Marketing may prove another source of financial support for the Federation. During its seven-year history FSC marketing specialists have traveled from co-op to co-op advising managers on crops, prices, available market volume, planting and harvesting, and prices and quality. They contacted buyers and served as brokers between buyers and co-ops when harvests came in. Thus the Federation did not actually market the produce and indeed has found it difficult to penetrate the markets in a meaningful way. Yet for the first time last year the Federation took possession of some of the crops its member farmers produce, in order to command better prices for the products sold and to keep brokers' charges within the FSC structure. For these same reasons, FSC hopes to be recognized eventually as the marketer for all agricultural and handicraft products its members produce. FSC estimates, for example, that if it were able to market the 985 acres and $1.7 million worth of tomatoes, watermelons, and greenbeans produced by its Florida and South Carolina members, it could save the farmers $170,000 in middlemen charges. Eliminating the middleman will become an increasing concern for FSC.

To accomplish this kind of marketing capability, FSC is moving on several fronts, notably in negotiations with several Japanese corporations engaged in international food production and marketing. In October, 1974, FSC embarked on a joint venture with Taiyo Americas, Inc., whereby FSC will distribute TA's fish products and Taiyo Americas will export FSC-produced soybeans, beginning with the 1976 crop season.

The Federation hopes to decentralize its services by increasing the role of the eleven state associations. Member cooperatives in each state elect the State Association boards, which in turn send representatives to the FSC board. FSC wishes to see the Associations become increasingly involved in delivery of services; identifying, utilizing, and coordinating available resources; and creating economic development enterprises, or community development corporations, which would be involved in such areas as agricultural marketing, storage, transportation, housing, rural health delivery, and vocational

Federation of Southern Cooperatives

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training. They "would be tied directly to the economic needs and potential of the community."

FSC has recently submitted a proposal to OEO (giving them "another chance") to fund State Association staffs to put these ideas into action. Probably the most comprehensive proposal FSC has ever compiled, it calls for a "regional information-assistance-resource matrix" centered on the state associations. The cost is estimated at $1 million and would generate 25 times that amount in the results achieved by the local community development units. Naturally FSC is not overly optimistic about OEO approval, even though the proposal follows the CDC approach which OEO is funding now. If rejected, the proposal will be broken into separate parts and resubmitted to other agencies and foundations.

IV

As FSC increasingly moves toward more complicated structures, as it strikes agreements with international corporations and depends more heavily on technical advice, what happens to the small farmers and other poor people in whose name fancy proposals are drafted and business ventures created? How does FSC insure their control and participation?

Jim Jones points out that it "would be the easiest thing in the world" for the Federation to abandon the low-income co-ops and marginal farmers in favor of farms and businesses which could insure quick financial success. "We're more interested in creating a financial instrument that can consider the basic needs which a majority of the people have in our society," Prejean says. "Successful businesses won't mean anything if they are more advanced than the people they are working with."

Membership education is mentioned as the primary vehicle for avoiding loss of membership control to managers and experts. But this component of "human resource development" is lost without a corresponding ability to come through for the membership. "How do you talk to a person about education and training unless you can show him there are other resources available he can use once he gets the training?" Prejean asks.

Commenting on the dangers inherent in agreements with private corporations and government agencies, Prejean goes on to say: "Their values and ours are certainly much different. It is a question right now of trying to further cooperative principles despite the other partner's values. We realize there is a risk of being subsumed by their values, but I think there is enough strength within the cooperative movement to avoid being co-opted."

And further:

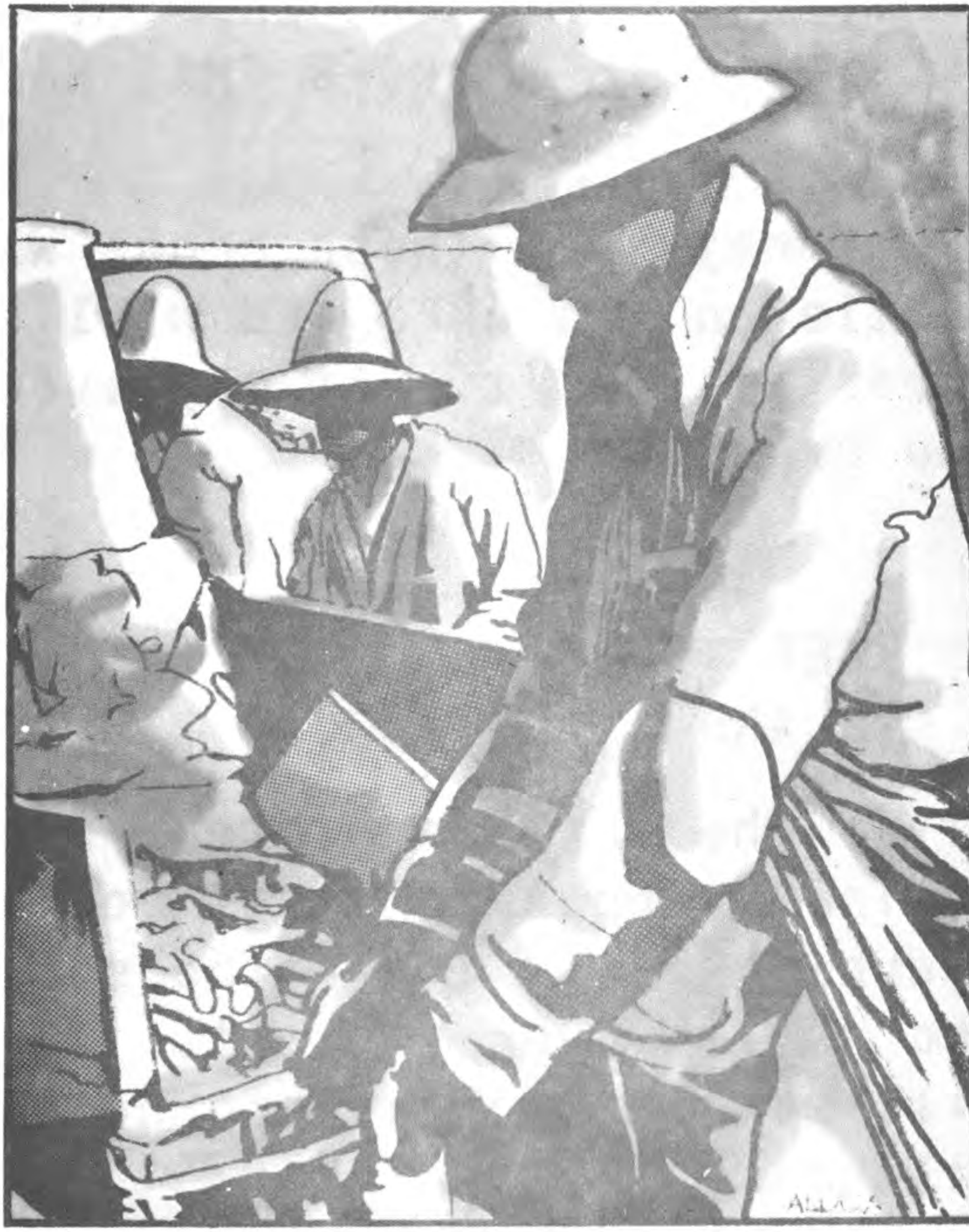
"I think we can deal with the Japanese and the industrialists and their capitalistic tendencies (and still) encourage cooperative development. But once we lose sight of human and cooperative development, we will be lost. So far, we've been able to keep it in the forefront."

Anyone who hangs around Charles Oran Prejean long enough will hear him use one of his illustrative tree or baby analogies to describe the often slow, deliberate stages of growth and development a movement like FSC must pass through on its way to maturity. And that is exactly how Prejean and the other FSC staffers see their work, as a movement for social and economic change which will require a lifetime of personal commitment. And judging from their experience and tenacity during the period following the OEO-Ford controversy, they are in Epes, Alabama, for the long haul.

Prejean sometimes speaks of the Federation as a kind of "holy remnant" or prophetic voice in the wilderness, and certainly there is room for some satisfaction in knowing one is intensely engaged in an historic struggle for freedom. But there is also a refreshing sense of the South and of the integrity of the southern consciousness:

"There is a tremendous amount of talent in the South," Prejean says. "We don't have the glibness that some of our counterparts and friends have in the Northeast, but the people who are most capable of dealing with problems in the rural South are people who are products of those environments. The serious folks — black and white — would stand a much better chance in dealing with our problems if we were allowed to deal with them ourselves."

Enough said.



Drawing from F.S.C. proposal.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ray Marshall and Lamond Godwin, *Cooperatives and Rural Poverty in the South,* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, pp. 29-42. The historical summary given here is taken from these pages as well as from interviews with Charles Prejean and Lamond Godwin.

2. Linda Kravitz, *Who's Minding the Co-op?,* Washington, Agribusiness Accountability Project, p. 8-9. AAP is located at 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20007. Write for their list of excellent publications.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

4. A.V. Krebs, "A Summary Report on Major U.S. Corporations Involved in Agribusiness," Agribusiness Accountability Project.

5. Marshall and Godwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-25.

6. Jim Hightower, "A Summary of *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times,*" Agribusiness Accountability Project, p. 4.

7. Peter H. Schuck, "Black Land Grant Colleges: Separate and Unequal," testimony before the Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Part 4A, p. 2352. Write directly to the committee to obtain the record of these hearings, which contains a wealth of useful information.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 2361.

9. Lester M. Salamon, *Black-Owned Land: Profile of a Disappearing Equity Base*, Durham, N.C., Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, Duke University p. vii. This report was commissioned by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, U.S. Department of Commerce.

So you want a land use bill?

Photo by Roy Smith

The Case of the N.C. Mountain Area Management Act

by Joy Lamm

The proposed 1974 North Carolina Mountain Area Management Act represents more than just another legislative entanglement of interest only to professional planners and people with insomnia. The problems it addresses, as well as the broader, more complex issues it raises, have consequences for us all. For by our care or neglect, by our knowledge or ignorance, we are involved in shaping the relationship of people to land and defining the future of both. Our very presence as persons makes us part of age-old conflicts arising out of the clash of private rights with public needs. As land becomes increasingly scarce, such conflicts become crucial ones. Understanding them is not easy; dealing with them in a productive and conciliatory way is almost impossible.

Mountain Land and Mixed Values

The concept of public, shared ownership and management of land has existed from the time of the earliest tribal systems. In contrast, the concept of private property rights, in common law terms, has evolved only in the relatively recent centuries since feudalism, when sovereign monarchs granted land to individuals as gifts or rewards for service. Since that time, land has become an object, a personal possession, a symbol of wealth, prestige, and power. It has become a measure of autonomy which few people, once they acquire it, are willing to give up "for the public good."

Such an attitude toward the land is deeply entrenched in the Appalachian mountains, where land is often the only possession that remains to be handed down from generation to generation. Indeed, original land grants may still be found in the hands of mountain dwellers. For many, land remains the measure of what it means to be independent, to be "native," to be special: to have one's place in the present world and one's roots solidly in the past.

This point of view, while fostering strong emotional opposition to governmental intervention in matters of land use (and often paradoxically hastening exploitation), also provides fertile ground for the development of new attitudes toward the land. The North Carolina mountains are becoming a focal point in the process of change. For it is here that people are experiencing, for the first time, the threat of losing the very mountains themselves to earth-moving machines and the discontented urbanites who seem to follow in their path.

There are those who compare the phenomenon to the beginnings of the coal industry in other Appalachian states early in the century which brought promises of economic prosperity and luxuries available only in a progressively materialistic society. Such promises encouraged people to sign deeds giving up the controlling mineral rights to their property. It was an irretrievable step. And what began as a hope for progress quickly decayed in shattered dreams, lost pride and ravaged land.

Although the people of the North Carolina mountains escaped the blight of the coal industry and continued to live in a predominantly self-sufficient, agrarian society for many decades, they are now facing their own peculiar blight created by the recreation and second-home industry. Ravaged by irresponsible development, many communities are finding it increasingly difficult (and often impossible) to prevent the destruction of mountainsides and fertile valleys. Air and water are polluted by careless and wasteful construction practices. Erosion and destruction of wildlife continue unabated. Highways and precious bottom land are lined with tourist-centered businesses which not only cause congestion and blight, but also limit the capabilities for diversified economic growth.

More and more people are coming to "get away from it all" by skiing and getting high at exclusive resorts or by participating in Tweetsie and Land-of-Oz fantasy resorts. They are lured by the prospect of owning their own piece of the dream — a vacation hideaway. Resort executives admit that the ski slopes, the scenic attractions, the fancy clubhouses, the recreation areas are bait to hook people into buying second homes, condominiums, and most of all, land. Expensive land. But also fragile land, the last vestiges of wilderness land. It has been a good deal, for the urbanites could "return to nature" while retaining all the comforts and diversions of home. And the developers and investors have been making a lot of money in the process.

One result of the land rush is that traditionally *laissez-faire* local governments are being faced with problems as complex as those of metropolitan areas; yet they have no established philosophy or social machinery to rely upon as they seek equitable and acceptable solutions. Local controls are not enough to cope with the onslaught of corporate develop-

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For the past two years Joy Lamm has been interviewing, examining records, and speaking on the Mountain Area Management Act and related issues. She lives in Boone, N.C., serves on the Watauga County Planning Board and is organizing an area farmers' market to encourage more productive use of the land. While Director of the Appalachian Oral History Project at Appalachian State University in Boone, she headed a pilot project on the attitudes of long-time residents toward the land.

ment, fly-by-night entrepeneurs, and state and regional tourism policies, all of which encourage large segments of the urban population to find idyllic escape in the North Carolina mountains.

Mountain people are discovering that, almost overnight, the craggy slopes of mountains where for generations their families have survived by peeling bark and gathering medicinal herbs are of great monetary worth to the leisure industry. The music and crafts which have been the means of sheer psychological and physical survival in an isolated area are now the focus of hordes of culturally-starved urbanites. And the rocky mountain land which has often brought the mountain farmer little more than bloodied knuckles, broken hoes, and a cellar of potatoes is now eagerly sought out by former city dwellers enraptured with its pastoral qualities.

It is this same force of "development," bringing with it a promise of prosperity and a call to trade off land for money, which also encourages (even forces) the renunciation of traditional values for those of urbanism. The first glow of progress, however, is beginning to fade as it becomes clearer to mountain people that the prosperity is likely to be short-lived and that the new values which disrupt family and community ties also destroy a vital sense of identity and belonging.

Long-time area residents speak increasingly of the need to protect the land which is their inheritance, which retains some permanent value in a time of conflicting biculturalism. Such biculturalism is reflected in the desire of people to retain their self-sufficiency and their conflicting desire to go to work for somebody else because it will bring in more money. It is also reflected in the desire for the lost sense of community and the concomitant desire to sell one's land and move away to a more "exciting" place. And it is reflected in the desire of many of the region's young people to assume the values of the affluent jet-set youth who flock to resorts like Sugar Mountain on the weekend to ski and get stoned and race down winding mountain roads in expensive sports cars. It is the inevitable cultural conflict which comes when people of a relatively isolated society are suddenly thrust into the larger world of mass communications, consumerism, urbanism, and leisure.

In the midst of such cultural conflicts, the land can symbolize permanence and deeper, more enduring values. And yet the land is the very thing which must be bargained away for the sake of progress. When it becomes easier or more profitable to work in the factory or at the gas station than to work the rocky land, the land's intrinsic value may begin to appear less important to those who have owned it. Only later (and often too late) is there a realization that the land has value as a stabilizing factor in a time of complex social change, as a symbol of one's attachment to and belonging to a community in a time of disintegrating kinship ties, as a measure of power and self-sufficiency in determining the future of one's home and family in a time of economic and political turbulence.

Toward a Plan

Professional planners unanimously characterize the land use planning of the North Carolina mountains as "planning by reaction." But it is a reaction to a metamorphosis so swift and so complex that few people have grasped its many implications. Some of those who began early to understand that planning-by-reaction was no longer adequate — members of the small, citizens' Mountain Land Use Action Group — met informally with State Secretary of Natural and Economic Resources, James E. Harrington, on a snowy winter's day two years ago.

It was late 1972. In the shadow of the Sugar Mountain ski slope they talked of the problems which even then called for immediate solutions. They impressed upon Secretary Harrington that no matter what the intentions of the developers, the vacationers, or the second-home buyers, both the future capabilities of the land and the future of the people who lived and depended on it were being relentlessly destroyed. The Mountain Land Use Action Group presented Harrington with a petition which concluded:

> *Due to the hesitancy of local governments in dealing with the problems of land use until the cancer of irresponsible development has already set in, we, as residents of the mountains and concerned citizens, request that our Governor take steps to preserve the character of our valuable mountains. We propose the creation of a Mountain Zone Management Commission. . . .*

The Group's approach had many an honorable precedent; protective legislation seemed the obvious tactic.

The Mountain Area Management Act which was first introduced into the 1973 N.C. General Assembly was, in part, a product of that winter meeting with Secretary Harrington, who himself had close ties with the resort industry in the mountains. Harrington had gone to his cabinet-level state job earlier in 1972 from an executive position at the exclusive ski and tennis resort of Sugar Mountain in Banner Elk, N.C. Before that he held a similar position in the resort and golfing community of Pinehurst. Harrington considered himself both a responsible private developer and a responsible public administrator, seeing no conflict of interest in the two roles. In fact, he felt his background gave him a better understanding of the problems and possible solutions in the mountains.

Harrington's analysis of the situation, in concept, was a widely-held one: economic development is needed, but it must be balanced by ecological considerations. From his perspective, the recreation and resort industry was the most obvious answer to the mountains' economic plight. In the spring of 1973, just before the Mountain Act was introduced into the General Assembly, Harrington explained his position:

> The rural areas of our State and particularly the mountainous and eastern sections need an economic boost. They don't need and we don't need irresponsible fast-buck land developers, but we should be in a position to work with and encourage the quality developments that can improve the economic circumstances of some of our rural areas.

When a mountain resident wrote Harrington to express concern about the long-range effects of a tourism-resort economy, Harrington replied:

> *Speaking from a background of over twenty years in the resort industry, I do not share your concerns about the instability of a tourist-oriented economy. But I certainly do share your concerns about the serious adverse effects that could be experienced from irresponsible and unguided over-development of an ecologically sensitive area such as the mountains.*

Harrington's philosophy of economic development was to become the basic Holshouser Administration position. And the Mountain Act (and its companion coastal act) was shaped and guided through the legislative process on the strength of such a stand. Harrington spent the next two years lecturing on it, defending it, and doing his job of "taking the heat off the Governor" (presumably laid on by irate developers) in the process.

In the early spring of 1973, however, Harrington's task was a tactical one: he had to find some viable way of responding to the citizens' petition and the Administration's concerns. An act to manage the coastal area had been on the drawing board for some time and was slated for introduction into the 1973 General Assembly, as was the planning-oriented State Land Policy Act. Would it be politically feasible to introduce a third land use bill into a traditionally conservative legislature? Harrington was at first skeptical but he met with Governor Holshouser and key advisors to discuss the possibility. Shortly thereafter he reported that the Governor had asked that the three bills be joined together in one legislative package.

The 1973 General Assembly was then in the midst of its session. If any bill on the mountain area was going to be introduced, it would have to be drawn quickly. So, one weekend, several administrators from the Department of Natural and Economic Resources (DNER) headed for the beach with a copy of the Coastal Bill for a guide, notepads, and a directive to grind out a companion mountain bill. Thus it was that the Mountain Area Management Act was born among the sand dunes of the coast, hundreds of miles from the mountains and from the people who would be most affected by the bill if enacted. Even today, after two sessions of the General Assembly and a complete rewriting of the bill, traces of that frantic weekend remain in references to shellfish, crustacea, and scallops management and mosquito control districts.

After that weekend, the bill existed, whatever its shortcomings. It was introduced during the final days of the 1973 legislative session. No one expected debate or passage; but with its referral to the Senate Natural and Economic Resources Committee and the House Water and Air Resources Committee, a strategy could be developed for working on the bill in future sessions. An agreement was reached between these committees (headed by Senator William Staton and Representative Willis Whichard, respectively, both of Piedmont counties) and DNER which would allow for closer examination of the bill: Committee and DNER representatives planned to spend the summer travelling to other states with similar land use legislation and holding joint public hearings in the regions affected to assess citizens' reactions to their proposals.

Public Hearings and Government Response

The four mountain-region hearings were held in stuffy courtrooms during weekday work hours. Citizens' groups such as the Sierra Club and the League of Women Voters were represented, as were local governments and professionals testifying for timbering concerns and resort and real estate interests. Scattered here and there were individual citizens with personal testimonies. A few groups of school children watched government in action ("an exercise in democracy at its best," as Chairman Whichard called it) in this first attempt by a committee of the North Carolina legislature to hold on-the-road hearings.

The people who were conspicuously absent were the majority of the area's permanent residents, who often did not know of the bill or the hearings (though they were announced in local papers), who could not leave their jobs and their farms to come, and who felt that they "didn't know how to talk" to the imposing legislative committee members who presided with feet propped up on the long courtroom tables.

Of the local citizens who did come, many were concerned only about how the bill would affect their immediate lives. The farmers at the Franklin hearing opposed any bill that might regulate their outhouses. Residents along the Blue Ridge Parkway feared that they might be denied entrance and exit to their property. But, in general, local residents simply wanted to know what the bill was all about.

Photo by Roy Smith

Both small and large development interests, however, were far from confused or timid. They all testified as to their personal passion for "ecology" and asked for "reasonable" restraints. The most influential resort developers obviously sought to convince the panel and the audience that they were part of an "honorable profession." For example, George McRay, Vice President of Sugar Mountain, declared in his position statement: "The developers are in the minority. Developers sound bad; but they're not all that bad in trying to give people pleasure."

A travel promotion man was more direct: "Our land is now ready to be sold off nationally under a high-pitch sales approach." The president of a retirees' hiking association had a special point of view: "This area is eminently suitable for retirees from other places. And the people here are eminently suitable to serve these people . . . . We've got to think the way they do in Cleveland or Maine. . . . We should consider western North Carolina a retirement area!" One of the most categorical declarations came from the timber interests' lobbyist, Dr. Peter Mount, who testified that "We don't like to see additional restrictions placed on the timber industry."

There was a consensus at the hearings that the North Carolina mountains should be "saved." The disagreements came because each group or individual wanted them saved for its own, often conflicting purposes. And virtually no one could agree on exactly how it all could be done. The basic concept of a unified management system was widely endorsed. Arguments in support of the bill were that uncontrolled development destroys its own economic value; that time is running out for the state in its ability to protect lands of great aesthetic, ecological, or recreational value; and that individual property rights should be subordinate to public rights in protecting valuable resources and the general quality of life.

Major opposition to the bill came from those who felt that local controls were preferable to state ones; that the end result of the bill would be a proliferation of bureaucracy; that past governmental action in the region warranted distrust of this attempt; that condemnation powers would destroy an already weak local tax base; and that there was an obvious lack of grassroots input which would result in the concentration of power in the hands of a small group of individuals. Another concern was that the bill made no provision for injunctive relief through class action suits. There were many questions about specific sections of the bill by proponents and opponents alike. After four tiresome days of listening, the legislators went home.

Before the legislature reconvened, Dr. Milton Heath, Assistant Director of the University of North Carolina's Institute of Government, worked with the legislators and DNER men in drafting new bills for both the mountains and coast. The original 29 page bills were expanded to 50 pages of more elaborate definitions, expanded coverage, and procedural refinements. Subtle modifications in language refined the bills' intent. The result was that the original objections to the bills' vagueness were replaced by fears that they were now so legally precise that most people would never be able to understand fully their many implications.

Photo by Jeff Jacobson

WHAT THE LAND USE BILL DOES

In its final draft, the North Carolina Management Act of 1974 provides for a comprehensive state-local planning and implementation process for drawing up county-by-county land use plans, designating areas of environmental concern (whose definitions follow closely those of the pending Jackson land use bill, S. 628), and enforcing orderly development and management procedures through a permit system. Primary responsibility for directing this process will fall to a 15-member Mountain Commission (the majority of whom should be residents of the area), the Department of Natural and Economic Resources, and the Department of Administration.

The expressed goals of the Act include protection and preservation of natural resources (including scenic vistas); management of transitional or "intensely developed" areas; establishment of policies for the economic development of the region, including "construction, location, and design" of industrial, commercial, housing, and other development; establishment of guidelines for recreation areas, transportation routes and related facilities; preservation and enhancement of historic, cultural, and scientific aspects of the area; and "any other purposes and considerations deemed necessary or appropriate to effectuate the policy of this Article."

The Commission members have broad discretionary powers: they can veto county land use plans; they are mandated to give particular attention to the nature of development *which shall be appropriate* in areas of environmental concern; and they are allowed, in consultation with governmental agencies, to set objectives, standards, and policies to be followed in the public and private use of land and water within the region.

The Secretary of DNER and his staff are responsible for coordinating all these efforts. Penalties for persons violating the provisions of the Act are not less than $100 nor more than $1,000 fine and/or 60 days in jail (with each day of a continuing violation a separate offense) and a possible civil suit on behalf of the affected local government.

Milton Heath, the current bill's prime drafter, explained its basic aim as that of "consistency":

> Under the Act development must be consistent with plans; plans and permits must be consistent with the Guidelines; plans, permits and Guidelines must be consistent with the goals and policies of the Act; policies concerning use of state-owned lands and land classification systems developed under the State Land Policy Act must be consistent with the Guidelines; and local ordinances affecting lands within areas of environmental concern must be consistent with the plans.*

*Milton Heath, "The Legislative History of the North Carolina Coastal Area Management Act of 1974," draft copy, to be published in the *North Carolina Law Review*. This article is recommended as an examination of the concepts and legal implications of North Carolina land use legislation.

The Legislative Process

When the legislators came back to Raleigh in January, 1974, they were still tired from the previous session, weary of endless political hassling, preoccupied with adoption of state budget items, and concerned about their own campaigns for re-election. Since the legislators' re-election concerns centered on campaign financing and the desire not to alienate wealthy, influential individuals who were prospective contributors, general consumer interests were pushed into the background. Nevertheless, the natural resources committees of the House and Senate did meet together to approve tentatively the rewritten coastal and mountain bills. Their strategy was to get the coastal bill through, letting the mountain bill slip in behind it if the atmosphere was favorable.

They could hardly have conceived of the battle that was to follow when their intentions to get regional bills enacted were taken seriously by their colleagues. Milton Heath recalls that although there had been little outright opposition to the concept in earlier sessions, it came to the surface early in 1974 and continued until the day of adjournment. The obstacle course that the Coastal Bill traversed in its passage is indicative of the struggle such land use legislation must face. The time and energy devoted to the Coastal Bill's passage prevented the Mountain Bill from being seriously considered, though it was never far from the minds of most legislators.

Milton Heath outlines the Coastal Bill's impressive skirmishes (and major battles) which included:

- another public hearing in Raleigh in February, 1974 (a delaying tactic demanded by development interests);
- the natural resource committee's devotion of their time for the entire session to the Coastal Bill and its amendments;
- a tentative bill passage in the Senate after numerous delays and the attachment of 12 floor amendments;
- a filibustering by amendments in the House which lasted twelve hours and which concluded when 22 out of 51 floor amendments were passed, all by roll-call vote; (Heath and DNER considered most of the ratified amendments tactical rather than substantive in nature);
- a rejection by the Senate of the House amendments by a 24 to 20 vote;
- a last minute re-vote on the same amendments by the Senate on the very next day with an outcome of a 32-9 turnaround vote (due largely to the pressures exerted by powerful political figures in behind-the-scenes maneuverings);
- a final approval of the Coastal Bill two days before the end of the session and its ratification on the next to the last day.

It was a long and fierce political process. All those involved were acutely aware that a Mountain Act was sure to follow; that their actions might open the flood gates for similar liberal proposals; and that entrenched interest groups, with their power and freedom threatened, were sure to react to any restrictive land use legislation.

Indeed, powerful groups representing interests such as banking, utilities, and land development never relaxed their efforts to get the bills shaped to their particular needs. They were preoccupied with the coastal bill since it was first on the agenda and since the public was growing more and more vocal in favoring protection of what was left of that fragile area. Behind-the-scenes maneuvering included the introduction of a series of "smoke screen" amendments (dealing with the necessity for more local participation and more refined wording) which were, in effect, only a means of building up a broader base of discontent. Such interests were aided by a coalition of Eastern and Mountain delegates, including Speaker of the House Jim Ramsey, which provided formidable opposition to the bill.

Another key issue was the composition of the Coastal Commission. Democrats wanted to insure a party majority on the Commission; and county and city governments wanted to be assured of a strong voice. A compromise allowed county governments to submit to the Governor lists of candidates for 12 of the 15 commission slots. The Governor was to choose three additional members from his own list who would represent land development, an at-large member, and financial interests in area land development. When the Commission for the coast was appointed, the Governor chose an area land developer, the vice president of a bank, and a wealthy oil man with residences in North Carolina and Texas.) An informed source explained that Secretary Harrington was instrumental in the arrangement of Administration appointees because he felt that representatives of the development and financial interests would be the most influential and prestigious members of the Commission. By removing such appointments from the caprice of local governments, he believed, more sensible and responsible representatives could be chosen who would also be more responsive to the Administration's position on land use.

High-powered land development corporations, like Venture Management, Inc., of Winston-Salem and Atlanta, while not arguing for specific amendments or wording in the bills, were concerned about the general implications of both. Such groups and individuals, while remaining in the background, did make their presence and their attitudes known in Raleigh.

Photo by Bill Fibben

Mountain developers were also concerned about the proposed legislation. The prestigious G.F. Company, real estate sales and land development corporation, headed by Hugh Morton, offered its advice in shaping the mountain bill:

> *We pledge our assistance to those who are interested in practical, enforceable legislation to assure good land development procedures in all parts of North Carolina, but reaffirm our belief that the bill presented for discussion today is not feasible to administer. We will be pleased to offer our advice to the appropriate parties designated by the General Assembly to formulate a new and more workable bill, if such is your decision. We strongly recommend that this be your decision.*

In addition to this attempt to have direct input in drafting the bill, G.F. Company was also instrumental in hiring a Raleigh attorney, John Gunter III, to lobby for eight mountain resort interests. Those interests included Secretary Harrington's home company, Sugar Mountain; G.F. Company, Invershiel, Inc., and Highland Stable Club, all prime holdings of Hugh Morton, the wealthy and influential Democrat who had previously been a gubernatorial hopeful; and Adams Apple Racquet Club Development, begun by Bob Bingham, former chairman of the North Carolina Young Democrats and a director of Skipper Bowles' election campaign in the 1972 Governor's race.

While groups like the Farm Bureau spent a great deal of time lobbying on particular issues, conservation groups led the support for the bills as a whole. Conservationists felt that despite the potential danger of manipulation by development interests, the coastal and mountain bills assured some measure of protection, especially through their provision for designating areas of environmental concern.

Since, on the surface, the major provisions of the bills seemed beneficial, political subtleties underlying the implementation features were largely ignored even by those reasonably well versed on the issues. For instance, the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Land Use Congress (a group representing various citizen, corporate, and government interests) was ready to vote to allow its president and executive secretary to testify in favor of the 1974 Coastal and Mountain Acts. When members were questioned about whether they were familiar with the new bills (different in many ways from the 1973 versions), no one had read the extensively revised versions, and a majority had never seen a copy of them. Yet a requested delay on the vote was met with anger by the executive secretary who felt such a move was an assault by anti-protectionists.

Conservationists like the N.C. Land Use Congress, League of Women Voters, and Conservation Council of N.C., were clearly most concerned with the protection of scenic and natural values. Concentrated in the Piedmont, especially in the urban Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill complex, they themselves often sought escape in the more placid coastal and mountain areas and sympathized with the belief that such areas, as vital state recreational assets, should be protected for the benefit of all the state's residents.

In the end, compromises defused the potentially devastating debate on the coastal bill by taking into account the personal passions and commitments, the petty pride and minor irritations, of key legislators and lobbyists. Only then, in an eleventh hour action by the 1974 General Assembly, did that bill pass. The session finally adjourned, leaving the mountains only a token $20,000 project grant — a grant which today is still unused — to do something somewhere in the mountain region relating to the Mountain Act as it may someday be considered by some future session of the General Assembly.

The legislators went home, the burden lifted from their shoulders, with an exhausted sigh of relief.

The Future of the Mountain Bill

What happened with the Coastal Act vitally affects the future of any mountain management bill. The struggles the former went through in the General Assembly have left lasting scars and positions have hardened. Unfavorable public reaction to land use legislation could be used as a potent political weapon by conservative Democrats in future political campaigns as they attempt to discredit the Republican administration.

In the final months of 1974, however, while the coastal plan is still in its infancy, politicians running for office would rather forget about land use legislation altogether. The mountain bill's proponents are tired and scattered, and yet the longer they wait to rebuild a coalition of support, the more difficult the task will become. As one legislator put it, "In terms of building on the glow of the Coastal Management Act, one would get better political mileage to start the mountain bill going now before the implementation period starts on the coast . . . . and before the people down there start moaning!" An equally pragmatic mountain senator felt that, "It would be best to wait and profit from the mistakes of the coastal bill." And Milton Heath believes that it would be a sheer miracle if the mountain bill got serious consideration in the General Assembly any time soon.

One problem is that no momentum exists to unite the varied interests which might be expected to support a mountain area management act. But, more crucially, the House has been denuded of leadership in the environmental field and will, by most guesses, be headed by conservative Eastern forces who have been consistently opposed to any land use legislation. Nevertheless, on request from DNER, Heath is redrafting a mountain bill to mirror the ratified Coastal Act. Secretary Harrington has already said that he will have such a bill introduced into the legislature even though his department has lost much of its original enthusiasm as it tries to cope with the burden of implementing the coastal plan.

As for the people in the mountains themselves, most still do not know of the Act's existence or understand its implications. The mountain activists who once saw some promise in such protective legislation now fear that the bill will create more problems than it will solve. And the citizens who spoke out at the four public hearings held in 1973 will probably discover that their efforts were in vain since the composition of the committees that will consider any new bill will undoubtedly be different. No full transcripts were taken at the hearings, although the citizens' written testimony and tapes of the proceedings are stored away somewhere in Raleigh — if any legislator has the time and ambition to find them and listen to the more than 30 hours of testimony.

The immediate prospects for any sort of bill that is responsive to the needs of the people who live in the mountain area are grim. In fact, that possibility was almost doomed from the outset. The mountain bill never really had a chance to evolve and stand on its own merits. There should have been a preliminary assessment of the economic and environmental and cultural situations unique to the mountains and the people who live there. But that never happened. The rationale was that since the coast was an environmentally unique and fragile recreation area, like the mountains, what was good for one was good for the other. But, in fact, the economics of the two areas, the natural environments, the politics, and the cultural histories are not at all similar; nor will the complex problems faced by the two areas be met by the same solutions. A simplistic view of the two situations led to the creation of a mountain bill by default.

The bill is also doomed by its own legal complexities. Only those people with specialized training and a great deal of free time will ever be able to read through and comprehend the entire bill. Corporations and affluent individuals will be able to hire lawyers to interpret the bill and the loopholes which will allow them to manipulate it. But the average small business person, farmer, factory worker, and homemaker will never know what the bill is about and who is controlling its implementation until they are directly affected. And then it will be too late.

When so few citizens know of such legislation, one can expect little grassroots input into the bill's revision. And there can be no organized voice of mountain people concerned about the implications of such legislation on the future of the region where they live. Such organization is crucial. Financial interests have it. Utilities interests have it. Development interests have it. Conservation interests have it. But there is no such organization among less influential, yet equally concerned, citizens who live in the affected areas.

The crucial regional problems that originally spawned the Mountain Act continue to plague the mountains. The scalping of mountain tops, the bulldozing of hills, the devastation of wildlife, and the pollution of headwaters continue. The mountains are becoming increasingly a collection of corporate-owned second-home developments and tourism complexes. And the tremendous conflict between goals and values continues.

Issues and People

Rhetoric associated with the debate over land use legislation during the past two years has often been impassioned, sometimes even noble, in its insistence on an enlightened and humane approach to the problem. And yet on sober reflection, one has to wonder whether, while we are desperately seeking sane answers, we have ever discovered the complexities of the questions.

Testimony by Mrs. Louise McComb of Franklin came close to articulating the central intent of the drafters of the Mountain Act who sought to protect the land and resources for everyone, both now and in the future. She staunchly defended the bill by saying, "What a man does to his land may deplete it, exhaust it, remove it forever from the pool of available resources. What a man does to his land may also restrict the reasonable use and safety of other land users in the area. We must realize that the individual cannot consider only his own interests — the public interest is at stake."

And yet Mrs. McComb, for all the incisive clarity of her statement, suggested some classic ambiguities. Mountain residents who involved themselves in the debate were made increasingly aware that while they felt they should be able to do as they wished with their own land, that same land was being threatened by uncontrolled development on adjoining properties. Moreover, the developers were justifying their actions by using an argument dear to the hearts of mountain people: "It is my land, I will do with it as I please." The dilemma was not resolvable by any easy compromise. To retain freedom was also to give it up. And yet, how much freedom would have to be given up in order to save the streams, the homes, the lands? It was at once both an ideological and a highly personal debate.

Another kind of debate was central to legislators' concerns about such land use legislation. It centered around the problem of a bill's acceptability. In late 1973, at a North Carolina Land Use Congress meeting, State Senator Hamilton Horton declared: "Land use legislation is a shield against the smash and grab materialism which we in the South have so long despised!" Months later, after countless hours of legislative debate and compromising trade-offs on the Coastal Act, Horton was forced to cry out, "We now find that this bill which all of us have labored on is on the block to be slaughtered!" Many of the bill's proponents scorned Horton's passionate rhetoric. But his protest makes vividly clear the distortion that occurs when good intentions are caught up in the powerful machinery and legalistic jargon of the legislative process, and when vastly unequal economic interests clash.

It was a dilemma the Mountain Act's sponsors could not altogether escape; for if there was to be a bill, it would have to be voted on favorably by General Assembly members, a majority of whom were bankers, lawyers, and, in a variety of ways, developers themselves. Their most influential friends and colleagues back home could be expected to have similar backgrounds. This coalition of entrenched, conservative interests (which, as one insider put it, "doesn't want anybody messin' with their money") was a very different one from that of the citizens and planners who had first envisioned protective legislation.

Dr. Art Cooper, a planner and Assistant Secretary of DNER, was one who had believed that the bill might solve a perennial problem of economic development. He philosophized that:

> *In the past the land has either been exploited by free, unfettered business interests, or by private interests seeking profit, or by chaotic public works programs which were often nothing more than a proposition to make someone a fast buck. Instead of catering to large business interests, government has got to realize that it can use legislation along with public investments to bend and shape growth.*

Cooper saw the companion coastal and mountain bills as tools to guide sound economic development by, for example, designating industrial sites and transportation routes which would bring jobs closer to the people in rural areas (a concept central to Governor Holshouser's dispersal-development philosophy). The question Dr. Cooper did not answer was whether a legislative action which places decision-making powers in the hands of a small, politically-appointed Commission could in fact insure economic development that would not be influenced unduly by entrenched corporate interests. A year later, however, he admitted a disillusionment with the governmental process:

> I am willing to see our resources developed and utilized. But what really concerns me is whether or not the economic gain ever really gets back to the people who need it. It just seems to me that the poor stay

> poor, that there has not been much the government has been able to figure out to help (alleviate) their misery. The money from these resources doesn't go to the people of North Carolina. It goes to the people in New York or someplace else.

A final irony in all these issues is that, as access to mountain lands acquires more and more value for the larger population, mountain people are being called upon to be good "caretakers" for the greater public good. As Jane Sharp (President of the Land Use Congress, Environmental Chairman for the N.C. League of Women Voters, and Board Member of the N.C. Conservation Council) questioned a mountain spokesman: "Don't you think you people in the mountains have a responsibility to provide recreational opportunities for all of us in the state?"

The opening pages of the Mountain Act reveal a point of view similar to Ms. Sharp's: "The mountain area of North Carolina has an extremely high recreational and aesthetic value which should be preserved and enhanced." The bill goes on to describe its purpose as "to insure the orderly and balanced use and preservation of our mountain resources . . . on behalf of the people of North Carolina and the Nation."

For the region's people, concerns about the greater public good have little meaning when they appear as veiled requests to save the mountains because of their recreational and scenic value for other people from other places. It is only when the debate about protecting and preserving land becomes personal, when it speaks to basic human needs of those to whom it "belongs," that the land's inhabitants will feel compelled to act. The ultimate question, then, is whether impersonal, intellectually conceived, and technically drafted legislation, governed by a bureaucracy headquartered hundreds of miles away from the affected lands, can give protection from both sophisticated and ignorant developers bent on combining their brand of capitalism with the resources of land to cash in on the great "American dream."

Photo by David Jenkins

Two summers ago there were no weeds in the peanut fields of the largest black-owned farm in the United States. Survival, and even success, seemed within grasp. This past summer, however, some of the peanut fields were half covered with weeds. The five-year-old dream of a black economic stronghold in southwest Georgia, known as New Communities, Inc. (NCI), is still having problems.

The problems besetting NCI are far more serious now than they've ever been during the sometimes difficult course of this attempt to pull blacks together around a commitment to the land. Some participants have described the current situation as a classic labor/management conflict. One member of NCI's board (who has tried to mediate) said recently that the concepts upon which NCI was founded have been "severely damaged" by the conflict. As of mid-September, with only one of the difficulties settled to everyone's satisfaction, that same board member said: "I don't know how (the situation) will resolve itself."

in southwest georgia: EXPERIMENT IN NEW COMMUNITIES

by Robert Maurer

I.

New Communities began as two adjacent parcels of land, astride Route 19, which totaled 5,735 acres. These were combined in the winter of 1969-70 into one farm and were financed through $1.3 million in mortgages and $90,000 in loans. It was a big and expensive hunk to bite off by people who knew next to nothing about farming. But they had a powerful dream, and some proven organizing skills, and a decade-long reputation of never being run out of southwest Georgia. They were there to stay, but had already realized that civil rights organizing alone could not cement a permanent base for black political and economic development.

In the spring of 1971 an organizer recorded these fragments of the vision which gave birth to NCI:

Mrs. Minnie Daniels, head of the day care center located on the farm — *"Industry, light industry, would be a great boost to New Communities and to Lee County* (in which NCI is located) *as a whole. There would need to be a job training program with the industry because most of the peoples is unskilled labor."*

Mr. Robert Christian, a member of NCI's board — *"I feel that if we can get better housing, some type of housing program on New Communities. . . . you can get people to change their entire attitude about life, they begin to do a lot of things differently."*

Mrs. Barney, a local resident and potential settler on the farm — *"We need doctors. We have to drive into Albany to the doctor, which is 30 miles. If we had doctors here and our own health clinic here, we wouldn't have to do that."*

Mrs. Dolly Washington, 65, a local resident who has worked all her life on a farm —

I never owned a piece of land in my life. It's just so many peoples done left the farm. We need something to bring peoples back out the cities, back to the farm, or we gonna keep on goin' till people can't live. All the livin' and things come from the farm, and, therefore, if we don't get some folks back on the farm and caring for some of this land, something bad gonna happen. All the people that's crowded up in the cities, the inner city, the ghetto, talking about the ghetto and all that stuff. No sense to talkin' about fixin' up the ghetto; fix up the country and get these folks out of the ghetto, back in the country on the farm and raisin' something to live on. Give peoples a chance to make their own livin'.

A newsletter, published at the time of the acquisition of the twin parcels of land, heralded the new day of land, jobs, housing and industry owned and operated by poor blacks. An NCI foundation proposal written shortly afterward estimated that by 1975,

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125 families would be housed and working on the New Communities farm.

Legally, the dream was protected by a land trust. Although the NCI board of directors, composed largely of local residents, possessed the ultimate legal and financial authority, the trust owned the land in perpetuity. No one person nor group of persons could sell the land, though portions could be leased by the board to settlers and others. Through those early years, in which every month brought yet another mortgage payment (nearly $1,000 a month went to the Prudential Life Insurance Company just for interest on its $1 million mortgage), NCI was tempted to sell some of its excellent timberland. But the farm, from the outset, was legally committed to reversing a one-hundred-year trend of black land loss.

A strategy for survival and then development emerged from those early years. The first step was to hold onto the land by meeting payments and avoiding foreclosure. The second step was to pay off the entire indebtedness and own the land outright. The third was to build the new communities on the land. In the summer of 1972 Charles Sherrod, an NCI founder who first came to southwest Georgia in 1960 as an SNCC organizer, put the strategy this way:

> *We want this piece of land. It's a feat in itself. Then we want to own it, and not have to owe anything on it. Housing, education system — we'll develop it. We want a new society — it won't use people or eat upon itself, doesn't cause people to be drug addicts, or make a school a jailhouse rather than a learning process. We want a society where a woman who rears a baby is just as meaningful as the tractor driver on the farm.*

Sherrod's eloquent conception of the New Communities has had a magnetic attraction for many people. But when one sifts through the talk and the aura in order to focus on the day-to-day realities of the farm, there emerge the tough obstacles and major contradictions which have plagued NCI all these years.

It's been rough. In 1970 Lester Maddox, then governor of Georgia, vetoed a sizeable OEO development grant. As a result, only 700 acres were planted in that first year of operation. Except for a farm manager, there wasn't enough money for any other full-time farm or administrative personnel. The farming was essentially done by a dedicated group of hard-working organizers from the Southwest Georgia Project which Sherrod had founded earlier in the mid-sixties as a vehicle for gaining political power. Project people (who lived primarily in Albany) registered voters, protected blacks from white intimidation and performed other civil rights tasks

Photo by Tom Coffin

while at the same time plowing peanut and soybean fields, repairing machinery, and picking okra at dawn and again at dusk. Automobile accidents, getting shot at and beaten, a house burning down (and leaving a farm family homeless for lack of funds to rebuild the home), white merchants refusing to extend credit for seed — these and many more obstacles hounded NCI in those early years.

In spite of these troubles almost 1,400 acres were planted in 1971, though not all were harvested. In addition, the Project established the Southwest Georgia Printing Company, with two offset presses and billings of $1,000 per month, and an Afro-American boutique. NCI committees on education, the farm, finance, industrial development, housing and health care were formed. By 1972 most of the elements of the strategy were in place in one form or another, awaiting that "take off" stage of development that would finally realize the dream.

My own association with those early years goes back to a rainy night in Albany, Georgia, in early 1971. I was waiting for a friend in his tin-covered second floor apartment above the "print shop" on South Monroe Street. The house next door was the headquarters of the Southwest Georgia Project which had given birth to New Communities two years earlier. The house was the center of activity, with people and cars coming and going all hours of the day and night. Project people drove the 30 miles north to the farm to harvest watermelons or get a truck out of the mud or whatever, and then returned to Albany. Although a few families lived in houses built on the farm before the acquisition, decision-making for NCI was done in Albany where the principal leadership lived.

I'd already gone to the john which consisted of a wooden hole in a seat located on a balcony near an exterior stairway leading to the ground floor. I was looking for something else to do, marveling at the experience my urban bottom had just had. Suddenly, a man came in. I watched him stumble toward me. For a moment I thought he was drunk. His speech was terribly slurred, and the straps of his overalls were twisted. But we talked for awhile and as I listened to his meaning in the midst of his stutterings, I was surprised by his knowledge of such diverse matters as accounting procedures and the program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. He spoke proudly of New Communities. Later, I recorded these observations:

> *Land is important to black people because it is a base. The movement in southwest Georgia has not produced too much physical evidence. We in the civil rights movement have a lot of freedom to move around and people admire that. We have demonstrated that it is not always fatal to go against the wishes of the white people. What we have not demonstrated is that it is also productive, that it also can be rewarding at the same time, and this is what New Communities can demonstrate. It can prove that we can go against the wishes of the whites in this society and at the same time progress. There is a lot of land out there. We must succeed at this to keep up the hopes of the people.*

Robert McClary, quoted above, and others have tied their personal futures to such hopes. His was quite a statement, considering that he was a cripple from birth and that the local "sport" in a town only three miles from the farm was killing blacks. But, NCI had fully accepted him. Already assistant treasurer, he had entered the local university to take courses in business administration in order to increase his usefulness to New Communities.

Those were some of the dreams — and hardships — of those early years. Sherrod boarded planes for New York and Washington, D.C., almost as often as he drove his car up to the farm from his residence in Albany. He raised money, talked with consultants, dickered with foundations, recruited volunteer harvesters. New York was as much home territory for him as southwest Georgia, in part, because liberal money was the central means of paying the notes, in part because he had attended Union Theological Seminary and knew the turf. Occasionally criticized for letting things languish back home, nevertheless, Sherrod, an adept maneuverer whose convoluted tactics sometimes appeared as just plain disorganization, hustled blacks and whites alike to accomplish the first step of the strategy. A northern Coalition to Save New Communities was formed to involve a diverse group of artists, ministers, publishers, poverty bureaucrats and elected officials in the dream. The coalition raised emergency money to pay the interest on the mortgage notes and provided other forms of financial backing as well.

Sherrod attracted dedicated blacks from New York, Oakland, and elsewhere outside the South to work full time on the farm during the winter of 1972. As I recall, five dollars a week plus expense allowances for food and shelter was the going rate then. Sherrod told northern blacks, "We want to hold that land down there because we know y'all, some of you, want to come back home." In almost every case, however, the blacks attracted by Sherrod during this period had never before lived in the South. And the mix of southern rural blacks and northern/western urban blacks caused some persistent tensions.

For three weeks during the summer of 1972, I was a part of a group of sixty volunteers who came mainly to harvest watermelons. It was a nightmare, with suburban white youth and ghetto black youth working (and mostly not working) together for the first time in their lives. But that's another story. As far as NCI was concerned, the appearance of these volunteers and their northern organizers was part of a short-lived effort to create an alternative economic system of distribution which by-passed both the retailer and the wholesaler. It was a sign of NCI's interest not only in its own survival, but also in hooking up its agricultural output to the poor people in urban areas. The alternative system was to have worked this way: produce would be harvested by summer volunteers, and when they returned home, they would organize food co-ops in community centers, day care facilities and so forth. Ultimately, food from co-operative farms would be shipped *directly* to these community co-op food outlets.

While current food co-ops primarily depend upon the wholesalers for their supplies, the alternative system then envisioned by NCI would by-pass even the wholesaler, so that the farm-to-customer system would undercut even the wholesale price. The co-operative farms would benefit financially as well, since they could sell their produce to the alternative distribution system at a higher price than they could to the commercial wholesaler who depressed prices on the farm end.

One truckload of NCI watermelons, loaded on the farm by volunteers that summer and unloaded twenty-four hours later by volunteers in Harlem, was sold cheaply through a hastily arranged community distribution set-up. But the alternative system functioned only that once, due to a lack of organization on the northern distribution end.

Whatever the outcome of this part of the dream, the experiment highlighted NCI's dependency on the commercial market for its survival. Because of the farm's large financial needs (mortgage payments, seed and fertilizer, machinery, and so forth), NCI has had to find contracts for its peanuts and soybeans or sell its vegetables in the commercial market. As a result the farm has to operate according to capitalist ground rules. For example, the 1971 watermelon crop was plowed under, rather than harvested, because the wholesale price was so low. On the other hand, NCI made a killing in 1973 because the wholesale price of soybeans was extremely high. Thus, NCI must engage in the same profit-oriented game played by every other large farm in order to obtain the highest price for its produce. This sometimes means a further investment in equipment (e.g., a proposed corn-drying machine so that corn can be held off the market until the price is highest), which, in turn, plunges the farm into further indebtedness. In essence, then, although it may call itself a co-operative, NCI's marketing choices are severely limited by the realities of a capitalist framework of distribution.

In the spring of 1973, dramatic changes came to NCI. Harrison Miller, an energetic and knowledgeable employee of the USDA Extension Service for twenty-three years, was hired as the new farm manager. He had a thousand and one ideas for improving the farm and inspired a certain confidence that those ideas could be implemented. The hiring of Miller was coupled with the sale of a debenture which raised $350,000. That money was then paid to Prudential both to cover the total interest on the mortgage and to pay off some of the principle. In effect, the debenture, which would be repaid to the subscribers at a lower interest rate than Prudential had been charging, was a means of rescheduling NCI's indebtedness to give the farm some breathing room. Cash was now available in the treasury. Salaries were paid to a full-time administrative staff, as well as to a full-time farm crew and part-time assistants during harvests. Tape-decks appeared in farm vehicles; food was provided free to the volunteer harvesters for the first time — small items, but indicative of change.

NCI erected a farmer's market by the side of Route 19, with hand-painted signs advertising the market up and down the highway. Previously, the farm had been particularly cautious about its location, urging volunteer harvesters not to tell local merchants where they were working. Unlike other farms in the area (owned by whites), NCI did not hang out a sign with its name on it. But black-white relations in the county were beginning to improve. Larry Durgin, who headed the northern Coalition to Save NCI, recalls that during this period a local white man driving a bread truck stopped at NCI's market. He came up to Durgin, a white minister, who just happened to be in the market, and asked if he thought these (black) people would do business with him! The next year, the county public works department finally built a long-awaited bridge across a creek on NCI's property. Those stories illustrate the fact that NCI's staying power has made whites in the area begin to respect at least the farm's abilities at farming — and at paying bills. A dollar is a dollar, no matter from whom it comes, the bread salesman, among others, seemed to say.

Almost overnight NCI was transformed. Weed-killers and insecticides went into the ground on schedule reducing the weeds and thrips which, in previous years, had wiped out one-quarter of the peanut crop. Grapes were planted, hogs and then a herd of cattle were purchased. For the first time in its three-year history, the farm's income from sales equalled its operational costs. The Coalition to Save New Communities decided not to raise funds until further notice. Sherrod rarely travelled North anymore but spent a lot of time on the farm. Decision-making for NCI now took place in an office located on the farm itself. The first step of the strategy — saving the land — had been accomplished. There was optimism about the future.

Photo by Ethel McConaughy

Volunteers and NCI people sorting and bagging Irish potatoes, Summer 1974.

II.

The land about which so many dreams have been dreamt lies in the flat, sandy corner of Georgia snug against the borders of Alabama and Florida. It is pecan country. It is also watermelon country. But when the rain was overdue last summer, the city of Los Angeles volunteered to fly in 2,000 watermelons just so the county seat could have its traditional Watermelon Festival. NCI gets top dollar now for its watermelons, as well as some envious glances, whether at the local farmer's market or in Atlanta. The soil supports a wide variety of crops, and NCI's agricultural plan has taken advantage of that. Cattle-raising harks back to the days when cattle grazed on a parcel of NCI's property then owned by a relative of Martin Luther King. With so many fields planted on a farm which takes twenty minutes to drive from tip-to-tip, it is easy to forget that approximately one-half of the acreage is not tillable. Swamps, timber stands, creeks, county roads and the like resist the plow. Of the tillable land, not more than two-thirds (2,000 acres) has ever been fully planted.

NCI has begun to implement its plan to turn a creek and adjacent forest into a recreation area. On the fourth of July of each of the last two summers, a "Pamoja" Festival has been in full swing for residents of the area. ("Pamoja" means togetherness in Swahili.) While its advertisements have reflected more hopes for what the Festival could be than what has actually occurred, the fourth of July has at least been co-opted as a day to relax with local supporters and celebrate the harvest-time.

Whatever the long-range hopes for a recreation area on the farm, the basic fact of NCI's life is *work*. But there has always been a rhetorical aura surrounding that work; namely, that NCI was a "co-operative," i.e., a democratic and educational process which distributed the sense of ownership to everyone working on the land. This aura extended to the day when NCI would show a profit and the "community" would decide how the profit would be spent.

But in July of 1973, a full year before the present conflict, a prophetic event occurred. A spontaneous, one-day strike broke through the rhetoric to reveal, in that moment, how the farm really operated.

For the past several summers children and teenagers have worked in the 40-odd acres devoted to okra, peas, butter beans and the like These youngsters, that acreage, and the previously mentioned NCI farmer's market have been an important part of the dream. Supposedly, as these youngsters learned about the goals of NCI (which never really happened), later in life they might remain in rural Georgia instead of moving to the big city. They might even move onto the farm itself one day. In addition, the vegetables they picked would be immediately available, through NCI's farmer's market, to people in the area or to tourists driving along Route 19. The money from sales of the youngsters' output (except for watermelons) never amounted to much, but their presence represented the farm's investment in the future, as well as a gesture of goodwill to the local community.

During that fateful July two summers ago, NCI was paying 15 to 25 youngsters $1 for each hamper of okra picked. (And if the kids preferred the shade of

"Before we become over-enthusiastic about land trusts as a solution, we need to look at some problems of scale. New Communities is the largest black-controlled land trust in the country. It has 6,000 acres and a projected population of 1,000. But we're talking about 1,000 people in a country of 200 million. When one thinks of the tremendous efforts made by philanthropic organizations to get this 6,000 acres together, one wonders what kind of effort would be necessary to follow the same process on millions of acres.

"At some point some very important theoretical considerations need to be looked at. I wonder if we are asking the question enough: Who should own the land? Here is where we run into an enormous family of paradoxes. Either because we are unwilling to take the risks, or because we are unwilling to face the theoretical issues involved, our answer to the question of how we should get the land always winds up by saying,'Well, maybe we can get some funds from some of the people who own it. Maybe we can get this foundation or that industry to break off a little crumb and pass it our way.'

"Some of the crumbs are very exciting. Some of them are dynamic models of what the future ought to be. But the question that needs to be raised is: What is the value of building a model when all the materials for building it are supplied by those who are responsible for our needing the model in the first place?

"We have to talk again, as we did in the '60's, about confrontations. But this time the confrontations will not be over artifacts like where can we sit, but about basics like what we have the right to own, what we have the right to control and what we must do in order to build the society that would make ridiculous the thought of having a conference like this.

"Someone at this conference said that there are two ways of getting land — purchase and inheritance. But there is another — take it. Individuals have been taking land for years. Why should we not now employ those tactics?"

comments of Jim Lee at the first Southern Land Congress, April 3-5, 1974, quoted from *People & Land*/Summer 1974.

a tree to the hot, stickly okra field — as was sometimes the case — then at least, the farm figured, it was not losing any money because it was not paying an hourly wage.) At the time, okra was bringing $6 a hamper at the farmer's market in Columbus. The next week, however, the price in Columbus dropped to $5. And an NCI manager immediately lowered the youngsters' share to $.75 a hamper. The youngsters were justifiably angry. They literally sat down, under a shade tree, and refused to work. Although it was spontaneous and unorganized — and a good excuse not to work that day — it was, nevertheless, NCI's first strike. Although the youngsters worked the next day with a good deal of grumbling, it was not until the third day that the top manager, Harrison Miller, straightened out the situation and restored the former wage. In this instance, he agreed with the idea that a lowered wholesale price should not be partially deducted from the youngsters' pay.

There were disturbing aspects to this situation, however. A hole had been punched in the NCI rhetoric of "community." For one thing, no "labor policy" existed for these young workers; and even if one did, the youngsters would not have been part of the discussions. Rather, "policy" was made on the spot by whichever of the four managers happened to be around at the time. In addition, when a policy was reversed, no one offered the youngsters much explanation for either the first or second decision. Whatever morale which might have been encouraged by the dedicated minister supervising the youngsters' work (he was not a part of the wage decisions), dissipated during those three days in July.

When the volunteers arrived at NCI this past summer, a labor policy of sorts was in effect, though apparently most of the workers had not been consulted. The most prominent aspect of the change was the time-clock. To the workers who now had to punch in and out, the clicking of the time-clock seemed an ominous symbol of regimentation. Certainly a system of keeping track of hours worked was needed to satisfy governmental regulations, but the introduction of this technique also introduced the idea of a regular, set number of hours (nine) to be worked each day. Workers did not have to come in on Saturdays, and in effect, a "quitting time" was established. That idea, in itself, cut sharply across the notion that NCI was a "struggling community" dedicated to an all-out effort, no matter how long it took, each and every day.

Of course, sudden thunderstorms which delayed harvesting, or wholesalers ordering 500 bags of Irish potatoes due the first thing the next morning were not geared into NCI's new labor policy. When it came quitting time, and only 300 bags of potatoes had been sorted and filled, what were the workers supposed to do? Management at first prevailed upon them to stay until the order was filled — until 10 p.m. on some nights. But several days of this were enough, and most workers, at first reluctantly, then easily, drifted away at quitting time, no matter what still needed to be done. The volunteers, just as sweaty and tired from a long day in the fields, also drifted away. Orders were delayed, potatoes rotted in the field as well as in bags left too long in the shed.

The time-clock and the idea of a quitting time also helped drive a wedge deeper between the workers just described and the Project people who had always seen their commitment as a 24-hour-per-day kind of thing. The aura of a "community" was fast disappearing.

But the time-clcok was not the only new policy which began to separate the goals of NCI from the very people upon whom, in part, the goals achievement rested. The matter of wages also posed difficulties.

Full-time people, like tractor drivers, were paid $1.60 per hour, no matter how many hours they worked in a week. Summer-time workers got either $8 a day (the older ones) or $5 a day (the younger ones). Several times during the summer watermelon harvest, the youngsters loaded an NCI truck (which often brought $700 in Atlanta the next morning) until 8 or 9 p.m. without any increase in pay for those extra hours. They couldn't leave at quitting time because they relied on the farm to take them home. On the one hand, the farm managers said the youngsters should not be paid more because they did not work every hour each day. On the other hand, the lack of a full day's work often resulted from disorganization among the farm managers. While the management contended they were paying wages equivalent to those in the area, others said that even if this were the case, the wages were exploitative and NCI, because of its avowed goals, should be paying more.

I do not pretend to know very much about operating a large farm, but from my experience as a volunteer, it seemed that "quitting time" did not provide the flexibility in the workday necessary for all the pressing tasks to be accomplished. The idea of *work* in the Movement which founded NCI, and which then saved the land, was that of a full-time commitment, putting in hours whenever they were needed. Of course, child labor laws necessarily restricted hours for the youngsters. But for the other workers, the idea of a "normal" working day and NCI's inability to assimilate them into the rhetoric of the dream finally canceled any incentive they might have had for putting in extra time to fulfill the harvest production goals. The "moral incentives" which had previously created NCI and motivated a hard-working core of people to see it through its early years were absent. And the "material incentives" were clearly not enough of a motivation to overcome that loss.

One year after the spontaneous sit-down strike by the youngsters, many workers regularly spoke of a strike and of a confrontation with management. The vision of a community of people sitting down together to discuss and work out their differences suffered a severe blow on July 20 when a group of workers addressed their grievances to the NCI board of directors in a 17-page, single-spaced document. The act of bringing their grievances before the board was, in itself, a solid indication of the breakdown of the idea of "community." The workers had bypassed the Farm Committee which now supposedly functioned as the place where everyone working on the farm met to decide policy in a one-person, one-vote manner. Although this committee was supposed to be the democratic mechanism for proving that a Movement ideal could operate within the setting of a large business, the majority of workers rarely came to its weekly meetings, despite occasional encouragements from management.

At a deeply searing and painful nine hour, non-stop board meeting on July 20, some New Communities folk hoped the conflicts might still be contained within the "extended family" so that something of the idea of "community" could be preserved. The pain for some present was akin to the disillusion felt by activists in the Sixties who now look around and wonder what has happened to all those ideals. More than NCI's dreams were on the line during that meeting in the farm's day care center. Those present were also evaluating the evolution of the behavior and principles of a generation of blacks who have fought — and died — in the South for their beliefs. Was NCI, as one board member feared, only changing the face of power, leaving power relationships intact? Had all the hours in jail, all the blood, the countless meetings and marches of the Sixties evolved into a new nightmare of the abuse of power by those who were previously abused?

Joe Brooks, executive director of the Emergency Land Fund and NCI board member who has been considering resignation, called the farm a "boss-run factory." James Pierce, executive director of the Rural Advancement Fund and another NCI board member who is weighing his resignation, recently said: "I want no part of any organization that substitutes black plantation owners for white plantation owners." Both men, through their organizations, have provided substantial support for NCI over the years.

Several weeks after the July meeting, the workers' charges were largely sustained by a balanced investigatory committee of board members. Those charges included not only wages and hours, but also health and safety hazards, favoritism for the Project people, poor management, and absence of a grievance procedure. As of mid-September, only one complaint had been resolved to the satisfaction of the principle sides. The management agreed to redress individual wage grievances and thus paid the appropriate back wages. It also raised wages to $2/hour for tractor drivers and certain other workers, and $1.60/hour for all others, including the youngsters. According to one board member, NCI could have been fined $1,000 per worker by the Department of Labor if the farm had not taken care of this matter first.

In general, however, the several sides were barely discussing — and certainly not negotiating — the other outstanding conflicts. Some of the workers had called in the United Farm Workers representatives in Florida to discuss unionization at NCI. They also went to the press with their side of the story. And they began contemplating a letter to foundations asking for a termination of NCI funds. The classic labor/management conflict on the farm was spawning classic labor tactics by the workers off the farm. The issues now went beyond the "extended family." Several more shovelfuls of dirt had been tossed on the ideals which founded New Communities.

III.

Finally, despite the importance of what the workers said and how management responded (or did not respond), the main issue is why the conflict occured *in the first place*. Three major factors interacted to foster the conflict. The first is the capitalist framework in which the farm must operate. The second is "the family" which actually runs the farm. And the third is Charles Sherrod.

A decision was made in the winter of 1972-73 that the farm had to pay for itself. Before that time it was run inefficiently and its survival depended upon outside funds. While no one disagreed with the decision, it was naively assumed at the time that "New" and "Communities" could be maintained as accurate descriptions of the farm while it was run like a business.

But as the tillable acreage expanded, as new machinery was either purchased outright or on credit, as more people arrived on the land to work, as a bookkeeping system was devised, more and more administrative control became necessary. Harrison Miller, as the man hired to assume that control, has held up the Army as his model for efficient organization. That comment is not meant as a personal slur, for I respect and like the man. Rather, it is meant to demonstrate that given the naivete of NCI's assumptions about the workability of combining a political democracy with an efficiently-run business, Miller, or someone like him, would have been hired in any event. The farm already had an exponent of the vision in the person of Charles Sherrod. All the demands placed on the central administrator by the many, many implications of that winter decision created a strong tendency to make someone into "the boss." And Miller took on that task quite seriously. The "Incorporated" in its name began to ascend as the chief symbol of the dynamic of NCI. In general, the words chosen for the name of the farm heralded from the beginning the fundamental contradictions which came full flower this past summer.

But the hiring of Miller was not the only factor in setting NCI at cross-purposes. Miller's niece was Charles Sherrod's wife. One of Miller's brothers was also a manager at NCI, and his sister-in-law was a member of the board. These kinship ties, coupled with the strong relationships forged among the Project people (who related to the farm primarily through Sherrod), actually meant that the decision of '72-'73 created a managerial class at NCI. Many of the workers simply call them "the family." When the chips were down, as they were this past summer, "the family" worked together as a unit based upon shared assumptions and loyalties. As a direct result of the efforts of this managerial class to make the farm succeed under capitalism, a pattern of administration arose which created a class of people who realized their situation viz-a-viz the managerial class this past summer — and called themselves "*workers*." This latter class is composed of everyone who is not related (by blood, marriage or loyalty) to "the family"; it includes those board members (small businessmen and executive directors of various organizations) who supported them. This neat tally of the opposing camps is not as straightforward as it appears, however, since the workers have within their ranks several families as well. In any event, this analysis of the factors which have led to the conflict in the first place strongly suggests that the decision to make NCI pay for itself created the conditions in which a group of individuals became conscious of themselves as a class of exploited *workers*. The rhetorical aura of "new communities" evaporated like the morning mist in the face of the naive application of that winter decision.

What about Charles Sherrod?

It would take another article to do him justice. He's not easily cast in one particular role. But he remains the pivotal person for the ultimate success or failure of NCI. He also remains something of a mystery, at least to this author. And the following are more impressions than reporting.

Sherrod seems caught between the activist who founded NCI and the administrator who is now at the political center of a managerial group. *What does the charismatic leader do when he's performed the miracle of getting the dream off the ground and then is faced with all the internal conflicts which the "take off" stage of the operation always entails?* Last summer he alternately urged the workers to get their case together to vie for power (like an old organizer teaching the next generation) and unequivocably and forcefully opposed the workers' demands because they would harm NCI as he envisioned it (like an old boss blocking the next generation).

He's no longer the tireless hustler for outside funds; he's no longer NCI's board chairman; and he's no longer organizing in southwest Georgia because the Project is defunct, except for the two businesses (print shop and boutique) it spawned. Most of his time is now spent on the farm itself, filling in the gaps wehre work is most urgently needed. He loves to repair electrical motors and other mechanical gadgets whose intracacies engage his considerable powers of deduction. (He's also an avid chess player.) Overall, however, he seems aimless, or rather like a person whose former path has been effaced by the passage of time, and he doesn't know which way to go next. His skills were vital in the southwest Georgia of the sixties in which racism caused blacks to cross to the other side of the street whenever whites walked toward them. Those skills saved the land as well. But with NCI in a new ballpark now, it seems that his kind of leadership, so well disposed to take on both reactionary and liberal whites, has not been far-sighted enough to find the ways to bring the people at NCI together.

Even as he said recently, "This has been traumatic for all of us, but it has brought us closer together," I had the sinking sense of a barn door closing after the horse was loose. Even as he said, "We don't want to divide ourselves into labor and management, and we're trying to break down that division," I felt sad that he would ever have to make such a statement.

IV.

The youngsters have returned to school. The strike which was called in August dwindled until only three workers were out of the fields. The peanut, sweet potato, corn and other late summer crops were harvested. Some old NCI hands now believe that all the conflicts exposed that July 20 were the work of one person, Robert Johnson, an energetic and aware ex-Muslim who was hired last April, brought the grievances and structural problems to the boiling point in July, was fired but remained to organize the strike, and then left for his California home in September. Just an "outsider" who had stirred up the trouble and then had been expelled, some rationalized. Now everything would return to normal. Indeed, Johnson was the main organizer and spokesman for the workers. But how often was that "outsider theory" used in the sixties by whites in power to cover up the problems already present in their midst? How tragic to have heard it used at New Communities.

An accurate summary of the conflict was made recently by Harry Bowie, associate director of the Southern Regional Council and chairman of NCI's board. He said that "an old dream is bound to become a nightmare if it is not continually tested by reality."

New Communities, Incorporated, had a heavy dose of reality this past summer. I don't know how the contradiction will resolve itself. But, just observing whatever weeds might be in those peanut fields next summer is not enough. They must be pulled up and their roots exposed to the sun.

Photo by Candy Freeland

Volunteers harvesting watermelons. Charles Sherrod is on the left of the photo. Summer 1974.

SOUTHERN FARMS:

by Robert Bildner

High above the front portals of Union Station, Washington, D.C., are engraved these words: "The farm. Best home of the family. Main source of national wealth. Foundation of civilized society. The natural providence." Those Jeffersonians among us might be quick to add: "The farm, foundation of American democracy." Pragmatists might add: "The farm, hard work and long hours."

There are many opinions (some highly romanticized) about life on the farm and the importance of farming. Despite a decline in the numerical significance of farming as measured by the agricultural population and the number of farms, farming remains extremely important in the South. The "old" South was an agricultural society; jobs and culture were tied to the land. Even today, an important part of the "new" industrialized South is still rural, and agriculture continues to influence rural economies. However, southern farmers are vanishing from the countryside, and the character of southern agriculture is changing from a predominance of small farmers to an increasing domination of large farm agribusinesses. The following pages describe the impact of the "agricultural revolution" on southern farming and the implications of this change for the South.

Southern Farms: A Vanishing Breed

This country lost one-fourth of its farms, a total of three million, in the past decade.[1] The declines were particularly acute in the South: 29 percent or 454,000 fewer farms. Only small farms were decreasing, however. While there were 36 percent fewer farms with sales under ten thousand dollars, farms with sales of $40,000 increased by more than one hundred percent.[2]

Economics have forced many farmers out of business. Since 1952, farm prices have increased by only six percent, while overhead rose by 122 percent.[3] The declining profit margins have caused farm operators to increase the size of their operations.

Minorities and tenant farmers have been especially hard hit. Southern black farm operators decreased by 68 per cent between 1959 and 1969. Of the 84,000 black farms remaining, nearly 95 per cent are small operators, with sales under $10,000, whose chances of success, given present con-

Photos by Jeff Jacobson

a vanishing breed.

ditions, are slim. Tenant farmers have been driven off the land to make way for bigger farmers. In 1969, there were half as many tenants and eighty per cent fewer black tenants than in 1964[4]

At the same time, however, mechanization and consolidation of farms have increased the importance of large scale farms. In 1960, less than nine per cent of all farms had sales of $20,000 or more, and they accounted for just over half of the total sales; in 1972, nearly one-fourth of all farms were in this category, and they accounted for better than eighty per cent of all sales.[5]

While the USDA officials note that technological changes have increased agricultural output, the changes have also created many problems for those displaced from agriculture. Many of these ex-farmers are ill-prepared in terms of education and training for nonfarm jobs. "Agriculture," as Ray Marshall observes, "has been a particularly important cause of rural poverty and low incomes."[6] Moreover, the increased concentration of agricultural production, as noted below, has some frightening prospects for the future.

Scratchin' Out A Living

What's it like down on the southern farm? Jim Grady, a small Kentucky farmer, can tell you. In Jim's part of the country the average farm has 120 acres of land, a small tobacco allotment, a few pigs, some cattle, and a garden. Grady has been farming for 28 years, working his way up from sharecropping with a mule to owning a tractor and a few acres of land. Farming four acres of tobacco (mostly with leased allotments), fourteen acres of corn, twenty-five acres of hay, and an acre of tomatoes, he earns about $6,000 a year.

