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ABSTRACT

This student book, one in a series of civic education materials, focuses on white ethnic groups and how they influence the operation of the American political system. The ethnic groups which are investigated include Poles, Irish, Italians, and Jews. An ethnic person is defined as anyone who decides to identify with and live among those who share the same immigrant memories and values. Ethnic origin, ethnic loyalties, and ethnic considerations play an important role in the political process of the United States. A separate chapter focuses on each of the four minority groups and its role in the process of American politics. Jews, labeled as the shaken liberals, have historically been staunch supporters of the liberal tradition as a unified voter block, but apparent conservative trends are showing as a reaction to radical liberalism and its support of the Arab nations. The Irish built and dominated political organizations, known as machines, in several cities and their predominance in city politics continues today. Italians were rather slow in getting into politics, but in general Italians are politically conservative, strong American patriots, disunited due to internal identity conflicts, and assimilating rapidly into U.S. society. Truly a silent majority group, Poles have been inactive as an ethnic group, but they indicate recent growth in ethnic identity and pride. (Author/ND)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THE LAVINIA AND CHARLES P. SCHWARTZ CITIZENSHIP PROJECT

STUDENT BOOK

WHITE ETHNIC GROUPS AND AMERICAN POLITICS

by

Mark M. Krug

ADVISORY COMMITTEE: SCHWARTZ CITIZENSHIP PROJECT

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INTRODUCTION

This is the fifth unit in a series of civic education materials published by the Lavinia and Charles P. Schwartz Citizenship Project.

In keeping with the basic objectives of the new curriculum and citizenship, this unit focuses on one specific aspect of the operation of the American system of government.

White ethnic groups, especially the larger ones, the Poles, the Irish, the Italians and the Jews have influenced and still influence the American political process in many ways. How these influences operate in the American political system is the basic subject matter of this unit.

Literature on the subject of ethnicity and especially on the white ethnic groups in America is scarce. We hope that this unit, in some measure, will fill the gap.

Mark M. Krug
Professor of Education in History
Director, Schwartz Citizenship Project

PREFACE

News items and stories about the white ethnic groups, the Italians, the Poles, the Jews, the Irish and others, are now appearing in newspapers and magazines with increasing frequency. A topic that seems to have been shunned by the news media, by television, and by the movies, is emerging as newsworthy and relevant. The public seems to want to know about the Italians, the Poles, the Jews, and other white ethnics in our country.

There are several rather complex reasons for this awakened interest in ethnicity and ethnic groups. Whatever the reasons, it would seem only proper and timely for our society, and especially its scholars, to turn its attention to the white ethnic minorities, who roughly comprise a fifth of the American population. This figure does not include the 20 million blacks and many millions of Spanish Americans. Our discussion will be confined to the major white ethnic groups who comprise about 40 million people.

The last population census ascertained that 34 million Americans or 19 per cent of the total population were of "foreign stock." The Census Bureau defines "foreign stock" as "coming from a foreign country, or with at least one foreign born parent." In addition, millions of ethnics in America, so defined by themselves and by others, are second or even third generation Americans. Over 600 foreign newspapers are published in the United States with a total readership of over 3,000,000. Hundreds of radio stations have foreign language programs, and an estimated one million children attend schools operated by various ethnic groups. Several million ethnics belong to ethnic organizations like the Polish National Alliance, the German-American National Congress, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the American Jewish Committee, the Czechoslovak Society of America, the Sons of Italy, and many others.

Even a superficial inquiry into the history of immigration into the United States, an analysis of the present political and social structure of our country, and even a cursory look at the operation of our political system, would easily lead to a conclusion that the various ethnic groups, with their special ideological outlooks and voting

preferences, constitute one of the most powerful factors in the American society and in its politics. And yet, we know relatively little about this subject.

It may be wise to reconsider a rather widely held view, that the ethnic groups in America are a passing phenomenon to be soon absorbed in the American melting pot. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is strong evidence that most of the ethnic groups are strong, thriving, and are here to stay, at least for the foreseeable future. If this is so, then it is time to start talking, writing and teaching about the forgotten ethnics in America, not to apologize for their existence and tenacity with which they keep their identity, but to try to understand their problems, hopes, and aspirations.

Many scholars long ago predicted that white ethnics will disappear from American life. It is now clear that predictions about the disappearance of ethnic groups in America were, at least, premature. Ethnicity or immigrant group consciousness has proven to have a great vitality and a remarkable tenacity for survival. Ethnic groups and ethnics are very much in evidence in almost every facet of American life, especially in patterns of residence, in voting patterns, and in their response to the racial crisis in large urban centers. The role and influence of ethnic groups in politics is most prominent. In fact, it is evident that the deepening of the crisis in black and white relations served to revive and strengthen the ethnic identities of Italians, Greeks, Poles, Jews, etc. The realization that their parents and grandparents were not accorded a cordial welcome or given much assistance by the dominant American society, and that the advancement, economic, social and political of the ethnic groups, has often been achieved in spite of obstacles put in their way, may have also contributed to the conscious or subconscious determination of the children of immigrants to keep their ties to their respective ethnic groupings.

This is not to say that all children and grandchildren of immigrants are ethnics. It may be helpful to first define the term ethnic. As a working definition, we would term as an ethnic any one who, for whatever reason, decides to identify with and live among those who share the same immigrant memories and values. Obviously, millions of Americans, including millions of sons and grandchildren of immigrants, do not pay any attention to their ethnic origins. Many of them married outside their ethnic group and their children do not consider ethnic origins in their plans for matrimony. They look upon themselves and are "just Americans." But to about forty million Americans,

ethnic affiliation seems to be very important. They choose to live among ethnics of the same origin, many insist on their children marrying within the group, and many do all they can, through supplementary schools and summer camps, to instill in their children a knowledge of and a love for their particular cultural background.

While some old identifications and attachments have somewhat weakened, an American nation in which it would not matter whether a man or a woman was of Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Italian or Polish origin, has not as yet emerged. Ethnic origin does matter and many children and grandchildren of immigrants think of themselves and are considered by others as belonging to various ethnic groups. America is a united nation, recognizable as such, with deep bonds of patriotism and strong common cultural ties and patterns, but its unity is not of the melting pot variety, but rather a unity in diversity.

In no other single area is ethnicity and ethnic origin as important as in American politics. Ethnic origin, ethnic loyalties and ethnic considerations play a very important role in the political process of this country.

It is curious to read today the sentiments of President Theodore Roosevelt on the subject of ethnic voting. In an address before the Knights of Columbus in 1915, entitled "Americanism," Roosevelt said:

> "For an American citizen to vote, as a German-American, an Irish-American, or an English-American, is to be a traitor to American institutions; and those hyphenated Americans who terrorize American politicians by threats of the foreign vote are engaged in treason to the American republic."

In spite of these strong convictions of President Roosevelt, millions of Americans since 1915 voted according to their ethnic loyalties, and more millions of Irish, Italians, Jews, and other minorities, have pressured and still pressure politicians to support their particular causes. America has learned to live with and accept ethnic loyalties and allegiances, as long as the same do not interfere with the basic loyalty to America.

Any analysis of election results in Presidential, Congressional or local elections, which leaves out the ethnic factor is incomplete and distorted. Our focus in the discussion of the white ethnic groups in the United States will be on their role in the process of American politics.

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CHAPTER 1

THE JEWS--THE SHAKEN LIBERALS

It is not easy to generalize about the five and a half million Jews in America. Most generalizations about Jews turn out to be partly true and partly false. For instance, there is no doubt that American Poles are generally considered an ethnic and not a religious community (in spite of the fact that the Poles are overwhelmingly Roman Catholics) but Jews are often grouped with the Protestants and Catholics as one of the three religious communities in the United States. But if religion is the identifying criterion, then what about the two million Jews who have no religious affiliation, or the substantial number of Jews who acknowledge their membership in the Jewish community, but profess to be agnostics or atheists? Obviously, Jews are more than a religious community.

While accurate statistics are not available, it is estimated that over two million Jews out of five and a half million belong either to a Jewish communal, fraternal, Zionist or charitable organization. This is a much higher percentage of affiliation than that found in other ethnic groups. Only ten per cent of Poles belong to any Polish-American organization and the ratio is even smaller among the Irish and the Italians. While Jews have assimilated culturally in the dominant society, by adopting its language and mores, most of them seem to be determined to preserve their distinct cultural or religious values. The goal of total assimilation has little support in the Jewish community and intermarriage, while on the rise, is frowned upon by the older generation.

Jewish Voting Preferences

In no other area is the distinctive character of Jewish ethnicity more evident than in the area of politics and voting preferences. Jews have historically been the staunchest supporters of the liberal tradition in America. The country may be moving to the right, as some assert, but the Jews, with some notable exceptions, are still overwhelm-

high on the side of liberalism. In view of the growing tensions in our society this has not been an easy position to maintain for a relatively small ethnic group. Never in the history of our country has there been so much open discussion of ethnicity and ethnic bloc voting as in the period which preceded the 1970 Congressional elections.

Several opinion polls, conducted before the 1970 elections, provided some enlightening statistics. On October 25th, the New York Times announced the results of a New York statewide poll conducted by the New York Times and the Yankelevich Survey organization. In the gubernatorial race between Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the Republican candidate, and Arthur Goldberg, the Democratic candidate, the survey showed sharp differences among the respondents who identified themselves as Italian-Americans and Jews. Fifty-three per cent of Italians expressed a preference for Rockefeller and 19% for Goldberg, while 68% of Jews said they intended to vote for Goldberg, while 16% were for Rockefeller. Over 50% of polled Italians said they were enrolled Democrats.

More importantly, 50% of Jews polled described themselves as "liberals," 27% said they were "moderates" and 76% of the Jews gave President Nixon a negative job rating.

> The New York Times summarized the conclusions for the poll in these words:
>
> "A statewide survey of voter attitudes indicates that New York politicians are essentially correct in viewing state elections in terms of ethnic groups - with a majority of Irish and Italian Roman Catholics on one side and a majority of Jews and non whites on the other."

The constancy of the liberal convictions of American Jews can be judged when one recalls that in 1954 a similar question was asked by the Gallup Poll concerning the activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy. That poll disclosed that 58% of Catholics had a favorable opinion of McCarthy, and 40% of Protestants supported him, but only 15% of Jews expressed approval of the Wisconsin Senator. An overwhelming majority of the Jews polled voiced strong opposition to the powerful Senator and the tactics he employed to fight alleged communist influences in the Federal Government.

In recent years there have been about fifteen Jewish Congressmen in the House of Representatives and either one or two Jewish Senators. All Jewish Congressmen are considered liberals as far as their voting record on foreign and domestic issues is considered. At this writing there are two Jewish Senators, Jacob Javits of New York and Abraham Rubicoff of Connecticut. Both Javits, a Republican, and Rubicoff,

a Democrat, are liberals and their voting records are almost identical on both foreign and domestic issues.

Is there such a thing as a Jewish voting bloc? Do Jews vote for Jewish candidates? The answers to these questions are as complex as are the Jewish voting patterns. Jews, as a rule, vote for a Jewish candidate if he is on a ticket, provided that he is liberal on domestic issues, an internationalist and dovish in foreign affairs. They shun conservatives, hawks, or isolationists, and in recent years they would unhesitatingly refuse to vote for a candidate who was not in favor of American support for Israel. Jews prefer to vote for a Democrat, although, as in the cases of Senator Javits of New York or Senator Case of New Jersey, they vote for a Republican who is a proven liberal and an advocate of peace and international cooperation. There is no hesitation in any Jewish constituency to reject a Jewish candidate who is a conservative, even a mild conservative, when the alternative is a Gentile liberal. Let's look, for instance, at the 20th Congressional district which includes the West Side of Manhattan and part of the Bronx. The population is about 40% Jewish, 30% Irish, and 20% black. In the 1970 election, William F. Ryan, the Democratic Congressman, was opposed by William Goldstein, a Jewish lawyer. Ryan is one of the most outspoken liberals in the House and a consistent critic of the Vietnam War. During the campaign he spoke vigorously against the war, blaming Vietnam for the problems of crime, student unrest, and inflation. Goldstein accused Ryan of appeasement of the communists, declared himself a supporter of Nixon on foreign and domestic issues, and said that he favored the so-called "no knock" crime bill which Congressman Ryan opposed. Ryan was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. His office estimated that he received 80% of the Jewish vote in the district. This pattern of Jewish voters drowning a Jewish candidate and supporting a liberal non-Jewish opponent has been followed consistently by American Jews.

James Yaffe, in his perceptive volume The American Jews, writes that "Jews pride themselves on their individualism, on the independence of their opinions, yet their political behavior can be predicted more easily than that of any other ethnic group in America. There definitely is a Jewish vote." Yaffe could also have added that Jewish voting patterns are subject to certain rather easily discernible rules. Jews vote for liberals and not for conservatives, they vote for internationalists and not for isolationists, and they have a marked predilection for the well educated and

even for intellectual cupboards. The deeply imbedded voting preferences of Jews have their roots in their history on this continent.

Brief Survey of Jewish Immigration

Few Jews were part of Colonial America. The small Jewish community consisted largely of Portuguese and Spanish Jews. They were not welcome in the Puritan-dominated New World. The Puritans believed that Jews were dispersed all over the globe as a punishment and a testimony for their rejection of Jesus as the Son of God. They also believed that Jews would soon convert to Christianity and await with them the coming of the Millennium. Cotton Mather prayed fervently for the conversion of the Jews. On July 15, 1699, Mather included this prayer in his sermon:

> "This day from the dust where I lay prostrate, before the Lord, I lifted up my cries: For the conversion of the Jewish Nation and for my own having the happiness, at some time or another, to baptize a Jew, that should be my ministry."

But Mather was due for a disappointment because very few Jews converted. While he deplored Jewish stubbornness, he publicly opposed the persecution of Jews.

The first sizeable Jewish immigration came to America from Germany in the 1840's. Jews left Europe during the collapse of the liberal revolutions in the 1830's and especially the Revolution of 1848. Some Jews came in the same large wave of German immigration of the so-called Forty-Eighters. But on the whole, Jews came to America for economic and political reasons. A few of them were artisans, but most were small merchants and some professionals. On the whole they were a well educated group of immigrants and since they were politically liberal, they found American democracy very attractive. What they prized most were the opportunities for economic advancement and individual enterprise.

Jews settled in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, and in many smaller cities and towns, built temples and established schools with German as the language of instruction. Their financial success was remarkable. Many of them started as peddlers, travelling across the land and then settling in the city of their choice. Many of the most famous department stores of today, Altman's, Marcus-Neiman's, Macy's and Bloomingdale's were founded by these German-Jewish peddlers. Banking houses were founded by the Schiffs, Warburgs, Kuhns, Loebs, Seligmans and Lehmans. Between 1840 and 1880, the Jewish population rose from 15,000 to nearly a quarter of a million.

Jews, in the period preceding the Civil War were Democrats, and they formed a powerful group in New York's main political organization, Tammany Hall. After the breakup of the Democratic Party which resulted from the passage of the Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Northern Jews switched their allegiances to the new Republican Party founded by Abraham Lincoln, Horace Greeley, William Seward and others. The issue which brought them to the Republican Party was opposition to slavery. Since the slavery of the Jews in Egypt was repeatedly condemned in the Old Testament and since Jews have for centuries celebrated Passover to commemorate their redemption from slavery into freedom, it was natural for them to become ardent supporters of Lincoln and of the emancipation of slaves. In addition, Lincoln's repudiation of the Know-Nothing Party and its nativist, anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish views endeared him to the Jews. Generally Jews remained faithful to the Republican Party until the Presidency of Woodrow Wilson. However, by 1912, when Woodrow Wilson became the candidate of the Democratic Party for the Presidency, Jews switched to the Democrats and became a considerable force in Democratic Party and in national politics.

Between 1880 and 1910 over three million Jews came to America, mostly from Russia and what is today Poland and Czechoslovakia. This was a mass immigration which rapidly changed the nature and character of the Jewish community in America. Jewish immigrants came to the United States from the cities and towns of Russia, where they lived in restricted areas and where governmental regulations forced them to make a livelihood as peddlers, artisans and small merchants. Their mass flight from Russia and Poland was a flight from poverty and oppression. Most of the intellectuals, the engineers, doctors, journalists and writers, were socialists or Zionists who fled from the oppression and persecution of Czarist secret police. To these millions of Jewish immigrants, America was a land of freedom and opportunity. They loved America, which was their dream and the hope of their life in the wretched "shtetlech" or townships in Europe. America was for the Jewish immigrants a "Goldene Medina," A Golden Land, a haven of refuge, a country of freedom and opportunity after centuries of wandering and oppression across Europe and other continents. In this glorification of America, Jewish immigrants differed considerably from the general attitude of many other immigrant groups.

Unlike many Polish and Italian immigrants, Jews came to America to stay. They

had no intention of accumulating some money and returning to their native villages or cities in the Old Country. They had no sentimental nostalgic feelings about the places they came from. On the contrary, they wanted to forget them as soon as possible and were determined to become American citizens as soon as the law would allow. Among Jews it was a "tzvah," a religious good deed, almost a religious commandment, to become a citizen as quickly as the law would allow and to vote in elections. Since they were literate they had little difficulty in meeting the legal requirements for citizenship.

There were many similarities between the masses of Jewish immigrants and the immigrants from Poland and Southern Italy, but important differences must also be noted. Jews were as bewildered by the new American environment and suffered as much of a culture-shock as the Poles and Italians, but they had one important advantage. They had had centuries of experience in adjusting to new environments, new cultures and new governments. They had learned by experience how to live among the Russians, the Poles and the Lithuanians, and still remain a separate entity. They knew that they were, by their own decision and the will of the majority population, not Russians, Poles, or Lithuanians, but Jews. In fact, they neither particularly wanted or were given the rights of citizenship in the countries of their habitation. For the Jews, the acceptance of a new government and an adjustment to an alien society presented much less difficulty than for the Polish or Italian immigrants. Jews had accumulated a great deal of experience on how to respond to hostility and discrimination and were prepared to cope with the same phenomena in America. In fact, they were experts in survival in a hostile environment. They knew how to ignore occasional anti-semitism and nativist propaganda and they fully appreciated the freedom and opportunities offered by the new country. They welcomed the pluralistic nature of America and rejoiced in its proclaimed egalitarianism and gladly disregarded or discounted the ridicule and animosity they sometimes encountered.

Jews were grateful to the new country for adhering to the principle of separation of church and state. In Russia where the Orthodox Church was almost identical with the state and in Poland where Polish nationalism and Polish Roman Catholicism were intrinsically bound together, Jews were subject to repeated denigration by the powerful state supported churches and to persecution by official government bodies. The lack of clear class distinctions in America made it easier for Jews to make their way

upward in the new society. The division between the landed gentry and the peasants, the "muziks," forced the Jews in Russia to act as intermediary between these two groups with the consequence that they became the scapegoats of both the big landowners and the oppressed peasants whenever an economic depression or a political crisis occurred.

Most Jewish immigrants were artisans and small merchants. Some were factory workers from the textile centers like Lodz or Bialystok. Jewish immigration also included intellectuals, writers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, actors and students from Russian universities, many of whom were involved in revolutionary activities. In general, this was a semi-skilled and a literate immigration. When the parents themselves lacked an education, or where their own education was limited to Hebrew studies, they more than made up for it by their zeal and determination to give a college education to their children. Passion for learning and a deep belief that education was the best road to advancement in life was, probably, the most important single characteristic of this new massive Jewish immigration to America. This dedication to learning and appreciation of knowledge were the direct consequence of generations of Jews who preserved their identity in many lands of dispersion by insisting that their ablest young men dedicate their lives to the study of the Torah and the Talmud. The public schools and the public school teachers have always enjoyed and still do, the strong support of the Jewish community. Jews feel a debt, a deep gratitude to the public school system and to the free universities, like the City College of New York, for the opportunities they have offered to their sons and grandsons.

The majority of the new immigrants drifted into the clothing trade. "Jewish immigrants," writes Moses Rischin, in The Promised City,"separated by religious proscriptions, customs and language from the surrounding city, found a place in the clothing industry where the initial shock of contact with a bewildering world was tempered by a familiar milieu." Other Jews found jobs in another industry, familiar to them from Russia and Poland--cigar making. It was in the clothing industry that Jews were destined to make a lasting contribution to the American Trade Union movement through the organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. After an initial period of bitter strikes, collective bargaining and mediation of disputes became the established

practices in the clothing industry, which were then widely imitated in other industries. Significantly, since the bosses were Jewish and most of the workers were Jewish, the owners of clothing factories were subject to very effective pressure from the generally liberal Jewish community which sympathized with the demands of workers for a living wage and for adequate and safe working conditions.

It took the Jews, and especially the over one million Jews who settled in the Lower East Side and in Central Harlem of New York, little time to become a powerful factor in the politics of New York City and the state. As we said, Jews were overwhelmingly Republicans. Their particular favorite was Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt endeared himself to Jews when he served as the head of the New York City Board of Police and then as Governor of the State. He made no secret of his friendship with many Jews and when T. R. became President he appointed Oscar Straus to become the first Jew to serve in the Cabinet as Secretary of Commerce and Labor. Jews were also deeply grateful to President Roosevelt for his vigorous condemnation of the persecution of Jews by the Czarist governments.

The shift from the Republican to the Democratic Party came in 1912 when Woodrow Wilson ran on the Democratic ticket. Wilson was almost irresistably attractive to Jewish voters. He was a liberal whose record as Governor of New Jersey included laws providing compensation for the unemployed, and strict regulations governing the labor of women and children. Woodrow Wilson was a known internationalist and very importantly he was an intellectual, a distinguished political science professor, and a former President of Princeton University. All in all, an answer to the Jewish ideal image of a political leader.

Sources of Jewish Liberalism

It may be useful here to explain the Jewish steadfast adherence to political liberalism and to social welfare legislation. Throughout their wanderings in various lands of the Diaspora, Jews learned an important lesson. They saw a direct correlation between the conservative and reactionary regimes and anti-semitism and repression. Contrarywise, their long experience has shown that they lived in relative security and prospered in countries ruled by liberal governments. Czarist Russia, with the "Pale of Settlement," the rampant anti-semitism, the ritual blood murder trials and the pogroms, was a classic example of how an unenlightened reactionary

regime treated the Jews within its borders. Periods of relaxation in political repression, followed by liberal reforms like that which came after the Revolution in Russia in 1905, always brought an improvement in the lot of the Jews.

