

Skilled Immigrants Are Called a Bonanza for the U.S.

By Steve Wilson
Associated Press

NEW YORK—Ben Aleto is an easy-going 31-year-old doctor, who is in charge of the intensive care unit at New York's Downstate Medical Center. His wife, Lou, works as a laboratory technician at a neighborhood medical clinic in a Brooklyn slum.

Young, scientifically trained and hard working, both are emigrants from the Philippines. They are typical of thousands swarming to the United States because of a change in 1965 in the immigration law, which has opened the country to many Asians and Southern Europeans.

More than 370,000 immigrants came to the United States in fiscal 1971, the last year for which figures are available, according to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

This is more than twice the average immigration between 1924, when the first quota system went into effect, and the mid-1960s.

The new immigrants are a bonanza for this country, says Maurice F. Kiley, deputy district director of the Immigration Service in New York City. He says the new immigration law gives priority to skilled, professionally trained persons and those who already have family members in this country.

"We are uniting families, which is a good thing, and we are getting some highly skilled and industrious people that cannot help but be of benefit to the nation," says Kiley.

The newcomers include many more Asians and Southern and Southeastern Europeans than were permitted into the country in the past. But the new law has, for the first time, put

numerical limits on immigration from Canada, the Caribbean and Central and South America.

For instance, 103,461 Asians immigrated to the United States in fiscal 1971 compared to 20,683 in 1965. Immigration to the United States from Southern and Southeastern Europe jumped from 40,106 to 70,444 between 1965 and 1971.

Figures for Canada show a drop from 38,321 to 13,128

between 1965 and 1971. Emigrants from Central and South America fell from 43,349 to 29,526 during the same period. But emigration from the West Indies jumped from 37,583 to 68,176, due mainly to an influx of nurses, professional people and their relatives, the Immigration Service reports.

The bias in favor of Northern European immigrants was abolished in the

1965 law, which set an annual limit of 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere, with 20,000 permitted from any one country.

It set a limit of 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere, but no restriction on any one country's total.

Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens and resident aliens are allowed to enter outside the numerical limitations.

One result of the immigra-

tion boom "will be to keep the ethnic communities alive in the big cities," says Prof. Humbert S. Nelli of the University of Kentucky, an expert on U.S. immigration. He was a visiting professor part of this year at New York's Columbia University.

In the past most immigrants were young single men. But the present immigration includes nearly an equal number of women,

and many immigrants are either coming with their families or joining family members already in the United States, Nelli says.

More Consumers

To a greater degree than in the past, these new immigrants are "consumers instead of producers," according to the professor. "It's going to mean something to the country, but we don't know what."

A profile of these new

Americans by the Immigration Service shows:

- Thirty-two per cent are professional, technical or kindred workers and 61 per cent of the Asians are technically or professionally qualified.

- One-quarter of the immigrants plan to live in New York State and 19 per cent, mostly Mexicans and Asians, in California.

- More than two-thirds of the immigrants are under 30.



TRUCK LOAD

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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1972

The New York Times

Shifting Patterns of Immigration Add New Flavor to the City's Melting Pot

By JOHN L. HESS

In subtle and in startling ways, the flavor of New York is changing.

Japanese spitted meats at the San Gennaro festival in Little Italy . . . the soft accents of Afro-French and Afro-British on the subways . . . lamb turning on vertical barbecues in Times Square snack bars . . . graffiti blazon-snack bars . . . graffiti blazoning names like Toni and Michele . . . an uproar of Spanish as well as Italian on the bocci courts on Houston Street . . . a proliferation of Latin-Chinese chop suey-and-cocino joints and of more or less authentic Mandarin and Cantonese restaurants . . .

As ever, New York is a prism that refracts the shifting pattern of American immigration, now being transformed by the reform act of 1965. Until then, a national quota system heavily favored the British Isles and the countries of Northern Europe — where the pressure to emigrate was lowest.

Many From Latin America

Today, the inflow more closely responds to the pressures of the world's population and poverty. The main tide of immigration comes from the Mediterranean, Asia and, above all, Latin America.

A survey of the statistics and a tour of some of the new foreign communities lay to rest some popular misconceptions, however. For ex-

larger than the census estimates but somewhat below the estimates of community leaders.

At any rate, the Greek community growing in Astoria and Woodside, Queens, and in Chelsea, Manhattan, is visibly greater than the census figure.

Queens political leaders on a ceremonial pilgrimage to Israel recently added Athens to their itinerary.

In the annual registration of aliens last January, however, only 23,470 Greeks signed up in southern New York State. A total of 17,320 Haitians registered; the City Planning Commission estimates that 200,000 Haitians reside in the five boroughs alone, and community leaders claim 250,000.

Illegal Entries

With waiting time for legal visas running to 18 months, impatient foreigners arrive as tourists and stay on. Many Haitians buy forged visas or take an "underground rail-minicans go as tourists to Puerto Rico, where they shed their nationality; South Europeans enter marriages of convenience with American citizens, and many Greek and Chinese seamen jump ship.

But inquiry tended to refute another widely held notion: that immigrants are lured by New York City welfare.

Speaking of the illegals, Sol Marks, the district director of the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Service, said in an interview:

"Contrary to some public impressions, the people we encounter are generally gainfully employed, their employers speak highly of them, and they're not of the criminal class. Most of them are law-abiding, hardworking people who have been drawn here by economic conditions in their countries."

Welfare Aid Spurned

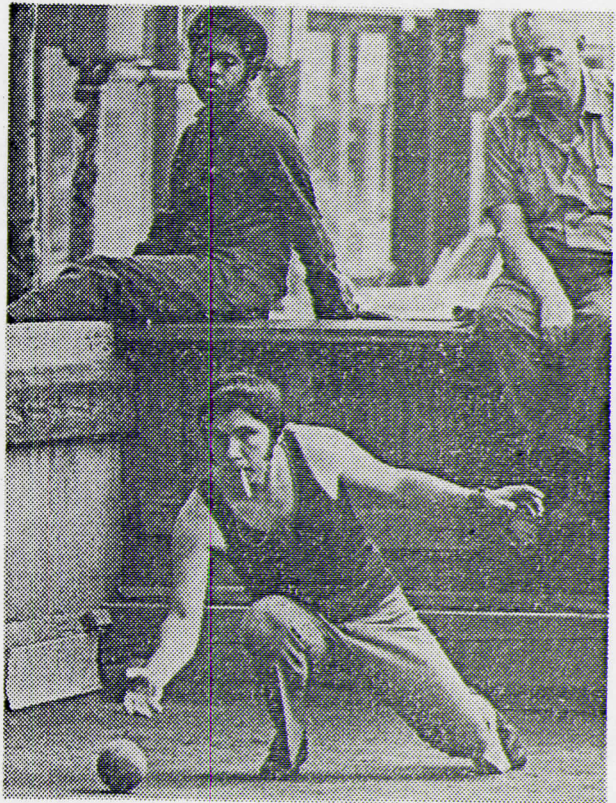
Leaders of several communities volunteered that their people were excessively reluctant to seek relief or unemployment benefits. They said that this reluctance was not only from fear, in the case of the illegal immigrants, but also from pride.

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"Very few of our people are on welfare," said Frantz Derenoncourt, who recently quit a city job as Haitian job training coordinator to resume his medical studies. "They feel it's degrading."

Of all the immigrant groups, the Haitians are perhaps the



Clockwise from top: Street in Little Italy; a Dominican man playing bocci; a man playing bocci; a man playing bocci. However, the law here, the

most handicapped: nearly all are Negro or mulatto, a majority are illiterate and unskilled, and many are here illegally. Even the educated have a language problem, for they speak French, and Mr. Derenoncourt said they seem to have even more trouble learning English than do their illiterate countrymen, who speak only Creole, which is a patois of African, French and Spanish.

Few Find Jobs

Much of Haiti's educated youth emigrates, but except for a few physicians few find professional jobs here.

"I'd estimate unemployment at close to 40 per cent," Mr. Derenoncourt said. "But in Haiti, it's 80 per cent. To get a job here, you have to show that green [alien registration] card. So in Brooklyn, the largest number of our young men are driving gypsy cabs, and the young women are domestics. You have one member of the family working, and the rest looking for work."

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Perhaps the most dramatic effect of the 1965 act has been the mushrooming of the city's Asian communities. The trend actually had begun earlier; the census showed 27,909 residents "other than

black and white" in 1950, then 53,391 in 1960 and 177,906 in 1970.

The explosion is most visible in the spread of Chinatown north through Little Italy. The Italians, still the most numerous segment of New York's "foreign stock" and still arriving from the old country in large numbers, have in the main quit this old neighborhood and Red Hook (now Puerto Rican) for the outer reaches of Brooklyn, Queens and the suburbs.

But old traditions and old ties remain. As a result, Little Italy and Chinatown coexist in a curious harmony. The stroller may see an Italian religious procession on Mott Street, with nearly all the onlookers Chinese, or glimpse Italian barbers shearing Asian locks. In one store, Italians are playing cards; next door, Chinese are playing mah-jongg.

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Museum to Open

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The displays will touch on the early Indians, the English at Jamestown, the Spanish settlers in Florida and in the Southwest and the 34 million immigrants who came to America in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

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Historically speaking, the tide of immigration is hardly more than a trickle. In the decade that followed 1900, when the population of the United States was 76 million, a total of 8.8 million immigrants arrived. In the decade that followed 1960, when the population was 179 million, immigration totaled 3.3 million.

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Reproduced at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum

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The 1972
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Health
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reform
Blaring
"fatigue"

Amusements
Auchincloss
selection
City Opera
weekend

PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Orgs funded not as
orgs - but for carrying
out federally approved
projects.

OE in HEW would
issue regulations &
fund projects.

Adm partition: "no objection".

Charles Cooke

April 14, 1972

Christopher Cross

13-34158

F

To the surprise of many, including me, the House and Senate conferees on the ~~Higher Education bill~~ tentatively agreed April 13, to include the Senate version of the Ethnic Studies bill in the final version of S. 659. Two changes were accepted:

1. Programs and projects rather than centers will be supported. *Adm position: no objection*
2. The FY '73 authorization was lowered to \$15 m. from \$20 m.

Since the decision is tentative and deliberations of the conference are confidential we should not spread any information on this until the report is filed on all of S. 659, probably in early May.

bcc: Jim O'Toole
✓ Len Garment (W.H.)
Naomi Sweeney
Emerson Elliot
Stephen Kurzman
Sidney Marland
Secretary Richardson
Julia Vadala

Sec. (4/10/72)

NEWS

SENATOR Richard S. Schweiker

PENNSYLVANIA

ON RECEIPT

SCHWEIKER ETHNIC STUDIES

Contact: David H. Fiske
Senate Office Building
(202)-225-4254

BILL PASSES CONGRESS

RELEASE _____

WASHINGTON - June 8 - The Schweiker "Ethnic Heritage Studies Programs Act" passed Congress today United States Senator Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.) announced.

Final Congressional approval came as the House of Representatives voted in favor of the Conference Report on S. 659, the Higher Education Amendments of 1971, which included Schweiker's ethnic studies bill. The Senate approved the Conference Report on May 24.

Originally introduced by Schweiker as S. 23 in January 1971, the new Ethnic Heritage Studies Programs Act authorizes the Commissioner of Education to make grants for programs, development of curriculum materials and dissemination of information and materials, relating to the history, cultures and traditions of the various ethnic and minority groups in our country.

Schweiker said, "The bill has been drafted to encourage the maximum coordination, cooperation, and participation in these programs of various ethnic and minority groups. It has been designed as a pilot program. One of the measures of its success will be how well various ethnic and minority groups work together in getting this program started," he said.

Schweiker said, "By passing this ethnic studies legislation today, the Congress is for the first time providing official national recognition to ethnicity as a positive, constructive force in our society today. The 'melting pot' theory of assimilation in our society is no longer working, and too many people in modern society have lost the important values of community, identity, traditions, and family solidarity," he said.

"The ethnic studies programs Congress has authorized today will be an important beginning to help encourage ethnic pride and ethnic identity. At the same time, the ethnic studies programs will emphasize comparative studies of ethnic and minority heritages so all persons can better understand each other. Hopefully, the resulting ethnic identity and mutual understanding can lead to greater communication and cooperation in all our communities," Schweiker said.

3-1-72



Joseph Alsop

The Wasps' Decline

PITY THE poor Wasps! Dr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan told us long ago that occupational status determined the standing of individuals and groups in American society. And both those famous white Anglo-Saxon Protestants and their white Roman Catholic cousins now have a surprisingly low relative standing.

The figures come from another of the papers by the University of California professor, Dr. Arthur Jensen, designed to prove his controversial thesis that different racial groups inherit different quotas of intelligence, on average. The relevant table concerns American racial groups' proportional "contribution" to American professions.

If the Jensen figures are correct, Chinese-Americans stand more than three times higher than Wasp and Catholic white Americans. Jewish-Americans stand over two and a half times higher. Japanese-Americans stand close to twice as high. And all non-Jewish white Americans, combined, have a standing surprisingly little better than American Indians!

THE WAY this startling ranking was arrived at needs to be explained. The statisticians first sorted out the numbers of each racial group in each of twelve top professions, ranging from accounts and architects down through the alphabet to engineers and natural scientists, and ending with physicians, nurses and technicians—whatever the last word may mean.

But the racial groups differ greatly in size. There are only about 6.5 million Jewish-Americans, for instance, and Chinese-Americans actually number only about 300,000. Proportional allowances were made for these group differences, therefore. This gave each racial group an index of its proportional "contribution" to each profession in relation to its size.

Some of the index figures are exceptionally interesting. For example, a Chinese-American is five times as likely to become a college professor as the average of white Americans, including Jewish-Americans. And a Chinese-American, again, is well above four times as likely to become a natural scientist.

The Jensen figures needed to be refined a bit further, however. Jewish-Americans have a much higher occupational standing, yet were lumped in with the rest of the white Americans. Again, Chinese and Japanese, with a frequent language handicap and few religious proclivities, almost never become lawyers or clergymen. And instead of entering the nursing profession, Chinese women habitually aim to get full medical degrees.

WITH THE necessary adjustments made, the rounded average indices for over-all occupational status, by racial group, were as follows: Chinese-Americans, 323; Jewish-Americans, 282; Japanese-Americans, 170; and all other white Americans, 100.7. The American Indians, it should be added, had an average index of 76, and the black Americans were tragically lower still.

The foregoing figures teach another lesson, besides warning the complacent Wasps to try a lot harder if they wish to stay where they were. The lesson, really, is for American sociologists and social thinkers.

Only 27 years ago, please remember, Japanese-Americans were just being released from the shameful wartime prison camps. At that time, it was also illegal for Chinese-Americans to own land on the West Coast and to bring wives of their own race to this country.

In addition, the great mass of Chinese-Americans were then rigidly excluded from all but five or six of the less attractive occupations, like laundry work and restaurant work. The old American saying, "He hasn't a Chinaman's chance," had solid meaning and a cruel bite in those days.

PLEASE REMEMBER, too, that different skin color also make Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans natural targets for prejudice, if there is prejudice. Thus the foregoing list adds up to the suggested lesson for sociologists and social thinkers.

How, in fact, have these two groups of different skin color, once the targets of bitter prejudice and the victims of extreme exclusion, surged up in about a quar-

ter-century from the lowest depths to the sunniest heights of American society? It is now urgent to answer that question, if American sociologists have the smallest interest in how American society actually works.

There will be a lot of components in the answer, such as the exceptionally strong and supportive family system shared by Chinese- and Japanese-Americans. Meanwhile, it is also nice to know that prejudice can be defeated. And if that is true—and if our society can also give black Americans the tools to compete, above all by decent schooling—prejudice can be defeated in their case, too.

