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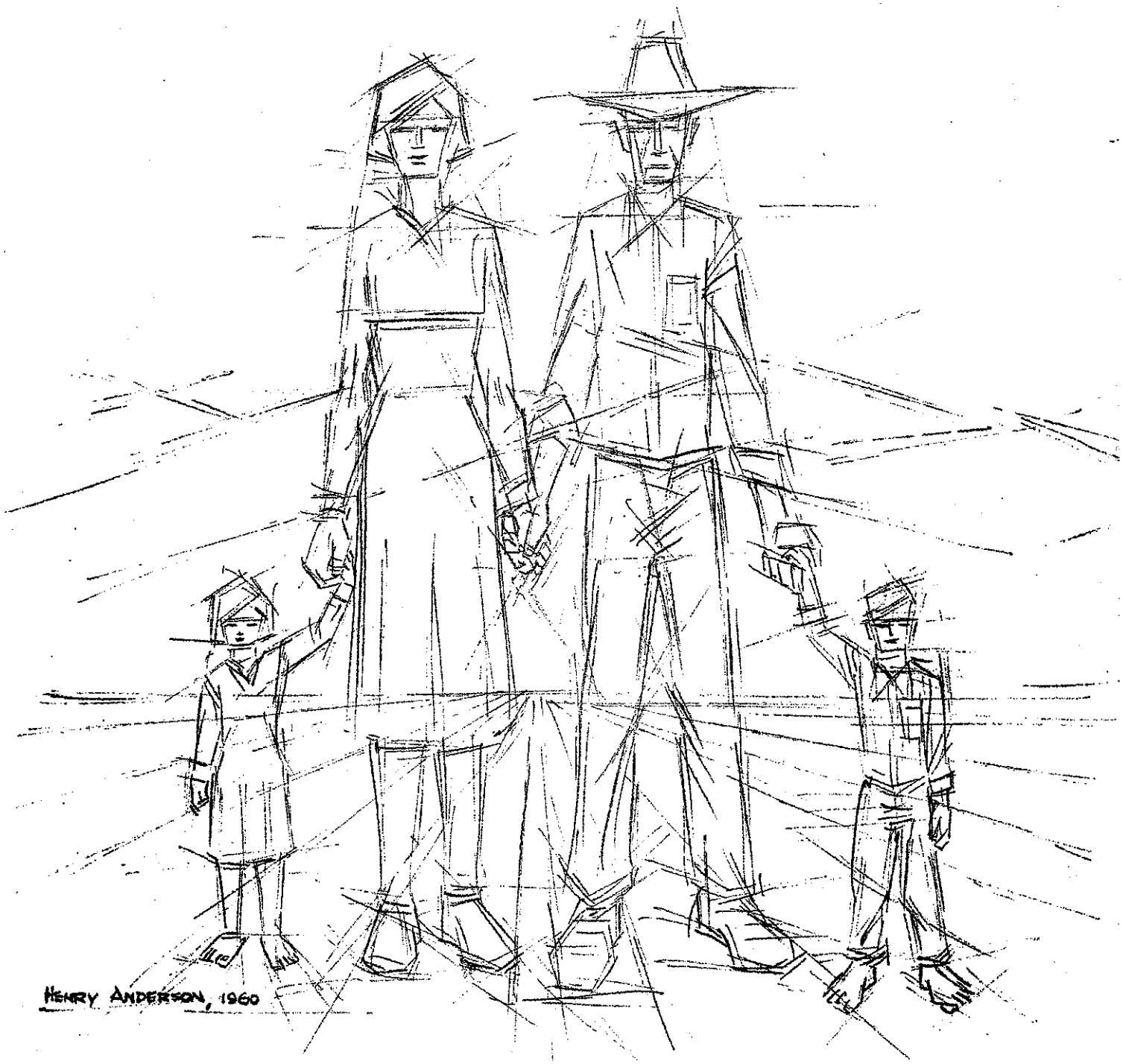
MIGRANT NO MORE



...MIGRANT NO MORE

Henry Anderson
Berkeley, Calif.
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Perhaps the most important single development in the California farm labor market during the past twenty years has been a change in migrancy patterns: a change which has been both quantitative and qualitative.

