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1 Terrible times in which priests no longer merit the praise of poets and in which poets have not yet begun to be priests.
On "El Poema de Niágara" of Pérez Bonalde [1883]

2 A nation is not a complex of wheels, nor a wild horse race, but a stride upward concerted by real men.
A Glance at the North American's Soul Today [1886]

3 Men are products, expressions, reflections; they live to the extent that they coincide with their epoch, or to the extent that they differ markedly from it.
Henry Ward Beecher [1887]

4 A grain of poetry suffices to season a century.
Dedication of the Statue of Liberty [1887]

5 Hatred, slavery's inevitable aftermath.
Woman Suffrage [1887]

6 Others go to bed with their mistresses; I with my ideas. *Letter [1890]*

7 Man needs to go outside himself in order to find repose and reveal himself.
Vivir en Sí (To Live in Oneself) [1891]

8 Poetry is the work of the bard and of the people who inspire him. *Poesia [1891]*

9 Mankind is composed of two sorts of men —those who love and create, and those who hate and destroy.
Letter to a Cuban farmer [1893]

10 Men have no special right because they belong to one race or another: the word man defines all rights.
Mi Raza (My Race) [1893]

11 I wish to leave the world
By its natural door;
In my tomb of green leaves
They are to carry me to die.
Do not put me in the dark
To die like a traitor;
I am good, and like a good thing
I will die with my face to the sun.
A Morir (To Die) [1894]

12 This is the age in which hills can look down upon the mountains. *Ib.*

13 Only those who hate the Negro see hatred in the Negro.
Manifesto of Montecristi [1895]

14 The spirit of a government must be that of the country. The form of a government must come from the makeup of the country. Government is nothing but the balance of the natural elements of a country.
Our America [1891]

15 I have lived in the monster [the United States] and I know its insides; and my sling is the sling of David.
Letter to Manuel Mercado [1895]

Cecil John Rhodes
1853–1902

16 I desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world, and to encourage in the students from the United States of America an attachment to the country from which they have sprung without I hope withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth.
His will, establishing the Rhodes Scholarships

17 Educational relations make the strongest tie. *Ib.*

18 So little done—so much to do.
Last words

James A. Bland
1854–1911

19 Carry me back to old Virginny,
There's where the cotton and the corn and taters grow;
There's where the birds warble sweet in the springtime,
There's where this old darky's heart am longed to go.
Carry Me Back to Old Virginny [1875], st. 1

Sir James George Frazer
1854–1941

20 Dwellers by the sea cannot fail to be impressed by the sight of its ceaseless ebb and flow, and are apt, on the principles of that rude philosophy of sympathy and resemblance . . . to trace a subtle relation, a secret harmony, between its tides and the life of man. . . . The belief that most deaths happen at ebb tide is said to be held along the east coast of England from Northumberland to Kent.[1]
The Golden Bough [1922],[2] ch. 3

[1] See Shakespeare, 207:13, and Dickens, 549:3.
[2] Abridged one-volume edition. The original appeared in twelve volumes [1890–1915].

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 7/14/82

TO: Dana

FROM: Harry Zuniga

For your info ____

Per our conversation ✓

Other:

Any questions call

(Rohrabacher/TD)

June 16, 1981
Third Draft

BUSH: HISPANIC CONFERENCE
JUNE 18, 1981

It is a pleasure to be with you today. The Mexican-American community is becoming a powerful force in American politics and your organization has much to do with the recognition of this important fact.

Of course, the Hispanic influence in America involves much more than mere politics.

During the last decade when the country seemed to be straying from traditional values, the Mexican-American community held firm. Indeed, Hispanics bring to this country an unmatched devotion to family, commitment to maintain pride and self-respect, a reverence for God, and a dedication to self-improvement through work. These are things for which Mexican Americans are known. These are things for which Mexican Americans can be proud.

If you don't mind a bit of partisanship, I am convinced that as time brings about a natural political realignment -- that more and more Mexican Americans will find it is the Republican Party that more closely represents the things which Hispanics hold dear.

I am talking about values. That is a word well understood in the Barrio because there values have been put to the test.

During the years of adversity and discrimination, Mexican Americans maintained pride and self-respect. In more recent years when an omnipresent welfare state challenged both family and work ethics, the Mexican-American community triumphed -- preserving both family ties and the strength of character that comes from honest work.

It is unfortunately true that for too long your contribution to America was not recognized by your fellow citizens. But that is changing. And it is changing in a big way.

It is no accident that three of America's latest heroes are Hispanics. The first is Marine Sergeant James Lopez. This young man held off a mob of Iranians at our Embassy in Tehran in time for five American diplomats to escape. And, during his captivity, his courage inspired the Nation.

Second is Army Master, Sergeant Roy Benavidez. He is the Nation's newest recipient of the Medal of Honor, the country's highest award for bravery. President Reagan awarded him this decoration for his courage in Vietnam. It was in the finest tradition of the Mexican Americans who have served this country whenever it was threatened.

And, finally, the newest sports hero in the United States was born in a small farm town in Mexico. His name is Fernando Valenzuela, and he is pitching for the Los Angeles Dodgers. He was a guest of President Reagan at the White House recently during a luncheon held there for visiting President Lopez Portillo.

During that visit President Reagan told President Lopez Portillo that Mexico was part of America's soul. He was, of course, talking about the important role Hispanics have played in developing the diverse culture we have here in the United States.

And Hispanics are playing an important role in the Reagan Administration. Michael Cardenas is the new Administrator of the of the Small Business Administration; Jose Casanova is the designated Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank; John Hernandez is the Deputy Administrator of the EPA; Everett Alvarez is the designated Deputy Director of the Peace Corps -- just to name a few.