Los Angeles Times



Ro
Is It

BEFORE PRESIDENT Nixon returned from China, one highly skilled foreign ambassador here cabled his capital this interpretation of U.S. concessions in Peking: The American presence on Taiwan (Formosa) will continue until the Vietnam war is settled.

In the absence of hard information on what was said at the summit, that interpretation is widely held here. But it implicitly carries with it the need for China to intervene in Hanoi for a Vietnam compromise settlement—no easy task considering the militancy of the North Vietnamese government.

Yet, in the view of experts here, nothing other than a secret Peking pledge to settle Vietnam could reverse Mr. Nixon's concession having gone there by hand. "If it's not Taiwan," one such told us, "Mr. Nixon's deal that can only be described as brutal."

The Taiwan-fact interpretation stems partly from the extreme caution in interpreting automatic American policy. Chiang Kai-shek, an ally, is not a friend. To the Chinese, the mainland is a nationalistic state.

Letter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1972

NOTE FOR THE FILES:

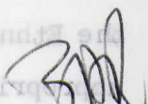
I spoke to Baroni today at LG's suggestion. We agreed that of course S 659 was a big complicated bill, beset with a lot of problems least of which was the Ethnic Studies section. We should wait until it gets passed and then see what the Administration might want to say about the Ethnic Studies part. As to appropriations level, that would

THE WHITE HOUSE

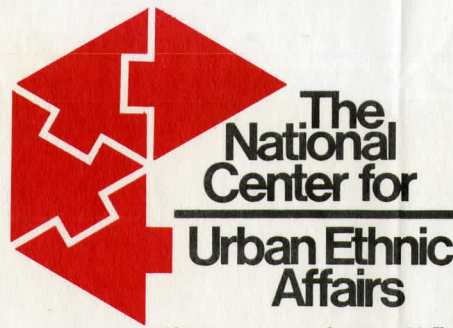
WASHINGTON

have to wait, at first, until the bill becomes law. Then, obviously, OMB will want to question any HEW appropriations request with queries as to how the money will be spent and for what --rather than any of us agreeing ahead of time on any given arbitrary level. I suggested he get some data together on this:

We agreed we would both watch the progress of S 659 and be back in touch when that was clear.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'ZM' or similar, located at the bottom right of the page.

Msgr. Geno Baroni, Director



702 Lawrence Street, N.E.

An Independent, Non-profit Organization
affiliated with
The United States Catholic Conference

• Washington, D.C. 20017
Area Code 202/832-1100

May 8, 1972

Mr. Leonard Garment
Executive Office Building
Room 188½
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Len:

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity of meeting with you last Thursday. By way of background, I would like to make the following suggestions concerning the Ethnic Cultural Studies Bill:

- (1) that we have at sometime and somewhere clear announcement of the administration's support for the Ethnic Cultural Studies Bill;
- (2) that we need strategy for requesting full appropriation for \$15 million including support from the Office of Education and the Office of Management and Budget as well as supporting Congressional appropriation for the full budget.

Whatever you can do in this matter will be very much appreciated. I look forward to meeting with Dr. Berman and also with Dr. Jaffee.

Best wishes and personal regards for your assistance and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Msgr. Geno Baroni

Enclosures

Full Funding Demanded For Ethnic Heritage Bill

By Louis A. Panarale
(NC News Service)

Representatives of the nation's ethnic and minority groups confronted the federal bureaucracy here last week and gave notice they would oppose any watering-down of a \$15 million Ethnic Heritage Bill.

After expressing mixed emotions over their meeting with Health, Education and Welfare Department officials, the ethnics passed a resolution demanding that full funding be given to the ethnic bill upon its final passage.

The friendly but sometimes heated meeting with government officials came on the first day of the National Conference on Ethnic Studies here.

Mixed Group

The conference began optimistically enough at a luncheon in the Capitol. But the talk was ethnic, centering around the proposed bill of Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, (R-Pa.) an ethnic studies program which would bring together ethnic and minority groups in mixed group activities and study projects.

"These are crucial steps, toward the actual realization of a harmonious society with equal opportunities for all citizens that represents the American dream," Rep. Schweiker said.

He sees his bill as a significant step in breaking down community and national prejudices, especially in the inner cities between ethnics, blacks and browns.

"The 'melting pot' theory is dead," Rep. Schweiker said, "and we must recognize individuals and groups for the positive contributions each can make to the American mosaic."

He said his legislation hopefully would help lead to better cooperation among ethnic and minority groups in every community in the nation.

Senate Version

Rep. Schweiker's ethnic bill is contained in the Senate version of the Higher Education Amendments of 1971. The Schweiker bill authorizes HEW's Commissioner of Education to make grants for programs and materials outlined in the bill.

But the rhetoric died down at the end of the luncheon when the conference members walked to the HEW building for their meeting with Education Commissioner Sydney P. Marland.

Mr. Marland's office previously had opposed the Schweiker bill, and generally was opposed to the programs it involved. Hopes were raised among the ethnics at the meeting when Mr. Marland

voiced "no opposition" to the program.

But when pressed to declare if this meant he would support the project by having his office design ethnic study grants that would fit the bill, Mr. Marland was less optimistic. "I am saying that we (Office of Education) are withdrawing opposition. We will probably support some money in this program. But this means trade-offs," he said, referring to opposition he expected from Congress.

Mr. Marland said that the proposed \$10 million minimum that the ethnics are demanding may prove to be unrealistic. He said he has been frustrated too many times in seeing cuts in his proposed budgets to take a more optimistic view, and added that he might ask for as little as \$2 million if that was needed to start the ethnic program. The \$10 million minimum would then become a top figure.

Bureaucratic Move

Mr. Marland's position was not taken well by some of the ethnic representatives, who bitterly termed it as a bureaucratic move to let the bill die in Congress for this session.

Msgr. Geno Baroni, director of the National Center of Urban Ethnic Affairs here, told the ethnics that they "should not settle for peanuts."

"We were getting the bureaucratic pitch," Msgr. Baroni said later in an ethnic conference dinner speech. "If you don't get the money this year, then you can forget about it for another five or six years."



HERITAGE AWARD: Msgr. Geno Baroni, director of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, will be presented the 1972 American Heritage Award of the John F. Kennedy Library for Minorities tomorrow, in New York City. He will receive the award in recognition of his community service and his leading role in directing attention to the special needs of the nation's ethnic working class and racial minorities.

PRESERVATION COPY

MacLeish Mourns Lost Values

By ALDEN WHITMAN

Special to The New York Times

CONWAY, Mass., May 6—American poetry has lost, or at least temporarily mislaid, its historic preoccupation with America as a people and as a land of unfolding democratic vistas, Archibald MacLeish remarked this week as he prepared to celebrate his 80th birthday here tomorrow.

Musing about what he considers the wayward trend of poetry and letters in this country, the poet, playwright and diplomat remarked that truly great and enduring American poetry dealt with "what I could call the American Thing, the American Idea, the American Proposition—the peculiar attitude of the American people by and large toward themselves, which is based on being respectful of the humanity in yourself and therefore of the humanity in all men."

The Republic, he went on, "is no longer a visible force in the lives of most of us, as it was to our ancestors" in the 19th century.

'A Sense of Living'

"I mean the Republic as a sense of living in a community that has a common bond, that is essentially human in character and quality," he explained. "We rarely even say we live in the United States; we live in New York, or Boston, or Chicago. We don't live together as a people with a common vision of ourselves and our destiny."

Writers and poets don't seem to feel the decline of the concept of the Republic strongly, Mr. MacLeish said: "It rides me; I can't seem to get away from it." Lincoln expressed the concept well, he added, when he said that there was some-

thing in the Declaration of Independence that promised that in due time the chains should be lifted from the shoulders of all men.

"That was a commitment of the Declaration to human liberty, to a democratic society, and it is this commitment that our poetry has lost," Mr. MacLeish said.

"Love of the Union, love for the democratic ideal—I think poetry has to get back to these things, to its American roots," Mr. MacLeish said after conceding that his own view of America was "the old populist" one, best expressed in "America Was Promises" and "Frescoes" for Mr. Rockefeller's City."

Negativism and fragmentation have overcome American letters since World War II, he believes. "Poetry is the kind of art that cannot stand upon a series of negatives," he said, continuing:

"You cannot take the position underlying 'Waiting for Godot'—that is, there is no God. He doesn't come any way, you can't even hang yourself because there isn't any tree high enough, and if there were a tree you haven't got a rope. In other words, you are completely contemptible, life is a great joke, a great fraud. You can't found the art of poetry on that, because the art of poetry is learning to see.

"If you commit yourself to the art of poetry, you commit yourself to the task of learning how to see, using words as elements of sight and their sounds as prisms. And to see means to see something worth all the agony of learning how to see.

"What frightens me about the poetry that I see nowadays is that so much of it is bitterly

and brutally and agonizingly hostile and destructive. But search it in vain for the discovery of any reason for the attack! Why attack unless you're defending something worthwhile?

"Poets should lift up their eyes. For example, the princely domain of poetry used to be love. But you find in today's so-called love poetry a total rejection of love, which has been replaced by sex, as if man has become sort of an ambulatory penis. Poetry, even political poetry, should be infused with love, love for the Republic, love for liberty and the human spirit."

Cites Walt Whitman

Exemplars of this view of the poetic function are, in Mr. MacLeish's view, Walt Whitman and Carl Sandburg, while its prose practitioners are Ralph Waldo Emerson, Herman Melville and Mark Twain.

Ruddy of face and firm of handclasp, Mr. MacLeish looks to his 81st year as part of the "necessary process of living a life." "The important thing is to live a life out to its conclusion since, although life seems to be going around like a merry-go-round, everything changes as you go around," he said. "The completely familiar world an old man finds himself looking at isn't really familiar at all. It has a different light from a different direction, there are different relations of light and dark."

For himself, Mr. MacLeish is occupied now with reading proofs on "The Human Season," a selection of his poems since 1926 that will be published this fall, and with preparing a selection of his prose. "At 80," he said, "you have to begin to look ahead."

CAMPAIGN '72: THE RISING VOICE OF ETHNIC VOTERS

Ethnic voters—working-class Americans whose spokesmen say they have been ignored too long by the politicians—have mobilized into political action groups in 1972. Their organizers predict the “ethnic power” movement will reach the proportions of other crusades of the past decade by blacks, women and youth.

There are roughly 50 million first- through fourth-generation ethnic Americans, concentrated in 50 north-eastern and midwestern cities and in rural areas of the Southwest. Their list of grievances is long and is aimed primarily at government, the media and big business. (*Ethnic definitions, box this page; statistics, next page*)

“America is not a melting pot,” said Barbara Mikulski, a Baltimore councilwoman active in the city’s Polish wards. “It is a sizzling cauldron for the ethnic American who is overtaxed and underserved at every level of government.”

Political organizer Saul Alinsky spoke of the frustrations of what he termed the lower-lower middle class in the March *Playboy* magazine: “They’re oppressed by taxation and inflation, poisoned by pollution, terrorized by urban crime, frightened by the new youth culture, baffled by the computerized world around them. They’re losing their kids and they’re losing their dreams. They’re alienated, depersonalized, without any feeling of participation in the political process, and they feel rejected and hopeless—frozen and festering in apathy. But they’re still up for grabs—and we’re gonna grab ‘em.”

Ethnics also are sensitive about media characterization of them as “hard hats,” “blue collars” and members of the “silent majority.” Their concerns are no different from the hopes and fears of other members of the middle class, and their prejudices are felt in varying degrees by all Americans, they argue.

“The mixed ethnic working class feels trapped between blacks on one side and middle-class suburbia on the other,” said Monsignor Geno C. Baroni, son of a Pennsylvania coal miner. Baroni, who heads the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs in Washington, D.C., said, “A lot of votes are up for grabs in 1972. Who gets them depends on whoever is going to respond, whoever doesn’t take them for granted, whoever is fair with them.”

Reference. *Editorial Research Report of Jan. 20, 1971, “Ethnic America” (1971 Vol. 1, p. 45)*

Revival of Ethnicity

Richard Scammon, director of the Elections Research Center, Washington, believes ethnics should properly be termed the “working class,” because the latter term encompasses broader interests and concerns than does the former. “There are signs everywhere that purely ethnic or nationalistic considerations are things of the past,” he said. “The foreign-language press is dying, the Italian or Polish church parishes are gone and the political issues of the old country have become tertiary.”

‘Ethnic’: Slippery to Define

An “ethnic” is one who belongs to or derives from the cultural, racial, religious or linguistic traditions of a people or country, according to the unabridged Random House dictionary. An “ethnic group” is comprised of people of the same race or nationality who share a common and distinctive culture. The same dictionary defines “race” as a group of persons related by common descent, blood or heredity.

The Census Bureau defines “foreign stock” as (1) persons born outside the United States and (2) persons born in the United States, one or both of whose parents were foreign-born. (Children born abroad of American-born parents are not included.)

In political usage, the “ethnic vote” is a somewhat confusing term. It generally refers to predominantly Catholic white ethnics of European background. White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPS) are generally not considered ethnics, nor are the Irish. Similarly, Jews are not considered ethnics; they are classed as members of a multinational cultural and religious group.

Negroes generally are not considered ethnic voters, although Spanish-speaking Americans and Americans of Scandinavian and French-Canadian descent constitute separate ethnic groups.

Baroni said he thinks “working class” is a narrow and discriminatory term. “Ethnic is an attitude more than anything else,” he said. “There are many ethnics who would never consciously identify with a nationality group, but unconsciously they are totally ethnic in their goals and values—thrift, love of country, respect for hard work and the law.”

The new groups are working to heighten ethnic awareness, believing it to be a healthy goal but realizing that it could lead to greater provincialism and polarization. Baroni said he thinks that increased ethnic appreciation can promote interracial understanding. He added that when people study their roots—as blacks have begun to do—they find it easier to deal with others on a basis of mutual respect. The cultures that the ethnics come from contain values, such as respect for craftsmanship, that he said can contribute to the development of a new American culture being sought by the nation’s youth.

Ethnic organizations are hopeful that a proposed \$10-million ethnic heritage studies program will survive a Senate-House conference on the Higher Education Act. The program, added by Republican Sen. Richard S. Schweiker of Pennsylvania, was deleted by the House Nov. 4, 1971. (*1971 Weekly Report p. 2311*)

Ethnics vs. Blacks

One element in the rise of ethnic influence is its occasional hostility toward blacks. Some ethnics complain that blacks have encroached upon such areas as neighborhood schools, colleges, jobs in civil service and skilled trades and the Democratic Party. In addition, ethnics have been sensitive about black crime and violence in the cities and what they think of as black demands for special privileges.

Mikulski said that she disagrees with such complaints of ethnic racism and that they have been put forth by persons who do not understand the reasons behind such ethnic attitudes. "The ethnic American is sick of being stereotyped as a racist and dullard by phony white liberals, pseudo black militants and patronizing bureaucrats," she said. "He pays the bill for every major government program and gets nothing or little in the way of return. Tricked by the political rhetoric of the illusory funding for black-oriented social programs, he turns his anger to race—when he himself is the victim of class prejudice."

Leaders of the ethnic community organizations do not deny the existence of racism in their groups but simply note that it is no more extensive than among other whites and that the emphasis must be on eliminating the conditions that produce it. Ralph Perrotta, head of the New York Center for Ethnic Affairs, said ethnics "don't feel guilty criticizing blacks, because a middle-aged Italian or Pole or Puerto Rican has had to come up through many of the same difficulties that blacks have faced."

"Ethnic families want to protect the quality of their neighborhood schools, because they have a strong, ingrained sense of community. Liberals read into this an endemic racism and fail to see that such accusations just polarize blacks and ethnics. It is a very destructive thing," Perrotta said.

