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The Memphis Strike: Martin Luther King's Last Campaign

by Michael Honey

Located in the heart of the Mississippi River delta, Memphis often drips with humidity so heavy that merely walking outside is the equivalent of taking a shower. When the skies finally burst open, rain falls so hard that people scurry for shelter.

On February 1, 1968, Echol Cole, 36, and Robert Walker, 30, rode out a driving Memphis rainstorm by climbing inside one of the sanitation division's old "wiener barrel" trucks. The walls inside the packer were caked with putrefying garbage of all sorts—yard waste, dead chickens, moldy food. Any port in a storm, they say.

At the end of a miserable, cold workday, Cole's and Walker's soiled, worn-out clothes smelled of garbage. The City did not provide them with gloves, uniforms or a place to shower. They did hard, heavy work, lifting garbage tubs and carrying them on their shoulders or heads or pushcarts to dump their contents into outmoded trucks. On this particular day, Cole and Walker rode in a precarious, stinking perch between a hydraulic ram used to mash garbage into a small wad and the wall of the truck's cavernous container.

As crew chief Willie Crain drove the loaded garbage packer along Colonial Street to the Shelby Drive dump, he heard the hydraulic ram go into action, perhaps set off by a shovel that had jarred loose and crossed some elec-

trical wires. He pulled the truck over to the curb at 4:20 pm, but the ram already was jamming Cole and Walker back into the compactor.

One of the men lurched forward and nearly escaped, but the ram snagged his raincoat and dragged him back. "He was standing there on the end of the truck, and suddenly it looked like the big thing just swallowed him," said a horrified woman.

T.O. Jones, a union organizer, knew both of the men. He called their deaths "a disgrace and a sin." Two men had already been killed in 1964 due to a faulty garbage packer that rolled a truck over. And Jones had already taken a grievance to the commissioner of the Department of Public Works (DPW), asking that this particular truck no longer be used. Instead of junking the old garbage packer, the sanitation division of DPW had tried to extend its life by putting in a second motor to run the compactor after the first one wore out. Workers jump-started it in the morning and let the motor run all day long, pouring in fuel periodically. It was an accident just waiting to happen.

The two dead men were black. Jones was black. Almost everyone working in sanitation was black, except the bosses. Hauling garbage was the kind of work the City assigned to blacks only.

The City provided a voluntary, self-

financed life insurance policy covering death benefits up to \$2,000, but Walker and Cole could not afford it. Because the City listed them as unclassified, hourly employees (they could be fired on a moment's notice), the state's workmen's compensation didn't cover them. The two men's deaths left their wives and children destitute. A funeral home held the men's bodies until the families found a way to pay for their caskets. The City gave their families one month's salary and \$500 for each man, but burial expenses of \$900 for each worker used that up.

These avoidable deaths rubbed raw some long-existing frustrations. Workers had sparred with the administration of the Department of Public Works about many issues, including

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the use of faulty equipment. The city had no facilities for black workers to wash up, to change clothes or to get out of the rain.

The Context

African Americans constituted nearly 40% of a Memphis population of 500,000 in the mid-1960s, and 58% of the city's black families lived in poverty—10% above the national average and almost four times the rate of poverty among Memphis' white families. Many black families shattered under the pressure; the unemployed and people with marginal jobs suffered disproportionately from diabetes, sickle-cell anemia, high blood pressure and cancer. More than 80% of employed black men worked as laborers, while most black women with paid jobs worked in the homes of whites or in the service economy.

Industrial unions had organized some of the manufacturing industries, but most had not reached out to workers in what economists called the secondary labor market. White employers and craft union members alike for many years had barred African Americans from entry into skilled jobs. The ready prospect of getting fired forced many black workers to take what the white man dished out. Segregation

denied them adequate education, training and promotion ladders to better jobs. They routinely endured police brutality and unjust incarceration.

Many sanitation workers made so little that they qualified for welfare even after working a 40-hour week. And they couldn't even count on those hours—white supervisors sent them home without pay or fired them on the slightest pretext. Like most whites in Memphis, many of these supervisors thought of blacks as their personal ser-

T.O Jones, a union organizer, called the workers' deaths "a disgrace and a sin."

vants. They called people like Ed Gillis—72 years old in 1968—"boy."

On February 12—Lincoln's Birthday—Gillis and others on the sewer and drainage crew had had enough. They and nearly 1,300 black men in the Memphis Department of Public Works, giving no notice to anyone, went on strike. Little did they imagine that their decision would challenge generations of white supremacy in Memphis and have staggering consequences for the nation. Six weeks later, Martin Luther King, Jr. came to Memphis, prepared to defy an injunction and lead a community-wide mass march on behalf of the strikers.

Building a Movement

For King, the Movement had already reached a turning point. Too many crises erupted at the same time, so that whenever he tried to address one set of circumstances, another set would quickly arise. To counter the Movement's fragmentation, he increasingly tried to find a unifying theme and strategy in a "second phase" that would lead to the realization of economic and social justice as well as civil rights. King still pushed for the coalition between labor and civil rights that had triumphed in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting

Rights Act of 1965. But King's second phase required a more radical demand: to resolve centuries of intertwined racial and economic injustice by overhauling American capitalism.

As if that were not enough, King had opened yet another front. In a stunning speech at Riverside Church in New York City on April 4—one year to the day before his death—King offered the most severe moral indictment of imperialism of his generation. He boldly condemned America's Vietnam War as an unjustified, cynical and hopeless slaughter of poor people of color. He critiqued the origins and effects of the war, in which a million Vietnamese had already died, but he went further, saying, "The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit." He spoke of corporate investments abroad and American support for military dictatorships, and of greed. "We must rapidly begin the shift from a 'thing-oriented' society to a 'person-oriented' society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered."

But rather than making the war his top priority, as James Bevel urged, King thought the Movement should merge its issues—linking racism, poverty and war as parts of an oppressive system that needed to be changed. He tried to move from an "inadequate protest phase to a stage of massive, active, nonviolent resistance to the evils of the modern system." Rather than seeking to integrate into existing values, he said, blacks had to change those values and the system that produced them. The black freedom movement, he said, "is forcing America to face all its interrelated flaws of racism, poverty, militarism and materialism. It is exposing evils that are deeply rooted in the whole structure of our society." Life itself, not theory, had revealed "that radical reconstruction of society itself is the real issue to be faced."

King made numerous speeches to unions throughout the 1960s, and in
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The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination – 2007

by Philip Tegeler

This spring, the State Department is in the process of preparing its long-overdue report to the U.N. on the United States' compliance with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD). This occasion presents a unique opportunity for domestic civil rights and anti-poverty groups to question the federal government's commitment to civil rights on an international stage.

Originally approved by the U.N. in 1965 as an international response to South African Apartheid, CERD has now been ratified by 173 countries. It was ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1994, and it is one of only three international human rights treaties the U.S. has ratified (the other two are the Convention Against Torture and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). The CERD treaty is remarkable in its scope—it addresses not just “intentional” discrimination (an increasingly dubious concept) but also policies and practices that have the effect of discriminating against or segregating racial and ethnic minorities. CERD requires state parties to examine and reform their own policies that create racial disparities and segregation—and it also requires states to

monitor and take affirmative steps to address general societal discrimination and segregation, including the continuing legacy of historical discrimination.

The CERD compliance review comes at an awkward time for the U.S. government: The treaty essentially requires race-conscious remedies (or “affirmative action”) in order to respond to societal discrimination and segregation, but the Administration is simultaneously arguing in the U.S. Supreme Court (in the Louisville and

The U.S. Human Rights Network supports the use of international human rights law in domestic advocacy.

Seattle school cases) that race-conscious remedies are barred by the U.S. Constitution (see Nov./Dec. *Poverty & Race* for an extended discussion). The treaty also bars government policies that have the effect of discriminating—but a few years after the U.S. ratified CERD, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that this domestic law obligation, under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was no longer

enforceable in court. Also unclear is the role of state and local governments in the CERD reporting process—and although the treaty makes clear, and the U.S. has accepted, that CERD applies to all levels of local, state and federal government, the U.S. report is unlikely to include more than a handful of states. (See accompanying article by Ann Fagan Ginger.)

A great many domestic advocacy organizations (known as non-governmental organizations or “NGOs” in international human rights parlance) are expected to participate in the upcoming CERD process by reviewing and responding to the upcoming U.S. report in so-called “shadow reports” to be submitted to the U.N.'s Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. After receiving the U.S. report and receiving shadow reports from U.S. NGOs, the U.N. Committee will be able to question the U.S. on the record, and can make concluding observations that, while not directly enforceable, are expected to have significant impact on U.S. policy.