Jews remembered that their brethren lived in relative freedom under the long rule of Emperor Franz Joseph of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, which was a constitutional monarchy with a fairly enlightened government. Dictatorships, military juntas, states which had an established religion, and governments which were oblivious to the poverty and sufferings of the under-privileged, have proven to be bad risks for Jews throughout their long history. Those lessons have not been forgotten by Jews until this day.

Responsibility for the plight of the poor, for the widows and orphans, has been part of the Jewish tradition. It was a logical consequence of the emphasis in Jewish religion on this worldliness. Since the promise of immortality plays a relatively minor role in Jewish religious thinking, the right of every person to a good life on this earth becomes paramount. Deuteronomy 15, Verse 7, states:

> "If there be among you a poor man of one of the brethren within any of the gates in thy land which the Lord God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother."

The Bible contains specific welfare legislation. All debts were cancelled every seventh year, so that the poor could get a new start toward economic advancement. Every fiftieth year was to be proclaimed a Year of Jubilee, when all land reverted to the original owners. Every man was, under this law, allowed to return to his ancestral home.

Landowners were enjoined to leave a part of their fields at harvest time as a "peah" or a corner to be harvested by the poor of the community. The rabbis of the Talmud later specified the size of the "peah" and made it clear that on that part of the owners' property the poor were to gather the crop as of right and not as charity. The Book of Ruth describes the workings of another part of welfare legislation under which the poor were allowed to follow the harvesters and gather the sheaves of wheat which the scythes did not cut.

The Prophets, especially Amos and Isaiah, castigated greedy large landowners who dispossessed destitute peasants from their land and who exploited the poor and neglected the widows and orphans. Amos cried out against the fat women of Samaria

who were living in luxury while the poor suffered. He urged of his brethren, "Justice, Justice Thou Shall Pursue."

Bolstered by the Biblical laws and the admonitions of the Prophets, the poor of Israel have, from the earliest period of their history, considered it their right to be taken care of by their community. Significantly, the word charity in Hebrew, "Tzdakah," comes from the word "Tzedek" which means Justice. Thus, giving charity has been expected of every Jew even of modest means and it became unthinkable for a Jewish community, however poor, not to take care of its poor, its widows and orphans.

In almost every city Jews maintain well equipped Jewish Centers for youths and adults, family aid societies, vocational schools, clinics and hospitals. In recent years, the Jewish Welfare funds which supervise these institutions were confronted with a peculiar problem. There simply are not enough poor Jews who need these philanthropic services, especially in the big charity hospitals. Consequently, the large Jewish hospitals in New York, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia are serving mostly blacks, Puerto Ricans and Spanish-Americans.

Jews in American Politics Today

The number of Jewish Congressmen went down in 1971 from 19 only a few years ago to 14. Jews have lost influence in the Democratic Party, where they wielded a great deal of power in the days of F.D.R.'s New Deal, the Presidencies of Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy. They were an important part of the Grand Democratic Coalition, which included some Protestants, many Catholics, blacks, and leaders and members of Labor Unions and ethnic minority groups. This coalition is shaky and in the process of losing some of its charter groups. The source of Jewish political power was their concentration in big cities where they were able to deliver an important vote in crucial elections. Now Jews do not live in such large blocs in the cities because many of them moved to the suburbs where their political power became diffused and absorbed in the usually large Republican vote.

In addition, since most Jews are economically rather well off, they no longer need help or patronage from the big city political machines. Consequently, they look upon themselves as independent voters on local and state issues and vote for Democratic or Republican candidates according to their qualifications. The price that Jews pay for the loss of their traditional political allies and for the withdrawal

of much of their support from big city political machines is less political power not only on the local, but also on the national level.

Conservative Trends in the Jewish Community

There is much evidence that many Jewish intellectuals, who with some Gentile writers, form the Literary Establishment in New York and its environs, have shifted from a liberal to a more conservative position. Nathan Glazer, the Harvard sociologist and co-author with Daniel Moynihan of Beyond the Melting Pot, wrote in the October 1970 issue of Commentary:

> "How does a radical--a mild radical, it is true, but still one who felt closer to radical than to liberal writers and politicans in the late 1950's--end up by early 1970 a conservative, a mild conservative, but still closer to those who now call themselves conservative than to those who call themselves liberal."

Glazer's traumatic experience which shook the faith in dogmatic liberalism was the Free Speech Movement's rebellion at Berkeley when Glazer was a professor there. While sympathetic to rebelling students, he concluded that if they had their way, free inquiry, free discussion, and rational discourse would have ended at Berkeley and on other university campuses. The young radical guerrillas bent on destruction of the American political, economic and social system would in Glazer's view, if successful, bring about not an improvement in the lot of the poor, but "a radical reduction in the general standard of living."

In a story dealing with Glazer's revelations about himself, the New York Times interviewed other Jewish intellectuals whom it called the "Label-Makers." Paul Goodman said that he was "always a conservative anarchist, a passivist anarchist and a decentralist, and Irving Kristol, co-editor of Public Interest, said, "What's the point of arguing? I started moving right a long time ago. In my case it's been a pretty steady drift, ever since 1942." Norman Podhoretz, of the Commentary, told the reporter that the political skepticism of the fifties had slid into an activist faith in the sixties, [but] "now" some of us...are convinced that it has become more important to insist once again on the freedom of large areas of human experience from the power of politics."

All this is obviously no simple-minded backlash to the race issue or the turmoil and riots on the campuses. On the contrary, the new "conservatism" of some Jewish intellectuals is paradoxically the logical consequence of their deep commitment

to liberalism. If being "liberal" means acceptance of the concepts of naked power of the Black Panthers or the concept of an inherent right to violate the "white" law of society, or the concept of the S.D.S. on the unviability of the American system, or the repression of free inquiry and free discussion, these Jewish intellectuals reject this kind of liberalism. It may be that Michael Harrington, the author of The Other America, made the most apt comment about Glazer's "confessions." "My impression is," Harrington said, "that I don't see that big a change in Nat, I would give him absolution and tell him some of his sins are not necessary to confess." Jewish intellectuals are re-examining some of their former simplistic notions about a free society and race relations, but their basic adherence to liberalism and libertarianism still seems to be in evidence.

The great mass of Jews, as the 1970 Congressional elections in New York, Chicago, and California showed, have remained faithful to the liberal Democratic banner. However, there has been some shift to the right which cannot be ignored and its causes ought to be analyzed.

The support by the Black Panther Party and other black militants to the Arab guerrillas in the struggle between Israel and the Arab states, contributed to the conservative trend in the Jewish community. Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, the exiled leader of the Panther Party, who now resides in Arab Algeria, have all proclaimed their solidarity with the aims of the Arab liberation movements to destroy Israel as "an outpost of foreign imperialism and colonialism." This anti-Israel position is not shared by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and has been repeatedly repudiated by Negro leaders, including the late Dr. Martin Luther King, the late Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin.

The massive military support given by the Soviet Union to the Arabs, the hostility of Russia to the State of Israel, has also pushed some American Jews to embrace more conservative views on U.S.-Soviet relations, on defense spending and even on the Vietnam War. The Soviets are fanning this growing hostility and budding conservatism by their inexcusable mistreatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and their refusal to allow those Jews who wish to do so, to immigrate to Israel. Defense of Russian Jews against discrimination has become a universal and popular cause of almost all Jewish organizations and religious groups. Demonstrations, protests against the

Soviet Union have not been conducted only by the Jewish Defense League. They take place regularly in all centers of Jewish population in America, and they have a cumulative effect in pushing many Jews into the conservative camp.

In a very significant speech given by Charles E. Silberman, one of the editors of Fortune Magazine and the author of the best-seller, Crisis in American Classrooms, warned American Jews in a speech delivered to the Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee in May, 1968, against the growing conservatism and anti-Negro prejudice in the Jewish community. "I am worried," Silberman said, "about the future of Judaism in America...the greatest threat to our survival comes from assimilation--assimilation to the dominant attitudes, values and mores of American society--to the materialism and hedonism and increasingly, to the prejudice and discrimination, to the racism of white America." He urged Jews to return to their "essential liberalism and decency on questions of race and their commitment to racial justice."

It seems that the American public in general finds it difficult to understand the relationship between American Jews and the State of Israel. The overwhelming majority of American Jews (the notable exception being a segment of Jewish radical students) seem to be devoted to the survival of Israel as an independent Jewish state. In addition to the feeling of kinship for their brethren in Israel, American Jews are convinced that the destruction of Israel would have a detrimental, if not disastrous effect on their own position in the United States. Many of them find a source of pride and satisfaction in the fact that after two thousand years of wanderings and persecution, Jews have a state, a state which serves as a place of haven and refuge, a state represented in the United Nations and a state whose Prime Minister is received with honors (due to all heads of state) in the White House. They may never avail themselves of that haven of refuge, but they want to be sure that it is there. This has nothing to do with their unquestioned loyalty to America--it is an almost automatic historical reflex to the murder of six million Jews by the Nazis.

Even more significantly, Jews are inordinately proud of the political, economic, and social progress made by Israel, especially of the courage and military prowess of the Israeli Army. They see in the widely praised record of the Israeli Army at least a partial recompense for the humiliation they suffered when they helplessly watched Hitler's bullies slaughter millions of defenseless Jews.

Sol Linowitz, former board chairman of Xerox Corporation and former United States Ambassador to the Organization of American States who has not been very active in the American Jewish community, expressed this universally held pride in Israel when he told a reporter from Newsweek: "The Israeli victory in the six-day way in 1967 was the end of the image of the Jew as a loser. He became a man, who resembles David more than Shylock." In a poll taken by the same magazine, 95% of the Jews wanted the United States to support Israel diplomatically and by military equipment and an astounding 49% felt that the U.S. ought to continue this support even at the risk of being involved in a war. Some spokesmen for American Jews have repeatedly testified that they find it difficult to impress upon Administration officials and some members of Congress how deeply and widely these sentiments are held by American Jews. Jews vote for candidates, as we have said, on the basis of many domestic and foreign policy considerations. Among the latter, attitude to Israel has become increasingly important.

In the 19th Congressional District in New York City, which has a population of 445,000 and includes the West Village, Chelsea and the Upper West Side of Manhattan, the 1970 election evolved primarily on the issue of American support for Israel. This is an economically and racially mixed district in which Jews constitute the largest ethnic bloc. There are also large concentrations of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Italians and pockets of Poles and Ukrainians. Barry Farber, a colorful radio announcer-personality, who was the Republican-Liberal candidate, accused Bella Abzug, the Democratic candidate, of not being enthusiastically in favor of American military and economic aid to Israel. He cited a remark made by Mrs. Abzug earlier in the year, that she "would find it difficult to support jets for Israel." Mrs. Abzug indignantly denied Farber's accusations and told her audiences repeatedly that Israel must receive the jets and economic assistance that she requires."

Farber hammered at the Israel issue and came from behind to pose a serious threat to Mrs. Abzug in this traditionally Democratic district. In the end, Bella Abzug, a vigorous and flamboyant campaigner, pushed ahead and won the election by a narrow margin. But there is little doubt that Congresswoman Abzug will have to demonstrate a much more vigorous pro-Israel stand if she wants to stay in Congress.

The most disturbing manifestation of the backlash in the Jewish community is

the emergence of the Jewish Defense League. This League, led by Rabbi Meir Kahane, makes no bones of its objectives to defend the Jews, by force if necessary, against crime in the streets and job pressure. In essence, the Jewish Defense League is a Jewish vigilante movement--anti-Negro and anti-Soviet. The League conducts vigorous anti-Soviet propaganda in protest against the mistreatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. When in November 1970 Soviet offices were bombed in New York, Rabbi Kahane disclaimed any "direct responsibility" for the acts, but "applauded the action" and predicted similar acts of violence against the Soviet Union by "uptight American Jews distraught over the plight of Soviet Jewry."

The activities of the Jewish Defense League have been repeatedly denounced by the leaders of American Jews and by Mrs. Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, as contrary to Jewish traditions and inimical to the interests of American Jews and as potentially injurious to the status of Jews in the Soviet Union. But there is evidence that the League has some acceptance among the rank-file Jews, especially in the Orthodox community. In a poll conducted by Newsweek Magazine in March, 1971, 71% of Jews disapproved of the League and 14% supported its activities.

All this is not to suggest that Jews are turning away from their massive support for liberal Democrats and liberal causes. But there are indications that racial and political tensions do push some Jews toward a more conservative stance. As the crisis in the cities becomes more acute, this trend may well continue or even be accelerated.

Concern about Jewish Youth

While ethnic solidarity among the older Jews has been growing, the American Jew is viewing the weakening of the Jewish identity of the youth, with growing alarm. Max Fisher, the President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, said in an address at the convention in Boston in 1969, that "many delegates came, proving, but not really believing that the American Jewish community faced the frightening possibility that we could lose almost an entire generation of our young people." A year later, at the convention in Kansas City, he repeated the same warning and added that "the American Jewish leadership had not found the magic answer for bringing back our youth."

J. I. Fishbein, the outspoken editor of The Sentinel, a popular Anglo-Jewish weekly in Chicago, wrote in an editorial in November 1970: "Assimilation is growing. Intermarriage has become a common thing. Our college youth are being increasingly alienated, unable to find a relevancy within the synagogue or communal activities."

In a lecture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Dr. John Slawson, former long-time executive vice-president of the American Jewish Committee, stated that the vast majority of the 35,000 Jewish students--who comprise 85 per cent of the American Jewish youth--are indifferent or apathetic to Jewish values and Jewish group identification. They have little or no concern about their being Jewish and consequently the rate of intermarriage among third generation college educated Jewish youth and Jewish college professors is very high.

There is much to support these expressions of concern. Jewish college youth (and that means the great majority of Jewish college-age population) on the whole, find little interest in the synagogue or in Jewish religious practices. Many of them are leaders and members of anti-Israel and anti-Zionist radical revolutionary groups, few are interested in the continuous fund-raising for Israel or the Jewish philanthropies, and many seem to have no compunction to inter-marry and leave the Jewish community altogether. The American Jewish Yearbook of 1970 found that 10 to 15 per cent of marriages consummated by Jewish persons were mixed. The author of the survey, Arnold Schwartz, suggested that one of the important factors contributing to the increase in intermarriage is the rapid attenuation of differences in the life-style of Jews and non-Jews. Schwartz also noted that not only Jews have become fully adjusted to American life, but that Jews have succeeded, through their writers, playwrights and comedians, to infuse American cultural life with Jewish mores, expressions, food preferences and values.

Professor Ernest Van den Haag, the author of The Jewish Mystique, found on the basis of an extensive survey that the rate of defection from their religious roots and convictions of Jewish students at twelve colleges studied was much higher than that of Catholic and Protestant students. Dr. Bernard Lander, a sociologist from Hunter College, reported at the 1970 meeting of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations that other studies indicated that 26 per cent of Jewish college students raised as Jews no longer consider themselves Jews.

However, this picture has another side to it. There is also evidence that a small, but vocal, group of Jewish young people are demanding (and getting) representation and a voice on the boards of local Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds and that many young Jews throughout the country have organized for the support of Israel and for the defense of the rights of Soviet Jews to cultural freedom and immigration. A considerable number of young American Jews, disenchanted with America, have decided to settle in Israel, although some of them still retain American citizenship. Still other young Jews have organized 'chavurot' or fellowships to live communally and to rediscover old Jewish traditions and values.

There is a growing movement of radical Jewish college students who affirm their commitment to the Jewish people, to Jewish values, but who express opposition, and even contempt, for the "Jewish Establishment." They charge the leaders of the Jewish community as being guilty of an over-cautious assimilationist mentality in dealing with anti-semitism, Israel and Russian Jewry, and of ignoring the democratic process. These young Jewish radicals who are now organized on about forty campuses and who publish their own newspapers, have been responsible for demonstrations against the Russian government and against the Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds whom they accuse of allocating too little in support of Jewish schools.

In summary, the Jewish youth is in a state of flux. They are disenchanted with the traditional modes of Jewish communal life, some have doubts about the State of Israel, and many express open contempt for the "feasts" of Bar Mitzvah and opulent Jewish weddings, or for the usual expectation of their parents to study and be "nice Jewish boys and girls." Professor Arthur Waskow, in a perceptive essay in the New York Times, after noting these dilemmas, concluded:

> "So the die seems cast. Either the American Jewish community will disappear during the next generation, or it will survive through forms and values radically different."

There may be considerable exaggeration in this either-or alternative. American Jews will not disappear either in the next, or in the next after the next generation, and it is doubtful if this large, vital, and varied community can or will adopt radically different values and forms. What will probably happen is that a proportion of American Jews, fifteen to twenty per cent, will disappear through assimilation, while the rest will, as Jews have done through the centuries, make some adaptations

and compromises and muddle through as an ethnic community. They will accomplish this because they have developed through the many centuries of their dispersion in many lands a genius for acculturation, for learning, acquiring and adopting the values, traets and modes of behavior of the dominant culture, while at the same time resisting successfully total assimilation which would call for the giving up of their own cultural values.

What of the Future?

There is little doubt that American Jews are in the throes of a profound ideological crisis. The radicalization of some Jewish youth (probably no more than 5% of Jewish college students) and the alienation from Jewish life of a much larger segment of young Jewish men and women, the dilemmas confronting American Jews as a consequence of the constant peril to the existence of the State of Israel and the unforeseen course of the Black Revolution, have made American Jews unsure and jittery about their future. The emergence of the Jewish Defense League is only an outward symptom of this deep internal unrest and insecurity.

Paradoxically, much in the patterns of Jewish adult communal life and in its developing modes of social and political thinking is albeit unwittingly contributing to the alienation of the youth. The concentration on incessant fund-raising for Israel with the inevitable testimonial banquets for large donors to Israel Bonds, or the United Jewish Fund, leaves the Jewish youth and the young adults out in the cold. The trend toward conservatism, the slackening of enthusiasm for the struggle for racial equality, and the support by some segments of the Jewish community of right-wing and hawkish Democrats and Republicans, have alienated the people who are overwhelmingly liberal, in favor of civil rights and bitterly opposed to the Vietnam involvement. The single-minded concentration on Israel by many Jewish organizations and the absence of any meaningful discussion of the rights and wrongs in the Middle East conflict are sources of resentment among many Jewish college students and professors.

To all this must be added the significant loss of standing and influence of rabbis and synagogues. The synagogues do not attract Jewish young people to their services and activities and the rabbis have little influence in Jewish communal life.

"Is it possible" asked an editorial in the Anglo-Jewish weekly, The Jewish Post

and Opinion, "that our rabbis could be brought back into the mainstream of Jewish lay activity, and thus make the necessary contribution that their superior knowledge and training prepare them for. It is clear that for the past several decades or so, the rabbis have been almost totally ignored in the decision-making process in the Jewish community even in areas where they are the most competent and best advised." The writer of the editorial was not hopeful that a solution to this question can be found.

Dr. Marvin Feinstein, Director of the Jewish Studies Program in the City College of New York, estimated in a letter to the New York Times of December 7, 1970, that "some 60 per cent of American Jewish children received no Jewish schooling... [and] it may be assumed that a higher percentage abstained from synagogue attendance except on the rarest occasions.... The bitter truth," Feinstein added, "is that the majority of American Jewish young men and women are abysmally ignorant of every aspect of Jewish culture and ideals--a condition which robs them of historical identity, disorients them and frequently breeds Jewish self-hatred."

This is a rather grim picture, but it would be foolhardy to discard the impressive evidence from the long, and often painful, history of Jews in the Diaspora, which points to the almost uncanny tenacity of Jews to survive as a distinct religious and ethnic community. Earl Raab concluded an insightful analysis of the plight of American Jews with this sober yet hopeful paragraph:

> "American may have provided Jews an opportunity to take such a stance, to be active in history, and to help shape a human society in which history is actionable, that is, an open society struggling toward social justice. But the Jewish community can only seize that opportunity if it casts off the various forms of self-destructive innocence in which it has been caught and which are so deadly to its identity, to its meaning and indeed to its very existence."

Among these delusions of innocence, Raab listed the assumption that Jews have overcome their marginal status in America and that the establishment of the State of Israel has resulted in an improved status for Jews in America. In fact, it can be argued that the Arab hostility to Israel and the Soviet Union's involvement in the conflict on the side of the Arabs, have added to the complexity of the Jewish position, especially in relation to the policy of the United States in the Middle East.

The Jewish community suffers from lack of leadership. Gone are the days of such illustrious and widely respected Jewish leaders as Louis Marshall, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Justice Louis Brandeis or Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. There is no

one on the horizon of that stature. Since the whole world seems to be looking for charismatic leaders, it may be that one ought not to make too much of the lack of such leaders in the Jewish community.

It may be difficult if not impossible to find a satisfactory over-all conceptual framework which may be helpful in the analysis of the present status of American Jewry and which may provide some sensible basis for predictions as to its future. A similar problem faced the distinguished American historian, the late David Potter, when he attempted to find a generalization which would explain the basic ingredients of the American national character. In his search for such an over-arching generalization, Potter, as he explained in his book People of Plenty, asked three social scientists, Margaret Mead, the anthropologist, David Riesman, the sociologist, and Karen Horney, the psychoanalyst, to isolate some traits in the American national character. Mead suggested mobility and the success drive as main components, Riesman stressed concern for the opinions of the peer group and Horney singled out competition. Professor Potter then searched for one major determining factor in the formation of the American national character. He concluded that economic abundance was that determinant. "This state of relative abundance, of material plenty," Potter wrote, "has been a basic condition of American life and...has a pervasive, if undefined, influence upon the American people."