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Grady would like to expand his vegetable production. Until recently there was no market for fresh vegetables. Five years ago, a good-natured county agent helped farmers organize a vegetable marketing co-op to aid low-income farmers. The co-op has been a great success and enabled farmers like Jim Grady to earn much-needed income and improve their farms. The co-op, however, has reached the limits of its capacity. Some of the local farmers would like to build a cannery for the produce that cannot be sold in the fresh market. Self-help co-ops for low income farmers can be of great benefit, not only for the farmers but for the entire county. If such co-ops are allowed and encouraged to survive, they can save many small farmers and provide opportunities in farming for many who prefer the farm to the city. Unfortunately, low-income co-ops face serious obstacles and many such co-ops constantly struggle for survival.[7]

Like Jim Grady, Charles Pascal is a small farmer struggling to remain on the land. But there is a major difference between the two: Jim is white and Charles is black. Inflation, the cost-price squeeze, technological change, and the racism of the rural white establishment have combined to drive many black farmers like Charles from farming. In Mississippi, Charles Wade, once a black county agent in the formerly segregated Extension Service, courageously challenged this vicious racism. Wade, an Associate County Agent in Holmes County (Negro County Agents were made Associate Agents when the Extension Service was integrated in 1965), was next in line for the county agent's job. When a less-qualified white was appointed to fill the vacancy created when the county agent resigned, Wade sued the Mississippi Cooperative Extension Service, claiming racial discrimination in hiring, promotion, and salary and in the quantity and quality of services provided to black farmers in his county. Wade won his suit and is currently one of a very few black county agents in the country. Frank Parker, the Jackson, Mississippi, civil rights attorney who handled the Wade case, believes such racial discrimination prevails in the Extension Service of every southern state. Parker fears that countless law suits may be necessary to change the racist policies of the Extension Services in the South.[8]

Small farmers like Jim Grady and Charles Pascal have many common problems, such as credit, land, and marketing. Rural banks are conservative lenders; small farmers like Grady and Pascal often don't have the high collateral necessary to qualify for commercial loans. The Farmers Home Administration (FHA), which was established to provide credit for farmers who could not qualify for other credit, has been guilty of "creaming." As FHA's mandate required it to help farmers who could benefit from its loans, it has helped whites more than blacks and the affluent more than the poorer farmers. After many investigations by Congress, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Justice, FHA's poor record of loans to minorities seems to be improving. However, small farmers will have to continue their struggle with FHA. A source at FHA's Washington office reported high-level discussions concerning the possibility of phasing-out farm credit for "marginal" farmers.[9] Thus far the Federal Land Banks, Production Credit Associations, and the Bank for Cooperatives have not made concerted efforts to extend credit to small farmers.

In rural areas far from industry's path, large farmers have first priority for available land. In Charles Pascal's area of Louisiana, large white farmers, by social custom and because of their economic and political power, are given first preference for land to buy or rent. Pascal said, "You can't rent land if you're black." In some areas of the South, small farmers can still find land to rent but they have little security. One small operator observed, "Land is plentiful when prospects are poor; but when they are good, all the land is grabbed by the big operators." Land prices, even in remote areas, have been soaring, putting land purchases beyond the reach of most small farmers.

The agricultural marketplace which buys and sells the small farmer's crops is a closed system. Federal agricultural programs determine the quantity and prices of many crops, and these programs have often discriminated against small farmers. "King Cotton," still an important southern crop, is a notorious example. In 1971, the top twenty per cent of recipients in the cotton program received nearly three-fourths of all the benefits.[10] While the Queen of England recently received a $68,000 subsidy payment for her Mississippi cotton plantation, small farmers have had their allotments cut. When John Bales, a black cotton farmer in the Mississippi delta, complained after his allotment was decreased, the local federal office told him "Get out of here, you black s.o.b. or we'll turn the sheriff on you." Pressing his case to the state officials, Bales learned that USDA had increased the total allotments in his county but that only large farmers had received increases.[11]

Because small farmers like Bales, Pascal, and Grady are usually poor, relatively uneducated, and disorganized, they are fair game for the large shippers and processors that control many agricultural markets. In Charles Pascal's county, for example, a few large sweet potato shippers completely controlled the local market, keeping prices low. Pascal recalled, "The prices for number one potatoes were so low those days that it just wasn't worth it to the farmer to grade his potatoes." Pascal and a number of other small farmers resisted by organizing their own self-help sweet potato marketing cooperative, which was met with much suspicion and hostility by the local establishment. Although co-ops exist in all societies (some of our largest agribusinesses are co-ops and are ideologically neutral), co-ops and co-op organizers in the South were red-baited. Pascal's co-op eventually succeeded and forced local sweet potato shippers to raise the prices paid to local farmers.

There's No Business Like Agribusiness

Self-help farmer co-operatives and other farmer organizations may be the only salvation for small farmers. Salvation is never too late, but it may be hard to come by in these days of southern agribusiness. While prosperous small farms are a rarity, agribusiness is increasingly common in the South.

Earl Butz, Secretary of Agribusiness — oops, Agriculture — argues that corporate farming is not widespread. In 1972, Butz observed "Less than one percent of our total farms are corporate farms, and almost six out of seven of these are family corporation farms. They are really family farms."[12] As Professor Rodefield has pointed out, however, the survey on which Butz's figures are based significantly undercounted farming corporations. Moreover, the definition of "corporate" farm used by USDA in its official figures excludes many, if not most, of the farms normally thought of as corporate in structure.[13] Contrary to Secretary Butz's assertions, corporate farms dominate this nation's agriculture, and corporate farms are more dominant in the South than in any other region except for California, Arizona, and Nevada.[14] Moreover, as we have seen, large farms in the South are growing at a fantastic rate.

Many economists are more concerned about agribusiness' control of farmers than about corporate farms per se. Contract farming is one way that agribusiness controls farmers. Although precise arrangements vary, a farmer will contract with a corporation to grow a certain crop at a specified price. The corporation supplies the farmer with seeds, fertilizer, and other inputs; the farmer in turn supplies his labor and land. Contracting can be beneficial to the farmer by guaranteeing him a market and a price for his product. However, the farmer pays for his security with lower prices and by sacrificing his independence. He becomes, in effect, an employee of the contractor.

Stokely van Camp is a major agribusiness. In 1970, this corporation contracted 9,000 acres of vegetables with a number of farmers.[15] Paul Stephens, a small Kentucky farmer, has grown 35-40 acres of green beans for Stokely van Camp for the past two years. Pete sharecrops or rents most of the


Photo by Pat Goudvis

Federation of Southern Coops field worker.

four hundred acres he farms and is barely able to earn enough money to support his family. His mother is ill and receives some welfare. Pete said Stokely supplies him with seeds and arranges for crews of pickers to harvest the product; Pete does the rest. "I sell my beans to Stokely for 6½ cents a bushel. That is 1½ cents more than last year, barely enough of an increase to pay for the increased cost of fertilizer," Pete explained. Fortunately for its stockholders, Stokely van Camp does not share Pete's financial problems. Last year, this corporation ranked 362*th* in *Fortune*'s 500 in sales and 420*th* in net earnings.[16]

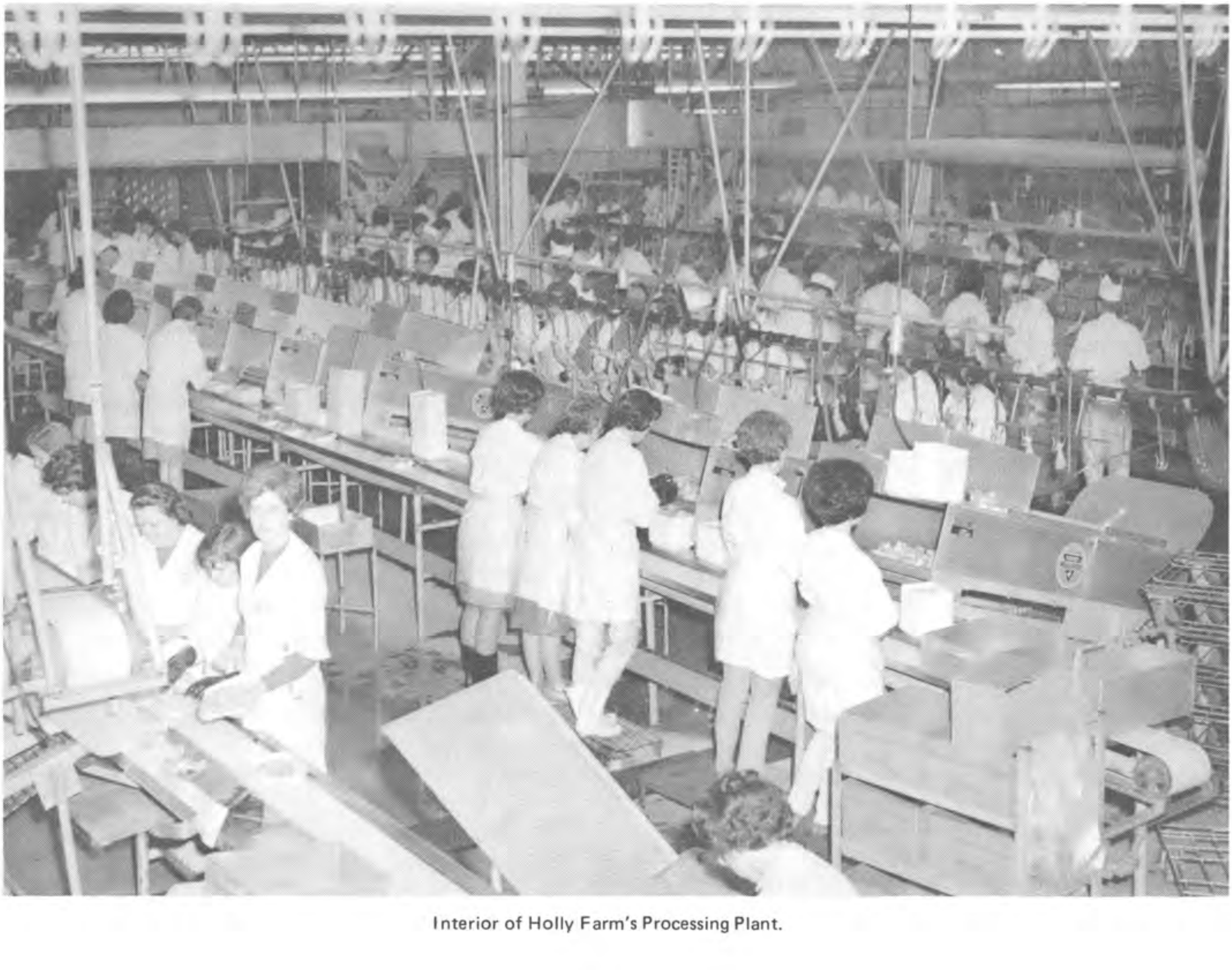
Tropicana Products, Inc., another large corporation, controls the production of thousands of acres of Florida citrus land by contracting with citrus growers.[17] Tropicana and thirteen other agribusiness corporations, including Coca-Cola, account for some sixty per cent of the citrus products and a higher proportion of farm labor employment in Florida.[18]

The broiler industry provides another example of large corporations that have taken over the market. Most of the nation's chicken farmers are under contract with southern-based agribusinesses. These large, vertically-integrated corporations own hatcheries, feedmills, processing plants, retail outlets, and contract (actually hire) small farmers to raise the broilers.

The largest broiler corporation in the world is Holly Farms, Inc., of Wilkesboro, North Carolina. C.F. Lovette, a North Carolina businessman, formed Holly Farms in 1969 from sixteen poultry-oriented companies in the Wilkesboro area. When Lovette began to create his empire, sixty per cent of all broilers were grown by independent farmers.[19] By 1974, corporations like Holly Farms produced 98 per cent of the nation's broiler chickens. The independent chicken grower disappeared.

Holly Farms grew by acquiring control of each link in the process: hatching, feeding and processing. Holly's investment paid off. Last year, the corporation processed 182 million broilers, 3½ million broilers each week.[20] This single "farm" accounted for half of the pre-packaged broiler market and five percent of the total broiler market.

Vertically-integrated broiler corporations sign contracts with individual farmers to raise the broilers. Such contracts are notoriously low. In 1969, a good year for broilers, the net return to the average broiler farmer was only $2,000 per year.[21] Often the contracts tie the farmer's payments to market prices and to the farmer's efficiency, com-



Interior of Holly Farm's Processing Plant.

puted by the corporation. The individual grower loses his independence because the corporation determines the number of broilers that each grower may sell. It's "poultry peonage" for the farmer, but a different story for the corporation. Last year, Holly Farms, Inc., earned $11,502,000 before taxes.[22]

A chicken is a chicken — or is it? Broiler corporation advertising, which raises product prices, will try to convince you that their chicken is really different. Perhaps the major difference is that the corporate chicken lives and dies in a very unnatural environment. Corporate broilers are crowded into large chicken factories and fed vitamins, antibiotics, coloring additives, and arsenic, as well as feed. (Arsenic increases the rate at which the chicken matures and gains weight).[23] Corporate-owned fried chicken restaurants, another link in the vertical integration, use the best Madison Avenue techniques to convince you to have some good ole Suthen' fri' chicken.

What has happened to broilers, vegetables, and citrus is now happening to hog production. Vertically-integrated corporations are poised to take over the Southern hog market. The *New York Times*, reported that a wealthy New York investor, Malcom McLean, recently purchased 380,000 acres in Dare and Tyrrell counties in North Carolina. According to the *Times*.[24]

> **The domain, called First Colony Farms, total nearly 600 square miles. On this vast expanse, Mr. McLean plans to raise thousands of cattle and develop the nation's largest hog-growing operation, planned ultimately to produce a million head of hogs a year. It is the largest holding of its kind under individual ownership in the country. The claim is difficult to prove because of the nature of the land records, which often shield owners behind dummy corporations and names, but it is probably true.**

Two other agribusiness giants, Ralston Purina and Swift & Company are reportedly building a large hog factory in Missouri. According to plans, this operation will breed, wean, feed and slaughter 2.5 million hogs a year.[25] Small farmers, many who raise a few hogs for income, will no doubt feel the impact of these giant hog factories on the market and perhaps more small farmers will be driven out of business as a result.

Who's Farming Whom?

As agribusiness giants like Holly Farms, Stokely van Camp, and Ralston Purina continue to grow, small farmers like Jim Grady, Charles Pascal, and Pete Stevens are rapidly becoming an extinct species. However, it may surprise the average American, accustomed to believing that "bigger is better," that, according to the USDA, most of the economies associated with size in farming are achieved by the "modern and fully mechanized one-man or two-man operation."[26] Corporate farming is known to be inefficient. Eric Thor, agricultural economist and former administrator of USDA's Farmer Cooperative Service was reported as saying:[27]

> There is plenty of data to show that large corporations have higher production costs and get lower yields than do farms where the operator is a part owner.
>
> The real risk in a hired manager is that he can't make decisions very well. . . . He knows that if he makes a bad decision he might get fired, so he waits for someone higher up to approve it. Sometimes it's too late to save a crop.

The *New York Times* also reported several corporations had recently divested their holdings in corporate farms because of such inefficiencies.[28]

Like any other business, farming has its own economies of scale, and they happen to favor the family farm. But, because of the economic power and political influence of corporate America, *public policies favor agribusiness*.[29] This policy tilt reached its zenith in the 1972 wheat sale to Russia — "The Great American Grain Robbery."[30] Large grain exporting companies, with prior knowledge, were able to reap large windfall profits; wheat farmers, uninformed, sold cheaply. The rest of America also lost out. The huge export subsidies were paid by American tax dollars; the consequent rise in grain prices contributed to the rise in meat prices.

Most, if not all, public agricultural policy is geared to increasing the profitability of large-scale farming. Federal tax policies have enabled wealthy investors to benefit from "hobby farming" and have encouraged the growth of corporate agriculture. The result of these tax shelters has been clearly stated:[31]

> While the rich get richer, the family farmer is competitively disadvantaged. Agricultural markets are distorted, the public treasury is avoided, land values are artificially inflated and consumers are faced with a threat to food prices and supplies.

Public funds have been spent on agricultural research, such as for the development of mechanized harvesters, that have contributed to the profits of agribusiness and large-scale farm operations while doing little to aid the small farmer. *Hard Tomatoes and Hard Times* documents how the multimillion dollar research effort of the land grant college system has primarily benefited the giants of American agriculture.[32] The black 1890 land grant colleges, such as Alcorn A&M in Mississippi and North Carolina A&T, have not been given their fair share of research funds. The white land grant colleges, which have received most of the federal funds, have done little research on ways to improve the technical efficiency of limited-resource farmers.

Public agencies, such as the Cooperative Extension Service, Farmers Home Administration (FHA) and the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) have been guilty of widespread discrimination against minorities and the poor. Part of the problem is the scarcity of minorities on ASCS and FHA committees and in state and county offices. In 1970, there were only two black county ASCS Committeemen, and only 385 blacks on the seven thousand FHA county committees which determine loan eligibility. Only 232 out of the 2,007 ASCS county employees were minorities in 1970, and only seven of these were above GS-5. A March, 1971 survey found only five percent of the FHA managers/supervisors in the South were black.[33]

The Extension Service, established to provide technical and managerial assistance to farmers in order to increase productivity, was racially segregated in the South until 1964, has lacked an effective outreach program, and generally failed to aid small farmers to any extent.[34] While some county agents cite understaffing as a prime cause, some freely admit they see little future for "marginal" farmers and can more profitably spend their time working with large successful farmers.

Ultimately, consumers will pay for the concentration of southern agriculture. As large giants increase their control over agricultural markets, prices will go up, not down. A 1972 report by the Federal Trade Commission found consumers are overcharged by two billion dollars a year because of monopolies in only thirteen food lines.[35] Jim Hightower of the Agribusiness Accountability Project warned:[36]

> The food industry model might well be ready-to-eat breakfast cereals, where four corporations — Kellogg, General Mills, General Foods, and Quaker Oats — control 91 percent of the market. There is no competition in price or quality. The cereals are essentially the same, differentiated only by color and shape.

Public policies which have aided the increased concentration in agriculture have also contributed heavily to rural poverty in the South. On the average, those displaced from southern agriculture have little education and few skills, and have had difficulty in moving into non-farm jobs. While low-wage industrialization has helped some farmers combine non-farm jobs with part-time farming, more than a third of all small farmers do not work off the farm and almost half work less than fifty days.[37] For most of these, farming is a vital source of family income. Efforts to increase their farm earnings can be an important way to help the small farmers help themselves.

One such effort, sponsored by the Extension Service, utilizes paraprofessional aides to seek out and help small farmers.[38] The program appears to have been relatively successful in improving technical efficiency and raising incomes. The program of the Missouri Extension Service succeeded in increasing incomes by fifty per cent.[39] Unfortunately, the programs were begun after many small farmers had disappeared and continue to receive only a small portion of the total resources of the extension service. More such programs on a more widespread basis will be needed to have any significant impact on the total problem.

The Future for Southern Farming

The more than three-quarters of a million small southern farmers can make a significant contribution to our food supply and to the quality of life in the South. However, unless significant changes in agricultural policies are made, many of these farms will cease to exist.

They must, and by all rights should, begin to receive a fair share of the agricultural services of FHA, ASCS, and the Cooperative Extension Service. Where needed, special programs to seek out and aid small farmers, such as the aides program discussed above, should be given adequate financial aid and technical support. If states and counties refuse to provide for family farmers, consideration should be given to the federal government's assuming responsibility for including limited-resource farmers in all U.S. agricultural programs. Research on the crops, production techniques, and machinery which will enable small-acreage, labor-intensive farmers to maximize their limited resources should be greatly expanded. Current expenditures in this area are miniscule compared to the millions spent to increase the profitability of large-scale corporate farming. The Federal government must take the lead in pushing for anti-discrimination and affirmative action plans to increase minority employment in southern offices of ASCS, FHA, and the Extension Service, and to insure minority participation on ASCS and FHA state and county committees.

Secondly, increased public support is needed for cooperatives and other organizations which aid and represent the interests of low-income farmers. Consideration should be given to public subsidies for small farmers such as that given for years to larger farmers. Federal tax loopholes which encourage tax-loss farming should be closed.

In addition, anti-trust action should be taken to break up monopolistic concentration in agricultural markets. Federal policies should prohibit or limit corporate mergers which increase concentration in the food industry. Legislation could be enacted by Congress and by southern legislatures to prohibit farming by large non-farm corporations. The farmworkers who till the fields of the agribusiness corporations, for low pay and without many of the legal protections afforded to other laborers, must be covered by federal labor legislation that gives complete legal protections, including the right to organize a union and to bargain collectively with management.

Finally, increasing opportunities for alternative sources of income through rural industrialization, manpower training, and public employment will help keep family farmers on the farm. Enactment of a comprehensive income maintenance system, such as those proposed in several welfare reform measures, will likely stimulate additional persons to supplement family incomes by small-scale farming.

The small farmer problem is not strictly a southern problem. The disappearance of small farmers from the South and other regions means a disproportionate rise in the economic and political power of a few corporate giants. The likely results will be higher prices for lower quality food and repeated scandals like the Russian wheat deal. The interests of all of us demand that we recognize the need for a vigorous, competitive southern agricultural system in which the family farmer plays the major role.

FOOTNOTES

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8. Interviews with Frank Parker (Jackson, Mississippi) July 2, 1974 and Charles Wade (Lexington, Mississippi) June 28-30, 1974.

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10. Marshall, *Rural Workers*, Table II-4.

11. Interview with John Bales (Lexington, Mississippi), July, 1974.

12. Earl Butz, *Wisconsin Agriculturalist*, January 8, 1972.

13. Richard D. Rodefield, "A Reassessment of the Status and Trends in 'Family' and 'Corporate' Farms in U.S. Society," paper prepared for First National Conference on Land Reform, San Francisco, April 25-28, 1973. Rodefield characterizes corporate farms as "large (acreage and/or sales-wise), have absentee owners, hired managers and hired workers and provide their own capital."

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WE WAS ALL POOR THEN

The Sub-Economy of a Farming Community
1900 — 1925

Land in Independence County, Arkansas, was attractive to the perenially displaced poor of the rural South. It was cheap land and its location not too far west of the Misissippi offered the natural advantages of river transportation. Poor whites pioneered this north central part of Arkansas from the early 1820's until the early years of this century. During the Civil War, settlement increased considerably as people entrapped by the fierce fighting to the east and south sought refuge in the wilderness of the Arkansas backlands.

Photo by David Jenkins

by William Spier

These nineteenth century farmers generally labored alone with their families, cleared small parcels of land for a cash crop, and ate what they could catch, raise, and grow. Luther Milton, whose father came to Independence County a few years after the Civil War, recalled how farmers reproduced their life in the bottoms, where he was born ninety-one years ago.

Did most of the people back in those days, say 1906 and 1907, make a living farming, or did they work in the timber, or how did they make a living?

They made a livin' by raisin' garden stuff 'n killin' rabbits. They eatin' possums. Did you ever eat a possum?

Uh, no, don't believe I ever did.

We . . . as far as I know . . . I've heard of it . . . but as far as I know we never et a rattlesnake. But I suppose they're good.

I've heard people say so . . .

I never did either, but I never know'd none of them old people eatin' a rattlesnake. But I suppose they're good to eat, cuz we ate everythin' else here. . . .

Well, were there any of these big saw mills going back long 1905, '06?

When we first come here, no. They cut down these little ol' trees 'n there wasn't a stick of lumber 'n none of the log fences ya had. I was born in a little ol' log pen.

The working life on small Independence County farms required creativity and continuous hard work. Attaining even the simplest comforts involved time-consuming labor from all members of the family. A pattern of self-sufficiency quickly emerged and was broken only occasionally, as when a farmer would travel to the nearest store for coffee and sugar.

Some of the poorest among them, recalled Albert Wilson, former miner and farmer, substituted sorghum molasses for the sugar and parched corn for coffee. Besides the money obtained from growing a few acres of cotton and raising some livestock, very little cash was seen by these farmers in the early years of this century.

The following article highlights a number of the features of the sub-economy which united these self-sufficient farms. Derived from lengthy interviews with people whose families have tilled the soil for generations, it focuses first on the relationship of farmers to landlords, and then on the early introduction of outside banking and government.

I.

By 1910, 3,683 farms in Independence County covered 224,121 acres, of which, 92,280 were improved farmland for an average of twenty-three improved acres per farm. Half of these farms were farmed by share or cash tenancy, either by individual farmers or by tenants and property owners together. The county, in 1910, had a total population of 24,776 persons, of which, 17,114 or 69 per cent, inhabited farms. A significant number of the remaining male population probably worked in related enterprises such as ginning, farm supply, and marketing. Although Batesville was a major marketing center for northern Arkansas and contained several small companies, agrarian enterprise dominated activity in the county.

Three types of farming arrangements prevailed in the early 1900's, all carried over from older arrangements that existed in ante-bellum years. Tenant farming involved a man who would supply his own machinery, seed, and general equipment and would rent a parcel of another man's land for either cash or share rent. Under a second type, sharecropping, the individual would supply only his labor and would receive a smaller portion of the harvest. However, sharecropping appeared more commonly in the black plantation areas to the east and southeast than in predominantly white Independence County. The third form was individual family farming: a man owned his own property and supplied his own labor and materials. Structurally, this latter type of farming, involving roughly half of all Independence County farmers, differed from tenant arrangements; yet the following pages illustrate that the arrangements were intimately tied to each other. Tenancy did not withdraw incentive to improve physical plants and production, and often, as agreements between poor farmers, it cooperatized farming of cotton and stimulated localized services.

Although large landholdings were few in number in these early years, they represented one form of landlord-tenant relations. Colonel V.Y. Cook, Civil War and Spanish-American War veteran, typified a landlord considerably more wealthy than his tenants. He owned 6,337 acres of bottom land around Oil Trough Bottoms, an area notable for large plantations. Colonel Cook's records show that between 1898 and 1922 thirty-five tenant farmers worked a "thriving business" on his land.

One such tenant farmer, O.C. Cook, now lives near the old site of Elmo, Arkansas. In an interview

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with Cook, A.C. McGinnis, editor of the *Independence County Chronicle*, discussed the land as it was then:

> O.C. Cook, who is no relation to Colonel Cook, began farming for himself in 1904, at the age of twenty-one. Describing the area at that time, he says that only about twenty-five per cent of the land had been cleared for farming. The remainder of the land was forest of huge white and red oak trees with dense canebrakes along the river and scattered here and there among the big trees. A characteristic of the virgin forest was that there was no underbrush; a man could ride horseback through the trees without difficulty.*

Before he could even begin to farm the land, O.C. Cook had to cut the logs and, using five mules, haul them out of the bottoms over rough country with no roads. O.C. Cook's original agreement with the Colonel called for payment of a one-fourth share rent. He made his first crop of six bales of cotton in 1904 on five acres of cleared land. In 1905, he continued this arrangement with the Colonel (who then lived in Oil Trough) and farmed forty-five acres of land. The soil was rich, and he made enough that year to buy a Studebaker wagon for $45, a one-row cultivator, a breaking plow, a one-row planter and a Georgia Tooth, all tools necessary for making a crop. When harvest time came along he had enough cash to hire the children of neighbors for thirty-five cents a day to chop cotton. All in all, he was on his way to becoming a successful farmer.

Colonel Cook remained in the bottoms until 1908, when he moved to Batesville, the only sizable town in the county. McGinnis said the decision for this move probably came with the "increasing use of automobiles which made it possible for him to travel between Oil Trough and Batesville, at least in good weather." And, O.C. Cook remembered the "Colonel coming to the farm in his Maxwell, driven by a chauffeur."

Once established in Batesville, the Colonel delegated the administration of the land to a third party, the Pelley Brothers, Asa and Erwin, of nearby Dunnington. The new arrangement called for the Pelley Brothers to operate Colonel Cook's gin, rent out his land, and pay Cook $4 for each acre rented. They in turn charged tenants at the "usual one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn and other crops," thus freeing the Colonel from any direct administration of his property in Oil Trough Bottoms.

Cook's formalized relations with his tenants, administrators and ginners, emerged in the form of written contracts. "Colonel Cook always did business by the pencil," O.C. Cook recalled, "and he never took your word for anything and never expected you to take his." It is not known if he used written contracts before his move to Batesville, but with his move he had access to lawyers and legal authority. He contracted the Pelley Brothers to administer his affairs in the "Bottoms" until 1917, when he once again resumed direct control over his property. Remaining in Batesville, Colonel Cook, a very wealthy man, engaged in banking and other enterprises until his death in 1922.

Normally, landlords did not charge tenants rent for houses they might occupy on the farmer's land. But a typical contract used by Colonel Cook in 1915 (see box) shows he received five dollars per acre for all uncultivated land where dwellings and barns stood. The contract required the farmer to take all crops to Cook's gin, and assume all responsibility for damage to buildings on rented property. After delivering the crops to the gin, the tenant must "deposit in such bank or trust company as they (trustees) may designate the full amount of the proceeds or receipts on all crops sold." From this clause it can be assumed that Cook reviewed, from a distance, all income, and then paid the farmer. O.C. Cook said he complied with the requirement to take his cotton only to "the gin of V.Y. Cook," and paid five dollars per bale for ginning or one-twelfth a toll in lint. Since cash was scarce, customs allowed for a man to pay his debts with a toll or percentage of his procedure, which would eventually be turned into cash. What appears to be a reflection of Colonel Cook's practicality in covering his interests with a legal contract is more a reflection on his distrust for the people who had been working for his interests for fifteen years or more.

In a separate contract Colonel Cook required that his ginners "keep sharp watch and advise said Cook promptly of any of the tenants on his land not bringing his or their cotton to their said gin at Oil Trough to be ginned." In other words, he appointed his ginners as spies, and held them responsible for every bale of cotton farmed on his 6,000-plus acres. If his ginners failed to look after his interests, that is, if he discovered that cotton from his property found its way to another gin, they were to nevertheless pay Cook the one dollar per bale due him out of their own pockets and collect it from his tenants if they desired to make up their own losses. The ginners were to report by mail every day all the transactions of that day.

Although Colonel Cook's departure from the Oil Trough Bottoms in 1908 signified the weakening of personal feudal bonds with O.C. Cook and other tenants, he still retained some degree of paternal authority over them. In August, 1915, the White River flooded and left the bottom land farmers no

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*This quote and others related to Mr. O.C. Cook are found in A.C. McGinnis, "Farming in Oil Trough, 1904 — 1960."

time to replant. As a result, unless tenants could come up with cash (since they had no crops and were liable for damages), they faced violation of the contract between themselves and Colonel Cook. However, Colonel Cook absorbed the loss and paid tenants for the little they could grow. There was little else he could do in these extreme circumstances. His tenants already faced destitution, and his administrators had gone bankrupt. As old-timer Paul Goodwin said, good tenant farmers were hard to find, and Cook probably did not wish to lose their services.

Another of the Colonel's paternal gestures concerned the construction of a church at Elmo, a few years prior to 1920. O.C. Cook believed it was Colonel Cook's idea to build the non-denominational church for his tenants. Although Colonel Cook did not attend this church, his position as an educated banker and one of the largest landholders in the "Bottoms," allowed him to assume responsibility for financing the new building. He accomplished this by charging each one of his tenants a twenty-five cents "tithe" per acre of crop land rented from him. Country churches outside of Batesville were usually built and financed directly by local farmers and laborers, rather than by Cook's unusual method of raising money to hire a contractor. Cash was so scarce that the imposition of a tax would have met with at least some resistance — unless someone was in the position to coerce people to contribute. Colonel V.Y. Cook had such power. The money was collected, the church built, and if there were any objections to the manner in which he financed it, they are not known.

II.

Landholdings the size of V.Y. Cook's were few in number in Independence County. The Colonel's relations with his tenants were more formal than those between small farmers and their tenants, but at least Cook did not involve himself in the vicious peonage through debt-credit that permeated the eastern counties. While the relationship between Colonel Cook and his tenants was basically one of a petty bourgeois landlord and peasant farmers, the

TYPICAL CONTRACT BETWEEN LANDOWNER AND TENANT

THIS WRITING WITNESSETH: That I have this day rented from A.B. Pelley, ________ acres of land, more or less, for the year 1915, on the farm belonging to V.Y. Cook in Independence County, Arkansas, known by said Cook as the ________ for ________ dollars, due and payable on the first day of September, 1915, ________ acres of which is to be planted in Cotton, and ________ acres in corn and all of said cotton to be ginner at the gin of V.Y. Cook, leased to and controlled and operated by said A.B. Pelley, or wherever the said Cook may elect, until the above rent, together with all supplies which the said Cook may furnish during the present year, is fully paid.

Said cotton is to be marked at Newport, and all of the proceeds thereof is to apply on the rents of the above lands due from A.B. Pelley to V.Y. Cook until the said Cook is fully paid, and when the said Cook is paid in full then the amount so paid the said Cook is to be deducted from the amount due the said A.B. Pelley under the terms of this contract.

It is further understood and agreed that the rent on lands in alfalfa, or other earlier crops, shall become due and payable as soon as the crop matures, which shall be made ready for market promptly thereafter. But at the option of the said V.Y. Cook he may forbear for a period, in which case such crop is to be stored in a good dry place and insured in favor of said Cook and his interest may appear.

And in consideration of said lands having been rented to us by the said A.B. Pelley, we do hereby agree to work and cultivate same thoroughly and in a good and husbandlike manner, and at all times subject to supervision of the said Pelley, or his accredited agent, and to pay therefore, as rent, one-third of all the corn and one-fourth of all the cotton and ________ raised on said land during said crops as promptly as may be possible, and to deliver the cotton at the V.Y. Cook gin or at such other place as the said Cook may designate hereafter, and to deliver all corn and other crops grown on said V.Y. Cook farm, except such part as may be set apart to us as our individual share of said crop, at such place or places as the said Pelley may designate and direct.

It is further understood and agreed that the house, barns, etc., on said lands occupy ________ acres of land and not subject to cultivation, therefore we agree to pay as rent the sum of $5 per acre during said year.

I also agree to pay and damage done or caused to be done through negligence or carelessness of mine, of members of my family or my employees, to the buildings occupied and controlled by us on said lands, and that we will not permit any of the buildings on said lands to be occupied in any manner for any length of time by any other person than myself or our employees.

It is also understood and agreed that if we fail to work said crops, or refuse to work or cultivate said land as above set-out then the said Pelley shall have the right to enter same at any time and employ any additional labor and complete the work of planting, cultivating, marketing or gathering of said crops, and after the same has been gathered and marketed, he shall first deduct therefrom the amount due him and damages, then reimburse himself for such amount as he may have spent in working said land, crops, etc., as stated, and after applying the balance in settlement of such amount or amounts as we may then owe him for advances made us by him, he shall pay any residue remaining to us or our heirs.

It is also agreed that the action above outlined shall be optional on the said Pelley's part, and if instead of taking the above indicated action if he so prefers, he may permit us to finish the cultivation, gathering, and marketing of said crops in my own way, and instead of charging us as a rent a portion of said crops, as above mentioned, he may charge me against said crop at the rate of $ ________ cash per acre as standing rent for said year.

It is further understood and agreed by me that the money rent due V.Y. Cook for said land is to be paid in cash and that nothing in this contract is to be in any way modify, retard or hinder him in the collection of said rent, and that this contract is not assignable or transferrable by me.*

*Contract courtesy of John Morros, Jr., Batesville, Arkansas.

relationship between small farmers and their tenants was characterized by personal agreements and marked by one or both being free to expand the farming interests and extended services to the local economy.

Once cotton left the hands of the small farmer, his contact with the external capitalist markets ended. The farmer received the price offered to him for his cotton, and that price was low, depressed by many middle men taking profits, including the railroads which amassed wealth on the farmers' sweat. For small farmers who lacked the capital to invest in more advanced farm implements, cotton farming remained labor intensive, with a strong reliance on the extended family and local labor during planting and harvesting seasons.

John Ellis recalls that tenant farming was usually done by the poorer people. "No matter how poor yer was," he said, "they was always people that was poor." He recalls that often a sharecropper might be kinfolk, perhaps a son just starting off on his own. Neil Northcutt said that sharecropping arrangements were always welcome unless a farmer had a large family who could assist him. Sometimes these small farms resembled communal farms, with several families of kinfolk working one farm and living in separate dwellings. There was plenty of labor to work the fields and informal agreements in the splitting of the proceeds. Although these arrangements continually dissolved, kin usually stayed close by, extending cooperative activities beyond the structural limits of one farm. Several of the older people interviewed were related to each other through blood or marriage, and indicated they had lived with one or more of the others on the same farm when younger.

Rural communities actually grew in this manner, and, at the same time, widened the boundaries of local economy. Personal ties expanded and encouraged farmers to engage in services outside the subsistance farm. The cash crop, cotton, was important in that it circulated cash within the local economy, alongside traded items. It also served to add new commodities to the countryside experience. But at this time, cash was scarce, and a farmer could not depend on it for what he needed; other forms of value exchange developed. For example, sharecropping or paying rent and debts with a share of one's crop rather than cash accounted for over a thousand farm operations in the county in 1910. Although it was not always a permanent arrangement, the narratives attest that it was a beneficial arrangement in that it lessened the concentration on cotton growing and allowed for expansion of services. These relations offered a flexibility for both the farmer and the share tenant. Unlike relations with absentee landlords, such as Colonel Cook, the arrangements remained personal and stimulated the local economy.

One such small farmer who extended his interests with the help of a sharecropper was Hugh Moore's father. The elder Moore owned 157½ acres of land in the early years of this century — starting off very small and accumulating first "ten and then 7½ and then 40 and then 20 acres that happened to be joined." Compared to his neighbors, Hugh Moore's father was quite successful:

> He usually would have someone working with him or for him (a sharecropper). He spent most of his time — except when a harvesting the crops — buying cattle, horses, or trading, and he would have someone hired or in the hills. We had a man live who made what we call a sharecrop with us. And we would furnish the seed and fertilizer and the team and the machinery and everything else, and had a man who was an old bachelor and four sisters, and they would work the crop, and we'd split the proceeds. Pop would get up at four o'clock in the morning, and he'd get in usually in the summertime after dark.

By having a sharecrop tenant "working for or with him," Hugh Moore's father freed himself to expand into cattle and stallion breeding and trading with his neighbors, without sacrificing the cash income gained from a cotton crop. This local enterprise is very important in that it served to perpetuate a partially insulated economy, one not dependent on services or commodities produced outside the area of comfortable movement. Of all that the Moore farm produced — cotton, corn, wheat, cattle, horses, mules and hogs — only the cotton was destined for markets outside the rural countryside.

With the expansion of interests, Hugh said that his father learned related skills which he offered as services.

> My father was also a veterinarian on his own. He would castrate cattle for himself, mules and hogs for other people. We would go around in communities around Oil Trough, Magness and Rosie, neighbors go in together and bring ten or twelve mule colts there together and we would castrate them.
>
> *Would you say that other farmers had different skills other people in the county needed?*
>
> Yes, that was quite common. There were some who could do things better than others and would go around sellin' these skills.

John Ellis' and Hugh Moore's fathers both shod horses for a little extra money. John Ellis said that cotton was still the major source of cash, with other interests, mostly involving tolls, small cash transfers, and trading.

John Thompson, age ninety, remembered that his father owned a scarce farm implement, a wheat thresher. Owning such a piece of machinery was

Luther Milton and his family.

Photos by William Spier

Luther Milton demonstrates how he still prepares meals over a fireplace with a dutch oven.

Home of Luther Milton, Dowdy, Arkansas.

considered a very valuable asset, and customary tolls rather than cash were charged by the owner for the service.

> My dad get a thresher called a "Ground hog" and they'd thresh the wheat, round the neighbors and they'd run it through that cylinder and knock the wheat out and they'd rake a straw up and then they'd put that chaff of wheat in a pad, they call it, and they'd turn that by hand, pan that chaff out. Finally they got it separated and go all over the country you know, my brother went with it, my dad never did go with it. But anyway he'd go and they'd take so much toll, so much out of each bushel. After it was over with he'd take the wagon and he had a certain place to go and the other fellas, four of them they had a certain place they go and pick this toll up and bring it in and they haul it to Batesville and sell. 'Stead of takin' cash, people didn't have cash then, they couldn' pay for it, havin' it threshed. They'd take so much, like ginnin' cotton. They'd take so many pounds of cotton out of a thousand pounds, you see. . . . Whoever had their wheat threshed, say, fed the threshing crew. Some of them'd be close enough to come to go back, stay all night. Most of 'em whoever had their wheat threshed why fed the crews, and they'd sleep on the floor on the porch, lots of times in the halls of these old double logged houses.

John Ellis remembered bailing crews who would also travel to farms, "set overnight," and do the hay bailing for one-seventh toll payment. "We visited people we wouldn't see very often," said John Thompson, recalling the circuits they would travel as an important social event where men could be together a day or two to talk and generally renew acquaintances.

Hugh Moore recalled that other people sold their surplus. They would circulate throughout the area offering grain, fruit or beef. Moore could not recall exactly if anyone had a personal monopoly on any service or product, but he assumed that "to be the way they operated." For example, a wheat thresher was a considerable investment for a poor farmer, so other farmers would rely on the few men who had threshers for service. Since tolls were generally uniform, and several wheat threshers were not needed in any one area, competition was discouraged in favor of expansion into other services.

Some of the poorest of the hill farmers, Albert Wilson remembered, were tied to their farms in the growing seasons, but worked in the mines during the winter to gain a little cash. "You worked hard all year," said Wilson. "Of course, in the winter time you cut a little wood and hauled and sold that. I've sold lots of chicken pens and grapes, catch old possums and sell their hides for a nickel and a dime." Cows provided another important source of extra income for farm families, for milk consistently remained a cash commodity throughout this period. A poem in the *Batesville Daily Guard* (October 16, 1923) exaggerates the probable monetary return from a few cows, but nonetheless reflects both the activity of local peasant economy and the growing dependency on banks for credit. Entitled "A Farm Wife's Ode to the Cream Can," one passage reads:

> And when another baby comes,
> We add another cow,
> And look around and trade a bit,
> Annex another sow.

And another passage reads:

> With coats of fine silk
> The proceeds from the stock and crop
> Go into the bank,
> The cream can has paid all our bills.
> We have the can to thank.

Trading certainly dominated relations in an economy with a scarcity of cash and limited contact with the markets. Many farmers said that there were years during the first quarter of the century when they received as little as five cents per pound for their cotton. An average farmer might do ten bales per year and make less than $200. When he finished paying off debts and purchased supplies for the coming year, there was little need for a bank. If a farmer lived near Batesville, perhaps in Desha, Moorefield or Sulphur Rock, his contact with merchants and bankers was generally more frequent than if he lived in the "Bottoms." People in the countryside, ten or twelve miles from Batesville, kept their cash very close to their persons; the money was of no use to them in Batesville banks when purchases and debts were locally incurred.

"What I remember about tradin' with neighbors," said Neil Northcutt, "was that when you had somethin', yeh offered it to them first, before yeh sold it, if yeh could." Traveling was so difficult that if a farmer could not trade with neighbors, he became isolated. Trading, hunting, church-going and visiting served as the only social life a farmer and his family had. In retrospect, one can imagine the fear and anxiety countryside communities felt during the Civil War when their entire world of balanced personal services and relations was threatened or destroyed.

III.

Survival for small farms frequently depended on securing readily available cash from local money lenders. Cash transactions existed alongside common barter and were most important in purchasing fertilizer and machinery for cotton farming. Specific people throughout the countryside offered loans to farmers who needed perhaps ten or fifteen dollars to buy supplies for a cotton crop. These local money lenders were usually farmers themselves, but they had managed through frugality to put a bit of money aside.

A system of informal countryside banking emerg-

Photo by Pat Goudvis

ed from this accumulation of capital. Instead of traveling inconvenient miles to Batesville for a more complicated intimidating transaction, farmers could go to known lenders for money. Paul Goodwin recalled that he never had enough money to put into a bank and that banks were distrusted by poor farmers, especially since they inflicted such harsh penalties for payment defaults.

> *Did people hesitate going to banks when they needed cash?*
>
> Back then, oh yea, man kep his money close. Sometimes I 'member when a bank would take away a man's land for not payin' 'em back on time, you see. You know, sometimes a bank would get a man to take out too much money, credit you see, and that man couldn't pay it back.

While Paul Goodwin said that banks were generally distrusted, they were not exclusively used by the wealthier farmers. John Thompson, whose father was a poor farmer, said that in the spring, "Dad wouldn't have enough money to pay our taxes," so he would go to Batesville to borrow cash.

> He'd go in to several places, take me along, and went into the First National Bank, and he told John Q. Wolfe, who used to be the cashier at the bank, and Nathan Adler used to be President of the bank. An John comes in there and wants some money, picks out a note and signs my name to it. We'd borrow ten or twelve, fifteen dollars, and then we'd that Fall, we'd sell a bale a cotton or two, and he'd go in and pay it off. He'd float it from one bank to another. He went to school seven days in his life, my father, and he made it to higher arithmetic.

John Thompson recalled that "We wasn't afraid to go to the bank, 'cause Nathan Adler was a friend and I used to work for him." But Thompson admitted that most people he knew had a distrust of banks and would go to local money lenders instead.

> Yes, banks charged high interest if they thought you could not pay it back on time. It wasn't equal, and people didn't like that.

Another reason for the slow recognition of banks was the well-established personal relations between small farmers and local money lenders. These relations were characterized by flexible, but not always uniform, arrangements. One money lender might ask for a note, the other nothing. Unlike the banks, these local money lenders would give a farmer as much time as he needed to pay back the loan.

Owens Fetzer had an uncle who loaned out money, and who safeguarded his loan by securing a deed of mortgage from a justice of the peace.

> *Do you remember any of the local money lenders?*
>
> Yea. Well, one I remember very well was my uncle. He lived down there. James Hale. His people was from Alabama. And he worked hard and saved, and he

saved, and he saved, and he got some money. He had a bankroll. He kept it at home and a man only needed $25 then, $30 would help him make a crop. Well, he'd come there and borrow that money from my uncle, and he'd fix up the mortgage, go and have it recorded, deed of trust. And that man'd come back, with interest, of course, and pay him.

What is a deed of mortgage?

Well, he would come to him and tell him, "I'll pay you a small amount of it, but I failed," and my uncle would let the other go with interest. Once in a great while I known him to loan some dishonest men, but when he got through with them, that was all. They would not get any more from anyone.

Fetzer was sure that most of the local money lenders were not as cautious and demanding as his uncle, and he insisted that people would loan money because, "When a man told you a thing, you could depend on that." John Thompson recalled the flexibility of monetary transactions.

Well, they'd loan it out, $25 for so long. Take out $25 and hand it to him, no note. He'd go on and, well, time would come due and he'd go to him and pay part of it and say, "I haven't got the rest, but I'll pay it back as I can get it."

If you were tight one year you could go to Luther Milton, John Coles or Ewell Churchill's father, to whom your "word was your note."

When I asked Luther Milton, who has outlived his debtors, if money lenders received interest, he laughingly replied, "Well, yea, you got interest, sometimes yea." The fact is that Luther and the other informal bankers received a usurious ten per cent interest.* Victoria Forrester recalled a money lender from Cord.

Well, yes, you could borrow money from Ewell Churchill's father (a store owner in Cord). This son-and-law of mine say that you go to him and say, "Mr. Dave, I need so and so." He'd go get it, but okay, you knowed you gonna pay it back. So you'd pay it back with ten per cent interest. I am sure there was many more who operated. . . .

*Although ten per cent interest is quite usurious, it was not compared to the interest charged to small cotton farmers by banks. Bizzell in his monograph on the evils of farm tenancy, documents examples of banks throughout Texas and Arkansas consistantly charging sixty per cent interest or higher! "Tenancy," wrote Bizzel, "results in the hopelessness of acquiring a farm home, intranciency, thriftlessness and inefficiency." Never calling these high interest rates usuary, Bizzell justified the profit. Wherever this usuary occured, one can be sure that counter-finances were made available by local money lenders at a "reasonable" ten per cent interest.

IV.

This informal system of banking helped retard bank accumulation in these early years of the century. By 1900, Batesville was a marketing center for north Arkansas, but the small farming economy continued to thrive in the countryside. The introduction of automobiles and roads slowly brought farmers into town and introduced more commodities into countryside life. When asked why roads were not built before the 1920's, Neil Northcutt replied, "We could get around to where we wanted to go." Luther Milton recalled the first time he ever came into contact with government in the "Bottoms" — when they came to conscript local men to build roads.

Were the roads dug here, in pretty bad condition? When did they first make a good road out here?

A good road! A good road! A few days ago! From Batesville to Cord was a mudhole, and now sometimes now they worked three days out of the year, when I was twenty-one, worked three days out of the year.

You mean everybody twenty-one years old and older was required to work the roads?

Buster Milton, Luther's son: — Yea, he cut some grass and put in them holes. They didn't all work.

You being a good citizen, you worked the roads?

Luther: — I get out of it if I could, if I couldn't, I worked it.

Remember," said Luther Milton, "when they chased these young fellers all over the county to do the roads."

The state and federal governments were making more frequent contacts with rural farmers in the early years of this century. Clearly, their objectives were to stimulate rural production and bring the farmer out of his insulated community. Small farmers consistently opposed interference in rural Independence County; and their resistance often erupted into violence. Such was the response to the enforcement of federal cattle dipping and stock laws. In order to rid cattle of fever carrying ticks, farmers were required, by law, to drive their cattle to the dipping vats. With the scarcity of roads, this was a considerable inconvenience to many farmers. To compound the farmer's reluctance, vat solutions were sometimes too strong and cattle died. Owens and Lola Fetzer recalled the importance of cattle to farmers and the farmers' anger at interference with their source of livelihood:

Owens Fetzer: — The fever tick killed our cattle here, and they started dippin' long around 1915. Well, they dipped those cattle in this solution, and some of it, they got it too strong and they killed some cattle. Well, that created lots of trouble around here. They felt that they was killin' their cattle and they objected. But it was a mistake; the government didn't.

Lola Fetzer: — People depended on their cows for milk and butter, you know.

Owens Fetzer: — And there was quite a opposition to it. However, you see, we was under federal quarantine. We couldn't ship cattle to St. Louis or anyplace, only after November.

The enactment of stock laws also brought quick and violent reaction from countryside farmers. The laws insisted that farmers fence in their cattle, in a move to protect crops and gardens from the trampling of hungry animals. Fencing in cattle was time consuming and expensive; moreover, if a farmer did not have a stream or pond on his property, where would his cattle get water unless he terraced his farm and dug a pond?

Lola Fetzer: — Another thin' that brought on trouble was the stock laws. When, a long time after we moved here, our cows run outside and maybe they'd come up in the evenin' and maybe they wouldn't. But, then they had the stock law, and we thought that that was just terrible. You had to keep your stock up and feed them, once you fenced them in.

How did people protest against the cattle dipping and stock laws?

Lola Fetzer: — They had their little farms fenced in. They didn't cultivate all the land.

Owens Fetzer: — A man killed another south of Batesville once.

Lola Fetzer: — What they did cultivate, they had to fence in.

Owens Fetzer: — This dippin', they killed a man up there. He's a government. Shot him. Because they felt like people, you see, when they get in their minds that you're imposing on them, naturally they get desperate. And they couldn't see it any other way. I can't recall exactly when they started this dippin'. But I do remember a man losing his life.

John Ellis said the "people didn't want nobody tellin' them how to do their farmin', and the government was doin' so then." "I don't think they had anything against the government, but they didn't have much faith in politicians," recalled Owens Fetzer.

They thought they was bein' imposed on. And they didn't think about startin' a rebellion or anything like that, you know. But they said, "You're tryin' to run me over." Thought they was against them. It wasn't the government, but the government's agents. They thought it was the agents tryin' to go against them, not the government.

The occasional intrusion by the federal or state government appears to be the only conflict small farmers had with the "state." There were local sheriffs and justices of the peace, and for serious crimes, penalties would be dealt out in Batesville courts. But the effect of state intrusion had not been felt consistently since the Civil War. Luther Milton said he had no use for politicans and had not voted since 1915, the year he assisted a local politician whose opponent bought the election. Luther recalled that the man elected was so corrupt that he stole all the money used to hold court. As a result, Luther said, "the moonshiners was sellin' to each other." Buster Milton remembered that most disputes between farmers were settled by the farmers themselves and that very often "they killed each other."

A.C. McGinnis: — You know, I was over here one time at where Mr. Fast used to live. I was out on his farm one day an he is tellin' me where a little house used to be down there, an he says there was a woman murdered down there. I was tellin' that to someone out here, and he said that Cord was a mean place then. The people didn't have any roads, they couldn't go anywhere, they didn't have anything to do; and he said they had lots of whiskey stills 'round here. Did you ever hear of anything like that?

Buster: — Yes sir, they killed each other all the time. There was no law around here then. I remember 'em tellin' about that woman bein' killed, right down there. Says he got her pregnant. He settled it thata way. No, there's no law around here then.

Luther: — Well sir, I want to tell yeh. . . . what did he say? Cord was a mean place?

Yes sir, just what he said.

Luther: — I don't know how mean it was, but there was a lots of fightin' and they kill one another. But now then I'll tell yeh that I do know that happened. The man that had this here store, had four mules and a good wagon and he'd go to Newport and he get a load of whiskey and he'd come back here with this whiskey, and it was agin the law to sell this whiskey fer him. Now here's the way he done it — he's pretty slick. You come here and bring me yer money, and I'll bring you the whiskey, and he'd put it down on this here piece of paper. And when he would come back, he would bring you that whiskey, whoever it was you know, and he'd get drunk. He'd git into it. Some of whuppin' whiskey. And that's what happened; not too many stills, but later, further on down the line, yes they got plenty of 'em. Moonshines. Back then you went to Newport and brought it up here. I'm gonna tell yeh what I seen, boys seen too. If probably he had a pint or a quart or whatever he had, he just drink it up. Sometimes he just lie down out there and just lay there. He couldn't get up or he couldn't fight nobody or nothin'. He just be drunk as $700. They killed one another, too.

V.

Changes in personal relations came slowly to the Independence County countryside. While small industry flourished in Batesville during the first quarter of the century, relations in the rural areas remained tied to kinship, home production, and a cash and barter economy. This certainly was not a romantic life; disagreements very often ended in violence after a few bottles of corn liquor. Yet the farmers interviewed for this study looked back on their relations with friends and neighbors as having a very special quality, one no longer apparent. Some bemoaned the fact that mechanical farming depleted the area of neighbors. Mrs. Massey regretted that holiday traditions of the family have given way to the distance between members of her family. Owens Fetzer, who farmed around Newark and Cord his whole life, said:

> When I moved, I don't mean to discredit the country or anything. There was hardly nobody livin' here at all. And when a man told you a thing, you could depend on that. You differ from him politically or religiously, but his word was his bond. Sorry to say now, mister, that it's not thata way now.

Albert Wilson recalled the honesty of the people in the countryside:

> In the community where I was raised, before John come, I was raised that you helped a man when he was tight. I went and helped a man's crop, and helped plow when he take down sick, after he get a crop started. You go down the road and lose somethin' off the wagon, and you got it back . . . you had it back in two days time. And don't care what you lose you don't get it back now. There were some who were more freer to help than others.

"Well, you know," said John Ellis, "we was all poor then, and we needed to do so much for ourselves to live. It was part of life to help your neighbors when they needed it." Owens Fetzer noted, "You're on your own now, but of course there's a higher standard of living now." "There's reason to be bitter about the present," pointed out John Ellis. "It's especially hard now that I am very old."

"Yes, in those days," said Victoria Forrester, "we stayed close by . . . we didn't go way out yonder. We went where we could walk. As neighbors, we really had neighbors then, now you go a long time to learn the names of the people across the street."

The small farmers of Independence County understood their own poverty and brought about a balance of relations with the land and their neighbors, whereby the difficulty of that poverty was alleviated. The consistency of these relations is impressive. The investments of an industrial society had all along neglected the masses of southern farmers; but these small agriculturalists had developed and retained a way of life insulated from dependence on capital's precious markets. Rural sociologists, the ministers of rural capitalism, indicted the farmer for his unproductivity and ignorance. In reality, however, the so-called "victim" of his own ignorance was not a victim at all, but a humble man who, in the early years of this century threatened to make capital his victim. With its bias toward capital accumulation and expansion, the "state" eventually had to eliminate the problem of peasants in a land bent on national urban growth.

Photo by William Spier

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PLANS FOR A NEW SOUTH

Photo by Bill Fibben

by Allen Tullos

Anyone who has travelled over the state highways and county roads of the South's several regions knows that just a few miles beyond the city's concrete sprawl lies much that is beautiful and life-renewing. A Saturday afternoon's trip through the middle-sized and small towns uncovers social opportunities and neighborly gatherings — picnics, barbecues, parks with useable playgrounds, tree-lined streets, gardens, musicians on the porches. These towns which seem so out of modern fashion, slower paced, and "unprogressive" can nevertheless call up memories and longings which beckon us to stop and stay. The nightmare of progress without purpose and growth without limits which has made the bulldozer a preeminent southern symbol since World War II has only recently grouped forces to invade these roadside towns far from the freeways. But who can say whether in twenty years the forests, mountains, and farms along these same country roads which now offer a relief from urban chaos will not be replaced by real estate developers' fantasies much like those as we now see in the Georgia and Carolina mountains. Already rare enough is the dirt road or woodland path along which a solitary traveller won't be shaken by hordes of motorcycles leading the mechanized chorus of our age.

Appealing as it often seems, an escape into the depopulated hinterland in order to retreat from the wheels of progress is, with few exceptions, a near-sighted act of too selfish purpose. Nor can much worthwhile come from fleeing the collapsing cities in order to exploit the countryside, carrying in the migration the misconceptions which have led us to repeat in Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis and Charlotte the miscarriages and excesses of cities of the Northeast and West Coast. To protect what we most value from our past and to provide for that which we hope in our future we will have to struggle and persevere. The best qualities of both urban and rural life can be combined in the South's regions in a pattern of symbiosis, beneficial to both partners, if we are willing to labor.

Only a few years ago the South was in a position to profit from the mistakes of urbanization in other parts of the country. We had been a beaten, colonialized area, agrarian and impoverished, not yet able to afford the inefficient and destructive habits of city sprawl, congestion, and the cult of the automobile. As recently as 1949, when Lewis Mumford visited and lectured in North Carolina, he described a state in agrarian and industrial balance, with its population for the most part still rural or to be found in cities of less than a hundred thousand. Whether or not that balance was to be preserved was up to the state's and the South's people. The forces of destructive urbanization were at work — manufacturing operations seeking cheap labor and low taxes, real estate agents promoting inflated land values and rents, politicians bargaining natural resources in trade for prestige and power. What couldn't be sold — natural beauty, quiet, clean air and water — was being given away.

Mumford saw that within a generation if the people of our regions didn't control these forces, then "the South will be wealthier in all the things that money can buy, and poorer in all the things that are beyond price or purchase: neighborly association, friendly intercourse, home life, intimate contact with nature, the spiritual values that cannot be mechanized, standardized, or wholly institutionalized." Perhaps even Mumford has been surprised at how fast the disintegration occurred and how thoroughly it has soaked into every level of life.

Yet the counter measures to rampant "progress" still exist, waiting to be called upon if we have finally had our fill of empty pursuits. In an age skeptical of religion, the beginnings of renewal are nevertheless subjective and value laden. Choosing life values over mechanization and profit, individuals can make

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fundamental changes in the ways they live. Though there is not room here for an elaboration of religious transformation, it is essential to the development of the concepts of neighborhood, city, and region which I do want to discuss.

The primary social unit requiring support and development is the neighborhood, made of individuals and families who know each other and who are interested in local needs. Much American city planning, by being singularly concerned with the male adult's pursuit of economic and industrial ends, has been openly hostile to the neighborhood — by laying out the standard gridiron block plan in disregard of topography, scenic or historic values, by running wide streets of traffic through residential areas, and by not providing space for parks, gardens, recreational, cultural, and civic purposes. Unfortunately, too, in the South and elsewhere, neighborhood organizing has often taken to promoting racism and class prejudice. Yet the neighborhood can become a basic political unit lobbying city and regional government for its rights of community power — in determining whether high-rise developments will be allowed, in fighting highway planning that would fragment its unity, in establishing nearby health centers, and in sending representatives to larger bodies of government to speak its interests. If the mobility of Americans slows, as it already seems to be doing, individuals will likely become more settled in their neighborhoods and able to concern themselves with local affairs. Active citizenship cannot be left to a few professional citizens like Ralph Nader. The neighborhood ought to be the training ground for larger public participation.

Neighborhoods come together to form a city, at least they have historically and may again in our future. Ebenezer Howard, three quarters of a century ago, taught that guided growth, not accident or capitalistic chaos, can produce humanly scaled cities. In the Greece of the 5*th* century B.C. and in Europe during the 13*th* century most cities were of about 2,000 population. It was a rare city with more than 200,000 people. In these cities, however, the idea of organic growth regulated by a nucleus of authority kept the unity of the area. In our age, huge land masses with boundless development and crowded technology spill together in so-called urban areas which now have become almost uninhabitable. "Urban areas" require gigantic investments in transportation and communication machinery, with much resultant human wear and tear. Sickness, insanity, crime, noise, and high desperation have become so associated with these megalopolises that today most people think that a city, by definition, must consist of and promote unhealthiness.

Photo by Bill Fibben

The city as a human institution ought to have little to do with the negative values of cultural collapse. Ebenezer Howard, and many of the disciples he inspired, created new towns and garden cities in which the positive values of the city were given reality — as a meeting place for people of various cultures, a show and work place for the arts, and a container of skills and rare talents. The new town could be combined very readily with the rural qualities most of us cherish from our southern experience. Cities limited in population, self-contained (with work places in walking distance from homes), and surrounded by a belt of open space or farmland have integrity and individuality. The success of Howard's plans in England under the British New Towns Bill of 1946 relieved overcrowded London by the building of many new towns in the countryside.

New town proposals are basic to the regional vision which we will examine presently. Such ideas if advocated by Southerners and carried out through the creation of appropriate agencies could, even now, control our growth so as to avoid further urban sprawl. Coupled with these propositions would need to be actions to open-up some of our largest cities' centers, tearing out whole blocks with remedial surgery and planting trees, parks, and community centers in their places. Since most existing planning authorities are controlled by profit-crazed developers, determined political pressure will have to be brought to bear before selfish interest can be replaced with public purpose. Again this calls for citizens committed to the locality and region.

A region is made up of neighborhoods, cities and the surrounding rural land. Within the South today there are several geographical areas which can be thought of as regions. Howard Odum outlined regional characteristics in his *Southern Regions of the United States* (1936) and distinguished Southeastern and Southwestern groups of states. His determinations were made according to an appraisal of general historical and cultural factors which various states had in common and were intended to aid in the planning of the South. Odum was careful to say, as we should be, that regionalism differs from sectionalism in that the region is developed not to be isolated from the rest of the nation or world but to contribute those particular successes of its smaller society to the universal population, adopting in turn valuable contributions from other regions. The South, certainly by the time of Thomas Jefferson, began producing many distinctive creations which today can be seen in musical forms, handicrafts, agriculture, political thought, architecture, cooking, literature, and much more. Many of these developments, most recently the civil rights movement, continue to have worthwhile influences in regions far from the South. Even our historic mistakes and sins offer much to learn from.

Politically the region can become an important force for decentralization, claiming the power to make more of its own decisions, yet maintaining a constitutional framework of civil liberties and equality of opportunity. A strong regional life promotes variety, the counterforce to mass machine culture. Little theatres, traveling lectures, concerts by folk performers, magazines, newspapers and electronic media that don't ooze with the fashions of New York, Washington or Los Angeles — all are the signs of a healthy region, one which encourages the young to contribute their talents and the old to join in the rituals of renewed vitality.

Where are our southern regions today? They are still best drawn by a combination of geographic, population, and cultural commonalities. Lewis Mumford has suggested that, ideally, a region would consist of individual cities from 30,000 to 300,000 in size in a "grid" or geographical arrangement of about ten million people. These individual cities would be separated from each other by insisting on open land, farming, or wilderness between them. A region so organized could pool its resources to provide services which individual cities could not afford — a good university, a symphony, a specialized hospital, a system of interconnecting rapid transit. The region thus becomes a whole, a federated unit with much self-control. The concept of dynamic equilibrium, which operates in a living organism to promote its health, can be usefully applied to the organization of cities in the region; as they become too large, groups can move out and, at designated sites, establish new towns.

The tools of regional planning are perhaps best described in Ian McHarg's *Design With Nature* (Doubleday paperback, 1971). Here McHarg has demonstrated how an intelligent and loving stewardship of the earth shares in a religious process of creation. Calling upon his professional experiences as landscape architect and planner he demonstrates how a system of ecological inventories can be used to compute the values of an area of land and determine its fitness for various social purposes. Most importantly, his method of evaluation compiles data on non-monetary factors such as historical, scenic, and recreational worth. McHarg's system of inventory can reveal the most socially desirable locations for a highway, railway or industry and at the same time the areas of maximum social value can be identified for protection. With this technique in hand, citizen-activists have a powerful instrument to combat the speculators and profiteers.

In establishing and directing the agencies of regional planning which will be necessary to carry out the public purposes of controlled growth, much patience and persistence will be required. No doubt there will have to be revisions and re-examinations of the ways in which the plans develop. In restructuring southern cities and building new towns, the designs should be measured for the needs of the entire community in all phases of the individual's life, not, as now, just the businessman's. There will be argument and no doubt some disagreement. Yet the alternatives to regional integration must be kept in mind. Continued development of the sort we have experienced in the last few decades will soon destroy the best qualities of the South and spread commercialized monotony. The monied interests are making their own plans, buying the necessary political tools and arranging the cities and towns to suit their purposes of transportation, communication and marketing. Some companies have reinvented the company town as a place of isolation and control. Other corporate bodies are developing "planned communities" with their eye to the dollar, resulting in further class, race, and age isolation. Urban renewal projects have wasted millions in building high-rise slums from the ground up. Clearly the commitment to regional integration offers a plan of work which is based upon a system of human values and holds a vision of a worthwhile future. The question remains essentially as Mumford put it in 1949: whether southern citizens have sufficient social vision and civic courage to accept the task which awaits.

detour down the Trail of Tears

by Sharlotte Neely and Walter L. Williams

The siege against the red man is not a pleasant story to retell. What began as erratic extensions of the white man's arrogance became systematized into a policy of virtual destruction. What the white man didn't get by accident or natural causes, he took by force — and what he wanted above all else was the red man's land.

The widespread use of the gun in the early eighteenth century hastened the loss of Indian lands in the South. Disease from explorers and early colonists had already decimated several Indian tribes. In 1738, a smallpox epidemic wiped out half of the region's Cherokee Indians. Depopulated groups frequently abandoned their lands to regroup in new amalgamations (which is how the now numerous Lumbee Indians in Robeson county, North Carolina, got their start). But as Euro-Americans crowded the coastal areas and began pushing inland, even the reduced Indian populations were squeezed onto fewer and fewer acres of land. With the introduction of guns, the resulting warfare between whites and Indians, and among Indian groups, became all the more deadly.

Disease and guns were not enough to alienate all southern Indians from their land. In the nineteenth century a new tactic emerged: forced removal. In spite of a successful court battle which outlawed the Cherokee Removal, the Federal government rounded up 16,000 acculturated Cherokees and marched them west to the "Indian Territory" (Oklahoma). Four thousand Cherokees died during the winter of 1838-39 over what has become known as the "Trail of Tears."

It wasn't the Cherokee's "savagry" that threatened the whites. As church-going farmers, their economic, social, political and religious life resembled that of their white neighbors. They were removed for one reason — land, land rich in farming potential and land rich in gold. Ironically, the Cherokees most fully assimilated into Euroamerican lifestyles were removed, while the traditionalists in the poorer lands of North Carolina successfully evaded the federal round-up.

Throughout the South, Indians who survived the Removal period have preserved their land-holdings precisely because of its marginal value. Today, the Cherokees and Melungeons living in the mountains and the Seminoles and Lumbees of the wetlands typify the situation of the more than twenty non-reservation and half-dozen reservation Indian groups. Even the relative amount of land in Indian control frequently corresponds to its economic worth. Thus the Seminoles retain over 180,000 acres in the Everglades while the equally populous Catawbas have only about 4,000 acres of more valuable land. Indian land seldom possesses mineral resources, farming or industrial potential, or access to main transportation routes. Because it seemed worthless, white frontiersmen left the land behind for more valuable holdings.

In some cases, political problems added to economic or environmental liabilities to make areas less attractive to whites. Thus, the Cherokees survived at the junction of the North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee borders, the Catawbas and Lumbees near the North and South Carolina line, and the Seminoles along the international border of Spanish Florida and Georgia. With different laws in each region, a border location provided an Indian group with more options — if adverse laws developed in one area, they could always cross into less hostile territory. Many Cherokees on Georgia lands escaped the Trail of Tears by fleeing to nearby North Carolina.

I.

Land was always central to the organization of the Cherokee community. With twenty-thousand people, the Cherokees were one of the largest Indian groups in North America when the white man arrived. They were divided into five major linguistic and cultural divisions and occupied a territory in south Appalachia extending from Alabama and Georgia, through the Carolinas, to Tennessee and Kentucky.

Permanent towns — fortified if near the fringe of Cherokee land — surrounded religious mounds which still stand today. The outer limits of this area expanded and contracted as neighboring tribes seized or relinquished land, but even when it was not settled, the Cherokees used it as hunting territory. Hunting, fishing and the gathering of wild foods were secondary to the production of staples like corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds.

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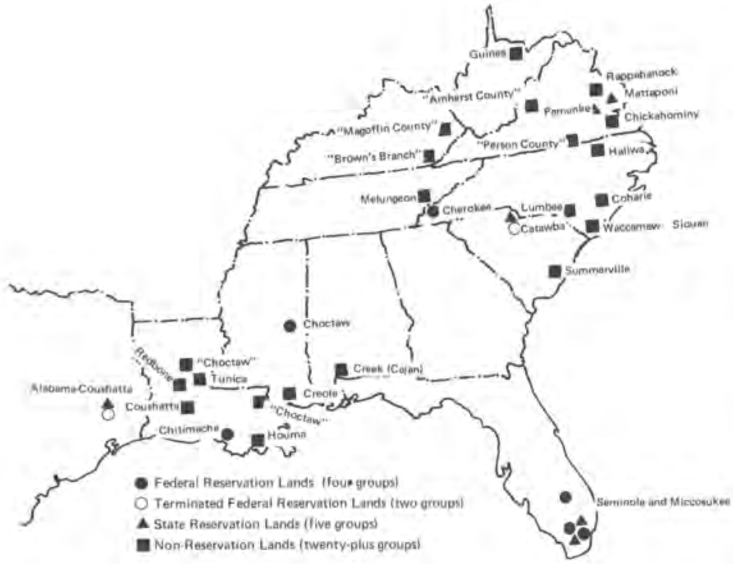

Photo by Hawk Littlejohn

Adapted from "Indian Land Areas Map" of Bureau of Indian Affairs and Edward T. Price (1953) map on p. 139 of "A Geographic Analysis of White-Indian-Negro Racial Mixtures in the Eastern U.S." in **Annals of the Association of American Geographers** 43:2:138-155.

After the white man arrived, the Cherokees gradually lost their good farm land through disease, warfare, and a series of so-called treaties. In 1775 alone, all Cherokee lands in Kentucky were lost to whites as the British acknowledged the failure of a promise to confine the colonists to the east of the Appalachians. In an effort to preserve their lands, one faction of Cherokees in the north Georgia hill country devised a plan of accommodation that called for remodeling their society — from building architecture to a constitution — after the younger United States of America. The Cherokee nation in northern Georgia was divided into eight districts (Amohee, Aqúohee, Chattooga, Chickamauga, Coosawatee, Etowah, Hickory Log, and Taquohee), each sending representatives to the council at the newly-established capitol of New Echota, near present-day Calhoun, Georgia.

The north Georgia Cherokees believed themselves exempt from the new policy of removal since its stated aim was to protect whites from "savages" and give the Indians more time to become "civilized." After all, the Cherokees published a weekly newspaper, followed the Christian faith, and adopted white techniques of farming. Many were totally unprepared for the New Echota Treaty of 1838, and the resultant Trail of Tears which gave testimony to the white man's lust for good Indian lands.

After the removal, only about 1,000 Cherokees remained in the East, mostly in western North Carolina. They had rejected accommodation, but more important to their survival, their land was of little value to the frontiersmen. When the state of North Carolina auctioned off the mountainous land it confiscated under the removal program, the most interested bidders were the Cherokees themselves — or rather the whites who acted as their agents since North Carolina didn't recognize the rights of Indians to own land. Within a few weeks of removal, one group of Cherokees in Graham county bought 1,200 acres of their own land through three white men. Other groups, like the Euchella and Tsali bands, moved further into the mountains; but a large number of North Carolina Cherokees were never serious candidates for forced removal. Rather than move from their land after an 1819 treaty, the nearly 400 Oconaluftee or "Quallatown" Indians relinquished their Cherokee status and became North Carolina citizens. The Oconaluftee's land, called the Qualla Boundary, is now the main Cherokee reservation in the eastern United States. But it is unlikely that even their North Carolina citizenship would have protected them from removal if the land had been more suitable for cultivation or contained the gold of northern Georgia.

The rights of Indians to own land became even more tenuous after the 1838 removal. Technically, all the Cherokees were in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma — they didn't "exist" in North Carolina at all. A few white agents in the state held title for the Cherokees. But in the late 1860's, the principal agent, William Holland Thomas, a trader and lawyer, fell ill and went into debt. His creditors sued, and the courts made no distinction between land owned privately by Thomas and land held by him for Cherokees. Some Cherokees found themselves in the predicament of once again purchasing their own

Photo by Hawk Littlejohn

LESSON TO THE YOUNG

**Look towards the sun,
and see our father.**

**Look unto the earth,
and see our mother.**

**Cast your eyes to the winds
and see the essence of our life.**

**But remember to watch with
caution, the Conestoga wagons,
for then, you will see our death.**

— Clancy

land.

In 1868, the North Carolina Cherokees met in general council at Cheoah in Graham county to draw up a constitution and reassert their legal status over the land. The constitution went into effect in 1870 with the election of the Band's first principal chief, Flying Squirrel. In the subsequent court cases which established the Eastern Band of Cherokees as a legal corporation, the Federal government was invited in as a trustee for the Indian land,since Cherokee land-owning was still a doubtful entity to the state.

II.

Today, the Eastern Band of Cherokees numbers 6,000 people and owns 56,500 acres in four western counties of North Carolina. Needless to say, their reservation was anything but "given" to them by the government. Considering their history, it is not surprising that reservation land cannot be sold, willed, or in any way permanently lost into the hands of non-Cherokees. Even a non-Indian spouse of a Cherokee cannot inherit land, although the spouse may hold it in trust for the couple's children. You must be at least one-sixteenth Cherokee to be enrolled as a Band member, but in the past the degree has been as low as one-thirty-second. In the 1880's and '90's, many whites claimed minimal Cherokee ancestry in order to establish ownership of reservation land. Other whites, known as Five Dollar Indians, wormed their way in through bribes. As late as 1930, the ancestry requirements were not strictly enforced, and the Band jumped from nineteen hundred members to three thousand, with the additional 1,100 members all one-sixteenth or less Cherokee.

Technically, individual Cherokees do not own any portion of the reservation; the Eastern Band corporation holds title to the land. But a compromise between private property and communal ownership has evolved with the creation of possessory rights. A person with possessory rights to a section of the reservation may sell or trade it as if it were private property, provided the new owner is a Band member. Under complete communal ownership, land no longer in use by an individual would revert to the Band at large. With possessory rights, a person can will the land to his or her heirs, or subdivide it among them.