The U.S. Human Rights Network (USHRN), a relatively new national coalition of organizations that supports the use of international human rights law in domestic advocacy, will be playing a coordinating role in the CERD process, to try to consolidate the submissions of domestic NGOs so that the U.N. Committee receives a coherent set of recommendations and analysis from the progressive movement.

At present, the following working groups are in formation, and more may follow. Each of these groups will include multiple organizations, and in some cases will also include academic researchers who have published in the field: Criminal justice system issues; Educational disparities and segregation

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For more information, or contact information on specific working groups, contact the U.S. Human Rights Network (www.ushrnetwork.org) or see the helpful links below:

CERD Shadow Reporting Website, with more information and guides:
<http://www.ushrnetwork.org/page227.cfm>

CERD Shadow Reporting Listserv:
<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/cerdshadow/>

CERD – Official UN website:
<http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/index.htm>

The address of the U.N. Committee is: Chair, Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination, c/o U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, UNOG-OHCHR, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

New Paths for Action Against Racism and Poverty in the United States and All Its Territories

by Ann Fagan Ginger

There is a little known law on the books in the U.S. today that a few people are starting to use successfully against acts of discrimination based on race and poverty.

When I ask activists and journalists, lawyers and city officials, students and professors whether the U.S. ever ratified the U.N. Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), almost everyone says they doubt it.

When I advise that the Senate did quietly ratify this treaty in 1994 (140 Cong. Rec. S7634, 660 U.N.T.S. 1959), which includes the duty to file reports with the CERD Committee every two years, and ask whether the U.S. has ever filed these reports, most assume no reports have been filed.

When I advise that the U.S. did file its first report just before the U.N. World Conference Against Racism in Durban in 2001, they are surprised, but not when I advise that the second report has yet to be filed.

And they often say that ratifying such a treaty doesn't make any difference in the discriminatory practices of cities, counties, states or the federal government in the United States and its territories, or the actions of corporations that do business with the government, because the U.S. has a long history of breaking treaties.

I reply that "Nelson Mandela wouldn't agree with you. That is, the heroic people of South Africa found a way to cause the United Nations General Assembly to declare that apartheid is a crime, and isolated the South African government, which did help shorten the time until apartheid was ended."

A treaty is "the supreme law of the land" under the U.S. Constitution, Article VI, clause 2. And when the U.S. ratified this treaty, it made a commitment to make the required periodic reports on discrimination based on

"race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin," just as the U.S. requires every nation seeking funding from the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund to make periodic reports or lose such funding. And the Congress requires the State Department to make a report every year on the human rights situation in every nation in the world, which they must use in deciding whether any U.S. aid should go to that country (Foreign Assistance Act, 22 U.S.C. 2151p-2151D).

We recently saw another example of the value of a nation making a report to one of the U.N. Human Rights Committees. It is not a page-one headline story, but the fact is that the U.S.

A treaty is "the supreme law of the land" under the U.S. Constitution.

Government was sufficiently shamed by the comments of members of the U.N. Human Rights Committee concerning alleged racism in dealing with Katrina victims ("internally displaced persons") that the U.S. took several steps. It said more money was being sent to aid the victims. And it said an investigation was under way as to what happened on the bridge when people of color and people with little money tried to flee to higher ground. And for the first time it agreed to a series of off-the-record meetings with a network of Non-Governmental Organizations to discuss how to improve compliance with the suggestions the U.N. Committees made in their Concluding Observations after hearing and discussing the U.S. Reports to the U.N. Human Rights Committee and the U.N. Committee Against Torture (UN DocA/56/18, ¶¶ 380-407 [2001]).

What about CERD?

This reporting process opens up new opportunities for everyone concerned about official and unofficial forms of discrimination based on race (and poverty and gender), at the local as well as the national levels, because the CERD Committee has specifically recommended that the next U.S. "periodic report contain comprehensive information on its implementation at the state and local levels and in all territories under United States jurisdiction, including Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands." This obviously includes all Native American reservations and should include all other territories under U.S. jurisdiction. (The U.S. is contesting its duty to report on CERD enforcement/violations at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib.) The Committee also recommended that the U.S. "undertake the necessary measures to ensure the consistent application of the provisions of the Convention at all levels of government."

Will Berkeley Be the First?

It is useful to describe the series of events that are moving Berkeley, California into becoming the first U.S. city to actually file a report with the state Attorney General for inclusion in what should be his first state report for inclusion in the U.S. State Department's Second Report to a U.N. human rights committee. The path to compliance in Berkeley turns out to be about the same as it would be in any other city, once the officials acknowledge the treaty and reporting requirements.

The reason Berkeley can be moved faster today is that in 1990, the City Council adopted Articles 55 and 56 of the U.N. Charter as Berkeley Human

Rights Ordinance No. 5985 N.S. And in 1993, the Berkeley Commission on Peace and Justice (which I then chaired) convinced the Berkeley City Council to request that its Youth, Labor, and Status of Women Commissions and its Police Review Board prepare reports on their actions covered by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These reports were submitted to the U.S. State Department for inclusion in its First Report to the U.N. Human Rights Committee, which enforces that treaty. While the State Department never acknowledged receipt of this report, the City also sent the report directly to the Committee.

I was one of two representatives of Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute who attended Committee meetings in New York in 1995 when this first U.S. report was discussed. I learned several things from this experience:

1) Committee members can all be invited to informal social events or teach-ins, before their formal U.N. sessions with U.S. Government officials, where NGOs can discuss informally the issues raised in their unofficial “shadow” reports.

2) Committee members from all over the world welcome the chance to learn more about a nation from NGOs, since many are professors and active community leaders in their nations. This can lead them to ask very pertinent questions of State Department, Justice, Labor, Environmental Protection Agency, etc. officials attending the Committee sessions, questions that would not have arisen from simply reading the official report with few examples of actual events.

3) The fact that a City official must prepare and send a report to a U.N. Committee in Geneva brings the whole U.N. process into the thinking of that official and everyone who works on the report. Since 1993, it is common

for a resolution proposed to the Berkeley City Council on any subject of global as well as local significance to include a requirement that a copy be sent to the U.N. Committee chair in care of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights.

In January 2007, the Berkeley Commission on Peace and Justice adopted a resolution asking the City Council to take several steps to enforce CERD:

1) Agree to make a City report, requiring every City department to hold training sessions on the provisions of CERD.

2) Send the report to the state Attorney General for use in making his state report.

3) Notify the County Board of Supervisors about the report.

4) Urge the state Attorney General

The reporting process opens up new opportunities for everyone concerned about official and unofficial forms of discrimination based on race.

to contact all cities and counties to make reports to him for inclusion in his state report.

The Berkeley Senior Management Analyst of the Department of Health and Human Services soon prepared the required preliminary template—i.e., Department questionnaire: “The city of Berkeley has a long history of supporting efforts to promote human rights and the elimination of barriers to those human rights. To honor the local reporting requirements under the Convention, each City Department is asked to respond to the following questions:

1. What are your Department’s policies and procedures to address allegations of discrimination by citizens who feel they were denied access to a City program or service based upon race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, age, gender, sexual ori-

City, state and even federal government reports to U.N. Committees *must be kept short!* The U.N. must translate every report into six languages, which takes much staff time and money the U.N. does not have.

NGOs making unofficial “shadow” reports are also strongly advised to keep this in mind.

entation, marital status, political affiliation, physical or mental disability or medical condition? Please provide copies of written policies and procedures.

2. How many allegations from citizens did your Department receive in FY 2006 & FY 2005?

3. What was the outcome from these cases?

4. Provide a summary of your Department’s current programs and/or services that address racial discrimination and its effects (e.g., economic and social disparities) in the Berkeley community. For each program/service, briefly describe the problem and how your Department addresses it. If data are readily available, please provide highlights. (Examples might include number of people of color served versus total number of people served; data describing the problem, such as data on economic disparities in the community; or data illustrating change in the effects of discrimination or in service levels over time.)

5. Briefly describe any new programs or services under development or that may be needed to meet emerging or underserved needs.”

A problem: The City Council and City Manager have no authority over the City Superintendent of Schools or the District Attorney of the County. It remains to be seen who will ask these bodies to submit reports to the City Manager to include in his report. And will the City government assume authority over corporations doing business in the city to require them to change their policies based on an in-

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(NEW PATHS: Continued from page 5)

ternational treaty they also never heard of?

Beyond Berkeley

At its February 2007 meeting, the Bay Area United Nations Association passed a resolution to participate in this work by: encouraging the County Board of Supervisors to follow the City Council in filing a report; contacting the state Attorney General to file a state report; and encouraging Berkeley residents to compile facts on the issues highlighted by the CERD Committee: racial profiling, treatment of immigrant workers, medical care coverage of people of color and the poor, Board of Education policies to defeat racism, treatment of Muslims/Arabs, Native Americans and other minority group members, and problems of race/gender/sexual orientation discrimination—and to submit them for inclusion in the City report. The Association also agreed to raise this with the media and with its national office.