It was authoritatively estimated that in California in the late 1930's, there were at least 200,000 farm workers, with their families, adrift on the land.* Most of these were truly stateless people -- "blowed out, dusted out, and tractored out" of Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas -- and too recently arrived in California to have put down even tentative roots.

Ten years later, in 1949, the number of migrants working in California agriculture at the peak of the season was estimated by the State Department of Employment at 113,000. Besides the decline in numbers, shifts in the composition of the migrant labor force could be noted. Fewer family units were involved. The Department of Employment's estimate of 113,000 "non-local temporary hired domestic (sic) farm workers" included an undetermined -- but unquestionably substantial -- number of illegal entrants from Mexico, most of whom traveled as single men.

In 1959, according to the Department of Employment, the number of migrants at the peak season had declined to 65,000 -- less than one third what it had been twenty years before -- and this despite an appreciable increase in the total farm labor force. What is more, the majority of these remaining migrants were intrastate rather than interstate or international. Intrastate migrants are not migrants at all in the sense that the term was used in the days of the Dust Bowl refugees. There are few totally rootless persons in California agriculture any more. Today's migratory farm worker usually has a residence, where he lives for several months each year, from which he leaves to work in the crops, and to which he returns when his hegira is done. Typically, his migration is quite different from the aimless wandering of two decades ago. He usually knows with considerable certainty where he is going, how long he will remain there, what he will do, and how much he will earn. If his plans are upset by weather, the certification of Mexican Nationals, or other unforeseen developments, he usually has an alternate plan. This general strain toward predictability is true of the "migrants" who

*Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, U.S.House of Representatives, 77th Congress, 1st Session. Report Pursuant to H.Res.63,491,629 (76th Congress) and H. Res. 16 (77th Congress). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941, p.338.

only move from one county to another, those who move from one part of the state to another (Imperial Valley to the Santa Clara Valley, for example), and also those who move from one state, such as Texas, into another, such as California.

It may have occurred to some readers to ask: what about the braceros in California? Are they not properly to be considered migrants? If they are removed, will their place not have to be taken by domestic migrants? Should not our statistics on migrants employed at peak season (65,000 in 1959) also include Mexican Nationals, of whom there were more than 80,000 employed at the same time?

Although the U.S.-Mexico International Agreement is technically called a "Migrant Labor Agreement", and although the agency of the Mexican government which administers the program is known as the Bureau of Migratory Labor Affairs, there is some doubt that the bracero program should be regarded as a migrant labor program. And there is considerable doubt that, if Public Law 78 were abolished or drastically altered, the only replacement for braceros would be domestic migrants from out-of-state. In the first place, many thousands -- perhaps even tens of thousands -- of braceros in California are employed the year around. More than 20,000 braceros are regularly used in California's border and desert counties: Imperial, San Diego, and Riverside. Many, if not most, of these contract workers are "specials" -- meaning that they work for eighteen months, return to Mexico for one day, and return to their employer for another eighteen months.

Slightly farther north, in the "citrus belt" of San Bernardino, Orange, Los Angeles, Ventura, and Santa Barbara counties, thousands of braceros are employed the year around in the citrus industry. Navel oranges are harvested in the winter and spring; valencia oranges are harvested in the summer and fall; lemons are harvested in all four seasons. These crops are almost wholly dominated by Mexican contract workers at the present time.

Farther north, in the Salinas Valley, braceros are employed the year around in the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of truck crops such as lettuce, strawberries, broccoli, carrots, celery, Brussels sprouts, and artichokes.

The crop-activities in which braceros are employed highly seasonally in California -- such as sugar beet thinning and tomato picking -- are, for the most part, operations which could be mechanized, and would be so, no doubt, if foreign contract labor were unavailable.

For these reasons, among others, one may doubt that the curtailment of the bracero program will necessarily mean any substantial increase in the need for or use of domestic migrants. I do not want to exaggerate the points I am suggesting here. There will undoubtedly continue to be migrants employed in California agriculture for many years to come. And until certain basic changes take place in labor-management relations in agriculture, such migrancy will continue to be, in many of its aspects, a stain upon our civilization. But I commend to everyone interested in farm labor the following propositions: there are fewer migrants today than there have been for many years in California agriculture; the migrants who remain are changing in their nature and their needs; a number of signs point toward further decreases in the numbers of migrants employed in California; there will very likely continue to be such stabilization within the migrant stream itself that in many cases the very term "migrant" will seem malapropos.