With the growing number of Cherokees, the major problem now facing the Band is the lack of enough usable land to go around. Not a single family now supports itself by farming, while fifteen years ago only ten per cent earned a living this way. Gardening and the gathering of wild foods such as ramps (a turnip-like root) and ginseng are supplementary activities, but not sufficient for a decent income. A fencing law passed in the 1930's reduced available pasture areas and caused stock-raising to dwindle. Lumbering is also limited. The forest to the north and west of the reservation is part of the Great

ANTHROS

Well, yes, I been studying anthros
and according to their surveys,
now I know:
why I'm sitting in this bar polishing
this stolen 30-30 Winchester
(I'll probably kill somebody, I'm assured)
And why I'm going to get drunker and drunker
and probably get in a fight and go to jail
(to which I'm bound to return time after time)
but while I'm getting drunk I'll
think of my wife and family and cry because
I'm underprivileged, uneducated, re-located,
as-yet-un-assmiliated, deprived, depraved,
and bound for hell if I don't go to church
even though I can really do Indian dances that
all the good white people like,
and, hey, I can really do "crafts",
maybe I should go to Hollywood
and learn the Tonto Stomp or something

or maybe write a letter to Mr. Anthro Survey
and ask him about heartache
and hungry little children
as I walk through these angry ghettos
getting first hand hurt.

— coyote 2

REMEMBER

Rain falling upon this land,
I just want to remember the way I used to.
Man who loves the land,
Leaving it just the way it was meant to be.

I wish they'd understand,
What it was to me . . .

the wind,
the rain,
the sun
and
the stars.

— Lynn Magnuson

Photo by Hawk Littlejohn

Poems courtesy of *Akwesasne Notes*, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

photo by Roy Smith

Smoky Mountain National Park, and environmental regulations restrict cutting. To the south and east, timber land is owned by whites.

A mushrooming tourist industry has taken advantage of the Cherokees' land and helped push the days of self-sufficiency further into the past. Located next to the Smoky Mountains and offering a variety of Indian-made crafts, the reservation has become a regular stop for vacationers and second-home dwellers in southern Appalachia. But the benefits to the Cherokees from this shift to tourism are far from obvious. Many of the crafts sold in shops are made either by Plains Indians or commerical companies. And the nearly sixty non-Indian-owned tourist enterprises on the reservation get most of the visitors' money, even though twice that number of businesses are owned by Cherokees. Holding long-term leases from the Band, outside investors now dominate the market with motels, shops, restaurants, campgrounds and recreational attractions. A tourist economy also means unemployment among the Cherokees, which fluctuates wildly from a low of one per cent during the tourist season to twenty per cent during most of the year. A few non-tourist, light industries have moved into the area and employ nearly four hundred people, but most Cherokees have to commute off the land to find work.

III.

As the population on the reservation grows, conflicts over land rights have become commonplace. Land disputes have plagued the Cherokees for decades, long before the 1959 Band Council defined its major project as conducting "an accurate survey of holdings and the formulation of an effective land code." But in 1972, a land code was still needed, and over 400 applications and counterclaims were pending before the Land Committee. Disputes are particularly distressing to the Cherokees since they invariably involve bickering among the family members of a dead landholder in a larger community that values interpersonal harmony very highly. Nevertheless, the same disputes are frequently presented again and again before new members of the Land Committee in hopes of a different settlement. Many individuals must live in doubt for long periods of time over whether or not they really have possessory rights to a certain tract of land.

Internal quarrels among the Cherokees are small compared with their grievances against the U.S. Government. After nearly two hundred years, the government is paying the Eastern Band of the Cherokees $1,855,254 or $1.10 per acre for the 1,700,000 acres taken from their ancestors in the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama and Kentucky. It took twenty-five years after the Indian Claims Commission had been set up to arrive at this figure. But finally, in 1972, the government made its offer and the first Cherokee general council in over 100 years was called to consider it. A group of young men urged the Council to demand land, not money, as compensation. Although their suggestion was applauded, the council went on to accept the government's offer of cash.

The emphasis now is merely to protect the Band's land from further depletion. Misguided whites have all too often perceived the reservation as a ghetto or "prison" where Indians are trapped, and have therefore supported programs to terminate its existence. From the Cherokees' point of view, however, the reservation is the last remnant of their former homeland. To give up even these small and inadequate territories would be to divorce themselves from their heritage. For the Cherokees, holding onto the land is critical to survival as an ethnic unit.

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Photo by Carter Tomassi

MOVING THE CITY SLICKERS OUT

by Carl Sussman

Call it "Manhattanization." Its distinctive trademark is the glistening office skyscraper and the luxury apartment complex. Downtown redevelopment is common to the modern city. So too is the suburbanization which radiates out from the city proper in a diffused blanket of fairly expensive homes, shopping centers and industrial estates. Trapped between the long shadows of downtown redevelopment projects and the suburban sprawl is a high concentration of poor and moderate income city dwellers. The South took a little longer to establish this metropolitan pattern but the urban centers of "The New South" now sport their Manhattanized images like every other city in the country. In fact, Atlanta's skyline lookes like Hartford's or Buffalo's. The distinctive topography, indigenous architecture and traditional economic activities of the nation's cities have been replaced by a corporate stereotype. Today's metropolises — whether northern or southern — share the same outlook and the same problems: They even share the same restaurants and hotels. They are the products of economic concentration, new technologies and government policy.

Metropolitanism imposes greater burdens on the inner city than stereotyping, however. The functions of the center city have changed. An increasing proportion of its population is poor and black. And it perpetually combats a gap between rising municipal costs and lagging revenues. Growing mass transit deficits and shorter school days are only two familiar manifestations of this budgetary bind. In fact, many people view these fiscal pressures as the crux of the city's problems, leading cities to spur downtown redevelopment in the hope of generating greater tax

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revenues. But while the private sector seems to flourish in its new office buildings, the public sector continues to languish.

The new buildings provide ample profits to real estate investors, jobs to suburbanites and desirable headquarters to various corporations. Yet they never seem to produce enough new revenues to relieve the city's problem. None of this activity seems to help the low and moderate income urbanite either. Their employment opportunities and housing conditions get progressively worse. Despite new growth and development all around them, a majority of the city's population finds it impossible to maintain their poor standard of living. This is the real problem of the nation's cities.

There may be a fairly simple economic explanation for this paradox. According to Gunnar Myrdal, " . . . the play of forces in the market normally tends to increase rather than to decrease, the inequalities between regions."[1] As a result, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Myrdal's description of regions concisely summarizes the urban condition as well. Despite a great deal of new and lucrative rebuilding on the one hand and suburban growth on the other, the city itself and the bulk of its population become economically and physically worse-off.

Andre Gorz also sees that uneven pattern of development, characteristic of overseas colonies, applies domestically. He writes that the geographic concentration of investment " . . . has been accompanied, inevitably, by the relative or even absolute impoverishment of other regions, which have been used by the power centers as reservoirs of labor, raw materials and agricultural products."[2] Gorz cites Appalachia to illustrate his point. Similarly, at an earlier stage of the nation's development, agricultural production in the South financed the commercial and industrial development of the North. It appears that the equivalent of regional exploitation occurs in the city as it becomes the center of a fast growing metropolitan region.

Since the late 1960's, some radical and black analyses have viewed the ghetto as an internal colony. Although the comparison is most accurate when applied to the ghetto, it extends to many poor white and working class districts as well. Many semi-urban white working class suburbs, for example, conform to the colonial or neo-colonial profile: The local population of these internal colonies are predominantly poor with high levels of underemployment; their public service are inadequate and their housing is old and deteriorated. In effect they too are domestic colonies.

Communities, like farm land, need continual replenishment to remain productive. Just as farmers spread fertilizer over their fields to maintain their productivity, communities must reinvest capital to support their economic viability. Housing deteriorates and eventually falls into complete decay unless it is properly maintained. The same is true of public transportation systems and industry. In short, declining regions lack the reinvestment to sustain themselves. This can be as true for a sector of the city as it is for entire regions. Technological changes and economic concentration lure bank savings, company profits and other forms of capital from one place to another where they can be more profitably reinvested. In the city, capital is invested in new office buildings and suburban shopping centers rather than in maintaining older housing. As Myrdal observed, the process redistributes wealth. It leads to the decline of one region and to the growth and prosperity of another.

Although they miss the similarities between urban decay and colonial exploitation, most observers of the city know that the city dweller carries a much heavier tax load than the affluent suburbanite. One reason is that the city, as the hub of a larger metropolitan area of suburban communities, provides many services for these outlying communities. Many of the services, like libraries, museums, universities and hospitals, enjoy tax exemptions as non-profit institutions. So the city's taxpayers support these institutions.

The daily influx of suburban commuters contributes much of the pollution, noise and congestion in the city. Here too the city's taxpayers bear the full expense of these nuisances. Road maintenance and traffic control, under these circumstances, demands a significant city subsity to non-taxpaying suburbanites. The suburbs, without these added expenses, can afford to spend more for education and the like.

Meanwhile, many of the new skyscrapers in the city's redeveloped centers sit where only a few years ago low income people lived. Barred by zoning and income from the suburbs, these displaced people are forced to compete for the remaining housing in the city. Although it became policy to build replacement housing for those displaced by urban renewal and highway construction, many more low and moderate income homes were destroyed than were subsequently built to replace them. The inadequate supply of housing also antagonizes the relationship between whites and blacks. In fact, banks and realtors exploit the racial competition for housing to force property values down. Once again, the expansion of the metropolitan economy imposes a disproportionate share of the hardships on the poorer residents of the city.

Those city dwellers who escape the direct impact of renewal face its wake. Banks routinely "redline" whole neighborhoods making mortgages and rehabilitation loans unavailable after the introduction of renewal elsewhere in the city. Even banks with offices located in these neighborhoods refuse to invest the area's savings to maintain the

Photo by Tom Coffin

neighborhood. Instead, they use the money to finance new skyscrapers and suburban subdivisions. If the banks are lucky, their decision to redline an area undercuts property values and prepares the neighborhood for its eventual conversion to luxury use like that which is transforming the downtown. Otherwise, in Gorz's words, they, like other colonized regions, " . . . become zones of unemployment and poverty, in some cases robbed of their substance to the point of no return — that is, the point at which . . . they can no longer be developed."[3]

The city, in part because of its obsessive need to generate property tax revenues, facilitates the exploitation of its low and moderate income residents. This is most obvious in its promotion of new skyscrapers. The new and more intensive use of land yields more tax revenue. It also creates jobs. It is assumed that these benefits to the city and its residents off-set the many city-financed services to these buildings and their occupants. Some cities are so convinced of the economic advantages of these glass towers that they offer tax abatements as an inducement to business. Yet these benefits have never been established by a complete accounting of costs and benefits. White-collar suburbanites by and large fill the new jobs. Not one city, despite some phenomenal construction booms, can claim that it has closed its cost-revenue gap. At the very least, cities apparently overestimate the contributions made by their new taxpayers. They probably err by overlooking some of the indirect costs like traffic control. More likely, however, they

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fail to recognize the costs associated with the shift in wealth brought on by new development in the downtown area. As greater investments are made in these new redevelopment projects, the older residential and industrial areas of the city lose their economic viability. The people, as they become poorer, become more dependent on public services. Most cities, for example, adopt the health costs of its residents who naturally gravitate to the city's hospitals for even routine treatment. All these human services expand the municipal budget. The shift in wealth from the poor to the rich gets a boost from the property tax which pays for the bulk of local government expenses. It is a regressive tax that requires that poorer residents pay a higher percentage of their income to support public services than do the better-off. Thus, it fits the latent pattern of urban life today; the redistribution of wealth from the public sector and the majority of the city's residents to the private sector and its wealthier representatives. Urban growth and development is the medium for that shift.

The policies and practices of most city governments respond to the pressures, tastes and desires of the surrounding suburbs, realtors and the like rather than to the bulk of its residents. This adds the political element to what otherwise looks like an economic picture. City governments, which ostensibly represent a low and moderate income constituency, operate on behalf of the upper classes. In particular, city government has traditionally maintained strong ties with the city's major commercial interests. The city's "boosters and boomers," like the Chamber of Commerce include bank officials, major employers, real estate developers and utility executives. These are the people who serve on organizations promoting "civic betterment." They lobby for urban renewal, provide contributions for political candidates and serve on the planning commissions. They represent the wealth, civic leadership and political muscle in most cities. They are the beneficiaries of the the cost-revenue squeeze mentality. And in the final analysis, they work the city government for their private gain with calculated productivity. Although the political conflict between rich and moderate to low income groups permeates the urban crisis atmosphere, the problems facing the city are defined as jobs, housing and transportation. But these are really symptoms. The problem is more basic. The inadequacy of these commodities arises from the uneven character of metropolitan development and the system of economic control that forms it. Replenishing the supply of housing for the low and moderate income resident and providing them with jobs for example, requires the resolution of a distributive question. Who should benefit from the economic and governmental decisions in the city? This, obviously, is a political issue. Professionals and experts cannot resolve urban problems because they invariably accept the political realities as they exist. Therefore, the only strategy capable of ever solving the city's problems is a political challenge to this system of exploitation.

II.

Low and moderate income urbanites who have so frequently found themselves divided by competition for housing and by racial antagonisms have a common political interest in ending the exploitation of the city's resources — including their own savings — by wealthy interests. They have the most obvious stake in solving the city's problems. Although a complete end to private control of the economy remains a distant hope, important inroads can be made immediately on the local level without waiting for a change in national policy. In fact, local initiatives might be a precondition for a gradual change on the national level. If the colonized nature of the city population became widely understood among its residents, a coalition might form with the electoral strength to gain control of local government. This task alone would be vast. But community groups have gained a great deal of experience in recent campaigns to stop urban renewal, block interstate highways and inaugurate rent control. As economic pressures mount, city residents may respond to political organizing around the underlying issue of economic exploitation. With a new agenda, people will find that city government has greater potential for responding to urban problems than previously thought. Among other things, they will find that through urban land reform, municipalization of utilities, building code enforcement and rent control, city government can dramatically reduce the loss of its wealth.

If the coalition gained control of city hall, it might inaugurate an urban land reform program as a first step in ending its colonial status. Land is one of the few valuable resources left in the city. Unlike land reform in some Third World countries, this program would not dole-out a small plot to every resident. Even if the city had the legal authority to do so (which it does not), a few large landowners would eventually amass vast acreage leaving other people without any property. Instead, the city's policy might be to acquire the most valuable parcels.

Although speculators routinely profit from rising land values, many economists and city planners believe these values are socially created; that is, the value is not created by its owner. The value derives from community use. No land owner can claim to own the local labor force which lends value to his property. Nor can he profess to own all the people who buy goods in any particular location. He has done nothing to create these markets. Yet, these qualities add value to his property. Similarly, public services paid for by the community as a whole become a factor in land value. The dense urban population and heavy public investment in city services leads to intense land use and to the extremely high value of urban land. Fortunately, cities do possess the authority to control land use although the extent of that authority varies from state to state. This authority could be used to benefit the entire community.

Through its zoning powers a city determines how land is to be used. Generally, cities resort to "fiscal zoning": If someone is prepared to use a parcel for a higher use — one that will increase the value and therefore also increase the city's tax revenue — the city zones it accordingly. It is almost like having no zoning at all. It helps to explain why most rapidly developing cities look essentially the same as Houston — the only major American city without zoning. Changing zoning from residential to some form of commercial use can double or even increase ten-fold the value of that parcel. Put into the hands of a private owner, that increment represents a very generous public subsidy.

Cities could retain the socially created increment if they first acquired ownership of the land. Then, after rezoning, the city could either resell the land at its new and higher value or rent it to a private developer. Each arrangement has its advantages. The first requires only a short commitment of municipal capital while it generates new revenues very rapidly. With long-term ownership, on the other hand, because the socially created value is recouped through land rents, the process is stretched over years rather than weeks or months. But with land values continuing to rise, long-term ownership has the added advantage of allowing the city to collect subsequent increases through periodic renegotiations of the land lease. The city forgoes these later increases when it resells the properties. Thus, prolonged municipal ownership can be expected to return more money to the city treasury than either reselling the land immediately after a zoning decision or collecting property taxes from a private owner as cities now do.

Therefore, urban land reform involves at the very least the municipal ownership of land that will be put to higher use. This strategy blocks one route by which community created wealth finds its way into private hands. It will also enhance the city's financial health by closing the gap between municipal income and expenses.[4]

Public land ownership offers yet another bonus. Despite a lot of moaning about big government and its meddling with individual property rights, ownership rights remain far more extensive than the authority of the public to tamper with them. The implications of that for a municipal land reform policy is illustrated by the rapidly growing town of St. George, Vermont. The town purchased 48 acres of land at the time it adopted zoning. It zoned the entire town for residential use except the town's parcel which was set aside for commercial use as a future town center. They were unwilling to allow a developer to erect a barren shopping center even if the town was going to capture the land values it created. St. George organized an architectural competition as a means of eliciting an outstanding design for its center. Any city can follow St. George's example. Regardless of whether they resell parcels after rezoning, they are free to select a buyer who will implement a plan inspired by the city. Eventually, if a city has the capital and marshalls the expertise, it could finance and own the buildings as well as the land. Property ownership confers a great deal more power over land use than is available to the local government operating in its traditional role as a regulator. Thus, urban land reform can lead to improvements in the quality of urban development as well.

Financing land purchases will be fairly easy at first. Even those few cities that approach their state-imposed ceiling on municipal indebtedness will be free to sell more bonds for urban land reform; state limitations on municipal debts to not extend to revenue generating activities. Municipal bonds have the additional appeal of below market interest rates. Careful analysis of city budgets with the goal of retaining the city's wealth will readily reveal other sources of capital. Many cities, for example, have large municipally financed pension funds. New York City's totals six billion dollars. Most of this money comes from the city's budget. It is invested by a six member committee comprised of four bank chairmen (including David Rockefeller), the president of a large insurance corporation, and the chairman of another corporation's investment committee. They, of course, adhere to the same market rules that have bilked the city for years; they invest in secure but lucrative activities. The retirement system's portfolio in New York, according to one report, includes many major corporations. Of its $391 million invested in mortgages, less than half ". . . are invested in New York City real estate," Marlys Harris found. "And only one-third of this . . . amount is devoted to housing mortgages — on luxury apartment buildings. On the other hand, the system owns military housing in Hawaii, garden apartments in California, and shopping centers on Long Island."[5] The system clearly employs money raised primarily through taxes to finance corporate growth and suburban sprawl. Relatively little of it finds its way into the city's economy. What does get invested in the city is devoted to that small redeveloped core. Retirement funds are a casebook example of the exploitation of the urban poor. It is also a great potential source of capital for municipally-owned projects.

Just as public investments and other essentially public attributes of a city account for its premium property values, they also create the conditions for scarcity and monopolization of indispensible commodities such as housing and utilities. A city government elected by a coalition of low and moderate income residents to end the extraction of its wealth would have to move to end this form of profiteering, too. Because public utilities have a natural monopoly, the country has found it necessary to regulate them. In over 2,000 cases, the public owns and operates them as well. But private investor-ownedutilities "serve" most of the country; particularly the more profitable urban areas. Nonetheless, the publicly-owned municipal utilities have compiled an impressive record of low rates and higher payments to municipal treasuries than their privately owned counterparts. They have achieved this record despite frequent reliance on privately

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generated power sold to them at inflated prices. In Massachusetts, where over ten percent of the municipalities operate their own electric utilities, the municipal power systems reduced electrical rates slightly between 1961 and 1971 despite a 122 per cent increase in operating expenses. Their residential rates were 15 per cent lower than those of the state's private utilities. Still, they increased their contributions to the municipal treasury by more than 100 per cent during the same ten year period. These public utility payments to the towns in lieu of taxes is far in excess of the taxes ordinarily received from private utilities. In some states, like California, city purchase of utilities is made easy by a constitution that permits private utilities to be taken through eminent domain. Where it is possible, the municipal purchase of utilities should be considered. They can be counted on to improve the economic health of the city by blocking the flow of urban resources to wealthy outside investors and by direct payments to the treasury. Residents can look forward to relatively lower taxes and utility bills. Perhaps best of all, municipalization will replace high-handed management with city personnel who can at least be made accountable to those they serve.

Housing has a lot in common with utilities. People require both in our society, and for the most part, both threaten the consumer with abuses due to the failures of the free market to provide either an adequate supply or a competitive environment. The urban housing market is characterized by a chronic shortage — particularly for the low- and moderate-income. Consequently, many states permit cities to impose rent control for the same reason that states regulate utility rates. But rent control, like utility regulation, guarantees landlord profits and leaves the tenants prey to many market abuses. Also, under rent control the housing supply stagnates and housing maintenance continues to be poor. On the positive side, rent control relieves some of the speculative pressures including perhaps the frequent resale of rental properties with its persistently rising refinancing costs. But as Ed Kirshner and Eve Bach, two inventive city planners with the Community Ownership Organizing Project, have noted, the introduction of strong pro-tenant rent control can undermine residential property values.[6] This in turn creates an opportunity for the city government that is prepared to adopt an active role in producing low-moderate income housing to find some fairly good buys. Strict code enforcement would bring the price down even lower.

Kirshner and Bach recommend the establishment of a city-wide cooperative housing corporation to own and manage new and rehabilitated housing. The cooperative approach is a proven system. Through the state's Mitchell-Lama Act, many publicly-financed cooperative housing units were built in New York. It is possible to reduce the cost a great deal more than even New York managed. If properly organized, cooperatives have the inherent advantage of removing property from the market and insulating it from supply and land value distortions of housing costs. Thus all cooperative economies can be made self-perpetuating. People who join a cooperative years after it is established continue to pay the same low monthly payments enjoyed by the original occupants.

The Kirshner-Bach strategy offers additional advantages like municipal financing and public land ownership. In brief, this is how the plan works: The city working in partnership with the cooperative buys residential property or acquires it through tax foreclosures and eminent domain proceedings. Stringent rent control and aggressive code enforcement can reduce the price to realistic levels but should include guarantees to protect small local property owners.The city could retain ownership of the land as part of its long-range municipal land reform program. The cooperative, however, would buy the structures. Financing for the cooperative's purchase could be made through the city which would raise the capital through bond sales and other mechanisms at its disposal. In this manner, the cooperative would gain the economic advantage of the city's low interest rates. This is actually done in New York. In addition, the mortgage would be nearly 100 per cent of the cost of the structure and rehabilitation. If the city chose to defer land rents until after the cooperative retired its mortgage, monthly payments by coop members could be further reduced. After all the economies are totaled, Kirshner and Bach predict that families making $7,-400 could afford these units if they devoted one-fourth of their gross income to housing. But if the same housing were privately owned, families would have to earn $14,300 to live there. Built into this plan is continued maintenance of the housing stock and neighborhood stabilization, factors normally undermined by speculative pressures. It should be emphasized that this scheme is self-supporting. It will cost the city nothing. Even the expense of city administration is billed to the cooperative.

As beneficial as these reforms may prove to be, they will fall short of liberating the city from its colonial status. After all, the problems facing the city are structural. National as well as local forces shape the city's economy. The legal powers available to city government are greater than generally assumed but they are still restricted by the state legislature and federal courts. Those steps a city can legally take to cut its colonial ties will meet the organized resistance of those business interests who now profit from those ties. They can be expected to resort to legal challenges, newspaper advertisements and political pay-offs to undermine the city's initiatives. They may convince the state government to enact

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legislation that reduces the authority of city government. Although this opposition will reduce the effectiveness of the city's new policies, it will have a hard time scuttling them altogether. These political conflicts are even beneficial. The traditional response to such conflicts has been to treat them as professional problems. But political conflicts that are forced to play themselves out provide a more accurate reflection of the interests at stake than a "rational" planning approach. While political dissension may be chaotic and unpredictable, it results in a better representation of the issues. The issue that will emerge from these battles is the issue that underlies the city's problems — the exploitation of low and middle class urbanites to benefit wealthy corporate interests.

Machiavelli reflected on the same conflict as it faced nations and cities centuries ago. "The Spartans held Athens and Thebes by creating within them a government of a few; nevertheless they lost them," he observed. The Romans on the other hand, successfully held Capua, Carthage and Numantia by ravaging them. So Machiavelli concluded, " . . . whoever becomes the ruler of a free city and does not destroy it, can expect to be destroyed by it, for it can always find a motive for rebellion in the name of liberty and of its ancient usages, which are forgotten neither by lapse of time nor by benefits received . . . "[7] There is enough population and governmental power in the nation's cities to support a challenge to those who now exploit them. The question is whether the people will summon the political imagination to use the tools available to them to create an urban society where they too can share in the general wealth. Hopefully, they will even find a way to stem the trend toward metropolitanism.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Myrdal, Gunnar, *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions*, Harper & Row, New York, 1971, p. 26.
[2]Gorz, Andre, *Socialism and Revolution*, Anchor Books, Garden City, N.Y., 1973, p. 221.
[3]*Ibid.* p. 221.
[4]Because of variations in legal decisions between states, some cities may have to adopt variations of this approach.
[5]Marlys J. Harris, "An Untapped Resource: New York City Retirement System," *Social Policy*, Nov/Dec, 1972, Jan/Feb, 1973, p. 113.
[6]From a draft of "Low-to-moderate Income Housing: A Proposal for Local Communities," by Kirshner and Bach, Dec. 20, 1973, Community Ownership Organizing Project (COOP), 349 62nd Street, Oakland, Calif. 94618.
[7]Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, New American Library, 1952, N.Y. p. 46.

Photo by Pat Goudvis

BLACK LAND LOSS:

6,000,0000 acres and fading fast

by Eleanor Clift

It was early 1969 when James Forman, founder of the Black Economic Development Conference, released a "Black Manifesto" demanding $200 million in reparations from churches and synagogues. Whites were shocked at what they viewed as extortion, and many blacks smiled at the outrageousness of it all. Other blacks — notably black economists — endorsed the notion of a one-time capital transfer to correct past ills. But the chance of ever getting the money was non-existent, and consequently little attention was paid to sections of the Manifesto that dealt with exactly how that money would be used.

The Manifesto suggested that a southern land bank be established to acquire land and set up cooperative farms for black people. Professor Robert S. Browne, a black economist, was the man James Forman turned to for the actual writing of that proposal. When the Manifesto failed, Browne joined with other prominent blacks (among them, Julian Bond and Fannie Lou Hamer) to finance a fund-raising advertisement in the *New York Times* with the headline, "Must all blacks flee the South?" That was April, 1970, and contributions for a southern land bank fell short by some $400 of the cost of the ad.

But Browne — and others — persevered and a year later received a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to further explore the land bank concept. That study resulted in a lengthy monograph titled, "Only Six Million Acres: the decline of black-owned land in the rural South." Subjected to academic measurement from every conceivable angle, the results were depressing. The 1910 census counted black landholdings at more than 15 million acres. That has been on the decline ever since to the 1974 level of 5.5 million acres — only 3/10 of one per cent of all privately held land for a race that is now 11.5 per cent of the population. "The U.S. is probably more of a white man's country now than ever before in history," the monograph concluded gloomily.

With the specter of being a tenant class by 1988 if nothing is done, a group called the Emeregency Land Fund was hastily pulled together — thanks to a million-dollar donation from an anonymous white woman. The Fund is a sister organization of the New York-based Black Economic Research Center begun earlier by Robert Browne. A third link in the chain is the Twenty-First Century Foundation, also Browne's brainchild, designed to make financial investments in the black community. Their first investment was in a bicycle wheel plant in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, the oldest and largest all-black town in America.

The headquarters of the Emergency Land Fund are in the South where the heart of the problem (and the promise) lies. In a rented yellow frame house across from the Atlanta University Center campus, Executive Director Joseph F. Brooks talked about his hopes and tactics over 65 cents worth of fried chicken from a soul restaurant around the corner.

"This sure is good, but it means somebody's labor is being exploited," he commented between bites. For Joe Brooks is a political economist whose every response has to do with intertwining human and monetary values. Born in California, where he later taught college and founded the Berkeley Black Caucus, his interest was always urban politics. Helping elect an interracial slate in Berkeley, his hometown, and working on Congressman Dellums' 1970 campaign, he discovered, "All of that didn't have the payoff I thought. When you talk about help-

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ing black folks in the Bay area, you're really talking about helping displaced rural folk. The South was coming to my attention. We have landholdings here. Even at a conservative estimate of $150 an acre, it's a billion-dollar asset and that's no little bit of money."

Brooks says his job is to think as big and bigger than white folks. He has in his office a detailed architect's rendering of a $25-million development on Hilton Head, an island resort area for wealthy whites that used to be owned solely by blacks. Numerous plots, dating back to Reconstruction, are still in the hands of blacks. The Emergency Land Fund is attempting to organize eight black landowners in a joint venture of townhouses and condominiums in the $100,000 price range. Even though their land can draw $30,000 an acre, these black owners still fall victim to foreclosure, partition sales, tax sales or smooth-talking speculators. "If you're in Philadelphia struggling in the ghetto, you have no idea how fast land appreciates in your home county, Beaufort, South Carolina," emphasizes Brooks. "You need some money right now. You have a low horizon."

What the Emergency Land Fund seeks to do, says Brooks, is advise blacks throughout the fast-growing South, "Look, if you're going to sell, get top dollar. But you don't have to sell because you're sitting on a gold mine." That kind of education plus free legal counsel and loans at 4 per cent interest add up to what Brooks calls "the facts and wherefores of knowing your property rights."

As the South catches up with the industrialized North, more and more black land — especially in the Delta — lies in the path of development. The hooking up of the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers by dredging a canal is finally underway after 70 years of ecological debate. It has been likened to TVA in its potential economic impact on the border states. Using students from Tougaloo College, the ELF is getting out and encouraging blacks to hold on to their land. "If they're not informed of what's coming down, they will be bought out by profiteering land speculators," predicts Brooks.

Sleepy farm land will be the home of most of the nation's 103 nuclear power plants, each taking as long as eight years to build. "You're talking about importing white technicians and tipping the racial balance overnight in these rural counties," worries Brooks. And that means the changeover of more land — and power — from black to white. So the ELF is putting pressure on construction companies and power plants to train blacks for the sensitive jobs of the future.

Realizing the whimsical position of a black organization dependent on the largesse of white individuals and foundations, the Emergency Land Fund closed a deal in July that they hope will yield a guaranteed income in five years. After loaning $14,000 to a black riverboat captain for his mortgage payment on 35 acres of Daufuskie Island (a South Carolina community coveted by white developers), the ELF had a friend for life. Saved from foreclosure, the thankful man told them about a four-story cotton warehouse on the Savannah waterfront for sale by a white man. The ELF bought it — in partnership with the riverboat captain — and plans to turn the interior, with its exposed beams and old natural archways, into a seafood restaurant, boutiques and executive suites.

All in all, Joe Brooks figures the Emergency Land Fund has affected 14,000 acres of land in one way or another since its creation two years ago. And he is the first to admit that is not an impressive figure when the annual decline of black-owned land is a staggering 333,000 acres a year. Much of the land that's being lost is idle pasture and unproductive farms at the same time the world is facing a shortage of food. "If they were put in touch with technology," he sighs, "they'd make it. But given the magnitude of the problem, the government is the only somebody that can really do something about it. All we can do is find friends in the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, do small studies, and slowly but surely get the government's interest."

To help speed up governmental interest, Brooks and other interested parties, black and white, put together the Southern Land Congress to lobby for rural black Americans. "The Emergency Land Fund can't shake its finger at government the way it would like because of its non-profit tax status. We can't lobby and we can't support candidates," he explains. "But, I've always seen the necessity of having a sympathetic political arm. That's a reality."

Just as revisionist historians are rewriting the past using the perspectives of today, Joe Brooks is at work on the "Great Map of the South." Over each parcel of black-owned land, he is superimposing a visionary development plan of what could be — from farm federations to playgrounds for the rich — "so when we get a call that 50 acres in Mississippi are about to be lost, we can act with intelligence overnight and know what to do with it. I'm not tied to agriculture. I'm for the best and highest use of land."

One organization that has made some modest, but very concrete, beginnings toward the Great Map is Southern Rural Action, Inc. Founded in 1966, the peak year for urban race riots, SRA's philosophy for saving the cities is based on transforming rural America into an attractive and productive place to live and work. Between 1940 and 1970, four and one-half million blacks, poor and uneducated, migrated North in search of jobs and a decent life. Most of them didn't find what they dreamed of; and teeming ghettoes, burgeoning welfare rolls, and street survival crime were the unhappy results.

"People go where houses are built and jobs are available," reasons Randolph Blackwell, SRA's executive director. "If we have rural development we can save the cities in the process."

Serving as program director for SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) under Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., during the Civil Rights Movement years 1963 to 1966, Dr. Blackwell is very action-oriented. "We don't need any more commissions with their high-priced researchers," he declares. "The suffering segment of the population is already identified. The races of people being hurt are known." SRA's first project was in Crawfordville, Georgia, where black people were frozen out of jobs by the white, landed power structure following a sixties racial disturbance. Their first impulse was to pass out food stamps, but that suggestion died aborning as Blackwell decided to opt instead for a militant economic approach. And so began the Crawfordville Enterprise Garment Factory, which now employs more than 50 women at $65 a week. While the money is not much better than minimum wage, most of these women were only earning $12 a week as maids. As soon as the women were organized, the men in the small Georgia woods town confessed embarrassment over their lack of livelihood. So Southern Rural Action invested $400 in some basic tools, including a radial arm saw and a power-driven hammer, so the men could turn their years of experience with logging and saw mill work into something profitable. Three weeks later, the Crawfordville men had cleaned out an old horse barn and were making box spring mattress frames. They now have a contract with Sealy Mattresses, a nationally known firm, while the women turn out 400 dozen printed sweatshirts each week for major wholesalers. "We want factories that sell what they produce out of the community," Blackwell emphasizes. "We're not interested in making something for the ghetto and intensifying competition over dollars that don't exist anyway. We'd rather make shirts for Sears, Roebuck and get a check from Chicago or New York because that's where the money is."

An exception to selling out of the community is in the area of housing. Southern Rural Action has set up three "Brikcrete" factories to manufacture low-cost homes in Alabama (Wilcox County), Mississippi (Mound Bayou) and Georgia (Plains). Developed during the war years of the 1940's, Brikcrete looks like brick but has the simplicity of concrete block so that each factory can produce enough in one day for one house. (Brikcrete houses are also easier to construct.) SRA's most recent subdivision is in Plains, one of the ten poorest counties in Georgia and Governor Jimmy Carter's hometown. Setting up a roof truss factory as well, the 15 homes of Africana Village took shape in six months. None are less than a thousand square feet, and no two houses are alike. "We stay away from row houses," says Frederick Stokes, SRA's associate director. "We don't want to just build new ghettoes for the future." On the inside and the outside, these low-cost homes ($12,000 each) have escaped the mark of poverty housing and have a pleasing middle-income, ranch-style appearance. "Lord, Maggie, come look — separate places for eating and sleeping," marvelled one new resident unaccustomed to what most people take for granted. SRA managed to build these houses, complete with suburban-like family rooms, for less than $10 a square foot compared to the market rate of $16. And families can purchase them with Farmers Home Administration loans on a 33-year mortgage with payments of $50 a month. Trying to keep costs where they are in an inflation-ridden economy has prompted SRA to set up a low-cost housing research

Photo by Pat Goudvis

center next to their offices in an abandoned Atlanta public school.

"Total Community Development" is the phrase Randolph Blackwell uses to describe his strategy. Jobs and houses are two components; the third is community involvement. "You're not really developing the rural South unless you can get people to say *this is my community*. You can put up 50,000 houses and if they don't feel it's theirs, they'll be torn up," says Blackwell, who traces much of the squalor of urban housing projects to an aborted sense of personal responsibility that goes back to tenant farming and an unnatural dependency on "the man."

On July 4 this year, Plains, Georgia, had a soul barbeque to celebrate the opening of their new swimming pool, an extension of the community center and day-care facility built with brikcrete by local black teenagers. Even though the bricks don't all match in color and the boards don't come out quite even, the black people of Plains have a recreation room, an auditorium for meetings, plays and movies, and day care for 30 children. And it's theirs; they are beholden to no one but themselves. As for the pool, one afternoon in South Georgia's sweltering peanut country proves its worth. There is only one other pool in Plains, owned by the Lions Club, and it is exclusively for white members.

In the past eight years, Southern Rural Action has dotted the countryside with eighteen enterprises, including garment factories, brikcrete factories, roof truss plants, silkscreen plants and offset printing plants. They also started a small bakery in Perry County, Alabama, which uses soybean flour in an effort to boost the protein intake of poor people. "It's fun to make cookies when you know you can say to a child, 'Eat these cookies, they're good for you,' rather than having to say, 'Don't eat too many cookies,' " says one of the bakers in Perry, where 70 per cent of the population relies on federal food subsidies.

While half of SRA's businesses are turning a profit, the other half are what Fred Stokes calls "marginals . . . yeah, they're on the brink of going under. If there's no assistance, they will go under." The ones that are floundering need equipment, operating capital, training and managerial expertise — all of which cost money that Southern Rural Action doesn't have. Refusing any kind of financial return from the factories they begin, they are dependent on government grants and private donations. In 1972 and 1973 they were lucky to get HEW funds, but there is nothing in sight for the fiscal year beginning July 1974. "We have never been able to say we've got the monies," says Fred Stokes. "We haven't ever been able to start the year organizing our projects because we never have the money."

Preoccupied with the King Memorial Center, another of SRA's backers, Coretta King, will also not be able to raise funds as she has in the past. It was Mrs. King's visit to the brikcrete factory in Wilcox County that spurred SRA's first involvement in a water system. A contingent of five citizens, representing 30 families, persistently made their way through the crowd until they got her ear. While she was sympathetic to their plight, it wasn't until one of them said, "Mrs. King, you don't understand what we're talking about. When you have to go four miles to get a bucket of water, you have to make the difficult decision of whether to drink it or take a bath." At that point, Mrs. King pledged $2,000 of the $3,500 needed to put in the Whiskey Run Water System, named after the tiny community. The women sold fish and chicken sandwiches on weekends to raise the balance, and the men in Whiskey Run dug trenches and a well and stretched the precious water pipes. Thirty-eight families are now on the system, and a few of them also have inside bathrooms. This was regarded as a minor miracle in Wilcox County where 78 per cent of the homes have no piped water, and 86 per cent are without flush toilets.

"We don't have a Marshall Plan and we don't think we cured the housing need anywhere," admits Fred Stokes, "but we have demonstrated it can be done." A Gallup poll shows that 88 per cent of the American people prefer to live in the country or the suburbs where there is still some land and greenery. And politicians are beginning to take note. In Dale Bumpers' sensational upset in the Arkansas Senate race (unseating veteran William Fulbright), he gave voice to the bellwether movement away from the cities. "The quality of life depends on how well we can keep people in the rural areas" he asserted in speeches around the state. And how do you keep them down on the farm? With jobs, says Bumpers, who has promised to encourage industry to settle in the rural parts of his state rather than crowd into Little Rock, the only big city.

The fact that developing the rural South has become fashionable in political and maybe some monied circles gives hope to people like Fred Stokes and Randolph Blackwell. "When we first started," says Stokes, "no one was talking about the rural. We've held this thing together with baling wire, and we're going to continue the baling wire approach until someone recognizes the effort we're making."

Unfortunately, it has been a long time since that January, 1970, letter came from the White House, signed by Richard Nixon, then untainted by Watergate, praising Randolph Blackwell for his "successful efforts to enrich the lives of needy families." Yet Southern Rural Action remains today the kind of self-help project that a Republican Administration (or a Democratic Administration) should love. Blackwell hopes that someday one of them will.

Photo by Jeff Jacobson

BLACK LAND LOSS:

the plight of black ownership

I.

The prospect of owning a piece of land, of living on it and of raising one's children on it, is one of the oldest dreams in America's history. The striving for private homesteads constituted the driving force behind the development of America, and indeed this object flavored much of the early fashioning of the American national political structure. Jeffersonians conceived of America as a nation of landowners who, by their attachment to and love for the national territory, would be led to defend and to develop it in the most beneficial ways and to govern themselves accordingly. A certain mutuality of interest was assumed in this Jeffersonian formulation, and it was the attachment to the land which provided the basis for this common interest.

The swift growth of the population, the urbanization of living patterns, the effects of modern technology, have all served to transform our society in ways which have rendered the Jeffersonian dream impractical if not irrelevant for most Americans, and for many persons today an attachment to the land is not even viewed as an attractive objective. To be sure, there are some signs that a degree of value reversal is taking place in recent years as the cities, and even the inner suburbs, become mired in unsolvable problems of pollution, transportation, crime and other deterrents to pleasant living. We are, however, far from being faced with a massive return to the land psychology despite a current boom in rural real estate investment for leisure and recreational residences. The basic pattern of living is still best described by the fact that 75 per cent of the U.S. population resides on 2 per cent of the nation's land area. This pattern is further clarified by census figures which reveal that agricultural employment constitutes a swiftly declining percentage of our labor force, and rural population a dwindling portion of our total population.

Rural Population as % of Total Population of U.S.		Agricultural Employment	
54.3%	1910	1920	13,400,000
30.1%	1960	1929	12,763,000
26.5%	1970	1939	11,338,000
		1949	9,964,000
		1959	7,324,000
		1961	6,919,000
		1970*	4,523,000

Source: *Rural Poverty in the U.S.*, A Report by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1968.
* *Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1971.*

Within American society, perhaps the most urbanized group is the black community, a fact which is especially startling when one realizes that the black community was almost entirely rural less than a century ago. The figures here are quite dramatic:

Percentage of Blacks in Metropolitan Areas

1910	27%	1950	58%
1920	34%	1960	67%
1930	44%	1970	74%

Source: 1950–1970, *Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the U.S., 1970,* U.S. Department of Commerce.
1910–1930, *Negroes in the U.S., 1920–1932,* U.S. Department of Commerce.

This massive migration of blacks from the rural to the urban areas was in large part also a migration from the South to the North and the West, a pattern of movement which has witnessed the South's percentage of black population decline from 89.7 (1900) to 53 (1970). Although this movement forms a consistent trend throughout the entire twentieth century, it accelerated at the time of World War I and its aftermath, notably decelerated during the depression years, and reached flood tide proportions in the World War II period. Economics generally provided the force behind the migration throughout the entire century, but a note-worthy shift occurred in the "mix" of the economic pressure exerted during the fifties and sixties compared with the earlier period. Whereas the migrations of the periods of the two great wars had been stimulated by a "pull" exerted on the southern blacks by the employment opportunities offered by the factories, service establishments, and homes of the North, the great black trek to the cities and to the North during the fifties and sixties was greatly encouraged by a "push" which the mechanization of agriculture and the acreage set-aside programs exerted on the southern black farm worker. Indeed, there was virtually no northern "pull" during most of this period, for expanding automation in manufacturing and the services was creating its own unskilled labor surplus in the North.

The deterioration of the quality of city life, the increasing financial straits of our larger urban communities, the burgeoning of our welfare rolls, are merely some of the more obvious results of this flight from the land at a time when the society was ill-equipped to absorb hordes of rural oriented and largely untrained and unskilled migrants. The social instability (to say nothing of the human suffering) created by having a large and growing population of uprooted and ill-trained persons living in poverty and idleness is greatly enhanced by the fact that the group in question is a readily identifiable racial minority with a long history of oppression by the majority and is currently plagued with a serious identity crisis and a search for a meaningful nationalism.

II.

Historically, the black community in America has been a community closely attached to the land. The vast majority of the slaves were employed either directly in field production or within some domestic activity on a southern plantation or farm. With the advent of Emancipation, the freedmen necessarily remained largely in land-based pursuits, usually agreeing to some sort of tenancy or sharecropping arrangement with white land owners. By 1910, non-whites, principally blacks, were operating 890,000 farms, of which 218,000 were run by full and part owners and 670,000 by tenants. The black population of the U.S. at that time was 9.8 million. Without the benefit of a Homestead Act and oftentimes in the face of hostility and violence, blacks had managed to become the full or part owners of more than 15 million acres of land.

The year 1910, however, represented the peak year of black land ownership in the U.S., and the trend since that time has been steadily downward so that by 1969, with the national black population at 22.4 million, the agricultural census could find less than 6 million acres fully and partly owned by blacks — representing 79,000 owner-operated farms. About 17,000 farms were being operated by black tenant farmers. It is also worth noting that only about one acre in six of the wholly-owned black land was under cultivation (as compared with one in four and one half of white owned land). Realistically, then, the black community has largely cut its ties to the land, and a high percentage of the land which it does still retain is not being used for growing crops and in large measure probably constitutes a short run economic burden to the black community (a burden not only in terms of tax or mortgage payments, but in terms of the foregone opportunity to utilize this wealth in some immediately productive activity). The white community, of course, holds on to far more idle land than does the black, but it can more easily afford to immobilize its assets in that way. It is also worth noting that an inordinately high percentage of black land owners are older people. In 1960, more than one-third of the non-whites owning rural land in the Southeast were over 65, and they owned two-fifths of the land owned by non-whites.[1]

A strict economic calculus might suggest that the black community, beset as it is by endless needs for capital for its self-development, would be well advised to sell off its idle land and invest the proceeds in more productive activity. Such a calculation is made, however, without due attention being afforded to political, social, and psychological considerations which weigh heavily on the black conscience. Questions must be raised as to whether the stake which the black community feels it has in the U.S. as a nation is likely to be influenced by whether blacks own any significant portion of the national territory or not. How closely are roots in the land related to a feeling of "belonging" or of "security?" The nomadic experience of the Jewish people may have something to suggest on this topic. In any case, the U.S. is probably more of a "white man's country" now than ever before in its history, at least in terms of land ownership, (although recent recognition of certain historic Indian claims to land may invalidate that statement somewhat).

One response to the negative implications of the precipitous decline in the volume of black land ownership is to argue that the ownership of a home, or even of an apartment, is sufficient to provide one with a strong stake in the American system. In this

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This report on black land loss was prepared under the direction of Robert Browne, executive director of the Black Economic Research Center. It was a part of a larger study which presented the original thinking and findings of the Emergency Land Fund, and is available from ELF, 799 Fair Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Photo by Bill Fibben

view, the rapid rise in black home ownership is an adequate counter to the decline in rural black land holdings, so that acreage figures are largely irrelevant or at best misleading. Granted that home ownership in an urban area does indeed vest one with a stake in the preservation and the improvement of the community and the state, the fact that we must shift our focus to urbanized areas brings us directly back to the problem of the irrational distribution of America's population over its land surface and simultaneously raises the even more basic issue of where do people want to live? Impersonal economic forces, operating in their inexorable manner, have moved half of the black popualtion out of the South and three-fourths of it out of rural areas. These peoples' wishes have not been consulted, nor have the full consequences of this dramatic migration been assessed. The obvious deterioration of America's cities, combined with the growing restlessness in suburban areas as both black and whites attempt to flee the cities as well as to flee from each other, suggest that steps need be taken to provide the one quarter of the black population which still resides in the rural South with a viable option to remain where it is if it so desires.

The benefits of adopting such a policy would include the following:
1) Expand the options of the target population; 2) relieve the pressure on the cities and the suburbs; 3) contribute to a more rational distribution of population across the land surface; and 4) ease the problem of preparing the unskilled and untrained to perform useful service in a modern and complex society.

This latter argument is disputed by some writers who apparently feel that the harsh urbanizing experience is the most efficient way to prepare people for an industrial society. The evidence for their position is not convincing, however, partly because no adequate techniques exist to measure the human or social loss deriving from the despair, dereliction, dope addiction, and other afflictions suffered by those who fail to "make it" when they are suddenly swept from the cotton field to the asphalt ghetto; nor can we fully measure the social costs which such persons impose on others.

There are many approaches to the task of how to improve the quality of life for the rural poor. Industrialization of rural areas, the development of "growth centers," the encouragement of farmers' cooperatives, creation of new communities in which scattered rural folk might regroup themselves for collective improvement, and outright income maintenance, are only a few of the approaches currently being explored. A few of these programs require a substantial land base; some do not.

To evaluate the importance of owning land solely by economic criteria is to approach the topic with too narrow a perspective.[2] Rather, land ownership should be viewed as a vehicle for human development, as well as an instrument for economic development. A 1947 study by Walter Goldschmidt is illustrative. Goldschmidt studied two farming communities in California's Central Valley. One was dominated by large farms, and the other was a community of small family farms. Where the family farm prevailed, Goldschmidt found a higher standard of living, superior physical facilities like streets and sidewalks, more parks, more stores with more retail trade, and twice the number of organizations for civic improvement and social recreation. In short, the small farm community was a better place to live.[3]

In the rural South, studies indicate that land ownership by blacks correlate with characteristics generally regarded as worthy of encouragement within the black community. Land owning blacks have proved to be more likely to register and to vote, more likely to participate in civil rights actions and more likely to run for office than are non-landowners. In effect, land ownership in the rural South confers on blacks a measure of independence, of security and dignity and perhaps even of power, which is of crucial importance to the elevation of the status of the black community generally.[4]

It is in light of this fact that the precipitous decline in black land ownership must be viewed — even though millions of blacks have left the rural South permanently and additional hundreds of thousands are no longer supporting their families from farming operations. It is of vital importance that the 79,000 black owner-operators who continue to farm, be enabled to retain their land and to expand its profitability, for in the black belt counties many of these land-owning farmers constitute the major ingredient for building a black power base in these communities.[5] Tenant farming leaves the individual so vulnerable and is generally so lacking in incentives that its demise will not be mourned. It is even less attractive than sharecropping, for under the latter arrangement the landlord usually provides the capital necessary for preparing the ground and harvesting the crop, and he assumes much of the inescapable risks of agriculture. The tenant farmer enjoys none of these advantages while at the same time remaining subject to eviction whenever the landlord decides he wishes to replace him.

If the plight of the tenant is precarious, that of the black farm owner is hardly much better. The remarkable advances in agricultural technology have steadily raised the optimum size acreage required for most of the types of farming in which blacks have traditionally engaged. (Tobacco is the major exception, but recent advances in mechanization suggest that small-scale tobacco farming will soon be as uneconomical as small-scale cotton acreages).

The mechanized harvesting of cotton in the nineteen fifties constituted one of the major "push" factors forcing blacks out of the rural South. Daniel Fusfeld describes it well:

> The roots of today's crisis are to be found in a sudden transformation of Southern agriculture which culminated almost twenty years ago. For a number of years prior to 1950, a changing technology was in the process of eliminating hand labor from Southern agriculture. The old sharecropping system was on the way out as tractors and cultivators replaced men. By 1949, most hand labor had been eliminated from everything but summer weeding and fall harvesting. This development was the first stage of the process which pushed the bulk of black farm workers out of Southern agriculture. Needed only for temporary or seasonal labor, many black sharecroppers lost their homesteads and moved into Southern towns and cities, although some continued the northern migration which had been going on for decades. There in the towns the black worker was poor, but available for seasonal and harvest labor — he subsisted and stayed South.
>
> Then disaster struck. Machine harvesting of cotton and corn was introduced on a large scale in 1950 and substantial expansion of soybean acreage (which uses little labor) resulted in a huge decline in use of labor. For example, in the space of only three years from 1949 to 1952 the use of unskilled agricultural labor in twenty Mississippi delta counties fell by 72 percent, and five years later was down to only 10 per cent of the 1949 level.[6]

The effects of this mechanization were not restricted to the farm laborer who was no longer needed, nor to the farm tenant who was now dispossessed because the landlord needed the additional acreage in order to utilize the new equipment. The black farm owner, whose farm size averaged only 47 acres in 1950, was equally affected by the mechanization taking place around him. Using hand labor, or even small tractors, on modest-sized acreages, the small farmer found that he could not compete in cotton or soybeans, two of the major crops raised by southern blacks. In corn, the situation was not too dissimilar. But the black farmer was unable to move up into competitive farming because a) he lacked the capital to purchase the new equipment, and b) his plot was too small to warrant using the new techniques even if he could afford them. These difficulties merely added to those from which he already suffered, such as his inability to obtain credit on reasonable terms because of his race or his poverty, or both; the racial discrimination to which he was subjected by government agricultural agencies; the general bias against small farmers which permeates many of the Department of Agriculture programs; and the culture and tradition of the rural South, which handicapped the black man in acquiring education, prevented him from acquiring expertise in large-scale business, marketing and finance, and kept him from being privy to the inner workings of government and commerce.[7]

Dr. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas describes the situation as follows:

> Because of their limited incomes, education, farm sizes, and access to credit, the Negro farmers' ability to adjust to technological and market changes has been markedly different from that of whites: the average size of farms operated by Negroes is one-fourth the average size of farms operated by whites; and Negroes have less livestock, crop yields per acre, and machinery per farm and are much more dependent on cotton and tobacco, which are hardest hit by technological changes and federal agricultural policies.[8]

The social problems created by modern agricultural technology are by no means limited to the black and the poor farmer. The combination of agricultural technology, the farm subsidy programs of the Department of Agriculture,[9] and the special interest "loopholes" of the tax laws, is delivering an ever-increasing portion of the nation's farm land into the impersonal hands of agri-business establishments of various sorts. Properly situated investors find that they can undersell the small farmer, sometimes because of efficiencies but often because they can operate massive farms at a loss and recoup their investment plus a profit via tax write-offs and land speculation. Indeed, to just what extent large-scale farms are actually more efficient than moderate sized ones is a hotly debated subject. Obviously, a farm must be of a certain minimum size before it becomes feasible to employ modern technology, almost all of which has been of the capital intensive type. Technological improvements have pushed the minimum size for an economically viable farm steadily upward. However, this phenomenon should not be confused with economies of scale or lead one to the conclusion that efficiency is inevitably correlated with farm size. There is, in fact, considerable evidence that some of the agri-business establishments running into the tens of thousands of acres are in fact less efficient than more modest sized farms. A 1972 study by the Economic Research Service of the Department of Agriculture concluded that most of the economies of size in farming are achieved by fully-mechanized one-man or two-man farms. Their costs per unit of product were found to be equal to those of large farms.[10] Tragically, it is the black farmer who is suffering the greatest displacement from the modern trends in agriculture. A particularly thoughtful piece of research on this subject has been done by Virgil Christian and Adamantios Pepelasis, and its conclusions bear repeating here:

> The foregoing argument can be reduced to several propositions relating to the displacement of farm family labor.
>
> • Technological changes in agriculture have increased the minimum size of an economically viable farm. Agricultural production has become more capital intensive, and low production costs require that the operator have sufficient land to justify use of the smallest indivisible units of technologically efficient capital. This has led to a great reduction in the number of small farms, regardless of the race of the operator. Small farms in the cotton states — Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, South Carolina and Georgia — were particularly vulnerable.
>
> • If there are economies of scale in agriculture, long run pressures on small farmers will be greater than those imposed by technological change alone. But the shift to capital intensive methods is sufficient to account for much of what has happened, regardless of scale considerations.
>
> • A higher percentage of black farmers were adversely affected by the increase in minimum farm size than white farmers. No matter where the minimum fell, it caught a larger share of blacks below it.
>
> • On all farm sizes a larger proportion of black operators were tenants than were white operators; alternatively a smaller proportion of blacks were either full or part owners. They were therefore more susceptible to displacement by a decision of the owner to shift to more capital intensive methods.
>
> • The data show that a high proportion of all farms, and a very high proportion of farms operated by blacks, are still smaller than 100 acres. Insofar as the argument of this paper has any validity, this suggests continuing displacement in crops affected by new methods, and relatively greater displacement among blacks.
>
> • On farms of all sizes, blacks were disadvantaged in the transition to capital intensive methods. They had fewer assets, less access to credit, and as a consequence of poor educational background and less help from extension programs of the USDA, less adaptability to change. Consequently, they show more displacement on farms of all sizes, and much heavier displacement on large farms. In fact, the displacement of black operators on large farms, though less than on small farms, was high enough to make one suspect that inability to acquire capital was more important than concentration on small farms in determining the blacks' survival rate in agriculture.
>
> • In conclusion, concentration on small farms is not the only — and possibly not the principal — cause of the Negro farmer's disproportionate displacement in southern agriculture. But the twin facts, one, a very much greater per cent of black farmers than white farmers operating farms of less than 100 acres, and, two, a much higher displacement of farms less than

Photo by Pat Goudvis

Sugar cane workers waiting for tractor parts, Honma, Louisiana.

	ALL BLACK FARM OWNERS (PART & FULL)						BLACK FULL OWNERS			BLACK FULL OWNERS WITH SALES OVER $2,500 (CLASS 1–5 FARMS)			
	Number			Acres in Farms									
	1954	1969	% Change	1959	1969	% Change	Number as % of All Full Owners	Average Size as % of All Full Owners	Acreage as % of Total of All Full Owners	Number	Number as % of All Class 1–5	Per Farm Gross Profits	Per Farm Gross Profits as % of All Class 1–5
ALABAMA	18,408	7,226	–60.7	1,262,583	636,859	–49.6	10.8	53.6	5.8	1098	3.9	$3,226	73.6
ARKANSAS	9,894	3,013	–69.5	659,081	286,215	–56.6	5.4	36.6	2.0	1008	3.6	2,611	48.0
FLORIDA	4,536	1,243	–72.6	242,530	133,377	–45.0	3.4	29.9	1.0	362	2.1	3,173	46.5
GEORGIA	12,049	4,450	–63.1	1,126,378	578,473	–48.6	7.2	59.1	4.3	1576	4.7	2,586	50.2
KENTUCKY	2,432	1,585	–34.8	129,538	129,538	–18.0	1.4	52.8	0.7	500	2.9	3,455	86.3
LOUISIANA	12,783	3,884	–69.6	578,661	273,780	–57.9	12.3	36.8	4.6	851	5 3	2,595	44.4
MISSISSIPPI	27,746	14,527	–47.6	1,971,540	1,262,352	–36.0	23.3	49.2	11.5	2400	10.0	2,889	54.1
NORTH CAROLINA	22,625	9,687	–57.2	1,085,750	558,861	–48.5	9.4	56.5	5.3	4152	8.1	3,035	65.6
SOUTH CAROLINA	21,670	7,514	–65.3	999,050	480,045	–51.9	22.2	38.0	8.5	1648	11.3	3,177	75.2
TENNESSEE	7,215	3,890	–46.1	419,591	285,235	–32.0	3.2	57.8	1.9	914	2.1	2,133	66.6
TEXAS	18,877	4,747	–74.9	1,184,183	579,658	–51.0	3.1	26.2	0.8	801	0.8	2,578	53.8
VIRGINIA	15,957	4,646	–70.9	877,100	410,674	–53.2	7.3	54.9	4.0	1715	6.2	3,175	97.7
WEST VIRGINIA	260	45	–82.7	13,470	9,941	–26.2	0.2	59.4	0.1	10	0.1	2,334	85.2

Source: Lester M. Salamon, *Black-Owned Land: A Profile of a Disappearing Equity Base,* Durham, N.C.: Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, Duke University, 1974.

100 acres than of farms larger than 100 acres accounts easily, albeit superficially, for much of the difference. A third, namely that well over half of southern Negro farm families in 1950 were involved in cotton, the crop hardest hit by technological change, conversion to capital intensive methods, increased minimum farm size, and, perhaps, economies of scale, and a fourth, the Negro's disadvantage in acquiring capital, combine with them to provide a plausible, if partial, explanation of what has happened. Finally, despite heavy displacement of small farms, more than four-fifths of southern Negro farmers operate on less than 100 acres, suggesting continued poverty and deprivation for those who remain and further sizeable movement of blacks out of agriculture.[11]

III.

It is relatively easy to identify the problems of the black rural land owner but it has proved to be extremely difficult to mount an effective campaign to assist him. There are five ingredients which are essential that the aspiring black farmer has available to him:

- land
- experienced labor
- managerial expertise
- operating capital or equipment
- credit *(at reasonable rates)*

The first two items he often has had, but in lacking the latter three he too often loses his land. From this analysis one can conclude that the provision of items 3, 4 and 5 are the *sine qua non* for enabling the farmer to retain his land.

Geoffrey Faux, formerly the head of the Research and Development Division of OEO, brings an additional dimension to this discussion by pointing out that even access to credit on reasonable terms is probably insufficient for poor farmers because most lending agencies, including the government, will not lend to those who have very little resources of their own. In testimony before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, reviewing the Rural Loan Program authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act, he said:

> The anti-poverty bill that was originally reported out of this committee in 1964 called for a comprehensive program of financial assistance (which included grants as well as loans) to poor farmers and cooperatives whose membership was predominantly made up of poor farmers. In his testimony on the original bill in 1964, then Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman was asked how poor people could be expected to repay loans with conventional terms when they had been judged as too high risks for the regular Farmer's Home Administration rural loan program. Freeman responded:
>
> *The grant is the thing that makes the difference . . . without the grant, you would not have the capital resources to repay any loan. . . .*
>
> *But this little bit of capital, which makes it possible let us say, to get seed or fertilizer or a little bit of machinery, or some animals, makes the difference between getting somebody launched on a meaningful kind of operation, or else just being mired in the poverty they are in now.*
>
> Thus the original design of the program provided poor farmers with an injection of capital into their business which would have enabled them to use a conventional loan effectively in helping themselves become self sufficient. Secretary Freeman estimated at that time that two-thirds of the poor farmers in this country had neither the will nor the ability to migrate to the cities, but with a small investment could have raised their income above the poverty level.
>
> Despite the fact that the committees of both houses reported out the bill with provisions for both grants and loans, the authorization for grants was deleted on the Senate floor after former Senator Laushe objected that if a grant were given to poor farm families eventually every family in the country would have to be given one. The grants were deleted without argument and without a vote.
>
> Thus the grant provision which the Secretary of Agriculture testified was essential for the effective implementation of the loan program was deleted while the loan program remained. Since then we have learned the hard way that Secretary Freeman was right. Poor farmers have found it very difficult to take advantage of loan programs designed for established middle and upper income farmers. Without the grant assistance the legislative requirement that there be reasonable assurance of repayment has made most poor farmers ineligible for assistance. As a result, the Farmers Home Administration has tended to make a high proportion of loans to farmers whose incomes are above the poverty level. A GAO report on the program showed that between January, 1965, and February, 1968, over forty per cent of the borrowers receiving financial assistance were not poor.

Mr. Faux goes on to comment on the need for more expertise for the black farmer:

> By any reasonable measure the Farmer Home Administration has been woefully negligent in providing the technical assistance that is vital for success in farming. Despite the fact that poor and minority farmers have lacked access to such assistance, the FHA has not during the course of this program given poor farmers the kind of help they give to the wealthier ones. I quote from the GAO report:
>
> *Work measurement studies completed by FHA in 1967 showed that, on an overall basis, Economic Opportunity Loan borrowers were receiving less individual attention with respect to the making of their loans and subsequent supervision than borrowers*

receiving other types of FHA loans.

How much of this shortchanging of the poor is a result of bureaucratic fumbling and how much a result of racial discrimination I cannot say. After the 1965 report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on the Department of Agriculture programs, the Farmers Home Administration increased the number of black employees as well as the number of black members of county committees. Since 1966, however, there has not been much progress. In May, 1970, blacks made up only four per cent of the FHA staff and only six per cent of the membership of county committees.

Many of the problems of today's black farmer are similar to those faced by poor white farmers during the Depression and a few of the more innovative New Dealers of that era attempted to devise programs to address the problems. Ben Bagdikian describes what took place under one of these programs:

> In rural Mississippi the sight of the unpainted leaning shack subconsciously brings to mind, "Negro" and of the painted clapboard farmhouse with awnings, "white." This is almost completely accurate — except in an area of Holmes County which has the best organized Negro rural community in the state. Its backbone is over 100 indepêndent, land-owning Negro farm families who are the nucleus not only for civil rights and educational reform but of economic development. Their families for the most part are solid, their children well educated, their homes hopeful places for the young to grow in. Their outlook is as secure and full as a Negro can expect in the state of Mississippi. The cost to government? An average of $6,200 per farm, long since paid off. In 1944, former Representative Harold Cooley, not a wild Populist, studied the effect of such programs. He reported that in 1940 the Farm Security Administration, predecessor to Farmers Home Administration, bought up 9,350 acres of land in Mileston, Mississippi (Holmes County), divided it into 106 farms, 70 of them transferred to individuals and 36 to cooperatives, all for formerly landless tenant farmers. The land and farm equipment was paid for by a 40-year, 3 per cent loan. Cooley's conclusion 2½ years later was, *As an example of the progress that families on this project are making, it will be noted that principal repayments exceed the amount due.* Today, 23 years after that report, these former sharecroppers and their sons are independent, productive farmers who form the heart of the most vigorous rural community in their state.
>
> The Holmes County project was only one of many started by the New Deal. It began in 1935 with the Resettlement Administration which, under executive order from Franklin Roosevelt, bought up large plantations and parcels that were on the market or defaulting on taxes, and redistributed them. Ten thousand families were resettled in 152 projects, some with help to build community facilities.[12]

Photo by Pat Goudvis

Farmer with plums, Mendenhall, Alabama.

The story of the several attempts to fashion experiments which could demonstrate how the life of the rural poor could be meaningfully changed has been described by Sidney Baldwin and makes for fascinating reading. One of his conclusions is that:

> The resettlement project program did offer a unique experimental opportunity whose lessons have not yet, a generation later, been fully evaluated, let alone applied.[13]

Unfortunately, few of these New Deal programs were administered in ways which benefitted the black community, despite the fact that rural blacks were the poorest of the poor in America's rural areas, a fact easily traceable to earlier abuses. Gunnar Myrdal, in his famous study of the Negro in America, strongly emphasized the disastrous consequences for America's development which resulted from failure to provide emancipated slaves with some land and capital.

> After the Civil War, the overwhelming majority of Negroes were concentrated in Southern agriculture. Consequently, the greatest problem was what to do with these great masses of Southern Negroes, most of whom were former slaves. Even the Negroes not in Southern agriculture were influenced by the patterns set, since the Northern Negro laborer was recruited, in later decades, from the rural South.
>
> A rational economic reform of Southern plantation economy, which would preserve individual property rights to the maximum (always of greatest importance for a smooth readjustment) but also utilize the revolutionary situation for carrying into effect the aims of Reconstruction, could have included the following points besides freeing the slaves:
>
> • remunerating fully the slave owners out of federal funds;
>
> • expropriating the slave plantations or a larger part of them and remunerating fully their owners out of federal funds;
>
> • distributing this land in small parcels to those cultivators who wished it, against mortgaged claims on their new property, and requiring them to pay for the land in yearly installments over a long period;
>
> • creating for a transition period a rather close public supervision over the freedmen and also certain safeguards against their disposition of their property; also instituting an effective vocational education of Negro farmers, somewhat along the lines of the F.S.A. of the 1930's;
>
> • instituting a scheme of taxation to pay off the former slave- and land-owners and, perhaps, to allow repayment for the land by the new owners to be kept down under the actual expropriation costs;
>
> • as a partial alternative, in order to relieve the Negro population pressure in the South and in order to help keep down the scope of the reconstruction program: helping Negroes take part in the westward rural migration
>
> The cheapness of land in America would have been a factor making a land reform easier to execute than in most other countries where it has been successfully carried out when abolishing serfdom. Even if the burden on the public finances were reckoned as economic costs — which, of course, is a totally wrong way of calculating costs in a national economy, as they are meant to be profitable investments in economic progress — those costs would have been trifling compared with what Reconstruction and Restoration, not to speak of the Civil War, actually cost the nation. What happened, however, was that the slaves were freed without any remuneration being paid their former owners; and that, with few exceptions, the freedmen were not given access to the land.[14]

The need for basic land reform in America, for both blacks and whites, hardly needs to be argued if any one of the following premises is accepted:

1) that people should be afforded an option to retain a rural life style if they so choose;

2) that the trend toward agri-business and oligopolistic corporate farming is an unhealthy path for the economy to follow; or

3) that it is desirable that the black minority maintain a share in the ownership of the national territory. If any or all of the above premises are adopted, it is then mandatory that steps be taken to reverse the prevalent trends in American agriculture, trends which are not so much "natural" as they are "induced," induced via the biases built into our USDA subsidy and research programs, our land grant college programs, our tax laws and our racial attitudes.

When one recalls the history in the perspective of the current political climate in the country where even the modest Rural Development Act of 1972 may be starved for funds, it does not appear likely that there will be any groundswell for seriously addressing the problems of rural poverty, and most especially those of black rural poverty. On the other hand, the call for land reform being currently raised by a tiny group of intellectual activists promises at least to get the topic of landownership patterns into the public arena for discussion and debate.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ulmer, Al, "Cooperatives and Poor People in the South," Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1969.

2. The following comment by Randolph Blackwell, a southern black community leader is noteworthy: "Land is basically a more valuable property than money, since there is a fixed and limited supply of it, and its value enhances with population growth — particularly when it is located in the path of urbanization. Furthermore, it does not burn up or blow away and is not subject to simple forms of theft (although title to land can be, and ofttimes is, stolen)."

3. Perelman, Michael and Shea, Kevin P., "The Big Farm," *Environment*, Vol. 14, No. 10, pp. 14-15.

4. See Salamon, Lester, "Family Assistance — The Stakes in the Rural South," *The New Republic*, February 20, 1971.

5. This is not to suggest that black landowners constitute the *sole* potential for building a black power base in the rural South. Economist Ray Marshall has pointed out that although the rural black population has declined in each decade since 1920, the black rural non-farm population has increased in each decade. To the extent that secure industrial employment can be created for this growing non-farm black rural population, to that extent is this a promising potential for developing a non-land owning black population unbeholden to the white planter. Whether the white industrialist is likely to be any less oppressive than the white planter class is another question.

Photo by Pat Goudvis

6. Fusfeld, Daniel, "The Basic Economics of the Urban and Racial Crises," *Review of Black Political Economy*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer/Spring, 1970, p. 63.

7. Ponder, Henry, "Prospects for Black Farmers in the Years Ahead," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association, Detroit, Michigan, 1970.

8. Marshall, Ray, "Is the South Still Backward?," *American Economic Review*, Proceedings, May, 1972, p. 205.

9. In this connection the following comments by Marion Clawson are worth noting:

> The programs covering production control, price (or income) support, and surplus storage were designed to help the commercial farmers, especially the larger ones. The direct payments to farmers have shown a few very large payments and many small ones. Any approach to the farm problem that tried to work through market prices of farm commodities or through income support geared to volume of farm output would have shown a similar distribution of benefits. Only the larger farmers have a large enough volume of output to obtain much benefit from higher prices of farm commodities; for many small farmers, no reasonable increase in the prices of commodities they sell would increase their income to a satisfactory level. The programs that were designed to help small farmers have been weak, poorly funded, subject to program revision at frequent intervals, and generally ineffective.
>
> The income support to agriculture has had the further effect of stimulating increases in farm land price.
>
> Prices of land in farms, in growing suburban areas, and in recreation use have all moved up rapidly in the past 20 years. Rising prices of farmland are traditionally supposed to make it more difficult for young farmers to get started and to benefit established farmers, who can then retire in their old age out of the increased value of their farms. But, in recent years, even this supposed advantage to older farmers had been lacking.
>
> The average farmer has doubled his land area in the past 20 to 30 years, but what he gained in increased market value of the land he owned, he lost in the price he had to pay for the land he bought. With a total farm real estate value of over $200 billion in the United States today, a reasonable interest return (no more than 6 per cent — surely low for 1970 money conditions) eats up nearly all the $13 billion — $16 billion realized net income from farming, leaving very little for labor earnings.
>
> Many farmers today have a competitive return for their labor only if they are willing to forego a competitive return for their capital, and vice versa. Farming has become a high-investment and low-wage industry.

From: Clawson, Marion, *America's Land and Its Uses*, (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1972), p. 112-113.

10. *Economies of Size in Farming*, a report prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor by the Farm Production Economics Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, August, 1972.

11. Christian, Virgil L., Jr., and Adamantios, Pepelasis, "Farm Size and the Displacement of Black Farm Families in Southern Agriculture," *Human Resource Development in the Rural South*, a report of the Center for the Study of Human Resources, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1971.

12. Bagdikian, Ben, "A Forgotten New Deal Experiment in Land Reform in Mississippi," *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, July 31, 1967, p. 3.

13. Baldwin, Sidney, *Poverty and Politics, (University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 217.*

14. Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, (Harper Brothers, New York, 1944), p. 225.

SELLING the mountains.

James Branscome and Peggy Matthews

If a man owns land, the land owns him.

Emerson

Men of Rome, Men of Rome! You are called lords of the world, yet have no right to a square foot of its soil!

Tiberius Gracchus, Tribune of the People

Any area that wants to stop development will soon find itself a slum. What this county really needs is a great big airport.

Hugh Morton, developer of Grandfather Mountain

Where in the world can you find in one place, in one short week, Mickey Mantle, the ex-ball player, General Lauris Norstad, the ex-NATO commander; General William Westmoreland, the ex-Vietnam commander, and Mildred the Bear? Well, last summer you could have bumped into them at Grandfather Mountain in Avery County, North Carolina, only a few miles from Meatcamp where Daniel Boone stored up the bounty of the wilds before heading out to find "the Second Paradise" of eastern Kentucky. For the mere price of an adventuresome spirit, you could have joined Daniel Boone in opening up the Cumberland mountains. For $105,750, you can join all the modern trailblazing notables in a condominium at Grandfather Mountain.

If you do not like the containment and pacification spirit of Grandfather, you can try the Hounds Ear resort right down the road in Watauga County. For $1,800 a month, you can rent a two-bedroom apartment and watch Congressman James Broyhill and Duke University President Terry Sanford tee off on the green. If that does not suit either, then you still have the choice of several hundred other resorts, both larger and smaller, that stretch the whole length of the Appalachian Mountains. You can take your pick of owner-developers like Jackie Gleason, Art Linkletter, Sam Snead, Eddie Albert, John Lindsay, Jim Walter, or Senator Bill Brock.

What are $100,000 condominiums doing in a region where per-capita income hovers close to $1,000 and where from 40 to 60 percent of the housing in some rural counties does not have indoor plumbing? The answers are eerie. Maybe a poet could do more justice than these writers to an explanation of Gen. William Westmoreland's ownership of a condominium at Beech Mountain in "The Land of Oz." We resisted the temptation to write about the Wicked Witch of the West and the Tin Man and the Cowardly Lion and the Scarecrow. The realism of a paleface "trail of tears" is enough for us.

I.

In 1944, an official publication of the U.S. Department of Agriculture observed:

> This Appalachian section comes as near to having a culture of its own as any section in the U.S. Its culture is old, in terms of our history, and is stable. That is why it is unique and why it seems odd to many people. But who is to say that it may not be as great a loss to lose the culture which was built by our pioneers as it is to lose our original topsoils?