Organizing the Ethnics

Believing that even after four generations in the United States they still have little political representation, ethnics in major eastern cities have formed political action councils that are forcing local and national candidates to respond.

Among prominent established groups are the Southeast Community Organization (SECO) in Baltimore and the Calumet Community Congress in Gary, Ind., both comprised largely of Poles; the North Ward Cultural and Educational Center in Newark, N.J., made up of blacks, Italians and Slavs; the Black-Polish Conference in Detroit; a Black-Ethnics Coalition in Cleveland, and the Pan Slavic Alliance in Pittsburgh.

Such groups are far removed from the civic and fraternal social clubs that characterized ethnic groups in the past. Rather than clinging to the ways of the old countries, the new groups are using the tactics of the civil rights movement and are concentrating on issues of concern to all taxpayers and voters.

Chief Issues. Some ethnic political action organizations are working primarily on local matters—keeping freeways from running through neighborhoods, garbage removal, street-cleaning, sidewalk-building, sewer-digging. But there are national issues in 1972 that ethnic voters are watching. According to leaders of the organizations, ethnic support depends upon whether the candidate will:

- Promise more housing and favor opening up white suburbs to middle-income and low-income groups.
- Promise job security and new job opportunities.
- Allay fears that blacks will displace ethnics in jobs.
- Discuss the crime issue and not call ethnics bigots because they are afraid of crime.
- Prepare a tax-reform program that would allow tax shelters for the poor as well as the rich and would repeal tax laws that penalize lower tax brackets.

U.S. Racial Groups, Ethnic Origin and Sex, March 1971

RACIAL GROUP	Total	Male	Female	Percentage
White	177,626,000	86,420,000	91,206,000	87.6%
Negro	22,810,000	10,795,000	12,015,000	11.2
Others (American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, etc.)	2,412,000	1,205,000	1,207,000	1.2
Total	202,848,000	98,420,000	104,428,000	100.0
ETHNIC ORIGIN				
English, Scotch, Welsh	31,006,000	14,852,000	16,154,000	15.3
French	5,189,000	2,509,000	2,679,000	2.6
German	25,661,000	12,854,000	12,806,000	12.7
Irish	16,325,000	7,706,000	8,619,000	8.0
Italian	8,733,000	4,351,000	4,381,000	4.3
Polish	4,941,000	2,444,000	2,497,000	2.4
Russian	2,132,000	1,038,000	1,094,000	1.1
Spanish, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Latin American	8,956,000	4,419,000	4,539,000	4.4
Other, including Negro	84,689,000	40,655,000	44,035,000	41.7
Not reported	15,216,000	7,593,000	7,623,000	7.5

(SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau. Figures are based on a Census Bureau sampling taken in March 1971 and are not based on 1970 census returns. Individuals were asked what ethnic group they identified most closely with, and were asked to respond to a question asking their national origin or descent.)

Minority Group Voting for President, 1960-68

ESTIMATES BASED ON PRECINCT RETURNS

	1960		1964			1968		
	Kennedy	Nixon	Johnson	Goldwater	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace	Others
Spanish-Speaking*	85%	15%	90%	10%	87%	10%	2%	1%
Blacks	75	25	97	3	94	5	1	—
Jewish	82	18	90	10	83	15	2	—
Slavic	82	18	80	20	65	23	12	—
Irish	75	25	78	22	64	33	3	—
Italian	75	25	77	23	50	40	10	—

* Figure is based on Mexican-Americans only and does not include the vote from New York's Puerto Rican precincts.

SOURCE: Institute of American Research; NBC News

- Promise to work for quality education for all Americans without destroying neighborhood schools.

- Suggest better modes of inner-city transportation and cheaper medical facilities.

- Promise access to the government for assistance when it is needed.

The belief that attitudes toward U.S. foreign policy among ethnics are based on their national origins is difficult to document. Among older generations, the threat of communism or totalitarianism is thought to be real but diminishing. Certain aspects of U.S. foreign policy are often thought to be influenced by "hyphenated Americans." American policy in the Middle East is influenced in part by the activism of U.S. Jewish groups. But appeals by politicians with slogans such as "Free Lithuania" and "Ukrainian Independence" ring hollow. "That kind of talk is cheap," said New York's Perrotta.

National Party Organizations

Ethnic leaders see traditional voting patterns breaking up in 1972, with ethnics no longer responding automatically to certain candidates and parties. Both parties have established ethnic and nationality divisions.

Democrats. The Democratic National Committee's ethnic department director is Andrew Valuchek, of Czechoslovakian heritage, who said he does not foresee the ethnic vote's changing drastically and predicted it will remain largely in the Democratic Party in 1972.

The party's "All American Council," comprised of more than 20 different nationality groups, is headed by former New York City Mayor Robert Wagner. The ethnic division is assisting Democratic presidential candidates and members of Congress by providing material from more than 400 ethnic newspapers and assisting with background research when a candidate goes into a largely ethnic area.

Valuchek said the party is urging as many ethnics as possible to run as delegates to the 1972 convention. He added that there will be special ethnic registration drives and convention observances for nationalities. He admitted that some ethnics have drifted away from their traditional Democratic voting patterns, but he predicted a comeback.

"In 1960, there was the largest outpouring of ethnics for a Democratic candidate in the history of our country," said Valuchek. "In 1968, by comparison, there were defections, no question about it. But there were defections from the Republicans, too." He said George Wallace captured most of the straying ethnic voters. And in 1968, he said, "many of them did not vote."

Republicans. The director of the Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Division of the Republican National Committee is Laszlo C. Pasztor, a 50-year-old former participant in the 1956 Hungarian anti-Communist revolution. Pasztor's division is one of the best-financed areas in the committee's political operation and is working to combat what conservative columnist Kevin Phillips called the "GOP's ethnic myopia."

"During most of the '60s," Pasztor said, "the Democrats catered to the very rich and the very poor and largely ignored the hard-working guy in the middle. We're not going to leave them out in 1972." In 1971 alone, more than 1,000 Republican ethnic clubs in 20 states raised \$50,000 in dues.

Pasztor advises the White House on possible federal appointments that could be filled by ethnic Republicans. "The President has appointed about 400 ethnic persons to various jobs on government advisory boards and in such councils as the Small Business Administration," he said. These appointments have been well publicized in ethnic communities, and Pasztor said he believes they will attract Republican votes among ethnics.

Columnist Phillips, author of a book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, wrote that much of the Republican appeal to ethnics tended to be a hackneyed, anti-communist approach that had lost its vigor. "Anti-communism might have helped the party in 1952 when memories of Yalta were fresh," he wrote, adding that today the chief issues are social and economic.

The Ethnics and 1972

Political analysts disagree on the influence that ethnic voters will have in the 1972 presidential and congressional elections. In his book, *The Hyphenate in Politics and Diplomacy*, Louis L. Gerson wrote: "So long as the politician continues convinced of the ethnic vote, so

The 'Chicano Strategy': Boon for Republicans?

Spanish-speaking voters, a fragmented, disparate but potentially influential force in national elections, are a distinct ethnic group with unique characteristics.

They were among the earliest settlers in the United States and are bound together by the second most widely spoken language in the nation. The approximately 9 million Spanish-speaking Americans are comprised of Mexican-Americans, who sometimes call themselves Chicanos (56 percent), Puerto Ricans (16.2 percent), Cubans (7 percent), Central and South Americans (5.6 percent) and other Spanish, including the Hispanos of northern New Mexico (15.1 percent).

The term "Chicano" has been used in recent years by militants and young Americans of Mexican descent. It is not in widespread use by older Mexican-Americans, some of whom consider it pejorative.

The Spanish-speaking have a limited political influence for two reasons: age and social standing. The median age of Spanish-speaking Americans in 1971 was 20, compared with almost 28 years for all Americans. Nearly half the Spanish-speaking Americans are under 18. In addition, by most social and economic measurements, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans rank quite low, although they may be better off nationally than blacks.

Republicans. The Republican Party under President Nixon has made a concerted effort to attract Spanish-speaking voters, particularly Mexican-Americans. The reason can be seen in the large numbers of potential Chicano voters in key states such as Texas and California. There are more than 5 million Chicanos in California and Texas alone. In California, Spanish-speaking Americans number 3 million, 15 percent of that state's population. In Texas, Chicanos number 2.3 million, 20 percent of the population. A shift of 5 percent of the Chicano vote in California, where Nixon won in 1968, and 7 percent in Texas, where he lost, would have reversed the outcome in those two states.

The Republican "Chicano strategy" is attempting to capitalize on dissatisfaction among Spanish-speaking Americans about what they believe is a lack of progress

by the Democratic Party. "We're fed up with the promises we've been getting from the Democrats," said Texas State Rep. Paul C. Moreno, an El Paso Democrat. "The Democratic Party just hasn't delivered. I see a definite political revolt into the Republican Party unless something drastic comes around among Democrats."

The Nixon administration has several highly visible Mexican-American appointees. These include Philip V. Sanchez, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity; Romana A. Banuelos, U.S. treasurer, and Henry M. Ramirez, chairman of the Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People.

"Mexican-Americans are flocking to the Republican Party," said Sanchez. "The Democrats have completely taken the Mexican-American for granted. They come to the fiestas and woo us when it's election time, and then you never hear from them again."

Polla Baca Barragan, the Chicano specialist at the Democratic committee, said she believes prospects of a massive shift of Mexican-Americans to the Republican Party have been exaggerated, and she points to past heavily Democratic voting patterns among Chicanos. (Box preceding page)

Cohesion Problems. Rising militancy among Chicanos and Puerto Ricans would tend to make them stronger and more cohesive politically than they have been in the past. But they are separated by distance—most Chicanos live in the Southwest, Puerto Ricans tend to congregate in the Northeast and Cubans tend to remain in the coastal South. Political sophistication and voter registration among Spanish-speaking Americans have generally been latent rather than overt forces. Mark Levy and Michael Kramer, in their forthcoming book, *The Ethnic Factor*, write that Spanish-Americans "do not have real electoral power, and they are collectively one of the best-kept political secrets in the United States. Chicano and Puerto Rican electoral strength is potentially very large, but still largely potential."

long as he believes that it is not politically wise to disregard pressures from ethnic leaders, so long will the persistent belief in the voting power of nationality groups affect American political life and the ethnic leader.... Myth or not, it is the politician, the congressman, the senator, the President, who influences and at times executes foreign and domestic policies, often on the basis of his belief in the existence of an ethnic vote. In the continual catering to the ethnic vote by the political parties there is much that is primitive, irrational and increasingly foreboding."

But in a book to be published in May entitled *The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections*, Mark R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer contend that "hyphenated Americans do vote as ethnic blocs.... Past national affiliations speak eloquently at the polls and retain their complex interrelationships."

According to the new ethnic political activists, the core of the ethnic movement is the populist belief that if people are given the power to control their own affairs, they will, in the long run, make rational decisions for the common good.

To alleviate their feeling of powerlessness at the hands of urban planners, government bureaucrats and politicians, the ethnic activists say they hope to increase their participation in federal social programs, to train community leaders, to infuse old neighborhoods with young leadership.

"Politicians believe in the melting pot," said Monsignor Baroni, "until it becomes election time. Then they start dividing us up into segments again. There is a silent majority out there, but they aren't silent willingly. Give them a candidate who recognizes them as a growing and unified force, and he'll get the votes."

Pucinski } May 1, 1972
Schweiker }

Resolution of the National Coordinating Assembly on
Ethnic Heritage Studies

Washington, D.C. April 28-29, 1972

Whereas the Participants of the National Coordinating Assembly on Ethnic Studies, representing a broad spectrum of ethnic, cultural and minority groups of this nation, concerned with cultural and ethnic priorities for America have fully reviewed and thoroughly discussed the various aspects of the bill relating to the establishment and support of ethnic heritage studies, as originally introduced by Senator Richard S. Schweiker of Pennsylvania and Congressman Roman Pucinski of Illinois and now contained in the amendments to the Higher Education Act, (S.659) they have resolved:

1) to register our approval and strong support for the basic concept of federal support for ethnic heritage studies which will provide assistance designed to afford opportunities to learn about the nature of each person's own cultural heritage and to study the contributions of the cultural heritage of the ethnic groups to this nation.

2) As the representatives of various ethnic, cultural, minority, and academic groups, upon return to our communities, to actively work for the prompt passage of the above bill.

3) and, to demand that full funding be given to Title IX, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Bill, (S659) upon the final passage of this measure.

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Study Says Minorities Are Key to Election

By PETER KIHSS

A forthcoming study contends that the Presidential election can be swung by either Republicans or Democrats with strategies directed at black, Spanish-speaking Jewish, Italian and Slavic voters. These groups make up 30 to 33 per cent of the electorate, concentrated in major states.

Based on an analysis of nearly 2,000 precincts and more than 700 elections, the study is to be published May 23 as a Simon & Schuster book, "The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections."

The authors are Mark R. Levy, former National Broadcasting Company News manager of election analysis, and Michael S. Kramer, recent consultant for the Institute of American Research in Columbus, Ohio.

Their work cites notes turn-

outs decreasing among Northern blacks, Southwestern Mexican-Americans and New York City Puerto Ricans, all strongly Democratic. It finds Jews "forever liberal," Italians and Slavs no longer to be taken for granted by the Democrats and ethnicity now less important for the Irish.

An endorsement for the study come from Lawrence F. O'Brien, Democratic national chairman, who suggested that Democratic Presidential chances would be "greatly increased" by making use of its findings.

Six Pivotal States Seen

The authors assert that whether the Democrats can win this year is largely a question of ethnic balloting patterns in six states with 181 electoral votes, or two-thirds of the total — New York, California, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

New York has the largest ethnic electorate—44 per cent, not

counting the Irish. The study reports that the average Democratic vote by the state's blacks, Puerto Ricans and Jews in the last three Presidential elections was 84 per cent of the total vote of these groups.

But less than 35 per cent of eligible blacks in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section are registered, according to the study. New York City's Puerto Ricans in 1968 cast fewer than half the ballots that they did in 1960, it says.

President Nixon's 49 per cent plurality among New York State's Italians in 1968 made him the first Republican Presidential candidate to carry any of the six ethnic groups studied in any of the 50 states, according to the authors. Governor Rockefeller won re-election in 1970 with 65 per cent of the Italian vote, they add.

New Jersey's electorate is described as nearly 20 per cent ethnic, with Italians and Slavs

"trending significantly Republican."

In 1960, John F. Kennedy's Democratic Presidential candidacy won 69 per cent of New Jersey's Italian vote for a plurality of 125,000 in Italian precincts. He carried the state by only 22,000 votes.

The study reports that, in Mr. Nixon's Republican drives, his Italian vote increased from 31 per cent in 1960 to 40 per cent in 1968 when he won New Jersey.

The study shows the following nationwide percentages of ethnic votes for the Democratic Republican candidates in 1960 and 1964, with votes for the third party candidacy of Alabama Governor George C. Wallace in the 1968 race:

	1962		1968	
	D.	R.	D.	R.
Spanish-speaking	85	15	87	10
Black	75	25	94	5
Jewish	82	18	83	15
Slavic	82	18	65	23
Irish	75	25	64	33
Italian	75	25	50	40

SEPTEMBER 26, 1972

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Liberty Island, New Jersey)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT DEDICATION OF AMERICAN MUSEUM OF IMMIGRATION
LIBERTY ISLAND, NEW JERSEY

3:14 P.M. EDT

Secretary Morton, Governor Rockefeller, Governor Cahill, Congressman Peyser, all of the distinguished people who are here: I appreciate this opportunity to participate in the dedication of this museum.

In dedicating this museum, I wish particularly to pay tribute to all of those who have helped to make the country what it is.

(Crowd Chants of "Four More Years.")

Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, I would only suggest that on your television screens tonight, in addition to showing the six there, let's show the thousands that are over here.