It is our thesis here that Americans concerned with the "migratory labor problem" should approach it in terms of the particular developments and needs of the 1960's, rather than images of the 1930's. It is our thesis here that two tasks, basically, confront such organizations and agencies as the Migrant Ministry, Bishops Committee for Migrant Workers, President's Committee on Migratory Labor, and California Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops: first, to encourage the tendency toward stabilization of the farm labor market in whatever ways possible; and, second, and even more important, to try to ensure that this tendency is, at the same time, a tendency toward fuller, richer, and more creative lives for the agricultural workers who are migrant no more.

At present, there is no guarantee that freedom from the migrant stream is freedom in any meaningful sense. Former migrants characteristically settle into urban fringe areas and rural slums variously designated as "shacktowns," "shoestring communities," and "Hoovervilles." Existence in these shantytowns offers a surcease from the geographical rootlessness of classical migrancy, but it does not necessarily offer any surcease from the sociological and psychological rootlessness which is the more grievous human problem attendant upon migrancy. Denizens of California's "shoestring communities" may be, and often are, fully as alienated from the larger society as they were when they wandered across the face of the earth. It is not enough to plan and carry out programs for the decasualization of the farm labor market. Such efforts (represented, for example, by the efforts of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO) should be accompanied by plans to cross the chasm between an almost total lack of identity with society and community, and a full share of the privileges and responsibilities of social involvement.

In the remainder of this paper, I should like to discuss a possible way in which the all-important stride may be made from a life of alienation (whether migrant or "shoe-string") to a life of meaning: a life of enduring involvement with other human beings.

Last February, a YMCA-YWCA group from the University of California came to Stockton for a weekend work-camp. I offered to help arrange a schedule for these students, whereby they might gain a general familiarity with the farm labor situation in the limited time available. We took part in a pre-dawn "shape-up", where many of the area's casual farm workers obtain their employment. We interviewed farmers, worker representatives, priests, civic leaders, and others. And, finally, we went into a "shoe-string community" just south of Stockton, and attempted to gain insight through door-to-door interviewing.

Later, during our evaluation of the weekend, two things seemed to me particularly noteworthy. Many of the students felt that their contacts, however tenuous, among the "shoestringers" were by far the most significant aspect of their work-camp. Secondly, I was struck by the fact that most of the "shoestringers" themselves seemed to enjoy the interview experience. There was relatively little of the suspicion, reticence, and stand-offishness which some of us had feared.

Another group of students came out to Stockton on Easter Week, for a somewhat more extended work-camp. We arranged for more house-to-house surveying in an urban fringe area where we had reason to believe a large number of agricultural workers lived. Once again, the experience seemed meaningful and worthwhile for all concerned. I began to wonder if there might be some way in which this type of experience could be put on a more enduring and systematic basis. After some thought, I set down my preliminary ideas in the form of a prospectus for something to be known (for want of a happier phrase) as a "Rural Development Association". This prospectus read, in part:

> The farm labor movement operates within a unique social setting. Indeed, a better term might be "a uniquely asocial setting". The attributes which make up the condition we call "social" -- group awareness, mutual purposes, division of labor, roles and statuses, etc. -- are largely missing among agricultural workers.
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> The tendency of agricultural laborers to settle down into "shoestring communities" makes possible...the development of rudimentary forms of interrelatedness...But human organization does not follow inevitably or spontaneously from physical proximity. People totally inexperienced in relating with one another must usually be shown that they

can work together -- and in what ways -- by someone who has had this experience. But if this "someone" comes into the situation as an outsider, saying, in so many words, "I'll show you how things should be done," he will likely have very little success. The approach, rather, should be for this person to serve an apprenticeship as an "insider", so that when he begins to move toward human development and organization he can say, "Let us try such-and-such..."