In 1972, the National Endowment for the Humanities could not quite muster such accuracy or sympathy in its description of Georgia mountaineers:

> We all profess to love liberty, but these people take their liberty seriously. They don't buy food; they shoot, grow, or catch it. Few have running water or electricity in their cabins, and most have less than a fifth-grade education. Family and kinship ties are strong here; it is common for three and four generations to live together. They have no social consciousness in the modern sense — but when one man's barn burns down, every man in the vicinity shoulders his axe and hikes through the woods to help build a new one.[2]

Paradoxically, one statement is part of a sincere effort to describe mountain folks, while the other is slop poured out by a new generation of "progressive" federal bureaucrats and educators to justify the Hugh Mortons and General Westmorelands of the development world who hold to the novel theory that mountaineers have to be destroyed to be saved. Morton actually suggested that maybe some way should be found to preserve the "rare mountaineers" in the same fashion as "we have done with the bear preserve at Grandfather Mountain." He made the statement at Appalachian State University at Boone, N.C., on June 25, 1973. None of the resort-promoting professors at ASU batted an eye. Some even applauded the statement. The developers and the government share in common the view that anything as rough as a mountaineer and a mountain need and deserve an invasion of resorts and second homes — a kind of "Upward Bound" program on a regional scale.

It was actually the federal government, spurred by the generosity of the Rockefeller family, which got the mountains into the tourist entanglement in the first place by promoting the Great Smokey Mountains into the most visited national park in the country. The park's eight million yearly visitors and 512,655 acres of mountain land — all close to TVA's one million federalized acres — make the mountains prime rape territory. Combine that with messages like this one posted in the park, and it's easy to see where the developers get their ideas about the desirability of reducing mountaineers to mere tenants:

> About 100 families lived in Cades Cove at the time the park was established. To maintain the open fields and to preserve other features of this unusual pioneer community, a number of farmers have been allowed to remain under special permits. Some of these leaseholders are descendants of early settlers. A few are members of families which have lived and worked in the cove for more than a century.

Other government signs — like the one on the West Virginia border which greets visitors with "Welcome to West Virginia, the Switzerland of North America" — have been getting more attention lately as mountaineers begin to reflect on the contrasts between resources-rich and poverty-ridden Appalachia and resource-poor but affluent adjacent regions. Joe Begley, the chairman of the Citizens' League to Protect the Surface Rights in Letcher County, Kentucky, states the problem very succinctly: *"We folks in Appalachia are sitting on a gold mine and starving to death."* Despite a decade of poverty war, labor turmoil, and a new awakening of Appalachia's people, the "gold mine" is further depleted and, according to the latest social and economic statistics released by the Appalachian Regional Commission in June of 1972, the people have gained nothing. As a matter of fact, relative to the nation's prosperity, the mountaineer is worse off today than he was ten years ago. More mines are closed, more hundreds of thousands of acres of land are forever barren from strip mining, more small farmers have been forced into migrating or onto welfare rolls, and people throughout Appalachia have found themselves face-to-face with a bureaucratic system — both governmental and corporate — that seems bent on removing them from their land.

Jim Branscome writes regularly on life in Applachia and is a staff member of Highlander Center in New Market, Tennessee. Peggy Matthews, a student at the University of California at Davis, did her field work in community studies at Highlander last summer.

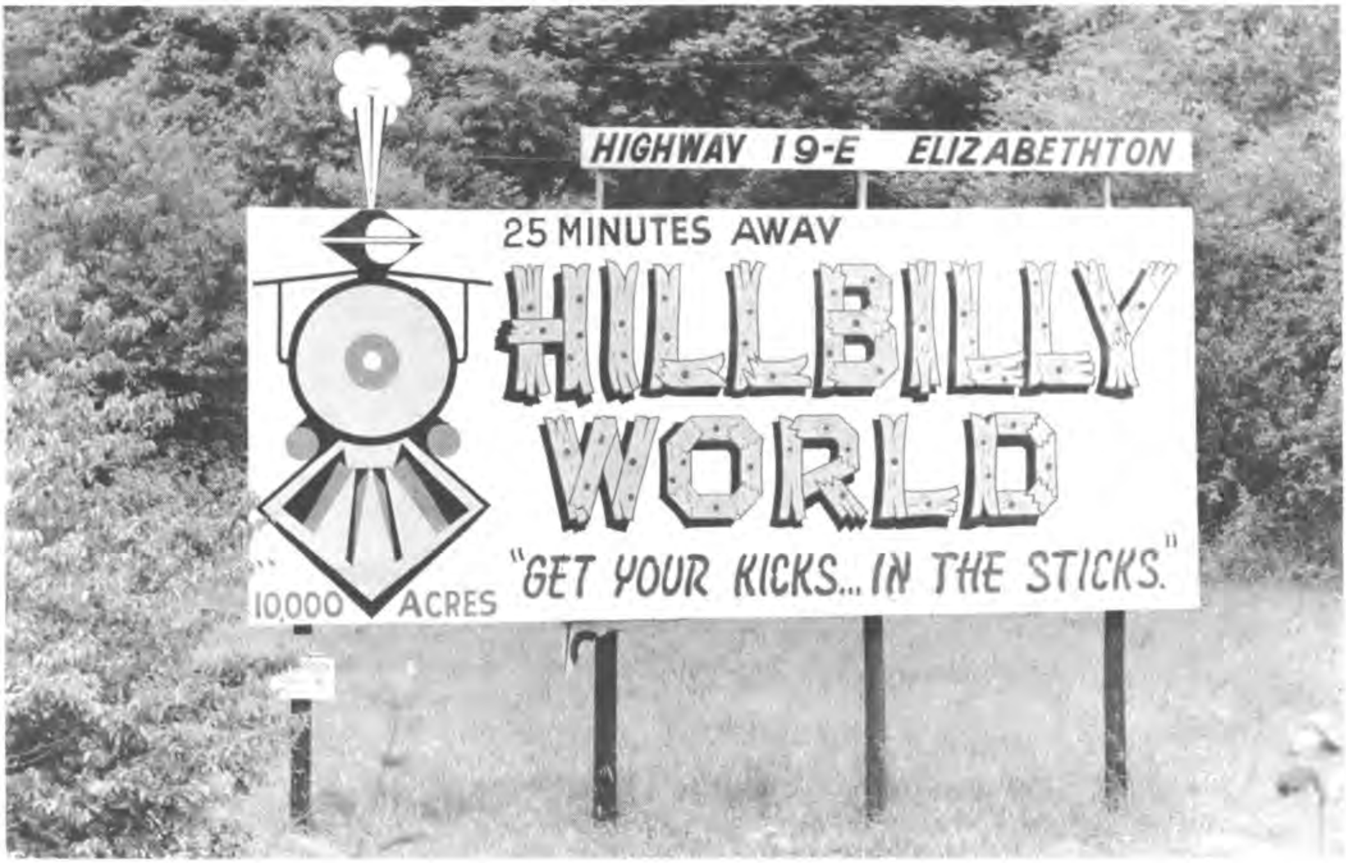


Photo by Pat Goudvis

II.

No one has done more to hold Appalachian life up for national ridicule than the producers of the "Beverly Hillbillies," "Green Acres," and "Hee Haw." It is no surprise, therefore, to find this brochure being handed out to tourists flocking into the Great Smokies through the Asheville, N.C., airport:

> Hello! I'm Eddie Albert . . . and I want to personally invite you to see my new film about the "Un-City" . . . Connestee Falls. As you may know, I have been involved in the fight for the preservation of our environment for many years. I am proud to be associated with Realtec Incorporated, the developers of Connestee Falls, because here in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina, Realtec is creating an Un-City: uncrowded, unhurried, unpolluted.
>
> I sincerely want you to see my film about this remarkable environmental achievement.
>
> Signed: Eddie Albert
> Star of "Green Acres"

Connestee Falls, and dozens of new developments like it in the North Carolina Blue Ridge, may be an "Un-City" to Eddie Albert, but to the farmers of the mountains, it is an intrusion, the kind of intrusion that has driven the price of marginal farm and timber land from a low of $100 an acre to a whopping $1,000 an acre in a half-decade. Rough, undeveloped land in Macon County, N.C., goes for as high as $5,000 per acre, and near the second-home center of Highlands, it reaches $20,000 if water and sewers are available. In Madison County, which has few developments, land is already selling for $1,000 an acre, "and that's for straight up-and-down land," says one resident. A three-quarter-acre lot in highly developed Watauga County can go for $6,000 and still be considered "a darn good buy." With land prices — and the commensurate property taxes — so high, it's easy to see how the dream of a mountain farmer to have at least one son stay home to till the soil has changed to the nightmare that he may not even be able to maintain the farm for his own retirement. Sons and daughters of subsistence farmers along the Blue Ridge Parkway in Virginia, have been returning home lately to learn that the Groundhog Mountain Development Corporation, a firm that sells lots to professional people from North Carolina cities, has used high-pressure tactics to force their parents to sell family land. According to Larry Bowman, a law student at Wake Forest and a native of the area, "These old folks — many of whom can't read and write — believe that they are only leasing, not selling their land to these corporations. Others are so poor that the promise of a new roof or some worthless gratuity is traded for a small-print contract that in effect amounts to the theft of the land."

Only a few miles further down the Blue Ridge Parkway in Carroll County — the county that Mike Seeger says "has best preserved all those things that make up the Appalachian culture" — another firm is building, of all things, a ski resort. The headline in the Carroll *News* on December 8, 1972, proclaimed, "Cascade Mountain — New Way of Life," and continued, "First there was Beech, then Sugar, and now Cascade. Yes, Cascade Mountain Resort will have one of the finest ski slopes in southwestern Virginia." As one of its "many features" the ski resort will have an "Olympic Village" with a lodge and motel named "Liebenschuen," and, of course, a country store.

Thanks to such developments, the price of farm land in Carroll County is far beyond the means of farmers to buy it. An eighty-acre farm in Carroll, for example, was recently offered for public auction — something that mountaineers have traditionally done when there are several heirs to a farm and the community is in need of a social event. The hope has always been that one of the family or a close neighbor would "buy the old homeplace." This farm was privately offered by the heirs to a local man for $7,500, a figure that he considered excessive and rejected. At the public auction, flooded by land speculators and professionals from North Carolina in search of a "second home," the farm brought $20,000. A few weeks later one-half of it was subdivided and sold for $40,000 — $40,000 for a hillside that once grossed only a crop of wheat sufficient for the family's bread, pasture for four cows for the family's milk, and a few cord of pulpwood to be sold to "put the kids in school."

Carl Salmons, a small dairy farmer whose farm borders on the one mentioned above says, "These people from North Carolina now own land on all four sides of me. I guess I'm next." The Salmons are one of four families in the same hollow who have not sold out. Land speculation, urban affluence and over-crowding, and the decline of small farmers, have led to a situation where the right to be a hollow dweller — as most mountaineers have been for centuries and want to be now — carries with it the attendant obligation to be rich, an obligation that few mountaineers can meet. Even after folks leave their homes to join the swelling numbers living in mobile homes (mountaineers bought half the trailers sold in America last year), the developers continue to intrude in their lives. Hugh Morton is now leading a campaign to rid the mountains of the "visual pollution" of trailers by demanding that "mobile home dwellers should not be given bank loans."

The developers' intrusions penetrate all levels of mountain society. Mountain women become summer maids, mountain farmers become caddies, mountain politicians become lackies, and a whole style of life begins to change. Farmers who never locked their smokehouses, bar them tight. Local ministers, content with the usual homilies, turn to the evils of the Hugh Mortons promoting liquor by-the-drink. Local newspaper editors, like Bob Satterwhite of the Asheville *Citizen-Times*, begin turning out stories that end up in development brochures. And regional universities start turning out reports and holding conferences to legitimize the new style of "progress." Leading the field is Appalachian State University, whose own in-house resort promoter, Dr. Leland L. Nicholls, writes memos to his bosses with paragraphs like these:

> The possibility of a world in which only a minority need to work in order to keep the majority in idle luxury is rapidly being accepted by many members of the academic community as being a realistic phenomenon approaching our society within the very near future. Obviously, the impact of the "age of leisure" will likely have far-reaching effects upon many aspects of North American cultures. Probably one of the nodal points of this impact will be at the currently recognized tourist-recreation regions. Because Boone is a viable part of the complex, it may well be worth the effort of the Planning and Zoning Education Program at ASU to sponsor a workshop entitled "Planning a Tourist Region for the AGe of Leisure."

Needless to say, Nicholls suggests that only "local and regional leaders in the industry of tourism and recreation" be invited to participate. There are some academics in the region not so closely tied to the developers, but most cannot cope with the recent threat of Dennis Lehman, a land planner for the Carolina-Caribbean Corporation: "I can take and meet every control of the subdivision laws and still build the biggest hodge-podge in the world."

III.

Why are the developers' intrusions welcomed by so many communities? The answer, in a word, is money. Local officials contend resorts will provide just the lift their sagging economies need: more jobs, increased business income, and a broader tax base. But, on close view, the evidence itself contradicts such claims: resorts and mountain subdivisions are not improving the economic well-being of mountain people.

Take jobs, for example. A report by Robert Nathan Associates prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission points out the erratic and marginal character of employment created by second-home developments and tourism:

> The concentration of food, lodging, and amusements largely defines the local impact of tourist recreation. These are, for the most part, small sectors of the economy. In West Virginia, for example,

> these three sectors, while they accounted for more than $150 million of business (local and "export"), occupied, in all, about 20,000 people (including 4,000 proprietors) in a total labor force of 590,000.

As the report goes on to document, those jobs which are supported by the resort trade are precisely the lowest paying in the community: service workers in restaurants, fast-food establishments, hotel-motels, and amusement complexes. An official at Carolina-Caribbean's Beech Mountain admits that 70 percent of their employment is unskilled, and nearly all of it fluctuates with the seasons. The adverse impact of such shifts on a community — and on an individual's income — is illustrated by the employment pattern in the old resort town of Highlands, N.C. During the summer months, the township swells from 2,000 to 20,000 people, and many women leave their jobs in the nearby clothing factory to work as maids for the country clubs; when summer ends, they either return to the factory or remain out of work.

From the perspective of the local businessman, the disruption of the clothing factory is just one aspect of how little hometown companies may benefit from the influx of resorts. Outsiders control larger and larger chunks of the local economy, and, invariably, the developers themselves corner the service-oriented businesses which benefit from the low-wage labor. Beech Mountain in Banner Elk, N.C., not only provides a restaurant and inn for day-to-day tourists, and chalets for the weekly or monthly resident, but also maintains a gas station, pizza eatery, cheese shop, 7-11 store, furniture shop, two clothing stores and a church. With all that on the mountain, there's no reason to go into town to spend your dollars. Though perhaps extreme, Beech is no exception. Sapphire Valley in Jackson County, N.C., has the historic Fairfield Inn. Seven Devils near Boone offers the convenience of a restaurant and lodging at their Inn of Seven Devils, while the Mountains Resort in Rutherford County has its own construction crew for homesite development and plans a shopping center with restaurants on the shores of Lake Lure.

Ironically, local resort owners who don't have the capital to invest in such frills — or the slick campaigns to promote them — are losing their businesses to giants like Realtec, Inc. With offices in Greenville, S.C. and Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, Realtec is just part of a larger conglomerate, Certain-teed, Inc. Through its parent, Realtec can control and profit from all phases of its developments, from ground-breaking to road building, to manufacturing bathroom fixtures and installing roofs, to financing the mortgage loans. As real estate development in the mountains continues, integrated, multi-million dollar corporations like Certain-teed are likely to increase their domination of the market. The results won't be the kind of stimulation of local business some county officials claim, but a new flow of dollars from the community to the outsider's corporate headquarters.

Among the many corporate developers who are moving into the mountains are:

General Development Corporation of Miami, Florida, one of the largest subdividers in America, now owns 19,200 acres near Crossville, Tennessee.

Nearby, *Firestone Tire and Rubber* recently purchased 15,300 acres.

Liberty Life Insurance Company of South Carolina is the new owner of 20,000 acres in Transylvania and Jackson Counties, N.C.

Sea Pines Company, the developer of South Carolina's Hilton Head Island, has bought 7,000 acres for a development at Nantalahala Lake in western North Carolina.

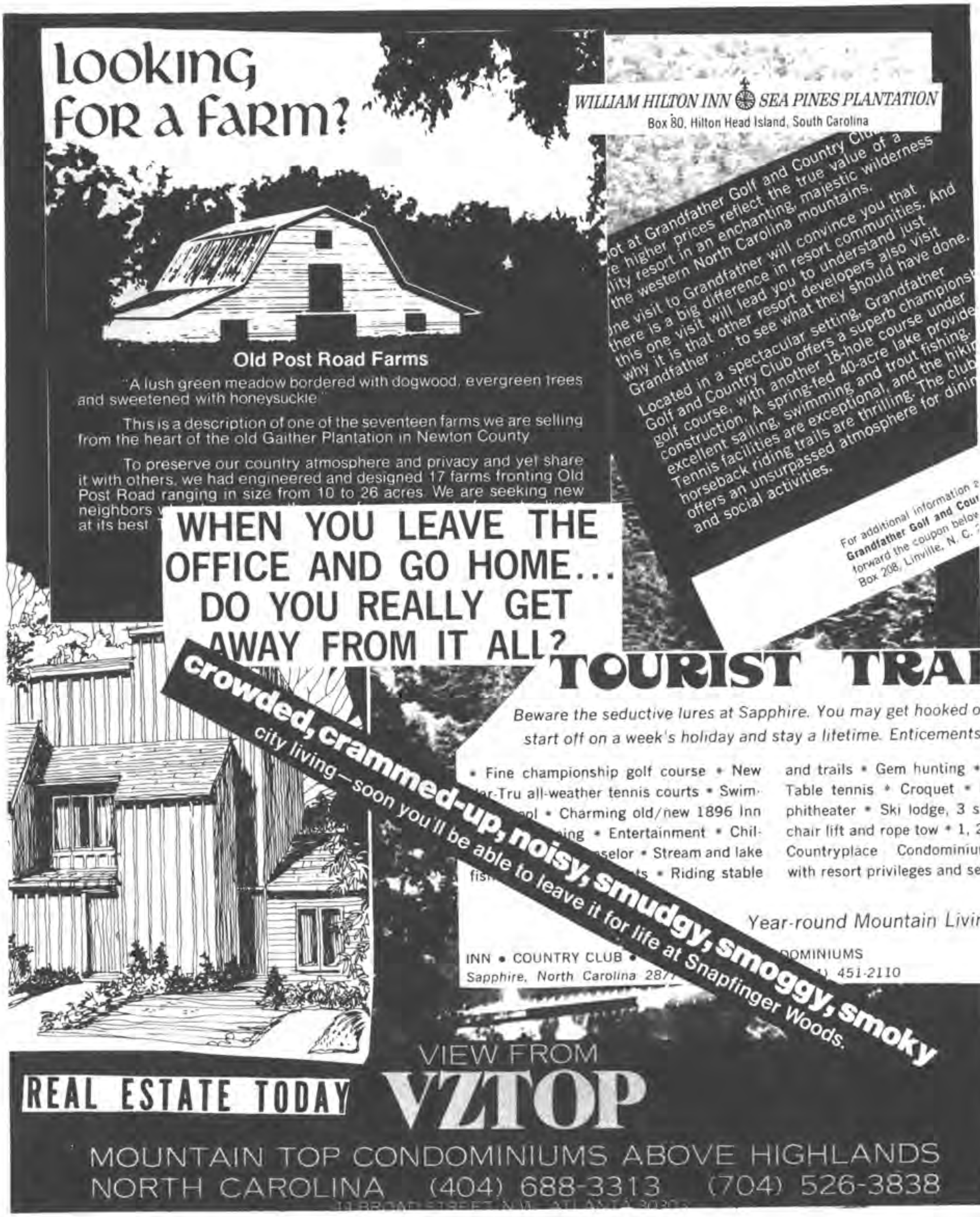
First Communities Corporation, from Sarasota, Florida, is developing 1,400 acres on Lake Lure.

Gerald H. Gould and Jim Walter (president of Jim Walter Corporation and *Jim Walter Homes*, Inc.) from Tampa, Florida, bought 3,078 acres bordering the Pisgah National Forest and have begun dividing the area into 5-acre homesites under the project name Catawba Falls.

Carolina-Carribean Corporation have announced plans to develop 400 acres on Rich Mountain in Watauga County.

Once these companies begin invading the mountains with their vast sums of money, land prices, already inflated, begin to skyrocket. Speculation becomes the name of the game. Lots are sold for their investment value, rather than for actual use for building a second home. Buyers are lured in by the spiralling land prices, speculating that they can get in early and sell later when the prices peak. A Beech Mountain salesman doesn't mind admitting that 70 per cent of their business is with people who buy land for its investment value. At Seven Devils, a few miles away, sales to speculators account for 90 per cent of the development's business. And if the land seems to lack potentials, a smooth real estate agent — like one we met in Jackson County — may try using a sinister smile and this twisted line: "The land isn't ripe for development now, but that just makes it a better investment for the future."

As the cycle of speculation continues, prices are bid up, out of sight of any local people, even local realtors. Outside corporations hustle the outside investor who hopes to sell the land to another outsider at an even higher price. In older second home centers like Gatlinburg, Tennessee and Highlands, North Carolina, 75 per cent of the land is now owned by people living outside the immediate county, with the highest number from Florida. Transylvania County, N.C., with already one-third of its land controlled by the Federal Government, has another



Collage by Stephanie Coffin

eleven per cent owned by resort developers and speculators, leaving barely more than half the land in the hands of local people.

The temptations to sell are immense, and many mountaineers, especially younger ones, are selling their family land for a fat profit. Those who want to stay find it increasingly difficult because the developers have forced land values, and consequently property taxes, through the roof. Bob Leak's father-in-law is typical. A retired state highway engineer on a pension, he now faces an annual property tax bill of $8,000 for the 200 acres he owns near the rapidly commercialized area of Boone, N.C. "He wanted to hold onto it for his grandchildren," says Bob, "but now he is having to sell off lots for residential and commercial development. He's real sad about it." So far he's sold 125 acres; where he once grew his family's food, there now stands a Southern Bell Telephone office building and two gas stations.

IV.

Broadening the tax base was another of those rationales the officials gave for welcoming the developers. But the example of the Boone farmer illustrates what is really happening. Instead of increased taxes from developers, speculators, or commercial businesses lightening the load for the local citizen, in fact, the reverse is the case. The newcomers' demand for governmental services of all types, from hospitals and schools, to roads and sewers, has far outdistanced their contribution to the public treasury. The long-time resident is forced to subsidize the very developers who would run him off his land, as a report from the North Carolina Office of Planning makes plain:

> Admittedly, increase in land values/prices can also increase the revenue generated by local governments by increasing tax bases. However, it is not certain whether this increase would offset nonland increases in capital and operating costs. If the tax base does not increase rapidly enough then the local governments are forced to either increase tax mileage or forego some public services. Whether the milage is increased or the tax base is increased, the effect on the taxpayer is likely to be the same — higher taxes. In this case, current residents of counties, and, to a lesser extent, municipalities, are partially subsidizing the costs of the resort development because all taxes will increase to one degree or another for all taxpayers.

Road maintenance alone places a significant burden on the local resident as traffic to and from resorts increases; but the injustice of financing such maintenance continues to go uncorrected. In the typical mountain state, the government allocates money for road maintenance according to the number of citizens and miles of road in the county. But second-home owners don't count as citizens, and the roads inside the private developments aren't included in the mileage totals, even though counties invariably take responsibility for at least part of their upkeep. So county funds are spread thinner to meet the repair demands, or the roads are left at a lower level of quality. In some cases, resort dwellers even get better treatment than the mountaineers. "New residents holler the loudest," says the road superintendent in Sevier county, Tennessee. "We have to go in there and provide at least a minimum of service, even if it's a little gravel" — which, of course, would be a luxury to many local citizens who have hollered for years.

In a number of areas, hospitals built and operated from tax dollars are now insufficient to care for the influx of seasonal tourists, or the resorts' permanent, generally older, residents. Banner Elk hospital, with a capacity of 150 beds, can't cope with the combined needs of nearby Beech Mountain, Sugar Mountain, and Grandfather Golf and Country Club. Gatlinburg already sends patients to Knoxville during its peak tourist months. And a town near the Crossville, Tennessee, resort of Fairfield Glade plans to build a second tax-supported hospital since the one it just completed didn't anticipate the increased demand from the resort.

Perhaps least easy to correct are the problems these new developments cause for the public's water and sewage systems. High-density, "planned" communities can literally overload a town's sanitation system and water supply. A recent study from the University of Tennessee, for example, points out that Cumberland plateau, a headwater region, may not be able to provide water to the present population, let alone to million-dollar resorts like Fairfield Glade. Private septic tanks won't solve the problem of sewage in many areas, according to other studies, because poor drainage will lead to pollution of streams that others depend on for their water. In some cases, particularly with small developers operating a quick-profit scheme, sewage is dumped directly into streams. The disruption of long-established water holes and streams is far from the developers mind as they peddle their properties, although most of them capitalize on the environmental interest of their potential buyers. Thus Realtec, Inc., offers this guarantee: "In any residential-resort community development created by Realtec, we pledge that nature shall not surrender to man, but that man shall enhance, preserve and protect nature, our inheritance, with all resources at our command." Platitudes aside, Transylvania County had to enact a soil control ordinance last year to prevent further destruction of streams and mountainsides by Realtec's Connestee Falls development. The situation and erosion caused by construction of the golf course and five lakes on the property had extensively damaged county streams and the property downstream. The theme is repeated throughout the mountains. "Most of the pollution in our area is caused by developers, by the sedimentation from their projects," concurs a county soil conservationist in Macon County, N.C. And in Rabun County, Georgia, the giant Screamer Mountain development has caused individuals' wells to dry up because the resort diverted the water flow from the mountain. Even higher taxes from the developers will not restore the water table or woodlands which local people depended upon for survival. Artificial support systems will become a necessity for the oldtimer as well as the second-home owner, and the tax burden of supplying them will drag both groups down together.

Few regulations exist to protect the area's residents from the destruction of their water sources, their mountains, their roads, or their livelihoods. But by the same token, few laws protect

the new owner of one of the quarter-acre plots that are hawked away with glowing promises of recreational delights and scenic charm. It is not unusual for a project developer to go bankrupt or skip town. As Jerome Dobson of the University of Tennessee explains, these ventures are designed to start getting a high rate of return after the initial stage of development is over and the monthly payments start coming in. The quality of the homes, sewage system or water supply may not become apparent until the developer is long gone — with the newcomer joining the older resident as a victim of another corporate rip-off.

The pattern of corporations selling shoddy homes, with a built-in obsolescence bomb, is not new in the mountains. Coal corporations long ago pioneered in selling the company houses to the miners minutes before the corporate executives split town. As a matter of fact, the last company town of appreciable size in Appalachia, Wheelwright, Ky., owned by the Island Creek Coal Co., was sold in 1966. So what is occurring now with second home developments has happened before. The only difference is that this time there will not be any shacks for the mountain folks. "Florida Yankees" will be living in them. Minus the coal, the company town has now come to all of Appalachia.

Photos by Jeff Jacobson

the invisible community

Drawing by John Allcot

by Jiri Bezdek

Winding down Russell Chapel Road in Chatham County, North Carolina, flanked by fields of grain and goldenrod, you come to a place where a cluster of mailboxes leans out from the hedge like the heads of ponies over a fence. A right turn will place you on what is called "the common road," which plunges down, then goes up again, through the center of an invisible community. Invisible because, if you didn't know it was there, you might miss it entirely; community, because you have just entered a 340-acre land development in which nearly thirty families either are or will be living.

The community, named more like a ship than a subdivision, is Saralyn, Wally Kaufman's answer to ticky-tacky housing and environmental protection. Landowners here not only can escape from the split-level syndrome, but can enjoy the security of knowing that the property around them will remain as nearly natural as possible, and that the neighbor's house, be it palace or chimera, will be screened from view by at least 75 feet of wooded hillside.

Saralyn, Inc. is a legitimate Homeowner's Association with by-laws, elected officers, and regular, though informal meetings. But what gives Saralyn its temper is the landowner's agreement, called a covenant, which places several restrictions on the use and development of the property.

Aside from the usual health standards, such as sewage disposal and fire safety rules, the covenant requires that no house be built within 75 feet of the roadway, that no more than 50 per cent of the trees be cut, and none within 50 feet of the boundary line, that only one domicile be built on each tract, limiting population density, and so on.

Saralynners are so serious about preserving their setting that when the topic of the pine beetle came up at their last Homeowner's meeting in July, they decided against cutting even infected trees within 50 feet of boundaries, the rationale being that the blight is a natural thing which will run its course with or without their interference.

At the meeting they also discussed the proposed paving of Russell Chapel Road, which they alone oppose, and which would threaten their peace and privacy with increased local traffic. The homeowners agreed that they might sanction the proposition if Charley Baldwin, the largest land owner in the area, agrees not to sell his land in parcels of less than five acres, a feat of diplomacy that might save the Russell Chapel area from greedy over-development, and extend the influence of the Saralyn concept beyond the fortress walls.

As for the community itself, Saralyn can only be described as a great menage. Landowners represent an occupational range from tradesman to professional with two electricians, stone mason Steve Majors, teacher and poet Christopher Brookhouse, former *News and Observer* artist Sandy Hufaker, an architect, and even a Lutheran minister.

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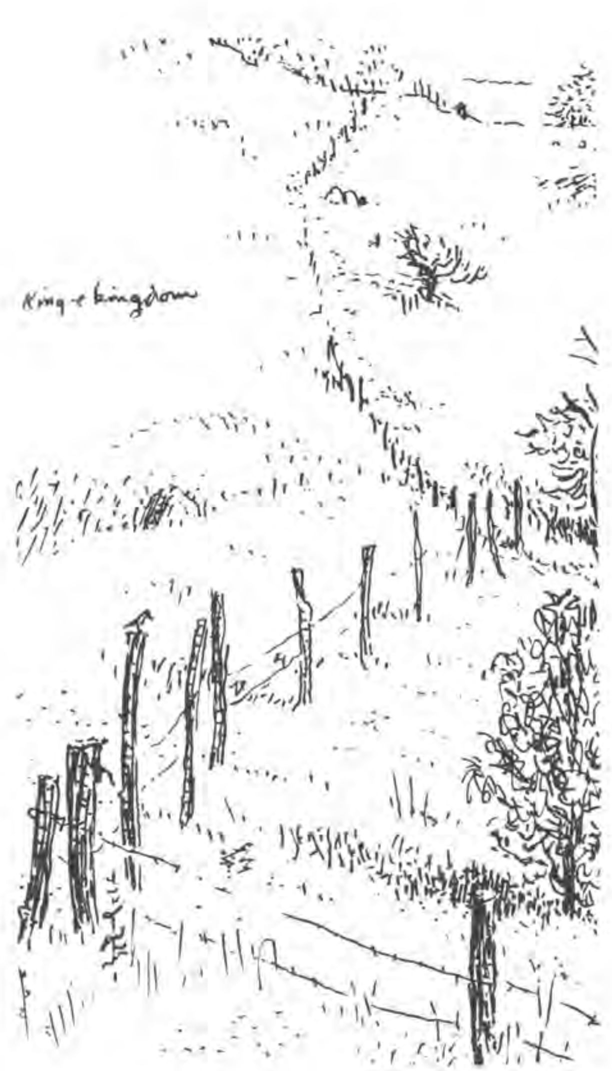

Drawing by John Allcott

Their homes reflect the tastes and resources of each from the pup tent that Doug Lowry occupied on his mother's land last Spring, to Mr. Brookhouse's professionally built home, the only one so far to be designed by an outside architect, plus a geodesic dome, two A-frames, and even a house trailer on one tract. But most of the houses have grown by bits and pieces, through ingenuity and a lot of labor.

Lee and Jackie Scarborough, an energetic young couple from New England, bought their house at a government auction in the nearby New Hope Dam area. The house cost $600, plus $900 to have it moved to Saralyn, and additional expenses for a foundation, drilling a well, and septic tank and pump. As is usual in Saralyn, Jackie and Lee did the work themselves, saving on materials by a process which Jackie calls "dumping" — salvaging, trading, bidding, or rescuing used materials, like the three lancet windows Lee brought home from an old church to add to his parlor.

Dousing and drilling the well cost them $800; septic facilities $300 with a grand total of around $5,000 for a comfortable two-bedroom home on five acres of wooded land. Similar is the house that Peter and Suzanna Holtzman built in two years for about $4,000. Starting with a small log blockhouse in a hilltop clearing, they added and grew until they had an impressive home that looks like something out of *House and Garden* magazine.

Five thousand dollars is little enough to pay for a modern home in today's market. But there are other alternatives. I am told that Dick Fisher, one of the first arrivals at Saralyn, built his log cabin for around $100. Steve Majors, the expert mason, on the back of whose Chevy truck reads the sticker "Make America strong, build with masonry," is another example. Steve bought and reassembled an old tobacco barn on his section, a picturesque little cabin heated by a wood stove but without plumbing. If you go to visit, you're half-likely to find a note tacked to his door, "Be right back . . . showering."

Saralyn was started by Wally Kaufman, a former English teacher at UNC who now runs Heartwood Realty in Chapel Hill. Wally and friends bought the land, divvied it up, and now involve themselves in all aspects of the community. Aside from being friends, Saralynners cooperate on building projects, have recently started weekly women's meetings, with corresponding meetings for men, and operate, especially during the summer, what Suzanna Holtzman described as a kind of "sub-economy." With gardens everywhere, a herd of milk goats, and chicken coops, a barter system developed which kept everyone well-stocked with food.

But the major benefit of living at Saralyn seems to be its community atmosphere, without the problems of specifically communal living. Lee and Jackie Scarborough, veterans of a commune in Maine, prefer this new arrangement. For Saralyn is a hybrid of old-style community intimacy, with much of the privacy of wilderness homesteading. "As long as it doesn't become too in-groupish," says Irene Grumette, a new landowner, reminding me that all the Saralynners share the same party telephone line. But Saralynners do not seem to be too ingrown to have outside friends and interests as well, and that may be the important difference.

Whatever, the Saralyn concept has done much to provide a strong community atmosphere, environmental security for landowners, and a great deal of freedom for the creative homebuilder. It has worked so well, in fact, that Mr. Kaufman and his Heartwood Realty have begun a similar project, Ecological Land Group (ELG), twenty-five miles away in Efland. Learning from the Saralyn experience, a new provision may be added to the covenant at ELG to keep land prices at a certain low rate, should the landowner decide to sell. But why anyone would, I can't imagine.

the government's private forests

by Si Kahn

Much has been written about the effects of corporate and absentee ownership on the Appalachian land and people. The massive holdings of coal, oil, timber, land and power companies has been well documented — not to mention the ways in which these lands have historically escaped fair taxes. The acquisition of lands by private and semi-public (TVA) power companies has also been well researched.

In fact, however, the largest single landowner in Appalachia is neither a coal/oil corporation, a land or timber company, nor an electric utility, but the United States government, through the U.S. Forest Service. Most of the National Forests lying east of the Mississippi River are concentrated in Appalachia. These include:

State	Natl. Forest	Acreage	Square Miles
Georgia	Chattachochee	738,076	1,153
Kentucky	Daniel Boone	615,796	962
N. Carolina	Nantahala	451,989	706
N. Carolina	Pisgah	481,954	753
Tennessee	Cherokee*	614,107	960
Virginia	G.Washington**	1,033,874	1,615
Virginia	Jefferson***	621,473	971
W. Virginia	Monongahela	831,329	1,299
Totals		*5,388,598*	*8,419*

This is an area larger than the states of Connecticut, Delaware and Rhode Island combined!

On the local level, the amount of National Forest land in many counties in the Southern Mountains is staggering. Within the Appalachian areas of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and Georgia, **there are 37 counties in which the Forest Service owns over 20% of the land.**

*Includes 327 acres in North Carolina.

**Includes 100,386 acres in West Virginia

***Includes 961 acres in Kentucky and 18,245 in West Virginia.

In 14 of these counties, more than 40% of the land is in National Forests.

From the point of view of the U.S. Forest Service, its concentration of land ownership in the Southern Appalachians is highly desirable; and is, in fact, something they have been working toward for a long time. Their basic strategy in the southern mountains is set out in their official publication, *Guide for Managing the National Forests in the Appalachians*. It states in part:

> The concept of the Appalachian Greenbelt is possible because of the unique physiographic characteristics of the area. It is a mountainous green oasis in the Eastern United States from which flows a continuous supply of renewable resources and which provides the large surrounding population with a place to recreate (sic) in a natural setting . . . Summer mountain temperatures are generally 10° lower than the adjacent plains. This factor makes the mountains a highly desirable retreat for city dwellers and other nearby residents.[1]

As this statement makes clear, the National Forests are seen by the Forest Service as a resource to be used primarily by the "large surrounding population" of "city dwellers and nearby residents." This includes, of course, the urban population of the Eastern Seaboard. No one can deny that residents of the Eastern cities probably need to "recreate in a natural setting" from time to time. But it is also necessary to remember that **there are some 10 million people living in the so-called "Appalachian Greenbelt"**! What about us?

Well, we're pretty much out of luck, according to the *Guide*:

> Population losses withinthe Greenbelt can be attributed to the fact that this area can only sustain a

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Photo from Appalachian Learning Laboratory Archives at Alice Lloyd College, Pippapasses, Kentucky, 1911.

> limited number of people year-round. Many of the narrow mountain valleys are unsuitable for industrial complexes. Plans for economic development must recognize the limitations of the area so that over-emphasis on the wrong type of activities does not occur.[2]

The Forest Service is obviously not looking after anyone's interest except its own here. To write off industrial development for Appalachia because of its "narrow mountain valleys" is like saying that Pittsburgh can't support industry because of its many residential neighborhoods. In fact, Appalachia is for many reasons — raw material, electric power, access to population centers, transportation, labor force — well-suited for industrial growth. By ignoring the facts, the Forest Service is actively undermining the efforts of the ten million people who live in the mountains for economic, political and social self-development.

But the Forest Service is not reacting to the needs of Appalachian people in its planning for Appalachia. As the *Guide* makes clear, it is motivated by a very different perspective:

> Pressures on the forest resources and environment within this mountain region come from many users. As long as population growth continues, pressure for products and services from the National Forest lands will grow. Unless definite limits are set for the protection of the environment and use of the resources within the Greenbelt, population pressure will bring about their impairment and eventual destruction . . . This influence area for the Greenbelt area stretches far outside National Forest boundaries. Total planning must consider the overall emphasis area.[3]

The problem with this is that the population pressure the Forest Service is talking about comes from *outside* the mountains. After all, population is not growing in Appalachia; the mountains have been losing folks steadily for years. This attitude makes as much sense (especially since the Forest Service is actively encouraging people to use the National Forests) as saying that an Indian reservation is threatened by overcrowding because large numbers of tourists want to visit and camp there.

The emphasis of the Forest Service on the needs of people *outside* the Southern Mountains has, on occasion, been the root of conflict with local Appalachians. One incident is worth noting as an example of the extremes these conflicts sometimes reach. As reported by the *Atlanta Constitution*:

> Vernon McCall was "the weakest one in the community" of Balsam Grove, a village in the heart of Pisgah National Forest. Vernon, according to Mrs. Leonard Griffin, "is a sick boy. He has epilepsy and he's disabled."
>
> On February 22, men of the U.S. Forest Service broke into Vernon's trailer house, dragged out a bed and a few other belongings, and then dug a hole with a bulldozer, rammed his home, his lean-tip, his pig pen and his little barn into it and buried the whole thing. Having erased every trace of his home, they planted pine seedlings over it . . . .
>
> The Forest Service claimed the government owned the land, not Vernon, and they had been trying to get him off it since 1968. But the community lawyer said no legal action had been taken to evict Vernon, and local authorities proceeded to charge Forest Ranger Dan W. Hile with willfull injury to personal property . . . .
>
> Meantime Vernon, who is 40, has rented a new trailer, and scratches out a living on welfare and what he can make picking and selling ivy. And the seedlings the Forest Service planted over his old trailer have died.[4]

What makes all of this so intolerable is that **the people of Appalachia are the ones who actually pay for these National Forests.** Anyone who knows the area is familiar with the irony of high taxes on the one hand, and low public services on the other — a situation common to many southern mountain counties. It has often been noted that in the coal counties this is partly the result of the under-taxation of coal lands. What has not been recognized is that, in counties with National Forest lands, the tax-exempt status of these lands has undermined the tax base and increased the tax burden on local property owners.

FEDERAL LANDS AND COUNTY FINANCES

As Federal property, the nearly 5,400,000 acres of National Forests in Southern Appalachia are exempt from state, county and city/town taxes. While it is difficult to estimate the exact extent of the tax loss, it is probable that, based on average values for land and effective tax rates in the counties involved, the Appalachian National Forests cost local governments nearly $10 million a year in lost tax revenues — revenues that would go to support schools, roads, health programs, welfare, and other public services.

This has not often been recognized — partly because the Forest Service in its intensive public relations campaign emphasizes the financial *gain* to counties from National Forest lands. This type of publicity never mentions the fact that these lands are tax exempt; or that they had previously been on county tax digests; or what revenue was *lost* to counties when the lands passed from private to Federal ownership. But the fact is that, in 1972, the *total* Forest Service payments to Appalachian counties were only $734,641.08 — less than 14 cents an acre, and well under 10% of what the property taxes alone would have been if the land were still in private hands.

The small sums that are paid by the Forest Service to local counties come from its so-called "25% Fund," authorized by the 1911 Weeks Act. This Act, in effect, authorized the National Forest system by providing for the Federal government to purchase lands necessary to protect the flow of navigable streams, including their watersheds. The 13th Section of the Weeks Act provides that 25% of the money received from The National Forest shall be paid on an average basis to the states for "the benefit of the public schools and public roads of the counties in which such national forest is situated."[5]

The income from National Forests comes mostly from the sale of timber "on the stump," although a certain amount also comes from other fees and from special permits, such as those for mining and recreational areas. Unlike the National Forests of the Western United States, which produce valuable old-growth saw-timber, the Appalachian National Forests have in the past produced trees suitable only for pulpwood. As any mountain landowner will tell you, selling pulpwood on the stump is no way to bring in money. If cut selectively, mountain land will make five to ten cords of pulpwood per acre; if clearcut, ten to twenty cords. The going price for Forest Service pulpwood on the stump in Appalachia is about $2.00 a cord. Selectively cut land can be logged again in about ten years; clearcut land in about thirty. Thus, on an average yearly basis, the income from an acre of National Forest land in the Southern mountains is approximately between $.66 and $2.00.

Aside from the low revenue this gives to counties, the problem with this system is that it makes "25% Fund" payments — on which counties must depend to help finance roads and schools — completely dependent on an arbitrary factor: how much wood the Forest Service decides to cut that year. This produces a not-so-subtle pressure on local government to approve of the high rates of timber-cutting the Forest Service would like to set, and of locally-hated practices such as clearcutting. For example, during the recent struggle over proposed Forest Service clearcutting in the Cohutta Mountains in Fannin County, Georgia — one of the proposed areas in the Eastern Omnibus Wilderness Bill — petitions were circulated which read:

> We cannot afford the loss of revenues that are presently being returned to our county governments by the Forest Service from timber sales. We do not wish to retire our forests from production when we know that the local people will have to pick up the additional tax load; neither do we want the added tax to discourage local population growth, because this is already a problem for our rural areas.[6]

In fact, since timber-cutting revenues in any National Forest are lumped together each year before distributing to counties, Fannin County would have received 14.4% (its proportionate share of Chattachoochee National Forest acreage) of 25% (the Weeks Act formula) of whatever income clear-cutting the Cohuttas produced — 3.6 cents for every dollar of timber cut!

Because the "25% Fund" payments are based on revenue from timber cutting, payments per acre vary widely from state to state, and even among National Forests within the same state. In Georgia, the Chattahoochee National Forest, which is located within the Appalachian area of the state, made payments to counties of 26.7 cents per acre in 1972. Counties in Georgia's Ocoee National Forest, however, which lies in the state's pulpwood belt, were paid $1.39 per acre — more than five times what the Appalachian counties received.

From state to state, payments vary even more widely. In 1972, average payments were 41 cents in Georgia (this *includes* the high payment received for the Ocoee National Forest); 21 cents in North Carolina; 17 cents in Kentucky; 15 cents in Tennessee; 5 cents in Virginia; and 11 cents in West Virginia. By comparison, the average payment per acre was $1.03 in California; $2.16 in Louisiana; $1.40 in Mississippi; $2.12 in Oregon; $1.01 in South Carolina; $1.23 in Texas; and 95 cents in Washington. The average payment per acre for all National Forests in all states was 58 cents. The average payment per acre for all Appalachian National Forests was 13.5 cents — less than one fourth the national average!

Two other ways of looking at this situation help make clear just how discriminatory it is:

1) If counties in Appalachia had received "25% Fund" payments at the national average rate of 58 cents/acre, they would have received $3,125,868 instead of $734,641.

2) If *all* the revenue produced by the National Forests was divided among counties on the basis of their proportionate share of National Forest acreage, the Appalachian counties would have received $12,503,472 in 1972 — seventeen times what they actually got.

Another way of trying to evaluate the fairness or unfairness — as well as the constitutionality — of the way in which National Forest revenue is distributed is to look at it in terms of payment per person to affected counties. After all, "25% Fund" payments were earmarked by the Weeks Act for support of roads and schools, the two items which usually make up the bulk of a rural county's budget. Since the National Forest funds *are* Federal payments, it stands to reason that they should be distributed on an equitable basis.

In the 37 Appalachian counties which have 20% or more of their area in National Forests, payments per person in 1972 ranged from a low of 9 cents per person (Smyth County, Virginia) to a high of $5.01

Appalachian Counties with Land Area 20% or more in National Forests

County, State	Nat'l Forest	% in Nat'l Forest	Payment	Payment per Person	Payment per Acre
Fannin, Ga.	Chat.	42.3%	$28,457	$2.18	$0.267
Habersham, Ga.	Chat.	22.5	10,590	.52	0.267
Lumpkin, Ga.	Chat.	30.8	15,387	1.85	0.267
Murray, Ga.	Chat.	22.8	13,323	1.05	0.267
Rabun, Ga.	Chat.	61.0	38,328	5.01	0.267
Towns, Ga.	Chat.	53.2	15,098	3.48	0.267
Union, Ga.	Chat.	48.3	25,518	3.79	0.267
White, Ga.	Chat.	27.4	11,368	1.55	0.267
Jackson, Ky.	Boone	26.0	9,514	.97	0.17
McCreary, Ky.	Boone	57.7	26,216	2.15	0.17
Menifee, Ky.	Boone	29.6	6,769	1.72	0.17
Rowan, Ky.	Boone	33.1	10,450	.64	0.17
Cherokee, N.C.	Nant.	28.2	18,286	1.13	0.223
Clay, N.C.	Nant.	44.0	13,361	2.66	0.223
Graham, N.C.	Nant.	60.0	24,743	4.39	0.223
Macon, N.C.	Nant.	45.1	33,277	2.24	0.223
Transylvania,NC	Nant./P	36.3	12,039	.65	0.223
McDowell, N.C.	Pisgh.	27.3	8,814	.32	0.131
Carter, Tn.	Cher.	36.9	12,305	.29	0.15
Monroe, Tn.	Cher.	33.8	21,379	.93	0.15
Polk, Tn.	Cher.	54.2	22,612	1.97	0.15
Johnson, Tn.	Cher.	26.4	7,408	.67	0.15
Unicoi, Tn.	Cher.	44.0	7,801	.52	0.15
Alleghany, Va.	Geo.W.	48.4	7,907	.64	0.051
Augusta, Va.	Geo.W.	30.5	9,891	.23	0.051
Bath, Va.	Geo.W.	49.8	8,844	1.74	0.051
Highland, Va.	Geo.W.	20.2	2,762	1.15	0.051
Rockingham,Va.	Geo.W.	24.9	7,105	.15	0.051
Shenandoah,Va.	Geo.W.	23.8	3,965	.18	0.051
Craig, Va.	Jeff.	53.5	4,615	1.35	0.04
Giles, Va.	Jeff.	25.8	2,402	.14	0.04
Smyth, Va.	Jeff.	24.3	2,773	.09	0.04
Botetourt,Va.	Jef./GW	21.8	3,221	.18	0.042
Pendleton, W.V.	GW/Mo	26.7	10,789	1.57	0.091
Pocahontas,W.V.	Monon.	47.3	33,931	3.93	0.119
Randolph,W.V.	Monon.	26.4	20,780	.86	0.119
Tucker, W.V.	Monon.	34.8	11,153	1.52	0.119

Chat. – Chattahochee
Boone – Daniel Boone
Nant. – Nantahala
Pisgh. – Pisgah
Cher. – Cherokee
Geo.W. – George Washington
Jeff. – Jefferson
Monon. – Monongahela

per person (Rabun County, Georgia). The average figure was 93 cents per person. By contrast, payments in Western counties with similar populations typically exceed $40 per person, and in several cases exceed $150 per person.

A further problem caused by the fact that National Forest payments depend on timber-cutting revenue is that counties are not able to predict the amount of revenue they will receive in any year. For example, in 1969, during the period of greatest clear-cutting in the Monongahela National Forest, counties received 25.9 cents per acre. By 1972, the payment per acre had dropped to 11.9 cents. In Pocahontas County, West Virginia, this meant that income from National Forests in the county dropped from $73,050 in 1969 to $33,931 in 1972 — a loss of $39,119. For a county with some 8,640 people, this is a tremendous revenue loss. As rates per acre dropped between 1969 and 1972, other counties experienced similar losses. Rabun County, Georgia, lost $7,790; Fannin County, Georgia lost $5,199; Polk County, Tennessee lost $6,231; Randolph County, West Virginia lost $24,198; Tucker County, West Virginia lost $13,106. Throughout the Appalachian Region, despite the fact that National Forest acreage *increased* 3% in the three years from 1969 to 1972, the amount received from the Forest Service *decreased* $159,070. Of all regions in the country, Appalachia is one of those which can least afford this type of revenue loss.

The loss of this amount of revenue may not seem significant to some people who are used to urban budgets. But it is important to realize that — partly because of the lack of growth due to lack of land — the Appalachian counties in which the National Forests are concentrated are among the smallest and poorest counties in the nation. According to 1970 Census data, the average population of the fourteen Appalachian counties with over 40% National Forest land is less than 9,000. Their average rate of poverty in 1970 was 29.2% — more than *twice* the average for the United States as a whole. Not one of these counties had a poverty rate less than the national average. In the thirty years prior to 1970, these counties combined lost 13.2% of their population — only one of the fourteen gained population in this period.

These counties are affected not only by revenue loss, lack of public services, high poverty incidence and outmigration rates, but — to add insult to injury — by local property taxes that are significantly higher than those in counties without National Forest lands. Looking again at the fourteen counties with over 40% of their land held by the Forest Service, the effective tax rate* for these counties is on the average 15% higher than the average effective tax rate for the state.** This situation is especially apparent in Tennessee and Georgia. Polk County, Tennessee, for example, with 54% of its land held by the Forest Service, has an effective tax rate of $1.38 per $100 compared to a state average rate of $.90. Out of 75 Tennessee counties with single tax rates, Polk County has the 5th highest rate. In Georgia, Fannin County, with 42% National Forest land, has the highest tax rate of all counties in the state — higher than the non-municipal rates for Fulton (Atlanta), Muscogee (Columbus), Bibb (Macon), Richmond (Augusta) or Chatham (Savannah) counties.

*"effective tax rate" figures combine millage rates with assessment rates to reach a figure which can be compared with others on a tax rate per $100 of true property value basis.

**In fact, the actual tax rates for these counties exceed comparable rates for rural counties by more than 15%, since the state figures include urban and metropolitan counties.

This situation has not gone unnoticed politically. The Commissioner of Roads and Revenues of Fannin County has made a summary statement of local attitudes toward the problem.

> Fannin County does realize a good many benefits in ways that encourage people to live here, but must also tolerate some serious circumstances . . . The U.S. Forest Service now owns some 106,000 acres of land within Fannin County and this deprives the county of approximately $150,000 per year in tax revenue. A large portion of this land has progressively been acquired from private land owners who had formerly been paying taxes. This process has resulted in a steady undermining of our tax base.
>
> This example, combined with the tax rate we pay in Fannin County, creates a constant hardship on a lot of our people who still own a fair amount of taxable property. Every time a piece of property falls into the hands of the Forest Service, the tax revenue formerly received from it is gone for good, and the remaining property owners must share this loss in revenue . . . They purchase private land as it becomes available with our Federal tax money, and use it, in fact, to undermine the local tax sources where our local revenue must come from to support our local government . . .
>
> We can no longer ignore the seriousness of these problems. There must be some compatible adjustment when land is acquired and results in a revenue loss.[7]

Responding editorially to the above remarks, one of the local newspapers, *The Blue Ridge Summit-Post*, wrote:

> The increase in taxes will no doubt place a great deal of strain on the working man's pocketbook . . . Our tax rate in the past has been in no way below average standards, yet we, as a county, have profited little from the revenue obtained from it. We see as one of the reasons for our county's tax problem that great land speculator and wild real estate dealer, The Forest Service.
>
> We feel that the state and Federal governments should find a means of returning some of the revenue on this untaxed land to the county, where it belongs. Federal preservation of forest land is a good thing; we believe in some land control; but taxes are taxes, and Fannin County is having to strain the wrong pay check. Our residents work hard for their living, and carrying the load for the Forest Service is not helping the situation. We suggest some type of revenue return to the county on the part of its greatest landholder, The Forest Service.[8]

Photo from Appalachian Learning Laboratory Archives at Alice Lloyd College, Pippapasses, Kentucky.

All photos from Appalachian Learning Laboratory Archives at Alice Lloyd College, Pippapasses, Kentucky.

"Whip-sawing" near head of Browney's Creek, Harlan County, Kentucky, 1886.

Oxen sanking logs,
November 3, 1911.

Sawmill of E. Winn Esq. on Clover Fork, Harlan County, Kentucky.

Splash Dam on Ball Creek,
Knott County, Kentucky,
1915.

THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL FORESTS

The U.S. Forest Service itself has at different times taken different positions on the effect its policies have on local counties. Its usual position is that the "25% Fund" payments are a tremendous benefit to local governments. Their public relations campaign to convince local, state and national political figures has been so effective that a preliminary draft of *The Last Stand: The Nader Study Group Report on the Forest Service* stated:

> Local residents also receive generous public service benefits from National Forest timber cutting. To compensate counties containing National Forest land for their small amount of taxable property, the federal government pays them 25 percent of the receipts from National Forest timber sales within their bounds to support construction of public schools and roads.[9]

To term the token payments which the Forest Service makes to local counties "generous public service benefits" is, to say the least, not particularly accurate. The statement has been deleted from the final report, but the example does show the tremendous extent to which Forest Service public relations has been effective.

At other times, the Forest Service has downplayed the "25% Fund" and emphasized other benefits from National Forests. One Forest Service spokesperson has stated:

> Without any doubt, the many other contributions to the economic development of the Appalachian Region made by the National Forests far outweigh the 25% return to the counties. It is not practical to place a monetary value on many of these contributions. I refer to such things as:
>
> - Recreation use plus hunting and fishing . . . In a National Survey of Fishing and Hunting by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in 1965, they placed an economic value on a fishing man-day of $5.60 and a hunting man-day of $6.03. It would be higher today. So, you can see that this item alone would exceed the value of the 25% fund which is used only on schools and roads in the counties having National Forest lands.
> - Watershed protection benefitting local areas as well as down stream flood protection.
> - Employment of people maintaining and administering National Forests plus those employed to harvest timber which we have grown, etc.
> - Construction and maintenance of roads and bridges which would otherwise have to be maintained by the counties or state.[10]

The inaccuracies in this statement are highly misleading. The "economic value" of fishing and hunting involves money spent at local stores — useful, but not to be confused with county income from taxes — which is spent on education, health, and welfare. Clearcutting on National Forest lands has destroyed many watersheds and has increased the hazards of flooding. Forest Service employees are paid out of money appropriated from the Federal budget — which comes from taxes paid by local residents. No one is "employed" by the Forest Service to harvest timber — the wood is sold on the stump to woodcutters and timber companies. Most of the timber on National Forest lands was not "grown" by the Forest Service — it was there when the land was acquired from private landowners. Few of the clearcut areas in the Appalachians have ever been reforested — nationally, the Forest Service is 733,000 acres behind on reforesting clearcut lands.[11] As for road maintenance, this year alone the Forest Service closed 60 miles of roads in the Chattahoochee National Forest out of a total of 1,392. And the damage done to county and state roads by overloaded trucks carrying timber from the National Forests is a direct cost to local governments — and a hazard and inconvenience to local residents.

The fact is that other benefits not only do not "outweigh the 25% return to the counties"; they do not begin to compensate for the loss of tax revenue. In fact, the *Public Land Law Review Commission* in its 1970 report to the President and Congress concluded:

> While benefits are national, the geographical distribution of the Federal lands makes their burdens regional and local, and, in general, Federal ownership of public lands provides no distinguishable benefits to state and local governments in lieu of the benefits they would receive if the lands were privately owned.[12]

The Forest Service has also argued on occasion that one third of the United States is owned by the Federal government and that it would be impossible to make payments for all these lands. But there is a difference between many of the western National Forests — which have always been public lands — and the National Forests in Appalachia, which have been bought up since the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911. Before 1911, *none* of the land now in the Appalachian National Forests was owned by the Federal government; all of it was owned privately, and was subject to local property taxes. The acquisition over the past 62 years of so much Appalachian land by the Forest Service has meant an increasing destruction of local tax digests — especially in those 37 Appalachian counties where between 20% and 61% of the land has passed into Federal hands.

It is clear that the National Forests are *not* contributing nearly as much as the Forest Service claims to the economic growth of the counties where they are located. The evidence suggests that the opposite is true. The loss of tax revenue has produced a scarcity of public services, including education and health care. The control of so much land by the government has artificially driven prices up for mountain land — due to the demand for summer homes and recreational development, as well as land speculation — to where farming is no longer economically possible in many places. These conditions have helped encourage many young people to leave the area — and have prevented many who have left from coming back. Whatever benefits the Appalachian National Forests provide to the nation as a whole, for the residents of mountain counties they mean higher taxes and decreased public services. In effect, the people of Appalachia are being taxed to provide recreation and relaxation for people from other, wealthier areas. No one can deny that there is a national need for recreation; but that does not make it right that mountain people should have their taxes raised and their public services cut back so that well-to-do tourists can enjoy *their* counties at no cost.

There are several Federal precedents which strongly suggest that the Forest Service's way of doing business in Appalachia is neither desirable nor necessary. A startling comparison comes when we contrast payments made to counties by the Forest Service with those made by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). In 1972, for example, TVA paid $252,766 to Polk County, Tennessee, in lieu of taxes on the 3,418 acres it owns in the county — $66.05 an acre. The Forest Service paid the county $22,612 for 150,870 acres — 15 cents an acre. To put it a little differently, the Forest Service owns 44 times as much land in Polk County as TVA; but TVA paid the county 11 times as much!

TVA's responsibility to counties where it has operations, however, is very different from the Forest Service's. The Tennessee Valley Authority Act provides that TVA make payments to counties to *"fully replace tax losses which result from the transfer of such properties to public ownership."*[13]

It is obvious that it is way past time for the U.S. Government and the Forest Service to begin full compensation to Appalachian counties for tax losses caused by National Forest holdings — and perhaps to compensate these counties for their losses in past years as well. This has been recognized by two recent studies: *The Last Stand: The Nader Study Group Report on the U.S. Forest Service* and the Public Land Law Review Commission's *One Third of the Nation's Land*[14].

There are a number of other Forest Service practices which often conflict with local needs. One is the charging of fees to use recreational areas in the National Forests. These fees range from $1.00 to $3.00 a day, or $10.00 for a "Golden Eagle" passport which allows entry to certain areas for a year. These fees may seem reasonable to tourists, but they are out of reach for most poor families. As a result, local residents are often not able to afford recreational facilities built by the Forest Service in their own counties.

Southern Mountain residents are also concerned by the rate at which the Forest Service is still acquiring land. A recent example of this process occurred in 1971 in Bland County, Virginia, in the Jefferson National Forest. One Virginia resident and forestry student who has been in close touch with the situation wrote:

> Consolidation Coal Company owned 46,000 acres of land in the county, containing relatively small amounts of semi-anthracite coal. Consol sold the land (finding the coal too poor to be profitably mined), amounting to one fifth of the county, to the U.S. Forest Service which has incorporated it into the Jefferson National Forest. Combined with the county land already controlled by the Forest Service, it will put nearly a quarter of the county's real estate under government ownership.
>
> Large opposition to the land sale was expressed by Bland County residents. By the government owning one-quarter of the county, local revenues will be severely hurt. When Consolidation Coal owned the land last year, the company, a subsidiary of Continental Oil, paid just 14 cents an acre in taxes, amounting to a total of $6,800. The Forest Service pays no taxes, but will pay a small compensation of $3,600 — or just eight cents an acre. The $3,200 loss, opponents say, could destroy the Bland County budget, which has had severe fiscal problems for some time.
>
> Most of the biggest supporters of the land sale were non-residents and outside agencies, including various sportsmen's clubs. The Bland County Board of Supervisors voted against the land deal twice last year, but a new Board of Supervisors has now voted in favor of the sale, yielding to the heavy pressure by outside groups.
>
> So now the land is destined for tourist and recreational development by the Forest Service. Just how this will benefit the residents of Bland County, only time will tell.[15]

Appalachian working people are also critical of the ways in which timber sales are conducted. These sales are carried out by sealed bid. However, the Forest Service requires the posting of a cash "bid bond" with each bid. On a recent sale in which the minimum bid permitted was $2,297, the required bid bond was $300 — a hard amount for self-employed woodcutters to come by. "Performance bonds," sometimes in the total amount of the contract price, are also required. These rules have the effect of making it extremely difficult for the small independent woodcutter to bid successfully on Forest Service timber. The contracts thus go more often than not to the large timber corporations.

Of the Forest Service practices, none is more deeply resented than their use of condemnation proceedings to acquire homes and farms for National Forests. Because of past abuses of its condemnation powers, the Forest Service's power to condemn land for National Forests was removed by Congress in 1964. This power is retained, however, in the case of National Recreation Areas. The pending Eastern Omnibus Wilderness Act (S.316) would restore condemnation powers to the Forest Service in the proposed Eastern Wilderness Areas. One developing National Recreation Area is located in the Jefferson National Forest in Southwest Virginia. One organizer who has been working with local residents to save their homes and farms from condemnation has written:

> The Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area, as defined by Congress in 1966, covers 154,000 acres in five counties of southwest Virginia. These counties are: Washington, Smyth, Grayson, Carroll and Wythe. The National Recreation Area (the Forest Service's equivalent to a National Park) is to be developed to accomodate, by present plans, an estimated five million tourists a year by 1990. To do this, the Forest Service has begun acquiring lands for campgrounds, livery stables, lakes, ski slopes and other recreation facilities. Some of the land has been openly bought from residents who, according to the Forest Service, are "willing sellers." While the Forest Service claims that condemnation proceedings are necessary to acquire land efficiently, many residents resent this practice and point out abuses of it.
>
> The central issue, as many local residents see it, is not simply whether or not there should be a National Recreation Area, but rather the fact that the people are having no say in the plans and developments of their communities and homes.[16]

This lack of local input into Forest Service planning is a complaint heard frequently in Appalachian counties where the National Forests are found. Traditionally, the Forest Service has carried out its plans without consulting local government or citizens. Lately, in response to public pressure from many sources, it has taken to holding "listening posts" at which local residents are asked to present their opinions. These "listening posts," however, have generally been held *after* the Forest Service has already prepared written plans of action for the areas in question.

There is also evidence that the hearings are not taken into serious consideration. At a recent hearing in North Georgia, over 90% of the witnesses spoke *against* Forest Service proposals. These proposals would have included clear-cutting vast areas of the Cohutta Wildlife Refuge — despite the fact that this area has been proposed as a Wilderness Area in the Eastern Omnibus Wilderness Bill. Yet, when a transcript of the hearing was requested, the Forest Service replied that it did not plan to transcribe the tape they had made of the hearing. It is difficult to see how a hearing could be a legitimate part of public planning process when the only record of it is a tape recording in a Forest Service office. This type of practice led one county official to react, in a letter to the Forest Service:

> After attending your meeting at Etowah on the Hiwassee Unit, I came away with the feeling that the Forest Service has already drawn up a tentative plan. If this is the case, I think in the interest of saving time and effort, the Forest Service should present their plan and then have hearings before it is adopted . . . The U.S. Forest Service (has) never attempted to work with local government on future plans for U.S. Forest Service lands within their political subdivision.[17]

Conclusions

It is evident that Appalachian people are bearing an unfair share of the cost of maintaining a National Forest system — and are getting very few of the benefits. If the National Forests in the Southern Mountains are to benefit Appalachians as well as other Americans, some changes in Forest Service policy must be made. The following are recommendations which, based on the facts set out in this study, are necessary to achieve this goal.

1) The Forest Service should make payments in lieu of taxes to all counties in Appalachia (and elsewhere) where National Forest lands are located. These payments should be equal to the amount of ad valorem tax these lands would produce if privately owned.

2) Until such a system is adopted, *all* income from the National Forests should be redistributed to the counties in which these lands are located, in proportion to the share which each county has of the national total. Such a system would provide each county in Appalachia with National Forests revenues approximately sixteen times its current payment.

3) To avoid destruction of county economic bases, a limit should be set on the amount of land the Forest Service is permitted to own in any given county.

4) Admission to Forest Service recreational areas should be free to residents of counties where these areas are located.

5) The Forest Service should be required to hold public hearings before closing any National Forest roads, and to show cause before taking action. Procedures should be established through which local citizens, without undue difficulty or expense, can stop such proposed Forest Service actions where they are definitely not in the interest of the *local* community.

6) Any Forest Service plans for land acquisition, recreational development, road construction, logging, subcontracting, mining, land swaps, special

Photo from Appalachian Learning Laboratory Archives at Alice Lloyd College, Pippapasses, Kentucky.

'use permits and other uses of the National Forests should be subject to the prior approval of an elected county committee.

7) The Forest Service should be absolutely prohibited from using condemnation proceedings to acquire any owner-occupied farms or homes in National Forests, Wilderness Areas or National Recreation Areas. Where such lands have been acquired by condemnation, they should be returned without cost to the previous owners.

8) Timber tracts should be bid off in small enough lots so that small, independent woodcutters can compete. Bid bonds should be abolished, and a different system established to end discrimination against individual woodcutters. It should be required that half of all National Forest timber be sold to independent woodcutters, cooperatives or small wood companies which are located in the county where the timber is located. This will help reduce abuse of the current bid system by the giant timber corporations.

9) Where the process of removing National Forest timber damages county or state roads, the Forest Service should be required to pay for their maintenance and repair.

10) Clearcutting — a process which destroys timber, land and water resources — should be totally prohibited on National Forest lands.

11) County and town governments should have the right to acquire National Forest lands through eminent domain proceedings to build public facilities such as schools and hospitals.

The situation as it now exists in the southern mountains violates the letter, and certainly the spirit, of equal protection laws. It is grossly unfair that the financial burden of providing recreation for the eastern United States should fall so heavly on some of the poorest citizens in the country — yet this is exactly what is happening. It is ridiculous to spend millions for campsites in communities which lack funds for schools, hospitals, health care, transportation, water systems, sewage disposal, housing — yet this is what is happening.

The National Forest lands in Appalachia could become a real resource to mountain people, providing jobs, land for public facilities, and the revenue for badly needed service programs. Even more, these lands, which have been taken from Appalachian people, could some day be returned to them to live and work on: lands which their grandparents settled and cleared, and which their children are being forced to leave.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Guide for Managing the National Forests in the Appalachians*, pages 7, 33.
2. *Guide*, page 8.
3. *Guide*, pages 7, 8.
4. *Atlanta Constitution*, May 12, 1971.
5. *The Principal Laws Relating to the Establishment of the National Forests and to Other Forest Service Activities*, page 45.
6. Undated petition beginning "We, the undersigned are against S.316, H.R. 1758, Wilderness Study Act H.R. 2420 and such Eastern Wilderness bills . . .," author's possession.
7. *Blue Ridge Summit-Post*, Blue Ridge, Georgia, October 11, 1972.
8. *Blue Ridge Summit-Post*, October 11, 1972.
9. *The Last Stand: The Nader Study Group Report on the Forest Service*, page V-13.
10. Letter from W.W. Huber, Chief, Division of Information and Education, Southeast Region, U.S. Forest Service, dated January 18, 1971.
11. *The Last Stand*, page III-9.
12. *One Third of the Nation's Land: A Report to the President and to the Congress by the Public Land Law Review Commission*, page 238.
13. "TVA Power: Payments in Lieu of Taxes," TVA Information Office, Knoxville, Tennessee, November, 1972. For another example of federal compensation of "impacted areas," see: "Administration of Public Laws 81-874 and 81-815: Nineteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education," Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., June 30, 1969.
14. *The Last Stand*, page VI-37; and *One Third of the Nation's Land*, pages 4, 236, 238.
15. Letter from Dave Tice dated January 22, 1973.
16. Letter from Dave Tice dated February, 1973.
17. *The McCaysville Citizen*, McCaysville, Georgia, September 23, 1971.

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Institute for Southern Studies:

SPECIAL REPORT ON FOOD, FUEL, & FIBER

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

Prepared by Bill Finger, Cary Fowler, and Chip Hughes

Many of us grew up in America believing we lived in a nation overflowing with natural resources, a nation blessed with land from "sea to shining sea," rich with lush towering forests, and beneath them the treasures of the earth — oil, coal, and countless minerals. Besides creating popular myth, the wealth of the land made the U.S. an important source of raw materials for other nations, while serving our own growing needs. In the 1920's, with the myths still intact, the U.S. shifted to become a net importer of raw materials.

This change was to be both lasting and significant, though it's taken several decades for it to sink in. Many Americans were stunned by the demands of the Arabs — and now the Jamaicans with their bauxite — for a higher price for their precious resources. But we in the South should understand their position and even learn from their boldness.

For years, our region has done more than its share to provide the country with the basic necessities of industrial expansion and daily life — food, fuel, and fiber. In 1970, the thirteen-state region supplied 27% of the agricultural goods, 40% of the forest products, and 52% of the minerals produced in the U.S. As these resources become more treasured, the power relations between producing and consuming regions and countries may be altered. There is evidence this is happening on the international level; but it remains to be seen whether southerners — organized as workers in the land-based industries, or tax-payers in counties whose wealth is carted away, or consumers who pay for the right to destroy their land — will take advantage of these times to use what leverage they do have to transform the relationships between powerful and powerless. Clearly,the South exists precariously between opportunity and exploitation — opportunity to use our resources for the common good or to exploit them for private greed or temporary pleasure.

Historically, the U.S. demand for raw materials has grown as corporations strove to increase production; as a consequence, the political economy depends on the steady importation of raw materials. As early as 1958, the U.S. Department of Defense noted that between 80 and 100% of our supplies of 38 (out of 62) "strategic raw materials" came from imports. It was perhaps inevitable that popular movements would arise in Asia, Africa and the Middle East desiring to work for their own progress by striking a different relationship with the U.S. which had for so long used the resources of the underdeveloped world for its own development. When foreign nations acted to take control of their resources the U.S. responded with economic sanctions, overt military force, and, as we have now learned, numerous covert actions.

The U.S. still wields its tremendous economic and military strength but Vietnam proved that American hegemony was not absolute. One consequence of changing world power relations is the loosening of the U.S. grip on the world's resources and the bettering of the bargaining position of those who hold the resources. As U.S. sources of raw materials become less secure, U.S. dependence on those minerals and fuels grows constantly. Between 1960 and 1971, for example, domestic production of petroleum rose by nearly a billion barrels (over 34 per cent), but imports of petroleum doubled.

As the cost of some foreign supplies rises and as others are cut off, U.S. corporations (and foreign corporations too!) are turning toward our domestic supplies. The South is the center of many of the most important domestic supplies of raw materials. The question of whether these resources will be used for the progressive development of the region or whether, as in the Third World, the resources will be taken, the people left poor and the landscape raped is both a crucial and unanswerable question.

Already the corporations that control one source of energy (oil) have seized control of another source (coal). With such control, shortages in one source can be created to justify an increase in prices and to drive consumers to the alternative source whose price (due to artificially increased demand) is likewise raised. When a few friendly corporations (see the following charts of interlocking directorates) control the wealth of the land, the consumer can be batted like a ping-pong ball between one fuel and another, between one product at the grocery store and another, both produced by the same company whose ownership of both gives it the opportunity to manipulate the supplies and, of course, the price.

The weak link in the chain of corporate control over the South's resources is precisely the one that has been used most often to the detriment of all in the past two years — the "shortage." The many shortages, though partially orchestrated by the corporations that have profited from them, point both to the great importance of our natural resources and to the vulnerability of the supplies. More importantly, we hope these shortages may act as a catalyst for a movement of "resource-consciousness" in the South. As the region's resources become more crucial to corporate profits, the people need to become more conscious of the ways in which the resources are used.