Secretary Morton has referred to this memorial building which we have just dedicated. I simply want to say that as far as this memorial is concerned, that those who came to these shores, the shores of the United States of America, they have built their own memorial, because they built America, and we are proud of those who built America.

A few moments ago, as we got off the helicopter, four little girls were there in native costumes to greet us. One of my aides pointed out the helicopter window and said, "That one is Italian, and this one is Polish, and this one is Ukranian, and this one is German." Let me say that every one of us is proud of his national background, but I say that instead of referring to someone, "He is an Italian," "He is a German," "He is a Pole," "He is a Ukranian," let's say, first of all, "He or she is an American," because those who came to this shore, if you go through this museum, have contributed so much to America.

One thing they have contributed is something that we see in America more than in any other countries, and that is the diversity. My wife and I have had the privilege of visiting over 80 countries in the world -- Asia, Africa, Latin America -- but you don't have to go abroad, you don't have to cross the Atlantic or the Pacific, to see the world. All the world is right here in America. That is the greatness of America.

And so in America, whether it is in the field of music, whether it is in the field of art, whether it is in the field of architecture, in any area, we come from all the world, and we have built a nation which carries out that great saying that "The hallmark of freedom is diversity, and the diversity of America is what makes us an interesting country."

MORE

So while we are all Americans, let us always be proud of our background, whatever that is, because that makes America a greater country.

I could speak of many ways in which those who came to these shores have enriched America, but let me point out one way in particular: They believed in hard work. They didn't come here for a handout. They came here for an opportunity, and they built America.

There is one other thing that I have found about those who have come from other countries, or their children. I have found that when it comes to love of country, when it comes to patriotism, those who came to America from other lands are very first in their hearts as far as love of America is concerned.

One of the great privileges a President of the United States has is to participate in citizenship ceremonies and to greet and shake hands with people from all the continents of the world and all the nations of the world. And, my friends, and particularly you boys and girls who are down in front, let me just simply say to you that there is nothing that makes you appreciate this country more than to see somebody that has just become an American citizen with tears in his or her eyes because they are so proud to be an American.

On our part, therefore, as we dedicate this memorial, let us dedicate ourselves to a great proposition that brought people to these shores, and that is to make the American dream come true.

MORE

By the "American Dream" let us recognize that the American Dream cannot be realized fully until every American has a chance to realize it in his own life. Let's give that opportunity to every American, whatever his background.

Then finally, if I could bring you just one message from other countries around the world, on my recent visit to the Soviet Union we stopped at Warsaw on the way back to the United States. I remember thousands of Poles in the heart of Warsaw welcoming the President of the United States and his wife with these words, "Niech zyje America," which means "Long live America."

To all of our friends here today, let us pledge ourselves that we not only will work for better opportunity for all Americans, whatever their national backgrounds, but let us work for the chance that all Americans can see all the world freely and let us work for the chance that people who live in the countries from which we came, whether it is Poland or Italy or the Orient or wherever they may be, so that all of those people, and particularly the children of those lands, can grow up in a world of peace. That is what we want for all the world.

Finally, today, we thank you for welcoming us on this occasion. I urge all of you to spend the time that we did not have to see this museum and as you see it, you will realize that a very strong people came across those waters to America. Let's always be worthy of their strength, of their patriotism, of their love of America and of their love of peace.

Thank you.

END

(AT 3:23 P.M. EDT)

An Editorial Report

THE AMISTAD RESEARCH CENTER



AMISTAD AWARD RECIPIENTS — With speaker, C. Vann Woodward (second from left) are: Bayard Rustin, Kivie Kaplan, and Charles Wesley.

The 1972 Amistad Awards Luncheon was held on May 17 at the Royal Orleans Hotel in New Orleans. Sponsored jointly by the American Missionary Association (a division of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries with national offices in New York City) and the Amistad Research Center, the awards luncheon welcomed more than two hundred prominent persons from all parts of the nation.

The Amistad Awards, established in 1962 for the recognition of outstanding personal achievement in the field of human relations, were conferred on three distinguished Americans: Kivie Kaplan of Boston, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Bayard Rustin of New York City, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; and Charles H. Wesley of Washington, D.C., executive direc-

tor of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

In addition to the three major awards, the Amistad Medallion recognizing outstanding service to the American Missionary Association was given to Dr. Hollis F. Price, president emeritus of LeMoyne-Owen College in Memphis, Tennessee; and to Dr. Albert W. Dent, former president of Dillard University in New Orleans.

Mr. Mal Goode, United Nations correspondent for the American Broadcasting Company in New York City, served as the toastmaster for the luncheon; and Dr. C. Vann Woodward, Sterling Professor of History at Yale University, was the featured speaker.

A VITAL RESOURCE

The Amistad Research Center is located on the campus of Dillard University in New Orleans. It is an independent and privately supported historical research library. The Center collects and makes available to historians and other scholars primary source materials in the histories of all American minorities, with particular emphasis on the Negro, and in the broad areas of race relations and the history of related religious activities. The holdings of the Center presently number more than five million items. New collections are being acquired regularly and some collections now held are being supplemented on a continuing basis by their donors.

The holdings of the Amistad Research Center are open to all serious scholars. Its users include some of the leading historians in American colleges and universities, and graduate students from across the nation who use the archives for major research leading to doctoral dissertations.



THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR
ETHNIC AFFAIRS
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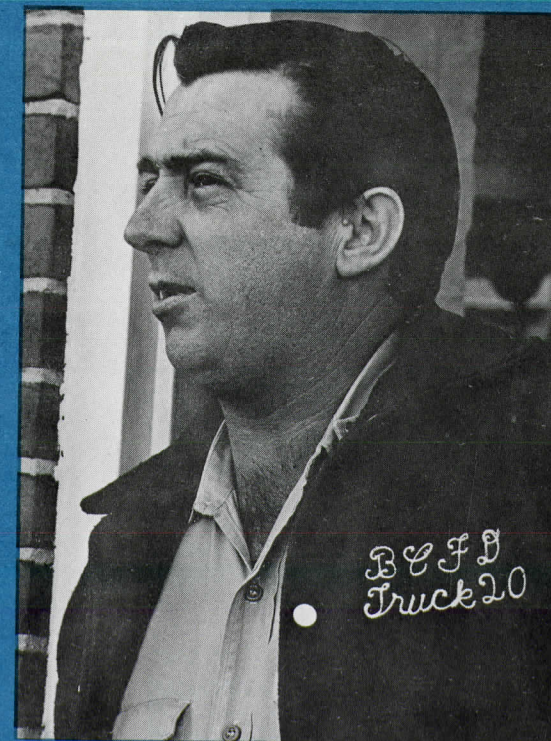


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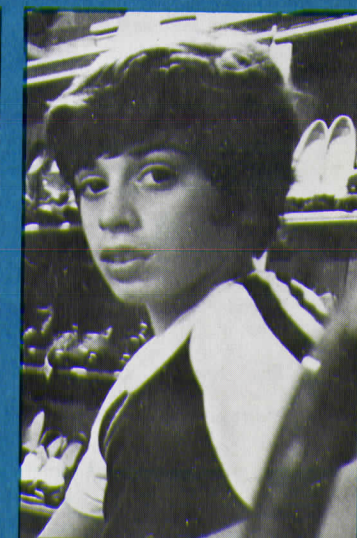
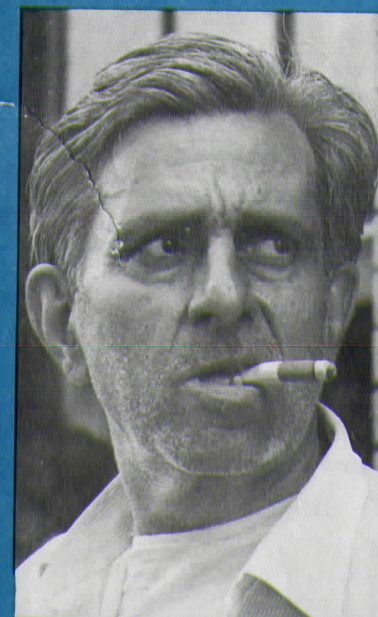
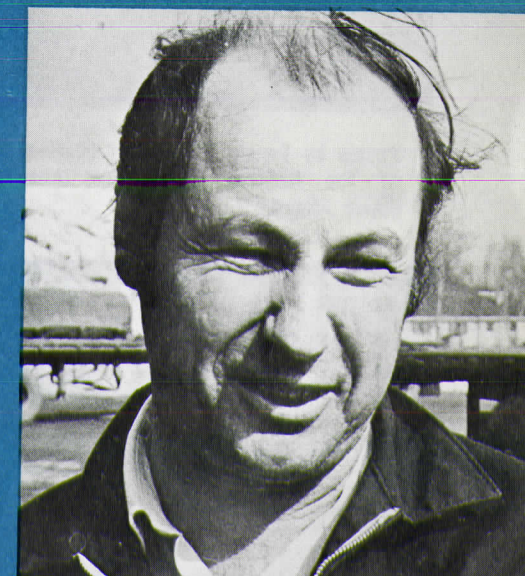


Summer 1972



*There never was a
melting pot;
there isn't and
there never will be!
If there ever were it would
be a tasteless soup.*

Bayard Rustin



THE JOURNAL
TODD HILL ROAD
LAKESIDE, CONN. 06758

ETHNICS '72

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The University of Connecticut

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COALITION!

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THE AMISTAD RESEARCH CENTER

An Editorial Report

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A recent exchange at a conference entitled "The Heritage and Identity of Ethnic Groups in New York" illustrates the resurgence of and mixed reactions to ethnic consciousness in American life. As reported in the April 13, 1972 edition of *The New York Times*, Alfred Kazin, the critic, and James T. Farrell, the novelist, both spoke favorably of the resurgence and argued that the ethnic identity of minorities had contributed more creative power to American life and literature than any dream of a melting pot.

Mr. Farrell stated, "The melting pot was essentially an Anglo-Saxon effort to rub out the past of others and turn Europe into a place where people didn't speak English. . . . Before Sherwood Anderson," he asserted, "who first celebrated the beauty of difference, everything was judged by the norm, and characters in literature did not 'talk different' from the genteel WASP tradition." Mr. Kazin stated, "Ethnicity as a something larger than self, making the self a bridge to the past, is very important." He continued, "It is still easy to play 'pathetic minority'—so much is still wrong with our relationships—but culturally the ethnic groups are now the richest and most interesting. If any group is to be pitied, it is perhaps the 'WASPs', who find their books reviewed in the back pages of *The New York Times Book Review*."

Some students, however, were not entirely persuaded by either Farrell or Kazin and aimed comments at both men which questioned the constructive strength of ethnicity "except for intellectuals." One student stated, "Ethnic pride and ideology rise and expand as concrete ethnic life declines. My friends and I sit around talking about Jewish consciousness in Chinese restaurants and pizzerias." Another felt that rather than ethnicity revealing "that bright mosaic of cultures, people crawl back into themselves as tight little islands of ethnicity." A third pointedly contended, "You fall back on your ethnic inheritance; you're going to become that Archie Bunker stereotype." To which Mr. Farrell retorted, "I don't fall back on my ethnic background. My background is the French Revolution." Obviously, the exchange did not succeed in solving the many differences of opinion among the participants. It did, however, help sharpen some of the issues.

This *Journal* issue is an attempt to continue that sharpening process. We assume that the resurgence of ethnic awareness will continue and intensify. This being the case, if this new awareness is to be a positive force on the American social scene, critical understanding and perspective is essential.

Msgr. Geno Baroni, in the lead article, contends that "understanding the ethnic factor may well be the key to understanding our Northern urban cities." If Msgr. Baroni is right, the implications for public policy in the 1970's are enormous.

William M. Newman reminds us of the powerful in-

fluence of the ethnic factor in our major social institutions, including religious institutions, political institutions, and our places of residence. He argues that, contrary to the arguments of many, ethnicity never really ceased to be an important aspect of the American social fabric, and that the events of the 1960's simply served to make it more visible.

Barbara Mikulski castigates liberals for scapegoating ethnics as racists and the government for attempting to fool ethnic workers into thinking that blacks are getting a good deal at their expense.

Developing this insight, Bayard Rustin, while affirming the beauty of ethnicity, warns that there are those "who will promote and encourage ethnic identification to relieve themselves of the responsibilities of advancing true social and economic reform." Mr. Rustin's concern is well-founded. Economic issues provide the most viable basis for social reform in the United States today. It is blue-collar ethnics, the blacks and the poor who stand to gain most from dramatic economic change. It would indeed be ironic if the new ethnic awareness, rather than enhancing the possibility of change, actually got in the way.

Although we have done very little about it, as a nation we have become increasingly aware in recent years that millions of American citizens live in destitute poverty. But we are not yet sufficiently aware that the typical blue-collar worker is not making it either. According to a recent article by Peter Passell and Leonard Ross in *The New York Times Magazine*, the take-home pay of the average working man, after taxes, is \$110.00 per week. That is not enough to feed a family, nor clothe it, let alone to provide adequate health care or decent housing or educational opportunity. And who is the typical blue-collar worker? In large Northern and Midwestern cities, at least, he is a second or third generation Southern or Eastern European, the newly self-conscious ethnic.

These economic facts of life provide a basis for a coalition of common interest among poor blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, and lower-middle-class white ethnics which could bring about major social and economic change in America. But this will happen only if the new ethnic consciousness is accompanied by a new class consciousness, one which recognizes clearly that a person is defined at least as much by his economic position as his ethnic background. If the poor and the blue-collar ethnic recognize this reality, a basis for unity across racial and ethnic lines and between the poor and the blue-collar worker can be established. If, on the other hand, this reality is ignored, the position of those who are interested in maintaining the *status quo* in American society will have been further strengthened. Those of us who are convinced that the new ethnic consciousness holds such great potential for the enrichment of the American experience cannot allow this to happen.

PHS



Photos by Donald T. Meeker, courtesy of The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

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THE UNMELTABLE AMERICAN

HE WILL BE HEARD



Msgr. Geno Baroni

The Catholic ethnic vote is up for grabs . . . and Nixon is out to get it!

Ethnic consciousness on the part of blacks caught America by surprise in the late 60's. In another sense, the upper-middle-class affluent youth, reacting against the "traditional American way of life," developed a counter-culture revolt which baffled traditional mainstream teachers, clergymen, parents, and college presidents.

Today it is "middle Americans," with their apparent sympathy for the appeal of Governor George Wallace, who have caught Northern liberals and politicians by surprise. *The Wall Street Journal* has been featuring what might be called Nixon's "ecumenical strategy" of making himself more appealing to Southern Protestants and Northern, heavily Catholic ethnics in this 1972 election year.

James P. Gannon, the *Journal's* White House correspondent, recently pointed out that Nixon's staff has been keeping a watchful eye on the sixteen states which have the heaviest electoral-vote totals. Eight of those states—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Texas and California—have been classified "top priority."

Gannon points out that those eight states are heavily ethnic in population. Normally this would mean large blocs of votes for the Democratic presidential candidate, but the Republicans are not willing to concede. In recent years we have happily watched black and brown and red ethnics become increasingly involved in the political process. This year, the Catholic ethnic vote is up for grabs, and Gannon says that Nixon is out to get it.

No less aware of white ethnic unrest is the Democratic Policy Council of the 1972 Democratic Platform Committee which received testimony on eleven areas of concern to ethnic Americans: education, employment, occupational health and safety, income, housing, taxes, medical care, elderly, the cities, ethnic representation, and foreign affairs. Ethnicity and public policy will be interrelated in the 70's. Public and private agencies devoted to the restoration of urban America have largely ignored heavily

ethnic working-class whites in designing programs to eliminate poverty, substandard housing, racial discord, declining schools, and physical decay. The problems of American society were defined during the 1960's almost entirely within the context of poverty and race. They were not conceptualized within the framework of the total society, thereby making it impossible to deal with such social issues as the distribution of resources, rights, and privileges among different groups.