The principal qualifications of such an organizer would seem to be (1) willingness, not to "serve" disinherited humanity, but to become a member of this portion of humanity, as a precursor to gaining its rightful inheritance; (2) freedom from other commitments for an extended period of time; (3) indifference to the orthodox career goals of our society -- income, security, prestige; (4) passion for the possibilities of the human personality as it unfolds in social contexts. ... Where are organizers meeting these qualifications to be found? ...For the most part, ... among youths and young adults who have not yet been worn down by the myriad pressures and controls through which society enforces its orthodoxies. Among students, and among young working people, there may be substantial numbers who are seeking ...for ways in which to relate constructively to the rest of mankind and the human condition. Given mechanisms by which they could do so, it is believed that many young people would be happy to make their commitment to human development by themselves becoming agricultural workers and building farm labor organization from within.

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It is proposed that a /Rural Development Association/ be created within which idealistic young people and estranged agricultural "shoestringers" could come together in a process which would bring completeness into both their lives. ...Through a Rural Development Association, two goals would be achieved: first, farm workers, among whom few social and psychological bonds now exist, will forge such bonds. From this, all manner of subsequent accomplishments can and will flow. ... Second, young men and women will find self-realization, not by "serving" someone "less fortunate" than they, but by serving themselves through human development in which they are totally involved. The problems and prospects of creating social structures within which the human personality can flourish are, in this view, essentially the same for farm workers and college students alike -- and for that matter, for everyone else in the mid-20th Century.

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> The goals, in the last analysis, are those of human development: spontaneity, creativity, ability to relate constructively with other human beings, ability to relate pridefully with one's employment, respect for one's own worth and integrity. These goals, and the techniques by which they may be reached, have application far beyond California agriculture. The Association proposed here may be thought of as a testing ground for a type of social change needed in much of the rest of the United States -- and most of the rest of the world. Farm laborers have been despoiled of most material advantages, comforts, and assurances. But, even more important, they have been despoiled of part of their essential humanity. In this, they are at one with the South African Negro, the South Carolina Negro, the Mexican bracero, the people of every underdeveloped part of the planet. "Underdevelopment," in our view, has less reference to technology than to man's capacities for humanness, of which technology comprises only a part. The goal is not better machines, groceries, or hospitals. The goal is better human beings.

From this discussion of background assumptions and philosophy the prospectus went on to consider some possible organizational forms and functions. We need not review these, since the most basic structural assumption was that structure should be kept to a minimum, and the most basic functional assumption was that specific functions could be evolved only by the organizer at the neighborhood level.

This prospectus was circulated among a very limited audience in the San Francisco Bay Area. It met with more interest than had been anticipated. During May, several students -- two from San Francisco State College, three or four from the University of California, and one from Sacramento State College -- became very much interested in the prospect of working in "underdeveloped areas" within their own country. They said, in so many words, "When can we start? Tell us where to go and what to do." Although there was no organizational framework whatsoever, and absolutely no funds, we were reluctant to risk the dissipation of such enthusiasm by waiting for such niceties as the formation of an Advisory Board. In June, immediately after the close of school, six students went to work in "shoestring communities" of San J aquin County: two in South Stockton, and four in North Tracy.

I had expected to serve for the time being as a sort of consultant and "laiason officer", but unforeseen circumstances removed me altogether from the project for several weeks during this crucial period. In

the absence of any kind of guidance, some of the volunteer organizers grew discouraged and returned to the Bay Area. But the North Tracy project had enough impetus to continue. I should like to devote the remainder of these remarks to a discussion of that project, and the lessons we have learned from it.

Following their acclimatization to the neighborhood, the volunteer organizers in the "Starvation Flats" area of North Tracy suggested that the first concrete activity of the project might be the establishment of a cooperative child care center for the working mothers of the area. It was felt that this was the sort of activity which met a pronounced need, which did not place excessive demands upon people unaccustomed to working together, and yet which offered real hope for the beginnings of group consciousness and participation.

It was necessary to recruit another worker, since the four volunteers already at work in North Tracy did not consider themselves sufficiently experienced to direct a child care center, and preferred to spend the majority of their days working in the fields. We arranged a house meeting in Berkeley, to which we invited several people whom we thought might be interested. At that very first meeting, the idea of a day care center for the children of farm laborers "struck fire" with a woman named Mrs. Jessie Shah, who possessed an unusual combination of qualifications. She was interested in community development as a career. She was experienced in cooperative nursery school work, and ha two sons of her own, of grade school age. Her husband was on an overseas assignment, so she had several months available for "shoestring community" work. She asked only that her subsistence needs somehow be met: these she defined as $50 a week. Mrs. Shah moved into a shack in the midst of "Starvation Flats" around the middle of July, and, in a real sense, the history of the North Tracy community development project dates from that time.