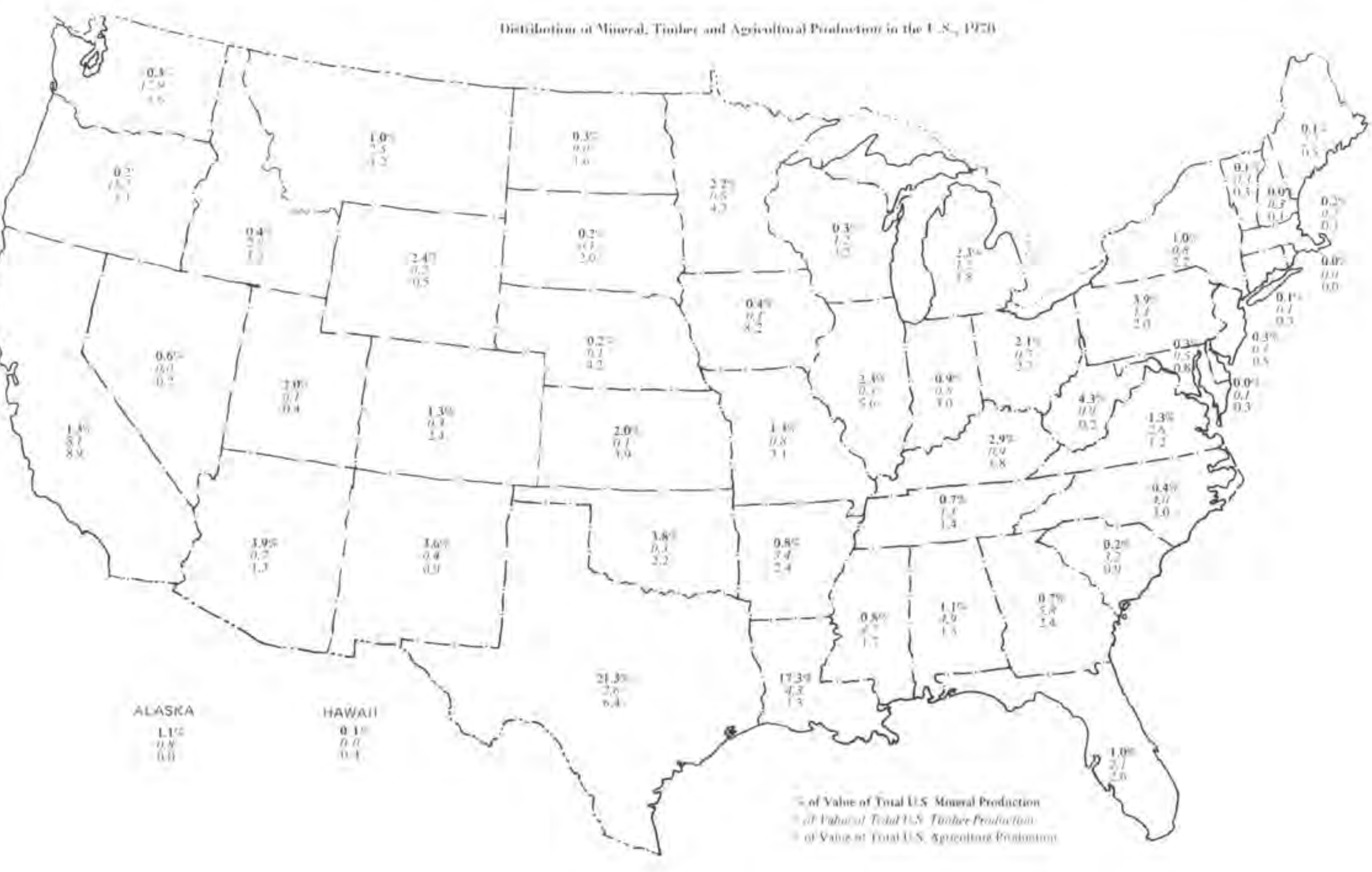
In the face of increased demand for dwindling supplies of natural resources, workers in land-based industries may find themselves as never before in the position to bargain for significant and much needed wage hikes and strong benefit packages. The United Mine Workers are plainly aware of this situation. At the same time, people must stay on their guard, for the corporations will use such wage hikes to justify even greater prices and higher profits and in this way seek to divide working people against each other, while a few — those who control the resources — enjoy the biggest slice of the pie unnoticed.

Corporate planning is planning for profits. This is a world where words have strange meanings. Shortages are good. Strip-mining is less costly than other methods. A hillside denuded of trees is beautiful. Rational planning — planning which protects the integrity of the land, planning which conserves resources and sees that they are used wisely is not corporate planning — the South with its many scars from resource extraction is testament to this. But rational planning is worth fighting for. Our hope is that the following information will be used for this purpose — to work for a dream, a dream that the public interest will some day dictate the ways in which our land is used and we trust, preserved.

Interlocking Directorates: The Ties That Bind

As the crises throughout our economic system multiply, there has been growing public interest in understanding how the system operates and who controls various parts of it. The interconnected nature of many of the nation's industries has brought them under increasing public scrutiny, as many people begin to realize that an economy organized around private profit cannot serve the public interest. More and more of the decision-making power has become concentrated in fewer and fewer corporate hands. One of the most visible methods for tying different companies closer together is through the use of interlocking directorates. As our charts on director interlocks graphically indicate, it is little wonder that all our prices are skyrocketing. It is not necessary to prove that there are conscious conspiracies in these industries; demonstrating a community of common interests among the men that direct these corporations is enough. For it is the board of directors who have the authority, under the law, to represent the owners of the company, to select management personnel, and determine fundamental corporate policy.

Throughout American history, interlocking directorates have been viewed as an extremely dangerous mechanism for gathering together economic decision-making in a few hands. Back in 1914, Congress thought that it had outlawed director interlocks between two competing companies by enacting the Clayton Act. Of course, some direct interlocks still exist; for example, I.T.T., which has large timber holdings, has directors sitting on the board of Boise Cascade, Westvaco, and Owens-Illinois, all large paper/pulp companies. But today, in order to bypass the anti-monopoly provisions of the Clayton Act, the nation's largest corporations have developed an elaborate spiderweb of secondary director interlocks. A secondary director interlock occurs when two or more directors from companies in the same industry are members of a third company's board of directors. Many of these secondary interlocks are linked through financial institutions (banks and insurance companies), suppliers and consumer corporations, which tie the interests of two competing companies together. Thus, for example, U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel, two of the nation's top coal and steel companies, each have men on the board of Cities Services Company, a leading petroleum producer (which presumably is a competitor with their coal operations), Campbell Soup (a major consumer of metal cans), and Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Chemical Bank, and Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. (top N.Y. financial firms). The secondary interlocks between "competing" companies have become one of the primary methods for harmonizing conflicting corporate interest between, and within, sectors of industry. Interlocks between third companies (like between Morgan Guaranty and Metropolitan Life in the example above) are not indicated on our charts, but they are numerous, and further tighten the flow of information, network of social contacts, and sense of priorities that



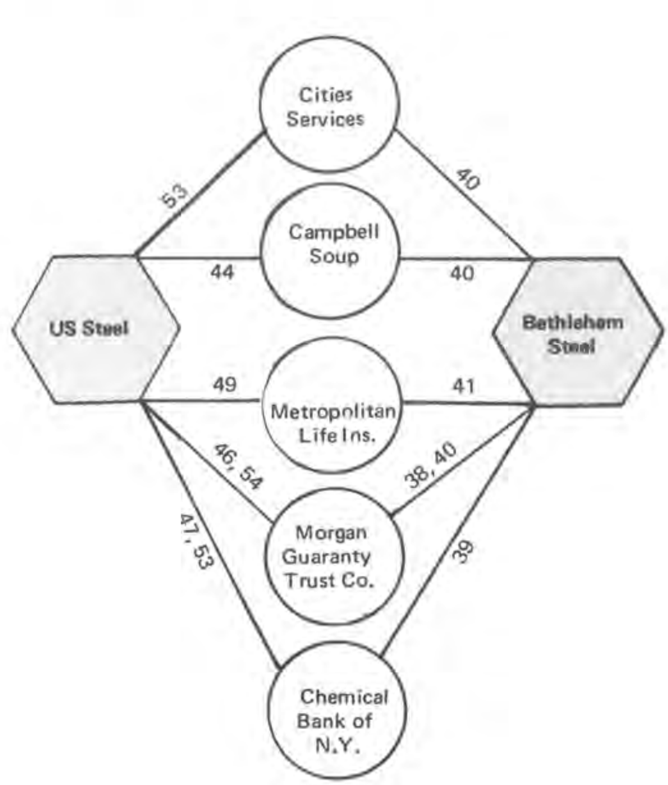
shape the framework for decision-making. Through all these connections, it becomes possible for the corporations in a particular industry to plan their collective futures by setting prices, regulating production, and dividing up potential markets, instead of competing with one another in a cut-throat way.

Some of the director interlocks indicate a movement towards vertical integration with a particular industry. A company director can begin to have decision-making power over all the various stages of the production process — extracting a natural resource, refining, transporting, marketing, and finally distributing it to the consuming public. For example, Rudolph Peterson of Oak Lawn, Illinois, is a director of both Standard Oil of California, which is a major producer of agricultural chemicals and fertilizers, and Consolidated Foods, which is one of the nation's largest food distributors.

The interlock charts also illustrate the increasing concentration of land-use and resource development decision-making in a few hands. In the energy industry, the directors of one company can be interlocked with the production of oil, natural gas, coal, electricity, and nuclear fuels, all of which allegedly compete with one another for the consumer's dollar. Thus representatives of Eastern Gas & Fuel, American Electric Power, and American Metal Climax meet together on the board of CBS — and no doubt help decide the limits in which the "energy crisis" may be described. It becomes possible for interlocked directors to play the supplies of different resources off against one another for higher profits. Although these intra-industry connections are significant in extending corporate control, it is the financial interlocks which are of primary importance in understanding the monopoly grip that these few corporations have over our land and resources.

Since most companies are no longer able to depend on their own internally generated funds for improvements and expansion, they must depend on banks and insurance companies for their future plans. Consequently, the financial institutions have become increasingly vocal in determining corporate affairs. Frequently competing companies maintain close ties with similar financial institutions through director interlocks, stock ownership, and long-term debt. In order that a company expand, it must borrow money from a major financial institution on the banker's terms. Besides setting high interest rates, the money-lender can also specify how the money is to be spent. Within an industrial sector, like oil or coal or agribusiness, it becomes possible for a financial institution, in conjunction with the major companies in that industry, to begin planning and coordinating their corporate activities. For example, representatives from the boards of Exxon, Atlantic Richfield, Cities Services, and Continental Oil all sit on the board of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company — and Morgan owns 1.6 per cent of Exxon's stock, 0.5 per cent of Atlantic Richfield's, and 2.2 per cent of Continental Oil's.

The board of Morgan also has five directors from the top coal companies, four from leading agribusiness firms, and three from large timber producers. As these men sit together, it is easy to understand how a combination of personal and financial interlocks allows one corporate body — in this case, a giant New York bank — to carry out land-use planning on a scale few city planners would even imagine. With profit-maximization as a goal, a select group can decide whether to increase investment in one use of the land, say strip mining, rather than another, say real estate development. As this land development game unfolds on an international scale, regions are forced to compete against one another for outside capital by offering concessions, cheap resources, tax breaks and the like to the multinationals. Instead of having competition among companies, the result is that individuals, states, or regions must undercut each other in order to satisfy the designs of corporate growth. In this manner, a network of interlocking directors can determine the future use of land and resources for an entire region.



Key to Interlocking Directors Charts

Secondary Interlocks

The charts in this research section show where directors from two or more primary land-based companies (shaded hexagons) sit together on the board of another company (circle). Numbers beside the line refer to accompanying tables of directors (residences and principal occupations are also given in table). To see how a primary company interlocks with others, begin with its hexagon, and move out along each line through a circled company to another hexagon. The only abbreviations in the table of directors that may be unclear are C.E.O. for chief executive officer, Adv. Dir. for advisory director, and Ch. or Chair. for chairman.

Agribusiness Gets the Dollar

I.

Off the interstates and old highways, along the gravel and dust-covered roads of the South, hundreds of farms disappear each week. Meanwhile, consumers face rising prices and the threat of food shortages. Yet, even though small farmer and consumer can't afford to grow or buy food, government policy has encouraged a massive increase in the export of American farm products.

At the heart of this irony — or absurdity — lies the new demand being placed on agriculture to bolster the international economic position of the United States. In 1974, the U.S. is a nation racked by inflation and fearful of depression, a nation whose dollar, once "almighty," has twice suffered the insult and injury of devaluation. Overextended by worldwide military engagements and suffering from too many imports and too few exports, the U.S. has nearly spent itself into international bankruptcy. In the 1970's the government has been forced to expand agricultural exports to shore up a deteriorating balance of payments situation, and in so doing, has thrown the small farmer into the sizzling frying pan of international economics.

To government and big business, expanding agricultural exports means abolishing crop allotments and price supports in order to increase production. To the small farmer it signals the advent of a real fight for survival. Price wars with agribusiness must be endured without the security of price supports. If agricultural exports decline one year, the small farmer must be able to sustain the loss of selling a crop in a flooded domestic market. Add to the scales the other problems small farmers encounter — difficulty in securing funds to expand or mechanize, inability to advertise, etc. — and it becomes obvious that the small farmer has little chance of coming out of this alive.

Like other examples of that curious Washington logic, the government's policy is designed to sacrifice the family farmer and the consumer in order to save the dollar. Unfortunately, even if the objective is not reached — and there's good evidence it won't be — the repercussions of the policy will persist.

II.

The instability of the world's monetary structure is in large part a crisis of a U.S. balance of payments deficit and as such is both a symptom and cause of deeper ills in the economic system. "Balance of payments," of course, refers to the difference between the amount of money which enters a country and the amount that leaves. Countries, like individuals, need to have more money coming in than going out. But powerful countries, like powerful and "rich" individuals, can often continue to prosper when just the opposite is happening — when more money is leaving than is coming in. They can continue, that is, until someone — the bank, the creditors, or the other nations of the world — calls them on it.

Until 1971, the U.S. balance of payments deficit had been due entirely to the public sector, such as government expenditures abroad for war, other military operations and foreign aid. These are essentially the costs of maintaining an empire — necessary expenditures to secure and protect overseas investments, markets, and sources of raw materials. These costs had risen constantly during the 1960's and 70's as "free world" business activities encountered increasing opposition from

Corporations Involved in Agribusiness Production

Corporations	Total Corporate Revenues, 1972	Rank Among All U.S. Corporations
Standard Oil of California	$5,829,487,000	14
Aetna Life and Casualty Co.	4,184,018,000	22
RCA Corp.	3,838,180,000	27
Ling-Temco-Vought (LTV)	3,442,296,000	32
Tenneco, Inc.	3,255,366,000	37
Esmark, Inc.	3,240,931,000	38
Greyhound Corp.	2,903,607,000	42
Beatrice Foods	2,786,970,000	43
Occidental Petroleum	2,487,247,000	49
General Foods Corp.	2,423,816,000	52
Dow Chemical Co.	2,403,709,000	54
Boeing Co.	2,369,580,000	55
Conn. General Life Ins. Co.	2,124,051,000	64
R. J. Reynolds Industries	2,072,312,000	69
Foremost-McKesson, Inc.	1,933,383,000	77
Coca-Cola	1,876,192,000	81
Ralston Purina	1,833,432,000	86
Consolidated Foods Corp.	1,745,959,000	97
American Brands	1,734,261,000	98

Source: "A Summary Report on Major U.S. Corporations Involved in Agribusiness," by A.V. Krebs, Agribusiness Accountability Project, 1973.

Photo by Bill Fibben

peoples around the world. More and more the activities of the American corporate empire were seen as a drain on the productivity and resources of other countries, siphoning foreign-produced profits back to the U.S. and robbing the foreign country of the opportunity of using those profits for its own development. Seen in this light, the costs of empire can only continue to rise as the underdeveloped world realizes that some nations are rich precisely because other nations are poor and act to end this relationship. Thus even though the public sector is the largest and most persistent component of the balance of payments deficit, its purpose of protecting and extending the empire guarantee that no one in business or government will seriously suggest that more than obvious waste be trimmed.

The deficit in government spending abroad had been manageable as long as it was offset by a surplus from the private sector which includes the import and export of goods, services and farm products, the activities of tourists, and the expenses and income of overseas investments. But in 1971, for the first time in this century, the private sector also produced a deficit, and, despite a dollar devaluation through the Smithsonian agreements of December, 1971, the deficit for the following year grew even larger.

With the demands of empire rising but with no desire to cut costs and endanger American interests, the only alternative open to improving the balance of payments picture lay in the private sector. Buying up the rest of the world through overseas investment by America's multinational corporations was an ongoing process which yielded great profits for the U.S. This process could be quickened. But the problem with investment as an instant cure-all for today's deficit is that it is not instant at all. The time-lag between the investment of money and the point where that investment begins to repay itself and bring in net profits is probably close to ten years. Therefore, a surge in direct investment this year leaves next year's problems unsolved.

After the large balance of payments deficit in 1972, 1973 entered the books in the black. A major reason for this was the stunning increase in agricultural exports. Totaling $5.7 billion in 1969, they rose to $17.9 billion in 1973, nearly doubling in value from the previous year. By the first quarter of 1974, wheat and corn alone represented 56 percent of the total value of exports to the Soviet Union. Wheat, corn, cotton and soybeans pulled in 76 percent of our income from exports to China.

As a savior of the dollar, agriculture was the logical choice. The Soviet Union had experienced a particularly poor wheat harvest. Droughts and famine plagued many parts of the world. Third World countries in particular were incapable of any effective response to their food shortages other than importation. For in the neo-colonies of today's capitalist powers, traditional agricultural land which had formerly fed the people had been reorganized to produce products needed by the colonizer. These products were often luxury items not suited to feeding a nation, such as coffee, tea, tobacco, cacao, rubber, and bananas. During prosperous times, more land left the traditional agricultural fold to join the international cash-crop economy. The squeeze came when economic or weather-induced slumps occurred in the market. For example, a Third World country with a surplus of coffee found that in a flooded market or during poor weather its coffee crop was too small to support agricultural imports, while its traditional agricultural lands were too small to support the needs of the people. At least part of the shortages of food in the Third World could thus be attributed to the results of irrational capitalist development and neo-colonialism — much of it directed by U.S. corporations. The household names that bring us our morning cup of coffee, the bananas for our cereal and the chocolate for our milk, are the names behind much of the food shortages in Africa and South America. Meanwhile the U.S. enjoyed relatively good harvests. The large amount of land devoted to agriculture plus a very high degree of mechanization and the absence of any really destructive weather had seen to this. The agricultural abundance this produced contrasted sharply with serious food shortages in many other parts of the world.

In the early 1970's, the U.S. became more dependent on these shortages to create a market for food exports to better the international standing of the dollar. Today, over 40 percent of our rice, wheat, cotton and soybean production is exported. Together, the U.S. and Canada now control significant amounts of the world trade in many commodities. They account for one-third of the world's total wheat exports, a half of its corn, and all soybeans. They even control 25 percent of the world's exports of rice.

Corporate and political leaders saw in the demand for U.S. food not only a chance to turn a big profit but also a lever for obtaining more political power abroad. Still, the huge increase in agricultural exports was first of all welcomed as a desperately-needed way out of a balance of payments deficit. William Eberle, President of Boise Cascade and Nixon's special trade representative to Europe and Japan, summed up the situation when he observed, "as far as the U.S. is concerned, progress in agriculture is the *sine qua non* of progress in normalizing the international economic situation and improving our trade relations."

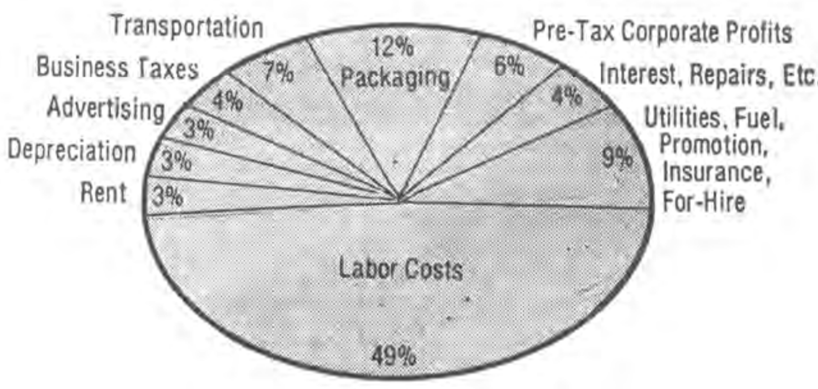
What had happened? U.S. corporations had become heavily involved in foreign investments and dependent on foreign markets, on supplies of raw materials and to some extent on cheap foreign labor. The government let the presses roll, printing inflated dollars to finance our military efforts abroad to protect the rights of American capital. The military machine continued to incur huge debts for its operations in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. The outflow of dollars greatly exceeded income, until under intense pressure the dollar collapsed. Agricultural exports were then called upon to bail the U.S. out — in effect to allow the U.S. to continue to support military operations abroad in defense of U.S. and "free world" business interests.

III.

With many parts of the world in desperate need of U.S. agricultural products and with the U.S. needing just as desperately the income increased agricultural exports would bring, you'd expect to see farmers dancing on the hay stacks and singing to the hogs. A new and lasting boom to the endangered small farmer surely had arrived. In fact it had not, and what sweet farm music was heard emanated mainly from the board rooms of the conglomerates and multinational corporations involved in agribusiness. Seeking an explanation for this baffling development takes us into the "innards" of agriculture in America. As Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz observed, "farming no longer is a way of life, it is a business."

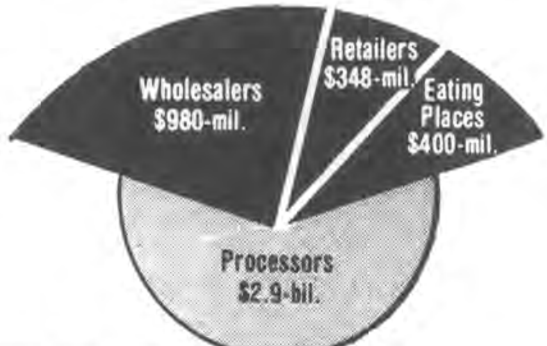
If a whole dictionary of words existed to describe

Costs for Marketing Farm Food, 1973



Where the Marketing Profits Are

(Profits before taxes, 1973)



Source for all charts: Dept. of Agriculture

Total: $4.6-bil.

the structure of U.S. agriculture, the most important word therein would be "concentration." Concentration is what has happened to farming in our lifetime. 6.8 million farms in 1935 have dwindled to barely 2.7 million today. In 1969 fewer than 52,000 farms, 1.9 percent of all farms, accounted for one-third of total farm sales. To take that a little farther, three-quarters of all farm products came from only one-fifth of all farms.

Concentration in the food industry only begins with the farmer, who, if not a large producer, often works under contractual arrangements with a giant corporation that controls both supply and demand and thus the prices in the farmer's locality. After food leaves the farm it falls into the hands of the processor. Twenty-four (out of 32,000) of these middle-men handle 57 percent of food sales in the U.S. From there, the finished product goes to one of a handful of national chain grocery stores in which most of us shop. Few consumers realize that the Hostess Cup Cakes, Wonder Bread, and those "old-fashioned, down home" Gwaltney Meat Products they buy come from ITT. Our turkey comes from Greyhound, our lettuce from Dow Chemical and our tomatoes from Gulf and Western. The multinationals and conglomerates that control food items from the field to your dinner plate have attacked traditional agriculture from all sides. The vertical and contractual integration they represent now encompasses:

51% of fresh vegetables
95% of processed vegetables
70% of potatoes
85% of citrus fruits
40% of other fruits and nuts
100% of sugar cane and sugar beets
80% of seed crops
98% of fluid-grade milk
40% of eggs
97% of broilers
54% of turkeys

The effect of this brand of concentration on the small family farmer is devastating. As the Agribusiness Accountability Project documents, "Boeing might be an inept potato farmer, but its ability to merge, to vertically integrate, to advertise, to invest huge sums of money and to attract government subsidies is enough to overwhelm real potato farmers in the American Northwest." Without any real competitive edge, such corporations can still overrun and eventually swallow up the family farm. Significantly, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Robert Long (formerly the agricultural loan officer for the Bank of America) predicts that, "As agriculture progresses to fewer and fewer units, those remaining will find it easier to work together for a more profitable return." And he goes on to urge, "consolidation within the food industry to present a solid front to the consuming public."

As Mr. Long's attitude suggests, the personnel in the U.S. Department of Agriculture are not known for representing the consumer's, or even the average farmer's, interests. Clarence Palmby, formerly the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, was a Washington lobbyist for the grain trade prior to his appointment to head up the USDA's grain programs. After successfully helping to negotiate the Soviet wheat deal (the "Great Grain Robbery") in 1972, he left the government to move over to the vice presidency of Continental Grain, the company that sold most of the wheat to the USSR. And, let us not forget the goodest ole country boy of them all, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz. Before joining the cabinet he was a board member of Ralston-Purina, Stokely-Van Camp, J. I. Case (a major producer of farm equipment and subsidiary of Tenneco) and International Minerals and Chemical Corporation. What does agribusiness need with friends in government — it has relatives!

Nothing could be clearer than Washington's plan for the family farmer. It is revealed in leaked documents to the press; we've listened to it coming from the lips of Robert Long and Secretary Butz; and we've seen and paid for it with the Russian Wheat Deal. The plan is simple: push exports of agricultural products and, to aid this effort, bring back "free market" agriculture. The revival of a *laissez faire* farm policy coincides with a situation unique in the history of U.S. agriculture. Never before have corporate interests so thoroughly controlled agriculture. Never before have the large farms been so powerful and the small farms so weak. Competition in this free market will pit a few big sharks against an ocean of dwindling small-farmer fish.

As a necessary prelude to the slaughter, the USDA calls for an end to allotment programs and price supports — features of the present system which mean big profits for agribusiness but mean life or death for the beleaguered small farmers. Farmers should just produce as much as possible — no questions asked — in order that as much as possible be exported.

IV.

What will this mean for the many thousands of farmers in the U.S. and for those in the South in particular? It means that domestic farm prices would be tied to the export market without the security of price supports or government regulation to prevent surpluses. The small farmer's existence would be linked to Russia's continuing to buy food products from the U.S., to the Common Market's opening wide its doors to our agricultural products, to China's dealing more and more with us, to weather conditions continuing to favor us and remaining bad for the rest of the world. The world has seen what Americans get for depending on agribusiness for

photo by George Mitchell

their food. Will the rest of the world so blithely follow in step? If it does not (and there are indications it will try not to), and if these conditions do not persist year after year, many farmers will find themselves growing food for a non-existent export market. Boeing and General Foods might be able to handle a sudden switch, but would the family farmer? Probably not. Instead, as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Long has predicted, agriculture would progress to "fewer and fewer units."

Already the breakdown of this plan, the fissures in the USDA-agribusiness grand strategy, are becoming visible. The weather is turning against us. A drought cycle in the Midwest has apparently begun. In Europe, farmers are rising up faster than our shriveling crops to protest depressed farm prices, and the Common Market (now experiencing surpluses of some commodities) promises to import less food to "help" us with our widespread food shortages and wider spread political rumblings over high prices. Secretary Butz has even taken to saying that the U.S. can't feed the world. But, he might have mentioned, neither can we afford to let the world feed itself.

The forces of change in agriculture today will not strike every part of the country uniformly. Unlike other regions, the South's agriculture remains tied to the past. Its farms are generally small and are often little more than subsistence-level ventures. Thousands of rural poor, black and white, still live as sharecroppers and tenant farmers while one-crop economies and sub-regional dependence on highly vulnerable export crops endure. Because of the persistence of such vestiges of a pre-Civil War plantation system, agriculture in the South stands to be fundamentally altered by the methods employed to increase agriculture exports in defense of our international economic empire.

On the one hand, the government's new strategy will quicken the gradual shift toward consolidation that has decreased the number of Southern farms since 1930 by 61 per cent while increasing the acres per farm by 140 per cent. On the other hand, the new emphasis on exports may not help the remaining small farmers keep pace with the profitability of other regions. The USDA is already warning that the future of tobacco is "uncertain," due in part to the Common Market policy of encouraging domestic production. Fruits are coming under more competitive pressure, and cotton, while on the climb recently, faces a tough challenge from the expanded cotton yield of underdeveloped countries and the gains of man-made fibers. In the last four years, the South's overall share of the U.S. agricultural exports has declined from 32 per cent to 27 per cent. In short, what the South produces is not what the foreign world wants most.

What happens when the small farmer of the South is forced to expand production for such an illusive market without the security of knowing that there won't be huge surpluses, without the security of price supports? Obviously, the slow-death process the Southern family farm has gone through in our times is turned into a massacre with huge numbers of farms and farmers going under at once. Concurrently, agribusiness thrives, consolidating and adding to its properties and reaping the benefits of contracts made with the remaining, now desper-

Photo by Jeff Jacobson

ate, farmers. Big farms swallow up little ones. Such is the course of capitalist development.

During the 1970's, the Southern farmer will be put on an ill-conceived front line in the fight to turn back a chronic balance of payments deficit. If we continue to allow military dollars to flow out of the country to prop up America's Corporate Empire, then we must increase our income. Washington translates this to mean increasing agricultural exports. And this strategy, with its return to the "free market" (not free at all, but heavily biased towards corporate farming), means an end to the average farm in the South. The conglomerates and monopolies which come to control or replace the family farm of the South may not be efficient — they will have no reason to be. The quality of food may deteriorate while its price rises. But these things matter little, for it is size and power (political and economic) which will enable agribusiness to dominate Southern farming. Meanwhile, many real farmers, ill-prepared for working in cities, may nevertheless begin to flood the urban job market. Those remaining down on the farm may find themselves members of a new plantation economy dominated by a different kind of Mr. Charlie called ITT or Dow or Del Monte.

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Agribusiness Company Director Interlocks

See Key To Interlocking Directors, page 148

RCA

1. Robert Sarnoff, NY,NY Ch.Bd., CEO, RCA
2. Charles Odoroizzi, Greenwich, Conn. Exec.VP, RCA
3. Lawrence Fouraker, Harvard, Mass. Dir. Citicorp, NY
4. Donald B. Smiley, Greenwich, Conn. Ch.Bd., RH Macy
5. Stephen M. Dubrul Jr., NY,NY, Partner, Lazard Freres
6. Thornton Bradshaw, Pasadena, Cal., Pres., Arco Oil
7. William J. Kennedy, Durham, NC. CEO,NC Mutual Life Ins.

LTV

8. William H. Osborn Jr., Glen Head, NY, Dir Lehman Bros.
9. Edwin L. Cox, Dallas, Texas. Ch.Bd., Keebler Co.
10. Gustave L. Levy, NY, NY. Dir. Braniff Airways

ESMARK

11. Robert W. Reneker, Chicago, Ill., Pres., Esmark
12. Edward F. Swift, Exec. VP, Esmark
13. Brooks McCormick, Chicago, Ill., Dir. First National Bank of Chicago
14. Lester Crown, Wilmette, Ill., Pres., Material Service Corp.
15. William B. Johnson, Lake Forest, Ill. Ch., Ill. Central Indst.
16. John A. Barr, Northbrook, Ill., Dean, Grad School of Mgmt. Northwestern Univ.
17. Arnold R. LaForce, Dir. Mohasco Industries
18. W. Allen Wallis, Dir. Lincoln First Banks, Inc.

RALSTON PURINA

19. R. Hal Dean, Glendale, Mo., Ch.Bd., CEO, Ralston Purina
20. Fletcher L. Byrom, Sr., Pittsburg, Pa., Ch.Bd., Cont. Can Co.
21. W. Earle McLaughlin, Westmount, Quebec, Ch. Bd., Pres. Royal Bank of Canada
4. Donald B. Smiley, Greenwich, Conn. Ch.Bd., RH Macy

GREYHOUND

22. Gerald H. Trautman, Scottsdale, Ariz., Ch.Bd. & CEO Greyhound, Inc.
23. Chas. S. Munson, Southport, Conn. Hon Ch. Airco, Inc.
24. Rankin M. Smith, Atlanta, Ga. Dir., CEO, Life Ins. of Ga.
25. Hans Stauffer, Bronxville, NY Dir., Firemans Fund
26. Robert M. Brown, Dir, Hewlett-Packard
27. Howard Boyd, Houston, Texas Ch.Bd., El Paso Natural Gas

BEATRICE FOODS

28. William G. Karnes, Flossmoor, Ill., CH.Bd., Borg-Warner
29. John H. Coleman, Toronto, Canada, Dir., Royal Bank of Can.
30. G.A. Costanzo, NY, NY, Exec VP, 1st Nat. City Bank NY
31. Omer G. Voss, Evanston, Ill., Exec. VP, Int'l Harvester

GENERAL FOODS

32. C'W. Cook, Larchmount, NY, CH.Bd., Pres., General Foods
33. John T. Connor, Morristown, N.J., Ch.Bd., Allied Chemical
34. B.R. Dorsey, Ch. Bd., CEO, Gulf Oil Co.
35. Elisha Gray II, Benton Harbor, Michigan, ChFinComm, Whirlpool, Inc.
36. J. Wilson Newman, Short Hills, NJ, ChFinComm, Dun Bdst.
37. F.R. Kappel, Bronxville, NY, Dir., Metropolitan Life Ins.
38. Henry R. Roberts, Hartford, Conn., Pres, Conn. General Ins.
39. Jerome H. Holland, Dir., Manufacturers Hanover Trust
40. Albert L. Williams, Bronxville, NY Ch. Fin. Comm., IBM
41. William P. Tavoulareas, Sands Pt., NY, Pres., Mobil Oil

DOW CHEMICAL

42. C. B. Branch, Midland, Mich., Ch. Exec. Comm., Pres., Dow Chemical
43. Paul F. Oreffice, Midland, Mich., VP,Fin., Dow Chemical

CONNECTICUT GENERAL LIFE INSURANCE

38. Henry R. Roberts, Hartford, Conn., Pres., Conn. General
44. George W. Young, NY, NY, Sr. VP, Conn. General
45. Thomas W. Russell, Jr., NY,NY., Dir., Aetna Insurance Co.
46. Erle Martin, Hartford, Conn., VCH. United Aircraft
47. James F. English Jr., Hartford, Conn., Ch., Conn. Bank & Tr.
48. Fredrick D. Watkins, W. Hartford, Conn., Pres., Aetna Ins.
49. Edwin D. Etherington, Old Lyme, Conn. Dir., Amer. Exprs.

FOREMOST–McKESSON

50. Rudolph J. Drews, CH.Bd., CEO, Foremost-McKesson
51. George M. Keller Jr., Hillsborough, Calif., VP, Foremost-Mc.
52. Prentis C. Hale, Ch.Bd.,, Broadway-Hale Stores
53. Robert R. Dockson, L.A., Calif., Pres., Calif. Fed. Sav. & Lo.
54. Herman C. Nolen, Bronxville, NY, Dir., Bankers Trust
55. Louis A. Petri, San. Fran., Calif., Dir., Bank of America
63. J. Paul Sticht, Winston-Salem , NC, Pres., RJ Reynolds

BOEING

56. Thornton A. Wilson, Seattle, Wash., CH. & CEO, Boeing
57. William M. Batten, Mill Neck, NY, Ch.Bd., CEO, JC Penney
58. William G. Reed, Dir., Seattle First National Bank
59. D.E. Skinner, Bellevue, Wash., Pres., Skinner Corp.
60. Thomas R. Wilcox, Shelter Island, NY, VCh, Blythe, Eastman & Dillon Co., NY
61. G. H. Weyerhaeuser, Tacoma, Wash., Pres.CEO, Weyerhaeuser
62. Chas. M. Pigott, Ch.Bd., Pres., Wagner Mining Equip., Inc.

R.J. REYNOLDS

63. J. Paul Sticht, Winston-Salem, NC., Ch.Bd., RJ Reynolds Inds.
64. Chas. F. Myers, Jr., Greensboro, NC, CH.Bd., Burlington Inds.
65. Walter L. Lingle Jr., Dir, Burlington Industries

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM

66. Francis W. Theis, Exec. VP, Occidental Petroleum

STANDARD OIL OF CALIFORNIA

67. Otto N. Miller, San Francisco, Calif., Ch.Bd., Std. Oil Calif.
68. G. M. Keller, San Mateo, Calif., For.VP., Dir., Std. Oil Calif.
69. John A. McCone, Dir. ITT, former director CIA
70. Rudolph A. Peterson, Piedmont, Cal., Ch.Ex. Comm., Bank of America
71. David Packard, Ch.Bd., Hewlett-Packard Co., Former Sec. of Defense
72. E. Hornsby Wasson, Hillsborough, Calif., Ch., Stanford Res. Ins.
73. H.J. Haynes, Kentfield, Calif., Pres., Dir., Chevron Oil

AETNA LIFE & CASUALTY

74. Wallace Barnes, W. Simsbury, Conn., Dir. Conn. Bank & Tru.
75. Harry J. Gray, Farmington, Conn., Pres. CEO, United Aircraft Company
76. Charles E. Lord, W. Hartford, Conn., VCh. Hartford National Corp. (holding company)
77. John Perry Miller, New Haven, Conn., Economist, Yale Univ.
78. Olcott D. Smith, Farmington, Conn., Dir., JP Morgan & Co.
79. Cyrus R. Vance, NYC, NY, Dir., IBM
80. Durand B. Blatz, Wallingford, Conn., Pres., Inslico Corp.
81. Richard Koopman, W. Hartford, Conn., VP May Dept. Stores
82. John M. Meyer, Jr., Greenwich, Conn., Dir., U.S. Steel
83. Mayo A. Shattuck, Cohasset, Mass., VP, Federal St. Fund
84. Hobart Taylor, Jr., Washington, DC, Dir., Westinghouse

COCA-COLA

85. J. Paul Austin, Atlanta, Georgia, Ch.Bd., Coca-Cola
86. Lindsey Hopkins, Miami Beach, Fla., Ch.Bd., Security Trust
87. George S. Kraft, Atlanta, Georgia, Ch. Exec. Comm., Trust Company of Georgia

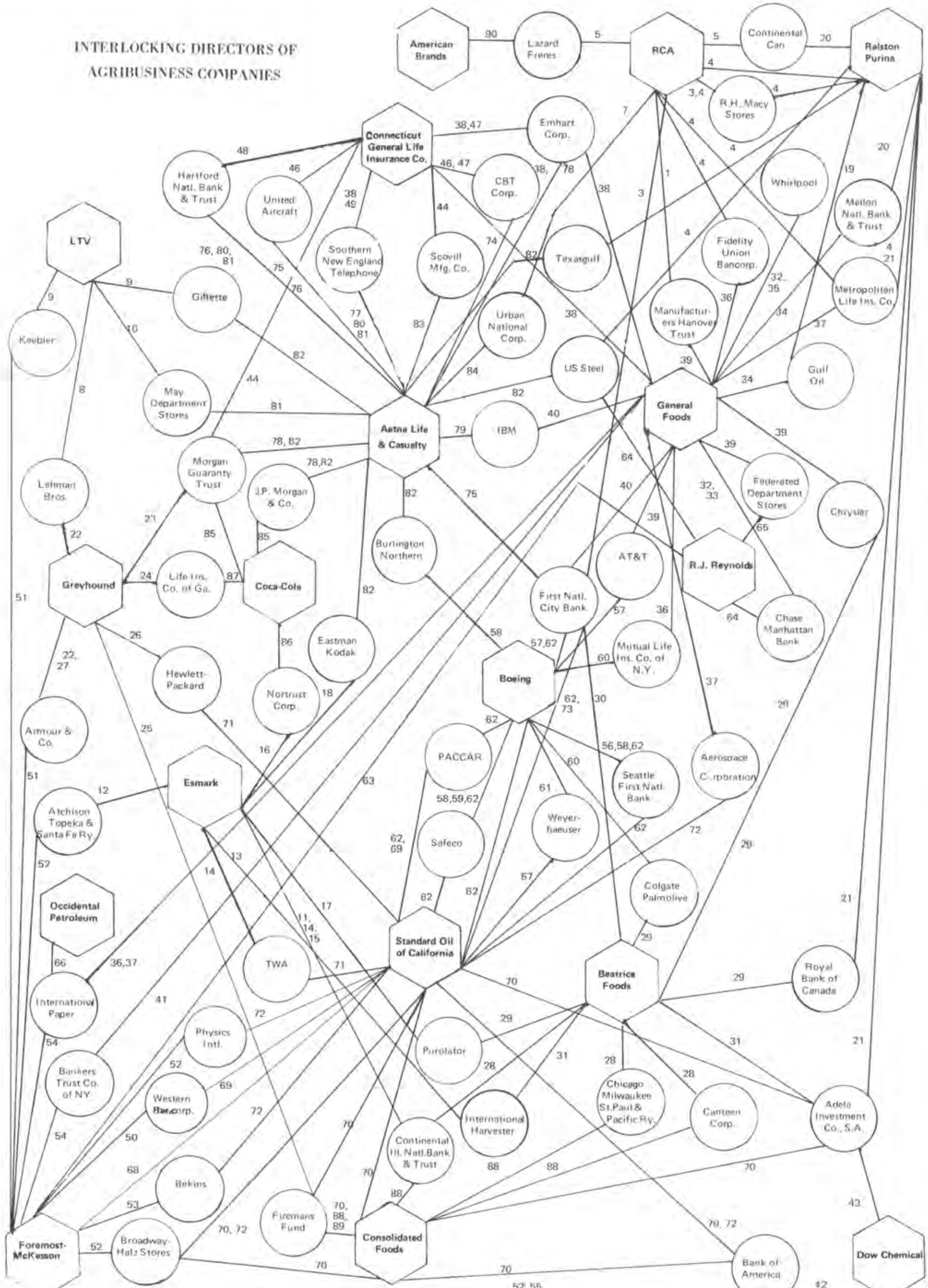
CONSOLIDATED FOODS

70. Rudloph A. Peterson, Piedmont, Calif., Ch.Ex.Com., Bank of America
88. Tilden Cummings, Winnetka, Ill., Ch.Bd. Consolidated Foods
89. Richard E. Guggenhime, NYC, NY, Pres., Union Sugar Co.

AMERICAN BRANDS

90. Mark R. Norman, London, England, Dir., Lazard Bros., Ltd.

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORS OF AGRIBUSINESS COMPANIES



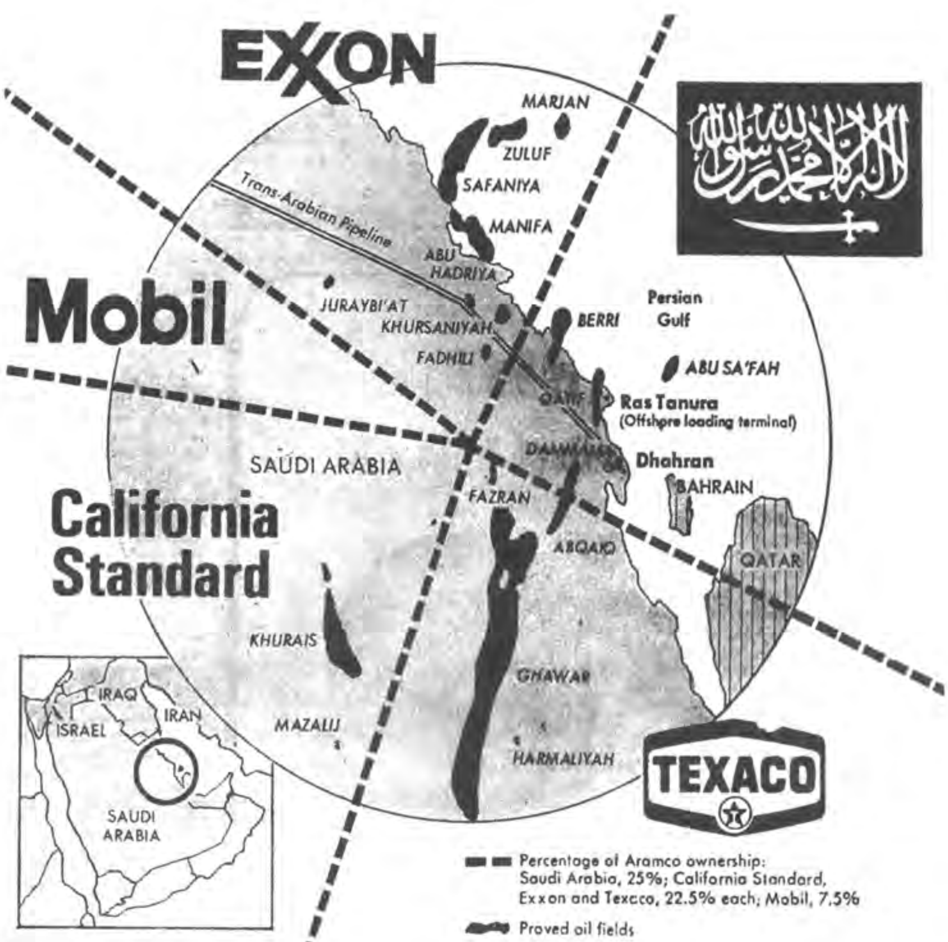
Oil Tightens Its Grip

I.

During the past decade, the worldwide energy game has continued at a torrid pace. The participants have been few and the stakes have been high. The outcome is still very much in doubt, but it's quite clear that the major energy/oil corporations will continue as the main benefactors of the international turmoil. Although there are hundreds of companies involved in the petroleum industry, only seven companies account for 63 per cent of the total crude oil production in the capitalist world. Three of these seven companies are controlled directly by the Rockefeller family — Exxon, Mobil, and Standard Oil of California (they own more than 10 per cent of the stock in each of these companies). In fact, many of the largest oil companies are spin-offs from John D. Rockefeller's old Standard Oil of New Jersey empire, which was broken up by the Sherman Antitrust Act, and Rockefeller interests still heavily influence decisions at Atlantic-Richfield, Continental Oil, and Texaco.

With the old Rockefeller empire as a base, the oil companies have been able to consolidate and expand their stranglehold on the world's energy resources during the past sixty years. The top 15 oil companies now account for approximately 84 per cent of U.S. oil refining capacity, 72 per cent of natural gas production and reserve ownership, 30 per cent of domestic coal reserves and 20 per cent of coal production capacity, plus over 50 per cent of the uranium reserves.

Besides the oil companies' movement to buy up many of the world's remaining energy resources, they have also been able to gain control of the various stages in energy production, from the ownership of the fuel deposits to the delivery of the energy product to the consumer. Economists call this total control over each stage of the process "vertical integration." The oil companies regulate the exploration, drilling, and development of new sources of crude oil and natural gas. Because the major oil companies own most of the country's refining capacity, they can also adjust the amount of crude oil that is refined and the



kind of end-products produced — petrochemicals, insecticides, gasoline, plastics, or other industrial chemicals. In the next stage of the process, transporation and distribution of the oil-based products, the companies control a substantial share as well. Most of the country's pipeline systems, tankers, and wholesale and retail distribution outlets are owned and operated by the oil majors. With this massive concentration of economic power, the largest oil companies can determine not only the supply of petroleum products, but also the prices. The much lamented energy crisis is not some recently dreamed-up conspiracy by a group of greedy oil companies. It is just the outcome of a steady fifty-year growth process which has taken place in the oil industry with continual government support and encouragement.

As the accompanying state profiles illustrate, the South has long played an important part in this energy game. In the early days of the oil industry, when Rockefeller was king and the supplies of crude oil were relatively small, it was easy for the industry to command reasonably high prices. But during the Depression, this stable situation was completely transformed with the discovery of oil fields in eastern Texas. The east Texas fields were owned in small lots, mostly by farmers. Each owner rushed to draw as much out of the ground before neighbors drained the same reserves with their wells. The amount of crude oil on the market swelled and prices plummeted.

The oil industry giants saw price-fixing as the only way to maintain a high price. Since they couldn't do it themselves, they got the government to do it for them. State legislatures began enacting "prorationing laws" to limit production to what the country needed. Besides keeping the prices of crude oil high, these laws drove many of the smaller producers out of business, because they were permitted to operate their wells so rarely. Eventually many of the smaller producers stopped producing and were bought up by the oil industry giants. As it works now, the federal government estimates the demand for petroleum and then figures out how much crude oil should be pumped domestically. The government and the oil industry then coordinate this regulation of domestic supplies with the volume of imports, so as not to glut the petroleum market — or depress prices.

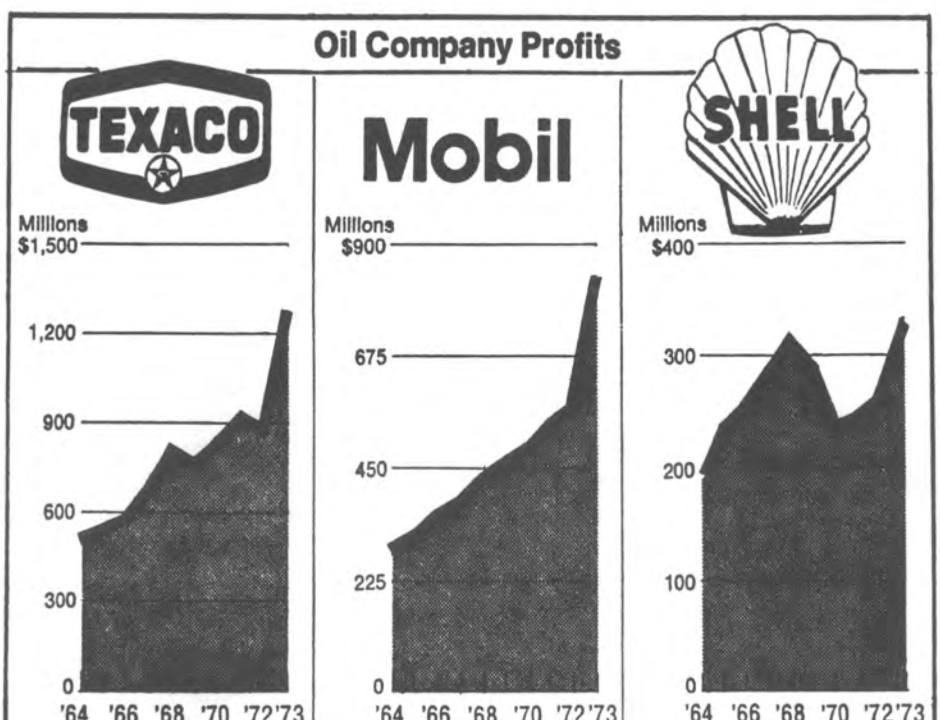
Until 1948, the United States exported a portion of its oil. Then came a major change in the oil resource game, as the major companies began buying up more and more foreign oil fields. The cost of producing oil overseas was incredibly low, even including tariffs, taxes and transportation costs. As a result, selling imported oil yielded even greater profits to the companies than their U.S.-produced oil did, so they imported more and more. But in order to avoid flooding the market and driving down the prices, domestic production in Louisiana and Texas had to be curtailed.

This shift spelled doom for the independent Texas-Louisiana oil producers. They could not sell their oil at prices competitive with the majors' Middle East operations. This clash between the domestic oil producers and the international companies led to the imposition of oil import quotas in 1959. In the beginning, the majors opposed the new import quotas since their operations were based on a plentiful supply of cheap foreign crude oil. Eventually, they began diverting their Middle East oil to more profitable foreign markets. And they realized they could also reap higher profits from their domestic production with an import quota that kept the prices up.

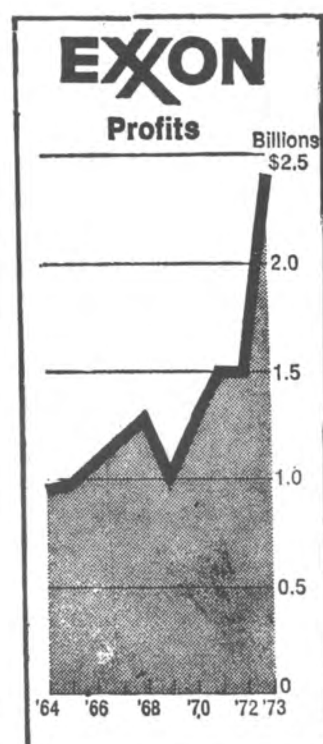
This arrangement worked well for the major oil companies until a new struggle erupted in 1970. Independent *refiners*, mainly in Louisiana and Texas, began warning about a shortage of oil products if the import quotas were not lifted to allow more crude to flow into their plants. Due to rising costs, the major companies had halted their investments in the U.S. for new refineries, as well as for exploration and development of new domestic oil reserves. With their large share of the domestic oil reserves, they could control the supply of crude oil to the smaller domestic refiners and thereby strengthen their own monopoly position over this phase of the industry. But the domestic oil refiners fought back by demanding that Nixon lift the import quotas and increase the supply of crude oil into the U.S. On April 18, 1973, the old import quota system was shelved and replaced with a weaker, rather ambiguous, tariff system which increased crude oil imports and encouraged new investment by the majors in expanded domestic refining capacity.

As the major companies increased their imports into the U.S., the oil-producing countries began to put more and more pressure on the oil companies' foreign holdings through increased taxes and nationalization threats. First, Iraq began receiving foreign assistance from the USSR in the development of its nationalized oil field. In Libya, Colonel Quaddafi made a deal with the maverick Occidental Petroleum Corporation, exchanging his country's oil for large royalty payments. This move took the major producers by surprise — a smaller company, Occidental, had slipped in and gained control over important Middle East reserves while giving the Libyan government a large share of the profits. Throughout the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) nations, the major oil companies' hegemony crumbled. As their oil profit centers in the Middle East disappeared, they were forced to return to the U.S. market in search of new profits.

As the companies looked homeward, they were met by new, unexpected surprises. At the very time that the oil companies hoped to increase their profits



Source: Company reports



at the expense of the U.S. energy consumer, wage-and-price controls were instituted, making it impossible to up the gasoline pump prices. U.S. oil fields had also peaked out and could no longer continue to increase their crude oil output. Because the profit potential had been greater outside the U.S. exploration for new oil supplies within the U.S. had slowed. New environmental considerations and the pinch of inflation had also slowed the increase in domestic refining capacity. In order to build new refining capacity and to explore for new domestic sources of oil, the oil companies insisted that they would need price increases and higher profits.

The new shifts in the international balance of power between the major oil companies and the oil-producing nations could have long-term implications for the South's resource colony. During the past two years, Exxon has substantially increased its crude oil exploration and production operations here in the South. In the 500,000 acre Jay Field on the Florida-Alabama border, Exxon has been producing over 25,000 barrels a day. In the past year, they have increased their drilling operations around Yawkey, West Virginia, and in their federally-leased tracts off the Louisiana shoreline to keep their hungry Baton Rouge refinery producing black gold. As the Texas-Louisiana oil and natural gas fields become depleted, the oil giants will look more and more to the lucrative offshore wells for easily obtainable crude. Many of the *nouveau-riche*, southern rimster oilmen, as well as the traditional Rockefeller-influenced energy barons, are quite anxious to take advantage of the Nixon-Ford scenario for Project Independence by renewing efforts to exploit our domestic resources. The superport-supertanker scheme — typified by the 13-company New Orleans venture called LOOP (Louisiana Offshore Oil Port) — and the stepped-up offshore drilling are paramount fixtures in the overall corporate energy fantasy. For the South, this will mean increased environmental dangers both on the land and offshore, while Wall Street's Rockefellers and the Southwestern cowboy-oilmen divvy up the spoils.

In the post-Vietnam era, we can expect to see the energy-resource war being brought home. All 'our boys' who fought and died in the imperialist war in Southeast Asia are coming home to labor again for the same corporate interests in the coal mines of West Virginia and on the offshore drilling rigs of Louisiana. The oil companies will increasingly turn their attention away from the angry Arabs and begin to do battle on the homefront for higher energy prices, more government tax incentives, and a loosening of all environmental restrictions. As the charts following indicate, the oil companies' monopoly forces have already consolidated themselves in preparation for the energy resource war.

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MAJOR OIL COMPANIES 1973-4 PROFITS (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

	1973 Net Income	%INCREASE 1972-73	*1974+* 1st Quarter	*1974+* 2nd Quarter
EXXON	2,440.0	59.3%	39%	70%
MOBIL	842.8	46.8%	66%	65%
TEXACO	1,292.4	45.4%	123%	111%
GULF	760.0	79.1%	76%	127%
SO. INDIANA	511.2	36.4%	81%	69%
SO. CALIF.	843.6	54.2%	92%	127%
TOTALS	6,690.0			
		53%*	78%	95%

+Over corresponding 1973 quarter profits.
*Discounted for inflation

Sources: *Fortune*, May, 1974; Rice, Kerr, & Co. *Summary*, April, 1974; *Business Week* May 11, 1974 and August 10, 1974, Senate Finance Committee, *Oil Company Profitability*, 1974.

Oil Company Director Interlocks

See Key to Interlocking Directors, page 148

TENNECO, INCORPORATED

1. Sydney Ellis, Seabrook, Texas, Exec. V.P.
2. Newton K. Hoverstock, V.P. Southwestern Bell Tel.
3. B. F. Biaggini, San Francisco, Cal., Pres. & C.E.O. Southern Pacific

ATLANTIC RICHFIELD

4. Robert Anderson, Roswell, N.M., Ch. and C.E.O.
5. Joseph A. Grazier, N.Y.C., Dir. Metropolitan Life Ins.
6. Donald M. Kendall, Greenwich, Conn., Ch. & C.E.O. Pepsico
7. Courtlandt S. Gross, Villanova, Pa., Dir. Girard Bank
8. L. M. Ream, Jr., Pasadena, Cal., Exec. V.P., ARCO
9. Frank Stanton, N.Y.C., Dir., CBS
10. Rollin Eckis. Pasadena, Cal. V. Chair., ARCO

SHELL OIL COMPANY

11. Chas. de Bretteville, Woodside, Cal., Ch. & C.E.O. Bank of Cal.
12. Monroe E. Spaght, London, Eng., Adv. Bd., Chemical Bank
13. J. E. Wallace Sterling, Woodside, Cal., Dir. Dean Witter Inc.
14. William Blackie, Peoria, Ill., Dir. , Caterpillar Truck Co.
15. William P. Gwinn, Palm Beach, Fla., Dir. United Aircraft

STANDARD OIL OF INDIANA

16. Blaine J. Yarrington, Arlington Heights, Ill,Pres., Amoco Oil
17. Robert H. Malott, Kenilworth, Ill., Ch. & C.E.O. FMC Corp
18. F. Randolph Yost, Chicago, Ill., V Pres., Standard Oil Ind.
19. Frank C. Osment, Winnetka, Ill., Pres. Amoco Int'l Oil Co.
20. John E. Swearingen, Chicago, Ill. Ch. & CEO Standard Oil Ind.
21. Richard D. Wood, Chair. Bd. Eli Lilly & Co.

STANDARD OIL OF CALIFORNIA

22. Rudolph A. Peterson, Oak Lawn, Ill., Ch. Exec. Comm. Bank of America
23. George M. Keller, San Mateo, Calif., V.P. Stand. Oil Calif.
24. John A McCone, Dir. of ITT
25. E. Hornsby Wasson, Hillsborough, Cal., Ch. Stanford Res.Inst.
26. H. J. Haynes, Kentfield, Cal., Pres. Standard Oil of Cal.
27. Charles M. Piggott, Ch. Bd. Wagner Mining Equip. Co
28. David Packard, Ch. Bd. Hewlett-Packard Co.

GULF OIL

29. B. R. Dorsey, Pittsburg, Pa., Ch. Bd. & CEO Gulf Oil
30. Beverly Matthews, Toronto, Can., Trans. Canada Pipe., Dir.
31. E. D. Brockett, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dir. Alcoa
32. James H. Higgins, Pittsburgh, Pa., Pres. Mellon Bank
33. Nathan W. Pearson, Dir. Hanna Mining

CITIES SERVICE

34. Charles J. Waidelich, Summit, N.J., Pres & Dir. Cities Serv.
35. F. H. Ramseur, Jr. Short Hills, N.J., Exec. VP Cities Serv.
36. Thomas S. Gates, Devon, Pa., Dir. Morgan Guaranty
37. George O. Nolley, Dir. First Nat. Bank of Tulsa
38. H. I. Romnes, Chatham, N.J., Dir. U.S. Steel

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM COMPANY

39. John M. Houchin, Bartlesville, Okl., Ch. of Bd.
40. William Piel, Jr., N.Y.C., Dir. Campbell Soup Co.
41. William I. Spencer, N.Y.C., Pres., First Nat. City Corp.
42. Clark M. Clifford, Dir. Ridder Publications

UNION OIL OF CALIFORNIA

43. Robert Di Giorgio, San Francisco, Cal. Dir. Bank of Amer
44. Prentis Hale, Chrm. Bd. Broadway Hale Stores
45. Henry T. Mudd, Los Angeles, Cal., Chrm & CEO CyprusMines

SUN OIL COMPANY

46. H. Robert Sharbaugh, Villanova, Pa., Pres. & Ch. Sun Oil
47. Robert Edwin Foss, Dallas, Tex., Dir. First Natl Bank Tulsa
48. William W. Scranton, Dalton, Pa., Dir. IBM, Pan Am, Scott

MOBIL OIL COMPANY

49. Fred J. Borch, N.Y.C., former Ch. Bd., General Electric
50. Lewis A. Laphan, Greenwich, Conn., V-Ch. Bankers Trust
51. Albert L. Nickerson, former Ch. Bd. Mobil
52. William Tavoulareas, Sands Pt., NY, Dir & Pres. Mobil
53. Rawleigh Warner, Jr., Ch. & CEO Mobil Oil
54. Albert L. Williams, Bronxville,N.Y., Ch.Fin.Comm. IBM

TEXACO, INC.

55. Gilbert W. Humphrey, Chagrin Falls, Ohio, Ch. Hanna Min.
56. Howard W. McCall, Jr. Darien, Conn. Adv. Chemical Bank
57. William McGill, Jr., N.Y.C., Pres. Columbia Univ.
58. Robert V. Roosa, Harrison, NY, Part., Brown Bros. Harriman
59. Laurie W. Folmar, Pelham,NY, Sen. V.P. Texaco
60. William Wrigley, Lake Geneva, Wis., Pres. & CEO Wm WrigleyCo

STANDARD OIL OF OHIO

61. Charles E. Spahr, Shaker Heights, Ohio, Ch & CEO Standard Oil of Ohio
62. Paul W. McCracken, Dir. S.S. Kresge Co.
63. Hobart Taylor, Jr.,Wash,D C , Aetna Life Ins. Dir.
64. Keith Glenham, director of various corporations
65. John J. Hangen, Centerville, Ohio, V.P. & Dir. NCR

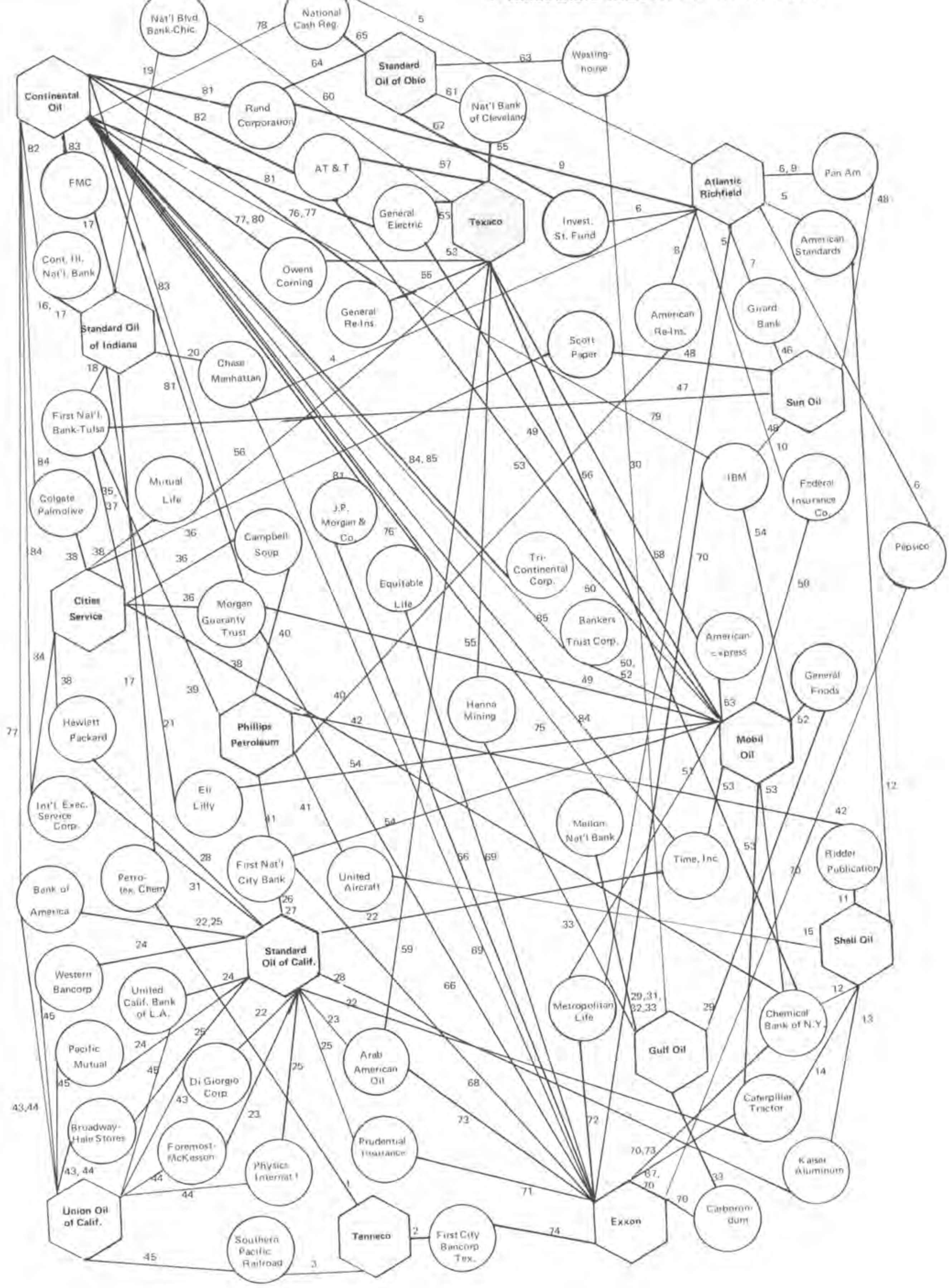
EXXON

66. Emilio Collado, N.Y.C., Exec. V.P. Exxon
67. William H. Franklin, Peoria, Ill, Ch. Fed. Res. Bank Chicago
68. Clifton C. Garvin, Jr., Greenwich, Conn., Pres. &VPExec. Committee Exxon
69. J. Kenneth Jamieson, Mamaroneck, NY, Ch. Bd. Exxon
70. T. Vincent Learson, Rye, N.Y., former Ch. & CEO IBM
71. Donald S. MacNaughton, Madison,N.J., CEO Prudential Life
72. Martha Peterson, N.Y.C., Pres. Barnard College
73. George Piercy, N.Y.C., Sr. V.P. Exxon
74. Myron Wright, Houston, Tex., Exec. VP of Exxon USA

CONTINENTAL OIL

75. John Corcoran, Pittsburgh, Pa., Pres. Consolidation Coal
76. Charles W. Buck, Darien, Conn., Pres. & CEO US Trust Co.
77. John G. McLean, Stamford, Conn., Ch. & CEO Cont. Oil
78. Charles A. Anderson, Atherton, Cal., Dir. NCR
79. Gilbert E. Jones, Ch. Bd. IBM
80. Lauris Norstad, Dublin, N.H., Dir. United Airlines
81. J.P. Austin, Atlanta, Ga., Dir. Coca-Cola
82. W. A. Hewitt, Rock Island, Ill, Ch. & CEO Deere & Co.
83. Neil McKinnon, Toronto, Canada, Ch. Canadian Imp. Bank
84. Frank Pace, Jr., Greenwich, Conn., Dir. Time, Inc.
85. Andrew Tarkington, Stamford, Conn., Dir. Bankers Trust

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORS OF OIL COMPANIES



Back to Good Ole Coal

I.

During the past few years, coal has been viewed as the vital link between the Age of Oil and the Age of the Atom. Domestic reserves of oil were getting scarce and more costly to refine. The major oil companies' Middle East holdings were becoming more vulnerable to stiffer taxation, nationalization, and other anti-imperialist measures. The nation's energy savior, nuclear power, was increasingly discredited for its dangerous safety, environmental hazards and financial unfeasibility. In looking for a panacea to untangle the country's rapidly multiplying energy problems, the oil companies have turned to the coal industry for a profitable solution.

Since the early Sixties, the structure of the coal industry has undergone an enormous change. Many of the major coal companies have been bought up by the oil companies and their allies in the metal and steel industries. Gulf Oil started the merger race in 1963 when it acquired Pittsburg & Midway Coal. Consolidation was bought by Continental Oil in 1966, Island Creek by Occidental Petroleum and Old Ben by Standard Oil of Ohio in 1968. In addition, other oil companies, including Exxon, Mobil, Texaco and Ashland, entered the coal business either by acquiring medium-sized coal producers or by purchasing coal reserves.

Several reasons underlay this buying spree, besides the overall merger movement which took place throughout the U.S. economy during the late 1960's. Coal was seen as a terrific long-term investment by oil company executives. With control over competing resources (oil, natural gas, coal and nuclear fuels), the companies were able to achieve what economists call horizontal integration. Under these conditions, the companies could begin playing one resource off against the others in an attempt to drive up the prices for all of them. The oil industry managed to inflate the price of oil to a level that for the first time in thirty years makes coal look like an economically attractive alternative.

In the past, the oil company barons had been mortal enemies of the coal producers. They had successfully retarded the development of coal, first by cut-throat economic competition for the same markets, and later by less ethical practices including the suppression of oil-from-coal technology, political pressure on Congress to withhold funds for coal research, and "dumping" imported oil to undercut eastern coal markets. The process of sabotaging the development of coal gasification technology began back in the 1930's. At that time, I.G. Farben, a German chemical company, had successfully developed the process of hydrogenation, in which coal can be converted into petroleum. Immediately Standard Oil of New Jersey (now Exxon) rushed in to make a non-competition treaty with Farben. As James Ridgeway documents in his book *The Last Play*, Standard Oil captured exclusive rights to the coal gasification process outside of Germany and thereby successfully protected its worldwide fuel production hegemony.

But now all that former hostility has vanished. The big oil companies, along with their allies in the metal and steel industries, are carrying out the resurrection and restructuring of the coal industry. It now becomes obvious that one of the oil companies' major interests in the coal industry, besides its enormous profitability, is the current economic possibility for developing the oil-from-coal process. If the independent coal producers could have perfected a method of producing gas from the nation's enormous coal reserves, they would have threatened the very existence of the oil industry. But it appears that the oil companies have triumphed by continuing to buy up much of the nation's remaining coal reserves. If the oil giants are able to maintain super-high prices for fuel, it will be possible for them to finance the massive capital investments required to develop and refurbish the coal/synthetics industry without having to rely heavily on outside financing and exorbitant interest rates.

The entrance of the oil companies into the coal business has brought about other major changes as well. Even though they took over coal primarily as a long-range investment, the oil companies *et al.* have moved quickly to restructure the industry on a new basis. The companies were accustomed to stable prices and profits in their other enterprises, and they demanded the same in coal production. Consequently, the largest companies introduced long-term supply contracts as a marketing innovation. Previously, most coal had been sold on the so-called "spot market," with the notable exception of the TVA-purchased coal. These new five to thirty-year agreements were especially important because they were often prerequisites for obtaining financing for mine improvements and expansion.

As the companies tied up large blocs of coal in long-term contracts, shortages were created in the short-term spot markets and prices skyrocketed. When oil became hard to get during the Arab oil embargo, many East Coast utilities made the unpleasant discovery that coal — the fuel that they had been counting on to tide them through the oil crisis — was also scarce and expensive. Even before this, many electric utilities such as Duke Power and American Electric Power scrambled to buy up their own captive mines. Others rushed to make long-term contracts with foreign producers, such as the Southern Company's purchase of 2.5 million tons from South Africa's slave-mined coal producers.

In spite of this resurgence, the large coal producers are not moving with any haste to step up coal production to meet the rising demand. Coal production in 1973 was 33 million tons below consumption, including exports of 52 million tons. The wide gulf between production and consumption was made up only by ransacking coal stockpiles that had been accumulated since 1970, reducing them to their lowest level in years. The coal companies are also extremely reluctant to expand their coal production facilities unless they are guaranteed *in advance* an assured market at an acceptable price per ton for their coal. Just as the oil companies have lagged behind in building new refineries, the coal companies have also used this strategy for keeping supplies scarce while prices skyrocket. Presumably, the coal industry will be lobbying in the near future to encourage the government to provide "investment insurance" through various tax incentives, government coal purchases, relaxation of anti-trust regulation, and, if necessary, appropriate price controls.

The entrance of outside interests into the coal industry has also caused a tremendous increase in the concentration of productive capacity in a few greedy hands. The twenty-five largest companies produce nearly 60 per cent of the nation's coal. Eighteen of the twenty-five are controlled by "outside interests": seven are oil and gas companies, eight are primarily non-ferrous or steel firms, and two are electric power companies. The oil and gas industry alone controls more than 23 per cent of U.S. production, although ten years ago they had practically none.

Actually, the coal industry is even more concentrated than indicated by production statistics since many of the largest producers market coal for smaller companies and lease their coal reserves. The 15 largest companies, through their own production and by acting as brokers for smaller companies, actually control an estimated 60 per cent of annual U.S. coal sales. By the end of 1972, the largest 45 coal producers accounted for more than 67 per cent of all production, while the smallest 3,800 producers accounted for only 19 per cent. In the last few years, small coal companies have gone out of business in droves due to increased costs. About a thousand companies went out of business between 1969 and 1972.

More and more small and medium coal producers

are expected to be shoved out of the industry during the next decade because real economic power in an extractive industry like coal resides in control of future reserves. Control of this all-important future coal production by outside interests is even more striking than control of current production. Only six of the top 27 holders of coal reserves are independent coal producers, including the highly diversified Pittston Company. Eight oil/gas companies — Continental, Exxon, Gulf, Occidental, Texaco, Eastern Gas & Fuel, Kerr-McGee, and Standard Oil of Ohio — account for over 25 billion tons of the nation's recoverable coal reserves, compared to about 6 billion tons owned by the six largest independent coal producers.

One critical factor in the coal industry's future development is that the largest share of coal reserves owned by outside interests are located in the Far West, rather than the Appalachian and Midwestern coal fields. The two largest coal reserve owners, Burlington Northern and Union Pacific Railroads, have their entire holdings in the West. A substantial portion of the total coal reserves controlled by Kennecott Copper, Continental Oil, Exxon, U.S. Steel, and Westmoreland Coal are also found in the Far West. Significant portions of these western coal reserves contain high-grade, low sulphur coal which is also easily strippable. This will have important repercussions for the future of the Appalachian coal fields. Despite the high demand for coal, the eight Appalachian coal-producing states (Alabama, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee and West Virginia) showed a loss of 2 per cent in output between 1972 and 1973, declining from 389.5 million tons to 381.5 million. In contrast, during the same period of time the nine major western coal producing states increased their output from about 48 million to 60 million tons (over 80 per cent of which was strip mined). But it is expected that sky-high transportation costs for getting the western coal to northeastern markets will prohibit a mass exodus from the Appalachian coalfields.

In the future there will still be many conflicts between the large corporations that dominate the coal industry over the use of underground or surface mining, eastern or western coal reserves, long-term contract or spot market production. But, generally, the oil, gas, steel and electric companies that dominate the coal industry will be working for similar goals. All of the companies will be working to obtain high and stable prices, with the oil companies leading the way by manipulating market supplies of different resources for hiking prices. With the dominance of large producers, the long-term contract market (20 to 30 years) will be expanded and stabilized, including increased exports. Many businessmen have already stressed the crucial importance of increased coal production as a way of solving the U.S. balance of payments dilemma — both as a substitute for increased oil imports and as an export product to other energy-hungry capitalist countries.