The ethnic factor (black, brown, red, yellow and white) in America today is a quiet revolution of consciousness aimed at creating a new pluralism. It is sparked by an untenable economic situation and by indignation at having been alternately ignored and castigated by the establishment. It is a revolution of self-assertion that will utilize new techniques of community participation, community organization, community development, and legislative action to make power felt at the polls.

Aside from sociologists Moynihan and Glazer's book *Beyond the Melting Pot* and Andrew Greeley's writings, social scientists refused to admit persistence of the ethnic factor in American life: *It has never been legitimate to be ethnic in American society.* In fact, I believe that all segments of American society are in the process of redefining themselves by asking: "Who am I?" and "Who are we?" as Americans. As our society continues to struggle with its national sense of identity, commitment and purpose, understanding the ethnic factor may well be the key to understanding our Northern urban cities.

The ethnic factor in Northern urban areas is intrinsically related to the alienated working-class population. (It is important to note that not all "ethnics" are working-class people and many working class do not consider themselves to be "ethnics.") Some observers who look at social-political-economic issues confronting the working class contradict one another, as in the late '60s

when some cited serious problems while others claimed nothing was new. Moreover, only a few concerned public officials, journalists and scholars discuss ethnic working-class discontent from a more critical perspective. In his recent study, *O.E.O.—Public Policy and the Working Class*, Arthur Naparstek considers the following: During the past ten years, a bewildering array of social legislation has been passed by Congress. Never before, or at least not since the New Deal, has domestic policy been so explicitly selective in programs and services directed toward a public group of citizens.

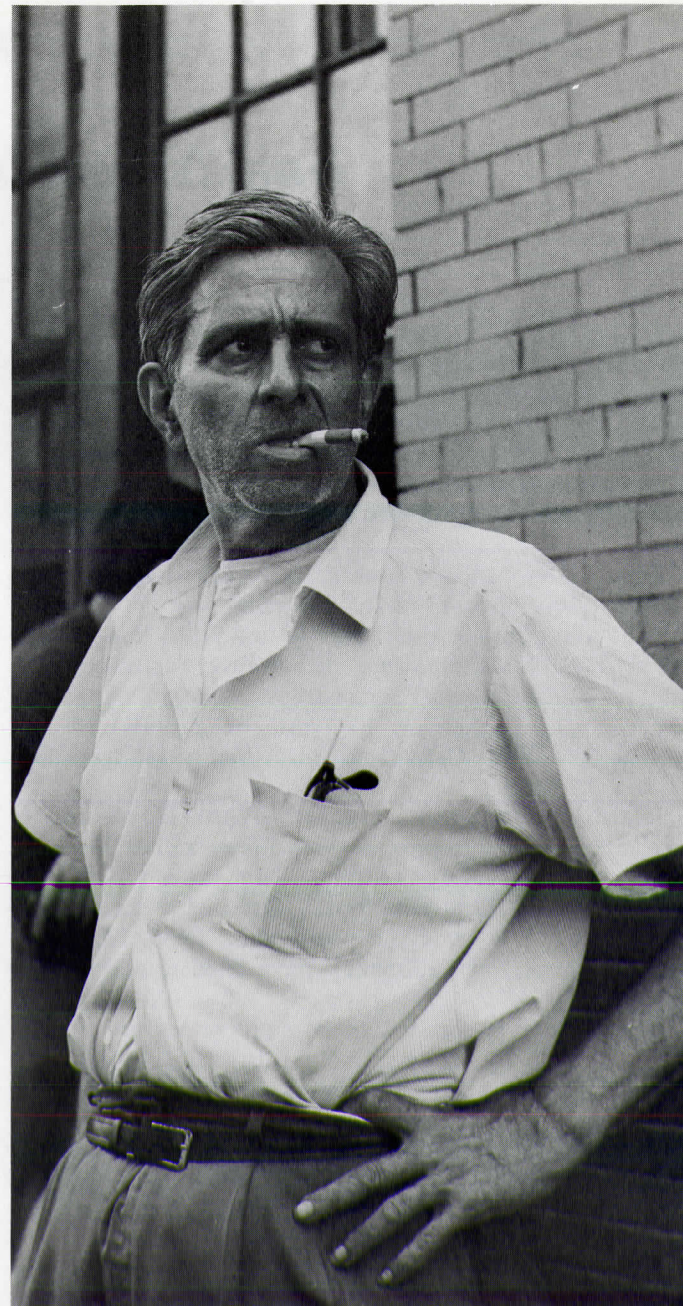
The experiences of the '60s, however, stimulated new dimensions of criticism by social policy and social service programs. Mitchell Sviridoff, in the Ford Foundation Annual Report of 1969, notes that the policies and programs of the 1960's that were exclusively directed toward dealing with the problems of poverty and racism were appropriate and necessary in the short run, but may have had unfortunate consequences in the longer run. He states:

... For the polarization that today puts American society under strain stems in large part from the dissatisfactions of whites in the near poor, lower-middle class and middle class, those left out of much recent public programming. This predominantly working-class sector has since the thirties been a prime beneficiary of government programs and legislation—Social Security, the National Labor Relations Act, Federal Housing and even highway programs. Nevertheless, they see themselves as paying a disproportionate amount of both the social and the monetary costs of the innovations of the sixties.

Others discuss the impact of this legislation in terms of creating a "welfare backlash" found primarily among blue-collar and service workers. These policy analysts, especially Naparstek, point out that the "great society" programs (mainly the War on Poverty), created an illusion, believed primarily by the working class, that the poor would be placed in decent jobs and houses while white "middle Americans" would have to scrape along and struggle to get by.

This phenomenon, according to Wilensky and Lebeaux, Etzioni, Rainwater and others, produced a sharply focused negative reaction toward social policies that are selective and aimed at a particularly disadvantaged group of people. According to these analysts, a backlash has occurred, but it is "narrow" and found primarily in attitudes toward special programs designed to aid black people.

My work with the U. S. Catholic Conference Urban Task Force since 1968 has taken me into most Northern urban areas. Recently, the opportunity to serve



on the National Commission on Cities offered an occasion to review and analyze what has happened to cities since the Kerner Report of 1968. This experience confirms my belief that America does not have a national sense of commitment to social change because of fear and polarization among black, white and brown urban ethnics and the lack of a social policy that shapes and shares the burden of social change. I am also convinced that as Americans redefine themselves, the ethnic blue/white-collar worker of middle America in the 1970's will be a most important part of that struggle to define a new modern "way of life" that includes the legitimacy of an urban ethnic pluralism.

My own observation and judgment are defined in terms that go beyond the economic blues of working class. This is especially true if we are to find solutions to our urban crises, alternatives to inevitable social and economic group conflict, and if we are to develop legitimacy for new pluralistic cultural value systems. All our major foreign and domestic policy issues, for example, will be heavily influenced by what happens to the ethnic blue/white-collar American. The ethnic worker and his future role in urban society, however, cannot be defined solely in economic factors. We must consider what has happened to America in the turbulent 1960's if we are to understand the ethnic worker in urban America and the economic, social, cultural, and political anxiety that he brings into the 1970's.

This anxiety can be put into four categories:

(1) Economic anxiety—illustrated by rising inflation, fear of unemployment, job security, etc. The lower-middle-income urban ethnic knows he can no longer afford the house he wanted. He is also worried about inflation, job competition, the cost of health care for his family and of education for his children.

(2) Social anxiety—reflected in the attitudes toward new life-styles of youth on the one hand and the ghetto rebellion on the other. The country is in the midst of vast and rapid social change. Few, if any, institutions helped him understand social change or how to deal with it. Many others catered to his fears rather than attempt a ministry to his alienation, legitimate needs, or hopes. He found that he could not relate to media-oriented radicals or Woodstock or college kids in revolt; and he

finds it difficult to understand the complicated dimensions of the urban crises and the increasing number of blacks and browns with whom he shares the city.

(3) Cultural anxiety—produced by the melting pot myth and the Americanization process that dictates everyone is to be "the same." But in reality he lives in the most ethnically and culturally pluralistic country in the world where he never has been taught to respect a variety of life-styles, including his own background and heritage. Man needs to know his own story, to develop his own perspective if he is to be free to relate to others.

(4) Political anxiety—reflected by mass-media politicians who either ignore the legitimate needs of the worker or massage his economic, cultural and social fears instead of challenging his hopes. His suspicions of the politicians begin to grow with each broken political promise and with each political lie that brands him as the scapegoat for all the social and racial problems of society.

Not only young people and minority groups, but a growing number of middle Americans have become estranged from government and the political process. They are unable to participate effectively in decisions affecting the family, the welfare of their communities, and the future of their children. Any meaningful reassessment of public policy in the 1970's must find new ways to involve the ordinary man and woman in the

*And now, in the social restlessness of city
and near-suburban neighborhoods . . . large numbers
of lower-middle-class whites feel defenseless.*

Anger and resentment seethe.

*They do not feel that they are sharing in the "dream" that they
can still remember their grandfathers speaking of.*

MICHAEL NOVAK

decision-making processes at all levels of the government and party affairs.

We need a new way of looking at our bankrupt social and economic policy and our worn-out, black/white human relations programs. We must come to the realization that money alone cannot save our troubled cities. Along with youth, ethnic blacks, the Spanish-speaking, and Indians, it is the white urban ethnics who will raise the theological question of values and goals and lifestyles—"way of life"—especially as they concern family, community and neighborhood. Among the heavily urban ethnic Catholics, this concern seems to be shared by Pope Paul VI who stressed these needs in "A Call to Action," his apostolic letter of May 14, 1971, on the eightieth anniversary of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. The Pope, in speaking of urbanization, said:

There is an urgent need to remake, at the level of the street, of the neighborhood or of the great agglomerative dwellings, the social fabric whereby man may be able to develop the needs of his personality. Centers of special interest and of culture must be created or developed at the community and parish levels with different forms of associations, recreation centers, and spiritual and community gatherings where the individual can escape from isolation and form a new fraternal relationship.

To build up the city, the place where men and their expanded communities exist, to create new modes of neighborliness and relationships; to perceive an original application of social justice and to undertake responsibility for this collective future, which is foreseen as difficult, is a task in which Christians must share.

The new frontier for Northern urban cities will be evolved between the growing black, brown, and predominantly white ethnics who remain in our beleaguered cities. A real challenge faces us if we admit the results of a dehumanizing urban industrial society, especially to the un-young, the un-black, and the un-poor. The disillusionment and growing alienation in middle America is increasingly related to questions of ethnicity and public social policy. In anybody's terms, including the Kerner Commission's, how do we help people handle social change? What is the alternative to "inevitable group conflict" that the National Commission on Violence talked about?

As probably the most ethnic and culturally pluralistic country in the world, the United States has functioned less as a nation of individuals than of groups. This has meant inevitable group competition, friction and conflict. But sometimes, when I consider all the factors of a fast growing multi-ethnic, multi-racial, heavily immigrant society, I am amazed that our great nation has arrived at this juncture in history without even greater violence and division.

In a report to the U. S. Catholic Bishops' Conference in November of 1969, I insisted, "If we are to develop a new agenda for the 1970's, we must go beyond the civil rights struggle of the 1960's. We must stop exploiting the fear of the ethnic middle American and consider his legitimate needs. We must bring together a new coalition to press for new goals and new priorities for all the poor and the near poor. This would include the blacks, the Appalachians, the Indians, the Spanish-speaking, and the white urban ethnic groups."

Further research and experience in many communities with urban, racial, social and economic conflict convinces me that the ethnic factor—ethnic pluralism—and a re-defined public social policy are essential elements that cannot be separated.

Dr. Richard Kolm, professor of social studies at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C., has said that freedom of group cultural adjustment and development is of ultimate significance if pluralism is to become an asset instead of a liability. Dr. Kolm states: "Considering the basic aspects of human nature and of the processes of culture and personality development, the concept of 'unity' in *E pluribus unum* should never be equated with sameness but with mutual acceptance and support of the uniqueness and contributions of one another for the common good."

Dr. Kolm says that two centuries of the rejection of ethnic cultures by society, of withdrawal and of defensive reactions on the part of the ethnic groups, cannot easily be discounted. It will take time, and conscious efforts on the part of society, to restore the proper relationship between society and the ethnic groups. Kolm feels certain that only within the framework of ethnic pluralism can present American problems of intergroup relations—including racial—be resolved.

Today we are rediscovering the pluralistic character of America. Ethnics were taught in schools that America was the great "melting pot" of the world, that they would do better to study about the Rockefellers, J. P. Morgan, Thomas Edison—in other words, to study about "how to make it in America." But now at the community level across America ethnic adults are asking teachers: "What have you taught us?" Ethnicity and its educational impact might find a preview in Detroit where some ethnics refused to be stereotyped. They voiced their concern in a message to teachers, educators, and the dean of the state university. The ethnics said they would refuse to accept any teacher in their community who was not trained and oriented to the cultural, racial, labor and ethnic heritage of their community.

I believe this emerging attitude toward ethnicity will become a convergent issue which will have the growing support of white, black, red, yellow and brown ethnics. There is an indication that ethnic consciousness need not divide a society. It is therefore significant that Congress has recently passed the Ethnic Cultural Studies Bill, as a part of the omnibus Higher Education Act, launching a

Almost 70% of young people 18-24 are not students,

and half of them are already married;

40% of men age 20-24 are fulltime workers,

earning a median income of only \$6,169 . . . yet

"youth culture" and the "youth vote" are almost

always discussed in terms of college students.

THE GROUP LIFE REPORT
NATIONAL PROJECT ON ETHNIC AMERICA

new Federal effort to legitimize ethnicity and pluralism in America. The bill authorizes the Commissioner of Education to make grants for programs, development of curriculum materials, and dissemination of information relating to the history and cultures of various ethnic and minority groups in America. The Ethnic and Cultural Studies legislation was supported by diverse ethnic groups who lobbied against the strong resistance shown by the educational hierarchy represented by the Office of Education.

The biggest resistance to rising ethnic consciousness comes from those who fear increased racial hostility. However, I am convinced that admitting and legitimizing ethnic awareness may be a more positive way to deal with our already divisive ethnic and racial conflicts. Here it might be well to mention that outside of Martin Marty's readiness to define and accept white Protestants as ethnics most of my Protestant social-action, liberal friends resent and fear ethnic consciousness—except for their great sympathy shown toward black and brown and red ethnic awareness.

Protestant writers sympathetic to the Northern urban white worker seem to be scarce; however, Gabriel Fackre, Professor of Theology at Andover Newton Theological School, has written an excellent book on this subject, *Liberation in Middle America*.

Jewish friends seem to be ambivalent on the question of growing ethnic consciousness despite the leadership

of Irving Levine of the American Jewish Committee and his National Project on Ethnic America.

It seems strange that we have come a long way in admitting our religious pluralism and at the same time seem hesitant to admit our ethnic diversity. Desperately needed research on this question is long overdue, and Andrew Greeley's research on cultural pluralism at the University of Chicago is a giant step forward.

During the '60s, the media and our liberal-oriented journals focused primary attention upon the small but significant affluent youth counter-culture and on the rising consciousness on the part of black, brown, and red ethnic minorities. Little sympathy, however, was given to the remaining white middle Americans who were left behind in our urban areas. But worse than lack of sympathy was the media's fictionalized attitudes toward ethnics.

The movie "Joe," for instance, is a vicious portrayal of a workingman who supposedly personifies every stereotyped prejudice toward youth, blacks, and minority groups. He typifies to many upper-middle-class professors the "enemy" who stands in the way of civil rights progress. But this kind of type-casting goes beyond the

motion picture industry; T.V.'s Archie Bunker is another case in point. Writers, church social-actionists, and some liberals, ready to use the Kerner Report's label of "white racism," seek to blame working-class ethnics for all the social and racial problems of our cities. But very little effort was made to use the Kerner Report to identify the institutional racism of the upper-middle class who own and manage America's economic life.