Without claiming too much for this analogy, one can cautiously suggest that the extraordinary affluence of American Jews has been largely responsible for their achievements, their outstanding contributions to American cultural life and that the same affluence may have also been an important factor in the disturbing trends, conflicts and the growing uncertainty about their future. Jews are by far the most affluent ethnic minority in the United States. Over 50% of American Jewish families have an income of between $7,000 and $15,000. These figures exceed the averages for the total population. Jewish contributions to philanthropic and cultural organizations in the U.S.A. are astronomic in comparison to those made by the other ethnic groups to their institutions. In 1967, which was the year of the war between Israel and the Arabs, Jewish Welfare Funds and Israel emergency campaigns raised 310 million dollars. The amount collected in 1969 was not much smaller. All this was in addition to the enormous sums raised by Jewish institutions of higher learning and the synagogues and temples.

However, it is this concentration on fund-raising that has contributed to the alienation of Jewish youth which is, of course, excluded from these activities. Some segments of Jewish youth, especially the college youth, resent this concentration on philanthropies (for largely non-existent poor Jews), and on aid to Israel as diminishing the interest of the Jewish community in opposing the Vietnam War and in helping the blacks in their struggle for equality. There is little question that the massive Jewish flight from the cities to the suburbs, which was made possible by their affluence and the competition between Jews and blacks in big cities for well-paying jobs in education and in city governments, has strained the relations between the Jews and the Negro community. The growing conservatism evident in the Jewish community can be, at least in part, traced to their economic affluence.

The same economic abundance has made it possible for American Jews to build new and magnificent temples and synagogues which because they need huge funds for their maintenance are ruled by small groups of the very rich. This keeps the young and the less affluent away from synagogue attendance and synagogue activities. Professor Ernest Van den Haag has predicted that "if present trends continue, in the year 2000 there will have never been more handsome, better endowed synagogues in America, nor so many; nor so few Jews." Not all experts share Professor Van den Haag's pessimism. Some assert that there are signs that many Jewish college youths are seeking and finding new ways for their identification with the Jewish religion, the Jewish ethical traditions and with Israel outside the synagogue. "They are," said Rabbi Jacob Neusner, professor of religion at Boston University, "explaining the meaning of big outside established synagogues and community organizations."

Economic affluence has made it possible for American Jews and particularly for its intellectual elite, which traditionally has had a great affinity for books, literature and arts, to become very influential in the cultural life of this country. It is common to speak of Jews as dominating the American Intellectual Establishment. In the field of literature there is Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, Norman Mailer and many others. Among the literary and intellectual magazines, there is Commentary, edited by Norman Podhoretz, the New York Review of Books, edited by Barbara Epstein and Robert Silvers and the Partisan Review, the New Leader, the Dissent and others whose editors are Jewish writers and critics.

It is not easy to prognosticate on the future of any ethnic community. Dealing with Jews, an ancient, peculiar and unique religious and ethnic minority, the task is well nigh impossible. All that can be said is that the next decade may prove to be decisive in shaping that future.

CHAPTER 2

THE IRISH--FROM RAGS TO RICHES

In 1862, a newspaper in New York gave this description of the Irish Catholic immigrant:

> "He [the Irish immigrant] never knew an hour of civilized society. . . born savage--as brutal a ruffian as an untamed Indian. . . a born criminal and pauper. . . a pitiful spectacle of a man. . . pushed straight to hell by that abomination against common sense called Catholic religion. . . To compare him with an intelligent Negro could be an insult to the latter. . . Scratch a convict or a pauper, and the chances are that you tickle the skin of an Irish Catholic."

It would be of interest to see the reaction to this passage by Senator Mike Mansfield, Senate Majority leader, Mayor Richard J. Daley, Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University, or Senator Edward J. Kennedy of Massachusetts. They would probably be amused at this display of nativist prejudices. However, prejudice was no laughing matter to the Irish Catholics who began coming to the United States in the 1800's and 1820's in large numbers, because of the famine which resulted from the repeated failure of potato crops in Ireland. By 1850, the Irish constituted 44% of all the foreign born in the United States. Between 1820 and 1970, about three million Irishmen immigrated to the United States.

The process by which Irish immigration made New York City a predominantly Irish city is a fascinating story. Irish hegemony has long since ended as the result of large Italian and Jewish immigration and a huge influx of blacks and Puerto Ricans into the city. The 1850 census showed that there were 133,730 Irish people in New York City and by 1855, about 35% of the population was Irish. In 1890, out of one million and a quarter inhabitants in New York, about 425,000 were Irish. In Boston, in 1845, one out of five inhabitants was Irish.

The early Irish immigrants, mostly laborers and small farmers, were wretchedly poor, illiterate, and many of them spoke only Gaelic. On the streets of New York, Boston and Philadelphia, they were a bewildered lot. The culture shock of

the transition of these rural folks into city people was great indeed. They were Catholics, a generally unpopular minority in a predominantly Protestant country, which still harbored strong anti-Catholic Puritan prejudices. The working class generally, and particularly the members of the Knights of Labor, the first labor unions in America, feared the competition of these hungry Irish laborers who were willing to work long and hard at the most menial jobs for low wages. Many thousands of Irishmen worked on the construction of railroad tracks, often under difficult and dangerous conditions.

The hatred against the Irish immigrants exploded into violence and riots. In 1834 a mob burned an Irish Catholic convent and orphanage in Philadelphia, killing a number of nuns and children. A few years later, there was a three-day riot in Philadelphia which left fourteen dead and forty Irish homes and churches burned. The rioters invaded Kensington, the Irish suburb of Philadelphia (we have mentioned Kensington before in connection with a recent riot of its Irish inhabitants against Negroes), and order was not restored until the governor called out the militia to quell the riot.

The Philadelphia riot was instigated by several nativist or "purely" American societies. In 1854, the American Know Nothing Party which was anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic was formed. President John F. Kennedy, in his book, A Nation of Immigrants, remarked with wry humor that: "The Irish are perhaps the only people in our history with the distinction of having a political party, the Know-Nothings, formed against them." The name of the party came from instructions given the members to say "I know nothing" when asked about the party's program and activities. The Know-Nothing Party scored impressive gains in the 1854 elections, but then its strength ebbed. A few years later, its remnants joined the new Republican Party or threw their allegiance to the Democrats.

The Irish and Big City Politics

As their numbers grew, especially in New York and Boston, Irishmen began to play an ever important role in politics. Many of them worked for the city governments in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago as laborers, and many became policemen and firemen.

It is not difficult to understand the attraction that the police departments held

out for the Irish. The uniform, the power of being a policeman, gave the Irish immigrant a feeling of security, an antidote for the low social standing in the general society. A policeman's career also filled another deeply felt need for the sons of impoverished immigrants, namely economic security. Finally, a policeman's uniform meant status and authority, both much desired by the Irish living in a largely hostile environment.

City and state politicians soon found out that Irishmen who were given jobs were faithful and loyal to the party and officials who gave them employment; they remembered their benefactors at election time. Gradually, some Irishmen rose to positions of importance in the police and fire departments and others became sheriffs and judges. Irish immigrants had a clear advantage over other immigrant groups in the quest for political power and influence because they spoke English and were basically at home in a society which cherished English political traditions and the English law system. The fact that many of the better educated Irishmen had attractive, outgoing personalities and genuinely liked people and a good time was of great help in the informal atmosphere of American politics.

In the years after the Civil War, the Irish built and dominated political organizations or machines in a number of cities in the North and the Midwest. A city government or a county committee (usually Democratic) were ruled by a "boss" aided by a number of lieutenants, mostly city or county office holders. The top leadership drew its power from the votes delivered by the associated clubs, strategically placed in the various election wards and precincts.

Irish Politicians in New York

The Irish machine politicans stayed in power because, unlike some of the Anglo-Saxon elites which preceded them, they did care for the welfare of the poor and needy constituents, but as a rule, they were not averse to getting rich in the process. They gave thousands of jobs to their supporters and built free clinics for the sick, but they also believed in the legitimacy of what a famed Tammany Hall leader, George Washington Plunkitt, called "honest graft." Plunkitt, a millionaire Sachem (Chief) of the Tammany Hall Society, who was at one time or another State Senator, a Judge and an Alderman, explained in an interview that "dishonest graft" was simple thievery, but "honest graft" was completely legitimate. "I have made a big fortune," he wrote, "out

of the game [of politics] and I'm getting richer every day, but I've not gone in for dishonest graft, blackmailin' gamblers, saloonkeepers, disorderly people, etc..." He made the money in a simple way. "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em." Plunkitt knew, for instance, through direct involvement in city planning or through his connections, what land would be needed by the city for a road or a school. He would sell the lots which he bought for practically nothing at high prices. Plunkitt and most other Irish politicans considered this road to riches as perfectly legitimate. This is what Plunkitt called "honest graft." It seems that most of the constituents of the city machines saw nothing objectionable in these procedures.

"Politics was their 'career'," writes William Shannon in The American Irish. "Like every other profession, it was expected to reward its practitioners with money, prestige, and if possible, security." Irish politicans who firmly held to this theory of politics ran the Democratic machine in New York between 1854, the year that the Society of St. Tammany was established to become the center of political power, until the inauguration of Fiorello H. La Guardia as Mayor of New York in 1933. First came Peter Sweeney and Richard "Slippery Dick" Connolly, the chief lieutenants of Boss William Marcy Tweed, who was a Scotch-Irish Protestant. After the fall of Tweed, "Honest John" Kelly took over the reins of Tammany Hall, but the ablest Tammany chief was Charles Murphy, an ex-horse-car driver, who dominated the New York Democratic organization and New York's City Hall for over two decades--1902 to 1924. One of Murphy's political pupils and proteges was Al Smith, who in 1913 became speaker of the Assembly of New York State, then governor of New York, and finally, the first Irish Catholic to become a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. As Smith grew to adulthood on New York's lower East Side, he saw all around him the great shifts in population of the big city. The Irish were no longer the largest immigrant group. Waves of Italian and Jewish immigration changed the ethnic balance. Smith would often repeat in his speeches that his beloved city had more Irish than Dublin, more Jews than Warsaw (now one would say Tel Aviv), and more Italians than Rome.

There was still an Irish Mayor, William O'Dwyer in the 1940's, but Irish domination of the city has ended. New York is now dominated by shifting coalitions. It was the coalition of Italians, Jews and white Protestants that elected Fiorello H. La Guardia in 1933 and re-elected him for two more terms, and it was the coalition of

Jews, blacks, Puerto Ricans and white Protestants that elected John Lindsay as Mayor of New York.

Irish in Boston

The predominance of the Irish in Boston's city politics continues until today. The line of Irish mayors continues almost unbroken from John "Honey Fitz" Kennedy, to the present Mayor, Kevin White. The most important of the Boston Irish politicans was James Michael Curley, who began his career in 1913 when he was elected Mayor of Boston by a large majority. Curley became the boss of the Boston Democratic machine and was a power in the State of Massachusetts for many decades. He served as Mayor of Boston, Governor of Massachusetts and Congressman. Curley made no bones about his determination to use the support of the Boston Irish to wrest control of Boston and of the state of Massachusetts from the Anglo-Saxon Brahmins whom he despised. In a letter to a member of the Harvard Board of Overseers, Curley wrote (borrowing freely from Lord Disraeli, who said almost the same thing about the Jews):

> The Massachusetts of the Puritans is as dead as Caesar, but there is no need to mourn the fact. Their successors--the Irish--had letters and learning, culture and civilization when the ancestors of the Puritans were savages running half-naked through the forests of Britain. It took the Irish to make Massachusetts a fit place to live in.

Throughout his long and colorful career, Curley drew overwhelming support from working sections of the Boston Irish who concentrated in Charleston, East Boston, South Boston, North and West Ends, and Roxbury. These people did not desert him even when he went to federal prison for mail fraud in 1949. While in prison he got thousands of letters from Irish workers and longshoremen, pledging their unwavering support. After Curley died in 1958, his will showed that unlike Slippery Dick Connolly, Plunkitt and Charles Murphy, he had not used his great power to get rich. He left a net estate of $3,768.00. Curley apparently wanted power, not money, and neither honest or dishonest graft appealed to him.

The brief but memorable career of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin must be part of this cursory glance at the history of the Irish in American politics. The "McCarthy-like" tactics of fighting what he believed to be a menace of communism in the U.S. Government and in the U.S. Army, scared millions of Americans who saw the specter of right-wing reaction sweeping the country. The devoutly Catholic and

anti-communist Irish Americans gave Senatory McCarthy, an Irish Catholic, a strong measure of support. "McCarthyism was a major crisis," writes William Shannon, "in the coming of age of the Irish Catholic community in the United States." A Gallup Poll taken in January, 1954, showed that 58% of the Catholics had a favorable opinion of Senator McCarthy, as compared to 49% for the Protestants and 15% for the Jews.

In contrast to the rather embarrassing McCarthy episode, the election of John F. Kennedy (the grandson of the Mayor of Boston, "Honey Fitz" Kennedy) was an hour of glory to all the sons, grandsons, and great grandsons of Ireland in America. They took justifiable pride in this Irish-American, who, as it was widely admitted, not only had political charisma, but also social class. What a long way it was from the "wild and illiterate" and unwelcome early Irish immigrants to the charming Harvard-educated John F. Kennedy in the White House.

The Irish Daley Machine in Chicago--A Case Study

The Irish are still a strong influence in American politics, but the nature of their power and the quality of their influence has undergone many changes. Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago is in a chronological sense a direct descendant of "Honest" John Kelly, Charles Murphy, and George Washington Plunkitt, but the differences in this comparison far outnumber the similarities. First of all, Mayor Daley is a man of known and tested honesty, who lives in a relatively modest bungalow home in the working and lower-middle class section of Bridgeport, where he was born. Second, while he loves power, he looks upon public office not as opportunity for personal advancement, but as a sacred trust to do all he can, as Mayor of Chicago, for all the people of the city he loves. Finally, Mayor Daley is much better educated, being a lawyer by profession, than most of the other Irish political bosses of the past.

Daley likes power, knows how to use it and does not hesitate to do so. Anyone who has ever found himself opposing a project or an idea which the Chicago Mayor has firmly adopted, would never underestimate the amount of power or the skill which the Mayor uses to get things done his way.

It would make no sense to claim that among the vast legions of officeholders in the City and in Cook County, which Daley runs as the chairman of the Democratic

Organization in Cook County, there are no corrupt individuals. Any knowledgeable lawyer on La Salle Street knows of some grafters and loafers in the city government. The Mayor too reluctantly accepts some degree of corruption and inefficiency, but he valiantly strives to keep it to a minimum. In 1960, when corruption and thievery scandals rocked the Chicago Police Department, Daley removed the Irish Police Commissioner, an old friend, and brought Orlando Wilson, a criminology expert from California, giving him a free hand and full support to clean up and reorganize the Chicago Police Department. It is generally recognized that Wilson made great progress in both directions.

Mayor Daley is surrounded by many officials of high caliber and many experts on various aspects of city government. Directed by the Mayor, who is a consummate administrator and who does his homework diligently, these officials rebuilt the Chicago skyline and boosted Chicago's convention business by excellent promotion and by the building of the McCormick Exhibition Hall (it had to be built a second time when the first building was destroyed by fire). Daley has excellent relations with Chicago's business and industrial community, but has successfully resisted any serious encroachment by real estate interests of Chicago's beautiful waterfront which is dotted with many parks. Daley is a great road builder and one of the nation's most knowledgeable men on the issues of big city transportation.

In a city where political infighting among the newspapers has long been a tradition, Richard Daley enjoys the support of most newspapers, including on many occasions the staunchly conservative and Republican Chicago Tribune. When election time comes and the Republicans field an unfortunate scapegoat to run against Daley, the Tribune gives the Republican candidate a small measure of exposure and publicity. In the 1971 campaign, the Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Sun-Times and both afternoon papers endorsed Mayor Daley.

Long before Mayor Daley announced that he would seek re-election in 1971, the Republican "fat cats" in the city organized a "Non-Partisan Citizens for Daley Committee" which included such business leaders as Gaylord Freeman, President of the First National Bank, Phillip K. Wrigley of the Wrigley Chewing Gum Company, Philip Klutznik, a town developer and former Ambassador to the United Nations and Irving Block of Inland Steel. The Committee took out full-page advertisements in the Chicago papers to hail Daley as a great Mayor and urge his re-election.

Mayor Richard Daley stood beaming on a platform surrounded by his large family and the families of John Marcin, the Polish-American leader who was re-elected City Clerk, and of Joseph Bertrand, the City Treasurer, the first black elected to a high post in the city administration. The source of the unexpectedly overwhelming victory of Richard Daley in the Mayoral election in April, 1971, was in service, organization and patronage. Most Chicagoans are convinced that their city is well run and is in fact, the best managed city in the United States. Unlike other big cities, Chicago is financially solvent and its police, fire and sanitation services are of high quality. Due to Daley's power, vision and ability to have in the City Hall specialists of high competence, and because of his smoothly functioning alliance with big business and the labor unions, Chicago's downtown has been saved from decay by intensive new building and aggressive and largely successful efforts to attract new industry and convention business.

Inhabitants of Chicago are avid readers of Mike Royko's clever and cutting columns on the odd behavior of some of Daley's Irish cronies and the steamroller tactics used by the Mayor and his chief henchman, Alderman Thomas Keane, to beat down the helpless opposition in the City Council, but as the election results have shown they refuse to buy Royko's indictment of Daley as an autocratic, bigoted reactionary.

There is no doubt that the 50,000 city patronage jobs had a great deal to do with Daley's victory, but they account for only a fraction of the 700,000 votes cast for the Mayor. The election triumph of Richard Daley can only be explained by the extraordinary skill with which he operates in the complex ethnic politics of Chicago. This is not to minimize the importance of the support that Daley received from Chicago's businessmen, the financial Establishment which is led by many prominent Republicans, and from the labor unions. But the architects of Daley's victory were the fifty Democratic Ward Committeemen and the 3,412 Democratic precinct captains who pounded the pavements and rang the bells. The Mayor of Chicago would be the first to acknowledge that he owes his triumph to ward chiefs like Thomas Keane, George Dunne, Vito Marzullo, Matthew Bieszczat, Dan Rostenkowski and Alderman Claude Holman and Fred Hubbard.

Richard Friedman, Daley's opponent, tried to unseat Daley by a coalition of Republicans, Independents, Negroes and Jews. Many Republicans and most blacks and Jews did not buy the fusion ticket and voted for Daley. The fusion was no match for

the Democratic coalition of ethnic groups, business and labor.

Ethnicity is the key to the understanding of Daley's Chicago Democratic machine. Daley, an Irish Catholic, can count on the overwhelming support of the Irish in Chicago, but he could not be elected Mayor if the Poles, the Negroes and the Italians did not vote for him in very large numbers. Were Daley to face a large defection of either Poles or blacks at the polls, he could not be Mayor. The support from the 400,000-strong Jewish community is also a factor in Richard Daley's political fortunes.

The task of keeping the good will of the ethnic communities is of constant concern to Daley and his lieutenants. They make sure that the constituents in these communities are helped with patronage and large and small favors by precinct captains and ward committeemen. The Mayor has a number of key people assigned to work with and to represent the ethnic communities. The handsome and young Daniel D. Rostenkowski, a member of the House of Representatives and Ward Committeeman of the 32nd Ward, informally leads the group of Polish office holders who keep an eye on the Polish community. The Mayor is known to have a strong affection for "Congressman Dan" as he often calls him. Dan Rostenkowski's father was an Alderman and a Polish leader, who in 1955, together with William Dawson, Jack Arvey, Joseph Gill (now Clerk of the Municipal Court) and the labor bosses, William Lee and William McFetridge, engineered the dumping of the then Mayor, Martin H. Kennelly and the slating of Richard J. Daley.

Rostenkowski shares the Democratic leadership of Chicago's Polish community with County Commissioner Matthew Bieszczat, Congressman Roman Pucinski and John Marcin, the City Clerk. There are over six hundred thousand Poles in Chicago, so the task of liaison with this large community is very important to the Daley machine, especially since the Republicans have recently intensified their efforts to gain the support of the Poles. Edmund Kucharski, chairman of the Republican Cook County Committee and Benjamin ("Fighting Ben") Adamowski, a former States Attorney, and Representative Edwin Derwinski, three able politicians, are making some inroads into the usually overwhelming Democratic Polish community. However, in the 1970 election, the powerful Daley machine thwarted the effort of Kucharski and Adamowski to be elected to key state offices.

Polish leaders often complain about the "crumbs" they get from Mayor Daley

when it comes to the distribution of important city jobs. There is not one Pole who heads a city department and the Poles are the only ethnic community in the city which has no representative on the Chicago Board of Education. In early 1971, out of the nine members, there were two blacks, one Puerto Rican, one Italian, two Jews and three Irish-Americans.

Yet, in the election for Mayor in 1971, both Polish newspapers in the city endorsed Daley for re-election. The editor-in-chief of Zgoda, a staunch Republican, stressed in the endorsement editorial, Daley's upholding of law and order during the 1968 Democratic convention, while the Dziennik pointed to Daley's record of achievement and to his friendship for the Polish community. Both papers praised the Mayor for his rejection of an order by a Federal District judge which directed the Chicago Housing Authority to build low-cost public housing units (which would be occupied mostly by blacks) in white neighborhoods.

The election results showed that Poles voted overwhelmingly for Daley. The 29th Ward, where Matthew Bieszczat is Ward Committeeman, gave Daley 16,270 votes to 3,001 for Friedman. The 32nd Ward, led by Congressman Rostenkowski, went for Daley by a margin of 15,028 to 3,736.

The liaison with the Jewish community is in the hands of the aging Colonel Jacob Arvey, the Democratic National Committeeman from Illinois, Cook County Sheriff Richard Elrod, by Marshall Korshak, the former City Treasurer, and Charles Swibel, chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority, who is a great favorite of the Mayor. Philip Klutznik, a leader in Jewish communal and philanthropic organizations is one of the Mayor's staunch supporters.

Since Marshall Korshak could not run again for his office, the Mayor tapped a young Jewish lawyer, Richard Elrod, the son of a veteran Democratic politician, to run for Sheriff and to represent the Jews in the Cook County Democratic Organization. The political editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, John Dreiske, explained Daley's move in these frank terms:

> "Elrod is Jewish, and that is the basis of Daley's desire to have him on the ticket. Marshall Korshak, also Jewish, is the incumbent city treasurer, but is prevented by law from succeeding himself. The position of the city treasurer has been held mainly by Jews down through the years and has become the political property of that "ethnic group."