County and state reports should include questions not asked by Berkeley city officials:

1. Examples and statistics on whether heavier sentences were imposed in the jurisdiction for defendants from non-White racial, ethnic or national origins since 2001.

2. Examples and statistics on whether sentences for felonies were heavier depending on the race of the

defendant and the victim, including capital punishment cases.

Did the city/county/state act when the disparity was brought to their attention?

3. Describe examples of government acting to stop discrimination based on race or national origin in employment practices: hiring, pay, compulsory overtime, firing for organizing unions, etc.

4. Describe steps the government has taken to deal with racial discrimination in housing, and current problems re cuts in Section 8 housing, and steps proposed but not acted on.

(The NYC CERD Working Group held an initial Shadow Report meeting on March 15 at the Urban Justice Cen-

Berkeley will become the first U.S. city to file a city report.

ter; information about follow-up meetings from rortega@urbanjustice.org)

The first deadline for the first city, county and state reports is fast approaching, because the State Department recently told the U.N. Human Rights Committee meeting in Geneva that it will file its second CERD Report in late April, 2007. Other cities, counties and states may follow Berkeley's example and ask agencies to file a short, preliminary report that will not take too long to prepare, and file a more complete report later. Any city report must be sent to the state Attorney General for inclusion in his report. However, the State Department had not informed states that they have an obligation to file such a report by March 15, 2007.

The California and national NAACP, People's Institute West, National Lawyers Guild, Bay Area Labor for Peace and Justice, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and two California county Democratic Party clubs joined this work in February.

The Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute is continuing to urge activists to convince local government officials to

prepare the required reports and submit them to the State Department, which can include them in the updated report to the Committee will file shortly before the Committee considers the U.S. report in August 2008.

One Report Can Lead to Three or Even Six

The first reports by city agencies under CERD can also serve as the basis for later reports to CERD by the city, county or state after studying the 2007 U.S. report to CERD and reports due under the other two human rights reporting treaties the U.S. has ratified: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (reports due every five years) and the Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (reports due ever three years).

And there are campaigns in a number of cities and states to make the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, which also has reporting requirements, part of local law. President Carter signed this treaty in 1980, but the Senate has yet to ratify it.

The same is true of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a treaty ratified by every other nation in the U.N. (192), except the U.S. and Somalia.

Pres. Carter also signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the other half of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This treaty also requires reporting every five years, at the federal, state and local levels. It spells out in detail types of illegal activities that result in denial of human rights based on economic status and lead to economic, social and cultural discrimination.

Ann Fagan Ginger (Ann@mcli.org) is Executive Director of Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute. She is a lawyer, retired professor and editor of "Landmark Cases Left Out of Your Textbooks" (MCLI 2006) and 170 reports in Challenging U.S. Human Rights Violations Since 9/11 (Prometheus Books 2005). □

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them he pointed out that the United States had reached a crossroads. Many people who experienced the Movement of the 1960s felt tremendous bitterness at its shallow gains and at the ongoing crisis afflicting the black urban poor. King therefore planned to create a nonviolent campaign to attack war, poverty and racial oppression as interrelated parts of the same problem. He projected sit-ins and camp-outs in the nation's capital, combined with massive economic boycotts and calculated disruption to demand that the nation reorder its priorities. He called it the Poor People's Campaign.

As part of that campaign, King came to address the workers and their allies in Memphis on March 18, 1968, speaking to perhaps as many as 15,000 people at Mason Temple. It was the largest indoor mass meeting of the civil rights era. After many years of preaching before unions, King spoke to workers as a labor leader as well as a Christian moral leader: "Let it be known everywhere that along with wages and all of the other securities that you are struggling for, you are also struggling for the right to organize and be recognized [applause]." Instead of Black Power, he spoke to them about union power.

"All labor," he exclaimed, "has dignity," and he called on the middle class and the community to join with the working class to win this strike. Memphis became, and should be seen historically as, a great example of what can be accomplished through an alliance of union and community forces. Workers, clergy, students, academics, black and white, joined together more successfully here than in any other place during the freedom movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

After making a high-powered, emotional speech, King realized the issue came down to, What should we do next? Amid cheering and applause, a new level of energy had been created—so much so that King could not end simply with rhetoric. He needed to take the Movement to a higher level. He paused for a moment and seemed to

Thank\$

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Susan A. Silverstein
William L. Taylor
Gwen H. Urey
Don & Barbara Watkins
James E. Wilkinson III

be thinking out loud. "You know what?" he asked the crowd. "You may have to escalate the struggle a bit."

Black people could shut down Memphis!

Then he dropped a bombshell: "I tell you what you ought to do, and you are together here enough to do it: In a few days you ought to get together and just have a general work stoppage in the city of Memphis!" One man rose from the audience, rhythmically shouting, "Yes! Yes! Yes!"

Pandemonium broke loose. King had invoked a latent power that black workers in the Deep South possessed because they did so much of the hard work. Now King helped them to envision what it might be like to use this power: "And you let that day come, and not a Negro in this city will go to any job downtown. When no Negro

in domestic service will go to anybody's house or anybody's kitchen. When black students will not go to anybody's school and black teachers...." His voice got lost amid another thunderous ovation from the crowd. People stood, cheering and yelling, clapping, dancing, singing, celebrating the very audacity of his idea: Black people could shut down Memphis! Merely by withholding their labor, in good, nonviolent fashion.

It was one of King's finest moments. But when he came back to lead a mass strike on March 28, teenagers broke out some of the windows along the march route and police viciously attacked every black person in sight, killing 16-year old Larry Payne at a nearby housing project. King's enemies attacked him and questioned his ability to lead a nonviolent Poor People's Campaign in the nation's capital, forcing him to come back to

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Looking Back

Memphis to prove he could do it. On April 3, King gave another marvelous speech, saying “I have been to the mountaintop,” looking back to the time of slavery and forward to a day of victory.

What the nation mostly remembers about Memphis is King’s death there on April 4. But Memphis sanitation workers remember what King accomplished by his sacrifice on their behalf. Striker Willie Sain, who later became

a minister, remembered King almost as an emissary from God, a Moses figure who enabled the workers and their allies to win. King broke the media blackout of the strike, energized the community, and came into a new role as a labor leader that he played to perfection.

Taylor Rogers, President of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers (AFSCME) Local 1733 for nearly 20 years after the workers won their strike, said King had merely followed the model of the Good Samaritan, just as he had urged others to do. “Even if it had been poor white workers, King would have done the same thing. That’s just the kind of person he was.... All his staff thought it was outrageous of him to stop and come to Memphis. But he went where he was needed, where he could help poor people.... He didn’t get all accomplished he wanted accomplished, but I don’t think he died in vain. Because what he came here to do, that was settled.”

Memphis was one step on King’s dangerous Jericho Road, in which he, like the Good Samaritan in the Old Testament, stopped to help someone in need. Following the parable of the Good Samaritan, King said everyone could be great, because everyone could save and serve humanity. He lived and died by that creed.

As the result of their own actions in going on strike, and as the result of support by King and almost the entire black community, blacks in Memphis changed themselves and their relationship to whites. It was part of a national transformation, in which the civil rights and the labor movements joined in 1968. The old ways of white supremacy and black subservience would never be the same.

Five years after King’s death, an African-American TV news reporter named Ed Harris, whom police had sprayed with mace in 1968, asked an unnamed sanitation worker for his reflections on what had happened. “I don’t think we can show enough appreciation for what Dr. King give.” He believed the strike would have been lost without Dr. King.

A Painful but Necessary Revisiting

We asked newly elected Memphis Congressman Steve Cohen, a member of the 70-strong Congressional Progressive Caucus, to comment on Prof. Honey’s history.

Rep. Cohen (reachable via his Legislative Director/Press Secretary Marilyn Dillihay—marilyn.dillihay@mail.house.gov), a fourth generation Memphian, served 24 years in the Tennessee State Senate prior to his election last November.

Reading about the abysmal working conditions of the Memphis sanitation workers in 1968, as described by Michael Honey in *Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King’s Last Campaign*, is a visceral experience. As a native Memphian who has a deep and abiding love for his city, I find it painful but necessary to revisit the scars of Memphis from time to time. Michael Honey’s words paint a picture both poetic and horrific of a time when African Americans were denied some of the most basic of human rights in our country.

The issues of poverty and race are inextricably woven together in our nation’s history. Slavery and Jim Crow laws affect our lives to this day, in terms of wealth, ownership and access. Most recently, the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, played out on television, forced a re-examination of the ideal of America as a land of prosperity and equality. Such issues are faced every day in cities such as New Orleans and Memphis; such issues must be faced by every American if we

are to become the great nation we aspire to be.