There is no shortage of evidence to support the charge of fear, prejudice and racism among ethnics or any other group in white society. A national survey conducted by Louis Harris and Associates revealed that it is not the Polish, Irish or Italians, for example, who have the strongest anti-black attitudes.



The Harris Survey, conducted for the National Urban League, reported that "native" Americans—white Anglo-Saxon Protestants—rather than the so-called "white ethnics" are more likely to: "think blacks are pushing too fast for racial equality; disapprove of the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision; and favor separate schools for blacks and whites."

The study contradicts the popular conception that the so-called "white backlash" exists chiefly among white ethnics. The study suggests that some older Americans may be projecting and handing down their own prejudices to ethnic minorities of recent foreign origin.

As a Newark resident stated: "The white working-class family man does not own the mortgage companies nor does he sit in the board rooms of corporate America where decisions are made to exclude Jewish, black, brown or red representation, to red-line neighborhoods, to oppose health care and increased minimum wage, to hide

behind tax shelters and manipulate tax loopholes, thus denying necessary revenue to financially starving cities."

I am firmly convinced that the urban ethnics—white, blacks, and Spanish-speaking—need not be enemies. In one sense, they are already allies because they share a common oppression. The special-interest lobby groups along with politicians and planners have established space and military priorities rather than public policy needed for housing, health, education, etc. It is this kind of neglect that hurts ethnic whites as well as blacks. Present public policy in employment and housing, for instance, increases polarization between black, white and brown ethnics.

Michael Novak has spoken eloquently on this problem in his book, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*. He

states that a coalition of blacks and ethnics will be inherently more stable than a coalition between intellectuals and blacks.

... The real interests of blacks and ethnics—homes, neighborhood services, schools, jobs, advancement, status—are virtually identical, whereas the political interests of the intellectual are mainly those of a consciousness that can easily and often, as blacks realize, be false. In recent years, intellectuals have been more helpful to blacks than ethnics have. As the going gets rougher, slower, closer to real interests, and as the grubby deals of actual power are made, intellectuals are likely to become scandalized or bored. The inevitable coalition is between blacks and ethnics. To make a coalition, mutual love is not a prerequisite. Mutual respect, or even mutual need, will do.

The urban ethnics need not be enemies . . . they are already allies because they share a common oppression

At an urban ethnic workshop last year, I participated with a diverse ethnic group who began to ask, "Who am I and who are we as Americans?" Here is the answer:

"We accept diversity as the principle of American society and acknowledge the growing consciousness of that diversity. We extend our hand to our fellow ethnic Americans in working for a society in which the motto, 'unity in diversity,' can become a reality.

"Our ancestors came to this country seeking a home and a job that no king, czar, Hitler or Stalin could take from us. Now we find that economic and power aristocrats are ignorant and hostile to our basic social needs. The robber barons legally steal our life savings by trading low savings interest for high loan interest. Big business takes our hard-earned money to pollute our atmosphere and dirty our yards. We need more representation, not more taxation. We are treated like the machines we operate and the pencils we push. In the midst of rising gross national product we are the expendable people thrown into the jaws of inflation, unemployment, and lack of job mobility. In our neighborhoods, we have begun to redefine the issues which have been handed to us by the power brokers who would divide and exploit the

blue-collar and no-collar residents of the city. As Ralph Nader has told us, our issue is not only crime in the streets, but also 'crime in the suites.' We recognize that the purveyors of the *status quo* have no common feeling with our goals and culture.

"Politicians have dabbled in the divisive lie of pitting us against other people. But racism is not our invention; we did not bring it with us; we found it here. And should we pay the price for America's guilt? We are held in contempt, and then blamed for being contemptuous; but we, unlike liberals, share a common destiny with blacks by virtue of our work, our communities, our schools and public institutions and who are, thus, part of us. We have become part of the American Liberal tradition of examining symptoms of a problem without discussion of their causes and solutions. A problem discussed is not a problem solved.

"Therefore, we are looking within ourselves and finding in our ethnic history a heritage and strength for building a decent urban life communally and humanly. We summon ethnic people across the country to rise up in a new urban populism—demanding decentralized control and recognition of the pluralistic quality of neighborhood living."

THE REVIVAL

OF ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS:

A Look at America's Re-Discovered Pluralism

William M. Newman

The resurgence of ethnic consciousness is rapidly becoming a major theme of American life in the 1970's. Evidence of this new trend may be found in such diverse sources as the content of television programs and the actions of the Congress of the United States. Consider, for instance, the immense popularity of the CBS television series *All In The Family*. The program skillfully exploits a form of ethnic humor which even a few years ago would have been viewed as distasteful. It is likely that different audiences find *All In The Family* entertaining for very different reasons. Some would praise the series because it has elevated America's forgotten man, a lower-middle-class white ethnic, to the status of a new cultural hero. One can now purchase Archie Bunker T-shirts and paperback books containing the "proverbs of Archie Bunker" in almost any local department store. Others contend that the program's success lies in its portrayal of Archie Bunker as a bigoted anti-hero. Regardless of whether one concludes that *All In The Family* is dispelling old prejudices and stereotypes or reinforcing them, it is clear that the series is popular because it is topical. America's multi-ethnic mix has become a focal point in our national consciousness.

Even the Congress has been caught up in the growing trend of ethnic awareness. Committees of both Houses are now considering legislation which would allocate ten million dollars per year for the establishment of ethnic studies institutes on college campuses across the nation.¹ A major purpose of the proposed institutes would be the development of elementary and secondary school curriculum materials on America's multi-cultural heritage. This kind of legislative effort stands in sharp contrast to the Exclusion Acts of the 1880's and 1890's and the National Origins Quota Act of 1924. In the brief span of two generations, the Congress has moved from a policy of restricting the immigration of these "undesirable foreigners" to an attempt to understand their unique contributions to the cultural life of the nation. The current ethnic trend has also produced some rather unusual pork-barrel legislation. Earlier this year the Congress passed legislation to fund research on sickle-cell anemia, a disease which is prevalent among American blacks. In response to this action, a Congressman from Connecticut, an Italian-dominated state, has recently requested that

1. The respective House and Senate bills are HR 7997 and S23/S659.



funds be allocated for the study of a parallel form of the disease which is prevalent among Mediterranean populations. We appear to be on the verge of an unending series of ethnic parity bills in the area of health care and medical research.

The major question being asked today is: Why has there been a resurgence of ethnic consciousness at this point in American history? Unlike the period of the turn of the century, there has been no mass wave of immigration to trigger ethnic controversy in the 1960's and 1970's. Why, after four, and in some cases five, generations of on-going assimilation into American society, have some groups begun to reassert their ethnic distinctiveness? Why, after so many years, are we now confronted with an Italian-American Civil Rights League, a Jewish Defense League, and a Polish-American Civil Rights League, to mention but a few of the new ethnic defense groups which are cropping up across the nation? There are several related answers to this question.

First, it must be realized that it is not so much ethnicity but ethnic consciousness which is undergoing a revival. Ethnicity, as a salient factor in the American social structure, never really disappeared. Simply because a

given phenomenon fails to hold the public spotlight for a brief period of time does not mean that it has passed from the scene. While it is true that in the two decades since the close of the Second World War ethnic differences in the United States have taken a back seat to a number of other pressing social issues, there is very little evidence to support the contention that the ethnic factor has become irrelevant in American life.

There is hardly a major social institution in the United States in which the ethnic factor has not prevailed. The enduring impact of ethnic differences upon American religious institutions provides a case in point. Can it really be said that the ethnic parish in American Catholicism is a thing of the past? Obviously the answer is no. The ethnic parish in the Roman Church is as alive today as it was fifty years ago. Even the now waning ecumenical movement in American Protestantism has had little effect upon ethnic differences between the churches. With very few exceptions, the organizational mergers between Protestant denominations have reduced regional but not ethnic divisions.

The ethnic factor is no less a force in American political institutions. The practice of creating ethnically and



religiously "balanced" slates of candidates, especially on the state and local levels, remains a major feature of our political life. The persistence of the balanced ticket shows not that ethnicity is defunct, but that ethnic differences have become an underlying assumption of our politics. Perhaps it is too quickly forgotten that only a decade has passed since the first Irish-Catholic candidate was elected to the Presidency. Yet, the most telling expression of ethnic pluralism in American society is the survival of the ethnic neighborhood. Contrary to the "suburban myth" created by some sociological writers in the 1950's, researchers in the 1960's found that race, religion, ethnicity, and social class differences have created a diverse mosaic of suburban communities. The old ethnic ghettos and "little Italys" of the inner city have not disappeared. To a large extent they have simply been transplanted to the suburbs.² Where, then, is the evidence to support the claim that ethnic differences have become a marginal factor in the structure of American society? What is meant by the assertion that the major white ethnic groups have assimilated?

Obviously, the white ethnics have not assimilated in the strict sense of the word. For the doctrine of assimila-

tion contends that over time, immigrant groups will be totally absorbed into the dominant WASP cultural stock. America's white ethnics have not undergone total assimilation or absorption. Nor can it be said that the American ethnic mix has resulted in the great new amalgam envisioned in the doctrine of the "melting pot."³ For in the mythical melting pot not only were the new immigrants to surrender their cultural identities, but the existing WASP population would also have entered into the great amalgamation. At best, we have experienced not a melting pot but, to use Will Herberg's apt phrase, a "transmuting pot,"⁴ in which Jews have become the major clientele of Chinese restaurants, and pizza has become a mainstay of the Anglo-Protestant diet. All of this represents neither cultural assimilation nor amalgamation but cultural borrowing. On the other hand, the immigrant white ethnics have not remained impervious to their encounter with American culture. They are, after all, not just Italians but Italian-Americans, no longer Polish-Jews but American-Jews from Poland, not simply Irish-Catholics but Irish-American Catholics. Regardless of what one calls this process—assimilation, accommodation, adaptation, acculturation, or Americanization—the white ethnics have undergone some process of change. While this has produced various modifications in the life-styles of the different groups, it has not changed them completely, nor is it likely to do so in the future. Perhaps the most accurate description of the situation was offered by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan in their now classic study *Beyond the Melting Pot*.⁵ In their view, the ethnic group in America became a new and viable form of social identity, a new kind of political interest group. The ethnics became something different from what they had been in their homelands, but still remained distinct from each other as well as from America's WASP archetype.

Said differently, the traditional assimilationist argument contains two fallacious assumptions. First, it assumes that the most important aspect of ethnic assimilation will be cultural, that the major modifications of the ethnic groups' life-styles will be in the realm of traditional social values and customs. In contrast, during the last several decades the most important forms of assimilation for the white ethnics have been not cultural but political and economic. When it is said that the European ethnics have assimilated, this means not that they have surrendered their distinctive cultural values and traditions but that they have now become major forces in a political

2. See William Dobriner's *Class in Suburbia* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1963); Herbert Gans' *The Urban Villagers* (New York: The Free Press, 1962); *The Levittowners* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967); and Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum's *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier* (New York: Basic Books, 1967).
3. The term "melting pot" is taken from the title of a popular play written by the Jewish immigrant Israel Zangwill in 1909.
4. Herberg employs this term in his well-known essay *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1955).
5. Published by the MIT Press in 1963. The revised paperback edition was released in 1970.
6. Interestingly, none of the literature on assimilation specifies exactly how much time will be sufficient for total assimilation to occur.

and economic system to which they once were only marginal. The various ethnic immigrants have, in large part, entered the middle class; they are the backbone of organized labor as well as the innovative force of a still-growing capitalistic system. In short, they are the system.

The second erroneous assumption of the assimilationist doctrine is that cultural assimilation is a continual and strictly linear process. In simple terms, it is argued that once cultural assimilation begins, given a sufficient period of time, it will culminate in the total absorption of ethnic groups and that no reversals along the way will occur.⁶ Contrary to the doctrine of assimilation, there is really very little reason to believe that such an ultimate end point in assimilation will ever actually happen. There are few, if any, instances in the history of mankind in which such a total assimilative process has occurred. Moreover, as the ethnic revival of the 1970's seems to be demonstrating, there is no reason why ethnic groups, given the right conditions, can't turn the tables in the direction of a more pluralistic rather than an assimilative self-understanding.

A first step, then, in comprehending the revival of ethnic consciousness in the 1970's is to see that ethnicity never really ceased to be an important aspect of the American social fabric. Rather, ethnic pluralism became institutionalized. It became an underlying aspect of America's social, political, and economic matrix. As such, ethnic consciousness became a residual ideological resource which, given certain conditions, could easily once again become a controversial social issue. All that remained was for some set of events to be construed as an attack either upon the cultural values of the diverse ethnic groups or upon the very social system which they had worked so hard to become a part of. In essence, the so-called social revolutions of the 1960's did both. In order to understand the pluralistic ethnic revival of the 1970's, one need only examine the social forces of the 1960's which have conditioned it.

During the very years when the white ethnics were reaching a threshold of economic and political (though not cultural) assimilation, blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, hippies, Women's Liberation, and even homosexuals were launching new social revolutions which were as much political and economic as they were cultural. Black power could only make sense in the context of a new self-pride in Afro-American culture. The Afro hair cut and the dashiki, rather than the clenched fist of the Black Panther Party, became the enduring symbols of the black revolution. Similarly, the motto of the Chicano movement became not "Mexican-American Power" but *La Raza* (literally the race, the culture, the people). Here one encounters a note of historical irony. In the first half of the 20th Century, America's WASP majority slowly came to realize that the various European immigrant groups are not racial groups as the Social Darwinist and Eugenecist movements of the late

Nineteenth Century had taught, but that they are in fact cultural collectivities, ethnic groups. Today, it is these very same ethnic groups which have come to realize that America's so-called racial minorities are also ethnic (i.e., cultural) groups. Blacks, Indians, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans vary from the American archetype not simply because their skins are colored differently but, more importantly, because like the Southern and Eastern European ethnics before them, they are culturally distinct from America's WASP archetype. Moreover, Women's Liberation, Gay Liberation, and the counter-culturalism of America's college-aged youth added to the revolution for greater economic, political, and cultural freedom in the United States. Taken as a whole, these movements provided a unifying theme of cultural diversity, alternative life-styles, and social pluralism in the late 1960's. To some extent these groups set the tone and pace for the revival of cultural consciousness among the "old ethnics" in the early 1970's.

But the most important question to be asked is: Who, after all, were the new liberation movements attacking? Clearly they were attacking "the system." And who is the system? Obviously, the confrontation between the





emerging minority groups and the lower-middle and middle classes could only mean that they were clashing head-on with the newly entrenched white ethnics. Consider, for instance, the attempt by blacks during the late 1960's to gain control of their local school systems in New York City. The vast majority of the nation's Jews live in the New York Metropolitan area, and the school systems, as well as other civil service agencies, have become a major economic stronghold of Jewish employment. Similarly, attempts to destroy the depressing black ghettos in New York City through the creation of scatter-site public housing have meant a confrontation with the very transplanted ethnic communities mentioned earlier. Thus, the recent controversy over a proposed public housing project in Queens, as well as the prior struggle over local control of the schools, produced not simply a black-white confrontation but a black-Jewish confrontation. Both black anti-semitism and Jewish anti-black sentiment have been the result.