Elrod, running against a more experienced law officer, won the office of Sheriff of Cook County.

The Mayor also has the backing (in return for his powerful support at election time) of two very able Jewish members of Congress from Chicago, Sidney Yates and Abner Mikva. Representative Mikva is occasionally too "radical" for the Mayor, but he takes care not to stray too far from the Cook County Democratic fold. Mainly through the efforts of Arvey, Elrod, Korshak, Klutznick and Yates, the Jewish support of Daley has been substantial. The Jews generally prefer the Democrats to Republicans and most believe that Daley is a great Mayor and a liberal on domestic issues. Daley has been careful to select a fair number of Jews for judgeships and other city and county offices. He is also a staunch supporter of Israel. In general, however, Jewish political influence in Chicago has substantially weakened in recent years. In selecting his running mates for the election of 1971, in which Daley sought an unprecedented fifth term, he did not designate a Jew as one of his running mates. His two running mates were a Pole for City Clerk and a Negro for City Treasurer. The designation of Joseph Bertrand for City Treasurer also represented Daley's realistic response to the substantial growth of the black population in the city.

In the 1971 Mayoral election, the Republicans fielded a Jew, Richard Friedman, as their candidate against Daley. It was expected that Friedman, an able and liberal political independent, would get sizeable support from Jewish voters. In fact, Friedman's support among the Jews, while respectable, was disappointing to his backers. Jews in Chicago vote increasingly as independents because they do not need any special favors from the Daley machine. They are affluent enough not to need jobs from the city, special welfare help, or recreational facilities. On the local and state level, all they want is an efficient and honest government. Basically, the same situation prevails in cities like New York, Boston and Los Angeles, which do not have strong political machines.

But the Mayoral election provided added proof that Jews cannot any longer be counted as constant partners in the Democratic coalition, at least not in local elections. In the 49th and 50th wards, where the majority of people are Jews, the votes went for the Mayor by much smaller margins than the Polish, Irish or Italian wards. In the 50th the Mayor won by 6,000 votes and in the 49th by less than 4,000. Mayor Daley lost two wards out of fifty, and in both wards, one in Hyde Park/University of Chicago area and the other on the Near North side, Jews cast their votes in

large numbers for Friedman. Significantly, the two wards are represented in the City Council by Jewish independent Aldermen, Leon Despres and William Singer, who gave Richard Friedman their endorsement.

An influential alderman, Vito Marzullo and Congressman Frank Annunzio, are Daley's men in the Italian community. Aided by their close ties to the Polish community and because of their independence, Marzullo and Annunzio are powerful factors in city politics. Vito Marzullo is one of the most colorful and most powerful members of Daley's political organization. Marzullo, who is now in his seventies, was born in Sicily and came to America as a young boy. He prefers to shun publicity but is one of the most powerful city politicians. His office in the Civic Center is the largest next to the Mayor's and to Tom Keane's, Daley's floor leader in the City Council. Marzullo is undisputed boss of the 25th Ward where he ran unopposed for re-election in February, 1971. This is surprising because the ward has a majority of Poles and only 5% of the residents are Italian. There is a large population of blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Vito Marzullo is not only a leader of the Chicago Italians, but he is also an important factor in the Polish community. A number of Polish-American judges, state legislators and Cook County office holders owe their jobs to Marzullo who was their sponsor. In the 1971 election for Mayor, Marzullo was one of Daley's key aides. When, late on election night, he brought the Mayor his tally sheet, as do all ward committeemen, Marzullo had good reason to be satisfied. The 25th Ward cast 14,699 votes for Daley and 2,177 for Friedman.

The Mayor is Chairman of the Cook County Slatemaking Committee and to watch him at this intricate and delicate task of selecting people for various offices is a joy to behold by anyone fascinated with game of politics. It is also an excellent demonstration of Daley's political acumen, wisdom and shrewdness. The principles on which Daley operates the entire process of slate-making are simple. He wants men of ability who would lend strength to the ticket and who could be elected, but he also wants an ethnically balanced ticket which would appeal to all ethnic groups. There has to be on all state, county or judicial tickets an equitable ratio of Irish, Polish, Italian, Jewish, and Negro candidates.

The Mayor is, of course, most comfortable, and usually works best with other Irish-Americans, especially with those who came from a milieu similar to his own.

A surprisingly large number of Daley's associates grew up in the small Irish-Polish-Italian neighborhood of Bridgeport where the Mayor was born. Irishmen occupy the most important posts in the city and in Cook County. There is George Dunne (rumored to be the heir apparent) as President of the Cook County Board, and an old friend, P.J. ("Parky") Cullerton, is the County Assessor. Daniel Shannon is Chairman of the Chicago Parks Commission, John Egan heads the Sanitary District, and Thomas Keane is the Mayor's floor leader in the City Council. In addition, Edward Barrett is County Clerk, John Carey is President of the Board of Education, and Matt Danaher is the powerful Clerk of the Circuit Court.

At the Democratic Convention of 1968, television cameras repeatedly showed Mayor Daley sitting surrounded by his chief aides. The Irishmen were nearest to him, but Dan Rostenkowski was not far behind. In 1962, with only twelve per cent of the population of Irish descent, 12 of the 50 Aldermen and 21 of the 50 ward committeemen were Irish.

Irish politicians in Chicago possess, on the whole, characteristics attributed to that breed of men. They are handsome, gregarious and good speakers, who like people and like to be liked in return. A political scientist, Professor Edward M. Levine, who make a special study of Chicago Irish politicans, may be wholly or partly right when he concluded that they "have an obviously genuine and highly personal interest in people, though not a marked concern for the welfare of the people en masse. Their interest is in the specific individual, particularly people who live in their neighborhood, precinct or ward, and to those who come to them for assistance."

Many observers have noted the uncanny ability of Mayor Daley to do what the people of Chicago want to have done. There is really no need to wonder how the Mayor does it because he truly represents so many of the people of Chicago. There is little doubt that the Mayor, with his obvious intellectual ability, could easily have learned to improve the syntax and the grammar in his speeches, but were he to do so, he would lose his easy communication with the millions of Chicagoans who have no difficulty in understanding Daley, but whom Adlai Stevenson, Sr., used to leave bewildered and bored with his diction, high sounding phrases and sophisticated humor.

Party loyalty has very high priority in Richard Daley's political catechism. The idea that he could or would bolt the Democratic party because a platform which he found obnoxious was adopted at a convention, or because the party has chosen a

candidate not of his choice or preference, would be abhorrent to him. Such a move would violate his fierce belief that party regularity is the mainstay of the two-party system, which in turn he considers indispensable to the working and survival of the American political system. However, party loyalty is not enough. Ward Committeemen must deliver the votes at election time when voting tally sheets are personally scrutinized by the Mayor. Those who fail to deliver the votes are shown little mercy.

Richard J. Daley strongly prefers a Democrat in the White House, but being deeply patriotic he also respects a Republican in the White House. He intensely dislikes to second-guess a President of the United States, whether it is Lyndon Johnson, Dwight D. Eisenhower or Richard M. Nixon, on issues of foreign policy. The Mayor of Chicago gave strong support to Johnson's Vietnam policy, but if Robert Kennedy would have been elected to succeed Johnson, as Daley prayerfully hoped for, he would have supported a pull-out from Vietnam without hesitation. On foreign policy issues, as a rule Daley operates with the motto, "The President knows best."

Daley and his Democratic machine have a strong base among Chicago Negroes. For years his black supporters were led ably, sometimes even ruthlessly, by the late Congressman, William Dawson. At present, the leaders of the pro-Daley forces in the black community are Congressman Ralph Metcalfe and Aldermen Fred Hubbard, Claude Holman and George F. Collins. Holman, the President Pro-Tempore of the City Council is an articulate, uncompromising Daley supporter, who does not hesitate to denounce publicly and vehemently the Black Panthers, the black youth gang leaders and the Negro militant leaders in the city. Congressman Ralph Metcalf, handsome and soft-spoken, recently succeeded Representative William Dawson, longtime boss of the Chicago Negroes, who represented Chicago's black South Side Ghetto in Congress for close to three decades. When Daley designated Metcalfe to run for Dawson's seat, the militant Negro groups ran a candidate of their own in the 1st Congressional District. Ralph Metcalf swamped his opponent, proving once again, that contrary to widely held assumptions, the overwhelming majority of Chicago blacks are moderate and see some important benefits in supporting the Mayor and his city government. Daley and his black lieutenants got this support primarily because they offer thousands of Negroes city jobs and economic help through the administration of large anti-poverty funds.

In the 1970 Congressional election, Mayor Daley won an even more impressive victory when he succeeded in having Alderman George Collins elected to the U.S. House of Representatives to become the second black Congressman from Illinois. The 9th Congressional district embraces the suburbs of Cicero and Berwyn, long Czech and Polish strongholds, but it also includes the 24th Ward on Chicago's West Side which constitutes one of two huge Chicago Negro ghettos. In addition to being Alderman, Collins also happens to be the 24th Ward's Democratic committeeman.

In the 1970 election, Alderman Collins prevailed over his opponent, Alex Zabroski, by piling up a huge vote among the 20,000 registered voters of the 24th Ward. The margin was sufficient to overcome the large Zabroski majorities in Cicero and Berwyn. In the last days before the election, Zabroski's campaign headquarters circulated a handbill which said: "If you don't vote for Zabroski on November 3rd, you will wake up on November 4th with a black Congressman." This racial appeal proved unsuccessful and Collins was elected.

It was clear to the Mayor and his aides that in order to win, and win big as they were determined in the 1971 election, it was imperative to assure overwhelming support for the Democratic ticket in the black community. The Mayor helped his cause by selecting a young Negro banker and a former Notre Dame basketball star, Joseph Bertrand, as his running mate and candidate for City Treasurer. The slating of Bertrand helped, but a major threat developed because of the worsening relations between Mayor Daley and Reverend Jesse Jackson, the popular head of the Breadbasket Operation. Jackson wanted to be an independent candidate for Mayor, but failed to get the required number of signatures on his petitions. The black leader made no secret of his conviction that the Mayor has ignored the black demands for better housing, better schools, and more jobs.

In the February, 1971, Aldermanic elections, the black militants concentrated their efforts on defeating the black Aldermen who were Daley's faithful allies and supporters. A former aide of Reverend Jackson ran against Alderman Holman, the Mayor's greatest admirer. All these efforts proved to no avail. Holman swamped his opponent and the other Democratic organization Aldermen scored impressive victories.

Unaffected by Daley's victory in the black community, Reverend Jackson endorsed Richard Friedman for Mayor. The endorsement had, at best, a limited ef-

feet. Chicago's Negroes gave Richard Daley an overwhelming vote of confidence. The all-black 24th Ward voted for Daley by an astonishing margin of 15,706 to 1,909. Holman's tally for his 4th Ward showed 14,709 to 4,461. The story was virtually the same in other black wards in the city. The election results would seem to indicate that the usual explanation given by the anti-Daley black leaders, that Negroes vote for the Mayor because of jobs and patronage is unsatisfactory. The margin of Daley's plurality in the black wards was just too large for such a simplistic analysis of his support.

In view of the role played by ethnicity and ethnic groups in Chicago politics, it is rather curious that those who have written recently on Mayor Daley have ignored this phenomenon. Mike Royko in his book has managed an astonishing feat. He does not address himself to Mayor Daley's ethnic policies and to the decisive support he gets from Chicago's ethnic enclaves in crucial elections. No wonder that the reader lays away the book fascinated by the anecdotes, pleased or repelled by the venom and the sarcasm, but in the dark as ever as to the real secret of Daley's amazing success.

Irish Priests in Politics

Some Irish priests have apparently concluded that a better way to bring about changes in U.S. foreign and domestic policies would be through their entrance into active politics. Several of them became candidates for public office in the 1970 Congressional elections. One of them, Father Robert Drinan, a Roman Catholic priest in Boston, Massachusetts, was spectacularly successful in defeating in the 1970 primary Representative Philip Philbin, an Irish Catholic who had won re-election to Congress in every election since 1942. Father Drinan mounted a vigorous anti-Vietnam campaign against Philbin, a supporter of the war, a ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee, and a special friend of the late Rep. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina, the chairman of that powerful and hawkish committee. Father Drinan was helped by the fact that Philbin, in the words of the Wall Street Journal, "was not exactly oriented to the great issues of the day." In fact, the Journal called Philbin "'a party hack' who dozed through most floor debates."

After Father Drinan's primary victory, Congressman Philbin, a life-long Democrat, not only refused to support the party's nominee, but announced that he would

wage an independent campaign as a write-in candidate. Many of Philbin's campaign workers have defected and actively worked for the election of the Republican candidate, State Rep. John McGlennon. In spite of the opposition, Father Drinan won the election to Congress. Father Robert Drinan became the second Catholic priest in the House. The fact that he is an anti-war liberal adds to the significance of that precedence. On the other hand, Mrs. Louise Hicks of Boston who gained fame as a bitter opponent of bussing school children to attain school integration, and who holds generally hawkish and conservative views, was elected to Congress to succeed the long-time Speaker of the House, John McCormick.

What of the Future?

The Irish in America are an ethnic group sui generis. They came here downtrodden and despised to become one of the most admired affluent groups in America. Political leaders, whether Catholic or not, assiduously consult their geneological charts to find some traces of Irish blood in their veins. While the word "politican" is basically a negative one, involving the image of a corpulent, cigar-smoking parasite (if not crook) the term "Irish politican" evokes the image of a smooth, smiling, friendly (if hard drinking) successful political leader.

On March 17, 1971, President Nixon, a Quaker, sent to the Irish Americans a greeting which undoubtedly was fully acceptable to all Americans. "St. Patrick's Day is a great day for the Irish, to be sure, but it is also a great day for all Americans." He said that all Americans value the qualities of humor, pride and courage associated with the Irish people. "Americans of Irish descent," he continued, "have given a great deal to this country, in fields ranging from governmental politics to business and commerce, from science and technology, to art and music and literature. The American spirit reflects contributions from every nation. But the charm of the Irish culture has permeated life in this country in a manner which has been especially profound."

Concluding his message, the President, as he has done on other occasions, alluded with pride that some of his ancestors came from Ireland and that his wife's name was Pat Ryan who was born on St. Patrick's Day.

What accounts for this unprecedented success of the Irish? The abilities of their poets, playwrights and businessmen, their extraordinary affinity for Ameri-

can politics and the capacity for hard work of the masses of the Irish immigrants. But that is only part of the answer. The Irish had a very important advantage over the Jews, the Italians and the Poles and many other immigrant groups. They spoke English and they were by and large at home in a country with Anglo-Saxon mores and traditions.

But another very important factor was their willingness to assimilate into the dominant society. At best the Irish are a quasi-Irish ethnic group. While millions of Americans of Irish descent march in St. Patrick's Day parades, this, for the overwhelming majority of them, is the only day of the year that they identify themselves as Irishmen. For the rest of the year they are "just Americans."

CHAPTER 3

THE ITALIANS AND THEIR DILEMMAS

In the period of the Revolution, there were only a few Italians in America. An Italian, scholar and agriculturalist, Philip Mazzei, a friend of Benjamin Franklin whom he met in London, came to Virginia in 1773 and there, with the help of Thomas Jefferson, acquired an experimental farm. During his stay in America, Mazzei wrote many pamphlets calling on the colonists to cut their ties with England and form an independent union of the colonies. Some of these pamphlets were translated from Italian into English by Thomas Jefferson. In his book, A Nation of Immigrants, John F. Kennedy wrote that "The great doctrine, All Men are Created Equal," incorporated in the Declaration by Thomas Jefferson, was paraphrased from the writings of Philip Mazzei. In 1784, Mazzei returned to Europe, but he wrote to James Madison: "I am leaving, but my heart remains. America is my Jupiter, Virginia my Venus."

Italian immigration to the United States between 1800 and 1880 was very small. It averaged about 2,000 per year. Americans were deeply involved in the struggle for the unification and freedom of Italy. Even in the midst of the Civil War, Americans sympathized with the struggle of Italians for liberation under the leadership of Giuseppe Garibaldi. Garibaldi and his red-shirted volunteers had the full support of the American people as they fought the Bourbons, the French, and the Hapsburgs for a free Italy. When Garibaldi escaped to London, and from there to America, the New York Herald Tribune wrote on July 30, 1850,

> "The ship Waterloo arrived here from Liverpool this morning bringing the world-renowned Garibaldi, the hero of Montevideo and the defender of Rome. He will be welcomed by those who know him as becomes his chivalrous character and his services in behalf of Liberty."

Garibaldi stayed in the United States for about a year, honored by the people and the government and then returned to Italy.

The great immigration from Italy began after 1880, a year in which 12,000 Ital-

lans came to American shores. In a short period of time this immigration became a flood. Soon fifteen thousand Italians per day were arriving at the immigration station on Ellis Island at the port of New York. Between 1880 and 1905, four and a half million Italians came to America. The reasons for this mass immigration were overpopulation, the critical economic depression in Italy, semi-feudal oppressive conditions in villages, especially in Southern Italy, and the lure of opportunities for work and advancement in America. Italian immigrants were primarily peasants from Sicily, Abruzzi, Calabria and Campania, who, in spite of the poverty and exploitation, loved their villages. Many of them had no desire to settle in America permanently. In that aspect, Italian immigration differed sharply from the mass Jewish immigration of the same period. Many Italian immigrants worked hard in the land of Columbus, saved as much money as they could and then returned to Italy. Between 1908 and 1916, large numbers of Italians left the United States, but after 1920, the returnees were but a trickle. The publicity about the return of Italians to their homeland was greeted with anger by the American press and public opinion. To desert America, with the money earned here and to return to the "old country" was considered the height of folly, if not an act of treason by most Americans. Italians were looked upon as birds of passage who had no appreciation for the blessings of this country. The return of so many Italians to their homeland, fanned the fires of hatred of the nativists and the xenophobes.

This hostility only increased the isolation felt by the Italian immigrants. They were mostly men, illiterate laborers, who could only do unskilled labor. They worked hard and were paid little building railroads and toiling on construction jobs. Thousands of Italians, however, were masons, bricklayers and stonecutters, and they soon found better-paying jobs. For all of them, living in closely-knit Italian neighborhoods was essential to their comfort, peace of mind, or even survival. In New York, they lived on Mulberry Street, in a "Little Italy," in St. Louis they settled on "Dago Hill," and in other cities their settlements were known as "Woptowns" and "Macaroni Hills."

The rapidity of the economic advancement of those ridiculed "Dagos" and the "leftovers of Southern Italy," as many editorials referred to them, was remarkable. In New York, Italians moved from pick and shovel jobs on the subways to the skilled jobs in the garment industry and many started their own construction firms. Other

thousands joined the building trades, and still others became longshoremen in the busy New York harbor. Soon there were many Italians among the top ranks of union leadership. In time, Italians had a virtual monopoly in the fish, fruit and vegetable business in New York.

This advancement was achieved gradually and at a heavy price. The immigrants lived in crowded homes and apartments where unsanitary conditions were the rule and not the exception. The New York sanitation workers and street cleaners seldom bothered with these areas which were always teeming with people, especially in the summer when women and children sat on steps and fire escapes. Church holidays and saints' days were observed by colorful street processions. These processions which were led by a priest and costumed men carrying holy images, were often denounced by the press as medieval superstitions and were looked at askance by the Irish bishops.

On Sunday afternoons, after church, the teeming and noisy streets in Little Italys were quiet, almost deserted. Mario Puzo, in his brilliant novel The Fortunate Pilgrim, centering on the life of new immigrant families in New York, describes the New York Italian street on Sunday afternoon:

> "Tenth Avenue opens all the way to the river at Twelfth, with no intervening wall to give shade, was lighter than the other avenues of the city and hotter during the day. Now it was deserted. The enormous midday Sunday feast would last to four o'clock, what with the nuts and wine and telling of family legends. Some people were visiting more fortunate relatives who had achieved success and moved to their own homes on Long Island or in New Jersey. Others used the day for attending funerals, weddings, christenings, or--most important of all--bringing cheer and food to sick relatives in Bellevue."

The life of the immigrants centered around the family and the church. While the men remained cynical and disdainful of the clergy as only devout Italians can be, for the women and children the church was the center of their lives. The church was important, but it was the family which was the source of comfort and security to immigrants suffering from the pangs of a severe culture shock.

Added to the burden of hard labor was the exploitation of the "padrone" or the labor-boss. The padrone, a man who usually knew a little English, in addition to Italian, arranged for the jobs, recruited the workers and got a fee from every hand he hired. The working conditions were harsh, the hours long, and the padrones showed little mercy or compassion. Complaints voiced to the padrone often brought

immediate dismissal. The newcomers could not complain to the American boss because they knew no English and in any case he preferred to deal with the Italian workers through the labor boss.

Italians in the West

In search of jobs and opportunities, Italian immigrants spread across the entire country. They developed vineyards and berry farms in New Jersey, apple and peach orchards in Arkansas, and started flourishing fruit and vegetable farms in California. In California, Italians found a land similar to their "Old Country" in topography, climate and agriculture. The coastal area of California looked very much like Tuscany and Campania, and San Diego and San Francisco reminded the Italian immigrants of Palermo and the Bay of Naples. Andrew F. Rolle, in his excellent study of Italian immigrants in the West, quotes this description of early Italian immigration in California by Federico Biesta, an Italian consular official:

> "The Italian population is one of the best, most active and hard working in California. Strong, industrious, and accustomed to suffering and toil, our nationals tend to their own affairs without taking part in those regrettable disorders that the heterogeneous people of the state give vent to from time to time. Generally, whether in San Francisco or in the interior, the Italians thrive and prosper in their businesses and there is probably not a village in all California in which Italian business is not well represented, just as there is not a mining district where companies of Italian miners are not noted for their good conduct, their fraternal harmony, and for the energy they bring to their work."