The coal industry's future will also fit quite nicely with the government's widely publicized goal of energy self-sufficiency — Project Independence. U.S. coal reserves are extremely plentiful, making

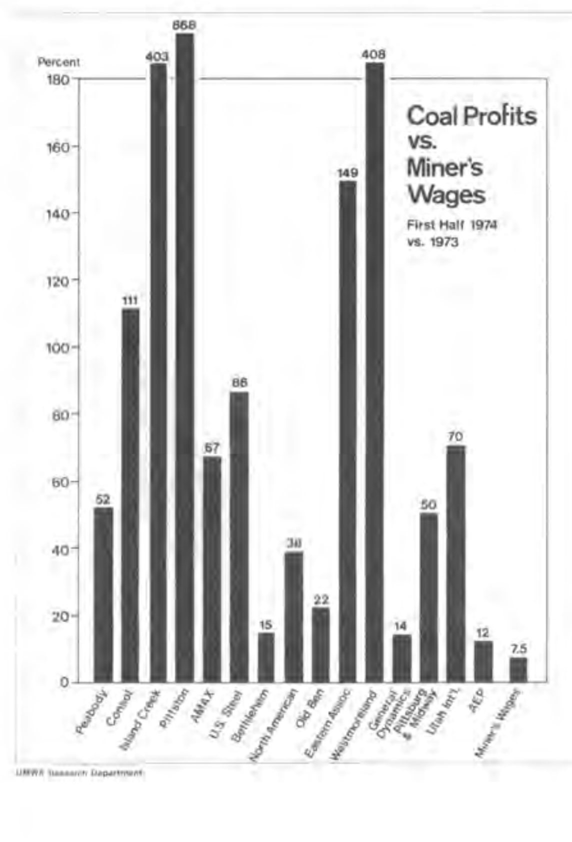
Who Controls Production Now?

15 Largest Coal Producers	Major Interest	1973 Production in Tons
Kennecott Copper (Peabody Coal Co.)	METAL	71,595,310
Continental Oil (Consolidation Coal Co.)	OIL	64,942,000
Occidental Petroleum (Island Creek Coal Co.)	OIL	22,605,114
Pittston Co.	COAL	20,639,020
U. S. Steel Corp.	STEEL	16,254,400
American Metal Climax, Inc.	METAL, OIL	15,718,787
Bethlehem Mines Corp.	STEEL	13,335,245
Eastern Gas and Fuel (Eastern Associated Coal Corp.)	GAS	12,528,429
North American Coal Corp.	COAL	11,991,004
Standard Oil of Ohio (Old Ben Coal Corp.)	OIL	11,235,910
General Dynamics	AIRCRAFT, WEAPONS	9,951,263
Westmoreland Coal Co.	COAL	9,063,919
Gulf Oil (Pittsburg & Midway Coal Mining Co.)	OIL	7,458,791
American Electric Power (Central Ohio, Central Appal., Windsor Power Coal)	ELECTRIC UTIL.	7,437,000
Utah International	COAL, METAL	6,898,262

Who Owns Coal For The Future?

Company	Est. Reserves Total (Billion Tons)	Low Sulphur
Burlington Northern RR	11.0 Bil.	100%
Union Pacific RR	10.0 Bil.	50%
Kennecott Copper (Peabody Coal)	8.7 Bil.	27%
Continental Oil (Consolidation Coal)	8.1 Bil.	35%
Exxon (Monterey Coal)	7.0 Bil.	N.A.
American Metal Climax (Amax Coal)	4.6 Bil.	50%
Occidental Petroleum (Island Creek Coal)	3.3 Bil.	28%
United States Steel	3.0 Bil.	N.A.
Gulf Oil (Pitts. & Midway Coal)	2.6 Bil.	8%
North American Coal	2.5 Bil.	80%
Reynolds Metals	2.1 Bil.	95%
Bethlehem Steel	1.8 Bil.	N.A.
Pacific Power & Light	1.6 Bil.	100%
American Electric Pwr.	1.5 Bil.	minimal
Eastern Gas & Fuel Assoc. (Eastern Assoc. Coal)	1.5 Bil.	33%
Kerr-McGee	1.5 Bil.	60%
Norfolk & Western RR	1.4 Bil.	99%
Utah International	1.3 Bil.	94%
Westmoreland Coal	1.2 Bil.	88%
Pittston Co.	1.[illegible] Bil.	100%
Montana Power (Western Energy)	1 Bil.	100%
Standard Oil of Ohio (Old Ben Coal)	.8 Bil.	minimal
Ziegler Coal	.8 Bil.	0
General Dynamics (Freeman United Elec.)	.6 Bil.	0
Rochester & Pitts. Coal	.3 Bil.	0
Carbon Fuel	.1 Bil.	97%
Amer. Smelting & Refin. (Midland Coal)	.1 Bil.	0

(N.A.—Not Available)



up about 87 per cent of the country's total fossil fuel reserves. Besides being within our boundaries, most of the coal reserves are also located in regions that historically have been open to easy manipulation by outside interests. In the Appalachain region, over a half-century of forced reliance on coal mining as the single source of economic activity has left the area economically underdeveloped as well as politically backward and powerless. Somewhat similar conditions exist in the coal rich western states.

In order to insure this increased domestic coal production, the industry's lobbying group, the National Coal Association, will most certainly gear up its campaign to receive "more positive government intervention" from the taxpayers to subsidize its expansion plans. The NCA will also continue its lobbying to prevent any "negative" government intervention in the coal production process through environmental and health and safety regulations. This group, along with its negotiating arm, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, will also continue its war against the newly-revitalized United Mine Workers, particularly by trying to develop a small force of highly-paid strip-miners as a non-union labor elite.

As the accompanying interlock charts indicate, the coal industry is more highly concentrated, better financed, and more monopolistically-controlled than ever before. It is also more capable of ravaging virgin lands, taking advantage of miners, and putting the squeeze on energy consumers. Conversely, those regions — like Appalachia and the Far West — which possess great coal reserves are in an even better position to extract concessions from the giant coal operators.

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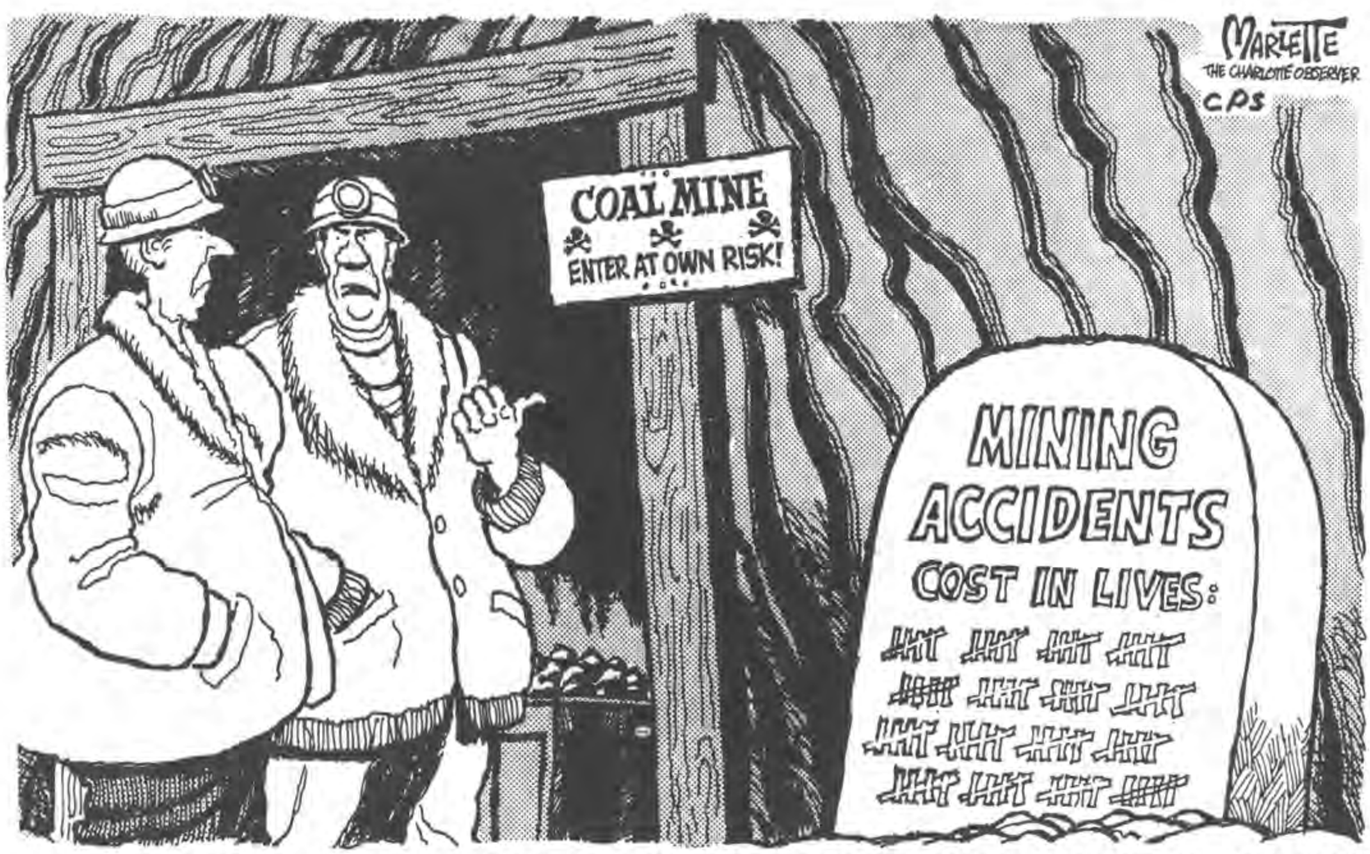


I WONDER HOW THE POWER COMPANIES PASS THAT COST ALONG TO THEIR CUSTOMERS!"

Coal Company Director Interlocks

See Key to Interlocking Directors, page 148

KENNECOTT COPPER

1. John M. Schiff, N.Y.C., Partner, Kuhn, Loeb, & Co.
2. J. Peter Grace, N.Y.C., Chairman & C.E.O., W.R. Grace & Co.
3. Roy W. Simmons, Chairman, Utah Bus. Develop. Corp.
4. William Thayer Tutt, Colorado Springs,Col., Pres., Broadmoor Hotel Inc.
5. George Russell, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., Finance Committee, General Motors Corp.
6. Gavin K. McBain, N.Y.C., Ch.Bd., Bristol-Myers Co.
7. Robert S. Hatfield, Greenwich Conn., Ch. &C.E.O., Cont. Can

CONTINENTAL OIL

8. John G. McLean, Stamford, Conn., Ch. & C.E.O. Cont. Oil Co.
9. John Corcoran, Pittsburgh, Pa., Pres., Consolidated Coal Co.
10. Charles W. Buck, Darien Conn., Pres. & C.E.O. & Trustee, U.S. Trust Co.
11. Gilbert E. Jones, Chair. of Board, I.B.M.
12. Lauris Norstad, Dublin, N.H., Director of various Corps.
13. J. P. Austin, Atlanta, Ga., Chair. & C.E.O., Coca-Cola
14. W. A. Hewitt, Rock Island, Ill., Chair. & C.E.O., Deere & Co.
15. Neil McKinnon, Toronto, Can., Canadian Imper. Bank
16. Frank Pace, Jr., Greenwich, Conn., Pres. Int'l Exec. Service Corp.

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM

17. Herman L. Vail, Cleveland, Ohio, Adv.Dir., Cleveland Trust Co.

PITTSTON

18. Henry J. Taylor, N.Y.C. Ad. Bd. and Dir., Chemical Bank

AMERICAN METAL CLIMAX

19. Ian MacGregor Greenwich, Conn., Chair. of the Bd.& C.E.O.
20. John B. Aird, Toronto, Canada, Member of Canadian Senate
21. George W. Ball, Dir., Burlington Industries
22. William A.M. Burden, N.Y.C., Dir., C.B.S.
23. Gordon W. Reed, Greenwich, Conn. Dir. Putnam Trust Co.

EASTERN GAS & FUEL

24. Eli Goldston, Cambridge, Mass., Ch. & C.E.O., Eastern Gas and Fuel
25. John N. Phillips, Boston, Mass., Pres., Eastern Gas & Fuel
26. Paul C. Cabot, Needham, Mass., Dir., Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.

GENERAL DYNAMICS

27. Robert W. Reneker, Chicago, Ill., Pres. & C.E.O., Esmark, Inc.

GULF OIL

28. B. R. Dorsey, Pittsburgh, Pa. Chair. of Bd. and C.EO.
29. R. Hal Dean, Glendale, Mo., Ch. & C.E.O., Ralston-Purina Co.
30. Beverly Matthews, Toronto, Canada, V-Pres., Toronto-Dom.Bank
31. E.D. Brockett, Pittsburgh, Pa., former Ch. & C.E.O.
32. James H. Higgins, Sewickly, Pa., Pres. of Mellon Bank and Subs.
33. Nathan Pearson, director of various corp.

UTAH INTERNATIONAL

34. E. W. Littlefield, Burlingame, Calif., Ch. & CEO, Utah, Intl.
35. George S. Eccles, Salt Lake City, Utah, Pres. & C.E.O., First Security Corp.
36. Ernest E. Arbuckle, Menlo Park, Calif., Ch., Wells Fargo Co.
37. Arjay Miller, Dean, Grad. School of Bus., Stanford

BETHLEHEM STEEL

38. Lewis W. Foy, Somerset, Pa., Pres. Bethlehem Steel
39. Crowdus Baker, Northfield, Ill., director of various corp.
40. Thomas S. Gates, Devon, Pa., director of various corp.
41. George P. Jenkins, N.Y.C., Vice-Ch. Metropolitan Life Ins.

NORTH AMERICAN COAL

42. James A. Hughes, Cleveland, Ohio, Ch. & C.E.O., Diamond Shamrock Corp.
43. Everett W. Smith, Gates Mills, Ohio, Ch. Cleveland Trust Co.

U. S. STEEL

44. Roger M. Blough, former Chair., U.S. Steel
45. George S. Moore, Conn., former Chair., First Nat'l. City Bank
46. Henry S. Wingate, N.Y.C., former Chair., Int'l Nickel
47. Robert C. Tyson, N.Y.C., director various corp.
48. Charles F. Myers, Greensboro, N.C., Ch. of Burlington Ind.
49. Donald B. Smiley, Conn., Chair., C.E.O., R. H. Macy & Co.
50. HarlleeBranch, Jr., Atlanta, Ga., former Ch., The Southern Co.
51. Thomas V. Jones, Los Angeles, Calif., Ch. & Pres. NorthropCorp.
52. William McMartin, Jr., former Ch., Federal Reserve Board
53. H. I. Romnes, Chatham, N.J., Ch. Exec. Comm., AT&T
54. John M. Meyer, Jr. Greenwich, Conn., former Ch., Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.

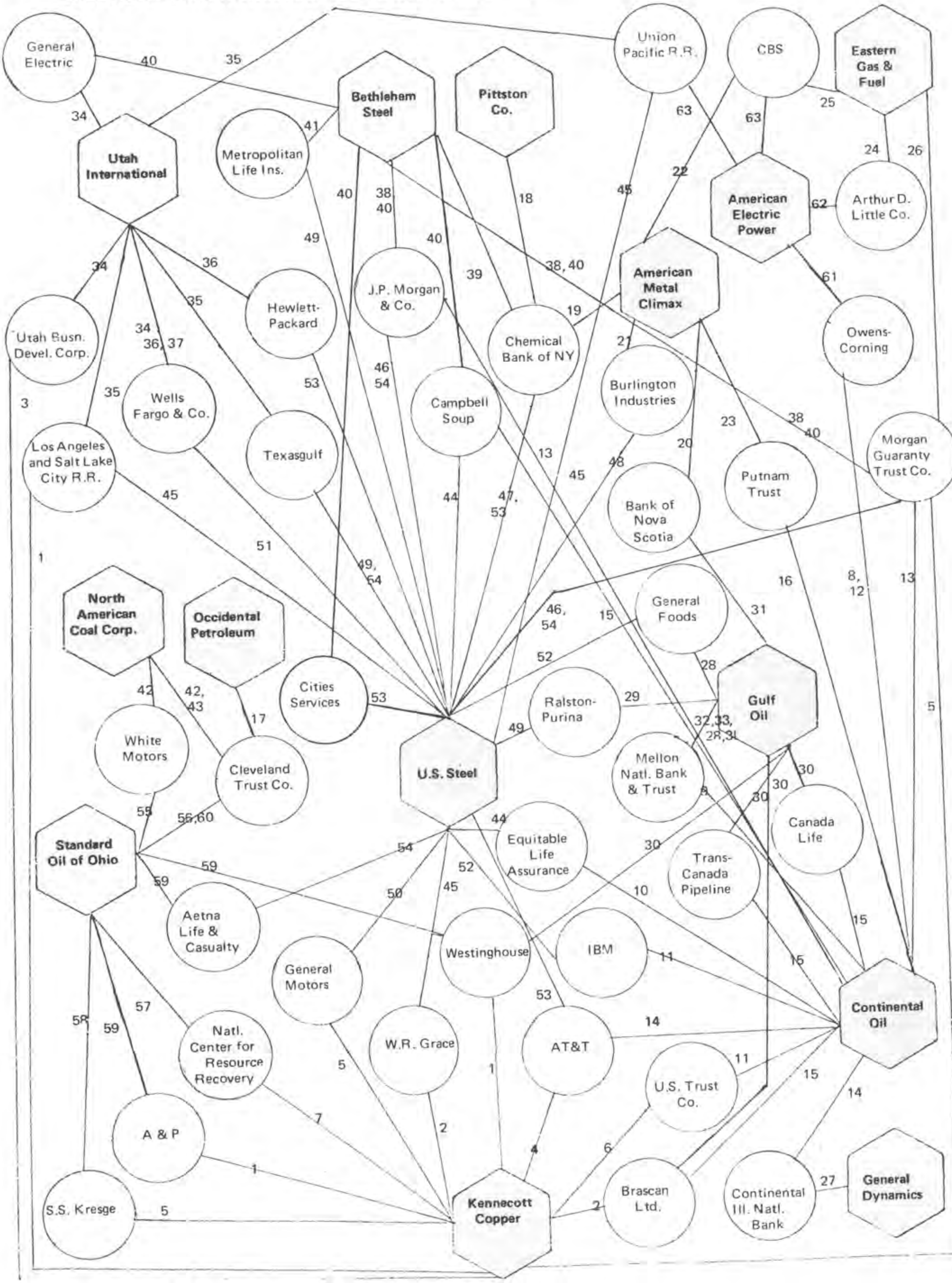
STANDARD OIL OF OHIO

55. Charles E. Spahr, , Shaker Heights, Ohio, Ch. of Bd. & C.E.O.
56. Alton W. Whitehouse, Jr., Gates Mills, Ohio, President
57. Ralph H. Hart, Bloomfield Conn., Senior V-Pres.
58. Paul W. McCracken, director of various corporations
59. Hobart Taylor, Jr., director of various corporations
60. William J. DeLencey Shaker Heights, Ohio; Pres. of Republic Steel Corp.

AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER

61. William W.Boerschenstein, St. Perrysburg, Ohio, Pres. Owens-Corning Fiber Glass Co.
62. James M. Gavin, Chestnut Hill, Mass., Ch., Arthur Little Inc.
63. Courtney C. Brown, Scarsdale, N.Y., retired dean, School of Bus., Columbia Univ.

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORS OF COAL COMPANIES



Tree Killers on the Rampage

I.

Quietly, without fanfare or bloodshed, another massive raid is being made on the South. The warriors are all "respectable" citizens, meticulously directing their troops from their well-furnished corporate offices. They talk about "multiple-use resource development," "even-age forest management," (clearcutting), and "super-tree reforestation." Their companies have turned out at least a forest's worth of propaganda on their ecological concerns and their deep respect for the land, but one glance at their profit figures leaves no doubt about what their true interests are. In 1973, every major forest products company posted record earnings, with increases ranging from 50 to 200 per cent.

All across the South, the victims of this ongoing battle stand quiet, without comment or protest. As the oldest and most populous residents of the southland, the virgin timberland innocently expands upward without knowing of the comprehensive battle plans that are being perpetrated against it. Some paper industry captains see the sturdy southern pines as the answer to plugging the holes in the sagging U.S. balance of payments. They borrow lines from their oil company brothers — manufacture a 'crisis', fabricate a coming shortage, gain a monopoly grip on the natural resources — the same old song-and-dance prescriptions for falling rates of profit. But for the paper company executives, there are no "greedy shieks" to deal with. Most of the timberland resources are tucked safely away in the paper companies' back pockets, and the U.S. Forest Service (the guardian of our public timber lands) continues its marionette-like movements to the whims and wishes of the paper/pulp industry.

The key to the industry's plan to drown us all in our own paper products rests in the peaceful solitude of the South's much-talked-of *Third Forest*. *Forbes* magazine recently referred to it as "the new U.S. woodbasket." In order to get some idea of the fate of the South's Third Forest, let us recall the tragic fates of both the first and second forests of the South.

Captain John Smith was one of the first colonists to sense the economic potential of the South's forests. As a Southern Forest Institute pamphlet recounts: "In (Smith's) initial report to his superiors in London, he noted the immensity of the forest and sought permission to explore the commercial possibilities." Soon after this, Smith began building the first sawmill near the Jamestown settlement in Virginia. During the next three centuries, the South's virgin timberland — particularly the hardwoods used in

Photo by Ralford Ragsdale

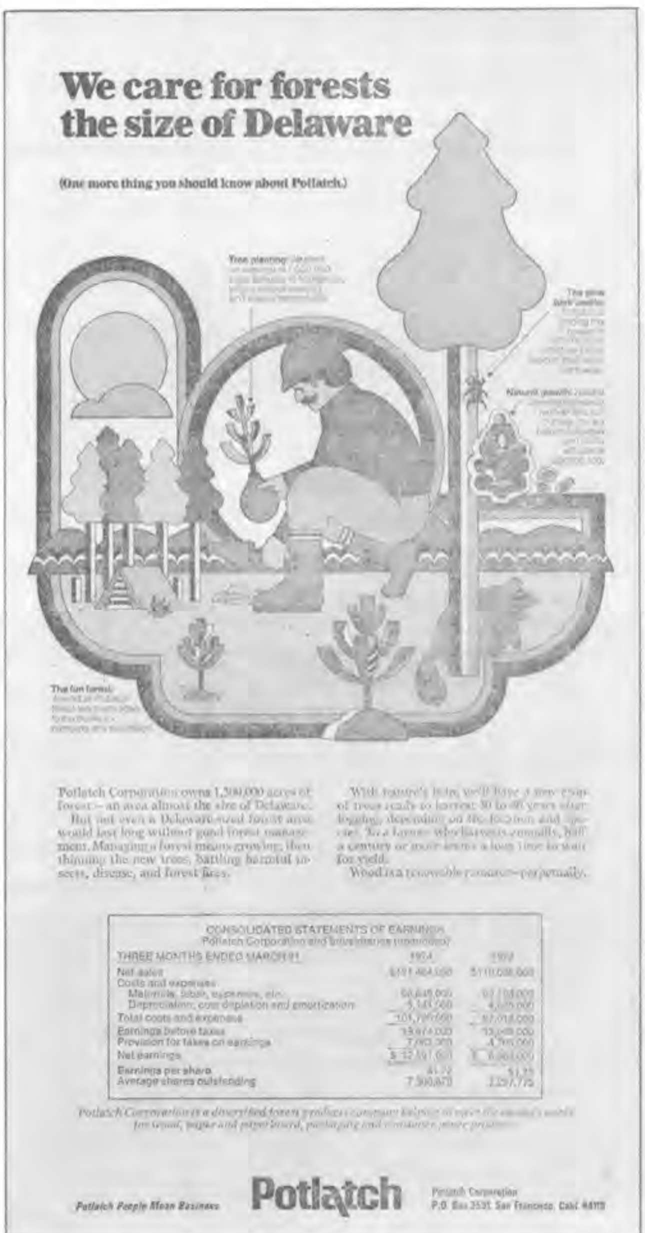
construction — gradually disappeared. By 1909, the 5000 lumber towns which dotted the South had cut over a trillion board feet of timber, leaving the *First Forest* totally decimated. Gifford Pinchot and other conservationists predicted that the forest was approaching extinction. In response to this possibility, the paper/pulp industry began a massive exodus to the Pacific Northwest. The capitalistic boom-bust cycles of production and resource-exploitation left Southerners without jobs, or capital, or trees.

The beginning of the South's *Second Forest* is usually dated around the 1920's with the introduction of new scientific forestry principles. Individual state governments belatedly rushed in to cope with

Company	1973 Sales	Net Income (millions)	US Acres Owned (thousands)	International Acreage (thousands)	Leases, Cutting Rights Acge. (thousands)
Weyerhaeuser	$2,301,731[1]	$349	5,671	48	10,723
International Paper	2,314,300	160	6,769	1,360	15,560
Georgia Pacific	2,228,700	169	3,275	1,225[2]	1,498
Champion International	2,207,956	87	2,371	108[2]	4,871
Boise Cascade		90	1,950	12	4,160
Crown Zellerbach	1,363,622	103	1,463	178	1,775
Kimberly Clark	1,180,000	77	1,300	NA	8,900
Mead	1,298,641	50	939	NA	5,441
St. Regis Paper	1,133,843	62	2,586	NA	3,098
Westvaco	655,536	43	1,025	75[3]	NA
Diamond International	687,723	44	1,376	5	27
Hammermill	477,890	17	330	NA	55
Scott Paper			1,836	1,096	403
Great Northern Nekoosa			2,584	NA	185

[1]Plus real estate subsidiary sales of $150 million. NA—Not Available.
[2]In Canada and Brazil. [3]In Brazil only.

reprinted from **The Elements**, October, 1974



the massive erosion caused by clear cutting. With the federal government's help, they set up forest departments, offered tax incentives for timber growers, and began seeding the hillsides with the fast-growing pines that now supply the South's numerous paper/pulp mills. The Great Depression provided both money for planting and time for the trees to grow, since it wiped out the region's remaining timber companies. By the late 1930's, the timber companies had begun their recovery from the Depression, and by the time World War II rolled around, tree-killing was on the climb again, soaring to an all-time high with the military requirements of the war.

The Southern Forest Resource Council characterized the 1945-68 period as the "golden era for Southern forestry." During this period, the paper/pulp industry developed 48 million acres of tree farms, and production of pulpwood from the South's coniferous or softwood trees quadrupled. Sensing easy and abundant pickings, the old cut-out-and-get-out lumbering companies returned to the South. Although these same companies had left the southern forests a virtual prairie of wasted stumps, they were not met with hostility; rather, they were welcomed with increased tax breaks, money and technical assistance from federal and state government. In the last two decades, timber-products companies have purchased over 8,000,000 acres of woodlands, much of it from failing farmers. By 1968, "the southern resource colony" provided 64 per cent of the country's pulpwood, 29 per cent of its plywood, and 34 per cent of its finished lumber. By the year 2000, it is estimated that the South's paper/pulp production will double the 1968 output.

II.

The pattern of timber land ownership is a critical factor in making the South the new "U.S. woodbasket." Nearly 40 per cent of the nation's commercial (i.e., harvestable) forests are in the South, and half of the 67 million acres the paper/pulp industry owns nationally is in the region. While the federal government owns over half of the country's forestland, and supplies 27 per cent of the softwood harvest, only 9 per cent of the southern forests are federally-owned. Thus, a smaller portion of the region's output is directly subjected to political and environmental controls that curtail the industry's notion of full-scale production. Conversely, the paper/pulp industry owns a larger share of the South's timberland — 35 million acres or 18 per cent compared with 13 per cent nationally — and it squeezes a higher yield from these acres than do other owners. Because of the natural advantages of soil, climate and rainfall, the South already grows trees in two-thirds to half the time needed in the Pacific Northwest. But this is not swift enough for the expanding appetites of paper company executives. Through the introduction of artificial super-tree breeding techniques on their huge tree farms, they hope to boost the region's output even further. Pushing environmental dangers aside, the industry boldly predicts that the South's forest will become the most productive in the world in the near future.

But industry-owned land will not be enough to supply the mills that are making paper and wood products at a record rate. And that's where the *Third Forest* comes in. The small landowner is encouraged to plant trees now because forests started during the 1930's and 40's are being cut faster than new ones are grown. In 1971, 60 per cent of the 1.6 million acres seeded were in the South, but this one million acres barely kept pace with cutting in the region. Once again, the capacity to cut and process forest products is out-stripping the land's ability to resupply the machines. Like other private manufacturers, the paper/pulp industry has traditionally geared up production, cut prices to increase demand and drive out competition, and then raised prices to net higher profits under semi-monopoly conditions. With both record profit rates and record demand (this time in paper products rather than construction-related lumber), the industry finds it hard to restrain its consumption of timber. This kind of boom is what led to the devastation of the first and now the second forests. To avoid a full-scale bust, the industry is promoting its plan for a third forest of supertrees. Whether their fantasy of efficiently-managed, instant growing trees is closer to reality than the Hitler dream of a Nietzschean super-race has yet to be established. Regardless of long-term consequences, they are moving ahead with the plan.

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

Because forest land has become so expensive, the paper industry is developing enticing programs to lure the 1,800,000 small landowners who hold 75 per cent of the South's forest into the super-tree growing business. But many of these small landowners hold the land for a variety of other reasons — for recreation, wildlife protection, speculation, retirement, or aesthetic value. Most have little interest in making sizable timber investments for either financial or environmental reasons. Many of them despise the paper/pulp companies for their long history of environmental destruction. Although there is a relatively low rate of return on timber growing investments, the paper/pulp companies hope that if they 'cry wolf' loud enough about a timber resources crisis, they'll be able to get the government to jump in and help put the squeeze on the South's small landowners to become tree farmers.

Dr. Benton Box of the Southern Forest Institute has said that he hopes to "enlist 500,000 people to win the battle for growing and harvesting trees. Even though we appear to be in some danger of being 'cut off at the Resources Pass', logical, systematic, and strong efforts by the industry and the American people can assure us of continuing our natural self-renewing supply of fibres." Box and his paper/pulp company allies have suggested an extension of federal and state programs to offer individuals incentives to bring their lands under "use and replenish cycles" through increased tax benefits, forestry service and fire control programs, conservation programs, and government dollars for planning. Some industry officials have even appealed to the government and small landowners in the name of the national interest for the sake of all future unborn generations, while carefully failing to mention paper industry profits and speeded-up timber removals. Like so many other U.S. industries, the lobbyists for the timber companies, chiefly the American Forest Institute and the National Forest Products Institute are pressuring the government for continued capital gains tax breaks, a timber depletion allowance, public land timber cutting, and USDA research and development money.

Through the Forest Service, the government is helping the timber industry in even more direct ways. Harvesting from the national forests climbed from 4.8 billion board feet in 1950 to 12.2 billion board feet in 1972, with much of the increase coming from former scenic and wilderness areas. Two-thirds of the Forest Service budget is devoted to assisting timber production, and the agency hopes to increase harvests on public land by 50 per cent in ten years, even though it is 733,000 acres behind in reforesting clearcut lands. No wonder a Ralph Nader study, *The Last Stand*, concluded that the U.S. Forest Service policies "are transforming the nation's vast public timberlands into a *de facto* tree farm." Harvests from the Forest Service land are more important in other regions than the South, but the timber industry looks hungrily at every available area in this period before their projected super-tree Third Forest reaches maturity. So large chunks of the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia are destined to join other clearcut land in the area; in all, some 80 per cent of the Forest's 820,000 acres are scheduled to be clearcut in the coming years. Meanwhile, in Florida, employees at the State Division of Forestry warned that the government and timber companies were conspiring to cut trees from the Big Cypress Swamp. Fort Myers district forester Geza Wass de Czege lost his job when he objected to the secret plot. Because the companies were planning to take more trees than they were willing to plant, Wass de Czege predicted that over a period of years, all the cypress trees in the area would be destroyed. One state planning employee commented, "I don't know what the forestry people think they're doing. We're trying to save the trees for the people, not for some damned timber company."

III.

Devising strategies to break the hold the timber companies have on our forestland is no easy task. The land they control is so vast that a few giants can regulate market supplies and practically dictate prices at will. At the same time, their direct ownership, leasing arrangement, and lobbying power stymies other types of land development which might benefit local residents in the area. The industry plans for a large-scale mechanization of the paper/pulp process will undoubtedly throw thousands of both industry workers and independent cutters out of their jobs in the near future.

Increased work by the Paperworkers International Union and the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association may help to protect paper industry jobs, increase wages, and strengthen health and safety measures in this very dangerous industry. Stricter zoning, land-use measures, and increased taxes on the largest monopoly paper/pulp producers may help somewhat in saving the South's timberland from the paper companies ravages and may assist in keeping some of the companies' skyrocketing profits here in the region. But these are only band-aid measures for fighting a potentially devastating pestilence in the South's majestic timberlands. The questions to be asked are *not* how can this paper/pulp industry be further controlled by regulatory agencies. Regulation of private corporations by government agencies has been and continues to be a farce. For our forests' sake and for our own sake, it is time to take back our forests from these callous and inconsiderate paper/pulp profiteers. There is no reason why the South's Third Forest has to end up the way the region's first and second did.

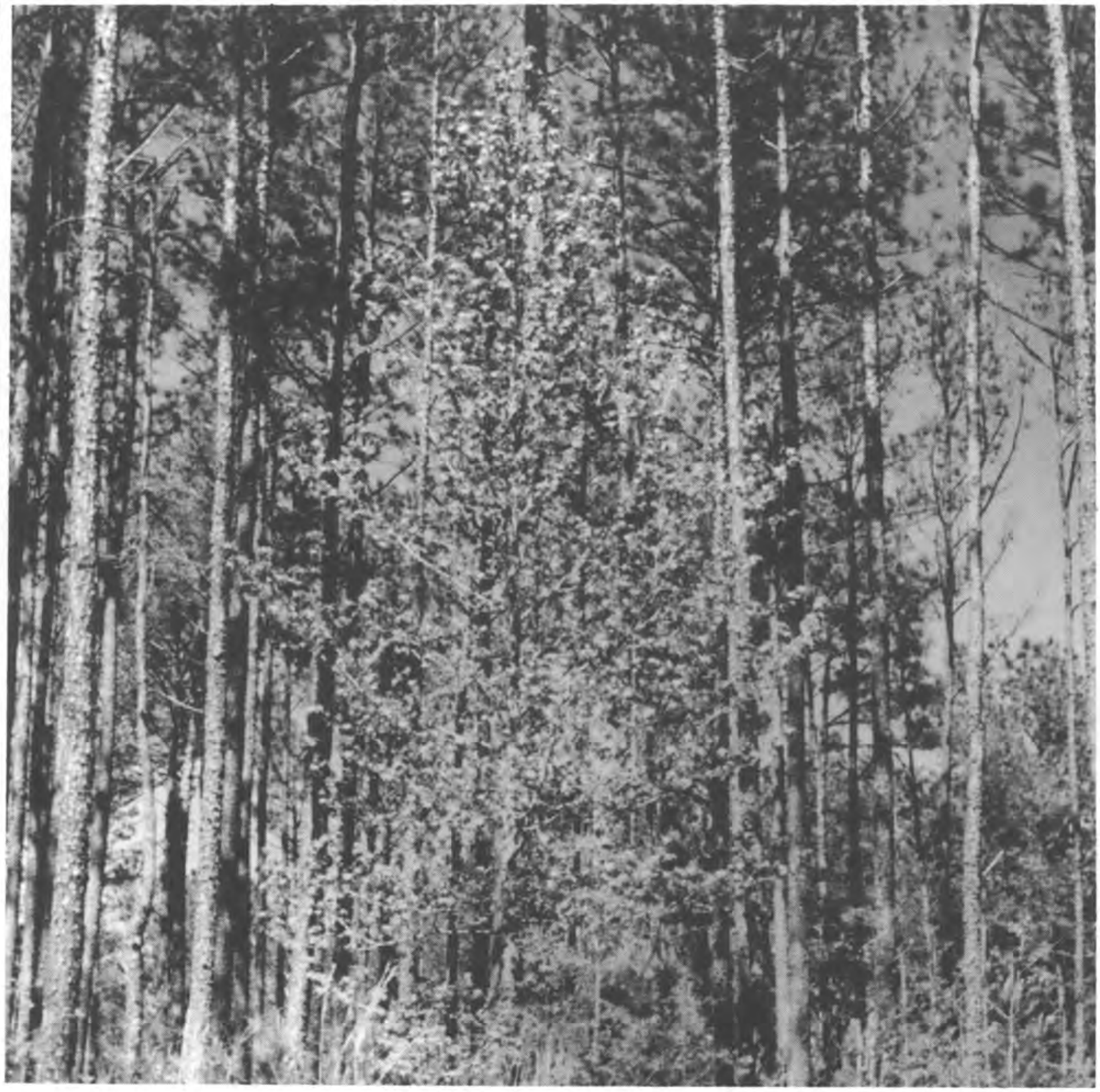


Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

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PAPER / PULP CORPORATIONS' LAND OWNERSHIP (in 1000 acres)

TEN SOUTHERN STATES , 1971

Corporation	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tex.	Va.	Total
International Paper	380	1037	435	255	456	898	376	449	444		4730
Weyerhaeuser	142	892				338	570				1942
Georgia Pacific		695	126	45	256	172	180	204	9	46	1733
St. Regis	280		632	425		350					1687
Union Camp	235		120	895			97	105		198	1650
U.S. Plywood–Champion	223			94			61	199	512		1089
Continental Can			118	487	295		63	135	5	345	1448
Georgia Kraft	120			900							1020
St. Joe Paper			970	50							1020
Westvaco				35			350	487		100	972
Buckeye			935								935
Owens–Illinois			408	80	114				175	38	815
Rayonier			355	406							761
Crown Zellerbach					529	207					736
Container Corp.	155		350	128							633
Boise Southern					564				50		614
Eastex									595		595
Kimberly Clark	432			106				25		21	584
Sante Fe, etc.					61				508		569
Potlatch Forests		566									566
Southland Paper									547		547
Brunswick			72	430							502
Olinkraft		96			386						482
Scott	302					173					475
Temple Industries									448		448
Hudson			430								430
Gulf States	355										355
Riegel							330				330
Masonite						325					325
Gurdon Lumber Co.		259							19		278
Hoerner-Waldorf							232			30	262
Bodcaw					264						264
Chesapeake							2			250	252
Bowaters–Catawba				24			73	135		15	247
Deltic (Murphy Oil)		243									243
American Can	230										230
MacMillan-Bloedel	225										225
Hammermill	190										190
TOTALS	3269	3788	4951	4360	2925	2463	2334	1739	3312	1043	30,184

SOURCE: Confidential File of Paper/pulp Official Acreage in Fee and Long Term Lease

Please credit Southern Exposure *when reprinting chart.*

Timber Company Director Interlocks

See Key to Interlocking Directors, page 148

BOISE CASCADE

1. Eugene R. Black, Brooklyn, NY, Dir., ITT
2. Howard S. Kniffin, Partner, Lazard Freres, NY, NY
3. William H. Morton, Rye, NY, Pres., American Express
4. John Pillsbury, Jr., Minn., Minn., NW Natl. Life Insurance Co., Ch.Bd. of Dir.
5. Theodore Smyth, Dir., Laird Norton Co.
6. Leo D. Welch, Berryville, Va., First Natl. City Bank of NY, director

CHAMPION INTERNATIONAL

7. Howard Johnson, Cambridge, Mass., Dir. Morgan Guar. Trust
8. Karl Bendetsen, Wash.,D.C., Ch., Exec. Comm. Champion Int'l.
9. Joseph Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio, Pres. Cincinnati Redevelop. Corp.
10. Dillon Anderson, Houston, Texas, Dir., Federated Dept. Stores
11. DeWitt Peterkin Jr., Darien, Conn., VCh.Bd., J.P. Morgan& Co.
86. Thornton Bradshaw, Pasadena, Cal., Pres., Atlantic Richfield

CROWN ZELLERBACH

12. MC Mumford, Darien, Conn., Dir., Lever Bros., Con Ed
13. R M Hendrickson, SrVP, Dir, Equitable Life Assurance
14. R O Hunt, Dir, Singer Co..
15. C R Dahl, San Francisco, Calif., Dir., Pacific Gas & Ele.
16. R W Roth, Portland, Oregon, Dir., Union Pacific RR

EASTEX (TIME,INC.)

17. Gaylord Freeman, Wayne, Ill., Ch., First Nat'l. Bank, Chicago
18. Rudolph Peterson, Oak Lawn, Ill., Ch., Exec. Comm. , Bank of America
19. Rawleigh Warner, New Canaan, Conn., Ch. Bd., Mobil Oil
20. Artemus L. Gates, Locust Valley, NY, Dir., Union Pacific RR
21. Sol Linowitz, Wash.,D.C., Ch. Bd. Xerox
22. Frank Pace, Pres., International Exec. Securities

GEORGIA-PACIFIC

23. James Hait, San Jose, Calif., Dir, Wells Fargo Bank
24. Robert E. McNair, Columbia, S.C., Dir., Southern Railway
87. John Watlinton, Dir. Akzona

INLAND CONTAINER

25. Henry Goodrich, Indianapolis, Ind., Pres., Southern Nar. Gas
26. J. Fred Risk, Dir., Indiana Nat'l. Bank, Ind. Bell Tel.
27. Robert S. Ashby, Dir., Indiana National Bank
28. Jonathan O'Herron, Partner, Lazard Freres

INTERNATIONAL PAPER

29. Paul Gorman, Oak Ridge, NJ, Dir., Campbell Soup
30. W B Murphy, Gladwyne, Pa., Dir., Merk & Co.,
31. J. Wilson Newman, Short Hills, NJ, Dir General Foods

ITT RAYONIER

32. Richard Perkins, Dir., NY Life, Con Ed, Hosp Corp of Am.
33. George R. Brown, Houston, Tex., Ch.Bd., Brown & Root Inc.
34. Felix Rohatyn, Dir., Owens-Ill., Part., Lazard Freres
35. William Elfers, Wellesley Hills, Dir., Westvaco
36. John McCone, Dir., PACCAR, United Calif. Bank, SOCal.
37. R Newton Laughlin, Rye, NY, Dir., Bank of NY

KIMBERLY CLARK

38. James W. Andrews, New Canaan, Conn., Gr.VP, General Foods
39. J. George Harrar, Dir, Merck & Co., Campbell Soup
40. James S. Rockefeller, Dir., PanAm, NCR, First Natl City Bk.
41. Darwin E. Smith, Neenah, Wisc , Dir., First Natl. City Bk. NY
42. John R. Kimberly, Dir., Corning Glass

MARCOR

43. Henry G. Van der Eb, Lake Forest, Ill., Pres., Container Corp.
44. Marina Whitman, Prof. Econ., U. Pitts., Dir., Westinghouse
45. Daniel Galbreath, Columbus, Ohio, Trustee, Galbreath First Mortgage Investment Trust
46. William Drake, Philadelphia, Pa., Pres., Pennwalt Corp.

MEAD

47. Ivan Allen Jr., Atlanta, Ga., Ch.Bd., Ivan Allen Co.
48. Newton DeBardeleben, Birmingham, Ala., Ch., First Nat'l Bank, Birmingham
49. Paul Miller, Gladwyne, Pa., Dir., Berwind Corp.

OWENS-ILLINOIS

50. Ernest Arbuckle,Menlo Park,Ca., Ch.Bd., Wells Fargo Bank
51. Guesnaldo Costanzo,Rochester,NY.,Dir.,Nat'l Cash Register
52. John Hill, Nashville, Tenn., V.Ch., Hospital Corp. of Amer.
53. Otto Schoeppler, with Chase Manhattan Bank

POTLATCH CORP.

54. Harry Kendall Jr.,San Francisco, Ca., Dir., United Ca. Bank
55. Benton Cancell,San Francisco,Ca., Dir., Bank of America
56. C. Jackson Grayson Jr., Dir., Lever Bros.
57. Richard G. Landis,Piedmont, Ca., Dir., Crocker Nat'l Bank
58. Edward Palmer, NY,NY.,Ch.Ex.Comm,1st N. City Bank (NY)
59. Langdon Simons Jr., Dir., Laird Norton Trust
60. Robert Schwartz, VP , Metropolitan Life Insurance
61. Frederich Weyerhaeuser,St.Paul,Minn.,Dir. N'wstrn Nat'l Bk.

ST. REGIS

62. George Jenkins, Glen Ridge, N.J., Dir., Bethlehem Steel
63. J. Howard Laeri, Dir., Burlington Northern Inc.
64. W.I.,Osborne Jr., Lake Forest,Ill., Dir., Nat'l Blvd. Bank
65. David Davies, Dir., U.S. Nat'l Bank (Portland)

SCOTT

66. Thomas Gates, Devon Pa., Dir, & Pres. Morgan Guaranty Tr.
67. Charles Dickey Jr., Devon, Pa., Pres.&Ch., Scott Paper
68. William Jenkins,Seattle, Wash., Ch.Bd., Seattle 1st N. Bank
69. Ralph Lazarus, Cincinnati,Ohio,Ch.Bd.,Fed. Dept. Stores
70. William Scranton,Dalton ,Pa, (former Gov.) Dir.,PanAm
71. Antonie Knoppers, Summit, NJ., Dir., Merck & Co.
72. Patricia Harris, Dir., Chase Manhattan Bank
73. Samuel Sutphin,Zionsville, Ind., Dir., Ind. Nat'l Bank

UNION CAMP

74. R.M. Brown, Princeton,NJ., Dir., A&P, Morgan Guar. Tr.
75. Alexander Calder Jr., Upper Montclair, N.J., Pres. Union-Camp

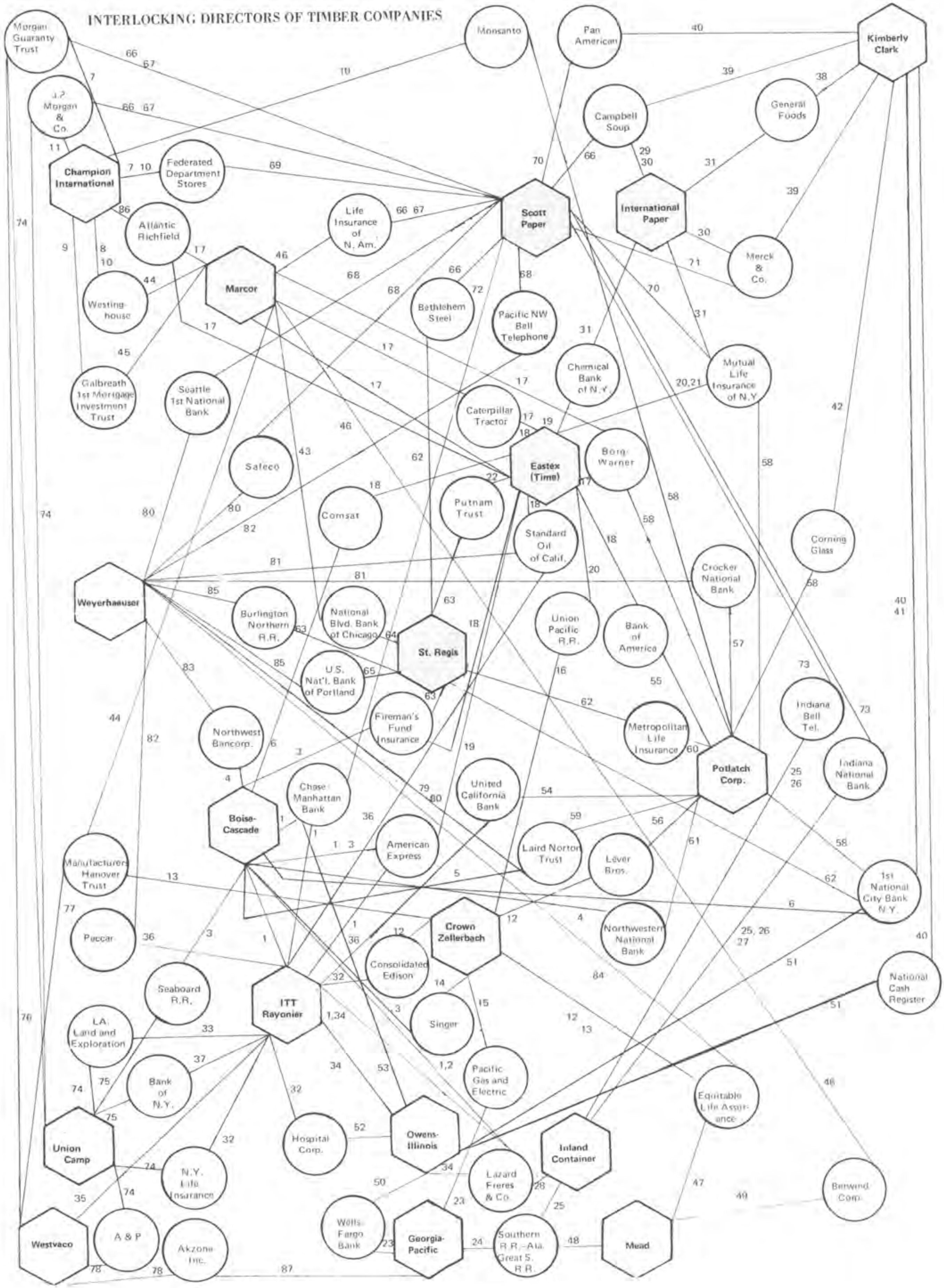
WESTVACO

76. David Hopkins Jr., Mt. Kisco, NY, Sr. VP, Morgan Guar. Tr.
77. Barry Leithead, Aiken,SC, Hon. Dir., Mfg. Hanover Trust
78. Harold Berry,Morristown,NJ.,Dir.,A&P, Sr.VP,Merrill Lynch

WEYERHAEUSER

79. Carleton Blunt, Chicago,Ill., Dir., Laird Norton Tr.
80. Norton Clapp, Medina, Wash., Ch. Bd., Laird, Norton Co.
81. Otto Miller, San Francisco, Cal., Ch. Bd., Chevron Oil Co.
82. Robert O'Brien,Seattle, Wash., Ch.Bd., PACCAR
83. Edwin Rawlings, Dir., Northwest Bancorp.
84. George Weyerhaeuser, Tacoma, Wash,Dir, Equitable Life
85. Robert Wilson, Portland,Ore., Dir., Burlington Northern

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORS OF TIMBER COMPANIES



STATE-BY-STATE PROFILES

Overviews of the land of each state accompany the tables and graphs. These statements suggest a context through which to view your own state. Writing about the states we know of, and drawing upon the research and impressions of others, we have combined topography with people, data with history. The profiles contain county courthouse tax research that documents the disparity between some of the large, outside-controlled landholders and the local property tax base; reveal the extent of control of southern politicians on such powerful Congressional committees as Agriculture and Appropriations; relate agricultural data to the larger context of agribusiness; view current struggles of southern folk in land-based industries, such as poultry processing and woodcutting, in the historic traditions in which they stand; and present a virtual indictment of the operations of certain coal and timber companies.

Several standard sources, as well as the files of the Institute for Southern Studies, were used for all of the profiles. These include government data on agriculture, minerals, and timber, *The World Almanac and Book of Facts: 1974, The Almanac of American Politics: 1974*, by Michael Barone, Douglas Matthews, and Grant Ujifusa, (Boston: Gambit, 1974), financial and local newspapers and journals, *Historical Statistics of the South: 1790-1970*, by Donald and Wynelle Dodd, (University of Alabama Press, 1973), *The Deep South States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Seven Deep South States*, by Neal R. Peirce (New York: Norton, 1974), and *Forest Farmer*, by the Forest Farmers Association (Atlanta, 1973). Our own files contain extensive information on corporations at work in the South and internal memos from employees sympathetic to our work. We also maintain close contact with a large number of citizens' groups, activists, researchers, scholars, and journalists throughout the South. Information and research from many of these groups and individuals added to the profiles.

We offer our special thanks to Jim and Sharon Branscome at Highlander Center for information on developments in the mountains; North Carolina PIRG for a county tax study of the western North Carolina counties; Si Kahn for his detailed study, *The Forest Service and Appalachia*; John Gaventa and the Center for Health Services at Vanderbilt Medical Center for the results of their five-county study of the prime coal area in East Tennessee; Roger Lesser and Rick Simon for their paper on land reform in Appalachia; Citizens for Fair Tax Action, Appalachia, Virginia, for their study of the seven-county coal producing area in southwest Virginia; Bruce Hutson and John Ames, interns for the Institute for Southern Studies, for their tax study of Southampton County, Virginia, and summer of compiling data for the profiles; and the reference staff of the Business Administration and Social Science Library at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who provided continuous help and guidance.

KEY TO CHARTS

The Farm Data chart shows agricultural trends from 1940 to 1969. 1969 is used as a base year because complete farm statistics are not available from the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of the Census for later years. Percentage change figures (since '40 and since '59) are used rather than raw data for 1940 and 1959 in order to show trends within each category, percentage increases (+) and decrease (-). Eight categories of data are compared. Trends in four — total number of farms, average acres per farm, total number of farms over 500 acres, and the number of farmers and farmhands — are easily discernible. These figures come directly from the Agricultural Census state reports and Bureau of the Census.

The per cent of farms owned by blacks is computed by adding the number of farms partly owned and totally owned by blacks and dividing this sum by the total number of farms in the state for the respective years, 1969, 1959, and 1940. The per cent change is then computed from these per cent figures. This per cent of a percentage can be confusing in several states. For example, in West Virginia, where there are a handful of black farmers, the per cent change since 1959 (+69 per cent) and since 1940 (+18) looks large. Such misleading figures appear because the relative number of black farmers is increasing as fewer farms remain in the state. The per cent of farm acres owned by blacks is computed in the same way, comparing the acres owned partly and totally by blacks to the total farm acreage in a given year.

The last two trends, total net income per farm and total agricultural sales, are measured in constant 1940 dollars. The total net income is taken from the Economic Research Service of U.S.D.A. in their Farm Income State Estimates 1949-1973. State-by-state records of this income measurement only began in 1949, hence the N.A. (Not Available) in the since 1940 column. Agricultural sales in

Photo by David Jenkins

cash receipts come from the 1969 and 1940 Agricultural Census. These net amounts were converted to 1940 dollars before computing the percentage in order to eliminate the inflation factor. The final two lines of the chart provide a description of the concentration of farm sales for 1969 in a small per cent of farms, namely those with sales exceeding $40,000 each. For example, 84 per cent of farm sales or cash receipts in Florida were made by only II.4 per cent of the farms.

The chart of leading land-based products is self-explanatory. The main crops in total cash receipts were obtained from the Economic Research Service of U.S.D.A. The list of the top minerals came from the *Minerals Yearbook 1971*, Bureau of the Mines, Elburt F. Osborn, Director, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1973. And the major timberland owners were located through a sympathetic timber company employee. Without this inside assistance, we would have had to systematically go through the courthouse records of every county in a state, for such revealing data is impossible to obtain in any other way.

The graph indicates the relative growth of the value of timber harvests, mineral resources produced, and cash receipts from agricultural products (excluding government payments). The mineral value comes from the Bureau of the Mines, agricultural products from the Agricultural census, and the timber worth (not available until 1954) from Dwight Hair and R.B. Phelps, *The Demand and Price Situation for Forest Products*, U.S. Forest Service, 1973. All of these amounts were converted to 1940 dollars, using the conversion formula in *Pick's Currency Yearbook*, to adjust for the influence of inflation.

alabama

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Broilers	$169,021,000
Cattle	155,081,000
Eggs	85,548,000
Cotton lint	80,909,000
Hogs	57,571,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $803,100,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Coal (bituminous)	$146,180,000
Portland cement	42,281,000
Stone	34,413,000
Petroleum (crude)	23,496,000
Lime	11,454,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $291,492,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
Kimberly Clark	432,000
International Paper	380,000
Gulf States	355,000
Scott Paper	302,000
St. Regis Paper	280,000

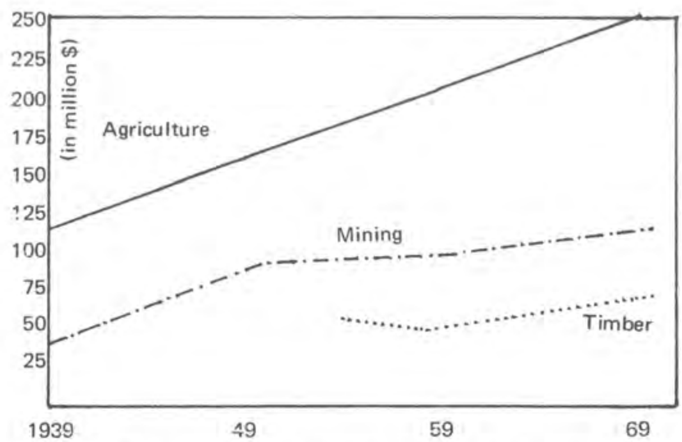
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 3,269,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	72,491	-37.4	- 68.7
Average acres per farm	188	+31.8	+128.0
# over 500 acres	5,352	- 0.4	+ 67.8
% owned by Blacks	10	-12.6	+ 47.3
% acres owned by Blacks	5	-19.5	- 18.7
# of farmers & farmhands	99,000	-37.3	- 71.9
Total net income per farm	$3,718	+60.2	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1,000s	$670,344	+28.-	+112.7

The bottom 60.6% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 5.1% of total sales.

The top 5.1% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 52.9% of total sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

ALABAMA

An understanding of development and land use in Alabama has to begin with a realization of the historic distinction between the northern and southern portions of the state. The hilly feet of the Appalachians created a region of small clay dirt farms and stoney fields. Only along the river valleys — the Tennessee, the Coosa — did much of a plantation system develop. Strongly independent and occasionally radical, North Alabamians have figured in such strange political acts as the secession of Winston County from the Confederacy and the pursuit of populist visions in the 1890's.

South Alabama's flat, wide land once held most of the state's slave population, overseen from the big houses scattered atop the few hills and rises. The sandy loam soil near the Florida boundary today grows peanuts, soybeans, and slash pines. The Black Belt, once known for its deep dark earth has seen enormous erosion due to planter misuse and ignorance in only a few generations of cultivation.

The current differences between these two sections of the state are reflected in their resources, agricultural products, and manufacturing. Because of the increased scale and the mechanization of row farming, many North Alabamians have turned to chicken and egg production, which now contributes over 39 per cent of the state's agricultural cash receipts, well above the 17.9 per cent for cattle calves and the 7 per cent for cotton (once king, but lately in decline). Chicken production, by contract between individual growers and corporations such as Pillsbury and Ralston-Purina, is now responsible for 98 per cent of all the chickens produced. Farmers are provided with a cash flow budget by the companies from which their operating expenses must come. In North Alabama, poultry raisers often end up earning less than a dollar an hour (an average spendable income of about $374 per year is supplemented with about $1,800 worth of non-spendable manure).

During the spring of 1970, some of these farmers banded together to challenge the agribusiness' domination of their lives. Refusing to accept company chicks for fattening, they walked picket lines in front of the corporate outposts and, in one instance, were bolstered by the arrival of cheering black industrial unionists from Birmingham. Although the strike was eventually broken by a court injunction, the hope it hatched may soon come home to roost.

North Alabama's cheap hydro-electric power, low land prices, and unorganized labor have attracted a variety of industries. Its population is expected to climb as its cities absorb the sons and daughters of the dying family farms. Huntsville boomed during the sixties, chasing the empty balloon of space flight. The entire Tennessee River region continues to develop, and population in the sixteen Alabama TVA counties is projected to rise from its present 839,386 to 1,337,900 by the year 2000. Already land values in North Alabama are commonly in the range of thousands of dollars per acre. Gadsden, having recovered from an economic slump, seems determined to follow other southern cities in pursuit of a disastrous course of growth without limits. It is eagerly paving, bulldozing and sprawling its way over more and more of the surrounding countryside. Huge shopping centers with acres of asphalt parking lots are disrupting the integrity of neighborhood living and turning every home and field into a potential highway.

South of Gadsden, in a beautiful valley surrounded by forested hills, is the city of Anniston. Located on the interstate highway system between Birmingham and Atlanta, Anniston has become a magnet for rural emigration, and, in so doing, now faces the same dangers of uncontrolled growth seen in Huntsville and Gadsden. The stretch of land between Anniston and Jacksonville presently distinguishes the city from the university town, yet the phenomenon of strip development — gas stations, carry-outs, drive-ins — threatens this favorable, if accidental, arrangement.

Early on a frosty morn in the late 1800's a group of bankers, real estate profiteers, and mining men stood atop Red Mountain in Jefferson County and surveyed the empire they planned to build. They had already discovered that this area was the only place in the world where all the raw materials for the making of iron could be found naturally. After laying out the city in the grid pattern favored by speculators, they sold lots and publicized the potential for the ores which waited to be pulled from the earth. They brought in a railroad to haul away what was dug and processed. Finally, they appropriated the name of a dismal coke town in England for their city. Thus Birmingham, so conceived, became an incarnation of exploitation, both mineral and human, and thus it essentially remains today — under the control of U.S. Steel and other absentee landlords operating from the banking houses of New York.

The coal mines of Jefferson and Walker Counties were worked for years by convict laborers driven like machines by company overseers. When Julia Tutwiler and a handful of co-workers finally succeeded in getting the convict lease system abolished, the coal and steel men trapped European newcomers and impoverished families from hillside farms inside their company towns. An attempt by organized labor to unionize the miners in the early 1900's was put down with bloodshed when Governor B.B. Comer called upon troops to run the organizers out of the state. Even today the United Mine Workers find their plans hampered by long-held memories of these early acts of official intimidation and control.

Birmingham is paying now for its lack of historic vision. Crowded and polluted in its downtown, expanding out of control toward Tuscaloosa, Shelby, and Walker counties, it sees its knightly surburban dwellers fill the mountains with $100,000 homes and leave the older city's increasing black population to shift for themselves or be shifted by the octopus arms of the University of Alabama and its giant medical center — soon to be the state's largest employer.

As we move toward South Alabama from Birmingham, long stretches of pine tree farms planted by paper companies come into view. Two-thirds of Alabama is covered with forest, all but 5 per cent of which is privately owned. The smell of pulp mills is a familiar one from Tuscaloosa to Mobile. A chain of rivers flows through the lower half of the state, furnishing an abundance of water for paper processing plants and providing a navigable passage from north of Birmingport to the Gulf of Mexico. Barges transport grains and coal down river for export while tugs push loads of South American ores up river to hungry mills. These barges pass through some of the most economically depressed counties in the U.S. Tracts of absentee-owned land remain in plantation-sized plots, offering subsistence living for hard working tenants and a paucity of money-making jobs. For years, isolated woodcutters in this area have fought monthly payments on skidders, trucks, and saws, 13-hour days, and the perils of week-to-week living. Because the equipment debts are usually owed to the wood dealers, the cutters have been trapped in a pattern similar to that of the sharecropper, except woodcutters do not get a portion of the harvest. In recent years the interracial Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association has, through increased organization, strikes, and legal strategies, strengthened the bargaining position of the cutters. (See Profile on Mississippi).

Since 1818, Congress has been lobbied by southern politicians for a grandiose scheme to connect the Tennessee River with the Tombigbee and thereby the Mid-West with Mobile Bay. The Tenn-Tom, a proposed 250-mile waterway, was funded in 1971, after years of objections by ecologists. Its constructions will include ten locks and five dams and a forty-six mile canal — over half of which will cut through a mountainous area in Northern Mississippi.

Perhaps the most significant justification for the destruction of Alabama's only remaining free flowing river was the promise of employment in an area where 30 per cent of the incomes are below poverty level. This hope seems to be falsely placed because of the migratory nature of the skilled workforce which customarily builds such projects. The message is apparent even in the contract of the James Construction Company which has agreed to employ 16 per cent minority workers in a county where 66 per cent of the population is black. The absence of any training program to teach local residents skills which could be used on this job also suggests workers will be recruited from the outside. Only those landowners and businessmen who already share in the wealth of the counties will benefit from the Tenn-Tom pork barrel.

For decades, Alabama politicians and promoters have proclaimed the religion of unceasing industrialization and development. George Wallace has reaffirmed this single-minded view throughout his years as Governor, saying often, " 'Profit' is not a dirty six-letter word in Alabama." Through a political and propaganda arm — the Alabama Development Organization — Wallace and his cohorts have sought out progress at any price. They are presently courting Japanese and German capitalists interested in Alabama's low paid, unorganized labor pool. They have promoted labor intensive, low skill industry, which employs Alabamians in the creation and production of raw materials — cloth, yarn, steel — and not finished products. Finally, ignoring the deadly ecological hazards, these "leaders" are enticing an atomic waste disposal industry and welcoming the Southern Company's proposed construction of nuclear plants.

Photo by Jeff Jacobson

arkansas

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Soybeans	$271,525,000
Broilers	223,527,000
Cotton lint	164,476,000
Cattle	154,186,000
Rice	117,966,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $1,227,640,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Petroleum	$56,805,000
Stone	35,677,000
Natural gas	29,426,000
Bauxite	24,979,000
Sand and Gravel	15,603,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $253,219,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
International Paper	1,037,000
Weyerhauser	892,000
Georgia-Pacific	695,000
Potlatch Forests	566,000
Gordon Lumber	259,000

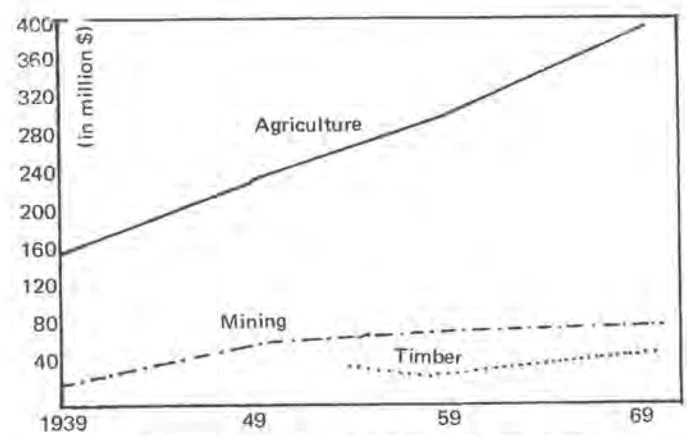
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 3,788,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	60,433	−36.4	− 72.1
Average acres per farm	260	+49.9	+211.8
# over 500 acres	7,517	+21.4	+172.6
% owned by blacks	5	−28.9	+ 2.5
% acres owned by blacks	2	−36.1	− 50.5
# of farmers & farmhands	146,000	−34.2	− 50.9
Total net income per farm	5,449	+42.6	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1,000s	$972,837	+20.	+132.

The bottom 45.9% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 2.8% of total sales.

The top 10.7% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 64.5% of total sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

As the WPA Federal Writers Project described it during the 1930's, Arkansas lies somewhere "between the South of the Piazza and the West of the pony." Although many years have passed since that observation was made, there is still a grain of truth to be found in its summation of the state's contrasts and diversity. The fertile land along the Mississippi still conjures up images of plantation piazzas, bent-backed pickers, endless fields of white cotton, tumbled-down croppers' shacks, and a life of poverty and oppression untouched by technology. Sloping sharply to the west, the Ouachita and Boston Mountain ranges retain a legacy of long cruel winters, mule-drawn plows, virgin timberlands and pastures, and a raw, unmediated relationship between the people and the land.

But much of this provincial past is now being inundated and supplanted by Winthrop Rockefeller-inspired industrialization. For years, Arkansas has struggled along with one of the lowest per capita incomes in the country as well as one of the largest concentrations of families below the poverty level (in 1970, it ranked 49*th* in families below the poverty level). Capitalist development has brought with it familiar problems: lack of an industrial base, overdependence on extractive industries, and widespread rural poverty. As Leland Duvall, the business-farm editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* once observed, "We ravaged our topsoil and ruined our forests, and silted our lakes, until those resources began to be endangered. We were a supplier of raw materials; economically, we were a colony, selling a lot of raw cotton, unfinished lumber and the like. It was only 35 years ago that we began to reforest our timberlands and to conserve and improve our soil."

As Duvall makes clear, the state has been almost totally dependent on its resource-extraction and raw material production throughout its history. Oil, the state's leading mineral product, is concentrated around El Dorado in the south-central region and added $56 million to the state's economy in 1971. In the Ouachita Mountains, which are over 80 per cent forestland, almost all income is derived from sawlog cutting and bauxite mining. The entire state contains 18,500,000 acres of oak, hickory, gum, cypress, and pine and the forest industries have a $500 million payroll.

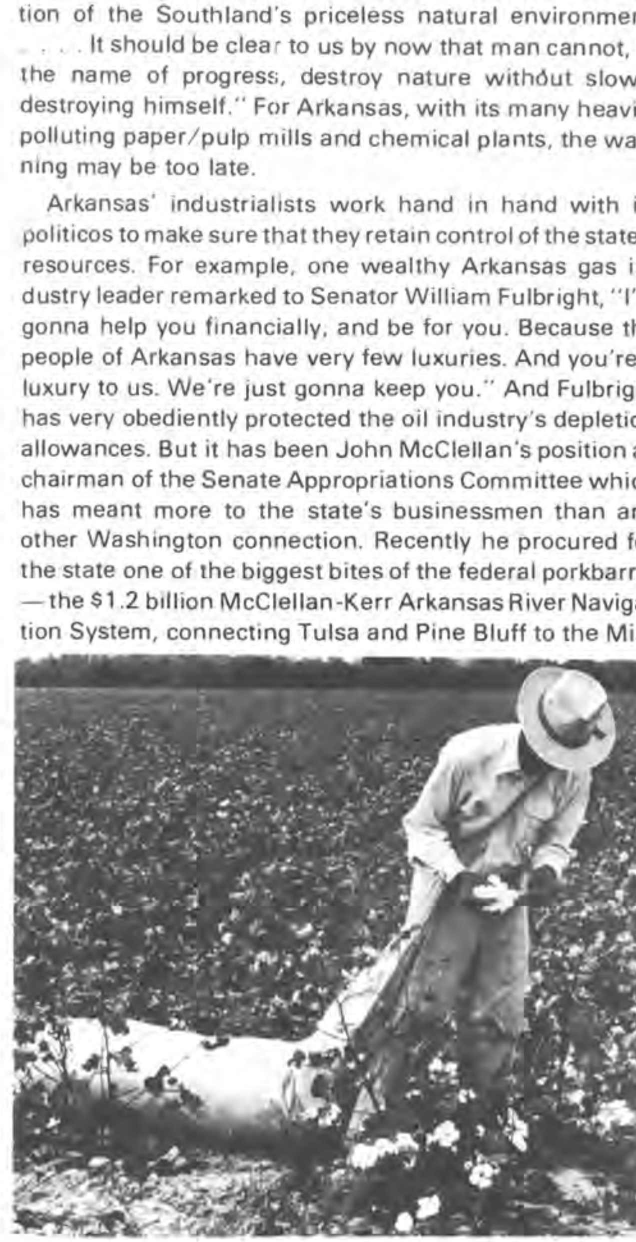
Arkansas' traditional dependence on raw materials from agriculture has been even more dramatic. By 1970, Arkansas' cotton crop still ranked third in the nation but accounted for only 11 per cent of the state's total farm receipts. Soybeans, broilers, and cattle have begun to take over more of the state's market. In 1959, 34,900 farms harvested 1.3 million acres of cotton, but by 1969, only 15,100 farms planted 1.1 million cotton acres. During the same ten years, soybean production increased from 2.3 million acres (43 per cent of all harvested cropland) to 4.2 million acres or 62 per cent of all Arkansas' harvested acres! Soybeans now lead the state with 21 per cent of farm receipts and have helped boost per farm income to $5,681, fourth highest in the South. The broiler industry, concentrated in the northwest corner of the state, is also growing rapidly and now ranks third in the nation. Livestock farming is the major enterprise on the Ozark Plateau to the north. And the rice crop, harvested along Crowley's Ridge in the prairie region and in the Delta, ranks number two in the country.

In order to escape the twin curses of dependence on extractive industries — resource depletion and widespread poverty — Arkansas has looked longingly to industrialization as the answer to its economic woes. Since the day Winthrop Rockefeller, on the run from the jet-set parties of New York City, bought up a 50,000-acre tract atop Petit Jean Mountain, 68 miles northwest of Little Rock, the face of the Arkansas landscape has been rapidly changing. From that day in 1953 until his death in 1973, Rockefeller personally spent over $35 million in the state, the largest influx of capital Arkansas had seen in over two centuries. Besides a new arts center, a public school, and numerous scholarships, Rockefeller developed his ten-million dollar Winrock Farm, which includes 17,000 acres for cattle grazing and another 17,000 acres for rice and soybean production. But his most significant impact on the state occurred during his tenure as the first director of the Arkansas Industrial Development Corporation (AIDC) under the infamous Orval Faubus. By the time he finished this project, he left the state with one of the classiest industrial development operations in the nation.

Between 1955 and 1964, Rockefeller had enticed over sixty corporations to locate their plants in Arkansas with a promise of tax-free industrial development bonds for plant construction. Unfortunately for the people who were forced to work in these plants, the new companies were generally small, low-wage manufacturers of textiles, apparel and shoes, located in remote rural areas. Only in recent years was Rockefeller able to bring in larger industrial concerns, such as the $57-million International Paper Co. plant at Pine Bluff. Unfortunately, though, many of these new industries are also based on the continued consumption of many of Arkansas' natural resources. Both Arkansas' growing lumber industry, which is the fourth largest in the nation, and its chemical industry, which depends for the most part on the state's natural gas and petroleum resources, severely affect Arkansas' environment.

In its rush to garner the elusive prosperity of industrialization, the state may also create more problems for its people than they had before. Although Winthrop Rockefeller was one of the original promoters of industry for Arkansas back in 1967, he warned that "the South should become increasingly selective in the types of manufacturing it develops." Then again, in 1970, at a Southern Governors' Conference in Biloxi, Miss., he cautioned that "the danger in playing economic catch-up is that we could adopt false definitions of progress. The ultimate cost of such a course — we are reminded by grim evidence to the North, East and West — would be disruption of the Southland's priceless natural environment . . . . It should be clear to us by now that man cannot, in the name of progress, destroy nature without slowly destroying himself." For Arkansas, with its many heavily polluting paper/pulp mills and chemical plants, the warning may be too late.

Arkansas' industrialists work hand in hand with its politicos to make sure that they retain control of the state's resources. For example, one wealthy Arkansas gas industry leader remarked to Senator William Fulbright, "I'm gonna help you financially, and be for you. Because the people of Arkansas have very few luxuries. And you're a luxury to us. We're just gonna keep you." And Fulbright has very obediently protected the oil industry's depletion allowances. But it has been John McClellan's position as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee which has meant more to the state's businessmen than any other Washington connection. Recently he procured for the state one of the biggest bites of the federal porkbarrel — the $1.2 billion McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System, connecting Tulsa and Pine Bluff to the Mis-



sissippi River. The largest civil works project ever undertaken by the Army Corps of Engineers, the Arkansas River System is a bonanza for marketing the inland soybean crop of the large growers and for the industrialists in Pine Bluff.