Michael Honey vividly describes a world of haves and have-nots, a world where the unnecessary deaths of two Memphis sanitation workers, Echol Cole and Robert Walker, ignited a firestorm. The resultant sanitation workers’ strike drew Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to Memphis to support the workers and to focus national attention on their plight. Dr. King’s death on a small balcony of the Lorraine Motel focused the tear-filled eyes of the world on our troubled city on the banks of the Mississippi.

The assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. has shaped the perception of Memphis, both internally and externally. Those of us who recall Memphis before April 4, 1968 also know how far Memphis and the United States have moved toward Dr. King’s dream. African Americans have opportunities not available in 1968 as doctors, lawyers, educators, government officials. Dr. King’s dream is alive, progress has been made, and progress will continue if we are vigilant and persistent.

As I write this, a young African-American man enters my Washington, D.C. office to empty the day’s trash, and I think again of Echol Cole and Robert Walker. It is important that we never forget them, but the best tribute to the tragedy of their lives is to focus on their present-day counterparts. We cannot change the past but the future is ours to decide.

Before, he had worked six days a week; now he worked five. Before, he had worked as long as it took to bring in the garbage with no extra pay; now he worked eight-hour shifts. Before, he had had no breaks; now he had at least two 15-minute breaks and time for lunch. Before, white supervisors would fire black men on a whim; now they “can’t ’buse you round anymore.” With a union, his wages and benefits had steadily improved, even as the City mechanized away many sanitation jobs.

“See, when he was here in the strike, every man wanted to stand up and be a man. And that was the whole story. We wasn’t counted as men before then. Every man be counted as a man now. It’s no more ‘boy’. . . . It’s no more of that Uncle Tom now. . . . You be treated like a man.”

This was the message of the 1968 strike: dignity and respect for the individual, and the demand for a living wage and the right to belong to a union. For nearly 40 years after King’s death, sanitation workers have kept their own memory of King and the Movement alive, bringing out the old picket signs reading, “Honor King: End Racism,” and “I Am A Man.”

What happened in Memphis in 1968 is now a matter of historical memory for the whole nation. AFSCME became the fastest-growing union in the nation, and in Memphis in the 1970s, as teachers, police and hospital workers organized. AFSCME also helped to save the Lorraine Motel from destruction and turn it into the National Civil Rights Museum, where people today can learn from the history of the freedom movement. (One hopes someone today can also save Clayborn Temple, the historic black church where most of the strike’s marches began.)

**Remember to
send us items for
our Resources
section.**

Things have changed a great deal since 1968. Memphis and Shelby County have black mayors; black professionals and academics play leading roles; and a police department once used to enforce white supremacy has become populated by minorities and women.

But some things have changed for the worse. As American corporations have shifted production to cheaper labor overseas, millions of unionized industrial jobs with family wages and good pensions have been lost. Mechanization has cut the number of sanitation jobs in half in Memphis, and cuts in public funding continually endanger city services and family-wage jobs

Memphis was part of a national transformation, in which the civil rights and labor movements joined in 1968.

in the public sector. Poverty remains widespread in the black community.

King’s agenda of a transformed society remains unfulfilled. But those involved in the Memphis sanitation workers’ strike remember a moment in history that opened people’s eyes to the injustices of poverty and racism. The strike and the events around it gave them hope for a different world. King had told his staff when he launched the Poor People’s Campaign in January of 1968 that keeping hope alive is the reason people must to continue to organize and demonstrate for a better world. “If I didn’t have hope, I couldn’t go on.”

Despite the unmitigated tragedy of King’s death in Memphis, we should remember Memphis in 1968, as we do Montgomery in 1955, as moments when the Movement and King challenged America to become a different country. Both places were important stops on a long road to freedom that people have traveled for generations, and still do.

For those workers who lived through this epic event called the Memphis sanitation strike, the time for

Coming in May . . .

**Housing Mobility
and Health:
Connecting Families
and Children
to Improved Health
Outcomes**

A conference developed by PRRAC and the Baltimore Regional Housing Campaign will be held on **May 22, 2007** at the Annie E. Casey Foundation in Baltimore. The full-day program will explore the dynamic relationship between housing mobility and health in the context of the successful *Thompson* housing mobility program in Baltimore. How can positive health outcomes be enhanced for families moving to healthier neighborhoods? What interventions are suggested by the health research coming out of the national Moving to Opportunity program? Can housing mobility be used as an effective public health intervention? For more information, contact Nkiru Azikiwe at PRRAC (n.azikiwe@prrac.org).

remembering is drawing short. For workers and the poor today, battles for decent jobs, housing, health care, education and an end to racism and war still remain.

We all have much to do to make a better world. As we do so, we should stop to remember King and the black workers of Memphis who stood up for justice, dignity and self-respect. It is a history that should never be forgotten.

Michael Honey (mhoney@u.washington.edu) is Prof. of History at the Univ. of Washington-Tacoma and a former Southern Movement organizer. This article is adapted from his new book, Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King’s Last Campaign (W.W. Norton, 2007). □

Apologies/Reparations

We periodically offer a compendium of recent reports dealing with apologies and reparations around the world -- for whatever lessons and models they might provide here at home. The most recent appeared in our Jan./Feb. 2005 issue. We'll be happy to send you a compendium of all 9 earlier such reports: just send us a SASE (63¢ postage).

- The Virginia House of Delegates unanimously approved a resolution expressing “profound regret for the Commonwealth’s role in sanctioning the immoral institution of human slavery...and... all other forms of discrimination and injustice that have been rooted in racial and cultural bias and misunderstanding”; the statement also condemns the “egregious wrongs” that European settlers inflicted on Native Americans. The action comes as the state is celebrating the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, the first settlement of Europeans. (*Wash. Post*, 2/3/07)

- Immediately thereafter, Maryland lawmakers heard testimony on a similar resolution “expressing regret” for that state’s role in maintaining slavery and “for the discrimination that was slavery’s legacy.” The resolution says in part: “Maryland citizens trafficked in human flesh until the adoption of the Constitution of 1864....Slavery’s legacy has afflicted the citizens of our state down to the present.” (*Wash. Post*, 3/2/07)

PRRAC Small Grants Program Now Soliciting Proposals for 2007 Grants

Thanks to another generous grant from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, we are pleased to announce the renewal of our Small Grants Program for 2007.

PRRAC’s Small Grants Program for Research/Advocacy funds social science research designed to support advocacy projects (of any sort). Our goal is to support, encourage and disseminate action-oriented research; and to make connections between and among those who engage in action, advocacy, organizing and research.

The maximum grant is \$10,000, with proposals for smaller budgets encouraged, so that we can support more work of this sort. In this grant cycle, we will give preference to grants in the areas of housing, education and health, as well as to work carried out in the cities where the Annie E. Casey Foundation runs its “Making Connections” programs: Denver, Des Moines, Hartford, Indianapolis, Louisville, Milwaukee, Oakland, Providence, San Antonio and Seattle.

See www.prrac.org/grants.php for a description of past grants, and guidelines for submissions. Questions: Write or call PRRAC Director of Research Chester Hartman (chartman@prrac.org, 202/906-8025).

- The City Council of Maryland’s capital city, Annapolis, has under consideration a resolution calling for an official apology for slavery, in the words of its sponsor, Alderman Sam Shropshire, “part of a healing process, a process that still needs to take place even today in 2007...for our municipal government’s past support and involvement in slavery and for our support of segregation for nearly 100 years.” (*Wash. Post*, 3/23/07)

- Britain’s lawmakers granted posthumous pardons to some 300 soldiers executed during World War I for failing to return to the front. (*Wash. Post*, 11/8/06)

- Topeka, Kansas officials have named a building after the first Topeka parent to sign on as a plaintiff in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Lucinda Todd Education Center houses administrative offices and an alternative school for students in danger of dropping out. Ms. Todd, who died in 1993, was Secretary of the local NAACP chapter and helped recruit other plaintiffs. (*Wash. Post*, 11/19/06)

- The Montgomery, Alabama City Council voted unanimously to formally apologize to Rosa Parks and others mistreated in the 1955 bus boycott. (*Wash. Post*, 4/20/06)

- A federal judge approved a \$35 million settlement in a class action against an Italian insurance company by Holocaust survivors and relatives of victims, adding to the \$100 million the company already had agreed to pay. (*New York Times*, 2/28/07)

- A ceremony at the U.S. Capitol honored Oscar Marion, a slave owned by Revolutionary War Gen. Francis Marion (known as the “Swamp Fox” for his battle against the British in So. Carolina), who accompanied and served the General for 7 years during the War of Independence. Oscar Marion is depicted in many paintings (including one hanging in the Senate wing of the Capitol) and is described only as “the faithful Negro servant” in books written about Gen. Marion. A distant cousin, a genealogist, undertook to establish his identity. Rep. Albert R. Wynn (D-Md.), who helped arrange the ceremony, noted that “African Americans have been marginalized in so many different events in American history, as if they didn’t exist. Whenever we can bring to light the name of a figure engaged in a historic event, it is good thing.” (*Wash. Post*, 12/29/06)