One of the early settlers in San Francisco was Domenico Ghirandelli, who founded a chocolate factory which brought him great wealth. "Ghirandelli Square" on San Francisco's waterfront, is today a magnificent arcade of shops and restaurants. There were in succession, Rolle reports, seventeen Italian newspapers in San Francisco to serve the large population. Italian newspapers are still published in San Francisco and in Los Angeles. Italian fishermen and dealers in fish were (and still are) dominant on San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf, and the best restaurants were owned by Italians. The most outstanding success story of an Italian immigrant concerns the rise of Amadeo Pietro (known as A. P.) Giannini, a merchant and real estate broker, who founded the Bank of Italy in the North Beach section which was then San Francisco's Italian Colony. By keeping his bank open after the disastrous earthquake in 1906, and by honoring its commitments to the depositors,

Giannini gained a reputation for honesty and integrity which in time made the Bank of Italy, which now has branches all over California, one of the greatest banking firms in America.

As time went on, Italians became a potent force in California's politics. Angelo Rossi was Mayor of San Francisco from 1931 to 1944 and Anthony Caminetti was the first Italian to serve in the House of Representatives. In 1913, President Woodrow Wilson appointed Caminetti to the post of Federal Immigration Commissioner. In his post, Caminetti, himself a son of immigrants, supported harsh, repressive and restrictive immigration laws and measures, undoubtedly to please Wilson, who had a deep-seated distaste for immigrants from Southern Italy.

In Volume V of his History of the American People, Woodrow Wilson wrote that the immigrants from Italy's South had "neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence." He added that "The Chinese were more to be desired as workmen, if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports." Italians throughout the country did not support Wilson in the 1912 and in the 1916 elections. Caminetti, however, worked with Wilson and his Attorney General, A. Mitchel Palmer, in the execution of the deportation measures during the "Red Scare" persecution of left-wing immigrants in 1918. Caminetti left office in 1920 at the end of Wilson's presidency. "Here was an Italian," Professor Rolle summarizes, "who, though he never renounced his immigrant background, used it in a manner totally at variance with the spirit of non-restrictive immigration that had allowed his very parents to come to America."

In 1967, another Italian, Joseph L. Alioto, became the Mayor of San Francisco. Alioto, a successful lawyer, is a son of an Italian fisherman who established the famous Alioto Restaurant on Fisherman's Wharf.

Evidence seems to suggest that Italian immigrants in the West and especially in California, assimilated more quickly than their counterparts in the East. They were relatively few in number and there was a stronger tradition in the West which frowned on ethnic ties and loyalties. Furthermore, the Italians were relative latecomers to the West and especially to California. "As latecomers," Rolle writes, "Italians had to bow to customs already imposed upon society by others. They felt bound to adopt existing systems until they had achieved enough success to follow their own way of life. In doing so, however, they frequently abandoned the old way

of life forever. . . . The need to catch up encouraged Americanization." The growing prosperity of the Italian communities in the vegetable, fish and wine industry, speeded the process of acculturation. Unlike the Italians in the East, the immigrant in the West generally escaped the slums, the contempt and the prejudice and this profoundly influenced their attitude to America. They loved the "new world" and were proud to be a part of it.

The experiences of many thousands of Italians from the West Coast who served in Europe, and especially in Italy, during World War II, revived the interest in Italy and in Italian culture. The second generation of Italians in San Francisco (this is also partly true in the rest of the country) has shown in the post-war period a desire to re-discover the Italian roots, to visit Italy and to learn more of the Italian culture.

Italians in Chicago

A recent study of Italian immigrants in Chicago provides an interesting contrast to the story of Italians on the West Coast. Italian immigrants who came to Chicago in large numbers from Southern Italy, between the years 1880 and 1910, lived in crowded and unsanitary communities which were called slums by both Italian language and American newspapers. The Chicago Herald of July 17, 1887, complained of the "nasty and cheap living" of the Italian immigrants and added that this was a habit brought by the newcomers from Southern Italy. A survey by the Commissioner of Labor in 1892-93 of the area bordered by Halsted, Polk and 12th Street, which had a very high concentration of Italians, found that the tenement houses were wretched and dilapidated, that crime was high and that family life was disintegrating.

The adjustment of these Italian peasants from Sicily or Calabria to the bustling, rowdy industrial Chicago was hard and it took its toll. Lawrence Frank Pisani, in his study, The Italian in America, makes an important point that the problems of adjustment of Italian immigrants from Southern Italy did not stem from the incompatibility of the Italian civilization with that of America's. The peasant from Southern Italy faced (and still does today) similar problems of adjustment when he moved to Milan in Northern Italy. Working in "complex industrial factories, with hundreds of employees and owners who did not know his name, housed in buildings with smoky black walls, made the immigrant pine for the simple life he had left behind. America

he decided (until he knew better) was hard and mechanical, a place in which to work and earn money, but no place to live." Some could not or would not adjust and returned to Italy, but others were determined to work hard and save money, to get better jobs and to provide educational opportunities for their children. To ease the transition they joined one of the many benefit insurance or social Italian organizations. Among these, the most popular were the Italian-American Civic Union, the Italian-American Alliance and the Order of the Sons of Italy.

To compensate for the strangeness of the big city, like Chicago, the Italians clung tenaciously to their slum communities, even when they became economically able to move to better sections of the city. In Chicago, as elsewhere, most immigrants worked under a labor boss, a padrone who was the intermediary between them and the businessmen. Evidence indicates that the padrones in Chicago, who acted as labor agents, were on the whole helpful to the immigrants in getting jobs, in explaining working procedures, in finding housing and in mediating disputes. Some were dishonest exploiters who preyed on the immigrants, especially in the padrone camps where large numbers of workers lived for periods from several months to two years.

As in New York and San Francisco, Italians in Chicago advanced economically with great rapidity. Using their savings, many became property owners, others moved gradually into better city and state jobs and still others became policemen and firemen. As the number of Italians in the Great Chicago clothing firms of Hart, Schaffner and Marx and L. B. Kuppenheimer and others grew, Italians rose to positions of leadership in the garment unions. After a long and bitter strike in 1910, at the Hart, Schaffner and Marx factory, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union was organized with Sidney Hillman as President and A. D. Marimpietri as Vice-President. Some years later, Luigi Antonini, an officer in the International Garment Workers Union, became one of the most important labor leaders in the country and an influential political figure in New York.

As they became more affluent, Italians began to play a role in turbulent Chicago politics. At the turn of the century, Italian areas of the city were under the political domination of boss John Powers, who boasted that he could buy Italian votes for a glass of beer. Italian leaders, aided by the Italian language newspaper, L'Italiano, allied with Jane Addams of the Hull House in repeated attempts to oust Powers as

Alderman of the Nineteenth Ward which had a large Italian population. All of these attempts failed and Powers remained the boss of the ward until the 1920's, in spite of the efforts to dislodge him and replace him by an Italian alderman.

The Italians in Chicago, like their brethren in New York and California, opposed Woodrow Wilson both for his views on Italian immigrants and because of his alleged slights against the Italian delegates at the Peace Conference, and primarily for his readiness to hand over Trieste to Yugoslavia. Later with Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the White House, the Italians became a part of the powerful New Deal democratic coalition. During the thirties, the Chicago Italians finally succeeded in sending an Italian, Roland Libonati, to Congress as a Democratic representative.

There are, of course, criminal elements in all population groups. The most dispassionate treatment on the subject of participation of Italians in organized crime is found in Hubert Nelli's Italians in Chicago. Professor Nelli points out that around 1910 a number of non-Italian crime gangs operated in Chicago. When the Italians moved into the crime business which flourished in the corrupt conditions of Chicago politics, the Italian "syndicate was not staffed solely by Sicilians or even entirely by Italians."

The leaders of the Chicago crime syndicate were in succession: James Colossimo, who was born in Calabria, but came to Chicago as a boy, John Torrio, born in Naples, but who grew up in Brooklyn, and Al Capone, who was born in Brooklyn but whose parents were born in Naples. The ethnic cohesion and group loyalty, Nelli maintains, were a more significant factor in the struggle of the Italian criminals to dominate Chicago's organized crime than their Sicilian origin. Colossimo, with the help of Johnny Torrio, moved, with the advent of Prohibition and the Volstead Act, from gambling, saloons and prostitution, to the manufacture and distribution of illegal liquor. Using terror and almost wholesale bribery of politicans and law enforcement officials, Colossimo, Torrio and later Capone, became not only powerful leaders in crime activities, but also exerted great political influence in all levels of Chicago politics. "Under the leadership of John Torrio and his successor, Capone," writes Professor Nelli, "Italians exerted a powerful economic and political influence in Chicago, and made a spectacular and notorious entrance into the mainstream of city life and consciousness during the twenties. Their glittering successes and ex-

travagant excesses, and the extensive publicity accorded their actions by the press, diverted public attention from the widespread but less sensational accomplishments of Chicago's law-abiding Italians." The growing influence of gangsters in Chicago was manifested at the funeral of James Colossimo on May 15, 1920. The funeral was attended by scores of judges, aldermen, a Congressman and a number of state representatives.

The overwhelming majority of law-abiding Italians did all they could to disassociate themselves from the Italian gangsters, but these efforts were hampered by the fact that millions of Americans seemed to be enamored of Al Capone's escapades and even admired his way of doing "business." To many poor Italians who benefited from Capone's patronage, jobs or gifts of coal and clothing, he appeared as the reincarnation of a modern Robin Hood. It was only natural for the downtrodden Italian immigrants, the people called "dagos" or "wops" by the dominant society (and by other immigrants), to feel a measure of pride in the swaggering "feudal baron of Cicero" who treated important political figures with contempt and who for many years was an untouchable as far as the law was concerned.

Frank Costello, who grew up in a New York slum, was another success story in crime activities. A former rum-runner and longshoreman, Costello became the boss the New York crime activities during the Prohibition Era. With his partner, Bill Lwyer, Costello employed ships and speedboats to ship liquor to Canada and New Orleans. In spite of all the efforts of the New York City police, the F.B.I., Costello was convicted only once, in 1915, for carrying a concealed weapon. He spent ten months in jail and was not convicted until 1954 when he went to jail on a tax fraud charge. Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia called him "a bum" but in 1949 Costello became the vice-chairman of a Salvation Army's fund-raising drive and later was influential in the selection of Carmine De Sapio as the leader of Tammany Hall. Summarizing the story of the life of Frank Costello, Gay Talese, a former New York Times reporter wrote, "Costello never understood the rules of the New World because he was influenced by the tradition of a land that exists in the past... He was moving into a land that professed hostility toward the most recently arrived peasant. While most immigrants accepted their lowly status, and worked patiently to overcome it, Costello did not."

The sad chapter of the Torrios, the Capones, and the Costellos must not be al-

lowed to obscure the magnificent contributions of Italians to America. Italians fought valiantly for the United States in the first World War. In World War II, in spite of the fact that Italy was an ally of Nazi Germany, the Italians fought both in Europe and in the Pacific. Over a dozen Italians won the Congressional Medal of Honor. After the war, when Italy hovered on the brink of a Communist take-over, the letters of American Italians to their relatives and friends in Italy were credited by experts as having tipped the scale in the Parliamentary elections toward the victory of the Christian Democrats over the powerful Communist Party.

Italians in New York Politics

Italians were rather slow in getting into politics and it took many years for Italian-Americans to reach important political city and state offices. The first Italian Governor was elected in 1937. The same man, John Pastore of Rhode Island, many years later became the first United States Senator of Italian descent. It was not until 1960 that an Italian-American became a member of the Cabinet, when President John F. Kennedy appointed Anthony Celebreze, a former Mayor of Cleveland, to be Secretary of Education and Welfare.

Since there were about a million and a half Italians in New York City, their first show of political strength came in that city. New Yorkers and the nation well remember Fiorello H. LaGuardia, who was elected Mayor of New York in 1933, after having served as a Congressman for fourteen years. LaGuardia was re-elected in 1937 and in 1941. New York has had some colorful mayors, including the most colorful, Jimmie Walker, but it never had before or since as great a mayor than the short, chubby "Little Flower." Fiorello H. La Guardia's background was as many-sided as his performance. He was born in Greenwich Village in New York, a child of Achille Luigi Carlo La Guardia, an Italian immigrant, and an agnostic non-Catholic. His mother was Irene Coen, a Jewess from Trieste. Fiorello himself became an Episcopalian. The public generally assumed that La Guardia was a New Yorker because he so readily conformed to the popular image of a New Yorker. He was brash, loud and a fast talker in a "pure" bronx-Brooklyn accent. However, Fiorello La Guardia grew up in Prescott, Arizona, where his father was a musician in an army band.

At twenty-four, when his family moved back to Italy, La Guardia became a

junior American Consul in Trieste, then a consular official in Budapest and in Croatia. He learned to speak, in addition to Italian, which with English was his native tongue, Yiddish, Croatian, French, German and Hungarian. This knowledge of languages became a great asset to La Guardia in the political campaigns for Congress and for Mayor of New York. When La Guardia ran for Mayor in 1933, the Jews and the Italians comprised 45% of the city's population and his ability to address Jewish crowds in excellent Yiddish and to speak to the population of New York's Little Italy in Italian, proved to be a great asset. In fact, it is the massive support of the Italians and of a very considerable number of Jews who abandoned their traditional Democratic loyalty, that made La Guardia's election on a Fusion ticket possible.

Fiorello H. La Guardia was a genius in exploiting the melting pot politics and in taking full advantage of his appeal to the two most powerful ethnic groups in New York. La Guardia's biographer, Professor Arthur Mann, summarized La Guardia's appeal to the ethnics in this way:

> "The son of Jewish and Italian immigrants who attended services in the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, but who was married to his first wife in the rectory of Saint Patrick's and to his second wife by a Lutheran minister, was clearly the most remarkable hybrid in the history of New York city politics. Belonging, yet not fully belonging, to nearly every ancestral group in the city, including the British descended community of Episcopalians, Fiorello was a balanced ticket all by himself."

Talking to Jews, Italians, Serbs or Hungarians in their own languages, La Guardia skillfully exploited their special values and traditions, their prejudices, fears and hopes. His appeal to the Italian-Americans, long neglected in New York politics, was phenomenal. Italians were deeply discontented by their low social prestige, by lack of rapid economic advance and by lack of representation in City Hall and in Washington. In fact, for many years, La Guardia was the only Italian-American in Congress. The Italian press, led by the influential Il Progresso, edited by Generoso Pope, a power in New York politics, went wild in its enthusiasm for La Guardia.

La Guardia was not, of course, elected only on the strength of his ethnic appeal. His supporters included the most prominent leaders of the reform movement in New York, led by Judge Samuel Seabury, the destroyer of Tammany Hall and of the likeable, but corrupt, former Mayor, Jimmy Walker. La Guardia was also endorsed by the New York Times, The Tribune and other New York newspapers. But the Italian-Americans claimed credit for La Guardia's election. Edward Corsi, the head of the

Italian Fusion Committee, declared after the election: "As we predicted, the more than three hundred Italian votes received by the Honorable La Guardia have determined the victory of the Fusionist ticket. The new Mayor has received around ninety per cent of the entire Italian vote in New York City." The Il Progresso spoke for the gleeful and proud New York Italians, when it wrote, "Finally, the greatest city in the world has an Italian Mayor. Viva le Nostro Fiorello La Guardia."

In his three terms as Mayor of New York, La Guardia gave New York an honest and efficient, if often turbulent, administration. The Little Flower, wearing his wide Western hat, chased crooks out of the city government, improved police protection and did a great deal to help the immigrants, the poor and the needy in the big city. He also liked to ride the fire engines to big fires and read comics for the children during a newspaper strike. He was, by all odds, a great Mayor and Italian-Americans took justified pride in him.

It was a measure of the growth of the political influence of Italians in New York City, when in 1950, all three candidates for Mayor were Italians. Judge Ferdinand Pecora was a Democratic candidate, Edward Corsi ran on the Republican ticket and Vincent Impelitteri, President of the City Council, ran on an Independent ticket. The people of New York and especially the Italians and Jews liked Impelitteri, a well-educated and well-spoken lawyer, who stressed his independence of the party bosses and party machines. He was elected.

In the decades of the New Deal, Italian-Americans voted overwhelmingly for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, although their support for FDR diminished when he ran for a fourth term. The Italians were an important part in the New Deal electoral coalition and remained faithful to the Democratic Party through the Truman administration. The more affluent Italians gave considerable support to Eisenhower, but most Italians returned to the Democratic fold to vote for John Kennedy. They clearly wanted to see a Catholic become President of the United States.

In recent years, there are clear indications that Italian-Americans are becoming more conservative and are now counted as very uncertain allies in the traditional Democratic coalition. Rhode Island Italians are still supporting the liberal Democratic Senator Pastore and the San Francisco Italians voted overwhelmingly for the liberal Democrat, Joseph Alioto for Mayor, but the massive Italian-American population in

New York City and in New Haven, Connecticut, has become increasingly conservative. Italian candidates for office in New York in recent years are clearly reflecting the conservatism of the Italian workingmen--the union construction men, the teamsters and the longshoremen.

Glazer and Moynihan trace this conservative trend from the forties. They point out that in 1948 when Newbold Morris, a liberal Protestant Anglo-Saxon, who had La Guardia's support, ran against William O'Dwyer, a moderate Irish Catholic, Morris ran very poorly in Italian districts. The rejection of La Guardia, write Glazer and Moynihan, "symbolized the fact that there never developed among the Italian-American proletarian group a generalized ideology in support of liberalism and progressivism."

The growing conservatism of Italian-Americans led to several developments in New York politics. Reformists and anti-Vietnam liberals, mostly Jews, led a successful rebellion against the New York County Democratic organization which was dominated by the suave and ruthless Carmine De Sapio. De Sapio was ousted and eventually was convicted on charges of corruption. The break with the liberals became even more final in the 1968 Mayoral elections. In that election, two Italian-American candidates, Mario Proccacino and John Marchi, ran as the Democratic candidate and Republican candidate respectively. John Lindsay ran on the Independent-Fusion and Liberal Party Ticket. It soon became clear that Proccacino was in basic agreement on Vietnam, on racial issues, on welfare programs, and on the law and order issue with John Marchi. To the dismay of New York Democrats and many Italians, Proccacino proved to be several cuts below a La Guardia, or an Impelliteri, or even a Marchi. He was crude, bumbling and clearly reactionary. In television encounters, the articulate, handsome John Lindsay clearly outmatched the poor Mario. Faced with the alternative of Proccacino or the very conservative Marchi, most Jews and some white Protestants joined with the mass of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to give Lindsay plurality sufficient to make him Mayor for the second term. In 1970, Mario Proccacino made his break with the Democratic Party complete by endorsing the Republican Nelson Rockefeller, for re-election as Governor of New York. Proccacino denounced the Democratic candidate, the former labor lawyer and Supreme Court Justice, Arthur Goldberg, as a "limousine liberal."

In doing what he did, Proccacino rightly assumed that he represented the senti-

ments of most Italian-Americans, especially the Italian workingmen and union men. Procacino and the former Mayor, Vincent Impelitteri, also endorsed James Buckley, the candidate of the Conservative Party for the U.S. Senate. The massive turnout of the Italian voters, who traditionally voted for the Democrats, added strength to the decisive victory of Governor Rockefeller and even more importantly, provided the margin of victory for Buckley in his tight race with Richard Ottinger (a Jewish Representative for New York), the liberal Democratic candidate.

The Italians were obviously angered by the lopsided ethnic composition of the Democratic slate which was headed by Arthur Goldberg for Governor, and included a Negro for Lieutenant Governor and two Jews for the offices of State Treasurer and Attorney General. There was no Italian on the slate. The breach with the tradition of ethnically balanced tickets and the unrest and anger of Italians on the issues of law and order, race and Vietnam were undoubtedly the decisive factors in the victories scored by Rockefeller and Buckley in New York.

Italian Identity

How do Italians perceive their own ethnic identity today? This is not an easy question to answer. Some representatives of the Italian community see evidence of increasing identification of the second and third generation Italians with their ethnic background. A young principal of an elementary school in a predominantly Italian township in Long Island, and himself a second generation Italian-American, related in an interview with this writer that the parents of his students are demanding the introduction of courses in Italian and Italian literature, music and art.

Father Paul Asciola, editor of the Italian newspaper in Chicago, the Fra Noi, and special projects director of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian-Americans, an umbrella organization for 40 Chicago-based Italian-American organizations, told a House of Representatives Committee in March 1970, that his organization sees more progress and more interest in its work toward the rediscovery and preservation of the rich cultural heritage of the Italian-Americans. The programs of the Joint Civic Committee, Father Asciola said, range from language classes to courses on Italian art, cuisine and customs.

Irving L. Child, in his book Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict, which deals with the identity crisis of second generation Italians, found three

types of reactions: the rebels who want to be considered only Americans and wish to have nothing to do with the Italian-American community, the in-group second generation Italians who seek an active identification with their ethnic community. The third group is apathetic and refuses to take a position on the identity issue. Members of this group avoid situations which would force them to emphasize their ethnic background, but they maintain some ties to Italian organizations or societies. It is the third group, Child found, that exhibits the highest degree of anxiety about their status in the general society.

Professor Hubert S. Nelli, in the concluding paragraph of his study on the Italians in Chicago, relates that interviews he conducted in the summer of 1966 and 1967 with 300 Italian-American residents in an Italian area near the University of Illinois Chicago Campus disclosed that not one of the interviewed belonged to an Italian fraternal insurance organization, and none read an Italian language publication. Nelli concluded that with the exception of the Church, Italian community organizations are falling into disuse. Obviously this was a hasty conclusion based on very inadequate data. Not belonging to an ethnic insurance association is no proof of declining ethnic identity.

A reporter for the New York Times noted in November 1970 that Italians of many walks of life--first, second and third generation immigrants--vary in the degree of their identification with the Italian community. "The Italians in New York," the reporter, Richard Severo, wrote, "do not agree about who they are, what progress they have made, since the great migrations of half a century ago and where they should be going. And yet this people, whose identity is so difficult to define, has recently been thrust very much into the public eye." Severo recalled the mass picketing and demonstrations of New York Italians to protest the use of the word "Mafia" and the strong showing of Italians in the 1970 election in support of the re-election of Governor Nelson Rockefeller, and in the election of the conservative James Buckley as U.S. Senator.