Another of the important forces in determining the future of Arkansas' land use and control will be the growing tourist and recreational development industry. It has long been an Arkansas saying that "one tourist is better than two bales of cotton and he's easier to pick." But it may be the land and the people of the state that get picked instead of the bargain-hungry tourists. In the past, most of the tourist-pickin' has been done in one old resort town, Hot Springs. But there is presently a wave of serious tourist development in the Ozark Highlands. The 1970 census figures show that the central and northwestern sections of Arkansas were among the very few non-metropolitan areas to score substantial population increases during the sixties. Retirees and young folks seeking a life of greater tranquility are moving in large numbers to the hill country. It remains to be seen what impact this rural invasion will have on the state.

One portent of the future is the tiny village of Mountain View. In the old days, its town hall steps were alive with the sounds of mountain pickin' and foot-stomping on the weekends. But now that has all been changed. The surrounding area has been overrun by subdividers and second-home developers, and during 1973, the state opened a new Folk Cultural Center there. Of course, the Center may bring much needed support to the area's numerous musicians, artists, and craftsmen. But the onslaught of plastic-culture hustlers and greedy mountain land developers may also endanger their richly preserved folk mountain culture.

florida

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Oranges	$339,759,000
Cattle	158,542,000
Dairy products	141,187,000
Grapefruit	114,388,000
Greenhouse/Nursery	96,221,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $1,458,367,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Phosphate rock (est.)	$160,000,000
Stone	64,332,000
Portland cement	48,970,000
Sand and Gravel	18,836,000
Clays	12,834,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $343,731,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
St. Joe Paper	970,000
Buckeye	935,000
St. Regis Paper	632,000
International Paper	435,000
Hudson	430,000

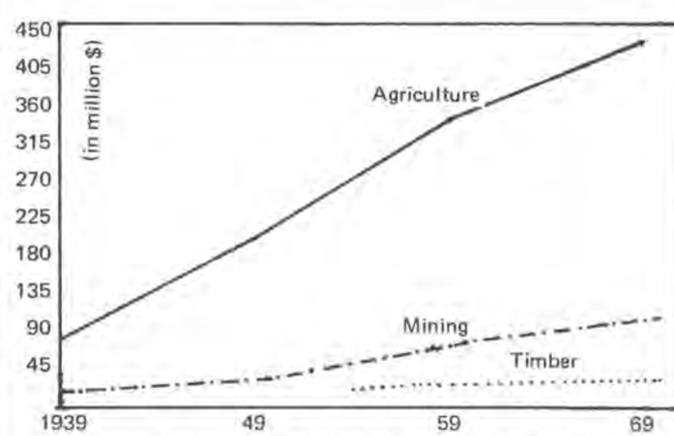
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 4,951,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	35,586	–21.1	– 42.8
Average acres per farm	394	+16.7	+194.5
# over 500 acres	3,852	+10.4	+174.2
% owned by blacks	3.5	–47.3	– 60.6
% acres owned by blacks	0.1	–23.4	– 64.8
# of farmers & farmhands	112,000	+ 8.7	+ 0.1
Total net income per farm	$16,994	+69.6	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$1,132,474	+28.	+384.

The bottom 47.0% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 1.2 % of total sales.

The top 11.4% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 84.0% of total sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

FLORIDA

Florida's land and weather have long set it apart from the rest of the South, hastening its peculiar development as the playland, retirement center, and provider of semi-tropical foods for the rest of the nation. As the fastest growing and most urbanized Southern state, Florida enjoys one of the most diversified economies in the region. But the sun and sand continue to make tourism (which brings in $3.6 billion annually) and agriculture the number one and two businesses.

Land itself has long been treated as a rare commodity in Florida. For decades, land developers and speculators have capitalized on the state's climate and 1,500-mile shoreline to push prices through a series of boom and bust cycles that closely follow the national economy's troubles. The collapse of Florida's real estate market heralded the great crash of 1929, and the current situation may be pointing in the same direction. For example, the strip from Daytona through Orlando to Tampa-St. Petersburg has received extensive attention, first by vacation-home developers, then from the military-industrial spin-off of Cape Kennedy, and again by the boom triggered by the opening of Disney World, the gargantuan, 27,000-acre amusement center. But inflation and over-building (the area has the greatest concentration of motels on earth) has led to a sharp drop in the hotel-motel market. With the added burden of fuel shortages, the tourist and construction industries are being seriously disrupted.

The impact of these problems is also felt by the purveyors of the latest contrivance in the real estate business, the developers of so-called planned communities. Many are no longer expanding but are simply trying to sell what they've already built. Others are slowing down from the galloping pace of the past five years. For example, Deltona Corporation nearly doubled its sales since 1969, but last year suffered its first decline in net income. With eight "planned communities," the largest hotel complex on Florida's Gulf Coast, and other projects sprawled across 174,000 acres in the state, Deltona is typical of the corporate developer. It designs new communities, not unlike the old company town, to maximize profits from first to last, controlling the utilities systems, shopping centers, recreation facilities, auxiliary hotels, and even an airline that shuttles passengers from Miami to its Marco Island, largest of south Florida's "ten thousand islands." Getting people from all over the country to the properties, and keeping values steadily rising, are central to developers like Deltona which specialize in using free-trip gimmicks and quick-sell artists to hustle land. Such promotion is costly and keeps the real estate game in the hands of giants like Westinghouse and Horizon Corporation. (Deltona spent $31,000,000 in advertising and sales commissions alone to get $138,000,000 in sales in 1973.) The Miami-based GAC Corporation owns more than 300,000 acres in the state and, like many other Florida dealers, is expanding from familiar territory to the shorelines and mountains of other states. Meanwhile, ITT continues on a reduced pace its nationwide campaign to attract visitors to its 100,000-acre Palm Coast subdivision between St. Augustine and Daytona Beach.

Florida's parade of tourists and retirees sharply contrasts with the nearly 100,000 farmworkers who enter the state each year to harvest the sugar (Jamaican labor), citrus (mostly blacks), and vegetables (whites and Chicanos). Poverty conditions among these migrants also contrast with the wealth of Florida's agribusiness: the state is number one in per farm income and number two in vegetable sales in the nation, producer of 80 per cent of the country's citrus, number three in the South in total agricultural sales yet lowest in the proportion of its people who are farmers. The story of Florida's agriculture, in a word, is concentration. By 1970, ten corporate growers owned 119,000 of the 636,000 acres of citrus, with Coca-Cola's Minute Maid division holding the lead at 30,000 acres. U.S. Sugar Corporation, which received $1,280,000 in government payments for 1972, virtually runs the Lake Okeechobee town of Clewiston, and king-makers like citrus baron Ben Hill Griffin and paper magnate Ed Ball exercise enormous influence in the state legislature. State-supported universities have developed machines and new strains of vegetables for the growers, which will put an estimated 10,000 tomato pickers alone out of work. Recent efforts by the United Farm Workers to organize in the midst of such power have slackened as union attention shifts back to California — but not before Coca-Cola signed a contract and the struck Talisman Sugar Company was sold to the ubiquitous Ed Ball.

As trustee for a Florida-based DuPont fortune, the aging Ball runs an empire from his Jacksonville office which includes banking, real estate, railroads and timber. His St. Joe Paper Company owns 970,000 acres in northern Florida, making it the largest private landowner in the state. Concentration is also the by-word in timber, for although Florida has the lowest timber sales and lowest per cent of its land in commercial forests of any Deep South state, it leads the region in having the highest percentage of these forest lands owned by paper-pulp companies. Exxon Corporation's 500,000-acre Jay Field joins the paper/pulp mills in the panhandle and has rapidly expanded its daily output of petroleum and natural gas since its discovery in 1970; the field's oil reserves are estimated at 204 million barrels, or one-fiftieth the size of Alaska's.

The panhandle is also the base for Florida's tobacco, broilers and hogs, just as the central region is citrus grove country, and the southern portion is prime land for vegetable truck-farming, sugar plantations, and cattle-

Photo by Ralford Ragsdale

raising.

The 630,000 acres the Air Force owns between Pensacola and Panama City combine with Osceola National Forest (also in the panhandle) and the Everglades, to give the federal government ownership of more of Florida's land (9.8 per cent) than of any other southern state. And federal plans for these lands are not always in agreement with local environmentalists or even the state government, which recognize that undeveloped land may be more valuable for the tourist-centered economy than extracted resources. (State officials demonstrated their concern by securing a court order restraining the DuPont Company from dumping its chemical wastes in the Gulf where it might threaten marine life and the beaches.) Environmental activists and others are pressuring Congress to preserve the 576,000-acre Big Cypress Swamp before the Forest Service succeeds in its plan to have timber companies cut the big cypresses faster than they grow. The state is also opposing an application pending before the U.S. Interior Department to allow four corporations to strip one-third of the Osceola National Forest and mine the phosphate under the trees. Phosphate is Florida's biggest mineral product, accounting for nearly half of the state's total mineral value and about 80 per cent of the country's phosphate output. But the mines, located primarily in central Florida, are running low; so the four companies, led by Monsanto and Kerr-McGee, say they must open new pits to provide the phosphate for the fertilizer that is needed to boost America's food production and stave-off world hunger. People, not woodpeckers or bears, must come first, a mining spokesman explained. A woodcutter who makes his living salvaging fallen trees in the Forest has a different perspective: "It ain't people that bastard loves, or woodpeckers either. It's money. All he loves is money."

georgia

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Broilers	$199,981,000
Peanuts	166,810,000
Eggs	163,667,000
Cattle	139,294,000
Hogs	98,562,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $1,253,417,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Clays	$119,096,000
Stone	69,897,000
Portland cement	22,470,000
Bauxite	10,807,000
Sand and Gravel	5,310,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $229,397,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
Georgia Kraft	900,000
Union Camp	895,000
Continental Can	487,000
Brunswick	430,000
St. Regis	425,000

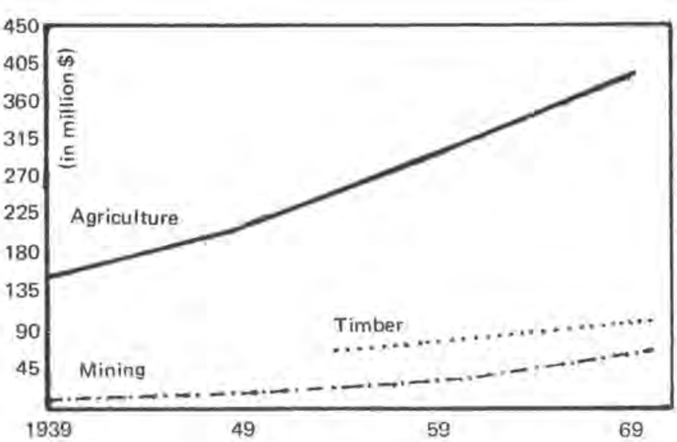
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 4,360,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	67,431	– 36.6	– 68.8
Average acres per farm	234	+ 26.8	+113.9
# over 500 acres	6,987	– 5.9	+ 39.9
% owned by blacks	6.6	– 13.3	+ 42.2
% acres owned by blacks	3.6	– 15.5	+ 2.5
# of farmers & farmhands	102,000	– 48.2	– 72.6
Total net income per farm	$6,528	+132.3	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$1,039,994	+ 35.	+138.

The bottom 45.5% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 2.4% of total sales.

The top 9.7% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 60.0% of total sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

GEORGIA

"A Georgia farmer uses a Northern axe-helve and axe to cut up the hickory growing within sight of his door; ploughs his fields with a Northern plough; chops out his cotton with a New England hoe; gins his cotton upon a Boston gin; hoops it with Pennsylvania iron; and hauls it to market in a Concord wagon. We find the Georgia housewife cooking with an Albany stove; and even the food is imported from the North." That's the way Henry Grady, Atlanta journalist and false prophet of the "New South," described the Georgian working the land during the years just after the Civil War. He saw the Georgia farmer surrounded by a rich loam soil and a warm, mild climate, but dependent on others for necessities, even food. And the price he had to pay was all he had — his labor and his land.

A century later this pattern still holds. The land and labor of Georgia's people still profit others, thanks to the United States Forest Service, the second-home development business, mammoth timber companies, and the political climate which killed the Farm Security Administration attempt to see that those who work the land should receive a share of its bounty.

North Georgia is mountainous, sitting astride large deposits of marble, and peaking at Brasstown Bald, elevation 4,784 feet. Its people are descendants of that other South, those small farmers and mountaineers who refused the call to help protect the economic arrangements of the slaveholders through civil war. The Pickens County courthouse, 60 miles north of Atlanta, defiantly flew the Union flag every day of the Civil War. Such independence had its price. North Georgia Unionists were punished by being brought "down to the river near Canton and shot off their horses into the running stream."

These descendants, north Georgia's small farmers and those who either have never owned or have been squeezed off the family land, now face subtler domination. Second-home developments and the United States Forest Service threaten the region's primary source of wealth, the land. Corporate projections foresee that by 1978 one of every five new housing starts will be a second home. Georgia now ranks 15*th* nationally in second-home construction. This building by wealthier urbanites stretches through Georgia's mountains in a belt from Habersham County on the South Carolina line, westward through Gilmer and Pickens, then south to Atlanta's doorstep in Cherokee County. The developments' labels are rustic — Bent Tree, Big Canoe, Screamer Mountain — but not their price-tags. Most go for $20,000 and up. And who can afford that?

Not many of the local people around Helen in White County have that kind of money. Helen is a true wonder, a monument to developers' gaucherie. Through an adventurous building program, Helen has been transformed into an Alpine village. Ski-chalet facades — and the South's only Vietnamese restaurant — now greet the clogged highway out front, and barking hound-dogs out back. Also planned are 14 second-home "communities" ranging from 10 to 1200 acres, plus a $3 million condominium hotel with ice rink. This over-running of the land's carrying capacity — and of the local people — led to a state government study. The findings: county parcels of land over 100 acres were changing absentee owners on the average of once every *two weeks!* This capitalist speculation has driven local taxes to a peak that makes farming even more marginal.

The Forest Service has further eroded Georgia's local tax bases. The Chattahoochee National Forest stretches across north Georgia, enclosing 737,920 acres. Over 40 per cent of the land in Fannin, Towns, Union and Rabun counties is owned by the Forest Service. As Si Kahn's study of the Forest Service shows, these federally-owned lands are exempted from state, county and city/town taxes, forcing local people to pay higher taxes while receiving fewer public services. Thus, Fannin County must assess its people the highest taxes of any of Georgia's 159 counties, almost twice the state average. For the meager payments the Forest Service does grant these counties, north Georgians are dependent on the timber companies' decisions as to how much of the forest they wish to cut. The present ability to work north Georgia's land (dependent on the rate of taxation) and the future ability (dependent on the corporate profit picture's dictation of the rate of despoilation) is thus dictated by absentee owners.

South of Georgia's mountains stretches the fertile Piedmont — from north of Atlanta to the fall line, which arches from Augusta to Columbus on the Alabama line, via Macon. The surge of rivers southward toward the coastal plain provided power for Georgia's first textile mills, the first successful one built in Augusta in 1828. The Piedmont has remained the center of Georgia's textile industry, and the "runaway" of northern capital seeking cheap labor continues. Mills now re-locate in scattered pockets in the mountains, as well as in the Piedmont. The economic advantage of locating processing mills near the source of the cotton has buttressed textile's position as Georgia's foremost industry, both in size of labor force and in value added.

The Georgia Piedmont is also the scene of a highly concentrated (see Alabama) poultry agribusiness, with Gainesville as its capital. The state ranks second in the nation as a producer of broilers, turning out 13 per cent of the national total. But its share of the market is declining, as "chicken capital" moves elsewhere.

The Black Belt lies primarily within the Piedmont, and black political assertion has given its exhausted cottonfields a new profit-making "crop," catfish. Hancock County became, in 1968, the first county in the South to come under black (80 per cent of the population) control. Its economic arm, the East Central Committee for Opportunity (ECCO), has given us the country's largest catfish farm and processing plant, employing 200 people on 358 acres.

Littering Georgia's Piedmont and Black Belt are many abandoned farm houses and undergrowth-choked fields — mute testimony to the gutting of the Farm Security Administration's (FSA) attempt to redistribute the land's bounty to more of those who farm. In 1970, 6,000 tenants remained in Georgia, and the average Black Belt annual income was less than $1,000. In 1930, there were 174,000 tenants. The New Deal's FSA picked from the relief rolls 12,900 farm families to whom it made loans. The average assets of these families was less than $50.

Near Eatonton, Monticello, Irwinville, Cairo, and Montezuma, over 300 families were resettled on farms. The Pine Mountain Valley Rural Community Corporation was Georgia's most striking government venture of rehabilitation, 160 families on 12,000 acres. But the failure to build a political movement to bolster the FSA's service function doomed its promise.

A domestic casualty of World War II and a target of red-baiting, the FSA finally was eviscerated and transformed into the docile Farmers Home Administration in 1946.

Stretching south and southeast of the rolling Piedmont and reaching to the Atlantic is "south Georgia." This coastal plain lay beneath the sea in prehistoric times, an era still alive in the dank Okeefenokee Swamp near Waycross. A low barrier of land emerging from the Gulf of Mexico molded the Okeefenokee by isolating part of the coastal plain and impounding its waters. South Georgia is farm country, historically timbered rather than cleared for cotton plantations. It now produces the nation's largest crop of peanuts, 44 per cent of the national total in 1972, up from 28 per cent in 1962. South Georgia is also political country, the center of the white, anti-metropolitan-Atlanta electoral sentiment which traditionally dominates state-wide races for governor and U.S. Senator. Jimmy Carter of Plains parlayed a slick media campaign into the governorship of Georgia in 1970.

Dwarfing all other land users in Georgia is the timber industry. Its impact is staggering. Over 72 per cent of Georgia's land lies within commercial forests with nearly a fifth of this amount owned outright by the paper/pulp corporations.

Timber industry domination of a community is sometimes staggering, too. St. Marys, Georgia, was a seacoast town of only 300 when the Gilman Paper Company moved there from Vermont in 1941. Now 1700 people work at its giant mill. In 1970 Carl Drury, a local physician, challenged Gilman's attorney (who doubled as the attorney for the city and county) for his seat in the state legislature. Upon winning, Drury sought to invalidate Camden County's tax digest, having uncovered the under-evaluation of Gilman's land-holdings. His diligence was rewarded by false charges of rape, physical assault, and disbarment from practicing medicine at Gilman Memorial Hospital, whose vice-chairman, George Brumley, also acts as the president of the Gilman Paper Company.

Photo by David Jenkins

kentucky

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Cattle	$273,792,000
Tobacco	271,234,000
Dairy products	130,675,000
Hogs	87,922,000
Soybeans	55,358,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $925,189,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Coal	$774,735,000
Stone	52,296,000
Petroleum	35,925,000
Lime, Natural gas liquids, etc.	30,542,000
Natural gas	18,253,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $925,885,000

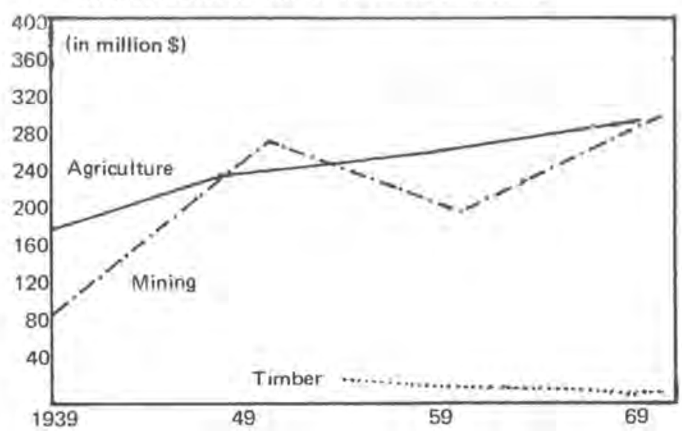
FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	since '40
Total # of farms	125,069	–17.2	–50.5
Average acres per farm	127	+13.7	+59.1
# over 500 acres	3,886	+29.7	+96.9
% owned by blacks	1	–11.2	+ 1.6
% acres owned by blacks	1	– 2.9	– 5.7
# of farmers & farmhands	158,000	–35.2	–48.7
Total net income per farm	$3,758	+61.0	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1,000s	$769,858	+17.	+68.

The bottom 51.9% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 9.1% of total sales.

The top 1.8% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 23.6% of total sales.

Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries



The state of Kentucky rises out of the fertile flatlands of the Mississippi valley in the west and soars to over 4,000 feet in the Cumberland Mountains. Land-based industries continue to play an important role in the state's rather lethargic economic development, and the land itself has suffered enormous abuse in the process, particularly from the greedy blades of the strip miners 'dozers. The tobacco fields and thoroughbred horse farms in the bluegrass region around Lexington look pretty much the way they always have, as do the cotton farms in the western part of the state along the Mississippi River. Over 42 per cent of the state remains covered with forestland, and most of the remaining land has yet to be touched by the swiftly moving urban scourge which has already devoured so much of the land to the north.

Although manufacturing has shown significant gains recently, agriculture and mining remain the cornerstones of Kentucky's economy. Tobacco is the state's principal crop. In 1972, the state produced 436,581,000 pounds, accounting for over 21 per cent of the nation's tobacco production and placing it second only to North Carolina, which produces 42 per cent of the nation's total. The decade of the sixties saw a sharp rise in urbanization until Kentuckians are now almost evenly divided between rural (48 per cent) and urban (52 per cent) dwellers. During the same period, the number of farms dropped by 27,000 and the acres harvested by 300,000, while productivity per farm expanded. Besides agricultural production, the processing of farm products also played a major role in the state's economy. According to 1967 figures, the food and kindred products industry produced the largest shipment value, $1,257,400,000, for all of Kentucky's industrial categories. This was mainly for the processing of meat, dairy and agricultural products.

Another force in driving many farmers from the land was the state's paper/pulp companies, who have been actively purchasing land throughout the state. During 1972, the state's paper/pulp production was valued at $51,000,000. About 18,000 persons are employed in Kentucky's more than 800 sawmills and paper/pulp plants and the state contains more than 11,000,000 acres of commercial forest land, 94 per cent of which is owned by individuals and corporations.

Besides holding sway over much of Kentucky's land use, the agriculture and paper/pulp industries have tremendous clout in Congress through the state's Democratic Senator Dee Huddleston. He is currently a member of the Senate's Agriculture and Forestry Committee which is headed by Herman Talmadge of Georgia. He also serves on the Senate subcommittees on Foreign Agricultural Policy, Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification, Environment, Soil Conservation and Forestry, and is chairman of the subcommittee on Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices. The tobacco fields of western Kentucky are well represented by Frank Stubblefield in the House of Representatives, who is currently chairman of the subcommittee on Tobacco. Stubblefield, a 15-year House Veteran, is in line to succeed 74-year-old W.R. Poage of Texas as chairman of the House's full Agriculture Committee. Stubblefield has consistently supported farm programs and price supports, and during 1972 he voted against putting any limits on farm subsidies, which was a major boon to corporate agribusiness interests. Kentucky's resident oil corporation, Ashland Oil, is also well represented in Congress by the affable Republican Senator Marlow Cook. Cook has been known to fly to meetings in an Ashland-company-jet and read almost verbatim speeches on the energy crisis written by Ashland executives.

The most important of the state's land-based industries is coal mining, both deep-mined and surface. During 1972, Kentucky produced more coal than any other state in the nation, although it was number two behind West Virginia in terms of value. The state also produces significant amounts of petroleum, natural gas, fluor spar, clay and stone, but coal accounts for over 90 per cent of its total mineral sales. Coal production in the state skyrocketed between 1961 and 1971, both in the mountainous eastern counties and in the strip-mined western counties. There was an approximate 90 per cent increase in its coal production during this period and more than a 200 per cent increase in value of output, from $256,158,000 to $774,735,000. After a thirty-year decline, the coal industry has been rejuvenated: Oil companies, utilities, railroads, and steel companies have descended on the coal fields like hungry vultures, reminiscent of the late nineteenth century when outside companies introduced the "broad form deed" to seize the rights to minerals under the mountaineers' land without assuming any responsibility for how they got the wealth out of the ground.

The mining of coal has left deep scars on the once-green hills of both eastern and western Kentucky. In 1972, the state led the nation in yield of strip-mined coal with 55,-800,000 tons. Much of it was purchased by TVA, the world's largest consumer of strip-mined coal. Throughout the past decade, Kentucky mountain people have been struggling to remove this scourge from their lands. There've been numerous instances of local people fighting to keep out the strippers: Uncle Dan Gibson and his shotgun, the Widow Combs' attempt to keep the Caperton Coal strippers off her land by laying down in front of the bulldozers, mining equipment mysteriously blown up in the night, hard work by the Mountain Peoples Union and the Appalachian Group To Save the Land & People.

Besides the destruction that it has wrought on the Kentucky mountainlands, the burden of the coal industry has also left its mark on the lives of the state's hard working

mountain folk. During this past year, the eastern Kentucky coal fields witnessed one of the most brutal and hard fought labor struggles in recent history. The United Mine Workers of America in Harlan County won a decisive victory over the Duke Power Company, a giant North Carolina utility. Duke, like many other power companies in search of higher profits, bought up coal mines in a largely non-unionized area of eastern Kentucky, sensing an opportunity to ripoff inexpensive coal from the death-trap mines. After a thirteen-month strike, Duke's Brookside mines won a contract, signaling a new era of rank-and-file militance in the area. Although it is one of the nation's largest coal producers, eastern Kentucky and its people have remained poverty-stricken.

Besides fighting the coal companies, many country folks in Kentucky have begun to be confronted by the callousness of recreational/second home developers. One of the state's first recreational development fights was surprisingly not against the typical fly-by-night land hustlers, but against FDR's baby-become-monster, TVA. Back in 1963, the federal government began taking the first steps toward developing a national recreation area through TVA in remote parts of Tennessee and western Kentucky. It was conceived by the beneficent bureaucrats as a generous act of stewardship — and as a model of recreational land use — which would also help repair the TVA's badly tarnished image and reputation. As it turned out, the Land Between the Lakes Project only reinforced what many folks had been saying about the TVA all along, about its disrespect for the land and about the wealthy interests that it's always seemed to covertly serve.

John Egerton, in his book, *The Americanization of Dixie*, described the TVA project as a demonstration "of the destructive consequences of bureaucratic insensitivity and greed, an example of cold and impersonal manipulation to create a controlled environment in which the past is obliterated and all human activity is regulated." In order to accomplish its devious ends, the TVA removed over 3,000 residents by 1972 from their 100,000 acres of homeland, despite citizen opposition. To replace the local residents, two major vacation resorts have sprung up, Kentucky Dam Village and Kenlake, on the western shores of the lake and it is expected that more recreational developers will be moving into the area to take advantage of TVA's profitable gifts.

louisiana

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Cattle	$132,478,000
Soybeans	123,212,000
Rice	101,576,000
Dairy products	76,774,000
Cotton lint	76,667,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $696,123,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Petroleum	$3,359,710,000
Natural gas	1,632,545,000
Natural gas liquids	173,425,000
LP gases	166,099,000
Cement, Gypsum, Stone	95,418,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $5,553,009,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
Boise Cascade	564,000
Crown Zellerbach	529,000
International Paper	456,000
Olinkraft	386,000
Continental Can	295,000

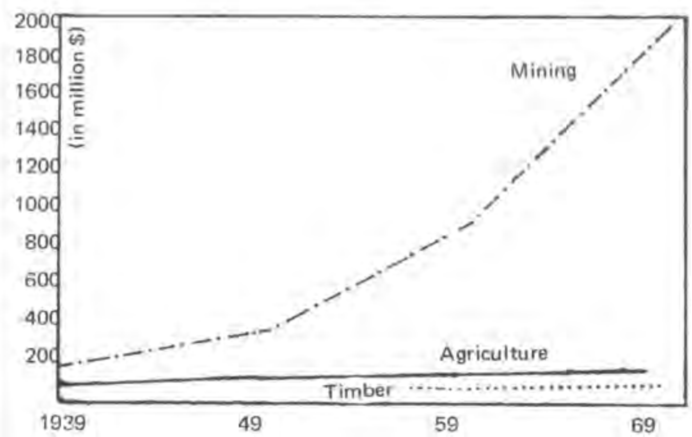
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 2,925,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	42,269	-43.2	- 71.8
Average acres per farm	232	+66.5	+247.6
# over 500 acres	4,430	+19.2	+103.2
% owned by blacks	9	-21.0	+ 23.2
% acres owned by blacks	3	-28.9	- 50.9
# of farmers & farmhands	85,000	-48.2	- 65.7
Total net income per farm	$4,626	+66.5	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$496,406	+17.0	+65.0

The bottom 54.6% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 4.0% of total sales.

The top 7.4% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 57.3% of total sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

Floating on a sea of oil and natural gas and bordered by the mighty waters of the Mississippi and the wealthy port of New Orleans, Louisiana holds some of the richest resources in the country. Perhaps more than any other southern state, Louisiana's economy is tied to the land with its mineral wealth, its rich alluvial topsoil deposited at the mouth of the Mississippi, its sugarcane fields in the southern parishes, and its land-based industrialization. Petrochemicals, food processing, and lumber production combine with oil rigs and soybean crops to make Louisiana's residents virtually dependent on a land-based economy.

At the heart of Louisiana's black gold mother-lode is the bustling port city of New Orleans, billed by its business leaders as the new "Centroport, USA." Few people have been able graphically to depict the true state of the southern land in the seventies, but one of them lives in this port city. Bill Rushton, the editor of the New Orleans *Courier*, has analyzed in his "South Coast Conspiracy" the powerful Mississippi Valley, from the port city itself to the coastal operations of the largest oil companies in the world. Utilizing a vast canal system, barges from throughout the South, and as far away as Minnesota and Tulsa, drift back towards New Orleans. Moreover, steamship companies have begun to piggy-back these barges to international markets, and the aggregate trade of the cities interconnected by those navigational and technological improvements is approaching half the national total. In contrast to this bustling international trade, New Orleans' fishing industry is in desperate straits; silt which used to spread out over the Delta is now blocked by levees and drifts all the way to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Each year as the river flows into the Gulf of Mexico, it spreads sixteen square miles of silt into the state's fish-producing marshes.

Sulphur, natural gas, and oil extraction make Louisiana the second-largest mineral producer in the nation. In 1971, Louisiana oil accounted for one-sixth of the nation's total and contributed $3.4 billion to the state's economy. Natural gas reserves, one-third of the nation's total, accounted for $1.6 billion. Total mineral production will soon reach $6 billion a year. This production, however, will not stay in the hands of Louisiana's residents, but is controlled by the big oil companies — Texaco, Exxon, Standard of California, Shell, and Gulf — all based out-of-state. The largest oil refinery in North America is owned by the Standard Oil of New Jersey, now Exxon, and is located in the state's refinery-infested capital, Baton Rouge.

Oil production has traditionally centered along the coast and in the northern hill country of Caddo Parish. In 1947, however, offshore drilling began to change this pattern. This technological innovation has led inevitably to a national pipeline network. Another by-product is the controversial proposal for a "superport," the Louisiana Offshore Oil Port.

Plaquemines Parish is a microcosm of the world of Louisiana's mineral wealth. Its sulphur and oil deposits bequeathed one man — Leander Perez — a fat wallet and a political fiefdom. Plaquemines, southeast of New Orleans, meshes with the spreading Mississippi River for 100 miles until they both dissolve into the Gulf. Underlying this mix of water and land are rich oil deposits and one of the world's largest cones of sulphur. For 40 years (until his death in 1969) Perez maintained his subjugation of parish blacks and his power in the Louisiana legislature. He managed to hustle through the legislature an unprecedented constitutional amendment restricting the profits from parish tidelands oil and sulphur solely to the Plaquemines treasury. Through deals with a gamut of oil companies and Freeport Sulphur, Perez kept the parish's workers dependent on absentee corporations, while his own wealth reached a reputed $100 million.

The wealth of South Coast's *noveau riche* corporate oligarchs is moving solidly into the fields of waxy soybeans. In 1962 soybeans accounted for only 2.4 per cent of Louisiana's farm income, valued at $10,500,000. In contrast, the waxy beans comprised over 20 per cent of the state's farm receipts, totaling $241,000,000 during 1973. As a result of this tremendous growth, crop receipts from soybeans were higher than for any other farm commodity. The new soybean upstarts are also rushing to overwhelm the state's fertile croplands. Along the rich alluvial Gulf-coast Delta, soybean acreage increased 13 times its 1946-50 average by 1960-70, principally as a replacement for cotton, which comprised 24 per cent of the state's crop receipts during 1962 and only 10 per cent by the time the soybean invasion was well underway in 1973.

By the 1980's, the U.S. Department of Agriculture predicts that soybeans will be the number one crop in the nation. Louisiana's cowboy/farmer/businessmen and their counterparts in the other Mississippi Valley states of Arkansas and Tennessee have catalyzed this agricultural *coup d'etat* in the midst of King Cotton's former domain, and have pushed increased soybean production as the cure-all for this country's ailing balance of payments. According to American Soybean Institute figures, a phenomenal 80 per cent of Louisiana's soybean crops are exported each year. Because of this lucrative soybean concentration, New Orleans has become the world's largest soybean collection and export terminal. Out of the New Orleans' port flows most of this country's soybean which account for over 90 per cent of the world's supply.

Like the gushing oil boom of the past few decades, soybeans have also brought with them a vast quantity of new found riches for a small clique of Southcoast millionaires. One of these neophyte fatcats, Trammell Crow, is conniving to build a brand-new 42,000-acre soybean plantation in the midst of the Dismal Swamp area of Louisiana's Concordia Parish. With a little help from Delta congressman Otto Passman, Crow hopes to procure a little "positive" government intervention to help make his bean dreams come true. Passman is presently lobbying to get an Army Corps of Engineers pumping station built in the area to keep Crow's thirsty soybeans satisfied, in spite of widespread protests from the area's residents. Louisiana's Wildlife and Fisheries Commission has estimated that the losses in deer-hunting alone will amount to more than $1 million a year if the project is completed. The Crow soybean plantation (making up 11 per cent of Concordia parish's total land area) is expected to gross a profit of at least $1.26 million in its first year of operation, employing a workforce of only 80 men . . . just one example of the agricultural superprofits that are being extorted from a hunger-ridden state.

Since 1934, the sugar industry has flourished under the protection of federal law and sugar cane workers have been wards of the USDA. The Sugar Act sets quotas for both domestic and imported sugar, thereby boosting the U.S. price above the world price. With sugar prices nearly tripling in the past year, the industry lobby allowed Congress to let the Sugar Act die, no longer needing its protection.

During the forty-year rule of the sugar barons under this federal wing, the workers turned to different groups for help. In 1953, the National Agricultural Workers' Union (NAWU) attempted to unionize the workers in the sugar cane fields of South Louisiana. The American Sugar Cane League of the U.S.A., Inc., a growers' association, refused to bargain with the union. The NAWU struck the plantations of four of the largest plantation owners. The sugar cane workers received some support from other labor groups in the state, especially the Packinghouse Workers, who refused to cross the picket lines. However, organized labor turned on the workers for a major legislative trade-off. The state legislature agreed to repeal the "right to work" law — except, in the case of the agricultural workers.

Recently, Sister Anne Catherine Bizalion has developed the Southern Mutual Help Association in the same area. The National Sharecroppers Fund assisted Sister Anne with preparation of testimony for the annual hearings which determined the cutting wage for the workers. Several years ago, the USDA capriciously decided not to hold the hearings until after the cutting season had begun, hence precluding a wage increase for that crop year. The Southern Mutual Help Association brought suit and won the right to their hearing. However, once again, the bigger picture has begun to overtake local gains by the workers. The international economy has sent sugar prices skyrocketing, and the Sugar Act was laid to rest.

mississippi

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Cotton lint	$225,044,000
Cattle	191,553,000
Soybeans	176,312,000
Broilers	113,353,000
Eggs	77,214,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $997,797,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Petroleum	$201,808,000
Natural gas	24,830,000
Sand and Gravel	13,526,000
Cement, Lime, Magnesium	12,790,000
Clays	8,501,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $262,393,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
International Paper	898,000
St. Regis Paper	350,000
Weyerhaeuser	338,000
Masonite	325,000
Crown Zellerbach	207,000

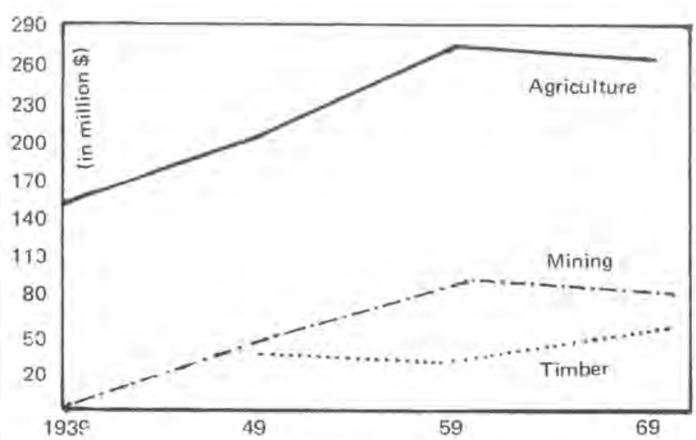
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 2,463,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	72,577	-47.7	– 75.1
Average acres per farm	221	+63.8	+235.9
# over 500 acres	6,531	+ 5.7	+ 87.6
% owned by blacks	20	+22.0	+148.4
% acres owned by blacks	8	–15.3	– 13.5
# of farmers & farmhands	130,000	–51.9	– 68.8
Total net income per farm	$4,232	+71.2	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$685,178	– 4.	+ 64.

The bottom 64.2% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 5.6% of total sales.

The top 5.5% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 61.9% of total sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

King Cotton no longer rules in Mississippi, but his dominion remains impoverished — the lowest per capita income in the nation — and his displaced vassals receive the nation's lowest industrial wage — $2.77 per hour. The strip of rolling land from Natchez on the Mississippi River up through Jackson to the Tennessee line developed into cotton plantations during ante-bellum days. After the Civil War, as this poor soil was depleted by repetitive cotton crops and the rich Delta region was drained of swampland, the plantation system moved nearer the River. In the early twentieth century, levees reclaimed more farmland and a new plantation class emerged. Cotton continued to rule, controlling the state legislature to the point of actually banning industry from the state. But times began to change. In 1936, the state initiated a Balance Agriculture with Industry Act (BAWI). The advent of the cotton picker caused a massive outmigration from the Delta which continues to this day; from 1960 to 1970 the 14 Delta counties lost more than 10 per cent of their already depleted population. And the decline of the cotton industry (due to man-made fibers and foreign production) opened the state to diversified agriculture, outside timber companies, and several higher-wage industries.

Still agriculture remains vital to Mississippi's economy: 55.5 per cent of its population lives in rural areas (the second highest percentage among southern states) and farm receipts totaled $1.1 billion in 1972. Although Mississippi's cotton production was 1/6 of the nation's total in 1972 (Texas led with almost 1/3), it accounted for only 24 per cent of the state's crop receipts, dropping from 40 per cent in 1962. Soybeans and livestock have been the fastest growing agricultural industries. By 1972, there were twice as many acres planted in soybeans as in cot-

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

ton, and farm receipts from livestock had surpassed the dollar value of all crops. Soybeans have jumped from 6.8 per cent of the state's crop receipts in 1962 to 16 per cent by 1972. Moreover, soybean acreage *doubled* from 1964 to 1969 (1.2 to 2.4 million) and accounted for half the 4.8 million acres of harvested cropland in the state in 1969. Control of the land has not changed, however. Large plantations and consolidated farms are transferring cotton acres into soybeans. In fact, the number of farms has decreased from 251,383 in 1950 to 72,000 in 1970, and the average farm size has increased from 82.4 acres in 1950 to 221.0 acres in 1970.

The cattle and poultry industries exercise control in more subtle ways. Cattle farmers have spread into the north central rolling prairie, the old cotton land. Squeezed by rising feed costs and contract marketing, small operators are in trouble. More often, however, cattle farms are operated on giant plantations as a tax loss to supplement the cotton subsidy. Displaced black tenants have turned for jobs to the growing poultry processing plants. Forest, northeast of Jackson, is the largest broiler center in Mississippi, and the state ranks fifth nationally in broiler production behind four other southern states. Fred Gaddis, the former mayor of Forest, illustrates the industry's pattern of vertical integration. He owns Gaddis Breeder Farms, Gaddis Hatcheries, Little Princess Foods, and Gaddis Packing Company, as well as a commercial cattle ranch, a catfish hatchery, and holdings in coastal development. The Mississippi Poultry Workers Union has been struggling for several years in this area to stabilize the rapidly changing work force (from white to black) and develop some vehicle of power for these low-paid workers.

Despite this phenomenal growth in soybeans and livestock, cotton still tells the story in Mississippi politics. In 1972, Mississippi ranked 9*th* in farm subsidies, receiving more than any other southern state except Texas — $125.8 million, almost all in cotton. Senator James Eastland, who owns a 5,400 acre plantation in the Delta's Sunflower County, is one of the prime beneficiaries. As the second ranking Democrat on the Senate Agriculture Committee, Eastland worked against the bill limiting the farm subsidy. When the bill passed Congress, he searched for a loophole in USDA regulations and, in 1971, dissolved Eastland Plantations into six separate partnerships within the family, losing only $3,000 in the process. Eastland also chairs the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee where he has blocked progressive legislation for years. While Eastland works his machinations in Washington, his constituents in his home county are some of the poorest in the country. Calling OEO, Headstart, and other social welfare programs "handouts," Eastland helped direct $12 million in farm subsidies to Sunflower County in 1971 alone. When Eastland travels the rest of the state, Congressman Jamie Whitten, whose district includes Sunflower County, looks after things in the Delta. For years Whitten has chaired the Appropriations Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee, controlling the pursestrings of the Department of Agriculture, regardless of who sits in the White House. The powerful combination of Eastland and Whitten continues to control farm subsidies, and recently funding of environmental programs has also come under Whitten's wing.

Forests cover over half of Mississippi's land. By the late 1930's the valuable virgin forests had been cut off, and a once-thriving timber industry had left. But a second forest grew back, and outside timber companies have returned to reap new profits. The Forest Service publishes slick brochures on such restoration projects as the Yazoo-Little Tallahatchie in the once-eroded northern hills. However, such promotion ignores the way in which the small landowners are controlled by the timber giants.

Timber products yielded $1 billion in Mississippi in 1972, compared to agriculture's $1.1 billion. International Paper, Weyerhaeuser, St. Regis and Masonite determine how this cash flows. Playing on the Mississippi racism rooted in the cotton culture, paper companies have tried to keep the black and white woodcutters divided. Nevertheless, the International Woodworkers of America organized the huge Masonite plant in Laurel (where masonite was invented). A major strike occurred in 1967 when automation forced layoffs. Black workers and whites (including Klansmen) struggled to keep themselves unified against the company. Outside the plant, unionization was also beginning among black and white woodcutters who cut the timber under contracts with the paper companies' middlemen. The Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association formed in Laurel in 1971, when a change in the measurement system cheated the woodcutters just as a stretch out would textile spinners. By 1974, chapters had been established across Mississippi and Alabama to protect cutters against International Paper, Scott, and other companies. The Pulpwood Association has now become more of a threat, and the local battles have expanded into the federal courtroom. (IP and Scott claimed the Association violated the monopoly provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act, namely that the cutters were not employees but contractors in collusion!)

Weyerhaeuser's Tree Farm Family (TFF) program represents a more subtle control over the industry. Begun by DeWeese Lumber Co. of Philadelphia, Miss., several decades back (Weyerhaeuser acquired it in 1966), the TFF program has expanded into a corporate forestry extension service. The company performs planning and supervisory services (surveys, forestry plans, tax explanations) for small landowners in exchange for purchase rights, i.e., the right to meet the best offer when the trees are ready. In the Columbus area alone, Weyerhaeuser's TFF covers 163 small landowners with 60,000 acres and is expected to reach 150,000 to 200,000 acres by 1980. Nationally, the TFF goal is 1.1 million acres by 1980. In 1972, International Paper began a similar program, the Landowner Assistance Program. Such programs encourage small landowners to grow trees but maintain total control of the price the owners will receive for their product. Such means have enabled Weyerhaeuser to build the largest lineboard complex in the world in Columbus, a $275 million project.

The 70-mile Gulf Coast strip between New Orleans and Mobile, always noted for tourism and shrimping, has recently become one of the fastest growing regions in the South. In 1969, Camille, one of the most powerful hurricanes in American history, swept through the Biloxi-Gulfport coastal region causing property damage of $1 billion and 144 deaths. A phenomenal economic rebound resulted from massive national disaster aid, a growing tourist economy, and huge Department of Defense contracts awarded to Litton's Ingalls Shipyards in Pascagoula, making Litton the state's largest industrial employer.

Discovery of oil deposits created a flurry of speculation in Mississippi during the 1940's. Oil (9*th* nationally) and natural gas (11*th*) now contribute $229.1 million to the state's economy and 87 per cent of Mississippi's total mineral production value. However, their relative importance pales in comparison with neighboring Louisiana.

Photo by Pat Goudvis

north carolina

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Tobacco	$561,647,000
Broilers	147,862,000
Hogs	113,976,000
Eggs	107,566,000
Dairy products	98,713,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $1,500,369,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Stone	$58,026,000
Copper, Lead, Zinc, etc.	28,927,000
Sand and Gravel	14,690,000
Feldspar	4,681,000
Clays	3,802,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $112,451,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
Weyerhaeuser	570,000
International Paper	376,000
Westvaco	350,000
Riegel	330,000
Hoerner-Waldorf	232,000

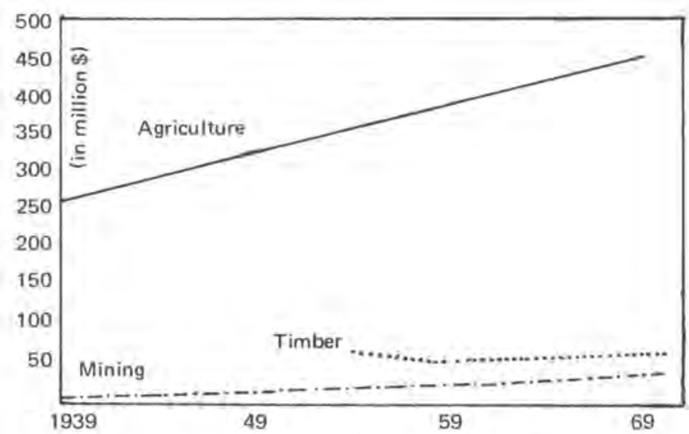
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 2,334,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	119,386	−37.6	−57.1
Average acres per farm	107	+27.8	+57.5
# over 500 acres	3,113	+14.8	+80.0
% owned by blacks	8	−10.9	+23.6
% acres owned by blacks	4	−23.3	− 6.2
# of farmers & farmhands	247,000	−42.8	−38.7
Total net income per farm	$4,486	+69.6	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$1,195,069	+18.	+73.

The bottom 45.8% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 4.0% of total sales.

The top 5.0% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 42.7% of all sales.

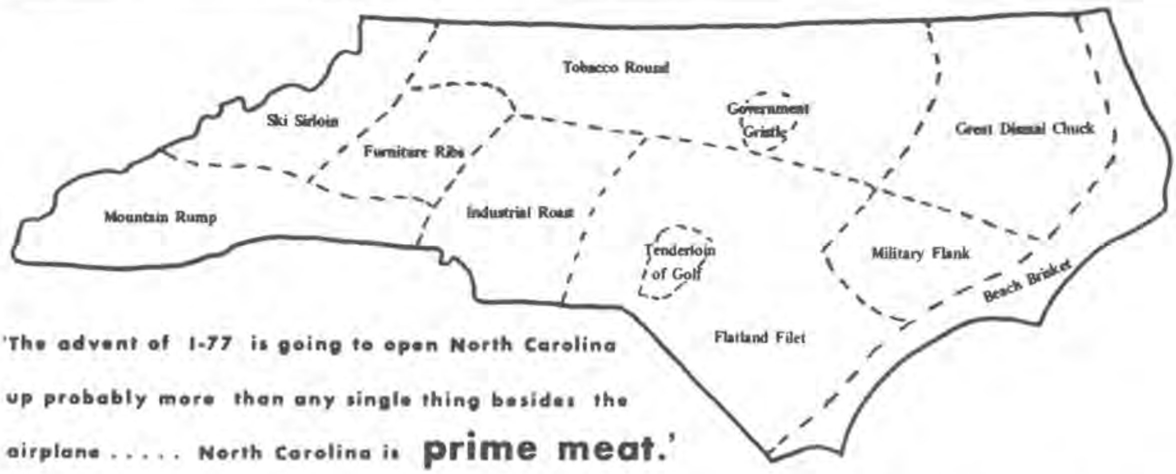


Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

The topography of North Carolina has determined its economic and political growth for many years. The rural Tidewater or coastal plains stretch out from the second-longest shore-line on the Atlantic to tobacco plantations, small farms and now agribusiness and timber holdings. The urban crescent from Raleigh to Charlotte in the upper plateaus of the Piedmont holds the large industrial concentration of North Carolina professionals and workers, the least-unionized work force in the nation and 49*th* in average industrial wage. The mountains in the west have provided a relative isolation to a smaller segment of North Carolina's population. The scenic beauty and natural resources, however, now draw land developers, timber companies and streams of tourists into an area where the Forest Service, National Parks, and TVA came two generations before.

North Carolina, the third most rural southern state (55 per cent of its population), depends upon its agricultural production. In 1972, the state ranked sixth in the nation and third in the South in value of crop receipts, totalling over $1 billion, and led the nation in tobacco and sweet potato production. Poultry and livestock were also important; turkeys ranked third in the country and chicken sales were fourth.

The state's agricultural production has always been concentrated in the eastern Tidewater, but the face of its farmland is changing. Traditionally, numerous small farms dotted this tobacco country, and even in 1969 North Carolina had the smallest average farm size in the South — 106 acres. But, the number of farms has decreased rapidly — from 288,000 in 1950 to 119,000 in 1969, and the small farmers and tenants are struggling for survival. Fortunately for the big growers, U.S. Representative Walter Jones, whose district lies entirely in the coastal counties (and whose position has been unchallenged for



'The advent of I-77 is going to open North Carolina up probably more than any single thing besides the airplane ..... North Carolina is **prime meat.**'

From Carolina Financial Times

years), sits on the Agricultural Committee where he is next in line for the chairmanship of the Tobacco Subcommittee. This position controls allotment and price schedules over the volatile tobacco crop. Also, the recent improvement of the automatic tobacco picker may be as significant to North Carolina as the cotton picker was to the Deep South in creating an unemployed rural work force. And the advent of agribusiness represents an even more ominous transfiguration of this farmland.

Searching for large expanses of rich acreage, agribusiness has invaded eastern North Carolina during the past year. In 1973, Malcolm McLean, formerly a Winston-Salem trucking magnate, purchased 375,000 acres — almost two entire counties — and created First Colony Farms, one of the nation's largest corporate farms. Consultants at the land grant college, North Carolina State in Raleigh, had been closely associated with the project in its planning stages. First Colony's 10-year plan calls for 150,000 acres in row crops like corn and soybeans, 100,000 head of beef cattle, and production of a million hogs per year. In addition, food processing plants and marketing support industries (trucking, packaging, etc.) may spring up. Foreign investors have also moved into the area. Japanese interests (Shima-American) purchased 7,500 acres and Italian investors have bought 45,000 acres in the coastal region. Moreover, John Hancock Life Insurance Co. and American Cyanamid are jointly negotiating a 35,000 acre purchase, and Australian investors are investigating a 9,500 acre farm. The impact on employment (Tyrrell County, the center of First Colony now has only 3,800 residents), tax bases, and land ownership represents enormous significance for the state, not to mention the effect of these "farms" on the food market of the east coast.

The small family farmers and wage earners, dependent on the land for years, cannot compete with mechanical farming or large corporate ownership. Deserting the land, large numbers are turning to textile plants in Roanoke Rapids, paper plants in Plymouth, and to the "Chickenbone Special" headed to New York City. This movement off the farms caused North Carolina's urban population to increase at a rate of 56.3 per cent during the 1960's, nearly twice the national average of 24.4 per cent.

Package food stores, highway signs, and billboards mar the stretch of Interstate-85 from Raleigh to Charlotte, the urbanized Piedmont of North Carolina. Traditionally, the labor intensive textile and furniture industries have located throughout the Piedmont to keep the labor force isolated in paternalistic mill villages and small towns. But the influx of chemicals, plastics and electrical equipment and the growth of the banking and financial industries (the Southeast's two largest banks — Wachovia and North Carolina National Bank) have transformed the Piedmont into a string of urban centers.

Banks, convention centers, and motels dominate the skylines while sprawling suburbs create new problems for the land. In Raleigh, hard rains produce regular flooding because developers like Seby Jones, a former mayor and the creator of Crabtree Valley — one of the largest shopping centers in the South — have ignored floodplains and sedimentation patterns.

The western mountain land has long been dominated by the federal government, the timber industry, and small farmers. The Great Smoky Mountain National Park, the Pisgah, Cherokee, and Nantahala National Forests, the Blue Ridge Parkway, the Cherokee Indian Reservation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority account for 1,228,000 acres in the twenty-four county mountain region, or 21 per cent of the total land area. Timber companies acquired large holdings in the twenties. And family farmers maintained control over numerous small parcels for most of this century.

In the last ten years, however, an influx of second home and resort developers, tourists, and land-holding companies have drastically altered ownership patterns in the mountains. Local and absentee developers have carved mountain forests and farmland into ski slopes, chalet villages, golf resorts, and idyllic second homes. Florida developers compete with North Carolina entrepreneurs and corporate giants for the valuable slopes. For example, Realtec, a Ft. Lauderdale developer, controls over 10,000 acres in the Sapphire Valley Development and the Connestee Falls project; Duke Power owns 43,500 acres in Burke and Transylvania Counties; and Champion Paper Company (a subsidiary of Champion-International) holds over 21,000 acres in the mountain counties. Developers Hugh Morton (the patriarch of Grandfather Mountain and the G.F. Co.) and the Robbins brothers (creators of the Carolina Caribbean Corp., parent company of the 9,000 acre Beech Mountain ski slopes, Houndhears, and Tweetsie Railroad) are based in Boone, North Carolina. Conveniently, Governor James Holshouser also hails from Boone and appointed James Harrington, a former Sugar Mountain resort executive, as his Secretary of Natural and Economic Resources to "watch over" development in the state.

The paper industries and land developers have also sought land in the eastern Tidewater for their growth. Weyerhaeuser Paper Company heads the list with holdings of 650,000 acres and expansion plans of $225 million by 1976. Weyerhaeuser controls those who harvest the trees as well as these large tracts. In 1972, a group of loggers formed the Virginia-North Carolina Loggers Association to protect their interests. Two years later, Weyerhaeuser still will not meet with a representative of the group but insists on meeting with them individually. The loggers must absorb the steep increase in fuel and equipment costs and desperately need a rate increase. A protest of parked trucks at the New Bern plant produced no results, however, and Weyerhaeuser remains unyielding. Resort developers are close behind the timber companies. Unchecked development of the North Carolina beaches, including the wilderness at Bald Head Island and the untouched Jockey Ridge sand dunes, have sparked legislative battles over basic questions of property rights, land management, and control by whom.

Mining is not a significant industry in North Carolina although the state ranks first in the U.S. in mica, feldspar and lithium. However, natural gas is critical to the state's brick industry (the nation's largest) and parts of the textile industry. Recent FPC rulings on control of natural gas could lay off thousands of North Carolina workers if 1974 is a cold winter. The booming phosphate industry on the coast creates another kind of problem. Texasgulf, which now daily pumps 60 million gallons out of the ground in the phosphate process, recently announced a $25 million expansion program. N.C. Phosphate Corp. also plans a $220 million mine and chemical plant operation by 1977. Both mines may need 80 million gallons of water daily and are already lowering the water tables in the area.

south carolina

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Tobacco	$100,783,000
Soybeans	44,653,000
Cattle	42,614,000
Cotton lint	37,586,000
Dairy products	36,777,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $463,119,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Stone	$17,852,000
Clays	10,201,000
Sand and Gravel	9,119,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $66,888,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
Westvaco	487,000
International Paper	449,000
Georgia-Pacific	204,000
Continental Can	135,000
Bowaters-Catawba	135,000

Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 1,739,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since'59	% Change since'40
Total # of farms	39,559	–49.4	– 71.2
Average acres per farm	177	+51.0	+116.3
# over 500 acres	2,894	– 4.0	+ 38.9
% owned by blacks	19	+ 4.4	+ 52.4
% acres owned by blacks	7	–14.7	– 3.5
# of farmers & farmhands	79 000	–61.7	– 69.6
Total net income per farm	$3,342	+70.5	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$362,215	– 5.	+ 24.

The bottom 57.4% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 5.0% of total sales.

The top 4.8% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 51.8% of total sales.

Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

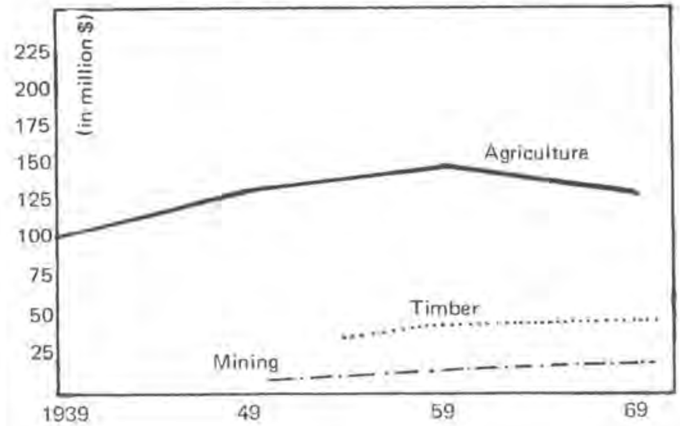


Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

SOUTH CAROLINA

Ranked near the bottom of the country in per capita income, educational level, health care, and average wage, South Carolina offers poverty as a way of life for most of its people. Plantation owners have dominated the fertile Tidewater region; the advent of the low-paying, nonunionized textile industry accounts for deprivation in the Piedmont "up country"; and the timber companies and pulpwood industry are replacing the small subsistence farms of the northwestern region in the Appalachian foothills.

Obsessed with states rights, segregation, and military power, South Carolina's modern-day demagogues uphold the siege mentality of the state, the first to secede from the Union. In contrast, Senator Ernest Hollings, who conveniently "discovered" hunger in poverty-stricken Beaufort County after he left the governorship, represents the aristocracy's claim to social responsibility. Neither have begun to come to grips with the social realities which plague South Carolina's land and its people.

The fertile coastal plain had one of the highest concentrations of slaves in the South in the nineteenth century, and the agriculture of this region reflects that history. Small farmers and tenants survived on the land for many years. In 1930, the average farm size was 66 acres and 345,000 worked on farms; by 1970, an average farm stretched for 160 acres and farm employment had dropped to 78,000. In 1955, tobacco surpassed cotton as the state's leading crop. By 1972, South Carolina ranked third in the nation in tobacco production; receipts rose to $112,710,000, accounting for over 20 per cent of the state's total. Soybeans, now South Carolina's second leading crop, are spreading across the larger farms. And farmers are transforming their cotton fields into grazing land for the growing cattle industry.

The small farmers have found few advocates in the coastal region. Congressman John McMillan, representing the tobacco-laden northeastern counties in the Pee Dee basin, gave little concern to farmers' problems during his 34 years in Congress, despite his ranking as number-two Democrat on the House Agriculture Committee. Instead, McMillan devoted himself to killing any home rule bill that came before his District of Columbia Committee. More recently, corporate investors and aggressive developers have turned their attention to Coastal South Carolina as prime land — with ominous results for the people who live there.

The fate of Beaufort and Jasper Counties, in the southeastern corner of the state, illustrates this changing pattern of land ownership and corporate consolidation. In 1968, a combination of plantation families and large corporations controlled over 50 per cent of the land in Jasper County. Three companies, Union Camp, Continental Can, and West Virginia Pulp and Paper, owned more than 1/6 of the county while seven plantation "clubs" (both local and absentee) held about 1/3 of the county's rich acreage.

This concentration of power left few resources in the hands of most of the county's 11,900 residents, more than 60 per cent of whom are black and whose per capita income is among the lowest in the state.

In Beaufort County to the east, lies Hilton Head Island, South Carolina's vacation playground and lush, second-home development. In 1957, Charles Fraser began the Sea Pines Company on his 4,000-acre Hilton Head inheritance. This venture gradually expanded to become the nucleus of an over-extended resort development company stretching from Charlotte to Puerto Rico and from Harvard Business School (Hilton Head snared 11 MBA's last year alone) to a Kuwait investment company. By 1973, Sea Pines Company, with only a $14 million equity base, carried a long-term debt of over $68 million, financed well above prime, and even referred in their 1974 annual report to this "perplexing" period of growth.

Fraser prides himself on being a conscientious developer, aware of ecology and sensitive to people's needs. Accordingly, in 1971, he commissioned a $30,000 land-use study of Jasper and Beaufort Counties; the 178-page report which resulted outlined the need for farming and fishing cooperatives. This was no revelation, however, to the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the Penn School, and others who have been working in the area for years. Moreover, the motivation behind the report lay in Sea Pines' desire to maintain rather than in a commitment to developing co-ops. The South Carolina Development Board badly wanted the German BASF Corp. to locate a giant $200 million petro-chemical plant in nearby Port Victoria. Sea Pines, fearing this industrial encroachment on their vacation hideaway, tarnished the state's inducements to BASF and won the skirmish with the Development Board. Meanwhile, Hilton Head's tennis stars, golf tournaments, and $26,000 lots draw residents like retired General Nathan Twining, mattress magnate Grant Simmons, and textile tycoons, but the displaced black tenants of Jasper and Beaufort, if they can find any work at all, commute to the Marine boot camp at Parris Island to debilitating civilian "servant" jobs.

Moving inland from the coast, one sees fewer and fewer blacks and more and more textile mills. Since World War II, S.C.'s industry has diversified into apparel, chemicals, meat packing, and paper and pulp. Nevertheless, textiles still account for almost half the value of all manufactured products and dominate the landscape of the up-country Piedmont. Fifty-thousand textile workers, almost totally non-union, are employed in Greenville and Spartanburg Counties alone. Several important agricultural products are grown in this area as well, including peaches (the second largest production in the nation) and poultry.

Further inland, the terrain rolls from plateau into hills and the less fertile soil makes for even fewer farmers. The large forest areas of South Carolina (60 per cent of the state) are concentrated in this northwestern section as well as in the swamp areas on the coast. The small foothill farmers who have managed to survive are rapidly losing ground to timber companies like Georgia Pacific, International Paper, and Westvaco. Their concentrated holdings supply the state's large pulpwood industry (over 3.5 million cords annually) but are also responsible for the revenues reaching fewer and fewer hands. Even the rich gentry in Charleston at exclusive cocktail parties bemoan the disappearance of unrestricted hunting because big paper companies are buying up so much South Carolina land! In addition, the National Forest Service controls 598,276 acres, mostly in the Sumter National Forest and Francis Marion Swamp.

South Carolina's abundant rivers have provided the hydro-electric power which has greatly facilitated the growth of its textile industry. Also, a huge Atomic Energy Commission plant located recently on the South Carolina side of the Savannah, and a major Duke Power nuclear generating plant is planned south of Charlotte, N.C., on prime South Carolina real estate. Duke Power Co. is a major land holder in the area, making South Carolina a major target for the location of nuclear power facilities in the future. Carolina Environmental Study Group and the Catawba Central Labor Union (nine local unions) have formed a coalition to fight this Duke power.

The mining industry is insignificant except for the production of clay, stone, and vermiculite. Vermiculite, important in building insulation and used by greenhouses in potted plant soil, is mined primarily in only two locations in the country — in Montana and in Laurens County in South Carolina's Piedmont. The W. R. Grace Co., a New York-based conglomerate, controls both mines and is now trying to expand into Virginia (see Virginia profile).

Photo by Raiford Ragsdale

tennessee

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Cattle	$186,098,000
Dairy products	115,466,000
Soybeans	88,274,000
Tobacco	76,329,000
Cotton lint	70,209,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $739,842,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Coal	$59,368,000
Stone	48,665,000
Zinc	38,413,000
Portland cement	33,733,000
Copper	14,473,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $239,662,000

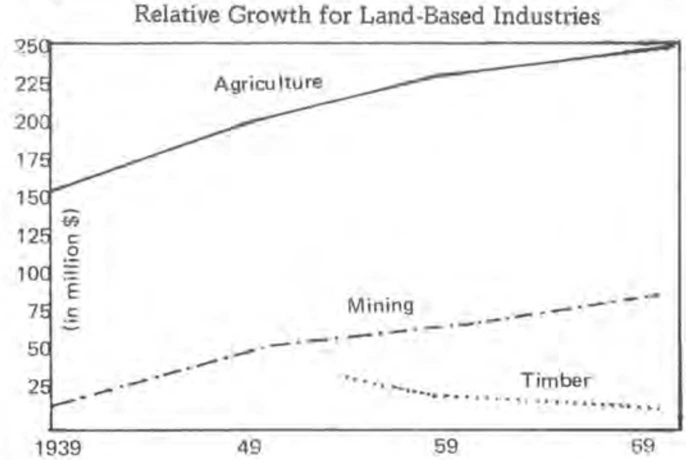
FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	121,406	-23.0	- 51.0
Average acres per farm	124	+21.6	+ 66.0
# over 500 acres	4,051	+27.5	+109.1
% owned by blacks	3	- 6.1	+ 15.1
% acres owned by blacks	2	- 9.5	- 3.6
# of farmers and farmhands	149,000	-41.8	- 51.9
Total net income per farm	$2,373	+20.6	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$623,142	+ 4.0	+ 51.

The bottom 62.7% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 11.9% of total sales.

The top 1.7% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 28.4% of total sales.

Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries



Tennessee is a border state, an Appalachian colony, and an extension of the deep South. It was a part of the old Confederacy and a staunch supporter of the Union — the last to leave and the first to rejoin. Tennessee Democrats produced two leading southern moderates — U.S. Senators Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore. But during the last six years the state succumbed to Nixon's "Southern Strategy" and now has two conservative Republican Senators and five (out of eight) Republican Congressmen.

Stretching from the coastal states of North Carolina and Virginia over to the Mississippi River, Tennessee covers regions so distinct in character and geography that it has traditionally been referred to as the three states of Tennessee. Resources vary from the coal reserves in the Appalachian hills to the rich Delta farmland north of Memphis, and political control has spanned from the powerful Crump machine in Memphis to the outside coal and timber companies in the eastern section. Two phenomena, however, have overcome these land definitions and tie Tennessee together: the birth and growth of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and the rise of an urban center within each of the three regions — Memphis, Nashville, and Knoxville.

Tennessee began moving toward industrialization earlier than most of the southern states due to the pre-World War II development of TVA. Originally intended as a "yardstick against which to measure the rates of private power companies," TVA has expanded into one of the largest landholders in the state (454,000 acres) and now buys more strip-mined coal than any power company in the nation. Arthur Morgan, TVA's first director, envisioned a consumer-controlled rural electrification system that would tame the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, industrialize the dirt-poor Tennessee River Valley, reclaim eroded soil, and create recreational facilities. Instead TVA has evolved into a land-hungry giant, less and less responsive to the public whose needs it was meant to serve. It has taken over land from Virginia to Mississippi and reached for Indian burial grounds in East Tennessee as well as for resort lakes along the Kentucky border. In the late 1950's, TVA initiated the long-term coal contract which effectively encouraged corporate consolidation within the entire coal industry. By insisting on the cheapest coal and hence discriminating against unionized, deep-mined coal operations, TVA effectively invented strip-mining. In 1930, three years before TVA was conceived as a part of Roosevelt's New Deal, Tennessee's farm labor represented 39 per cent of the total work force. Today cheap fuel has drawn major industries to the state and agriculture accounts for a mere 4 per cent of total employment, and 58 per cent of Tennessee's population is concentrated in urban areas.

The old agricultural economy was concentrated in the western and middle parts of the state, and West Tennessee is still 65 per cent rural compared to 41 per cent statewide. For years, small farms and delta plantations near the Mississippi River made cotton the major Tennessee crop. As late as 1961, cotton led the state in agriculture receipts (18.8 per cent of the total); by 1969, however, cotton's share had dropped to 7.2 per cent. Now, cattle-calf production has taken over the top spot, garnering 25 per cent of the agricultural receipts. Soybean crops have also increased dramatically, jumping from $21 million in cash receipts in 1961 to $70 million by 1969.

Memphis, once a major cotton marketing center, frantically sought to establish itself as a mid-South distribution and manufacturing capital. It has grown into a major financial and commercial center for much of the lower Mississippi Valley, and the world's largest hardwood lumber center is now located there. In addition, the Holiday Inn, an omnipresent specter along every highway in the country and beyond, was founded in Memphis in 1952 and still maintains its headquarters in this Cotton Carnival City.

Rural Fayette County, the third poorest county in America, lies in the southwest corner of Tennessee, a 40 minute drive from Memphis. Sixty per cent of its residents are black, and most of them are tenants working white-owned land. The white gentry identify with Tennessee's Lt. Governor Wilder, who doubles as the supervising manager of the Longtown Supply Company, a family firm founded in 1887. Wilder's 6000 acre cotton and cattle spread in Fayette County exemplifies the plantation tradition of the cotton belt. Shephard Towls, a small black landowner, represents another side of Fayette County. When 257 black tenants were evicted in 1960 for registering to vote, they spent the winter in a "Tent City" on Towls' farm. This early civil rights activity also prompted local Coca-Cola bottlers and oil companies to boycott the small black merchants who supplied these families. The NAACP brought suit under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, and 24 merchants and 45 landowners were found guilty of violating the residents' civil rights.

Middle Tennessee contains numerous small farms, the important stone industry, and the sprawling river bluff city of Nashville. This section of the state is losing its rural population at the fastest rate, and most of these rural folk head for the diverse industrial center of Nashville. Huge TVA reservoir projects employ thousands, while industrial complexes (Ford glass, Genesco shoes) absorb other workers. Through the sixties, stone composed the major mineral commodity, and in 1971 production of phosphate rock, limestone, and other stone reached over 32 million tons and added nearly $49 million to Tennessee's economy.

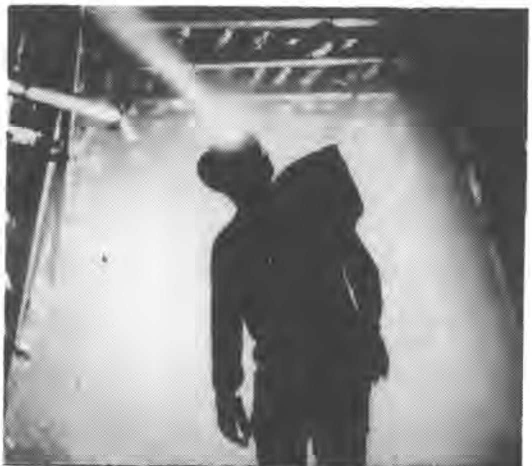
East Tennessee dramatically illustrates the traditional colonial relationship of southern resources to northern industries. Large outside companies strip the land and market its coal in collusion with TVA and the private utilities. Giant national forests sprawl across the scenic Appalachian mountains, eroding the property tax base of such poor counties as Polk and Unicoi. Outside mineral companies control the valuable copper and zinc mines, and family trusts retain large tracts of land.

In 1971, coal became the major mineral commodity produced by the state. Ten million tons valued at $59 million, were produced from 186 mines in 16 counties. Strip mining accounted for 38 per cent. Consolidation Coal Company, which owns the state's largest underground mine, ships more than one million tons a year by rail to the Georgia Power Co. and recently began shipping coking coal to Japan under a long-term contract. The bulk of this mineral supply comes from the northern area of the state which borders the coal fields of Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia. In 1971, five counties — Anderson, Campbell, Claiborne, Morgan, and Scott — supplied over 80 per cent of Tennessee's coal. Even though these five counties are among the wealthiest in natural resources in the state, 30 per cent of their population was unemployed and 21 per cent of the households lived on income of less than $1000. At the same time, nine large landholding companies, most from outside the state, controlled 85 per cent of the coal wealth and 35 per cent of the land surface — but annually paid less than 4 per cent of the counties' property taxes.

London-based American Association, one of the largest of these companies, owns 44,000 acres of land in Claiborne County, thus controlling 17 per cent of the area's coal and timber resources. Although these valuable holdings represent 90 per cent of the county's wealth, American Association pays only 3 per cent of the county's property taxes. Coal Creek Mining and Manufacturing Co. and its affiliates own 64,199 acres in Anderson, Campbell, Morgan and Scott counties. Tennessee Land and Mining, a family partnership in Connecticut, owns 50,940 acres in the same four-county area. Koppers Co. of Pittsburgh owns 53,000 acres in Campbell and Scott, the mineral rights to which are controlled by TVA. Moreover, strip mining is concentrated on these large holdings. In 1972, all of the 15 strip-mine operations in Anderson county were located on acreage belonging either to Tennessee Land and Mining or to Coal Creek Mining Co.

The American Association and similar large landholders in the area have traditionally been able to maintain their colonial might because coal was systematically excluded from the property tax base. In defiance of state statutes, county officials have omitted coal reserves from reappraisal contracts. In 1971, 13 citizens in the five county area, supported by a petition from over 400 residents, contested this violation of Tennessee law, charging that 6 million tons of untaxed coal a year were being shipped from the county. Moreover, they maintained that 600 million tons of remaining coal were not being assessed. The citizens won their initial complaint before the state Board of Equalization, yet found one year later that proper procedures were not being followed. There had been an increase in the tax revenue in four out of five counties but only a modicum of fairness achieved. These residents joined with others to form Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM) and continue to fight for tax justice in their home counties and to struggle against the strip miners.

Other major landholders reinforce this colonial pattern in East Tennessee. The Cherokee National Forest covers 613,780 acres, over 52 per cent of the land area of Polk County alone. Members of Senator Howard Baker's family from Pennsylvania own 37,390 acres in Morgan and Scott counties. Ford, Faust, and Cheely, a family trust of Knoxville, owns 37,000 acres in the same two counties. And Hiawassee Land Company, a subsidiary of the London Bowater Paper Company owns over 8,000 acres and operates a large pulp and paper plant in Calhoun, Tennessee.