- A bill approved by Congress calls for a federal study to better define the Trail of Tears route, when more than 15,000 members of the Cherokee, Creek and other tribes were forced from their homes in 1838 to make way for white settlement. Untold hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Native Americans died during the forced removal to Indian Territory—in what is now Oklahoma. The National Park Service oversees the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail, which winds through nine states. The study likely will also result in an education and research center. Rep. Zach Wamp (R-Tenn.), primary sponsor of the bill, who claims Cherokee ancestry, noted: “You have to recognize and acknowledge your mistakes for the white man to make this right. There has to be an acknowledgement that ... slavery was a mistake, the Trail of Tears was a mistake.” (*Wash. Post*, 11/24/06)

- The House and Senate passed a bill committing \$38 million in National Park Service grants to restore and pay for research at 10 World War II internment camps for Japanese Americans, some 120,000 of whom were rounded up and imprisoned under a 1942 Executive Order signed by President Roosevelt, which also prohibited Japanese Americans from living on the West Coast. The Park Service already operates centers at two camps, the Manzanar National Historic Site in California and the Minidoka Internment National Monument in Idaho. The 10 camps specified in the new legislation are in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming. In 1988, President Reagan signed a presidential apology. (*New York Times*, 12/6/06)

- H.R. 662, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Latin Americans of Japanese Descent Act, has been introduced by Reps. Xavier Becerra (D-Calif.) and Dan Lundgren (R-Calif.). During World War II, an estimated 2,300 people of Japanese descent from 13 Latin American countries were taken from their homes and forcibly transported to a government-run internment camp in Crystal City, Texas. Adding to this injustice, some 800 of them were then sent to Japan in exchange for American prisoners of war, the rest held in camps without due process until the war ended. The bill authorizes study of these events (via U.S. military and State Department records) and recommendation of appropriate remedies. The earlier Commission on Wartime Relocation of Civilians led to passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which provided an official apology and financial redress to most of the Japanese Americans who were subjected to wrongdoing and confined to camps during World War II.

- The Serbian entity of the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina officially apologized to the victims of the 1992-95 civil war, 2 days after international judges in The Hague ruled that Bosnian Serb forces had committed genocide in the killing of nearly 8,000 Muslims in Srebrenica in 1995. (*New York Times*, 3/1/07)

- The Justice Department is partnering with civil rights organizations—the NAACP, National Urban League and Southern Poverty Law Center—to pursue the killers of scores of black men and women slain by white vigilantes in the South during the 1950s and 1960s. There are 40 unsolved murder cases that are of interest to the federal government (although the Southern Poverty Law Center has compiled a list of 76 unsolved cases, mainly in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia), and the Department will re-open investigations in 12 cases.

And the not-so-good news:

- The Cherokee Nation members voted to revoke the tribal citizenship of the Freedmen, some 2,800 descendants of the people the Cherokee’s once owned as slaves. A similar battle in 2003 involving the Seminole nation was won by the Freedmen. (*Wash. Post*, 3/3/07, *New York Times*, 3/3/07, 3/4/07)

- Indonesia’s Constitutional Court ruled the country’s truth and reconciliation commission illegal, casting doubt on whether victims of former dictator Suharto will ever see justice. (*Wash. Post*, 12/9/06)

- A grand jury in Leflore County, Mississippi, refused to issue new indictments in the Emmett Till case. While two men admitted to the killing in 1956 after being acquitted by an all-white jury, the Justice Dept. re-opened the case in 2004, seeking others who had been involved, including Carolyn Bryant, the white woman Till was supposed to have whistled at—which led to his murder. The 8,000+ page FBI report was turned over to the District Attorney, who sought a manslaughter charge against Ms. Bryant, the last living suspect in the case. (*New York Times*, 2/28/07)

- Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has denied that Japan’s military forced foreign women into sexual slavery during World War II, contradicting the Japanese government’s long-time official position, issued in 1993, acknowledging the military’s role in setting up brothels and directly or indirectly forcing women into sexual slavery—a declaration that also offered an apology to the euphemistically termed “comfort women.” The U.S. House of Representatives has begun debating a resolution that would call on Tokyo to “apologize for and acknowledge” the military’s role. Historians believe that some 200,000 women—Koreans, Chinese, Taiwanese, Filipinos, as well as Japanese, Dutch and other European women, served in such brothels. The government earlier established a private, non-governmental fund to compensate the women (set to close down this month), but many former slaves refused to accept compensation from this fund, claiming it evaded direct official responsibility. (*New York Times*, 3/2/07, 3/6/07, 3/8/07)

Report on 2006 Witt Internship

Idaho Community Action Network

Fairness in education is part of our American values. Unfortunately, for thousands of immigrant students who have come to this country for a better future, the road to higher education has been closed. For the past several years, the Idaho Community Action Network (ICAN) has been working at the national level to even out the playing field for immigrant students to continue their dreams of higher education. In January and February, 2006, ICAN launched a campaign to broaden our student base throughout the state. We held a state-wide conference on the Development Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act). Students came representing schools from North, East and Central Idaho. The purpose of this training was to educate youth on the issue and to get commitments to work on The DREAM Act and in-state tuition campaigns. (The Idaho Student Investment Act would allow students to pay in-state tuition, regardless of immigration status, if they have earned a high school diploma or GED equivalent and have lived in Idaho for at least 3 years before they earned the degree.

New on PRRAC's Website

Rebuilding a Healthy New Orleans: Final Conference Report of the New Orleans Health Disparities Initiative (with the Alliance for Healthy Homes, the Center for Social Inclusion, and the Health Policy Institute at the Joint Center for Political & Economic Studies)

The Section 8 program and access to opportunity: An agenda for policy reform (Testimony to the House Financial Services Committee, Subcommittee on Housing and Community Opportunity)

Undocumented students also are required to say they have applied for a green card [legal permanent residence] or promise they will as soon as they can.)

Since launching the campaign, students have organized to pass student and faculty resolutions at universities across the state. In addition, college and university presidents have signed letters of support for our campaign. At the high school level, principals and superintendents have also signed letters of support. Youth have collected over 30 letters of support statewide.

In May, we helped organized a regional conference in Salem, Oregon in partnership with other youth organizations working on The DREAM Act. Our student base from all over Idaho participated in this conference. At the conference, we strategized and organized on how to move the issue forward.

As the summer went on, students continued doing public education and engaging the public in a debate about The DREAM Act and in-state tuition. In June, students in Boise organized a press conference with faculty from Boise State University to highlight the issue. Recently, ICAN youth conducted a presentation before the Idaho State Board of Education. In the upcoming legislative session, ICAN will continue to work with different educators and key leaders in the state to pass in-state tuition in Idaho.

The DREAM Act was reintroduced in Congress in late February 2007. ICAN will continue to work to pass this critical legislation. At the state level, after a year of grassroots organizing, the controversial in-state tuition bill received a public hearing. ICAN intern Fernando Mejia jam-packed the largest room in the Idaho state legislature with supporters of in-state tuition. Students, parents, educators and community members supported the bill. Not a single person testified against the measure. Regrettably, state legislators

The DREAM Act (H.R. 1275) is bipartisan legislation pending in Congress to clear up immigration status issues and address federal barriers to education and work confronted by the U.S.-raised children of undocumented immigrants. Further information from the National Immigration Law Center, 202/216-0261 (DC), 213/639-3900 (LA), 510/663-8282 (Oakland).

voted the bill down. ICAN will continue to work throughout the year to move in-state tuition in the 2008 legislature.

Fernando Mejia, Idaho Community Action Network's Witt Intern during the Summer of 2006, made the following progress towards the goals stated in our proposal to PRRAC:

- **Youth Leadership Team-Building**
Goal: Develop/support youth leadership teams on campuses across the state, building organizing skills and developing campus/community strategy and local activities.
 - Between January and February, 80 key youth leaders were identified from the University of Idaho, Albertson College of Idaho, Lewis Clark State College, Boise State University and Idaho State University.
 - In February, we brought 30 youth leaders total from each of the colleges and universities together for a state meeting to build relationships, develop strategy through power analysis and strategy chart workshops, brainstorm projects and actions/activities, make a timeline for action, and make commitments to follow through.
 - After the meeting, we gave support—and continue giving support—to youth leadership teams in each area. We have had one-

on-one strategy consultations with key leaders, provided research and materials assistance (fact sheets and talking points) for meetings with university administrators about the The DREAM Act, and have traveled the state to offer on-site training and project support.