Space permits only the most cursory summary of developments in "Starvation Flats" in the past four months.

1) The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, agreed to underwrite Mrs. Shah's salary of $50 a week, through the tomato season.

2) The Guadalupe Society of North Tracy offered the use of its building -- the Cristo Rey center on Clover Road -- as a child care center, for a token rental.

3) An ad hoc group met on several occasions to clarify the purposes and broader perspective of the project. This group agreed that the child care center itself was not the be-all and end-all of the project, but was only one of many forms of action which should be undertaken

as resources permitted. The over-all project was given the name Clover Community Program, to identify the project geographically, and to suggest that the goal was nothing less than the forging of a true community. A Board of Directors was selected, made up for the most part of residents of "Starvation Flats," but also including representatives of labor unions and Tracy civic organizations. The Board has met twice a month since then, and has made general policy for the child care center and other activities of the Clover Community Program.

4) An organization called Students Committee for Agricultural Labor was formed at the University of California in Berkeley. Support for the Clover Community Program was among the principal purposes of this students' committee. Early in August, SCAL organized its first weekend "encampment." Half a dozen students drove from Berkeley to Tracy (about sixty miles) on a Friday evening, and worked on the physical appointments of the child care center all day Saturday and Sunday. The following weekend, thirty students took part on another "encampment". Several similar projects were held in succeeding weeks. With the students' help, drainage ditches were dug, grounds cleared, windows replaced, cupboards built, plumbing repaired, and other necessary improvements made in the Cristo Rey Center.

5) Between visits to Tracy, members of The Students Committee collected materials in Berkeley for use in the child care center. Several boxes of children's books were donated by Berkeley book stores. Clothing and toys were gathered. Non-perishable grocery items, such as flour, canned goods, and sugar were contributed.

6) A number of organizations and agencies in Tracy helped. The city recreation department offered free swimming passes to the local plunge. Merchants contributed cement, paint, and other items either free or at cost. The San Joaquin County Health Department donated educational material. A local doctor volunteered a generous supply of vitamins. Representatives of the State Department of Social Welfare were very helpful with advice concerning licensure of the child care center -- and very patient when it proved difficult to meet all their recommendations.

7) Sympathetic coverage was provided by both of Tracy's two newspapers, and by KPFA, an educational listener-sponsored FM station in Berkeley.

8) On August 15, less than five weeks from the beginning of the project, the day care center opened its doors (although, at first, it had to be called a "recreation program" to avoid difficulties with the Department of Social Welfare). Nominally, a fee of fifty cents per child per day was charged -- up to a maximum of $2.00 per family -- but no one was turned away for financial reasons.

Let us quote here from a report by Mrs. Shah, director of the day care center and Executive Secretary of the Clover Community Program:

> Volunteer workers helped ... with games, stories, sports and free play. An average of twenty children attended daily. ... The first two weeks of September were discouraging. The center was opened daily for registration but there was no response... Investigation showed several reasons for this. One, of course, was total lack of experience with this kind of service. Another was that the tomato harvest was late. The primary trouble, however, was the age limit we had put on registration. Licensing requires that no children under two years be admitted. We agreed to take a few babies, and registrations came in immediately.
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> From September 9th to October 1st, we cared for from ten to seventeen children daily....Ages ranged from three weeks to 12 years... Most of the children arrived at 5:00 a.m. It was 6:00 p.m. before all of them were picked up.
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> Besides breakfast and lunch, the children were given snacks and vitamins daily. The Migrant Ministry gave us materials for hygiene kits which were very popular. The children who were not in school had naps on the church pews.... Regular food, rest and play improved the health of the small children within a week.

Although the child care activities were terminated on October 1, the Clover Community Program continues. At the present time, Mrs. Shah is directing preparations for a Thanksgiving Day dinner and fiesta for "Starvation Flats". Students still go from Berkeley to Tracy almost every weekend to assist in home improvement and other activities. A questionnaire is being prepared, by which it will be possible to ascertain, for the first time, exactly how many people there are in the area, where they come from, what they do, what they feel are their principal needs, and so forth.