Large zinc and copper mines are concentrated in the Carthage area, former Senator Albert Gore's home. Occidental Minerals Corporation (Gore sits on their board), New Jersey Zinc Company (subsidiary of Gulf and Western), and American Smelting and Refining Company control vast reserves of the valuable zinc and copper. The Copperhill complex of Cities Service Corporation in Polk County produces tons of sulfuric acid and copper. Cities Service carts the profits off to its corporate domain, leaving only giant copper-colored gullies in its wake.

texas

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Cattle	$1,700,137,000
Sorghum grain	313,922,000
Cotton lint	272,773,000
Dairy products	221,064,000
Rice	130,537,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $3,466,638,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Petroleum	$4,261,775,000
Natural gas	1,376,664,000
LP gases	380,887,000
Natural gas liquids	299,981,000
Portland cement	140,206,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $6,807,955,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
Eastex (Time Magazine)	595,000
Southland Paper	547,000
Champion Paper	512,000
Temple Industries	448,000
International Paper	444,000

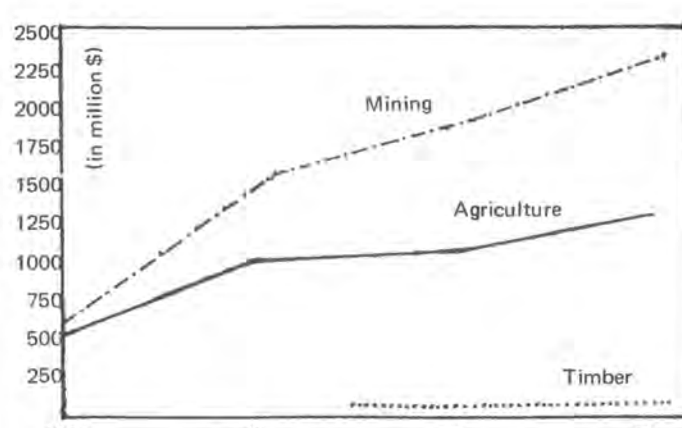
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 3,312,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	213,550	– 5.9	– 41.1
Average acres per farm	667	+ 5.9	+102.6
# over 500 acres	49,204	+12.4	+ 47.4
% owned by blacks	2.2	–57.4	– 53.8
% acres owned by blacks	0.4	–32.8	– 57.8
# of farmers & farmhands	286,000	–36.2	– 54.2
Total net income per farm	$5,857	+21.5	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$3,292,627	+23.6	+145.

The bottom 46.8% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 3.0% of total sales.

The top 6.3% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 64.0% of all sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

Photo by Roy Money

TEXAS

There's a feed-lot for cattle in the northern Texas Panhandle. It's the Randall County Feed Yard in Hereford, Texas. Each day, it feeds 65,000 steers and 600 heifers about 1.5 million pounds of a computer selected mix of grains. On an average day, the herd will gain about 180,000 pounds — and $30,000 profit. And profit — for a few — is what the land of Texas is all about.

Texas' Panhandle sits astride the High Plains, a thin belt stretching to the Canadian border. Only here does Texas bear the brunt of the "continental climate" — unbroken winter winds and parched summers. Wracked by periodic droughts since Dust Bowl days, Panhandle growers have learned to tap underground wells and now irrigate 6 million acres. They have supplanted East Texans as the major producers of cotton, making the state the country's foremost cotton-producing state with 21 per cent of the U.S. total. Wheat, first grown here to meet the demands of World War I, and sorghum grains are two more important Panhandle money crops. Grown primarily for cattle feed, the Texas sorghum yield is far and away the largest in the United States, 45 per cent of the nation's 1972 crop.

There are more cattle — 15,350,000 — than people in Texas. In 1971, it surpassed Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa to become the number-one cattle-fattening state. Texans have always owned more cattle, but had shipped them north for fattening and then slaughter. Now local packing plants have sprung up across the Panhandle, though many of the animals are sent to plants in Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas.

Southwest of the High Plains stretches Trans-Pecos Texas, a triangle of arid land extending beneath the border of New Mexico. Here the Rocky Mountains come to their southern end in the Guadalupe Mountains and Big Bend National Parks. At its western point sits El Paso, where Chicanos are a majority of the population, and where, in February, 1974, a largely-Chicano workforce won a union contract from Farah Manufacturing Company after a long and bitter strike and boycott.

This arid, gaunt land of West Texas gave birth in 1969 to a boondoggle which revealed the raw arrogance of Texas agribusiness. A group of entrepreneurial cowpokes decided to re-route part of the Mississippi River. The Texas Water Development Board asked voters to approve the issuance of bonds to finance a 900-mile ditch which would bring water to the dry lands of the Trans-Pecos, High Plains, and Rio Grande Valley to the south. Their plans called for two primary canals, one reaching westward from the Mississippi across East Texas to Lubbock on the High Plains, then turning southward to El Paso. The other was to convey water down the Gulf Coast to the Rio Grande Valley's Winter Garden area, enabling growers to extract more grapefruit from the land. Some 12 to 13 million acre-feet of the Mississippi River would be dammed in East Texas reservoirs, flooding an area the size of Connecticut. Then through an open-air, cement-lined canal measuring 300 feet wide and 40 feet deep, water would flow to irrigate the artificially induced agriculture of the High Plains. To propel this water 3000 feet uphill would require over one-third of the electricity now generated within Texas. (Specifically excluded as generators of this power are Texas' many rural electric co-ops. Specifically included are new power plants "constructed and operated by the investor-owned utilities.")

And what of the cost? It's $13.5 billion, six times the cost of TVA in its first thirty years of existence. Two-thirds would be borne by federal tax dollars. Don't bet on any obstacles halting the federal pork-barrel rolling Texas' way — not with the pride of Lubbock, Representative George H. Mahon, chairing the House Appropriations Committee. The remaining $3.5 billion or so would have come from the Texas state treasury through issuance of bonds. And what about the rights to all that Mississippi River water? Louisiana Senator Russell Long — nobody's fool when it comes to squeezing wealth from the land — answers "Texas will get our water over my dead body."

The voters rejected the well-financed campaign to approve the bond issue by a narrow 6000 votes in a 1969 referendum. But the agribusiness sponsors promise to revive it again. But why? Who loses — and who wins? Taxpayers, especially Texas ones, would lose. The winners would be those West Texas growers who seek public money to replenish a resource, water, they have depleted. The growers are fearful that East Texas will replace the High Plains as the state's most productive agricultural region. And well they should be. The growth of agribusiness on the Plains has been artificially induced and is ecologically counter to the most natural use to which man could put such an arid land, that is, grazing. For thirty years, High Plains entrepreneurs have tapped underground wells for most of what they're worth, and as depletion looms along that horizon, they ask the public treasury to make good their waste.

But cornering a market through the government dole is a Texas tradition, and a trip southeasterly to the oil-rich Gulf Coast reveals another tale. A fault line, called the Balcones Escarpment, carves Texas into eastern and western terrains. Running southward from Oklahoma between Dallas and Fort Worth, it cuts sharply to the west around Austin and meets the Rio Grande at the Amistad Dam. East of the fault lies the Gulf Coastal Plain, stretching from the "piney woods" to the coast and southwestward to the Rio Grande Valley. Because of the natural wonders beneath this Plain, Texas is the nation's largest producer of crude oil. In 1970, it produced 34 per cent of the nation's total output. The center of this production is a crescent just inland from the Gulf of Mexico, as well as the Permian Basin Field surrounding Midland and Odessa in West Texas.

The first great oil strike was on a small hillock called Spindletop, near Beaumont, in 1901. But not until 1930, when a well was dug over ½ mile deep 180 miles north of Beaumont, was the great East Texas oil field opened. With that the agrarian Texas of cattle and cotton lunged toward the Texas of land-based capital concentration. Ironically, the state with the greatest land-based wealth did more than any other to give away its resources. From its birth as a state in 1845 until three years before the Spindletop discovery, Texas let over 200,000,000 acres — more than the size of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and North Carolina combined — slip from the public domain into the hands of the railroads, politicians, ranchers, returning Confederate soldiers, and private businessmen. Two decades after it had joined the Union, Texas still followed the Spanish law which prohibited private ownership of minerals. But in the carpetbaggers' Constitutional Convention of 1866, the state gave away its public claim to all wealth under the soil. Private benefit from natural resources became the new rule.

Money generated by the land, by oil, has fed all the other major industrial development, the source of Texas' tremendous economic and political power today. Oil money fueled the expansion of the petroleum industry into petrochemicals, natural gas, electronics, metals, and aircraft manufacturing. With a base for industrialization and a tradition of political clout that runs from Jesse Jones of FDR's Reconstruction Finance Corporation through Sam Rayburn and LBJ to George Mahon and John Tower, the state has received a larger and larger share of the military pork-barrel, until it now ranks number two behind California in war contracts. More Texas money is now generated from manufacturing, than either minerals or farming, and like the Arab dollar, Texas' oil-produced wealth is looking further from home for places to invest its surplus, making it the financial center for the South, and a rival for the well-established Eastern banks.

The boom for Texas-produced oil is ending. No new discoveries are on the horizon. But the power of oil will remain, and Texas politicians can be expected to play their part. Threats against the oil depletion allowance or industry-sponsored proposals for more government support are not taken lightly. When such a contest develops, anyone from Texas can tell you who governs whom. Even Sam Rayburn admitted his powerlessness to change such basic industry institutions as the depletion allowance: "Depletion has been in effect for 34 years, and the Democrats have been in control 28 of those. Do you suppose if we'd wanted to do anything about depletion that we wouldn't have done it by that time? But they (the oilmen) just hate. They tried to destroy me. Destroy Lyndon Johnson. Destroy me!" As he finished, Rayburn covered his watering eyes with his hands.

virginia

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Dairy products	$109,062,000
Cattle	104,886,000
Tobacco	90,456,000
Peanuts	40,708,000
Broilers	37,169,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $600,544,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Coal	$254,870,000
Stone	63,482,000
Cement, Feldspar, etc.	26,564,000
Sand and Gravel	20,201,000
Lime	11,049,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $385,161,000

TIMBER

Company	Acres Owned
Continental Can	345,000
Chesapeake Paper	250,000
Union Camp	198,000
Westvaco	100,000
Georgia-Pacific	46,000

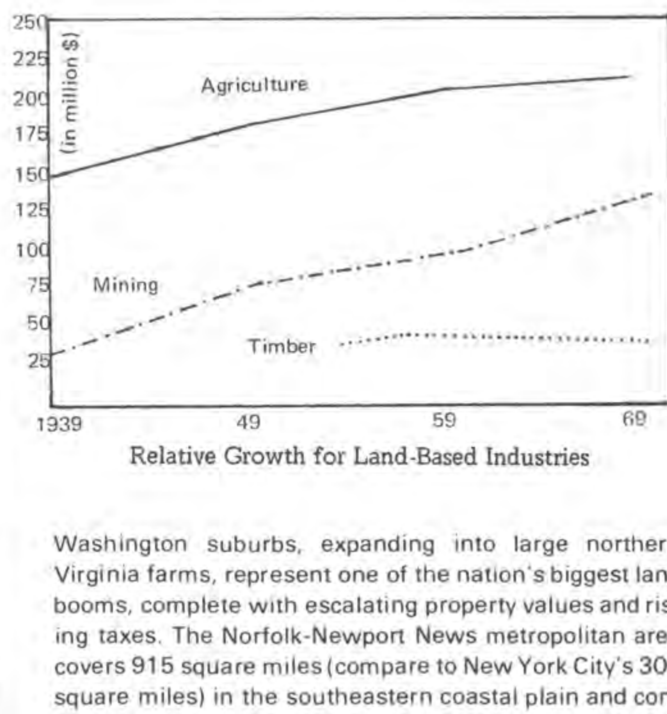
Total Acres Owned by Paper/Pulp Companies: 1,043,000

FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	64,572	−33.9	−63.1
Average acres per farm	165	+22.6	+75.4
# over 500 acres	3,888	− 4.8	+19.2
% owned by blacks	7	−27.6	−43.5
% acres owned by blacks	4	−20.9	−37.6
# of farmers and farmhands	116,000	−44.8	−47.3
Total net income per farm	$2,923	+48.5	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$570,335	+ 6.5	+43.6

The bottom 52.6% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 5.9% of total sales.

The top 4.4% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 46.1% of total sales.



Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries

Virginia reaches from the world's finest natural harbor at Norfolk to the decimated strip-mined area of Lee County in the extreme southwest and back to the awesome citadel of the Pentagon in Arlington. The land itself sweeps westward from the Tidewater coastal plain to the central Piedmont and then over the Blue Ridge Mountain chain to the rich Shenandoah Valley. The uses of this land, however, reflect the demands of an industrial and militaristic economy rather than the topographical imperatives of an agrarian culture.

The impact of agriculture, mining, and timberland on Virginia's economy pales in contrast to the spending power of the federal government. In 1972, 41 per cent of the state's population resided in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. and the greater Norfolk area, concentrations supported almost entirely by Uncle Sam's dollars, especially by the Pentagon dole. The Alexandria-Washington suburbs, expanding into large northern Virginia farms, represent one of the nation's biggest land booms, complete with escalating property values and rising taxes. The Norfolk-Newport News metropolitan area covers 915 square miles (compare to New York City's 300 square miles) in the southeastern coastal plain and contains the largest naval complex in the world, including over twenty installations and the multi-million dollar Newport News Shipping Company (subsidiary of Tenneco, the giant oil producer and corporate farmer). The Norfolk harbor is first in export tonnage on the Atlantic and handles more coal than any port in the world.

Richmond is Virginia's other major urban center. Although its population has decreased to only 11 per cent of the state's total, the state's largest banks, utilities, and the tobacco industry (17,200 workers) are located here. Virginia's large industrial economy is concentrated in the

Piedmont with chemicals, textiles, food products, tobacco, pulp and paper, and others providing jobs for 350,000. Richmond, the Washington suburbs, and greater Norfolk combine to make Virginia the fourth most urbanized state in the South.

Despite these inroads of military industrialization, broad stretches of open acreage cover parts of the coastal plain, the tobacco-country of Southside Virginia, and the Shenandoah valley. More than half of the state's farm income comes from the livestock and poultry industries spread throughout these areas. Tobacco also remains important although its percentage of Virginia's total farm sales fell from 20.1 per cent in 1962 to 13.6 per cent in 1972.

Virginia's colonial tradition of gentlemen farmers has survived into the twentieth century. Agribusiness has not yet invaded the state as it has the Arkansas delta, the Florida groves, or the North Carolina Tidewater. More often than not, planter families with deep Cavalier roots control the land through estates or in family-based corporations. Small farmers struggle against such odds, especially in the tobacco Southside, but in 1972, the income per farm ($2,945) was the third-lowest in the nation, leading only West Virginia and Tennessee.

Bordering North Carolina's tobacco country to the south, the coastal jurisdiction of Southampton County illustrates this Virginian pattern. Although 57 per cent of the county's 18,600 people are black, only one-fourth of the farms were black-operated in 1969, and the average size was 95.7 acres compared to the county's average of 232 acres. By 1973, twenty families, individuals, and corporations owned 19 per cent of the county's land, but their choice timber and farm acres accounted for over 50 per cent of the assessed land value.

Southampton holds the title as the largest peanut producing county in the U.S., but again, it's the large farmers who dominate production. For example, the Bains and the Howells hold three estates and two individual parcels, together totaling over 14,000 acres. Southampton County is also the home of Union Camp Corporation, the giant timber company that owns 1,650,000 acres throughout the South, including 36,624 acres in its home county. Union Camp's lumber mills began operations in 1856, and the family concern has grown into the 5*th* largest paper/pulp company in the South. Through the years, the family has become sophisticated in the ways of interlocking corporate power. For example, Mills Godwin, former governor (1965-69) and recent narrow victor over populist Henry Howell for another term, served on the board of directors and the executive committee of Union Camp from 1971-73, and on the board of Standard Brands, parent of Planters Peanuts.

To the West lies the Blue Ridge chain running from the Pennsylvania coal country past the Shenandoah valley and down to the rugged terrain of southwestern Virginia. The Shenandoah farmland, between the Blue Ridge mountains and the Alleghenys, is most noted for its apple orchards. Harry Byrd, Sr., developed one of the largest and most productive apple farms in the world in this valley and went on to build a political machine that virtually controlled Virginia politics from his election to Governor in

Photo by Ralford Ragsdale

1925 until his death in 1966.

Driving across the ridge from Harlan County, Kentucky, into Lee County, Virginia, has always been a breathtaking sight. But of late, the view has changed. An industrial economy has proven here that it can transform not only a culture but the land itself. The beautiful mountain land has been defoliated and strip mined to a red loam rubble. Only pockets of poor mining towns at the heads of tiny coves remain. This seven-county coal pocket, more akin to its Appalachian neighbors than to the rest of Virginia, produced 34 million tons of bituminous coal in 1972, 24 per cent of it by strip mining. Only West Virginia and Kentucky produced more.

Six corporations through interlocking subsidiaries and lease arrangements to small coal companies controlled almost 80 per cent of this production; Pittston Company (11,300,000 tons — 33 per cent) and Westmoreland Coal Company (4,200,000 tons — 12 per cent) were the largest. Tax appraisers have consistently assessed coal deposits at a much lower rate than the impact of this wealth merits. For example, in Wise County in 1972, coal companies controlled 194,500 acres out of the county's 263,000 acreage (another 29,600 was U.S. Forest Service land). However, of the $28.7 million assessment on real estate for the county, the assessment value of minerals was only $3.6 million or 12.5 per cent. In order to force these companies to pay a fair share of their taxes, citizen groups have organized a campaign for a 1 per cent severance tax; Kentucky's is 5 per cent and Tennessee's 10 per cent/ton. 10 per cent/ton.

Other environmental fights have also grown out of such land encroachments. In Louisa County, between Richmond and the Blue Ridge Skyline Drive, a consumer battle with peculiar alignments is brewing. W.R. Grace and Co., a New York-based conglomerate with $2.8 billion in sales in 1973, has a virtual monopoly on domestic vermiculite mining; it controls the country's only mines, which are located in Montana and in Laurens County, S.C. (where the Grace Co. paid only $21,658 in property taxes on its 500-acre deposits in 1973). Millions of tons of the valuable vermiculite lie under rich ancestral plantations in the Green Springs Valley. The wealthy landowners are divided over whether to sell to Grace. The older gentry sense a killing, but the newcomers don't want to lose their peace and quiet. It seems that even in a county where registered Angus outnumber people, one cannot escape the intrusions of corporate power.

west virginia

LEADING LAND PRODUCTS, 1971

AGRICULTURE

Product	Value
Cattle	$30,968,000
Dairy products	21,482,000
Apples	9,972,000
Eggs	8,575,000
Broilers	7,342,000

Total Value of Farm Products: $105,577,000

MINERALS

Product	Value
Coal	$1,128,282,000
Natural gas	60,613,000
Cement, stone, clay	30,445,000
Stone	18,066,000
Sand and Gravel	16,756,000

Total Value of Mineral Products: $1,273,960,000

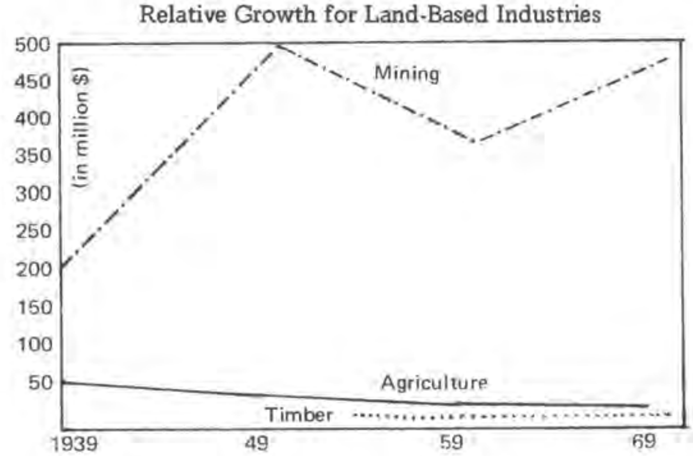
FARM DATA

	1969	% Change since '59	% Change since '40
Total # of farms	23,142	-47.4	– 77.0
Average acres per farm	188	+36.1	+109.0
# over 500 acres	1,587	– 1.9	+ 11.2
% owned by blacks	0.2	-42.4	– 55.8
% acres owned by blacks	0.2	+69.2	+ 18.3
# of farmers & farmhands	37,000	-50.6	– 53.7
Total net income per farm	$925	-17.8	N.A.
Value of prods. in 1000s	$105,631	-15.7	– 26.1

The bottom 71.8% (all farms with sales under $2500) account for 13.2% of total sales.

The top 1.8% (all farms with sales over $40,000) account for 35.1% of total sales.

Relative Growth for Land-Based Industries



"look at mother nature on the run, in the 1970's. . . ."
Neil Young

Nestled in the midst of the Appalachian mountain range, the rolling hills of West Virginia continue to endure an unending assualt by the nation's largest energy corporations. Neither a decade of half-hearted poverty-fighting nor the celebrated rejuvenation of the state's coal industry have brought even a semblance of the much-promised prosperity of JFK's New Frontier days. In the aftermath of the Appalachian war on poverty, many mountain folks have been left in their original destitution to fight alone in new battles — the most critical of which is their current struggle against the world's largest energy corporations to hold onto their jobs and homes and land.

The fortunes of the West Virginia economy have always been closely tied to the relative prosperity of the nation's bituminous coal industry. The state had been the largest U.S. coal producer for over 40 years until it was surpassed by Kentucky in 1973. It usually accounts for about one-fourth of the country's total production annually. The current resurgence of the coal industry is bringing with it many new and perplexing problems. During the past decade, the state saw a phenomenal rise in outside corporate ownership of its lands and industries. As U.S. oil companies moved to monopolize the world's energy resources, profit-hungry oil barons literally gobbled up many of West Virginia's coal reserves and production facilities. By 1972, the state's three largest coal companies, Peabody, Consolidation, and Island Creek, were owned by outside corporate interests: Kennecott Copper, Continental Oil, and Occidental Petroleum.

From the earliest days, the lives of West Virginia's inhabitants have been shaped by the state's abundant mineral resources and, more importantly, by the people who've controlled those resources. Because West Virginia happened to be on the winning side in the Civil War, some of the state's shiftier land speculators took advantage of the defeated Confederacy by helping themselves to the coalfields in western Virginia. A shrewd coalition of lawyers, land speculators, bankers, and railroad men incorporated these southern coal fields into the newly war-born state of West Virginia. As Waitman Willey, a Monongahela County lawyer, said, much to the delight of yankee businessmen, " . . . the new state . . . will embrace immense mineral wealth. It will include water power more than sufficient to drive all the machinery of New England. It contains the finest forests of timber on the continent. It includes . . . the Little Kanawha oil wells . . . and its coal fields are sufficient to supply the consumption of the entire Union for a thousand years." Even in those days, West Virginia's business leaders were quite ready to sell the state's valuable resources down the river for a quick buck. The dependence of the Appalachian entrepreneur on the more powerful corporate interests of the northeast is readily apparent. In later years, this subservient attitude played an important role in biasing the state's tax system in favor of extractive industries, while discriminating against less environmentally-destructive industrial enterprises.

The tyrannical rule of coal over the state's economy, as well as the area's mountainous topography, have produced many unusual patterns of development in West Virginia. The state continues to be one of the least-urbanized areas in the nation. During the 1960's, it was the only southern state in which population decreased, as many West Virginians headed towards the crowded ghettoes of the Midwest's industrial heartland in search of jobs. Not only is the state's industrial base capital-starved, but its agricultural operations produce the lowest per farm income in the South, while it has the largest percentage of rural population. Poultry, dairy products, cattle, and sheep continue to account for most of the state's agricultural income.

Most of West Virginia's industrial production is closely tied to the extraction of its natural resources. Gas, oil, and coal are converted into a wide variety of chemical and petrochemical products. Synthetic fibers and plastics dominate much of the state's manufacturing field, and account for about 35 per cent of its $2.38 billion in manufacturing value added. Most of the state's large plants are concentrated in the Ohio and Kanawha valleys, where electric power is both cheap and abundant.

In spite of the state's motto, Montani Semper Liberi (Mountaineers Always Free), West Virginians have constantly labored under the heavy heel of north-eastern government/business control. After a massive federally-subsidized highway building program during the sixties, corporate interests have continued to carry out their fantasies of turning the state into a gigantic recreational/leisure colony for the Northeast's wealthy fatcats. Tourism is continually promoted in national publications, and visitors to the state spend over $700,000,000 annually. More than a million acres have already been set aside for recreation in West Virginia's 34 state parks, nine state forests, and two national forests, Monongahela and George Washington.

Even greedy land developers have penetrated the West Virginia coal fields. The state's largest resort is a $90,000,000 skiing complex called *Snowshoes*, which is being built by the developer of North Carolina's Sugar Mountain, Dr. Tom Brigham. Brigham's latest venture is even more glamorous than his 3000-acre Sugar Mountain resort. Snowshoes, which is patterned after another Brigham development, Beech Mountain, will have a 1200-room hotel, 1200 condominiums, and 10 ski slopes, making it the largest such complex in the South. Some of the resort's part-time residents will include atheletes Arnold Palmer, Jean Claude Killy, Rod Laver, and Eddie Hartack. Brigham's project is being financed through the Charleston National Bank and his board of directors is currently being chaired by Birmingham lawyer and politician, John Grevier.

In spite of the recent advent of recreational home developers, coal remains king of the state. West Virginia's nine southernmost counties account for approximately 30 per cent of its population and produce about 70 per cent of its coal. Nine corporations own more than one-third of the land in these counties, and the top twenty-five landowners control more than half. Of the nine dominant corporations, only one is a West Virginia company doing business principally within the state. The others are Pocahontas Land Corporation, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Norfolk & Western Railroad, Georgia-Pacific, a timber company headquartered in Oregon, Western Pocahontas Corporation, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, Island Creek Coal Company, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, Berwind Corporation, a diversified company holding huge tracts of land, Union Carbide, one of the world's largest chemical corporations, Beaver Coal Corporation, and Bethlehem Steel Company, which is also the nation's seventh largest coal producer.

In McDowell County, which is the largest coal-producing county in the nation, two-thirds of the miners are employed by out-of-state corporations, seven of which own 76 per cent of the land. Six of these corporations — US Steel, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, Hawley Coal, Olga Coal, Consolidation Coal (a subsidiary of Continental Oil), and the Semet-Solvay division of Allied Chemical Corporation — produce two-thirds of McDowell's coal. In spite of McDowell County's abundant mineral resources, almost one-third of its families have annual incomes under $3,000, and between 1950 and 1970, McDowell lost nearly half of its population. While coal/energy corporations rake in superprofits, the people of West Virginia continue to labor and die in the coal barons' death-trap mines. Pittston Coal Company, one of the state's largest producers, leads all companies in violations of the 1969 Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act with 5000 citations and $1,000,000 in assessed penalties, none of which have been paid.

Increasingly, people in the mountains are coming to realize that taxing the revenues of extractive industries and regulating the activities of these corporate giants is almost an exercise in futility. As a long history of resource exploitation demonstrates, outside corporations are quite capable of slithering around any legislative restrictions which may be imposed upon them. The real answer to the colonializer-extraction problem, as strip mining fights have demonstrated so well, is that the land and resources of an area must be directly controlled by the people who live and work on it and under it. Of course, liberals can yell for higher coal severance taxes to finance local developments and for tougher taxation on strip-miners and clearcutting timber companies, but in the end the people will be left with a token pittance in their pockets, struggling to make it in the midst of a ravaged land.

book reviews

The Good Old Boys, by Paul Hemphill. Simon and Schuster, 1974. 255 pp. $7.95.

The Old Man and Lesser Mortals, by Larry L. King. Viking Press, 1974. 300 pp. $8.95.

The South of the good ole boys — that land of country music, "fightin' and dancin' clubs," stock car races, Class D baseball and bigtime football, canny evangelists, politicians, and self-made men — is the South Paul Hemphill and Larry King celebrate. And lament. For both men agree that it is fast disappearing. What C. Vann Woodward has called the "Bulldozer Revolution" proceeds apace. "God knows, we've been saying farewell to the South as a singular region long enough. . . ," Hemphill remarks, "but as a native son I have the distinct impression that this is it." In *The Good Old Boys* and *The Old Man and Lesser Mortals*, Hemphill and King attempt to capture the spirit of their South, perhaps for the last time.

The similarities between the books are striking. Both are collections of articles written in the late sixties and early seventies. Both begin with a tribute to the author's "old man," which is easily the best essay in each book. That Hemphill and King are products of much the same culture is obvious. They are two good-ole-boys-become-successful-journalists.

Hemphill grew up redneck in Birmingham, King dirt poor in Texas. As a teenager each was obsessed by a sport that seemed to promise fame and fortune. King aspired to gridiron glory at Texas Tech and admits that even now he rarely turns down the chance to do a football story. He includes two in *The Old Man* . . . . Hemphill was hooked on baseball. "By the time I was 15," he writes, "I had determined that my fate was to play professional baseball. Nothing else mattered." His account of being let go by the Class D Graceville (Florida) Oilers at age 18 is one of his best articles. Hemphill also writes sensitively of two country boys for whom sports proved a dead end — Bruce Swango, the Okie "bonus baby" who didn't quite make it with the Baltimore Orioles, and Bob Suffridge, the once great University of Tennessee guard, now a poverty-stricken alcoholic.

If baseball and football seemed to offer social mobility, a way out, country music expressed the reality of life in Midland, Texas, and Birmingham, Alabama. ". . . that music from our old Zenith battery radio reaffirmed our troubles and refurbished our dreams," recalls King in his essay "The Grand Ole Opry." Hemphill, author of an excellent book on country music, *The Nashville Sound*, remembers riding across the South in his father's truck "to the songs of the whistling tires and the all-night country radio stations . . ." He includes articles on Merle Haggard and Kris Kristofferson in this collection.

The men and their books are not identical, of course. King is a bit older, brasher, and a lot more irreverent than Hemphill. Their experiences as Niemann Fellows at Harvard illustrate the contrast. Although an Auburn graduate, Hemphill seems to have let the New Englanders intimidate him. "The atmosphere at Harvard was so academic it was overwhelming, eventually sending me into a shell I was unable to come out of." Old Texas Tech dropout King, on the other hand,

> could only enjoy the irrational angers he generated when he thoughtlessly appeared to accept his certificate of completion from President Pusey (and to pose for the official class photographs) in knockabout corduroys and a bright orange sweater. When passing undergraduates, spotting the Niemann Fellows stiffly posing on the steps of Widener Library, demanded our identifications he called out in response, 'The New Canaan Chamber of Commerce Committee to Eradicate Potato Bugs, The Green Bay Packers of 1937, and Friends of Louise Day Hicks.

In the face of Cambridge snobbery, King did not retreat; he wrote "Blowing My Mind at Harvard," one of his funniest and most perceptive essays.

Perhaps because he now lives outside the region, King includes several articles on non-Southern topics. His account of Congressman Morris Udall's several campaigns for House majority leader and the story of how he "lost" the National Book Award are two examples. His article on "the glory days" at *Harper's* under Willie Morris, which will delight those who still mourn the destruction of that excellent magazine, is in part a tale of Southern expatriates in the big city.

Hemphill, who has remained in the South — "I live here because it is the only place I understand" — makes a more systematic effort than King to survey the state of the region. Ironically, his "On the Road, 1969," a series of short sketches originally published in the *Atlanta Journal*, is the least successful part of the book. Crisscrossing the South from Dayton, Ohio, to Miami, Florida, and from Charleston, South Carolina, to Longview, Texas, Hemphill talked to Southerners of all classes and conditions. But the vignettes and anecdotes are too brief, too pat. The people don't come alive as they do in his longer pieces.

Any flaws of either book are redeemed by the marvelous portraits of Clyde King, failed Texas farmer, and the elder Hemphill, free-lance Alabama trucker. Strong men who worked with their hands, they were fiercely independent spirits whom their sons came to understand and appreciate only after many fights and many years away from home. Both authors admit to great pain and difficulty in telling the stories of their fathers; both acknowledge that the finished pieces are their personal favorites. Well they should be, for old man King, with his "love for growing things, a Russian peasant's legendary infatuation with the motherland; for digging in the good earth, smelling it, conquering it," and old man Hemphill, "the leathery adventurer, King of the Road," with "his hillbilly twang" and bitter prejudices, are the true representatives of that South which, for better or worse, is just about gone.

Cam Walker
Williamsburg, Va.

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Few Comforts or Surprises: The Arkansas Delta, by Eugene Richards. MIT Press, 1973, 123 pp.

"I cannot tell you how beautiful the forests were along the Mississippi; the land is now cut clean and furrowed. Nothing remains of the Osage, the Quapaw, the Spaniards wearing armor, or the frontiersmen. It is the bones of enslaved Africans that are as nerves in the soil of the Arkansas Delta."

In a land long forgotten by prosperity, liberal schemes, and twentieth-century technological gadgetry, there is little comfort in the tumble-down wood shacks of the Delta or in the unending years of dirt-poor struggling. Time is measured with drops of sweat dripping off bodies, wrung-out and squeezed by Moloch America. Could this be 1874 or 1974? Why suffering in the midst of so beautiful a land? A piece of Africa, bitten off by greedy white mouths, chewed up as a dog gnaws a bone, and spit out in the beastly heart of the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Eugene Richards' photographs leave an empty feeling in the pit of one's stomach. His pictures burst out all over with the lonesome blues of the Delta, with the joy of children at play, with the bitter resignation of a convict's silent labors. Richards' lends a rich, emotional texture to these timeless Delta lives.

How does the pain in Arkansas's Delta relate to the pleasures of suburbia? How do these contorted lives relate to this country's rich opulence? Pain and beauty, struggle and joy — all are the essence of making it on the Delta under the heel of the Man.

Chip Hughes
Chapel Hill

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Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys. An Illustrated Discography. Compiled with an introduction and commentaries, by Neil V. Rosenberg. The Country Music Foundation Press.

Folklorist Neil Rosenberg, an astute observer and student of bluegrass music, has published numerous articles in scholarly journals and "popular" magazines like *Bluegrass Unlimited* for years now. He is also a banjo-picking participant who has played with the house band and helped manage Bill Monroe's Brown County Jamboree in Bean Blossom, Indiana. Both scholars and fans can take joy in this reference work that presents a chronological analysis of the who-what-when-where of the complete body of recordings by Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys up till now. Fans especially will enjoy the photographs of the always changing Blue Grass Boys arranged to match the chronology of the recording session date. Those of us who love country music would like to thank Bill Ivey and the brothers and sisters of the Country Music Foundation in Nashville who published this excellent book and who have been doing a great job of helping us broaden our understanding of our musical heritage.

Paul Connah
Atlanta

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Train-Whistle Guitar, by Albert Murray. McGraw-Hill, 1974, 183 pages, $6.95.

Albert Murray has written a fine book about growing up in Gasoline Point, Alabama. As anyone who read his earlier book — *South to a Very Old Place* — already knows, Murray has a magical way of making his words into the music that shapes and reflects the people and events he is describing. His reminiscences take us into the "territory of the blues" where we meet early heroes like "steel blue twelve-string guitar Luzana Cholly" and "low down dirty blues piano player Stagolee Dupas." It is the memory of all those things that go into anybody's growing up, plugged into the uniqueness of being black in Gasoline Point and all put together and set down in the music that creates and is created by the time and place.

It's a good thing that a time and place and its music can be put together so well. Anybody with a taste for "smothered steak plus onion gravy with grits and biscuits and your choice of homemade blackberry jelly or peach jam or pear preserves or watermelon rind preserves," will find at least a riff or two that might take them back to their own Gasoline Point.

Dick Roose
Knoxville

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O Mountaineers!, by Don West. Appalachian Press, 1974, P.O. Box 8074, Huntington, W.Va. 25705. 242 pp. $3.95 paper; $10 hardcover.

This is a collection of 241 of Don West's poems, if you count a couple that are prefatory and unnumbered in the index. The earliest was written in 1931, the latest is contemporary. Obviously, a collection covering such a long period is meant to be not only representative but definitive — the Best of West.

As such, *O Mountaineers!* should be in the library of every admirer of Don West. It should be in the library of all who love and respect Don as a man or as a poet, for the man and his poems are inseparable, the latter an essential part of a lifetime of struggle, defeat, and victory for a very uncommon common man.

Don West has made the struggle of every poor Southerner his own struggle. Says West, "The poet takes upon himself the hurt of the other men, the ache of other hearts," and he has lived this belief, as a poet and as a man.

In *O Mountaineers!* you won't discover anything about Don West's self-sacrifice, but you will discover a great deal about the life and people Don West has seen and known in more than four decades of intense, compassionate struggle in the Appalachian South. Don has been no mere observer of the Appalachian poor; he has been and is one of them. When he writes, "We dig and we shovel/We weave and we sweat/But when comes the harvest/It's little we get," his identification with the poor southern worker is complete.

Don has been there, as southern farmer, coal miner, and textile worker; he is no outsider looking in. It is impossible to name a more genuine literary spokesman of the working-class, grass-roots South.

There's the smell of sweat and dirt and blood in his poems; there's the taste of tears, the pinch of hunger, the dead ache of muscles at the end of a long day. These things are there because they are so much a part of the lives of the people he describes, and so much a part of his own life.

That's not all, of course. Life has been hard for the southern poor, but there have also been singing and dancing and the good human relationships that make life worth the struggle.

Don is not content to urge struggle against vague, undefined enemies; he names them. He was once a union organizer; the necessity, in that line of work, to be clear and unequivocal, may have influenced his poetic style. But probably not; Don is just naturally unambiguous. There will never be scholarly arguments about the meaning of a Don West poem. Never.

Don West is also a preacher, with a degree along those lines from Vanderbilt. Oddly, some will think, he does not approve of all preachers. In "I Dare Not Say I Love the Lord," he writes: "They who say: 'We love the Lord,' must first go feed his sheep!" And again, in "Preachers," he derides "Parsons who live in plenty/And drive a limousine/Say they bring a message from a toiling Nazarene."

Don West, who currently directs the Appalachian South Folklife Center near Pipestem, W. Va., was once a college professor. His wife was also a teacher; for many years, the Wests lived on one salary and saved the other in order to purchase the Folklife Center property.

But Don's poems tell little or nothing of his white-collar occupations. His heart, it is plain, is yet in those sweat-stained, hard-scrabble Appalachians from whence he and his family long ago descended to work in Georgia textile mills. His poems and life speak to the Appalachian worker; no one speaks with a clearer, more honest, or more forceful voice.

William C. Blizzard
Beckley, W.Va.

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The Country Music Encyclopedia by Melvin Shestack. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1974. 410 pp. $12.95.

Readers of *Country Music* magazine will find very little new material in this collection by Melvin Shestack, for by and large it seems to be a paste-up of articles that have appeared in that magazine. Despite the fact that it has all the earmarks of a book put together quickly to cash in on the current trend, it is not without value. *Country Music* magazine is a shade above the other fan magazines, and it has had some good articles. Mercifully, they, too, are transferred to this collection.

Still, a country music encyclopedia that has a bare paragraph on Wilma Lee and Stony Cooper and devotes two and one half pages to Kinky Friedman is suspect. The deciding factor couldn't have been their respective contributions. More than likely it is a reflection of the media's refusal to deal with traditional "non-commercial" country performers, a characteristic more forgivable in a fan magazine than in a book billing itself as an encyclopedia. The value lies in the collection itself. It is neither definitive nor thorough, but it does have interesting little tidbits and trivia about the performers. Included is a discography and a listing of country music radio stations in the United States and Canada.

Sue Thrasher
Atlanta

SELMA 1965: The Town Where the South Was Changed, by Charles E. Fager, Charles Scribner's Sons, \$7.95.

The civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965, stands as a turning point in the black struggle for equal rights. It is a march which remains deeply implanted in our memories not only for its significance in the struggle, but for the violence and death that accompanied it. On March 7, 1965, marchers led by Hosea Williams and John Lewis were met by Jim Clark's law men with their horses, billy clubs, tear gas, bullwhips and lengths of rubber tubing wrapped in barbed wire. The savagery of the attack on the peaceful demonstrators startled the nation. In Selma a number of white citizens were equally shocked and moved.

Fager writes that "It was not until after March seventh when this violence had broken loose in their own streets, that the hold of terror began to be broken. The first white people to break out of it were an auto dealer named Arthur Lewis and his wife Muriel." In the days that followed the Lewises played an important role in efforts to bring together the leaders of the different sides in the conflict and to further the influence of the white voices of moderation.

Here is Muriel Lewis' very personal account of her feelings of those days, of the book *Selma 1965* and of the Selma of 1974.

Its hard to write about events that happened in 1965 and 1966 since those days changed my life and my thinking; gained me a few new friends and lost fewer "friends", but my relationship with true friends and family have remained the same.

"Selma, 1965" is most factual and apparently well researched, although the author never spoke with me. I recently learned that he didnt find out how involved my husband and I had become in the local civil rights struggle until he had left town.

My husband, Arthur, died early in 1967 from a massive heart attack, and I still blame some few of the local antagonists as responsible for his death. However, I know how proud he would be now if he could see his beloved adopted hometown.

I remember that we finally decided we must become involved after the march across the bridge, as we cried while listening to a live radio broadcast and were horrified at the brutality of that day. In spite of over twenty years of residence and great involvement in Selma life – to many we were still "damn Yankees" and so we had tried to be quiet before that awful black Sunday.

I still remember the all night-hourly telephone calls when I out breathed the breather; the tapped telephone; the opened mail and searching the grounds each night, with my dog, looking for bombs.

I remember a dear friend telling me she loved me, and I could do no wrong, and I also remember another "friend" telling me I was a "foreigner" and should mind my own business.

I remember my husband as a diplomat who worked hard as an intermediary between the Federal and local governments, and between blacks and whites, and I remember that I was the letter writer and loud mouth who received hate mail and mail of encouragement from all over the world.

What I remember most of all was an event that took place sometime in the 1950's and probably had more influence on my thinking than anything else. A black man came into my husbands office –; Art stood up, reached across his desk and shook the man's hand. With tears in his eyes the man said "Mr. Lewis, you are the first white man that ever took my hand in his." This black man was the president of a Negro university!

But Selma in 1974 is certainly a different place. Our city council has five white and five black members with the very able Carl Morgan as president, but there have been few–if any issues that have been black versus white. They work together for the good of the city. All organization boards of directors are integrated, and black and white hands touch often, and everyone works for the same causes to benefit all the people.

The schools integrated with no problems: the athletic teams integrated with no problems; our municipal pool opened only last month, and though there were some who fought it, there have been no problems there either. Our mayor and probate judge have always been realists and the majority of the local people were or have become realists, so to me Selma is now a beautiful place to live. I know that there are still a few people who cannot accept an integrated community but hopefully some day their children will accept the realistic way of life.

Selma of 1965 has passed into history. It played a sad role in those days, but if those who marched in '65 would return, I think they would be overwhelmed by the tremendous strides made in this small part of our great country. We are still blessed with Wilson Baker who has been sheriff since that time, and I don't think anyone who was involved in any way during those trying days will ever forget his calmness and strength of character that kept the streets of Selma from running red with blood.

Although in 1965 Art and I thought seriously of leaving this part of the country, I now can say I'm proud to be a citizen of Selma and Dallas County, Ala.

It has been my marvelous white and black friends who have helped me through Art's death, other family problems and my illness of this entire past year. Everything is looking up for me now, but I've found out that kindness, consideration and love is a two way street.

Selma of 1965 should not be forgotten, but now we all think of 1974 and onward to continued progress in all fields. The future looks most promising.

Muriel N. Lewis (Mrs. Arthur J.)

Mountain Spirits: A Chronicle of Corn Whiskey from King James' Ulster Plantation to America's Appalachians and the Moonshine Life, by Joseph Earl Dabney. Charles Scribner's Sons, 231 pp., $8.95.

Joseph Earl Dabney has managed to both preserve the romance, and to provide the realism of moonshining, from its invention in Ireland to its illicit production in the present day urban south. Descriptions of the process and the people are as clear and as potable as pure corn whiskey at its best. One is struck by the craft and care of the old time moonshiners — men who were obliged by their situation to produce a high-quality product for their friends and neighbors. Both producers and consumers have changed, however, and quality has all but vanished. Big operators serving urban ghettoes now produce a product that has been known to kill, blind or paralyse.

Dabney chronicles the change and makes it possible for us to see the economic, political and social reality of moonshining. For his efforts the moonshiner is better understood and his craft more appreciated.

Dennis Lavallé
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

In a postscript Mr. Lavallé adds: Whiskey making is detailed with alternative recipies and procedures. What is lacking, and presumed lacking in the neophyte moonshiner-reader, is the ability to produce the still. Copper and stainless-steel boilers and tubing have to be fashioned somehow from Dabney's descriptions and photos. This gap in instruction, not to mention the problem of detection and the law, present formidable obstacles. But I for one would love to run off a few quarts under the moon!

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The Horn Island Logs of Walter Inglis Anderson, edited by Redding S. Sugg, Jr., Memphis State University Press, $18.95.

This is not just another impress-the-guests art book to store on the coffee table, but the remarkable tale — visual and narrative — of a wilderness island in the Mississippi River. Redding Sugg Jr. offers this collection of entries from the logs kept by artist Walter Anderson.

Anderson speaks of his life on Horn Island, his transition from observer and recorder to fellow actor with the island's reptiles and insects. Day by day, as Anderson becomes more integrated in the pulse of the island — wading through the swamp weeds to become a water bird or crawling on his belly in underbrush to come face to face with its copperhead residents, he continually reaches outside himself. Drawn back, but only slightly, to "our world," Anderson saves little creatures from predators, treats them as island doctor (usually with no success) and mourns their passing.

The logs, captivating, warm, innocent and sometimes unsettling, are but half of the experience. The book's 81 illustrations by Anderson (the reproduction is near-perfect), allow us to see what Anderson saw and periodically tried to live. His watercolors are unusually bright. Lines rather than blocks of color give movement and life to the lizard's tail or the crab's claw. A tree trunk engulfed with vegetation reveals a hot muggy day and an insect world barely hidden behind the foliage.

The *Logs* lends itself to the thumb-through style of reading and viewing. Using this method, this book will probably hold your interest for the next ten years — long after you should have removed it from the coffee table.

Cary Fowler
Chapel Hill

●

Take Me Home: The Rise of Country and Western Music, by Steven D. Price. Praeger Publishers.

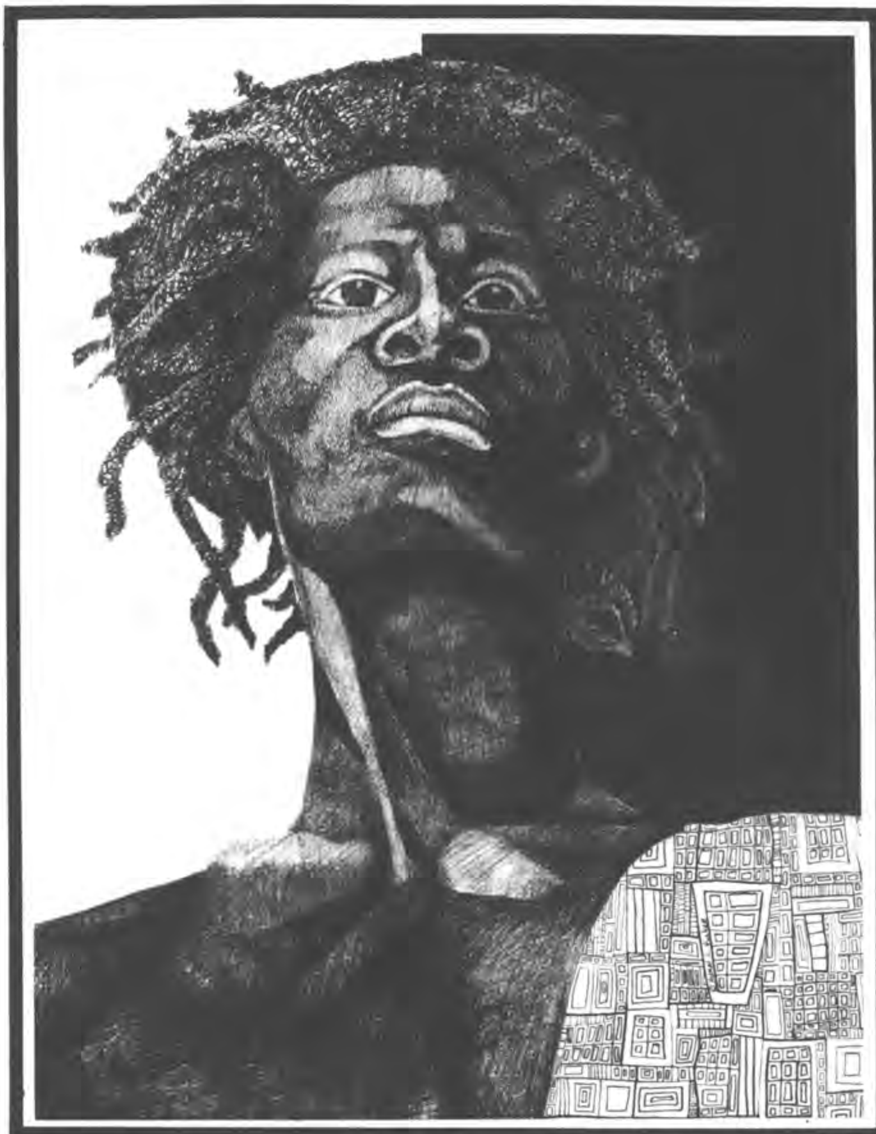
Despite a few glaring inaccuracies (attributing Ernest Tubb's "Walkin' the Floor Over You" to Hank Williams, calling Jelly Roll Morton a trumpet player), this book serves as a good introduction to country music. Price has concentrated on lyrics showing the continuity of content and style in country music along with the influences that have helped to shape its development since the Europeans and Africans came to North America.

Paul Connah
Atlanta

●

A Century of Jewish Life in Dixie: The Birmingham Experience, by Mark Elovitz. University of Alabama Press, $10.

Elovitz has written an account of Birmingham's Jewish population from its origins to its present-day relations with Birmingham's other citizens. He documents the story of the original separatism of the German and East European Jews and describes their final unification for defense against the KKK and for civic and social reasons.



Collected Poems, 1924-1974, by John Beecher. New York: Macmillan, 1974, 290 pages, $8.95.

The poetry of freedom has yet to be written in America. Full, unfettered freedom was stillborn here. Oh, glimpses can be caught of freedom here and there. But these are usually out of much public sight. These risings for freedom, and the people who have risen, often to die, are the source and inspiration of John Beecher's poetry, his icons. He's spent a lifetime recording those all too scarce moments and the unsung who unearthed them. So his work is hard to come by but is treasured when found. Like freedom will be.

This is a volume celebrating freedom, a fiery denunciation of those malignancies which have thwarted its enactment in America — racism, sexism, cronyism, imperialism, unchecked materialism, jingoism. This is a poetic short course in the history of struggle against those false, but dominating, values. At seventy, now a patriarch in age and appearance, if not national esteem, Beecher still has a revolutionary's faith that freedom will be born in this land.

> The old coin of freedom is worn
> slick and smooth
> the inscription rubbed off and the
> eagle dim
> and can be reminted.

His faith is alive because the same faith is alive in ordinary people. His insistence on writing poetry of this, and of them, has kept Beecher out of frequent print, away from anthologies and the easy money. If you were lucky, you might find one of his self-printed collections in some unexpected place, a friend's home. But not in the supermarket or drugstore. So it was surprising to learn some months ago this book of his would be brought out by one of the national houses. Beecher is deserving of the widest circulation precisely because as one critic since has chided he is "perversely unsophisticated, monotonously on the side of the 'little guy.'"

Not since Woody Guthrie, the balladeer laureate of America's hard hit, has there been such a voice. In a land awash with poetry of the complacent middle-class, what could be monotonous about *one* book of verse telling "how democracy works" for those who dare challenge its orthodoxy? What could a critic find monotonous about:

> The old man with the face you
> have seen
> tough and kind and none too
> bright
> but lasting
> the face you have seen getting on
> the streetcar
> at the mill gate stop
> or the gusty corner
> now under the blood-soaked
> handkerchief
> looks out at you
> with blood oozing down the
> forehead
> from under the handkerchief
> and blood on the collar of the old
> overcoat. . . . .

Only a man who had never been a dustbowl refugee. Or a critic who'd never stood up for freedom, as happened to Beecher,

> . . . so I got the old heave-ho
> from my profession as perhaps
> I should have known and after that
> I found myself an outcast. Friends
> quite naturally avoided me
> lest my unclean touch defile them
> and when I tried to find a job
> all doors were closed against me.

"The worst thing that can happen to you is to cut yourself loose from people," Guthrie once wrote. "And the best thing is to sort of vaccinate yourself right into the big stream and blood of the people." Beecher, like Guthrie, gives a clearheaded melodic vision of freedom which raises this work above the genre of proletarian art. There is no allegiance to any destructive "ism." The heroes have warts.

> old man John the melter
> wouldn't tap steel till it was right
> and he let the superintendents
> rave

he didn't give a damn about tonnage
but he did give a damn about steel
so they put him on the street
but he had plenty of money
and he drove up and down in his "Willy Knecht"
a floatin pallus he called it
with a Pittsburg stogie in his whiskers
and played poker at the Elks club

Beecher says he learned his craft in the Birmingham steel mills, but admits, like many other Americans, he was once convinced of salvation through education. He went to college to learn how to write. He did, perversely.

Most professors he encountered — frustrated, defeated writers, he calls them — urged him to be indirect, to be metaphorical. One of fame, Robert Frost, warned him against "too easy sympathies" after reading some of Beecher's work about the life of being down and out, made so by society's lame rules. Another, E.B. White, then a still-obscure writer who didn't set much literary store on "the purple stuff," told Beecher to cut back on the adjectives, to write plainly. That advice he took. Otherwise, Beecher set his own standards. He wrote directly. He eschewed the metaphor.

He did get published once in a while. But to eat, to fire his soul, he went to sea, worked in the New Deal as an administrator, was a writer for *Ramparts*, a chicken farmer, a poet in residence at some colleges, a professor of sociology, and a printer (when he was blacklisted for refusing to sign the infamous "loyalty" oath during the Fifties and no one would touch his poetry.) His life has carried him across America. In spite of the fact he once wondered, "I really don't know why I threw/my life away for principle./It seems an empty thing from here/shoveling behind the cows."

Beyond his obvious delight for the "unpopular," the major theme of his work is an almost nineteenth century vision of the democratic ideal, coupled with a Puritan's faith in its ultimate realization. Whitman was inspired by the same revolutionary ideals. Take for instance, "And I Will Be Heard," which Beecher wrote at the start of World War II just after Hitler had beaten down Belgium:

Yes, we
the Americans
will take over
the empire
you tried to found
but your idea
was death
and ours is life
and the thirteen bars in the American flag
will stay thirteen
but the forty-eight stars
will multiply
will get to be
from a constellation
a galaxy
because humanity
will join us.

Twenty years later, even after Pax Americana had been laid down on oppressed people around the world, Beecher defends the vision but damns those who have corrupted it. "Homage to a Subsversive," a tribute to Henry David Thoreau (one of the few times he includes a poem to the well-known), is of the sort:

The pietists who con your works by rote
forswear you and themselves with servile oaths
to placate golfing clerics, bawds of the press,
snoopers, war-hawks, kept Congressmen. Silent
they stand while lying leaders make our name
odious to men, shield tyrants with our might,
huckster new-packaged servitude for freedom,
and dub the peoples' butchers "democrats."
The coffle of pampered house-slaves will dare hymn
you dead. Come back! They'll turn you in. "How should
a man behave toward this government
today? I answer, that he cannot without
disgrace associate himself with it."

There is the Puritan in Beecher. Naturally come by. He was born in the North. But his is of the dissenting tradition, not the self-serving provincialism of the fearful witch-hunter. His kinsmen, Lyman Beecher, helped organize the Underground Railroad; another, Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; and her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, was equally famous as an Abolitionist. While Beecher is of this stripe of Puritan, the motif was in his first poem, "Big Boy," written in the Twenties:

Burns on your eye
On your arms, your chest, your hands?
Them things an open hearth feller stands.
Damn, snap to, you, buck up.
Make the best of it, big boy.

And in his last in this collection, "A Humble Petition to the President of Harvard,"

Summon me never to recite my verse
before a convocation in my honor
nor to appear in doctoral costume
as orator at Commencement. Such coddling,
as Trilling rightly says, would work my ruin.
Let me forever cope with penury
and cold neglect. Let me be ostracized
for practicing ideals you fine folk
are given to prating of at ceremonies.
Do what you please with me defunct. Put up
a plaque. Dissect my corpse in seminars.
Transmogrify my bones to index cards.
Hang my dead portrait in the library
and crucify your living rebels still.

These twin streams seem instinctive with Beecher. Within them there are few victims of American life he fails to pay attention to. Like callous corporate disregard for life:

he fell off his crane
and his head hit the steel floor and broke like an egg
he lived a couple of hours with his brains bubbling out
and then he died
and the safety clerk made out a report saying
it was carelessness
and the craneman should have known better
from twenty years experience
than not to watch his step . . .

Like a victim of the ultimate weapon:

Butch Bardoli was just a ranch kid
a tow-head like yours or mine at seven
his pockets full of marbles
pieces of string
a tiny car or plane maybe
he'd got with a box top
Nothing extra about Butch
just the usual sort of small boy
and when the big cloud mushroomed
high into the cobalt desert sky
over the Reveille Mountains to the south
he stood in the yard with the six other cildren
who went to Twin Springs school
and watched with scared eyes

Now Butch is dead of leukemia
or cancer of the bloodstream
It was just his hard luck to be born
there in that almost empty part of Nevada . . .

Beecher's most powerful work relates to, or is of, the South. Perhaps because the region is his adopted home. Or, maybe because the ferocity of the risings for freedom here have been greater than in other regions. The contending forces have been usually frankly plain and brutal. Beecher is closer to the South than his famous forebearers, and knows it better. There aren't many distortions. Nor is there any PR about a New South. Back in the Thirties, for instance, there weren't supposed to be any black Cliff Jameses around urging sharecroppers to join a union because "it was for all the poor farmers/that wanted to stick together/they paid their nickel to sign up/and their two cents for first month's dues/and they said they would try to get/more white folks in/because white men and black/were getting beat with the same stick these days." That idea Cliff James got, and got killed for, was what well-intentioned liberal whites were supposed to think up, then tell blacks about how to do. Small wonder Beecher's poetic tribute to him gathered dust for over thirty years. Even today, what traditional South Carolinian is likely to want to hear of cherished Beaufort and be reminded of being enslaved by slavery:

Low tide.
The scavenging gulls
scour the reaches of mud.
No slavers ride
at anchor in the roads. Rotting hulls
are drawn up on the shore.

Full stood
the tide here
when through this colonnaded door
into raw land passed bond and free,
the one in hope leading the other in fear,
chained each to each by destiny.

Or will the Chamber of Commerce of Frederick, Maryland, (". . . .more defiled now than by rebel shot") appreciate being described as a place where:

. . . traitor scientists impregnate hordes
of bugs with virulent bacteria
so each mosquito, fly, louse, tick and flea
carries a war-head of bubonic plague,
typhus, the bloody flux, cholera, anthrax
or yellow-jack.

It is not, however, so much with the southern places as with the southern people who have struggled where Beecher excels. I cite but one; there are many:

> We the coroner's jury bein duly sworn
> do find that State Rep'sentative Hurst
> did whip Herbert Lee a nigra boy age 52
> right smart over the head with the butt of his pistol
> and did also fire a 45-caliber projectile
> into the nigra's intercranial cavity
> such bein the proximate cause of said Herbert's demise
> and we do further find and pronounce
> this act to have been justifiable homocide
> the nigra boy havin provoked the Rep'sentative
> unwarrantably
> by insistin that he be registered on the book
> and permitted to vote like a citizen.

In a truly free society there would be no separate profession called writers, there would only be fully free working people, some of whom would freely write. In the time Beecher has been writing and living there are such categories because culture is kept separate from the lives of most working people. More than any contemporary poet, Beecher manages to fuse life, work and culture. He indeed points to the day when there will only be artists, when "the artist is not a special kind of man, but every man is a special kind of artist." This is the poetry of revolution.

Frank Adams
Gatesville, N.C.

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Audubon in Florida, by Kathryn Hall Proby. University of Miami Press, $12.50.

Birds. In pictures and words they overrun the first of a planned "Audubon in . . ." series. Fifty-two bird histories in Audubon's own words accompany corresponding black and white illustrations.

●

Magnolia Journey: A Union Veteran Revisits the Former Confederate States, by Russell H. Conwell, arranged and edited by Joseph C. Carter. University of Alabama Press, $6.75.

In 1869, a Boston newspaper sent Russell H. Conwell on a tour of the Southern battlefields over which, as a Union Soldier, he had fought. Conwell's perceptive, strongly pro-radical, occasionally bitter narratives of the post-war South are exceedingly valuable for their depiction of that brief period when the old aristocratic order had not yet joined forces with Northern capital to re-establish the racial and class status quo.

Joseph C. Carter, a professor at Temple University (which Conwell founded), has saved the modern reader much confusion by explaining various phrases and quotations used by Conwell that were familiar to mid-nineteenth century Americans, North and South, but are baffling to the general reader today.

●

Blacks in America's Wars, by Robert W. Mullen. Pathfinder Press, $1.45.

A history, long hidden, of blacks in America's wars. Mullen, an assistant professor at Northern Kentucky State College, traces the profound changes which have taken blacks from enthusiastic support of some of America's past wars to ouspoken opposition of our most recent misadventures.

BOOKS ON THE SOUTH

The following publishers have sent us notice of recent books on Southern history, politics, and social affairs.

Cornell University Press

Capital and the Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution, by Seymour Shapiro, $15.00.

The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture, by David B. Davis, $2.95.

Guide To Photocopied Historical Materials in the U.S. and Canada, edited by Richard W. Hale, Jr., $10.00.

Negro Political Leadership in the South, by Everett Carl Ladd, $12.50.

Duke University Press

Black Americans in Autobiography: An Annotated Bibliography of Autobiographies and Autobiographical Books Written Since the Civil War, by Russell C. Brignano, $5.75.

Blanford Barnard Dougherty: Mountain Educator, by Ruby J. Lanier, $12.00.

The Evolution of A Medical Center: A History of Medicine at Duke University to 1941, by James F. Gifford, Jr., $7.95.

Johns Hopkins Press

The Florida Experience: Land and Water Policy in A Growth State, by Luther J. Carter, $15.00.

Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World, edited by David Cohen and Jack Greene, $3.45.

Louisiana State University Press

The Mammals of Louisiana and Its Adjacent Waters, by George H. Lowery, Jr., $15.00.

DeLesseps S. Morrison and The Image of Reform: New Orleans Politics, 1946-1961, by Edward F. Haas, $12.95.

Lanterns on the Levee: Recollections of a Planter's Son, by William Alexander Percy, $3.95.

Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol, by William C. Davis, $17.50.

The Democratic Party and the Politics of Sectionalism, 1941-48, by Robert A. Garson, $12.95.

Black Poetry in America: Two Essays in Historical Interpretation, by Blyden

Jackson and Louis D. Rubin, Jr., $5.95.

A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of American Black English, Ila Wales Brasch and Walter Milton Brasch, $15.00.

Louisiana Birds, by George H. Lowery, Jr. $12.95.

The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854-1861, by Robert E. May, $10.00.

The Papers of Jefferson Davis: Vol. 1, 1808-1840, $17.50; *Vol. 2, June 1841-July 1846*, edited by Haskell M. Monroe Jr., and James T. Gcintosh.

Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877, by Joe Gray Taylor, $20.00.

Remembering James Agee, edited by David Madden, $8.95.

William Faulkner: The Abstract and the Actual, by P.R. Broughton. $7.95.

Cajun Sketches, From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana, by Lauren C. Post, $7.95.

Southern Negroes, 1861-1865, by Bell Irvin Wiley, $3.50.

Simon & Schuster

Who's Minding the Children? The History and Politics of Day Care in America, by Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, $2.95.

Mark Twain and his World, by Justin Kaplan, $19.95.

Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations, by Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Muller, $9.95.

American Capitalism in Decline: The Cost of a Permanent War Economy, by Seymour Melman, $8.95.

University of Kentucky Press

Mark Twain and the South, by Arthur G. Pettit, $9.75.

The Blacks and Public Education in the South, 1865-1877, by William P. Vaughn, $12.50.

Joseph Jones, Scientist of the Old South, by James O. Breeden, $10.75.

Two Paths to the New South: The Virginia Debt Controversy, 1870-1883, by James T. Moore, $5.95.

Mammals of Kentucky, by Roger W. Barbour and Wayne H. Davis, $14.95.

Tobacco and Kentucky, by W.F. Axton, $3.95.

The Harvest and the Reapers: Oral Traditions of Kentucky, by Kenneth and Mary Clarke, $3.95.

Three Kentucky Artists: Hart, Price and Troye, by J. Winston Coleman, Jr., $3.95.

Kentucky Moonshine, by David W. Maurer, $3.95.

Uncle Will of Wildwood: Nineteenth-Century Life in the Bluegrass, by Frances Jewell McVey and Robert B. Jewell, $3.95.

John Wesley Hunt: Pioneer Merchant and Manufacturer, James A. Ramage, $3.95.

University of North Carolina Press

Tar Heel Laughter, by Richard Walser, $9.95.

Serpent in Eden: H.L. Mencken and the South, by Fred C. Hobson, Jr., $8.95.

British Drums on the Southern Frontier: The Military Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1749, by Larry E. Ivers, $12.50.

The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779-1792, by Patricia Watlington, $12.95.

The Southern Mountains: A Collection of Drawings, by Frank Holyfield, $17.50.

The Urban Institute

Transit Improvements in Atlanta — The Effects of Fare and Service Changes, by Michael A. Kemp, $2.25.

Blacks and Whites: An Experiment in Racial Indicators, by Michael J. Flax, $1.50.

Other Presses

The Mexico-United States Border: Public Policy and Chicano Economic Welfare, by Vernon Briggs, Jr., Center for the Study of Human Resources, Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas at Austin, $1.50.

Storyville, New Orleans: Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red-Light District, by Al Rose, University of Alabama Press, $17.50.

The Church and the Rural Poor, edited by James A. Cogswell, John Knox Press, $1.95.

The Literary Correspondence of Donald Davidson and Allen Tate, edited by John Tyree Fain and Thomas Daniel Young, University of Georgia Press, $15.

The Florida Phosphate Industry: The History of the Development and Use of a Vital Mineral, by Arch Fredric Blakey, Harvard University Press, $13.

The Politics of Massive Resistance, by Francis M. Wilhoit, George Braziller, $3.95.

The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890, by Richard A. Bartlett, Oxford University Press, $12.50.

Resource Groups

A number of organizations and groups throughout the country have begun to face the issues of land-ownership and land use. The following is a partial list compiled by the Center for Rural Studies and published in their magazine, *People and Land*.

Agribusiness Accountability Project, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres, 1010 3rd, N.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

Americans for Indian Opportunity, 1816 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Andamule, Inc., Warrenton, N.C.

Appalachian Research and Defense Fund, 116-B Kanawha Blvd. E., Charleston, W. Va., 25301.

Black Economic Research Center, 112 W. 120th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

Black Land Services, Penn Center, Beaufort, S.C. 29902.

Black Mesa Defense Fund, 770 Old Pecos Trail, Santa Fe, N. Mex. 87501.

Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Center for Community Economic Development, 1878 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140.

Center for New Corporate Priorities, 1516 Westwood Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90024.

Center for Rural Studies, 345 Franklin St., San Francisco, Calif. 94102.

Community Services, Inc., Box 243, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Consumer Federation of America, 1012 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Cooperative League of the USA, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605.

Cut Cane Associates, P.O. Box 98, Mineral Bluff, Ga., 30559.

Delta Ministry, P.O. Box 3634, Jackson, Miss. 39207.

The Elements, 1520 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Emergency Land Fund, 799 Fair St. S.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30314.

Environmental Action, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Environmental Defense Fund, 645 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022

Federation of Southern Cooperatives, P.O. Box 95, Epes, Ala. 35460.

Friends of the Earth, 529 Commercial St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111.

Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, Box 53, Eastabuchie, Miss. 39436.

Henry George School, 833 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

Highlander Research and Education Center, Rt. 3, Box 245 A, New Market, Tenn. 37820.

Institute for Southern Studies, 88 Walton St., Atlanta, Ga. 30303 and P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

Land for People, 4696 N. Millbrook, Fresno, Calif. 93726.

Migrant Legal Action, 1820 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Mississippi Action for Community Education, Box 588, Greenville, Miss. 38701.

Movement for Economic Justice, 1609 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 3801 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50312.

National Coalition for Land Reform, 345 Franklin St., San Francisco, Calif. 94102.

National Consumers Congress, 631 E. Polo Dr., St. Louis, Mo. 63100.

National Farmers Organization, Corning, La. 50841.

National Indian Youth Council, 201 Hermosa N.E., Albuquerque, N. Mex. 97108.

National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y. 10002.

Native American Rights Fund, 1506 Broadway, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Northern California Land Trust, P.O. Box 156, Berkeley, Calif. 94701.

Northern Cheyenne Land Owners Association, P.O. Box 113, Lame Deer, Mont. 59101.

People's Appalachian Research Collective, 321 Ridgewood Ave., Morgantown, W.Va. 26505.

Return Surplus Land to Indians, 1701 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Rural Farmers Co-op, Forest Home, Ala. 36030.

Rural Housing Alliance, 1356 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Rural Resources Institute, 120 S. Izard, Little Rock, Ark.

Save America's Vital Energy, Inc. (SAVE), 702 W. Main St., Belle Plaine, Minnesota 56011.

Save Our Cumberland Mountains, Petros, Tenn. 37845.

Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Box 3005, Lafayette, La. 70601.

Southern Regional Council, 52 Fairlie St., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Southern Rural Action, Atlanta, Ga. 30314.

Tax Reform Research Group, 733 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

United Farm Workers, P.O. Box 62, Keene, Calif., 93531.

From Our Readers . . . . .

Peter Wiley of California: "Finished music issue. Interesting even though I don't follow that kind of music much anymore (except the blues). Some of the writing was good, got the ideas across through concrete description (Sue Thrasher's article). . . . Then, some of the stuff was turgid and basically unedited. . . . You should be more journalistic and less academic. Academics have an obligation to learn how to write for people.

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Harvey O'Connor from Little Compton, Rhode Island: "The material in it (No More Moanin') is fascinating, beautiful, authentic. So much of it revolves around people I knew, and it is all first-rate history, told by those who helped to make it. This is the kind of material we need to remind us of the heroic struggles that are a part of our history, but all too easily forgotten in the short and simple annals of the poor. Let's have a lot more of it, and more power to all you wonderful people who are not only recording our past but shaping our present and our future."

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Arthur Raper, southern sociologist and expert on land reform, now retired in Oakton, Virginia: "I found . . . the Winter 1974 issue of *Southern Exposure*, 'No More Moanin' . . . most worthwhile. In it were so many things I knew something about: the 1929 cotton mill strike in Gastonia (when I was one of Howard Odum's students at UNC), and the Atlanta UAW sitdown strike in 1936, each of which I had looked at sympathetically from the outside.

"But, it was from partial inside views that I saw the STFU, having appeared on an early Sharecropper Week program in New York, made a trip through east Arkansas to see C. T. Carpenter of Mark Tree and others involved in early Union matters, stopped off to meet H.L. Mitchell ("Mitch") in his Memphis office, and became acquainted with some of the STFU members who refugeed to the Delta Cooperative Farms in Mississippi of which in the late 30s and early 40s I was a member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees. I also knew Black Mountain College first hand, having been invited there a couple of times to see if they liked us and we liked them (we thought the administrative uncertainties too great, and Highlander Folk School, where I was a participant in several conferences when it still was in operation in Mont Eagle. Sue Thrasher's review article on "Radical Education in the Thirties" was right on the point, though I knew of Commonwealth College from hearsay, and so was glad to see Sue's reactions.

"I was impressed, too, with Herring's insightful comments on W.J. Cash's book, which I read when it came out and marveled at his thinking, Harding's "History: White, Negro, and Black," and Naison's intimate story of Claude and Joyce Williams, who were not among my personal acquaintances and always, it seemed to me, a little more ahead of the rest of us, or out of step with us, or something.

"I was glad, too, to see further documentation on the Elaine troubles and Knoxville race riot, both in 1919, the coal miners drawnout struggles, and to have in my hands John Beecher's "In Egypt's Land."

All these discussions were enlivened by contributions of folks who had been there when the action was hot. The *Exposure* staff did well in its search for survivors. In my way of thinking that makes for the best history. We need more of it. We need, too, to get at these primary sources before senility has taken too great a toll. For it is well to remember that oldsters (including me and most of the rest) forget some things and have a tendency to embellish others a bit or more as our personal computers slow down.

"And just now has arrived the Spring/Summer 1974 issue on America's Best Music and More . . . .' It looks interesting, too, like each of its predecessor issues, which had a character of its own. One wonders what the theme(s) of the fifth issue will feature.

"After glancing through the current issue I turn first to Bill Finger's "The Limits of a Folk Hero." I was well satisfied. The needed research had been done; the article reads well indeed. I guess I was interested because I had seen Bascom Lamar Lunsford in action in the summers of the Twenties at Camp Sequoyah, where I was head counselor for half dozen years. The Camp is near Weaverville, some 30 miles from Asheville in the lower reaches of the Craggy Mountains. Lunsford came there to sing mountain ballads for us and to lead our folk dances. I was in attendance at his first Mountain Dance and Folk Festival, 1928. I was further interested in the article because the author's mother, Mamie Lee (Ratliff) Finger was in my sociology class at Agnes Scott College in the Thirties.

"And rightfully Bill points out Lunsford's 'Limits,' which limits, however, it seems to me, may well be defended as an essential element in the creation of a substantial enough mountain tradition to be reckoned with today. Without Lunsford and the likes of him, who clung to their limited ways, we would all be poorer culturally. And badly as the voices of protest and struggle were needed in Appalachia in his time, methinks Lunsford did well to do his thing and let others do theirs — and do them the better because the foundation stone remained in place. The test of an Era, or of an area, for that matter, is not whether any one person or group in it represents all points of view, but rather whether within the population as a whole all points of view are adequately represented."

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Mildred B. Burton, President of Outreach Unlimited in Americus, Georgia: "We are a small organization just beginning. We started out as a Black History Class and decided that we wanted to build a community center. . . . After reading through one of your issues of *Southern Exposure*, we immediately decided that this is one of the books we want to stock on our library."

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Rose Gladney, assistant professor of history at the University of Alabama: "I'll be happy to be your Tuscaloosa distributor. . . . I refer to *Southern Exposure* frequently in my Young South class. . . . Keep up the great work."