Severo quoted Dr. John A.B. Faggi, director of Columbia University's Casa Italiana, who said:

> "The [the Italian-Americans] are not a closely knit group in any sense. . . They take [pride] in being part of the great Romano-Italian civilization. . . But mostly, they share an overriding sense of responsibility as American citizens and in that, they are not Italian."

John Ciardi, the poet, and columnist of the Saturday Review, whose parents were immigrants, predicted that "within another ten years you won't even be able to classify the Italians as an ethnic group."

On the other hand, the Italian-American Civil Rights League, founded a few years ago, which was responsible for the New York anti-F. B. I. demonstrations, claims a rapidly growing membership of 30,000. Another new organization, Americans of Italian Descent, also claims a good reception in the Italian community.

Emanuel Popolizio, an Italian lawyer in New York, is rather optimistic about the future of the Italian community in America. "We will endure," he told Severo; "We can go to the Anglo-Saxon and say: You see this road in Scotland? We built it 2,000 years ago. . . We will be patient." An American Italian historian, Professor Luciano J. Iorizzo, commenting on Severo's article in a letter to the New York Times said that there is a growing number of scholars of Italian descent in America who are studying the Italian immigration and the Italian community. More importantly, Professor Iorizzo noted that an "ever-increasing number of Italian-American college students are becoming inquisitive about their immigrant parents. . . beneath the exterior, fierce individualism generally posed by Italo-Americans is a sense of group consciousness recognized and nurtured by some leaders of the Italian masses."

The Dilemma of the Image

The image that the Italians present to the dominant American society is the major problem confronting the organizations of Italian Americans. Italians feel unfairly linked with crime activities of a few Italians and they generally deny the existence of a national crime syndicate, a Mafia or a Cosa Nostra, dominated by Italians of Sicilian descent. A deep sense of unease and insecurity seems to be sweeping the Italian community in America any time a Senate Committee or another national investigative body holds hearings on organized crime. The frequency of Italian names that crop up in such hearings, or in reports on the operations of gambling or juice racket rings, makes the overwhelming majority of Italians feel that their good name is being smeared and they suffer by the unfair practice of guilt by association.

We have written that in the heydays of Capone and Costello, the downtrodden, poor masses of Italian immigrants, the long-suffering "Dagoes," while abhorring the crimes of the gangsters, felt somewhat proud of the public acclaim of these

kinsmen who had wealth, power, and who successfully defied (at least for a long time) the powers of the police, the courts, and the local and even Federal governments.

"Being charged with links to the Syndicate," a widely respected Italian leader in Chicago said in an interview, "is a very tricky business. I grew up in Chicago's Little Italy. For the boys there were only two ways to get up the greasy pole of success from the common poverty and degradation. Either through hard work and education or through crime. Of course I know many Italians who are accused of being crime syndicate figures. I played with them on the street, went to the same church and the same school and dated the same girls. If I were to go to a wedding of a child of one of my boyhood pals, I may well be charged with having connections with the Mafia."

It would be wrong to assume that concern for ethnic identity is the preoccupation of most Italians. On the contrary, evidence suggests that assimilation among the six million Italians in America is proceeding at a rapid pace. Unlike the Poles, Italians have, in a large proportion, ceased to be observant Catholics. As early as 1939, the Rev. John V. Tolino, who made an extensive study of church attendance among Italians, concluded that only about one third of Italian-Americans can be considered "good Catholics." He estimated that the majority of Italo-Americans have little connection with the church. There are no figures available on how many Italians have changed their names and adopted Anglo-Saxon names, but the number must be considerable. Seven out of ten Italians in America were born in the United States and for 80% of them English is their native tongue. Consequently, most Italian language newspapers have disappeared and the membership in such old Italian organizations like the Order of the Sons of Italy has steadily decreased.

But there are several million Italians who to one degree or another identify themselves and are identified as ethnic Italians. They are determined to preserve the remaining Italian neighborhoods and to defend the good name of Italo-Americans.

In recent years, the Italian-American Civil Rights League was organized in New York to defend the good name of Italians. It was this organization, as we have mentioned before, which in June 1970 organized mass picketing of the FBI headquarters in New York, protesting the alleged vendetta of the FBI against Americans of Italian descent. For several weeks hundreds of Italian-Americans, old and young,

picketed the FBI offices shouting slogans about "Italian Power," and denouncing the FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, for using the terms "Mafia," and "Cosa Nostra" in his reports. On June 16, 1970, Judge George Starke issued an injunction limiting picketing to avoid public disturbances. The picketing stopped but a few weeks later, Italian organizations organized a mass demonstration in which 50,000 members paraded in Manhattan protesting slanders against Italo-Americans.

The New York Times reported that the picketing and the demonstrations were organized by Joseph Colombo, Sr., whose son Anthony Colombo is vice-president of the Italian-American Civil Defense League. Colombo, according to the New York Times, is the "reputed boss of the Mafia family long ruled by the late Joseph Profaci and was scheduled to be sentenced in February after conviction on two counts of perjury.

On February 8, Joseph Colombo was to be honored by a testimonial dinner. The Tri-Boro Post, an Italian-American paper in New York, reported that Colombo will be honored by 2,000 guests who will gather "to honor the man who has done so much to help his people and beleaguered people of all minorities."

Obviously most Italians in America never heard of Joseph Colombo and had no desire to honor him or his associates, but the news about Colombo and his connection with demonstrations aimed at improving the image of Italian-Americans do highlight the continuing dilemma of the Italian community in America.

In 1971, Italian organizations in the United States combined their efforts to demand that the movie to be made from Mario Puza's best-selling novel, The Godfather, delete mention of the words "Mafia and Cosa Nostra." Italians were clearly apprehensive as to the effect this would have on their image when the operation of one of the Sicilian crime "families," is shown in a movie which long before its release became a topic of great publicity because so many stars were vying to play the role of the Godfather, who is the head of the closely-knit crime group. In their letter of protest to the head of the movie studio, the Italian-American organization pointed out that the concentration on Italians in crime was basically unfair, because out of 22 million Italian-Americans [a grossly exaggerated figure], only an estimated 5,000, or less than 1%, are involved in organized crime. This controversy which received wide publicity only highlights the continuing dilemma of Italo-Americans.

On June 28, 1971, during a parade on the Italian Unity Day, Colombo was shot

and critically wounded. Since this event, the influence of the Italian-American Civil Defense League has rapidly declined. The League was excluded from participation in the traditional Columbus Day Parade in October, 1971.

In Chicago, in 1950, some forty Italian organizations established an umbrella organization, the Joint Civic Committee of Italian-Americans. The main objectives of the Committee were defined by the founders as being:

> "To plan, promote and carry on charitable, educational and cultural activities which will best serve the welfare of Americans of Italian extraction and the community at large.
>
> To carry on human relations activities (e.g., anti-defamation work) on a charitable basis, for the purpose of combatting and eliminating bias, prejudice or discrimination affecting Americans of Italian extraction and their neighbors.
>
> To encourage and disseminate Italian culture by sponsoring lectures, classes, conferences and study groups devoted to the contributions which Italians have made to world civilization."

In the area of protection of the image of Italo-Americans as law-abiding citizens, the Joint Committee opposes hearings of Congressional state investigative bodies which reflect adversely on the entire Italian community. Representative Frank Annunzio, who is one of the founders and leaders of the Joint Civic Committee, defined this objective in a speech on December 15, 1963:

> "We [the Italian-Americans] must demand the end of Committee hearings that tend to label, or stereotype all Italians on the basis of negative or inferior characteristics...
>
> We must demand the end of guilt by association for our people.
>
> We deplore the manner in which a high-ranking police officer of our Chicago Police Department recently referred to the "Italian criminal organization existing in Chicago."

The Joint Civic Committee in Chicago met on several occasions with the editors of Chicago newspapers to urge them to stop using the names "Italian Mafia," "Cosa Nostra," and in general, not to associate criminals with their ethnic origin. According to the intelligent and personable public relations consultant to the Joint Civic Committee, Anthony Sorrentino, these efforts were moderately successful. A similar meeting with the editors of the New York Times was arranged by the Italian American Civil Rights League, appears to have been far less successful. The Times continues to use the term "Mafia" and "Cosa Nostra."

The Joint Civic Committee has had some notable successes in highlighting the

contributions of Italians to America and in fostering interest in Italian culture, both among the Italo-Americans and the community at large. Italians are inordinately proud of Christopher Columbus. They never tire of repeating, with understandable pride, that without Columbus there would not have been a United States of America. Italian organizations sponsor, in all cities with sizeable Italian populations, Columbus Day Parades. In recent years, the Columbus Day Parade in Chicago, organized by the Joint Civic Committee, while not yet rivaling the St. Patrick's Day Parade, has become an important civic affair. The marchers include many Italian organizations, including the powerful Italo-American National Union, the Sons of Italy, the massed columns of the Italian-American Police Association of Illinois, and the staff and residents of the splendid Home for Aged Italians, the Villa Scalabrini. On the parade stand in recent years were the Governor, Mayor Daley, the Illinois Senators and many Congressmen, and of course, heads of Italian organizations.

Largely through the efforts of Congressman Peter J. Rodino of New York and Frank Annunzio of Chicago, the revamped legislation on the celebration of national holidays which became law in 1970, included a provision making Columbus Day a National Holiday. Beginning October 11, 1971, Columbus Day becomes a day of national rest and celebration.

After many years of effort, Congressmen of Italian origin, aided by Senator John Pastore of Rhode Island, succeeded in having a bust of Constantino Brumidi put in the Rotunda of the Capitol. The contribution of Brumidi, who was partly Greek and partly Italian, and who spent many years in painting the magnificent frescoes on the walls of the Capitol Rotunda, was unrecognized, to the deep dismay of the Italian-Americans, until the unveiling of his bust in 1969.

In recent years, Italians in New York, Chicago, Newark and New Haven have begun to demand more top-echelon federal and city jobs. Their leaders point out that there are very few Italian federal judges (there is one federal judge in Chicago of Italian extraction), that there has never been an Italian on the Supreme Court and that there is only one Italian in President Nixon's Cabinet, John Volpe, who is Secretary of Transportation.

It is rather surprising to find that the Joint Committee has been able to compile this respectable record of achievement and to support the splendid home for aged Italians, the Villa Scalabrini and the Italian newspaper Fra Noi, ably edited

by Father Paul Asciola, on a meager budget of less than $25,000 per year, with a modest office which has one secretary and no professional director. This budget is a fraction of the budget of the corresponding organization in the Polish community, the Polish American Congress, and is miniscule compared to what the Jewish Anti-Defamation League spends for activities in behalf of the Jewish community in Chicago alone.

The small budgets and the rather limited membership of Italian organizations in America are a reflection of the fact, that while there has been a resurgence of ethnic identity among some sections of Italian-Americans, large segments of Italo-Americans have submerged in the mainstream of American life and shun specific ethnic affiliations. This is undoubtedly true of [illegible] ethnic groups, particularly the Irish, but it is less true among the Jews and the Poles. It seems that the Italian community in America is still plagued by the long-standing animosity and distrust between Northern and Southern Italians. This conflict often prevents a show of unity by all Italo-Americans.

CHAPTER 4

THE FORGOTTEN MINORITY--THE AMERICAN POLES NOT SO SPLENDID ISOLATION

American Poles are the least known and the least understood ethnic group in America. They have been truly a silent majority group, neglected by others and until recently neglected even by themselves. America's culture and fortunes have been affected and aroused by the spectacular rise to power of Irish politicans. The people of the United States were stirred by the long struggle for an independent Ireland and by the drama of the establishment of Israel and they have been influenced by books written by Jewish writers and by jokes of Jewish comedians. America responded with deep sympathy and admiration to Garibaldi and his Risorgimento movement and recoiled at the influence of Al Capone and other Sicilian born crime figures. However, the long and heroic struggle of the Poles for independence, the plight of Poland as a Soviet satellite, and most importantly, the life of the six million Poles in America, have aroused little interest in American public opinion.

Virtually no novels have been written with Polish characters, or centering on some aspect of Polish life in America. With the exception of Jerzy Kosinski, there are no counterparts for a Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, Saul Bellow, or Mario Puzo among the American Poles. Some American authors like Edna Ferber and Nelson Algren have Polish characters in their novels, but the major themes of the books are not Polish. Many Jewish and some Irish and Italian comedians bring their respective ethnic brand of comedy to millions of Americans on various television shows, but there are no Polish comedians who have ever made it on the Ed Sullivan show. All that Americans have heard from time to time are the abominable "Polish jokes" which portray all Polish-Americans as ignorant, dull and dim-witted. American audiences have seen and still see on late television shows, movies like "Odd Man Out" and "Exodus," which depict with obvious sympathy the Irish Republican Army and the Jewish Haganah.

Many movies have been made on the lives of Garibaldi and Mazzini, the heroes of the fight for a united and free Italy but, to the best of my knowledge, no movie has ever been produced which dealt with the century-long struggle of the Poles for national independence, or which had as its heroes Generals Thadeus Kosciusko and Kazimierz Pulaski, two Polish heroes of the American Revolution. Broadway audiences have seen innumerable plays dealing with Italian themes (like the "Rose Tatoo"), Jewish plays (like "Fiddler on the Roof" and the "Rothschilds") and many plays by Irish playwrights like Brendan Behan, O'Casey and Dylan Thomas, but no play on Polish life in Poland or on any aspect of the Polish community in America has as yet reached Broadway, or for that matter, even off-Broadway. The authors of the widely read book on ethnic groups (Beyond the Melting Pot), Patrick Moynihan and Nathan Glazer, included chapters on the Irish, the Jews and the Italians, but did not write about one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States, the Poles.

Finally, while the scholarly harvest of books and monographs on ethnic groups in the United States is relatively meager, there are only a handful which deal with the history of Poles in America or, "Polonia," as the Poles refer to their community in America. The sad truth is, that with the exception of the splendid studies by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, the Polish Peasant in Europe and in America, and Mieczyslaw Haiman's Polish Poet in America, 1608-1865, the few volumes available are of limited merit. One major difficulty may be that few, if any, American historians and sociologists read Polish, and the few Polish American scholars who could use Polish original sources see little advantage for themselves on the ladders of academic life in concentration on Polish studies.

But linguistic difficulty is of course not a fully satisfactory explanation for the fact that American-Poles have become an authentic "silent majority" in the United States. Other reasons are more complex and relate to the history of Polish immigration to America. Furthermore, paradoxically, until very recently this isolation was, at least in part, self-imposed. Many Poles who wanted to preserve their Polish identity in America concluded that cultural isolation would give the Polish community a better chance to stem the almost irresistable push towards assimilation and "Americanization" and give the Polish community time to define and deepen their roots of "Polishness" in order to emerge in time as a cohesive ethnic entity on the American scene. For many years, Polish organizations and Polish leaders

were reluctant to give too much help to the few scholars and writers who wanted to write about them. There was no effort made to meet and exchange ideas with other ethnic groups. In fact, until a few years ago, major Polish organizations had no programs dealing with large scale national domestic issues, and were not concerned with the image or even with the political interests of Poles in America.

But on the whole, the Poles in America want to emerge from their isolation. They do not want to be the forgotten Americans any longer. In fact, they now resent the ignorance of the dominant society of their past, their present, their accomplishments and their problems. Major Polish organizations, as we shall see, have embarked on a widespread campaign to inform the American public about "Polonia," (the name American Poles use when they refer to their community) to protest aspersions on the image of American Poles and to protect the interests of Poles in America and of the Polish people in Poland. Consequently, this seems to be a propitious time to write about American Poles.

Polish History and "Polishness"

All ethnic groups in America, as we have seen, have been shaped by the history and character of their respective immigration waves. This is particularly true of the Poles. The great majority of Poles in America arrived in this country in massive immigrations during the years of 1880 and 1914.

Poles did not come to the United States from Poland because since 1795 there was no Poland on the map of Europe. In that year, after about eight hundred years of existence as an independent state, Poland was partitioned among three of its powerful neighbors--Russia, Prussia and Austria. The partition lasted for over 125 years.

This long period of partition of Poland and the incessant struggle of the Poles for independence, marked by two great Uprisings and Rebellions, one in 1831 and the other in 1863, had a lasting and profound influence on the Polish people. They became one of the most patriotic peoples in Europe. To a people that lost its independence for a long time to foreign invaders and which was determined to regain its freedom, love of country became almost a national obsession. The Polish national poet, Adam Mickiewicz, put it well in a verse in one of his poems, "Fatherland, only those who have lost you, can appreciate fully your value." It was indeed a

desperate struggle that the Polish people waged against the might of the Tzarist Empire, the military machine of Prussia and the immense power of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. All of the occupying powers, at one time or another, during the long period of partition, attempted to suppress the spirit of Polish nationalism through cultural pressure of Russification and Germanization, bribery, political concessions and often brutal force.

All these efforts failed. Poles had no independent political institutions, their military rebellions were suppressed, their sons died on foreign battlefields all over Europe in the vain hope of enlisting the sympathy or military aid for the fight for an independent Poland. However, they have become in the process one people, with one language and one faith. The Polish language became a precious and effective bond for Poles in the three sections of occupation. To speak Polish, to write in Polish, to love the Polish language became an almost religious commandment for all Poles.

The patriotic poetry of the great Polish poets, Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Slowacki, and the Messianic writings of Stanislaw Wyspianski, became not only great literature for the educated Poles, but their most sacred treasures and a source of constant inspiration.

For the mass of poor and largely illiterate Polish peasants who formed the overwhelming majority of the population, the spirit of Polish patriotism was kept alive and nurtured by the Polish Catholic Church. While the Catholic Church owed and owes today its allegiance to Rome, it was actually and primarily a Polish Catholic Church because it supported fierce Polish nationalism and kept alive devotion to the Polish language, Polish customs, and Polish hopes and aspirations for independence. Among Poles, whether in the past or present, whether in Poland or in America, the lines between their religious faith and Polish nationalism are blurred and often non-existent. For most Poles, fierce Catholicism is almost synonymous with ardent nationalism. Consequently, Poles are, on the whole, emotional and not rational about their religion. They are more concerned with the spirit of the church, the long established customs, than about theological doctrine and liturgy.

It is impossible to understand the American Poles and their attitude to "Polishness" and to Poland without a comprehension of the tragedy of Poland and its people during the long and bloody period of the partition of their country. Few Poles,

whether in Poland or abroad, are not moved to tears when the Polish national anthem is sung. It begins with the words, "Jeszcze Polska nie zginiela puki, mi zyjemy" -- "Poland is not yet dead as long as we live."

While most American Poles, in varying degrees, understand the meaning of "Polishness," this complex and much inclusive concept is not easily grasped by an outsider. It includes a special affection and reverence for the Polish language which goes beyond the acknowledgment of its usefulness as a language of communication and the language of their literature. Poles love their language because it served them well as an instrument of national survival.

Poles for generations have been singing these lines of national defiance contained in a poem written by Maria Konopnicka: "We shall not allow our language to be buried, we are the Polish nation, the Polish people, a tribe descended from the dynasty of the Piast kings...we shall not be buried..."

No greater compliment can be paid to an ethnically conscious American Pole than to tell him that he speaks "beautiful Polish." As we shall see a bit later, the masses of Polish immigrants who came into this country were mostly illiterate peasants whose Polish language was crude, ungrammatical and severely limited in style and vocabulary. These immigrants taught their children the Polish that they knew. The young American-born Poles, some of whom received a good education and spoke fluent and literary English, soon discovered, especially when meeting recently arrived educated Poles, that their Polish was rudimentary, old-fashioned and rustic. The reaction was often embarrassment and a vow never to use Polish again.

In recent years, with the rapid growth of educational levels in all segments of Polonia, and the sizeable immigration from Poland of college educated people, including professionals and artists, the American-born leaders of the Polish community made diligent efforts to learn to speak a "beautiful Polish" in order to enhance their standing in the community.

Polish Traits and Customs

Poles pride themselves on their hospitality and they do follow an old Polish proverb which enjoins the owner of the house to joyfully offer his guests the best that his home has. This type of hospitality, in the minds of the Poles, is more

difficult, if not impossible, to practice in an apartment. This is one of the reasons why American Poles are overwhelmingly home dwellers. Since American Poles are not as a whole very affluent, Polish neighborhoods in Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, or Milwaukee are relatively small and humble, but their lawns are clean and well-tended. There is also evident among Poles the traditional yearning of sons and grandsons of peasants for property ownership.

The long story of the military uprisings against the Russian and German invaders and occupiers of the land and the sacrifices of Polish volunteer troops in Italy, in the United States and in the armies of Napoleon, who always fought hoping to speed up Poland's liberation, have developed in the course of centuries, a peculiarly Polish admiration for the military uniform and for military flags and standards. Poles love and admire their military men and they cherish the old-fashioned military virtues of chivalry and sacrifice. Their faith in the valor of their armies was almost unlimited. During a visit to Poland in 1937, this writer remembers being told by many Poles with almost earnestness that the Polish cavalry which was feared in Europe before the advent of the tanks, would defeat the Russians on the East and the Germans on the West.

Hand in hand with admiration for the military, the Poles put their intellectuals on a very high pedestal. Polish universities and especially the 600 year old Jagiellonian University of Cracow have always been treated by Poles as national shrines and in no society does the title "Professor" carry more prestige and more recognition than among Poles. Poles have a deep reverence for knowledge, learning and education. They are proud that in Medieval times and through the later centuries, Poles were the easternmost European outpost of Humanism and of the Renaissance. In more recent times Poland was the country of origin of, among others, Bronislaw Malinowski, the father of modern anthropology, Alfred Kobrzybski, the founder of the science of semantics, Florian Znaniecki, the eminent sociologist, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, the famous political scientist of Columbia University and advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

The reasons for this veneration of scholarship and scholars include the recognition of the contribution of the universities to the preservation of the Polish language, Polish studies and Polish nationalism during the long period of partition, and the role of Polish universities in building a bridge to Western culture. In addi-

tion, the level of literacy in Poland, a country of peasants, was relatively low and the small number of scholars and intellectuals increased their standing and value in the community. American Poles, generally strongly dislike and disapprove of the present communist government in Poland, but some of them give that government credit for making Poland a literate country and for its strong support of universities and writers and artists.