Yet another case in point has been the attempt of minority groups to gain entrance into construction and other labor unions. Especially in the cities of the Northeast these unions are heavily Italian-dominated. Thus,

the clash between the unions and blacks and Puerto Ricans have been not simply a conflict of different social classes, but of distinct ethnic groups. In this context, it is not surprising that ethnic consciousness is on the rise. While surely there is some degree of ethnic pluralism in most, if not all, segments of the American economy, it is also true that there exists a high degree of ethnic domination in different industries. Any attempt by the so-called new minorities to establish a foothold in any sector of the economy is likely to involve inter-ethnic conflict and competition. Any attack on the system as a whole is in effect an attack upon the "American dream" of the white ethnics.

The clustering of ethnic enclaves is so much a part of our social, political and economic system, that some of the recent ethnic controversy has been rather indirect and unanticipated. Asian-Americans represent the most highly self-segregated and autonomous ethnic community in the United States. In the past several years, Supreme Court decisions ordering racial balance in the schools have elicited militant reactions from San Francisco's Chinatown. The same laws which create equal educational opportunity for blacks have meant a decomposition of

the self-chosen culturally homogeneous school systems in Chinatown. The complexity of our social system is such that measures required to eliminate the consequences of forced segregation for blacks are infringing upon the chosen segregation of Asians, as well as other ethnic groups.

In this regard, the revival of ethnic consciousness in the 1970's follows a well-established pattern in American history. Ethnic consciousness has always accompanied periods of ethnic conflict; and given the fact that ethnic pluralism has long been an underlying aspect of our social system, periods of social change have always meant ethnic conflict. During the 1830's and '40s, the influx of unprecedented numbers of Irish-Catholics produced an equally unprecedented backlash of American Nativism which crystallized in the formation of the Know-Nothing Party. In the context of the economic panic of 1837, the new "cheap Irish laborers" were viewed as an economic threat to the jobs of America's workingmen as well as an authoritarian threat (Catholic) to their democratic (Protestant) culture. The turn of the century saw the emergence of a new urban industrial society as well as the immigration of mass waves of Southern and Eastern Europeans. The predictable reaction took the form of the American Protective Association, The National Origins Quota Act of 1924, and the revival of the Nativist Ku Klux Klan as a national political force.

Today the script is much the same although the roles of the players have changed. Today it is not the white ethnics, but blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, women, youth, and a host of other social groups who are making their bid for a piece of the system, for a share of America's material resources and social freedoms. Moreover, as in the past, the current economic slump—a period of shrinking resources—has made the ethnic competition of the 1970's more intense than might otherwise have been the case.

But the ethnic revival of the 1970's differs in one important way from the previous ethnic conflicts of the 1830's and early 1900's. The earlier periods of ethnic controversy were characterized by an attempt to define who could and who could not become a true American. These were thoroughly nativistic attacks upon supposedly unassimilable immigrant groups. Unlike the wasp ethnic backlash of previous eras, today's white ethnic backlash is much more of a "me too" phenomenon. Frequently maligned by the liberal press, heavily taxed by the war and welfare activities of conservative and liberal politicians alike, and now asked to move over and make room for the newcomers in an already depressed economy, the white ethnics have begun to strike back. Unlike the

*Some men
leave their sons money,
some large investments,
some business connections,
and some a profession.
I have only one worthwhile thing
to give: my trade . . . and sponsor
my sons for an apprenticeship.
For this simple father's wish it
is said that I discriminate
against Negroes. Which of us
will not choose a son
over all others?*

Quote from a letter to *The New York Times*

ethnic controversies of the 1830's and early 1900's which stressed assimilationism and exclusionism, the ethnic revival of the 1970's represents a new affirmation of America's pluralism. Faced with a social situation in which both inherited⁷ and chosen cultural differences have become an overriding social theme, the old ethnics are reasserting their cultural distinctiveness as well. In this sense, the cultural revolutions of the 1960's have allowed the white ethnics to endorse a theme in which they believed all along, but which was never socially fashionable: the right to be different. They are proclaiming that it is not just Women's Liberation, homosexuals, blacks and Chicanos who have the right to be different, but that underneath it all, in spite of their assimilation into the political and economic mainstream of American life, the white ethnics are entitled to, and have in fact preserved, a diverse array of life-styles.

From this vantage point the revival of ethnic consciousness in the 1970's, devoid as it is of the old insipid Nativism, may be viewed as a healthy turn of events. It is in fact a "consciousness raising" event. It leaves in its wake the old myths of cultural conformity and assimilationism. The ethnic revival is a declaration not for a specific ethnic group and not simply for just ethnic groups but for all cultural diversity. It reminds us of the under-

lying plurality of cultures—some inherited from our grandparents, others created anew with our peers—which comprise the American social structure. Similarly, it has sensitized us to the fact that cultural pluralism, far from being a simple "peaceful co-existence" of groups is a rather complex and conflict-ridden arrangement. This is not to suggest that social pluralism is unworkable, but rather that social pluralism is something at which we must work.

It seems inevitable that group conflicts will occur in any society in which different groups must compete for the same social resources in order to act out their different social goals and values. Given the complex social, political, and economic interrelationships between groups, it is all but impossible for the actions of one group not to have some effect upon the others. Yet it should not be concluded that American pluralism is a chaotic and disorganized social form. Quite to the contrary, as the German social theorist Georg Simmel suggested, this kind of pluralistic society exhibits a special kind of unity and order. Multiple group conflicts and group alliances represent a delicate balancing mechanism, in which no single inter-group conflict is large enough to bifurcate the entire society. Rather, one encounters even changing realignments between the different groups.⁸ Perhaps the contemporary revival of ethnic consciousness simply signals our awareness of the fact that the never ending web of alliances and conflicts has once again shifted, that the balancing mechanism about which Simmel speaks has provided yet a new constellation of group positions and relationships.

7. "inherited," of course, in a generational not a biological sense.

8. Georg Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations* (1908) (New York: The Free Press, 1955) (trans. Kurt H. Wolf and Reinhard Bendix). For an excellent interpretation of Simmel's work, see Lewis Coser's *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: The Free Press, 1956).

This essay is based in part upon the author's forthcoming book *American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory*, which will be released early in 1973 by Harper and Row Publishers. Prepared for the *Journal of Current Social Issues*, © 1972, this draft is not for quotation without the author's permission.



*The extended family relationships and sense of identity
found in ethnic neighborhood communities
may well be a solution to much of what's ailing America.*

ANDREW GREELEY

WE ARE A PROUD PEOPLE

Barbara Mikulski

Editor's Note: Barbara Mikulski is a young Polish American, a member of a Baltimore community organization, and a representative from the First District on the Baltimore City Council. Miss Mikulski responded to our request for an article on the ethnic American by stating that an article she wrote two years ago for *The New York Times* still expresses her feelings precisely. That widely-acclaimed statement, prefaced by an introduction by Miss Mikulski, follows.



Two years ago I wrote the following article as the movement to aid ethnic Americans began. As we move toward the climax of an election year, I am more firmly convinced that the issues I outlined then are proper but they have become more serious and intense. From a political standpoint, the Democrats take the ethnic American for granted; Republicans ignore us. White, well-meaning, affluent suburbanites with liberal orientations tell us that we're not as oppressed as the blacks and Chicanos. They tell us we're divisive. But in that attitude, they sow the seeds for greater divisiveness. Because if one group is wronged, all are wronged. The media, through such shows as *Archie Bunker*, continues to ridicule us. Yet, as I travel around the United States being in touch with ethnic Americans and other minority groups, I see something new and different developing. I see in local communities—be it the Southeast Community Organization of Baltimore, or the Black Polish Caucus in Detroit, or many others—the coalitions on specific issues that I felt so keenly would bring us together. These coalitions are being formed on mutual need, mutual respect, and mutual dependency. At present I see no national ground swell of inter-ethnic coalitions. It has to come first at the grass roots. It has to come first in the soul of the country. It won't be today, it won't be tomorrow. It might not be for a generation. But, when it comes, I feel that America will come closest to fulfilling the promises of what She said She was.

The Ethnic American is forgotten and forlorn. He is infuriated at being used and abused by the media, government and business. Pejorative epithets such as "pigs" and "racists" or slick, patronizing labels like the "silent majority" or "hard hats" are graphic examples of the lack of respect, understanding and appreciation of him and his way of life.

The Ethnic Americans are 40 million working-class Americans who live primarily in 58 major industrial cities like Baltimore and Chicago. Our roots are in Central and Southern Europe. We have been in this country for one, two or three generations. We have made a maximum contribution to the U.S.A., yet received minimal recognition.

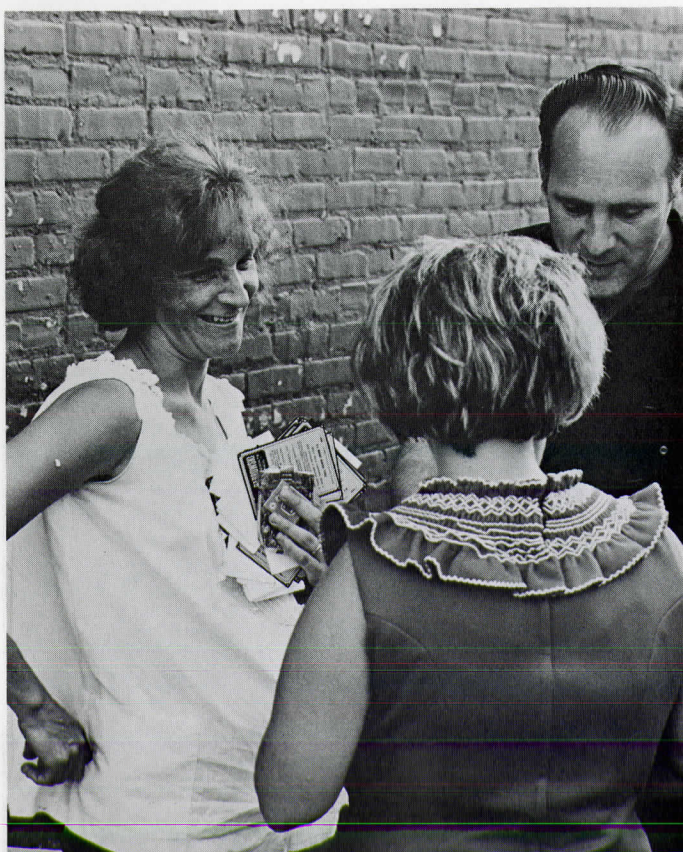
The ethnics came to America from the turn of the century through the twenties, until we were restricted by prejudicial immigration quotas—65,000 Anglo-Saxons to 300 Greeks. We came looking for political freedom and economic opportunity. Many fled from countries where there had been political, religious and cultural oppression for 1,000 years.



It was this working class which built the Great Cities—constructed the skyscrapers, operated the railroads, worked on the docks, factories, steel mills and in the mines. Though our labor was in demand, we were not accepted. Our names, language, food and cultural customs were the subject of ridicule. We were discriminated against by banks, institutions of higher learning and other organizations controlled by the Yankee Patricians. There were no protective mechanisms for safety, wages and tenure. We called ourselves Americans. We were called "wop," "polak" and "hunky."

For our own protection, we formed our own institutions and organizations and clung together in our new neighborhoods. We created communities like "Little Italy" and "Polish Hill." The ethnic parish church and the fraternal organizations like the Polish Women's Alliance and the Sons of Italy became the focal points of our culture.

These neighborhoods were genuine "urban villages." Warmth, charm and zesty communal spirit were their



"All his life he has been taught

that the system is good

if only you work hard

and obey the law.

He has followed the rules.

Yet, when he looks to government

for help, he finds that

his political representatives

are not interested."

characteristics. People knew each other. This was true not only of relatives and friends but of the grocer, politician and priest. The people were proud, industrious and ambitious. All they wanted was a chance to "make it" in America.

Here we are in the 1970's, earning between \$5,000-10,000 per year. We are "near poor" economically. No one listens to our problems. The President's staff responds to our problems by patronizingly patting us on the head and putting pictures of construction workers on postage stamps. The media stereotypes us as gangsters or dumb clods in dirty sweat-shirts. The status of manual labor has been denigrated to the point where men are often embarrassed to say they are plumbers or tugboat operators. This robs men of the pride in their work and themselves.

The Ethnic American is losing ground economically. He is the victim of both inflation and anti-inflation measures. Though wages have increased by 20 per cent since the mid-sixties, true purchasing power has remained the same. He is hurt by layoffs due to cutbacks in production and construction. Tight money policies strangle him with high interest rates for installment buying and mortgages. He is the man who at 40 is told by the factory bosses that he is too old to be promoted. The old job is often threatened by automation. At the

same time, his expenses are at their peak. He is paying on his home and car, probably trying to put at least one child through college.

In pursuing his dream of home ownership, he finds that it becomes a millstone rather than a milestone in his life. Since FHA loans are primarily restricted to "new" housing, he cannot buy a house in the old neighborhood. He has no silk stocking lawyers or fancy lobbyists getting him tax breaks.

He believes in the espoused norms of American manhood like "a son should take care of his mother" and "a father should give his children every opportunity." Yet he is torn between putting out \$60 a month for his mother's arthritis medication or paying for his daughter's college tuition.

When the ethnic worker looks for some modest help, he is told that his income is too high. He's "too rich" to get help when his dad goes into a nursing home. Colleges make practically no effort to provide scholarships to kids named Colstiani, Slukowski or Klima.

The one place where he felt the master of his fate and had status was in his own neighborhood. Now even that security is being threatened. He wants new schools for his children and recreation facilities for the entire family—not just the token wading pool for pre-schoolers

or the occasional dance for teen-agers. He wants his street fixed and his garbage collected. He finds that the only things being planned for his area are housing projects, expressways and fertilizer factories. When he goes to City Hall to make his problems known, he is either put off, put down or put out.

Liberals scapegoat us as racists. Yet there was no racial prejudice in our hearts when we came. There were very few black people in Poland or Lithuania. The elitists who now smugly call us racists are the ones who taught us the meaning of the word: their bigotry extended to those of a different class or national origin.

Government is further polarizing people by the creation of myths that black needs are being met. Thus the ethnic worker is fooled into thinking that the blacks are getting everything.

Old prejudices and new fears are ignited. The two groups end up fighting each other for the same jobs

and competing so that the new schools and recreation centers will be built in their respective communities. What results is angry confrontation for tokens, when there should be an alliance for a whole new Agenda for America. This Agenda would be created if black and white organized separately in their own communities for their own needs and came together to form an alliance based on mutual issues, interdependence and respect. This alliance would develop new strategies for community organization and political restructuring. From this, the new Agenda for America would be generated. It could include such items as "new towns in town," innovative concepts of work and creative structures for community control.

What is necessary is to get rid of the guilt of phony liberals, control by economic elitists and manipulation by selfish politicians. Then, let us get on with creating the democratic and pluralistic society that we say we are.



COALITION!

Bayard Rustin

An event recently took place which has deeply disturbing implications for all of us concerned with social progress and economic justice. In Florida—a poor state, a state with one of the highest percentages of persons subsisting on fixed incomes, a state with serious unemployment—the voters permitted busing to obscure every other issue in a Presidential primary election. We face serious troubles when busing, not jobs, determines the outcome of a primary in one of our largest states. The reality is that the most serious problem facing America today is the economic situation in which whether you are rich, middle class, poor or *lumpen-proletariat*, our national economic policies are gravely affecting us all for the worst.

The Florida results are deeply symbolic, for they demonstrate in a quite measurable way how an essentially unimportant issue can be manipulated and distorted so as to create division among those with a personal stake

in progress. Many of those same people who find busing a convenient tool with which to sow political discord recognize and are attempting to exploit elements of the new emphasis on ethnicity for precisely the same purposes.

We are now in the throes of what I refer to as a worldwide "New Tribalism." We see people on every continent substituting ethnicity for realistic and effective solutions. We see it in Canada, where the French-Canadians want to go their separate way. We see it in Belgium, where the Walloons want to wear their hair Walloon style and eat Walloon food. I don't even want to talk about the Irish problem.