- o Throughout this time, we have helped develop a shared sense of commitment and cohesion among key youth leaders on each campus. We held regular conference calls to share updates, check on progress, make decisions about shifts in strategy and tactics, and provide support.
- **Reframing the Public Debate on Immigration Goal:** Using direct community outreach, the media (letters to the editor and op-eds), and serving as a resource to the media to reframe the public debate.
 - o Direct community outreach: Students on each campus identified groups on campus and in the community, then set up and executed presentations on The DREAM Act, in-state tuition and comprehensive immigration reform. They held many meeting with university administrators to pass student government and faculty senate resolutions in support of The DREAM Act. Students have passed resolutions with their student government in four of the state's universities, and also have gotten the support from President Bob Kustra of Boise State U, President Arthur C. Valias of Idaho State U. and Tim White of the Univ. of Idaho.
 - o Direct media strategy: Youth leaders have engaged in pro-active media work, submitted 40 letters to the editor and three op-ed pieces to campus and community newspapers to reframe the debate on immigrants.
- **Mobilizing Support and Mounting Pressure to Support Educational Opportunity for All:** Develop strat-

egy, then implement a range of tactics (such as decision-maker meetings, report releases, public actions and street theater) to build support and pressure key decision-makers and those who influence them to support educational opportunity for all Idahoans.

- o In February, 2006, The DREAM in Action team engaged in a comprehensive power analysis and developed a list of primary targets (those who have decision-making power) and secondary targets (those who have influence over the decision-makers); they used this analysis to develop a menu of tactics to mobilize support and build pressure on both primary and secondary targets.
- o The DREAM in Action team held meetings, gave presentations and implemented tactics to secure public commitments of support from secondary targets for The DREAM Act and an Idaho in-state tuition bill. Over the summer, students got 30 letters of support from high school principals and superintendents. They also secured the support of the presidents of the state's major universities.

For further information, contact Leo Morales (Icanleo@cablone.net), 208/385-9146, x109, www.icanweb.net □

(CERD: Continued from page 3)

tion; Housing segregation and discrimination; Homelessness, displacement and poverty; Health disparities; Environmental justice; Voting rights; Employment and jobs policy; Immigration; The impacts of Hurricane Katrina

Grassroots organizers, policy advocates and impact litigators all have different roles they can play in this process. Many resources are available through the USHRN, and several trainings will be held during the coming year for those who wish to get involved. A planning and coordination session is planned for April 4 in Washington, DC (contact Margaret Huang at Global Rights for more information: mhuang@globalrights.org).

The U.S. report is expected to be filed later this spring. It is expected that the U.N. will review the report at its regular August 2008 session.

Philip Tegeler (ptegeler@prrac.org) is PRRAC's Executive Director. □

Resources

Most Resources are available directly from the issuing organization, either on their website (if given) or via other contact information listed. Materials published by PRRAC are available through our website: www.prrac.org. Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (39¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

Please drop us a line letting us know how useful our Resources Section is to you, as both a lister and requester of items. We hear good things, but only sporadically. Having a more complete sense of the effectiveness of this networking function will help us greatly in foundation fundraising work (and is awfully good for our morale). Drop us a short note, letting us know if it has been/is useful to you (how many requests you get when you list an item, how many items you send away for, etc.) Thank you.

(Please turn to page 14)

(RESOURCES:
Continued from page 13)

Race/Racism

- **Three Census Bureau Reports on Demographic, Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics of Hispanics, Blacks and Asians, based on the 2004 American Community Survey** are available at www.census.gov/PressRelease/www/release/archives/american_community_survey_acs/009634.html [10252]

- **“Race and Poverty: Divergent Fortunes of America’s Children?”** by Daniel T. Lichter, Zhenchao Qian & Martha L. Crowley (2006), is available from the Institute for Research on Poverty, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1180 Observatory Dr., Madison, WI 53706, www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc243b.pdf

Poverty/Welfare

- **“Have Middle-Income Parents Improved Their Economic Status?”** by Robert I. Lerman, a 2007 Brief, is available (likely free) from The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, www.urban.org [10229]

- **“Asset Report 2007,”** from the New America Foundation, is available at AssetBuilding.org [10235]

- **“Welfare Reform as a Failed Political Strategy: Evidence and Explanations for the Stability of Public**

Opinion,” by Joe Soss & Sanford F. Schram (2006), is available from the Institute for Research on Poverty, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1180 Observatory Dr., Madison, WI 53706, www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc243c.pdf

- **“Trapped in Debt: The Growth of Payday Lending in Ohio,”** by David Rothstein & Jeffrey Dillman (19 pp., Feb. 2007) — a PRRAC-funded research project — is available from the Housing Research and Advocacy Center, 3631 Perkins Ave., #3A-2, Cleveland, OH 44114, 216/361-9240, www.thehousingcenter.org [10236]

- **“2007 Report on Illinois Poverty”** (53 pp.) is available (no price listed) from the Mid-America Institute on Poverty of Heartland Alliance for Human Needs & Human Rights, 4411 No. Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, IL 60640, 773/336-6075, maip@heartlandalliance.org

- **“After Welfare Reform: You Choose Your Child Over the Jobs,”** by Lisa Dodson (2006), is available from the Institute for Research on Poverty, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1180 Observatory Dr., Madison, WI 53706, www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc243d.pdf

- **“Observation in Poverty Research,”** by Susan T. Gooden (2006), is available from the Institute for Research on Poverty, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1180 Observatory Dr., Madison, WI 53706, www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc243e.pdf

Community Organizing

- **“The Monetary Impact of ACORN Campaigns: A Ten-Year Retrospective, 1995-2004,”** by Lisa Ranghelli (21 pp., Nov. 2006), is available (possibly free) from ACORN, 2-4 Nevins St., Brooklyn, NY 11217, 718/246-7900, x201, www.acorn.org [10216]

Criminal Justice

- **“Informing and Engaging Communities Through Reentry Mapping,”** a March 2007 Urban Institute Brief, is available (possibly free) from them: 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311411_Informing_and_Engaging.pdf [10248]

- **“Changing Direction? State Sentencing Reforms 2004-2006”** (March 2007) is available (no price listed) from The Sentencing Project, 514 10th St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871, zjennings@sentencingproject.org

Economic/Community Development

- **“Minority-Owned Banks: Making a Difference in Their Communities”** is the theme of the 23-page, Winter 2006/2007 issue of *Community Developments*, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency’s newsletter. Available (likely free) from 202/874-4930, www.occ.treas.gov/cdd/

resource.htm [10225]

- **“The Ideal Deal: How Local Governments Can Get More for Their Economic Development Dollar,”** by Rachel Weber & David A. Santacroce, is a 2007 handbook, available (no price listed) from Good Jobs First, 1616 P St. NW, #210, Wash., DC 20036, 202/232-1616, x211, goodjobs@goodjobsfirst.org, www.goodjobsfirst.org

- **“Building Sustainable Local Economies,”** sponsored by the E.F. Schumacher Society, will be held **May 23-27, 2007** in Great Barrington, Mass. Sessions cover the Small is Beautiful philosophy, Community Land Trusts, Community Development Financing & Local Currencies, Community Self-Management and Diversification of Wealth, and Developing Action Plans. Inf. from efssociety@smallisbeautiful.org, 413/528-1737.

Education

- **“Miles to Go: Mississippi - Rebuilding Education: The Next Big Challenge”** (26 pp., 2006) is available (possibly free) from the Southern Education Foundation 135 Auburn Ave., 2nd fl., Atlanta, GA 30303-2503, 404/523-0001, info@southerneducation.org, www.southerneducation.org [10210]

- **“Why We Fight: How Public Schools Cause Social Conflict,”** by Neal McCluskey (59 pp., Jan. 2007), is available (possibly free) from the libertarian Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Ave.