Many of the customs in daily life have slowly been abandoned, but those connected with the observance of Christmas and Easter are still widely observed. The Christmas Eve Supper, the Wigillia (The Vigil) is the central part of Christmas observance. The major event of that festive meal is the breaking of the Oplatek, a thin, unleavened bread of flour and water which is sometimes blessed by the Polish nuns who teach in the parish school, and distributed to the people. The mother or the father break each other's Oplatek, and embrace and kiss and then all others in the family follow suit, expressing good wishes for a happy year. In the United States in the Christmas season, Polish papers are filled with announcements of organizations arranging "Oplatek" meetings where the private family ceremony is repeated in a larger group.

Easter too is surrounded with a great deal of pageantry. The Easterfare or the "Swiczonka," for the Easter feast includes ham, dishes decorated with sprigs of green and very importantly, a special Easter cake called "babka." As we have said, on Holy Saturday, the mother or children carry samples of Easter food in baskets to the Church to be blessed.

May 3rd is a special festive day for Polonia. It is the observance of the Anniversary of the first popular constitution adopted by the Polish Parliament, the Sejm, on May 3, 1971, which reduced the privileges of the nobles and extended the franchise to the middle class.

Capsule Story of Polish Immigration

American Poles were influenced in some measure by the history of their ancestors in Poland, but they were shaped by the history of the successive waves of Polish immigration into the United States. There are today about six million (this is an estimate--figures range from three to ten million). How did they get here, what did they do and how did they fare in the new land of their hopes?

Miecislaus Haiman, the first Polish historian in America and the founder of the Polish Museum and Archives in Chicago, divided in his study, Polish Past in America, the history of Polish immigration to the United States into three periods:

1608 -1776 -- the colonial migration
1776-1865 -- the political migration
1865-1940 -- the economic migration

Two more migrations must be noted. The migration which followed the conquest of Poland by the Nazis and the wave of Polish immigrants which came to America since 1956 when the Polish government opened its gates to those who wished to leave. Both of these migrations may be termed political and intellectual.

Poles were in Jamestown Colony and as testified by Captain John Smith, were excellent pioneers in the struggle with the wilderness. Other Polish immigrants in the colonial period were largely artisans and adventurers.

The political migration in the end of the 18th and first part of the 19th century was the result of the growing oppression of the Polish people by the occupying powers of Russia, Prussia and Austria. Many of these immigrants were refugees from the successive uprisings aimed to throw off the yoke of foreign occupation. The early immigrants came largely from Greater Poland which was occupied by Germany. These immigrants were economically advanced and they had a relatively substantial degree of literacy. Having these advantages, they established themselves in the United States with comparative ease and like the German Jews vis-a-vis the Russian Jews, they too looked with disdain and disapproval on Polish immigrants who came from Russian Poland or from Galicia which was part of Austria and where the economic and educational conditions were much lower. The "German Poles," called the newcomers greenhorns -- "grynole." These early animosities ascerbated as the immigration from various parts of Poland increased. As a consequence, in the course of [illegible] factionalism, local pride and religious antagonism which carried over from the "Old Country," were a sad characteristic of the life of the Polish community in America. This disunity and old jealousies have only recently given way to a sense of unity and solidarity. The third and the fourth generation of American Poles has, of course, no interest in the old feuds and animosities.

Two Polish officers entered into the pages of American history in those early days of this country, Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski. Both came to fight for the freedom of the colonies in the American Revolutionary War. Kosciuszko, an

artillery captain, educated in a French military academy, came to Philadelphia in 1776, determined to help the Americans to gain their independence. Given a rank of colonel of engineers, Kosciuszko supervised the building of fortifications at the Bemis Heights near Saratoga which proved to be important to the victory of the American forces in the Battle of Saratoga. Ordered to secure the Hudson River, Colonel Kosciuszko fortified West Point which was General Washington's headquarters. West Point is today the Academy of the United States Army and on its grounds there is a monument raised in honor of Thaddeus Kosciuszko because the Polish officer assisted in the founding of the Academy by urging its location at West Point.

Grateful for his services, Congress awarded Kosciuszko the American citizenship and the rank of brigadier-general. Kosciuszko's life was replete with memorable achievements, but his will and testament deserve special mention. He ordered that his property be sold and the proceeds used to purchase the liberty of as many Negroes as the amount realized would allow. His friend, Thomas Jefferson, was named executor of the estate. Kosciuszko also provided for the education and the training of freed Negroes.

Casimir Pulaski was a Polish Count who in 1777 became a Colonel in the Revolutionary Army and using his own money raised a corps of cavalry. The organization and the improvement of the tactics and efficiency of the new American cavalry were Pulaski's constant goals. Some military historians refer to him as the "Father of American Cavalry." Pulaski, promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, lost his life in a gallant charge in a battle during the siege of Savanna. He was 31 years old.

Professor Eugene Kusielewicz writes, commenting on the Polish immigrants in Colonial America: "These early immigrants brought to American shores the best of Polish traditions; a love of liberty and a firm belief in the dignity and quality of men that made Poland a pioneer in the development of parliamentary government and civil liberties."

It is estimated that there were about 30,000 Poles in America in the Civil War period. Poles served with distinction in the Union Army and three Poles, Wlodzimerz Krzyzanowski, Joseph Karge and Albin Schopf reached the rank of general.

The "economic" immigration of Poles as Haiman called it, which began about 1870 and had its peak between 1890 to 1914, was massive and overwhelmingly peas-

ant in character. During that period of time, about three million Polish peasants came to the United States, parallelling the mass Italian and Jewish immigration of the same period. It is important to note that the present character of Polonia--of the Polish-American community--was shaped largely by that immigration. That is, of course, true of the Irish, the Jews and the Italians who also came to the United States in large numbers in that period, but a case can be made that the status and the image and the problems of the contemporary Polish community reflects the after-effects of the original mass immigration in much bolder and clearer relief.

Polish immigrants were overwhelmingly peasants who came from a society which still practiced a variation of feudal economy. The top of the economic and political and social pyramid in Poland was occupied by a small group of large owners of estates, many of whom were counts or princes of ancient and very rich families like the Potockys, the Radziwills and the Czartoriskys. Then came a relatively small group of small landowners followed by the mass of landless and illiterate peasants who barely eked out a living as hired hands on the large estates. The immigrants to America came predominantly from this latter group. In 1912, for instance, about 200,000 Poles came to America. Professor Florian Znaniecki has estimated that "over 50% of these immigrants were landless peasants and 27% were small landowners in Poland."

Most of the Polish peasants who came to the United States had no skills to survive in the industrialized and strange country to which they came. They spoke a rudimentary, peasant's Polish, were mostly illiterate in their own language and, of course, the English language was totally alien to them. In contrast to the Jewish mass immigration which included many artisans and some who had a measure of experience in the textile industry and in commerce, all that most of the Polish immigrants had was a great capacity and willingness for hard physical labor. America in the booming, competitive days of its great industrial upsurge, showed little compassion to these newcomers. If they were to survive they had to become unskilled laborers in factories, in the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Gary, in the tanneries and slaughterhouses of Chicago and Milwaukee and in the Ford factories in Detroit. Poles who had some experience in the coal mines in Poland, went in large numbers to the coal fields in Pennsylvania and others found work in the textile mills in Lawrence and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

No work was too hard, too menial, too coarse or too dangerous for the Poles. They had no choice and they could not be choosy about jobs if their families were to survive in the new environment. This hard, demanding work was a signal contribution of these millions of brawny and healthy immigrants who without much complaining or rebelling helped to make America the industrial giant that it is today. The American society has yet to acknowledge the debt it owes to these millions of Polish peasants. They were not a "sophisticated" group of immigrants and they demanded little from their new country and got little in return. In fact, instead of appreciation they were shabbily treated. The ridicule which was (and sometimes still is) heaped on the heads of these simple, uneducated folk who worked sixteen hours a day in dangerously insecure mines, mills and stockyards, for pitifully small wages, was cruel and unjust.

Feeling unwelcome in the new country, aliens in a cultural milieu which they did not understand and doubtful of their prospects for economic advancement, many Polish immigrants were determined to save some money and return to their villages. In fact, between the years 1891 and 1910, 234,000 Poles did return to Poland. Many who stayed did so because they had decided to delay their return only for a few more years. A Polish historian, Reverend M. J. Madaj, offers an interesting insight by suggesting that this widely shared intention of an "eventual return may provide at least a partial explanation for the slow progress of assimilation or Americanization of the Polish communities." Since many Polish immigrants intended or at least were thinking of returning "someday" to Poland, they felt consciously or subconsciously no great incentive to go through the trials and tribulations of assimilation or even of gradual acculturation to their new environment.

There was one distinct benefit from this universal acceptance of hard and manual work and the generally prevailing poverty in the Polish neighborhoods and areas of dense settlement. There was a rapid trend toward the disappearance of the social and class distinctions. "No work was shunned," writes one keen observer, "because it was distasteful or hard and no man was looked down upon because his work was lowly. In this the Polish immigrant displayed a marked change of attitude from what he would have felt and shown in Poland; the caste concept, once so keen even in the Polish peasant that it would not permit him, if he was a landowner, to shake the hand of his hired man, vanished here without a trace."

It is virtually impossible to exaggerate the severity of the cultural shock suffered by these masses of Polish peasant-immigrants. It was much more severe than that experienced by the large waves of Irish immigration because the Irish had one great advantage over the Poles--they spoke English. The Jews too, were better prepared for America. They were mostly city dwellers, had more intellectuals and artisans among them and were mostly literate, at least in Yiddish and in Hebrew. Even the Italians from Southern Italy had no recent tradition of serfdom and they benefited somewhat from the general admiration and affection of most Americans for the country of their birth. Poles had none of these advantages and their disadvantages were many.

They came to this country en masse, not from the somewhat advanced regions of Poland, around Warsaw and Lodz, but from the least advanced regions of the highlands and southern and eastern Poland. They came not from big cities, but from isolated primitive villages and small towns. These villagers had no interest and no part in the management of the affairs of their own villages and no voice in the political affairs of the region or of the nation. If they voted they did so as the local priest or the local official told them to vote. Even the rudiments of the democratic process were unknown to them and their life was circumscribed in the narrow circle of their family and the parish church.

The public schools which were attended by Polish children operated on the principle of doing away, as soon as possible, with ethnic public school administrators and teachers were deeply convinced of their mission to make the "melting pot" concept a reality. Anglo-Saxon and Irish teachers had little sympathy and less patience for the long and unpronounceable Polish names or for the values and customs of Polish culture and religion. Polish children soon perceived, directly or by repeated innuendoes, that to be Polish is to be different and even un-American. They understood that to get along in school you had to forget or hide your Polish ties and identity.

No wonder that the cultural shock suffered by the Polish immigrants, the hostility of the dominant society, the lack of appreciation for their ethnic and cultural identity by public schools and public institutions which caused their children to be ashamed of their poor illiterate parents, brought forth, in the course of time, a severe inferiority complex. Even second generation Poles were not immune from this disabling state of mind and a vigorous discussion is now raging among Polish leaders

and scholars whether Poles today, most of them third and fourth generation Americans, still suffer from an inferiority complex.

There was also a severe clash between Polish peasant mores and habits with the advanced and advancing American civilization which prized individual enterprise and which put a premium on the mass production and mass consumption of goods, both material and cultural.

The question of retaining the original family name is very important in any discussion of the ethnic identity among American Poles. Ethnically minded Poles in America do not take kindly to Shakespeare's casual remark, "What's in a name..." As far as they are concerned, a name matters a great deal, especially if it is a genuine Polish name. The resistance to the changing of Polish names seems to be a response to the special pressure exerted on Poles by the dominant American society, the school, the governmental bodies and especially the business community to Anglocize their names. For some reason, Americans feel that it is much easier to spell and pronounce names like Toscanini and Marzullo or Goldstein and Rubenstein, or Flaherty and Moriarity, than Skorwaczewski and Bialasiewicz. Even names like Brezney and Dobrynin seem to encounter less difficulty with American tongues. There seems to be something especially alien in Polish names and perceiving this, many Poles have changed their names to avoid constant embarrassment or to do away with a real or imaginary handicap toward career advancement. Thus, for instance, the father of Senator Edmund Muskie changed the family name from Marciszewski to Muskie, and many a Pole with a long name became a Collins, a Smith, or a White. In most cases these Poles cut their ties to the Polish community and disappeared into the mainstream of American life. That is one of the reasons why identity conscious American Poles look upon their kinsmen who Americanize their names as betrayers of their community. They would undoubtedly refuse to vote for a political leader running in a Polish district who would opt for a popular American name. To Polish ethnics, a Polish name is a sign, a symbol, of Polish pride and a declaration of intention to remain a member of the Polish community.

The Role of the Polish Church

The Polish Roman Catholic churches played and still play a very important role in the history and in the life of the American Polish community. This area too, is

not free from controversy among the small number of Polish-American scholars and all that an outsider can do is to present the arguments in the controversy and assess them as best as he can.

Poles settled usually around their Polish parish church or in compact neighborhoods. They were, as a whole, devoutly religious and unlike many Italians (or one should say, Italian men), considered respect and obedience to the priest as a religious commandment. Priests were respected as the men of God, the inspired representatives of the Holy Church and of the Holy Father in Rome. Being practically the only educated men in the community, they served as representatives and spokesmen for their isolated community to the local and national government and to the society at large. These were great responsibilities which the Polish priests had to discharge not without some serious handicaps. Their parishioners, while observant and very respectful of the Vatican, were in fact not communicants of the Roman Catholic Church, but of the Polish Roman Catholic Church. They wanted and expected the sermons to be delivered in Polish and most importantly, they considered the religious customs which were followed in the village church in Poland to be followed in their churches in Chicago, Milwaukee and Buffalo.

In the United States, this combination of deep religiosity and Polish patriotism presented a special problem for the Polish churches. As a rule, the bishops who had jurisdiction over the Polish parishes were Irish. They found it difficult to understand why Poles in America insisted on sermons in Polish, on parochial schools where Polish and Polish culture was to be part of the curriculum and on the observance of Polish customs connected with religious holidays. Irish bishops had as their goal the establishment of one Americanized Catholic Church in America and considered the demands of Polish parishioners as narrow, parochial and divisive. Poles, poor as they were, built beautiful churches in Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo and elsewhere by self-denying contributions from their small earnings. They saved for the purchase of their own modest homes and shared these savings for the building of imposing parish churches. But they wanted their church to be a Polish Catholic church and that often aroused the ire of the Irish hierarchy. James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore said on one occasion: "Ours is the American Church and not Irish, German, Italian or Polish and we keep it American."

From the point of view of the hierarchy of the Catholic church, especially at the

[illegible] Irish, German, Croatian, French Canadian and Polish Catholics [illegible] to minimize the differences [illegible] schools in order to establish a [illegible] American historians are unsparing [illegible] charged with using their power [illegible] their churches. [illegible]

[illegible] Joseph Wartwal, "to create [illegible] and the greatest would re- [illegible] was not found in Irish or Ger- [illegible] American Catholic hierarchy..... The [illegible] of their language and culture."

[illegible] was organized in Pennsylvania [illegible] vowed to follow the rites of [illegible] worship and be independent of the [illegible]. This was a bold schism of [illegible] administered by them- [illegible]. A Protestant Episcopal cler- [illegible] Catholic Church noted that there [illegible] determination to preserve the Polish lan- [illegible] of Polish immigrants [illegible] pennies and dollars to [illegible].

The Polish [illegible] about 200,000 members with [illegible]. Its relations with the rest of [illegible] Catholic Church cooperates with the Polish-American [illegible] invited to participate in many [illegible].

[illegible] the appointment of more Po- [illegible] Mosinas Mazewski, the Pres- [illegible] occasion of a visit to the Vatican [illegible] Paul VI requesting the appointment [illegible]. The memorandum pointed out [illegible] U.S.A. is of Polish descent.

there are only eight Polish bishops and one Polish Archbishop out of a total number of 265 American Catholic bishops. Mazewski complained that the Catholic hierarchy in America has shown no appreciation or support for Polish parochial schools and that two dioceses in Chicago and Detroit, with a large Polish population, have not sent students to the Polish seminary at Orchard Lake. The petition also expressed disappointment that Polish priests are not required to take courses in the Polish language in the theological seminaries.

The Pope, while sympathetic, replied that the matters contained in the memorandum are within the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Episcopate in the United States. Unappeased, Mazewski remarked: "But Your Holiness has a great deal to say on these very matters."

The Contemporary Polish Community Polish Organizations

There is little agreement and less hard data about the number of Poles in America and the information about Polonia is not easy to obtain. American sociologists and political scientists have so far exhibited little interest in the Polish-American community and, as we have said, Poles themselves were not very eager to be studied. "Existing literature of sociology," wrote a Polish-American sociologist, "in relation to ethnic groups can but amuse the educated member of Polonia, who knows only too well from personal experience that this literature does not even approximate the reality of what happens all about him in his daily life. Here is a credibility gap of mountainous proportions, yet scholars do nothing about it. Perhaps the Polonia is equally at fault for not providing the source material and the inspiration needed to spark the effort." This situation is now changing as more scholars have shown an interest in American Poles and as the Polish-American leaders are more willing to help those who wish to undertake the study of their community.

How many Poles are there in the United States? Wytrwal makes a definitive statement that there are today ten million Americans of Polish descent. That may be more or less true, but Kazimierz Lukomski, the knowledgeable national Vice-President of the American Polish Congress, estimates that of that figure of ten million only about half, or five million, consider themselves, on one way or another, as belonging to the Polish-American community. "I would estimate," said Lukomski, that one million Poles belong to some Polish organization."

The largest number of Poles, about 600,000 of them, live in Chicago. It is estimated that Detroit has 300,000, New York 250,000, Buffalo and Milwaukee, 150,000 each and 100,000 each in Cleveland, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. There is a strong concentration of Poles in Eastern Pennsylvania and in New Jersey. The all-Polish city in the United States is Hamtramck near Detroit, which has a population of 26,000, nearly all Poles. Hamtramck, like many other cities, is a virtually bankrupt city. It finds it difficult to meet the city payroll or to keep its roads in reasonable repair. The financial difficulties of Hamtramck bring into clear focus the slow rate of economic advancement of American Poles. As a group, Poles are far from affluent--by far less economically advanced than the Jews and the Irish and probably, on the whole, are worse off than the Italians. It is their low economic status, their concentration in inner cities that make for the tension and friction in the relations of Poles and blacks. The element of economic competition between the Poles and the blacks deserves more attention than it receives. But we shall treat this issue in more detail when we discuss the Polish-Negro relations.

Today there are approximately 10,000 fraternal, cultural and social Polish organizations in the United States with a total membership of about one million. There is the large and thriving organization of Highlanders [Podhalans] of North America which has recently raised funds to build a folklore and culture center in a village on the slopes of the Tatra Mountains. There is the Polish Catholic League which helps in building churches in Poland, the Polish Women's Civic Clubs, the Cleveland Society, the Legion of Young Polish Women, and many similar organizations which raise money for college scholarships for deserving youth in Poland. Other organizations help to maintain hospitals and clinics in the mother country. There are also organizations of Polish doctors, lawyers, and artists in all centers of Polonia.

The largest and most prestigious Polish organization is the Polish National Alliance which was established in 1880 and which unified many fraternal orders and societies. The original constitution of the Alliance stated that its purpose was:

> "To lay the foundation for an institution that would work for the material and moral amelioration of the Polish element in the United States by means of a reserve fund. To such institutions belong Polish homes, schools and all welfare organizations..."

Other aims included "the protection of Polish immigration (and) adaptation of the immigrant to America. All members had a life insurance policy which paid

$500 at the death of the male member and $300 at the passing of his wife." The Alliance also undertook to foster the spirit of Polish patriotism by the sponsorship of Polish cultural events and by the observance of Polish historic events.

The Polish National Alliance today claims a membership of 340,000. All members carry insurance policies issued by the Alliance, with an aggregate worth of four hundred million dollars. In the first years, the Alliance concentrated on economic relief to the hard-pressed Polish immigrants and on widespread agitation for the independence of Poland. American Poles, led by the Alliance, looked upon themselves as "the fourth province of Poland," helping the three partitioned areas of Poland to gain their national freedom.

As time went on, and after Poland gained its independence after World War I, and as the new generation of American-born Poles took over the leadership, the Polish National Alliance began to work to raise the image of American Poles and to protect its political and economic interests.

The rival organization of the Alliance was and is the Polish Roman Catholic Union. While their objectives and activities are similar, historically, there was a deep ideological difference between the two organizations. As much as Poles can ever be secular and able to separate their church from political activities, the Alliance was a "secular" organization, while the Union had strong ties with the Polish Roman Catholic Church in America. This difference, while far less sharp today, is still in evidence. The Alliance chapters are organized on a communal basis independent of the churches, while the Union favors an organizational set-up based on the church parishes. While priests are active in the Alliance, they are much more evident in the leadership ranks of the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The motto of the Polish Roman Catholic Union is "God and Country" while the Alliance favors "Country and God." This would seem to be an insignificant difference to outsiders, but it is this difference that for years poisoned the relations between the two organizations. The leaders of the Union, especially the churchmen were not averse to denouncing the Alliance as an anti-clerical, secular or even socialist organization and in American domestic politics more conservative than the Union.

As we have said, these antagonisms have largely disappeared and a relationship of cooperation has been achieved. There remains, of course, a healthy rivalry for membership and influence.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union, like the Polish Alliance, provides its estimated 160,000 members with insurance policies and death benefits. It is a fraternal, social and cultural organization. In 1970, Joseph Osajda became the President of the P.R.C.U. He represents a new type of leader in Polish-American life. Osajda is an American-born lawyer and a long-time hotel executive, who is thoroughly dedicated to full collaboration with other major Polish organizations on matters of concern to the entire Polonia.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union supports St. Mary's College, a four-year liberal arts college, located in Orchard Lake, Michigan. This small, but expanding college, offers majors in theology, philosophy, and Polish culture and arts. In addition to the college, the educational complex at Orchard Lake includes a high school and a Theological Seminary. More recently, under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Walter J. Ziemba, a Center for Polish Studies was established. The Alliance publishes a daily Polish newspaper, the Dziennik Związkowy, while the Polish daily, which was subsidized by the Polish Roman Catholic Union ceased publication in 1971. Several other Polish newspapers are published in Detroit, New Jersey and in other cities.