Why are we experiencing this ethnic phenomenon, and what of it is good and what bad? In a sense, ethnicity is beautiful and creative. It is an expression of pride in one's past, of self-respect, and of the dignity that is essential to a healthy human condition.

But the rise of ethnicity also reflects a political fact of life about which I feel we should be less enthusiastic. We now find that there are politicians who will promote and encourage ethnic identification to relieve themselves of the responsibilities of advancing true social and economic reform. They will parcel out a few favors in the hopes of appealing to ethnic feelings while ignoring health care, housing, taxes, the whole list of vitally needed changes.

The ethnic problem within the United States at some point has to emerge simply because we were lied to, accepted the lie, and there is no greater danger to a man than when he fools himself. We expect the opposition to fool us; but when we fool ourselves we are in deep trouble. We consistently have fallen for the old melting pot concepts. But there *never* was a melting pot; there is not *now* a melting pot; there never will be a melting pot; and if there were, it would be such a tasteless soup that we would have to go back and start all over!

Whether we are blacks or of any other ethnic origin, we must not fool ourselves once we have said that we demand dignity. We are constantly talking about personal dignity when what we need is social dignity. Anyone can achieve personal dignity simply by believing he is dignified. But social dignity is another thing entirely. Eating soul food, wearing hair in an Afro, or taking black studies courses has nothing to do with social dignity. For how can we have dignity if we must rear our children where there are rats and roaches in deplorable tenements, where the streets are filled with junkies, where there is poor medical care, and no jobs?

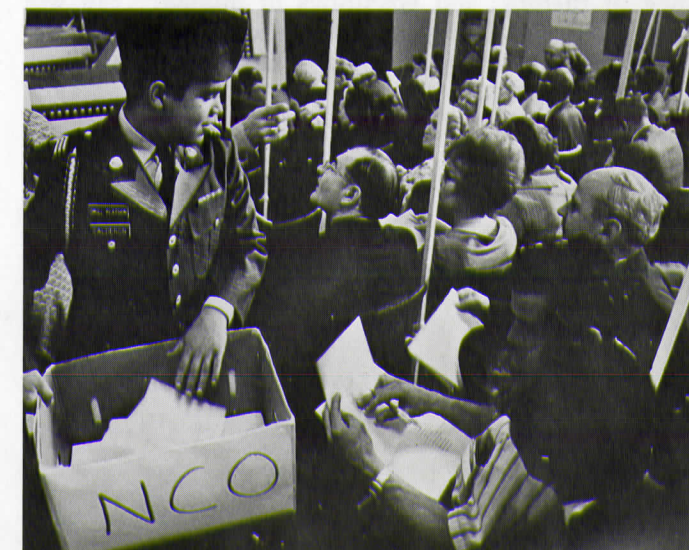
I can point to no better illustration of how the power structure exploits racial and ethnic feeling than the current fad of decentralization or community control. But does it make sense to believe that you can solve the health-care crisis, the housing crisis, the unemployment crisis by decentralizing? We need massive planning and massive funding, not decentralization.

Decentralization and community control also represent another disturbing trend in our society which one might call the worship of the new. The ancient Romans conceived of Janus, their God of gates and beginnings, as two-headed: one looking forward and one to the past. We must never forget that nothing creative can be accomplished unless one is looking both forward and backward. We have come through a period when everything new was accepted as gospel. We had the "New Politics," and then the "New Left." The black community saw a new and instant leader proclaimed by the press every six months.

I think it is time we realized that blacks, Italian-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos—all who know discrimination and who have been denied their rightful share of power—can only uplift themselves through the political system. Those who tell us that the political system does not work are only revealing their ignorance. The political system works beautifully, but not for us. It works for those who control it.

Our objective should not be to condemn politics but to seek to control the political system ourselves. But none of us can do it alone—not the Italians, nor the blacks, nor the Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, or poor whites. Only through a coalition of those forces which have a self-interest in social progress can we achieve that progress. To create and strengthen that coalition, we must be constantly on guard against those issues and tactics which will create divisions among us.

So we find blacks and Puerto Ricans in the Bronx fighting over who will control an anti-poverty program. Or blacks and working-class white ethnics in a bitter dispute over open housing. No one has to tell me that there are blue-collar workers in Queens who are prejudiced. I know that. And I know that there are suburban



Jews who discriminate, just as I know there are blacks in Harlem who are irrational in their attitudes toward whites. If I must be permitted to have my fools, I'll permit others to have their fools, too! The question is: When are the majority of us going to stop capitulating to each new fad, each new irrationalism, and assert affirmative, positive leadership?

Politics is important, not only because it is ultimately the only avenue to power, but because it is the most democratic form of expression in our society. True, there are other forms of group expression. There is confrontationism, and we have experienced our share of that. And there is elitism, such as 200 persons who feel they have the right to shut down the Pentagon. But the elitists and confrontationists take the easy, and ultimately futile, road to social change. There is only one way to change society—by going out and educating the poor about the issues and about the value of political action. There is no other way.

Confrontations and violence have never brought anything of lasting value. Perhaps the greatest myth of the past decade is that blacks are getting more than other people because of the riots. I am still trying to discover what we are supposed to have won. I haven't found it yet. There is more unemployment, more deteriorated housing, and worse medical care in Watts right now than before the riots.

You can engage in confrontation after confrontation and maybe the power structure will give you a concession here, a crumb there. Maybe you'll be given a meaningless anti-poverty program, which will likely be shut down as soon as things get quiet. But once you escalate the confrontations, and demand more than a few token concessions—that's when you will be repressed.

We have yet to witness one positive, lasting accomplishment from violent confrontation, though we have seen many of confrontationism's destructive legacies. The whole notion that an escalation of violence, a hardening of rhetoric, and posturings of militancy can win progressive social change automatically destroys any possibility of creating an effective coalition.

*We have yet to
witness one positive,
lasting accomplishment
from violent
confrontation*

I know there will be times we will not agree. There will be occasions when I will be fighting, on an intellectual level, with Jews and Italians, not because they are Jews or Italians, but because our ideas are different. But in order to maintain a relationship whereby we can disagree without hating or resorting to the stereotype, we must have trust. We must strive for common goals, we must speak with candor and honesty, and we must tolerate and respect the cultures of others.

A WHITE ETHNIC SPEAKS OUT

They call my people the White Lower Middle Class these days. It is an ugly, ice-cold phrase, the result, I suppose, of the missionary zeal of those sociologists who still think you can place human beings on charts. It most certainly does not sound like a description of people on the edge of open, sustained and possibly violent revolt. And yet, that is the case.

All over New York City tonight, in places like Inwood, South Brooklyn, Corona, East Flatbush and Bay Ridge, men are standing around saloons talking darkly about their grievances, and even more darkly about possible remedies. Their grievances are real and deep; their remedies could blow this city apart.

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Selected and annotated by William M. Newman

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Brecher, Charles**, *Upgrading Blue Collar and Service Workers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972). Brecher, a Columbia University political scientist, looked at five New York City industries and found that even though 75% of the top jobs are filled by hiring from within, pyramid organizational structure makes chances for advancement scarce. Also documented is the pattern of discrimination against blacks and women.
- Fackre, Gabriel**, *Liberation in Middle America* (Philadelphia: The United Church Press, A Pilgrim Press Book, 1971). Urban middle America is asserting itself. Dr. Fackre contends that American Protestantism cannot ignore this phenomenon and its implications for the church. One of few insightful books on the white ethnic American by a Protestant theologian.
- Dissent Magazine** (Winter 1972) features 30 articles on white ethnic workers, with emphasis on re-establishing ties between the labor movement and intellectuals. This special issue grew out of conferences in New York last year, organized by Irving Howe. Copies available from Dissent, 509 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017.

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS ON ETHNICITY

A number of research projects are currently underway to further understanding of the ethnic factor in American life. These include:

- Columbia University's Conservation of Human Resources Project**, 1125 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10025. Manpower specialist Marsha Freedman and sociologist Ivar Berg have embarked on a three-year study of changing attitudes toward work in the United States. Central to the analysis will be a review of data on job satisfaction in blue/white-collar positions, and will attempt to determine if problems usually described in ethnic terms are really unique to ethnic workers.
- Ethnic Heritage Affairs Institute**, 260 S. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. Founded in February 1972, the Institute intends to develop, coordinate, expand and perpetuate inter-ethnic educational and social action programs.
- National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs**, 702 Lawrence Street, N.E., Washington, D. C. 20017. An independent, non-profit organization affiliated with the U. S. Catholic Conference. Initially established as a response to the intensifying urban crises and the needs of working-class ethnic Americans, in 1970 the Center developed a cooperative relationship with over thirty major Northern cities through technical assistance to their community organizations in program development. The Center has a \$500,000 grant from Ford Foundation to revitalize generally ignored ethnic communities, and to sensitize public and private institutions. Literature available includes: periodical reprints, case studies, workbook—"Working Class and Ethnic Priorities."
- National Opinion Research Center**, University of Chicago, 6030 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60637. Sociologist Andrew Greeley is directing a two-year project to determine to what extent the ethnic variable persists in our society, and to what extent it is an indicator of behavior.
- National Project on Ethnic America**, American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022. A depolarization project launched in 1968 to help develop more positive approaches and responses to the needs of lower-middle-class whites. The Project received a two-year grant from Ford Foundation in 1971 to expand the scope of its activities. Available literature includes: periodical reprints, book lists, Middle American Pamphlet Series, free newsletter—"The Group Life Report."
- UCLA's Center for Organizational Studies**, Graduate School of Management, Los Angeles, Cal. 90024. Psychologist James Taylor and industrial engineer Louis Davis have begun research for developing alternative measures to judge the quality of working life. Working from traditional concepts of industrial design toward new organizational design concepts pioneered in Western Europe, the researchers will be looking at behavior more than attitudes.
- University of Michigan's School of Social Work**, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Political scientist Donald Warren and Columbia sociologist Eugene Litwak are midway through a two-year project on middle Americans. Data will be available from a national sample conducted in April, including current political preferences. Preliminary paper available from Dr. Warren at above address.

Senator McGovern will strive to build an image of a candidate who can be trusted to carry out fundamental change. And he will try to attract disenchanted voters from all economic and social classes, whether or not they agree with all his specific prescriptions for change. The Nixon concept, in sharp contrast, now has become essentially the traditional Democratic view of the electorate as composed of disparate voting blocs. So the President will try to put together an assemblage of Catholics, Jews, Southern white Protestants and Mexican-Americans atop the traditional small Republican base and thus build a majority. Significantly, the President is using the power of his office to cultivate the special interests of these groups, just as Democratic Presidents have done since Franklin Roosevelt.

Norman C. Miller
Staff Reporter, *The Wall Street Journal*

In 1972 there is another new political constituency, the one created by mass higher education and changes in American class structure. That constituency has now moved from protest to politics, from vanguard campaigns on the issues to a position of strength in a major party. Even if McGovern loses he will have forged an identification between that constituency and the Democrats which will affect our politics for decades to come. . . . Win or lose, he is making a profound impression upon our history.

Michael Harrington

The one permanent minority in society are the leaders who, flying the flag of idealists, try to steer a realistic course—building new coalitions and new points of consensus for changing ideals, compromising where necessary, clarifying and legislating where possible, always keeping their “cool.” The stakes are too great for them to throw prudence to the winds but they are also too great to cast off their ideals.

Kenneth Thompson

CAMPAIGN '72

Electing A President: Phase Two

Joe Duffey

This is the third of a series of articles carrying Dr. Duffey's comments on the prospects for the 1972 Presidential campaign. Joe Duffey was the Democratic candidate for the U. S. Senate from Connecticut in 1970. Formerly national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, he is currently teaching at Yale University.

When both the national conventions are over and the parties have chosen their nominees, the '72 campaign will take new form. The general election campaign represents a different challenge to the candidates than the primary battles.

In the early months of this year the contest for the Democratic nomination dominated our awareness of the meaning of this election year. The early primaries saw the odds-on “front-runner” fade, and George McGovern's hard-working organization confound the experts. But even more important in the long run may be the fact that the Democratic primaries raised new and basic issues which touch the very structure of the American social and economic system. Tax reform, new anti-trust legislation, full employment, major cuts in military spending: these substantive issues became dominant themes in the intra-party struggle for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

It was not so much that these issues were debated by the candidates as that they became the accepted focus of campaign pledges and platforms. There was not much discussion of what the effect of such policies might be, but rather an exercise in what Senator Harold Hughes of Iowa called, “issues one-up-manship.” At times each Democratic contender seemed to be trying to outdo the next in criticizing the abuses of corporate power, tax loopholes for the rich, and lack of protection for consumers.

Two of the Democratic candidates in the primaries share credit for making all the Presidential aspirants and the public conscious of these issues. George Wallace's constant recital of the unfairness of the tax structure inspired every other candidate to draw up quite specific proposals to close tax loopholes. Several tax reform bills were introduced in Congress this winter and the issue emerged as a major one in the platform of every Presidential hopeful. George McGovern made the greatest contribution in this regard, however, with his carefully prepared position papers which set forth a reasoned analysis of a number of national problems along with specific legislative and policy proposals. Many of the McGovern proposals reflect the best thinking that has come out of a decade of Presidential commissions appointed to make recommendations on national problems. McGovern very directly joins the issue of cuts in military spending by outlining an alternate defense budget. He also proposes a program of federally guaranteed full employment.

Taken together, the issue proposals set forth by the Democratic contenders this year amount to a program of reform which would be the most significant shift in national policies since the New Deal legislation of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But what will happen from now to November in the general election campaign? Serious discussion of policy questions has not been a notable feature of the American political system as it has traditionally operated.

In 1968, and again this year, the Democratic party has been the stage for intense consideration of basic issue-questions in intra-party battles for the Presidential nomination and platform. Four years ago the war in Vietnam, and in 1972 basic matters of social and

economic reform, emerged as issues in the Democratic primary contests. But in 1968 there was less real debate about the war in the general election; and this year there is certainly no guarantee that the Democratic candidate and President Nixon will confront each other on the kinds of issues which have been so dominant in the primaries.

No guarantee. But this year could be different. For one thing, we have reached a stage where there is today widespread acknowledgement that some major shifts in national policy are necessary to resolve fundamental social and economic problems.

If some clear policy and issue differences between the two candidates become a major theme of the Presidential race this fall, this could be a decisive election for the next decade. The effort to restore fairness and equity to our overall tax structure in America would have profound consequences for our economic system and would certainly require other changes. Pursuit of a genuine policy of full employment through a federal jobs program would also affect the future direction of economic development.

In raising these issues as they have, and by bringing forth specific proposals, the Democratic primaries have set the Presidential candidates far out in front of most of the Democratic members of Congress. A President elected on the platform which most of the candidates for the Democratic nomination adopted in the primaries would likely encounter as much opposition from members of his own party, as from the opposition!

There will be attempts from both sides to tone down the issues conflict in the general election. George McGovern may be afraid of losing conservatives within the ranks of his own party if he builds his campaign around strong pledges of reform. And the party in power will surely make a plea for “national unity” and “loyalty.” And certainly there will be attempts to shift the contest to emotional appeals based upon the vaulting rhetoric which comes so easily in the heat of a partisan contest.

Maybe the Democratic candidate will decide, as many have in the past, that the “most important thing is to get elected” and raise the tough issues later. But I have the feeling, at this stage of the contest anyway, that the mood of the electorate this year and the problems which trouble us just now may, together, force a confrontation with some basic decisions as to what direction we want to go as a nation.

That kind of ideological politics may have been uncharacteristic of the American political system in the past. But today, facing such choices as to what kind of nation we want in the future, and facing those choices directly in the political arena, is the only hope we have of recovering a sense of direction. Finally, that choice will involve a redistribution of resources and a shift of power. And isn't that what elections in a democracy should really be about?

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