NW, Wash., DC 20001, 800/767-1241, www.cato.org [10218]

- **“A New Day for Learning: A report from the Time, Learning, and After-school Task Force”** (43 pp., Jan. 2007) is downloadable at www.edutopia.org/anewdayforlearning [10220]

- **“The Will to Change: A Conversation About Schools and Learning - with Dr. James Comer and Dr. Edmond Gordon + Comments by Hugh Price”** (22 pp., June 2006) is available (\$8) from The Coalition for Community Schools, c/o Institute for Educational Leadership, 4455 Connecticut Ave. NW, #310, Wash., DC 20008, 202/822-8405, www.communityschools.org [10221]

- **“Community-Based Learning: Engaging Students for Success and Citizenship,”** by Atelia Melaville, Amy C. Berg & Martin J. Blank (57 pp., Jan. 2006), is available (\$12) from The Coalition for Community Schools, c/o Institute for Educational Leadership, 4455 Connecticut Ave. NW, #310, Wash., DC 20008, 202/822-8405, www.communityschools.org [10222]

- **“Community & Family Engagement: Principals Share What Works,”** by Amy C. Berg, Atelia Melaville & Martin J. Blank (48 pp., Oct. 2006), is available (\$12) from The Coalition for Community Schools, c/o Institute for Educational Leadership, 4455 Connecticut Ave. NW, #310, Wash., DC 20008, 202/822-8405, www.communityschools.org [10223]

- **“Growing Community Schools: The Role of Cross-Boundary Leadership,”** by Martin J. Blank, Amy C. Berg & Atelia Melaville (40 pp., April 2006), is available (\$12) from The Coalition for Community Schools, c/o Institute for Educational Leadership, 4455 Connecticut Ave. NW, #310, Wash., DC 20008, 202/822-8405, x156, www.communityschools.org [10224]

- **“Special Focus on Community Schools: How Schools Engage Their Communities to Strengthen Learning”** is the theme of the Feb./March 2007 issue of *Our Children*, the PTA National Magazine. Available (no price listed) from PTA Natl. HQ, 541 N. Fairbanks Ct., #1300, Chicago, IL 60611, 800/307-4782, www.pta.org [10226]

- **“Meeting Five Critical Challenges of High School Reform: Lessons from Research on Three Reform Models,”** by Janet Quint (67 pp., May 2006), is available (no price listed) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200, www.mdrc.org [10228]

- **“Can a Military Model for Adolescent Education Close Achievement Gaps?,”** featuring Hugh Price of the Brookings Institution (and former Urban League President), is available at www.AGI.Harvard.edu [10233]

- **“The Commission on No Child Left Behind Report”** (240 pp., 2007) is available at www.aspeninstitute.org/atf/cf/%7BDEB6F227-659B-4EC8-8F84-

8DF23CA704F5%7D/NCLB_book.pdf [10234]

- **“Gender Caps in Math and Reading Gains During Elementary and High School by Race and Ethnicity,”** by Laura LoGerfo, Austin Nichols & Duncan Chaplin, a March 2007 Urban Institute report, is available (likely free) from the Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, www.urban.org [10239]

- **“Urgent But Overlooked: The Literacy Crisis Among Adolescent English Language Learners”** (Feb. 2007), from the Alliance for Excellent Education, is available at www.all4ed.org/publications/IssueBriefs.html#urgent [10249]

- **“The High Cost of High School Dropouts: What the Nation Pays for Inadequate High Schools”** (Feb. 2007), from the Alliance for Excellent Education, is available at www.all4ed.org/publications/IssueBriefs.html#highest [10250]

- **“Returns to the Public for Investing in an Excellent Education for All America’s Children: A Focus on Black Males,”** by Henry Levin, Clive Belfield, Peter Muennig & Cecilia Rouse (16 pp., 2007), is available (possibly free) from Prof. Levin, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., NYC, NY 10027. [10264]

- **“The Changing Landscape of American Public Education”** (2007) is available from the Pew Hispanic Center, 1615 L St. NW, #700, Wash., DC 20036-5610, 202/419-3600, pewhispanic.org/

reports/report.php?ReportID=72 [10265]

- **“‘Proficiency for All’—An Oxymoron,”** by Richard Rothstein, Rebecca Jacobsen & Tamara Wilder (2006), is available (possibly free) from The Economic Policy Institute, 1333 H St. NW, #300-E. Tower, Wash., DC 20005, 202/775-8810. [10268]

- **“Pacific Islanders Lagging Behind in Higher Educational Attainment”** (9 pp., 2006) is available (likely free) from the UCLA Asian American Studies Center (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi), 3230 Campbell Hall, UCLA, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2974, www.aasc.ucla.edu/default.asp [10269]

- **The Principals’ Center** at the Harvard Graduate School of Education has a series of Summer and Fall programs. Inf. from, 617/495-1825, principals@gse.harvard.edu, www.gse.harvard.edu/pppe

- **“Hidden Benefits: The Impact of High School Graduation on Household Wealth,”** a 2007 Alliance for Excellent Education Brief, is available at www.all4ed.org/publications/hiddenbenefits.pdf

- **“Math Education and Social Justice,”** co-sponsored by the Long Island Univ. School of Education, Math for America and Teachers Unite, will take place **April 27-29, 2007** in Brooklyn. Bob Moses is among the speakers. Inf. from Radical Math, 211 S. 4th St., Brooklyn, NY 11211, 917/288-7364. [10242]

- **The Harvard Achievement Gap Initiative** Annual Research Conf. will be held **June 18-19, 2007** in Cambridge. Inf. from www.AGI.Harvard.edu [10232]

- **“Universal Design for Learning: New Directions for Teaching Learners with Diverse Needs,”** sponsored by the Harvard Graduate School of Education, will be held **July 9-13, 2007** in Cambridge. Inf. from 800/545-1849.

- **“Improving Outcomes for Young Children at Risk,”** sponsored by the Harvard Graduate School of Education, will be held **July 16-20, 2007** in Cambridge. Inf. from 800/545-1849, www.gse.harvard.edu [10276]

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“Getting Organized: Unionizing Home-Based Child Care Providers,”** by Helen Blank & Joan Entmacher (March 2007), is available (possibly free) from the National Women’s Law Center (co-directed by former PRRAC Board member Nancy Duff Campbell), 11 Dupont Circle, Wash., DC 20036, 202/588-5180. [10241]

- **“Responsive Workplaces: The Business Case for Employment That Values Fairness and Families,”** by Jodie Levin-Epstein (5 pp., 2007), is available (likely free) from the Center for Law and Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Board member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000. [10258]

- **“Understanding Low-Wage Work in the United States,”** by Shawn Fremstad, Margy Waller & Rachel Gragg of the Center for Economic Policy and Research’s Mobility Agenda (22 pp., March 2007), is available (no price listed) from the Center, 1611 Connecticut Ave. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20009, 202/293-5380, x115.

- **“Does Temporary Agency Employment Offer a Way Out of Poverty?,”** by David H. Autor & Susan N. Houseman (2006), is available from the Institute for Research on Poverty, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1180 Observatory Dr., Madison, WI 53706, www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc243a.pdf

Environment

- **“Changing Course in a Changing Climate: Solutions for Health and the Environment”** is the 25th National Pesticide Forum, sponsored by Beyond Pesticides, **June 1-2, 2007** in Chicago. Inf. from them, 701 E St. SE, #200, Wash., DC 20003, 202/543-5450, www.beyondpesticides.org [10273]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **“Close to Home: Strategies to Strengthen and Support Family, Friend and Neighbor Care,”** by Helen Blank & Karen Schulman (Feb. 2007), is available (no price given) from the National Women’s Law Center (co-directed by

former PRRAC Board member Nancy Duff Campbell), 11 Dupont Circle, Wash., DC 20036, 202/588-5180. [10256]

- **“Is Kinship Care Good for Kids?,”** by Tiffany Conway & Rutledge Hutson (3 pp. 2007), is available (likely free) from the Center for Law and Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Board member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000. [10259]

- **“Starting Off Right”** (2006) describes strategies to improve early care and education for infants and toddlers. Available (likely free) from the Center for Law and Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Board member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000. [10260]

- **“The Economic Costs of Poverty in the United States: Subsequent Effects of Children Growing Up Poor,”** by Harry Holzer, Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Greg Duncan & Jens Ludwig (22 pp., Jan. 2007), is available (possibly free) from the Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, www.americanprogress.org [10214]

- **“Conceptualizing a ‘Strong Start’: Antecedents of Positive Child Outcomes at Birth and Into Early Childhood,”** by Cassandra Logan, Kristin Moore, Jennifer Manlove, Lisa Mincieli & Sarah Cottingham (8 pp., Feb. 2007), is a Child Trends Research Brief, available (possibly free)

from them at 4301 Connecticut Ave. NW, #100, Wash., DC 20008, 202/572-6000, www.childtrends.org

- **“Kids’ Share 2007: How Children Fare in the Federal Budget,”** by Adam Carasso, Eugene Steuerle & Gillian Reynolds (March 2007), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, studose@ui.urban.org, www.urban.org

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **“Healthy Food, Farms & Families: Hunger 2007”** (175 pp.) is available, free, from Bread for the World Institute, 50 F St. NW, #500, Wash., DC 20001, www.Bread.org [10213]

- **“Families’ Food Stamp Benefits Purchase Less Food Each Year,”** by Dorothy Rosenbaum (8 pp., March 2007), is available (likely free) from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (headed by former PRRAC Board member Robert Greenstein), 820 First St. NE, #510, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080, center@cbpp.org, www.cbpp.org

Health

- **“Exposing the Roots of Health Disparities,”** about sociologist David R. Williams, newly arrived at the Harvard School of Public Health faculty, appeared in the Winter 2007 issue of *Harvard Public Health*