Joseph Osajda, the President of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, and Aloysius Mazewski, the President of the Polish National Alliance, have shown a great interest in the new immigrants from Poland. They both have made successful efforts to establish lines of communication with the new immigrants and opened avenues for them to attain positions of importance in their respective organizations. Mazewski, an able lawyer, who is also the President of the American Polish Congress, addressed many groups and clubs of new immigrants in an attempt to understand their views and their problems. His relations, for instance, with the active and effective Polish Academicians Club of Chicago, which is composed of well-educated, new immigrants, have been especially cordial. "Mazewski has made it his policy to find a better understanding with the new immigrants," said Witold Pawlikowski, the young and able President of the Polish Academicians Club. "He made it his business and has succeeded," Pawlikowski continued, "to integrate many new immigrants into many activities of the Polish American Congress."

Significantly, Mazewski, who some years ago knew little Polish, became by dint of hard work a fluent speaker in Polish and even the sophisticated intellectual new-

others now concede that he speaks a "good Polish." This makes him even more of a "persona grata" among the new immigrants.

Nevertheless, the conflict between the old and new immigrants is real and it ought to be briefly examined. The old immigrants, as we have seen, were overwhelmingly peasants whose sons and grandsons achieved a degree of social and economic advancement, but whose roots in Polish culture were weak at best. The American-born leaders of Polonia seldom knew enough Polish to use it in addressing their compatriots. After the Yalta Conference in which American Poles were convinced President Roosevelt "sold out" Poland to the Soviets, some Polish leaders tried to lead the Poles from their traditional adherence to the Democratic Party into Republican ranks. Their success in this effort was rather limited, but the disunity and bitterness engendered were great. In addition, the leaders of Polonia were loyal supporters of the Polish-Government in exile which represented the semi-military government of pre-war Poland.

The new immigrants, especially those who have come to America after 1956, when Communist Poland decided to allow immigration, are of a different breed than the old immigrants. They are better educated and include many professional people and university students who are deeply rooted in Polish literature and culture. They are proud of their Polishness and speak a "beautiful" literary Polish. The new immigrants are vehemently opposed to the Communist regime in Poland which does not represent the Polish people, but they do not want the restoration of the pre-war basically totalitarian government which was dominated by generals and colonels. Despising as they do the communist oppression of their people, they nevertheless acknowledge the industrial advancement of Poland in recent years and the great improvements in public education and in arts. They hope for a free Poland with a democratically elected government. While the dialogue between the old and newer and newest immigration groups is at its beginning, progress as we have indicated is already considerable. The slow emergence of new leaders of Polonia, who have been nurtured on American ideals of democracy and who have acquired a deeper knowledge of the rich Polish cultural heritage, is a guarantee that this progress will continue.

Poles in Chicago Politics

In spite of their frequent complaints against Mayor Daley for alleged discrimination in giving Poles important city jobs, both Polish papers endorsed him for re-election in April 1971. This was expected from the Dziennik Chicagoski, which usually supports the Democrats in line with general political orientation of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, but the endorsement by the Republican leaning Zgoda was a bit of a surprise, although a few days before even the Republican Chicago Tribune endorsed Daley. The editorial in the Dziennik stressed Daley's accomplishments in the city, while Zgoda concentrated on the Mayor's enforcement of law and order during the 1968 Democratic Convention. Mayor Daley's popularity in the Polish community soared a few weeks before the election when he rejected a plan by which the Chicago Housing Authority would build low cost public housing units (to be assigned primarily to blacks in white neighborhoods). Friedman, who hedged on the plan, lost whatever support he had in the Polish areas of the city.

American Poles spend relatively modest sums of money on their few major cultural institutions. Unlike the Jews, who have multi-million dollar Jewish Community Centers for the adults and primarily for the young in almost every major city, no comparable institutions exist in Polish communities. A similar situation also prevails among the Italians. Like the Italians, Polish immigrants have shown little concern for the building of institutions of higher learning, but there has been a marked improvement in this area in recent years.

The Polish National Alliance sponsors the Alliance College at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania and the Polish Roman Catholic Union supports a complex of Polish educational institutions at Orchard Lake, Michigan. Yet, these institutions are small and financially not well established. The Alliance College has an enrollment of 600 and St. Mary's College has about 150 students.

Dr. Eugene Kusielewicz, President of the Kosciuszko Foundation in New York --an institution dedicated to the promotion of Polish scholarship--is a persistent critic of Polonia's apathy in cultural affairs. He complained in a speech to Polish educators that the Foundation gets most of its financial support from non-Poles and asserted that the support for the Alliance College has been niggardly and that the college deteriorated somewhat a few years ago "that only a threat of havings its accreditation removed could motivate the directors of the Polish National Alliance to

a renewed interest in the school." The eminent Polish scholar further noted that the condition of the Polish Museum and Archives in Chicago, which have been founded and are sponsored by the Polish Roman Catholic Union, "has deteriorated drastically."

The American Polish Congress has increased its support for the Polish-American Historical Association which has succeeded in attracting to its ranks a number of younger American professors of Polish descent and scholars who have recently immigrated from Poland.

The Alliance College seems to be on the way toward overcoming its difficulties. The college, in addition to offering a full course of study of a liberal arts college, offers a program of Polish studies. Recently, Alliance College offered its juniors and seniors an opportunity of a year's study in one of the universities in Poland. This decision taken by the board of trustees of the College after long discussions, is symptomatic of a growing conviction in Polonia that in spite of the antipathy to the Communist government in Poland, cultural ties with Poland are essential for the preservation of Polish identity among the American Poles.

The Kosciuszko Foundation, headed by Dr. Kusielewicz, has also greatly expanded its programs and activities. The Foundation was established forty years ago to promote the attendance of Polish youth in colleges through scholarships and to help deserving scholars to study the history of Polonia and to acquaint Polish-Americans with their cultural heritage. The Foundation, which occupies a lovely building just off Central Park West in a fashionable section of New York, conducts a variety of activities aimed to promote Polish dance, arts, and literature. Since its establishment, the Foundation has helped over fifty graduate students, and established scholars, Poles and non-Poles, to publish books, including doctoral dissertations on Polish subjects. More recently, the Kosciuszko Foundation inaugurated a program of six week tours to Poland for American-Polish students to give them an opportunity to study Polish culture, traditions and arts.

Also in New York are the headquarters of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences which publishes the Polish Review, a scholarly journal with high literary standards, devoted to Polish literature and Polish affairs. Polish-American Studies, a journal devoted to Polish history in the United States, is published at St. Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Michigan by the Polish-American Historical Association.

Among the major ethnic groups in America, only the Jews have comparable literary and historical magazines. This is significant in view of the widespread view that American Poles live in the midst of a cultural desert.

The major responsibility for the handling of domestic and foreign affairs of American Poles is carried by the American Polish Congress, an umbrella organization of over forty Polish fraternals, clubs and associations. For many years, American Poles were disunited and lacking a voice which could speak for them to the American government and to the American public. Now the American Polish Congress speaks for most of them. The Congress was organized in May 1944 to help in the establishment of a free and independent Poland at the conclusion of World War II. The original charter of the Congress listed among its objectives the strengthening of the war effort by Polish-Americans and thus contribute to the victory of Poland, to increase the welfare of Polish-Americans and to a "united action of Americans of Polish descent, within the lawful limits of their rights and privileges in this country, to assure the sovereignity of Poland, the land of our forefathers, and the integrity of its borders."

For many years after its establishment, the American Polish Congress concentrated almost exclusively on the question of the restoration of an independent Poland and pressed the American Government to prevent the Soviets from imposing a Communist government on Poland. When this effort failed, the Congress demanded that the United States press Russia to relax its grip on Poland. Yet, the American Polish Congress has not achieved this objective, but there is evidence that its constant protests and pressure has at times lightened the burden imposed on the Polish people by the Communist regime.

The policies of the American Polish Congress in relation to Poland have undergone drastic changes in recent years. The Congress is still adamantly opposed to the Communist government of Poland which it considers unrepresentative and imposed by the Soviet Union, but it now supports some policies of the Polish government which it considers to be in the interests of the people of Poland. Furthermore, in an important policy change, the Congress has decided in the early 1950's to devote a great deal of its efforts to the strengthening of the political position and influence of American Poles and to the defense of the image of Polonia.

The new policies of the American Polish Congress are summarized in a mem-

orandum submitted on October 15, 1970 by the Congress to President Richard Nixon. The Congress asked the United States Government to recognize the Oder-Niesse line as the final boundary between West Germany and Poland. When some time later, the Polish government and Chancellor Willy Brandt agreed on a treaty confirming the boundary, the Congress again asked the United States to declare the boundary as final and to accept the incorporation into Poland of the so-called Western lands which previously belonged to Germany.

The A. P. C. further requested that the U. S. A. expand cultural exchanges with Poland and to grant Poland the most favored nation category in trade in order to assure a flow of imports from Poland. The memorandum stated that such imports benefit the Polish people. It did not mention that in the long run an improvement in the Polish trade balance would strengthen the Polish communist government as well.

The memorandum demonstrates the dramatic shift from the total opposition and rejection of the imposed Polish government to the present policy which still opposes and rejects this government, but which supports some of its policies which, in the view of American Poles, serve the interests of the Polish people. In view of the bitter anti-communism of the leaders of Polonia, this was not an easy policy to adopt and it still requires a great deal of sophistication and flexibility in its application. The demand for intensified cultural exchanges with Poland reflects a conviction that Polish culture cannot flourish in the American Polish community unless close cultural ties are maintained with the arts and literature in Poland. The new policy explains the student study tours to Poland inaugurated by Polish-American educational institutions. Dr. Richard Kolm of the Catholic University of America summarized this position when he said, "No ethnic group can long maintain its cultural identity and creativity without some ties with the original source."

In a personal interview with President Nixon the delegation from the P. A. C., headed by Aloysius Mazewski, who is both the President of the National Polish Alliance and of the P. A. C., and by Joseph Osajda, the President of the Polish Roman Catholic Union and Treasurer of the Congress, also demanded the appointment of qualified Poles to Federal posts. They pointed out that such a request was not motivated by divisiveness or parochialism. On this they said that they "would regard these appointments as the symbols of the full participation of the ten million Americans of Polish origin in the mainstream of American life. . . ."

The Polish American Congress is giving increasing support to Polish cultural institutions, but its major preoccupation is with the defense of the image of American Poles in America. The image problem lies heavy on the hearts of the Polish community and it ought to lie heavy on the conscience of the American people. America has failed, as yet, to express its gratitude for the brawn and the labor of millions of Poles who dug the coal in the mines of Pennsylvania, who sweated in the textile mills in Massachusetts and the steel mills of Indiana, and who worked in unspeakably brutal conditions in the stockyards of Chicago. But to add insult to injury, the dominant society has branded American Poles as ignorant, slow-witted and reactionary slobs. Television comedy shows and night club comics continue to tell "Polish jokes" the "hero" of which is the "dumb Polack." Such an image would be hard to bear for any group, but for American Poles, the descendants of a people which justifiably prides itself on having been the defenders of Christianity in Europe, the proud bearers of Western Civilization, who have produced writers and poets like Sienkiewicz, Reymont, Mickiewicz, Slovacki, composers like Chopin and Paderewski, the burden is almost unbearable.

It is not difficult to understand the origins of the "dumb Polack" image. The mass of Polish immigrants--the illiterate peasants--had, as we have said, no skills, and were alien to the English language and Anglo-Saxon mores. For these laborers, it must have been nigh impossible to follow the instruction of the foremen and the bosses. Consequently they were thought to be unintelligent and even slow-witted. The problem of the image is complicated by the fact that the lack of respect, the derision and the insults directed at the Poles by the dominant society have resulted in a deep inferiority complex which has afflicted not only the generation of the immigrants, but also their sons and even grandsons, who were ashamed to be identified with such a deprecated minority group.

In spite of the complexity of the problem, American Poles seem to be determined to launch a long overdue counter-offensive. "Our most urgent task," Mazewski declared in a keynote address at the 1970 National Convention of the Polish American Congress, "...is the presentation of Polonia's image in historically and sociologically appraised frame of reference. It is not an easy task," he continued. "Its difficulties are deeply rooted in the past neglect and ignorance of our own worth in the mainstream of American life." American Poles are now fighting back against

their detractors and defamers. Polish organizations are demanding from the communication media the elimination of "Polish jokes" and the presentation of a true image of the American Polish community. They have embarked, in the words of Dr. Walter Ziemba, Chairman of the Advisory Council on Education and Cultural Affairs of the Congress, "upon a planned, structured, well-organized program of positive image-building of the Polish-American, as well as of the country of our fore-fathers with its thousand-year history, Poland."

The strong reaction of the long-suffering Poles against defamation is showing results. Television networks are more careful in allowing comedians to get laughs at the expense of the Poles and newspaper editors have begun to realize that publication of defamatory material brings a hostile reaction from Polish groups. And yet, the plague of "Polish jokes" still persists. Recently, on the show "All in the Family," the father called his son-in-law "a dumb Polack." The son-in-law, who has a distinctly Polish name in the show, answered, "I want you to know that I am very proud of my Polish heritage." The father-in-law's punchline was: "What heritage. You come from a long line of bowling teams." Laughter. Yet as we said, some positive results have been attained. In November, 1970, the Detroit Free Press had a story on a "typical Polish wedding" which was allegedly a long bout of drinking and brawling. Detroit Poles deluged the newspaper with protests and on December 5th, the Michigan branch of the Polish American Congress organized a protest demonstration which was addressed by Mazewski, who stated that he came to the rally because the Detroit incident was not an isolated one and that stories about "Polish weddings" and "Polish jokes" are cruel and in bad taste and defame the entire Polish community. The editors of the Detroit Free Press printed a full apology to its Polish readers and promised to rectify the mistake.

Polish-Americans in Congress

Polish-Americans in Congress include one Senator and ten Congressmen. Eight are Democrats and two are Republicans. Generally speaking, the Democrats are moderate liberals on domestic issues, while the two Republicans, O'Konski of Wisconsin and Derwinski of Illinois, are conservatives. On the issue of Vietnam, Polish Congressmen have generally been hawks and supported President Johnson's war policies and approved Nixon's invasions of Cambodia and Laos. The exception

is Congressman Henry Heltoski of New Jersey who is a liberal on domestic issues, a consistent dove on Vietnam and a foe of excessive military spending. The Polish-American community was shaken by the abrupt replacement of Congressman Dan Rostenkowski as Chairman of the Democratic Conference, who was thought to be in line for the Speakership of the House, by Congressman Olin Teague of Texas. Some Polish newspapers saw in this move a sinister plot hatched by the liberals who abandoned Rostenkowski and the Southerners who were assiduously cultivated by the Polish Congressman. The truth is probably much simpler. Rostenkowski, an able Congressman, often had to neglect his duties as chairman of the Democratic caucus because of frequent trips to Chicago to discharge his responsibilities as Ward Committeeman of the 32nd Democratic Ward. Mayor Daley would not consider relieving [illegible] assignment to keep the Polish vote in the area in line for the Democratic [illegible] Slate. In addition, the liberals were miffed by Rostenkowski's hawkish stand [illegible], his flirtation with the Southerners. The Southerners simply prefer[illegible] an man in an important position in the House hierarchy.

[illegible] ce of Mayor Richard Daley on the Democratic Congressmen from Chi[illegible] considerable. Dan Rostenkowski, in the Spring of 1971, was becoming increasingly unhappy over the Vietnam War. "I make a lot of speeches at high sch[illegible]s in my district," the sandy-haired, tall and handsome Congressman said in a speech in Chicago, "and the kids ask damn penetrating questions about what useful purpose we're serving in Vietnam. As this thing has gone on I've had more and more trouble answering them." Rostenkowski's shift to a dove position was helped by a speech by Mayor Daley in April, 1971 asking for an end to the Vietnam war in order to use the money saved on the war to help the cities. Rostenkowski and Roman Pucinski, who is an expert to read the mood of voters in this district, became with a number of other Congressmen co-sponsors of a resolution calling for an early date for a total U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

There seems to be a bright future in the cards for the very able and articulate Congressman Pucinski. Pucinski, a ranking member on the House Committee on Health, Education and Welfare, is a very popular speaker at meetings of Poles and other ethnic groups. He is very popular with the Jews in Chicago because he is considered a staunch friend of Israel. The well-liked Congressman has an excellent sense for embracing popular causes and he is not averse to changing his views when

conditions seem to warr[illegible] [illegible] Pucinski [illegible] against Senator Charles Percy in 1972. Congressman Clement Zablocki [illegible] kee, Wisconsin, a veteran member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs [illegible] Thaddeus Dulski from Buffalo, New York, Chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, have a moderately liberal record on domestic issues, [illegible] are strong supporters of military spending and of hard policies in [illegible]. The Republicans, [illegible] and Derwinski are members in good standing in the conservative wing of the House of Representatives.

What of the Future?

The pessimists point to the growing assimilation of Polish young people who are third or fourth generation Americans, to the virtual disappearance of Polish parochial schools and to the rapid decline of the Polish press. While substantial numbers of Polish children attend the Polish Sabbath schools, this one day instruction in the difficult Polish language has rather meager results. High schools in cities where Poles live in large numbers were offered elective courses in Polish language, but there were few registrants among the Polish students. A Polish course in Lane Technical High School in Chicago which has a large number of students of Polish descent, has few students and has been repeatedly under the threat of discontinuation.

Still [illegible] their community in America, many better-educated and more affluent Polish-Americans broke all ethnic ties. "They left," as Professor Richard Kolm puts it, "for the sake of their own opportunities and success....Others left because they found life in the Polish communities too restricting ...And these were frequently the educated, the businessmen, and professionals."

Polish youth does, according to Dr. Kolm, suffer from a deep identity crisis [illegible] from lack of interest [illegible] in their cultural heritage and from the [illegible] and outdated style of [illegible] life in Polish communities." Both Dr. Kolm and [illegible] lack of dynamic cultural leadership in Polonia and the [illegible] level of financial support given by the [illegible] Polish organizations to cultural [illegible] educational institutions.

On the other hand, some P[illegible] see in recent years significant signs of revival in the cultural life of the [illegible] American community and even more impor-

[illegible] interest [illegible] young Polish-Americans in their cultural heri-tage [illegible] Church. The Rev. Dr. Walter [illegible] leading [illegible]. He sees the [illegible] as a golden opportunity [illegible] of Polish culture and pride in America. [illegible]" Dr. [illegible] is watching us, waiting for us to [illegible] to them and make its decision."

A young Polish-American priest and [illegible] ness" on the part of the fourth generation of American Poles. [illegible] needs," he writes, "were already satisfied by the [illegible] their needs became more complex... Feeling fully American, they no longer [illegible] of the anti-ethnic names they bore. They traveled to Poland, [illegible] their roots. They take pride in their folk art, read the literature [illegible] and dance to their music. And many of them have developed a profound respect for the ethnic differences of the people who surround them."

Where does the truth lie? With the Pessimists or the Optimists? Probably with both. There is evidence to support the findings of the Pessimists and of the Optimists. However, on balance, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Polish-American community is experiencing a substantial revival of ethnic dynamism. The causes for this revival are many, but they include the confrontation with black consciousness and militancy, the competition among the ethnic groups for a share of political power and for important jobs in the big cities. "Negroes have won great victories for Poles and Italians," said Dr. Kuseliewicz in an interview. Polish ethnic revival has also been helped by the closer cultural ties with Poland, and the influence of the new and better-educated immigrants from Poland. As we have noted in the case of the Jews and the Italians, this new ethnic identification differs from that of the older generations. A perceptive Polish writer from Poland aptly observed that the Polish-American young people identify with Polish history, culture and arts, rather than with the older forms of emotional Polish patriotism and religion. Leaders of Polonia are now recognizing that new approaches are needed to reach the new generation of Poles in America.

Aloysius Mazewski told a meeting of Polish exiles in London in March 1971 that Polish-American youth has no patience with the old political squabbles of the immigrants and that they would not accept a restoration in Poland of the [illegible] quasi-military

government. "The young generation of American Poles," Mazewski [illegible] for a Poland based on a political system of the free nations. They [illegible] discuss Poland's political questions. For them Poland is only [illegible] descent, while they are proud to be the inheritors of the thousand-year [illegible] their fathers." To the Polish immigrants in London, where the Polish Government in Exile, composed of aging pre-war politicians still resides, Mazewski's statement must have had a sobering, if not chilling, effect.

There is a new leadership in the American Polish community which is more attuned to the feelings and needs of the youth and which has more understanding for the cultural needs of the community. The Alliance College and the Orchard Lake College are still small institutions, but they are growing and introducing new programs and experimenting with new ideas.

The Kosciuszko Institute, the Pilsudski Institute, the Polish Scientific Institute and the American Polish Historical Association show signs of revival and of a significant identification of their scholarly endeavors to promote Polish scholarship and literature. Young Polish scholars, some born in the United States and others who came to America after World War II or after 1956 from Poland, are making an important contribution to this work.

In summary, there is no reason to doubt the prediction of Dr. Kusielewicz, who said "in the long run we will all be assimilated," and that the process of assimilation of American Poles would not continue, but there are indications that this will be a slow process and that assimilation will be counter-balanced, at least in the immediate future, by a growing feeling of ethnic identity and ethnic pride on the part of a substantial section of Polonia. The primary reason for this prediction is the deep interest of many American Poles in seeing Poland freed from a communist-imposed government. Perhaps even more important is the fact that "Polishness" does have a meaning and a content for many Americans of Polish descent. They, in substantial numbers, know what "being Polish" means. In that, Poles have an advantage over many Italian-Americans and Irish-Americans who experience great difficulty in defining what being Italian or Irish means to them.

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