Mistakes have been made, but this much, at least, must be said for the Clover Community Program: it shows a curious toughness. Despite all manner of adversity, it refuses to die.

Those of us who have been closely associated with the program conclude from this that we are on the track of something genuinely important. We look forward to the continuation of the program this winter and next year -- with appropriate improvments, and, if possible,

expansion. We are even bold enough to conjecture that the general pattern of the Clover Community Program may be worthy of emulation in other "shoestring communities" -- once again, with appropriate improvements based on this season's experience.

The following conclusions, among others, might be drawn from the experience to date in this community development project:

1) Although preliminary sensitization to the community may be provided by volunteers (as envisaged in the prospectus of last spring), action projects such as the child care center require the services of a full-time worker. It is not realistic to expect that a volunteer organizer can support himself wholly or in principal part by working in the fields, and at the same time carry out any major activity within the community. For reasons of continuity, too, it is essential that each project have the services of a full-time organizer.

2) Valuable support for full-time organizers can, however, be provided by assistants who work on a part-time and voluntary basis. Our experience suggests there are almost unlimited possibilities for assistance by students on weekends.

3) The full-time organizer must have financial assurances before beginning. The amount of the financial support is less important than its certainty.

4) Most projects of this general character assume the necessity of a minimum budget of about $10,000 per year. In my opinion, this is approximately three times too much. If a foundation, labor union, religious organization, or anyone else is considering a grant of $10,000 for community development work in underdeveloped parts of the United States, I would suggest it be used for support for three projects instead of one. Modest budgets are here suggested, not much for moral or ethical considerations, as for pragmatic reasons -- including the following:

a) Salaries competitive with those of the world of business and bureaucracy are not necessary to attract sensitive, intelligent, and qualified people;

b) Three projects are better than one project, both because they reach more people, and because they are three times as instructive. There are many different settings in California in which community development projects should be conducted. A project in Brawley would demonstrate new and valuable things. So would a project in East Bakersfield. So would a project in Tranquillity -- or Patterson -- or Russell City. It is to be hoped

that, on the basis of such findings, we can pass as quickly as possible beyond the stage of "demonstrations" and "pilot projects," and move forward on a broad front with a program of general applicability.

(c) Salaries five, six, or seven times as large as the annual earnings of "shoestring" families are likely to dampen or delay the success of the project. There should be no cause for suspicion that the organizer doesn't really care, but is only paid to care.

(d) Money corrupts in the sense that it distracts. With money available for equipment, the organizer loses precious time in buying the equipment, operating it, keeping it in repair. With money available for travel, the organizer finds there are unending conferences, radio programs, debates, forums, panels, conventions, and workshops to which he should go. There is only one conclusive way to cope with the problem of such demands on time, and that is to turn them all down, with the very best conscience because of the very best reason: sheer necessity.

(5) The organizers [illegible] in such projects should be patient, tireless, imaginative, flexible, and they must love people for what they are and what they may become. It is not necessary that such workers have had any formal training or previous experience in community organizing. Indeed, training or experience may do more harm than good, since there would likely be much that the professional would have to unlearn. "Community organization" ordinarily rests upon such concepts as "the power structure," "mass media," and so forth. These concepts are almost wholly irrelevant to the typical "shoestring community," where there is no power structure -- or any other kind of structure, for that matter -- and where the ordinary mass media are ineffective because of functional illiteracy and the language problem.

(6) It is sometimes difficult to resist being hurried into a form of activity when that activity appears obviously worthwhile and even imperative. But to a large extent, the community must set its own pace. We tried to open the North Tracy child care center by the middle of August. Logic seemed to dictate this deadline, since this marked the opening of the autumn harvest season of tomatoes, grapes, etc., and we knew that many North Tracy mothers would be working in the fields, packing houses and canneries. We should not have permitted ourselves to be bound by logic or the calendar. The more important consideration is community readiness. The few weeks that Mrs. Shah was able to work before the child care center opened were insufficient to develop the kind of support the center required. If it takes

three or four months simply for the organizer to know the community and be known -- if it is three or four months before any form of concrete, concerted activity begins -- that is the way it should be.