Review. Sub. inf. about the 3x/yearly publication from Jesse Nankin, 401 Park Dr., 3rd fl., Boston, MA 02215, 617/384-8990 [10212]

- **“Healthy People 2010,”** the US Dept. of Health & Human Services program, has produced a Midcourse Review, available at www.healthypeople.gov/data/midcourse/default/htm#pubs [10271]

- **“Dying While Black,”** by Vernillia Randall (287 pp., 2006), “an in depth look at a crisis in the American healthcare system,” has been published by Seven Principles Press, 408 Red Haw, PO Box 60979, Dayton, OH 45406. Prof. Randall has arranged for a 40% discount (\$11.97 + shipping), using code DXZBZP, addressed to her at www.dyingwhileblack.org [10275]

- **“Congress Has a Number of Options to Pay for Extending Health Coverage to More Low-Income Children”** (4 pp., March 2007) is available (likely free) from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (headed by former PRRAC Board member Robert Greenstein), 820 First St. NE, #510, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080, center@cbpp.org, www.cbpp.org

- **“Uninsured Persons in Illinois Legislative Districts”** (March 2007) is available (no price listed) from the Mid-America Institute on Poverty of Heartland Alliance for Human Needs & Human Rights, 4411 No. Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, IL 60640, 773/336-6075, maip@heartlandalliance.org

- **“Medicaid Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment: State Innovation Leads to Improved Oral Health Participation Rates,”** by (former PRRAC Board member) Jane Perkins (March 2007), is available (no price listed) from the National Health Law Program, healthlaw.org.

- **“Providing Language Services in State and Local Health-Related Benefits Offices: Examples from the Field”** (Jan. 2007), plus an Oct. 2006 Briefing on Language Access, are available (no price listed) from the National Health Law Program, healthlaw.org.

- **“Low-Income Uninsured Children With Special Health Care Needs: Why Aren’t They Enrolled in Public Health Insurance Programs?,”** by Jennifer Haley & Genevieve Kenney, appeared in the Jan. 2007 issue (Vol. 119, No. 1, pp. 60-68) of *Pediatrics*, pediatrics.aapublications.org/cgi/content/short/119/1/60.

Homelessness

- **“HUD’s First Annual Estimate of Homeless”** (its first such since 1984) reports 754,000 homeless persons as of Jan. 2005 — 415,000 in shelters, 339,000 unsheltered. Provides a number of characteristics of homeless persons — 59% of whom are persons of color. Available at www.huduser.org/Publications/pdf/ahar.pdf [10261]

Housing

- **“The Alabama Tenants’ Handbook”** (20 pp., 2007?) is available — in addition to a brochure version — (likely free) from Arise Citizens’ Policy Project, PO Box 1188, 207 Montgomery St., #900, Montgomery, AL 36104, 800/832-9060, www.arisecitizens.org [10219]

- **“District of Columbia Housing Monitor: Winter 2007,”** by Peter A. Tatian, is available (possibly free) from The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, www.urban.org [10230]

- **“American Community Survey Estimate Shows Larger National, State Affordable Rental Housing Shortage”** (2007), a Research Note from the National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley), is downloadable at www.nlihc.org/doc/RN07-01.pdf [10231]

- **The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions** is seeking nominations for its 2007 Housing Rights Award. Inf. from www.cohre.org/nominations [10245]

- **The Journal of Urban History** in its March 2007 issue has a series of articles on “New Perspectives on Public Housing Histories in America.” Free sample issue from Sage Publications, 2455 Teller Rd., Thousand Oaks, CA 91320, 805/499-9774, journals@sagepub.com [10246]

- **“The Effects of the Federal Budget Squeeze on Low-Income Housing**

Assistance” (Feb. 2007), from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (headed by former PRRAC Board member Robert Greenstein), is available at www.cbpp.org/2-1-07house2.pdf [10251]

- **“Transforming Fact Into Strategy — Developing a Public Health Response to the Housing Needs of Persons Living With or At Risk of HIV/AIDS”** (2007) is available at www.nationalaidshousing.org/PDF/SummitIIPolicyPaper.pdf [10254]

- **“American Housing Survey 2005 Data”** — on housing quality and cost, poverty, race/ethnicity and more for US metro and nonmetro areas, multi-state regions, large metro areas—available from HUD User, 800/245-2691, www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/ahs/ahs.html [10266]

- **“A Heavy Load: The Combined Housing and Transportation Burdens of Working Families”** (2006) — available for 28 metro areas — is available (free) from the National Housing Conference, 202/466-2121, www.nhc.org/index/heavyload [10267]

- **Tax Credits for Low Income Housing: Opportunities for Developers, Non-Profits, Agencies and Communities Under Expanded Tax Code Provisions** (13th ed.), by Joseph Guggenheim (442 pp., Dec. 2006), is available (\$20; \$345 looseleaf binder with bimonthly updates) from Simon Publications, PO Box 229, Glen Echo, MD 20812, 301/320-5771, www.housingtaxcredits.net

- **“Not Even a Place in Line”** (March 2007), from the Mid-America Institute on Poverty of Heartland Alliance for Human Needs and Human Rights, a study of waiting lists for public housing in Illinois, shows that 56% of the state’s Public Housing Authorities have closed their lists for housing choice vouchers, and 55% of those do not plan to re-open the lists within a year. Waiting lists for public housing units contain 65,184 households, more than the state’s existing 63,810 units. Available (no price listed) from the Institute, 4411 No. Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, IL 60640, 773/336-6075, maip@heartlandalliance.org, www.heartlandalliance.org/maip/documents/NotEvenaPlaceinLine2007.pdf

Immigration

- **“Trends in the Low-Wage Immigrant Workforce, 2000-2005”** by Randy Capps, Karina Fortnuoy & Michael Fix, a March 2007 Urban Institute report, is available (likely free) from the Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, www.urban.org [10237]
- **“The Characteristics of Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Los Angeles County and the United States,”** by Karina Fortnuoy & Randy Capps, a March 2007

Urban Institute report, is available (likely free) from the Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, www.urban.org [10238]

- **Securing the Future: U.S. Immigrant Integration Policy: A Reader,** ed. Michael Fix, has been published by the Migration Policy Inst. 1400 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/266-1940, www.migrationpolicy.org/[10253]

- **“Immigration: What It Means for Cities”** is the theme of the Winter 2006/2007 issue of *The Next American City*, available (no price listed) from the Migration Policy Institute, 1400 16th St. NW, #300, Wash., DC 20036, 202/266-1940, www.migrationpolicy.org/[10270]

- **“Close to Slavery: Guest Worker Programs in the United States”** (2007) is available (likely free) from the Southern Poverty Law Center, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 32104, 334/956-8200. [10272]

- **“Comprehensive Immigration Reform: Legislative Priorities for Immigrant Workers”** (4 pp., Feb. 2007) is available (likely free) from the National Immigration Law Center, 3435 Wilshire Blvd., #2850, Los Angeles, CA 90010, 213/639-3900, moran@nilc.org, www.nilc.org

- **“Immigration Reform: Getting It Right—An Agenda for Shared Prosperity Forum,”** sponsored by The Economic Policy Institute, will be held **March 28, 2007** in DC. Inf. from EPI, 1333 H St. NW, E. Tower #300, Wash., DC 20005, 202/775-8810.

Miscellaneous

- **“Measuring Fiscal Disparities Across the U.S. States: A Representative System/Representative Expenditure System Approach, Fiscal Year 2002,”** by Yesim Yilmaz, Sonya Hoo, Matthew Nagowski, Kim Rueben & Robert Tannenwald (77 pp., Nov. 2006), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, www.urban.org [10215]

- **“Ten Big Ideas for a New America”** (68 pp., Dec. 2006) is available (likely free) from the New America Foundation, 1630 Connecticut Ave. NW, 7th flr. Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-2700, www.newamerica.net [10217]

- **“The February 2007 New Orleans Recovery Report,”** from the Center for Social Inclusion, is available at centerfor-socialinclusion.org/PDF/NOReportCard0207-Full.pdf [10247]

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **The National Campaign to Restore Civil Rights** is hiring a **Media Campaign Coordinator**. Applications encouraged by April 1. Contact Rebecca Bauer, 212/244-4664, x 357, www.rollbackcampaign.org [10240]
- **The Annie E. Casey Foundation** is hiring a **Senior Fellow** for its New Haven Family Economic Stress project. Letter/resume to Justine May at the Foundation, 701 St. Paul St., Baltimore, MD 21202, 410/547-6600, www.hrjobs@aecf.org [10257]
- **The National Low Income Housing Coalition** (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley) is hiring a **Housing Policy Analyst**. Letter/resume to the Coalition’s Deputy Director, 727 15th St. NW, 6th flr. Wash., DC 20005; can be faxed to 202/393-1973. [10262]

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