(7)The only hint of existing organization within "Starvation Flats" was along church lines. It may be tempting for organizers in "shoestring communities" to try to build upon these bare beginnings. From our experience, such a temptation should be resisted -- that is, if the goal is a genuine community, as distinguished from a congeries of sub-communities. The Clover Community Program accepted the offer of a building from the local Guadalupe Society, after it was pointed out that the Guadalupe Society is technically an autonomous group and not part of the Catholic Church. But it turned out that a good many people in "Starvation Flats" thought the building was a Church building, and participation in the child care project was probably somewhat limited by that consideration. By a similar token, it would be an error to try to carry on a community-wide activity in any of the area's Pentecostal or Four-Square churches. The Clover Community Program is currently looking into the possibility of buying or leasing one of the neighborhood's seventeen farm labor camps. In the past, these camps have been used principally to house braceros. This season, several were vacant, as the number of braceros used in San Joaquin County has been reduced substantially. Next season, it is likely that even more will be vacant. The same trend will probably occur in many other parts of the state, also. It is hoped that these buildings, rather than being permitted to deteriorate, can be used as domestic farm workers' housing and as community centers.

(8)When the Rural Development Association prospectus was prepared last spring, it was anticipated that the life of a "shoestring community" organizer would be unattractive to married couples, particularly those with children. It has since become clear that this is not necessarily the case. Families, of course, must have a bit more security than unattached men or women. But if this modicum of security can be guaranteed, there is ample evidence that a married couple, with children, can do a most effective organizing job. Since the overwhelming majority of the people they are trying to organize are couples with children, rapport is most easily established if the organizers themselves are family people.

(9)We have found it possible to avoid the very suspicion of paternalism by stressing the reciprocity of benefits to be had when students and others come into the area. We have, for example, arranged clean-up and repair jobs for these volunteers to do, not on the basis that they were going to "help" the neighborhood, but on the basis that "these are students who are at

loose ends, with nothing to do."" It then became a matter of the householder helping the students, by letting them help him.

(10)It is a restoring experience to find that almost everyone is decent, generous, and friendly, including those whom life has treated most unkindly. In "Starvation Flats" we have found very little of the suspicion and hostility which some had told us to expect. The people are slow to work together, yes, but this we consider understandable. Social behavior, like walking, talking, reading, singing, or any other kind of behavior, requires practice. Indeed, social forms of behavior require more practice than any other, since they are the most complex. Human development of the sort in which we have been engaged, therefore, takes time, and lots of it. We have time to give, and we are prepared to give it, for the prize to be won is very precious.

In the foregoing analysis, I speak only for myself. I am not at all sure that the others associated with the Clover Community Program would agree with the above conclusions. But on certain broader conclusions I think all of us do agree.

We would agree, I think, that we have made mistakes -- but that they have not been vain mistakes. We have tried to learn from everything we have done, and because of our trials and errors, we (or our successors) can proceed more effectively from now on in "Starvation Flats". Others, who may wish to proceed along essentially similar lines in other "shoestring communities", may also profit from our experiences.

We would agree too, I think, that the Rural Development Association, and all the permutations it has gone through, have rested upon the assumption that the residents of "shoestring communities""are not basically different from everyone else. We have rejected the view of latter-day Malthusians that these people have "found their proper level"; that they are society's flotsam and jetsam; that they are inherently different from "the rest of us"; that they prefer to lead disorganized lives; that they don't want to change, and lack the ability to change even if they wanted to.

All our efforts have rested upon the faith that there was valuable human material latent here--wasted, lost to society, waiting to be liberated. In the modest beginnings we have made in one timy corner of disinherited humanity, we feel that our faith has been justified. We have made wonderful friends. We have found fine minds and personal qualities unsuspected

by an insensitive society. We have caught glimpses of what it means when people are liberated from bonds of isolation, inarticulateness, self-doubt. These glimpses buoy us up. Somehow, in one form or another, the Clover Community Program will go on.

Finally, we are agreed, I think, in this: we are even more convinced now than before that human development, of the general type sketched in these pages, is the only solution to the problem of migratory farm labor which makes good sense both morally and pragmatically. Nothing less can answer the question, "Stabilization for <u>what</u>?" Nothing less can fulfill the promise of yesterday's geographical and sociological migrants, who tomorrow shall be migrant no more.