Hispanic involvement in a Republican Administration should surprise no one. The political realignment I spoke of earlier is already starting to happen. In 1980 President Reagan received a whopping 52 percent increase in Hispanic votes than our candidate in 1976 -- reflecting a major change in the Mexican-American vote in the Southwest. A similar shift can be observed in recent polls that place the Republican Party only 1 percent behind the Democrats in public identification. Five years ago, that spread was 28 percent. The change came, admittedly, among many Anglo blue-collar workers. But also significant are the Mexican Americans who, in greater numbers than ever before, are identifying with the Republican Party.

During the last campaign, Republicans talked about five important values: family, neighborhood, work, peace, and freedom. These are things Americans, whatever their background, hold dear. But, they are especially important to Hispanics, who, time and again, have demonstrated their devotion to these concepts.

This is especially true in the economic arena. Mexican Americans are not looking for a handout. Instead, they want opportunity. And that is just what the Reagan Administration is dedicated to providing all our citizens.

The economic stagnation of the last decade was intolerable. Yet, it was tolerated by politicians who believed they could insure their political power base by keeping the population dependent upon Government programs. It was an ever increasing Federal Government that sapped the strength of the once vibrant American economy. You know it, and I know it -- and the Reagan Administration is dedicated to doing something about it.

Today, we are, of course, involved in a major effort to secure passage of an essential component of the economic recovery program: tax reduction.

1 You may go whistle for the rest. *p. 134*

2 Ill luck, you know, seldom comes alone.[1] *p. 135*

3 Why do you lead me a wild-goose chase? *p. 136*

4 Experience, the universal Mother of Sciences. *III, 7, p. 140*

5 Give me but that, and let the world rub, there I'll stick. *p. 148*

6 Sing away sorrow, cast away care. *III, 8, p. 153*

7 Of good natural parts, and of a liberal education. *p. 154*

8 Let every man mind his own business. *p. 157*

9 Those who'll play with cats must expect to be scratched. *p. 159*

10 Raise a hue and cry. *Ib.*

11 'Tis the part of a wise man to keep himself today for tomorrow, and not venture all his eggs in one basket. *III, 9, p. 162*

12 The ease of my burdens, the staff of my life. *p. 163*

13 Within a stone's throw of it. *p. 170*

14 The very remembrance of my former misfortune proves a new one to me. *III, 10, p. 174*

15 Absence, that common cure of love. *p. 177*

16 From pro's and con's they fell to a warmer way of disputing. *p. 181*

17 Little said is soon amended.[2] *p. 184*

18 Thou hast seen nothing yet. *III, 11, p. 190*

19 Between jest and earnest. *Ib.*

20 My love and hers have always been purely Platonic. *p. 192*

21 'Tis ill talking of halters in the house of a man that was hanged. *p. 195*

22 My memory is so bad that many times I forget my own name! *Ib.*

23 'Twill grieve me so to the heart that I shall cry my eyes out. *p. 197*

24 Ready to split his sides with laughing. *III, 13, p. 208*

25 My honor is dearer to me than my life. *IV, 1, p. 226*

26 On the word of a gentleman, and a Christian. *p. 236*

27 Think before thou speakest. *IV, 3, p. 252*

28 Let us forget and forgive injuries. *p. 254*

29 I must speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. *p. 255*

30 More knave than fool. *IV, 4, p. 261*

31 Here's the devil-and-all to pay. *IV, 10, p. 319*

32 I begin to smell a rat. *Ib.*

33 The proof of the pudding is in the eating. *p. 322*

34 Let none presume to tell me that the pen is preferable to the sword.[3] *p. 325*

35 There's no striving against the stream; and the weakest still goes to the wall. *IV, 20, p. 404*

36 The bow cannot always stand bent, nor can human frailty subsist without some lawful recreation.[4] *IV, 21, p. 412*

37 It is not the hand but the understanding of a man that may be said to write.[5] *Pt. II [1615], bk. III, author's preface, p. 441*

38 When the head aches, all the members partake of the pains.[6] *III, 2, p. 455*

39 Youngsters read it [Don Quixote's story], grown men understand it, and old people applaud it. *III, 3, p. 464*

40 History is in a manner a sacred thing, so far as it contains truth; for where truth is, the supreme Father of it may also be said to be, at least, inasmuch as concerns truth. *p. 465*

[1] See Shakespeare, 223:25.

[2] Often rendered: Least said soonest mended.

[3] See *The Teaching for Merikare*, 3:12; Burton, 259:3; and Bulwer-Lytton, 493:6.

Scholars' pens carry farther, and give a louder report than thunder.—Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* [1642], *p. 70* (Everyman edition)

[4] See Ptahhotpe, 3:10; Herodotus, 78:9; and Howell, 271:17.

[5] Cervantes's left hand was maimed for life by gunshot wounds in the battle of Lepanto.

[6] When the head is not sound, the rest cannot be well. —Du Bartas, *Divine Weeks and Works* [1578]

For let our finger ache, and it indues / Our other healthful members even to that sense / Of pain.—Shakespeare, *Othello* [1604–1605], *act III, sc. iv, l. 145*

1 Who well lives, long lives; for this age of ours
Should not be numbered by years, days, and hours. *Ib.*

2 My lovely living boy,
My hope, my hap, my love, my life, my joy.[1] *Ib.*

3 Out of the book of Nature's learned breast.[2] *Ib.*

4 Flesh of thy flesh, nor yet bone of thy bone. *Ib.*

Miguel de Cervantes
1547–1616

5 You are a king by your own fireside, as much as any monarch in his throne.
Don Quixote de la Mancha [1605–1615][3] author's preface, p. xix

6 I was so free with him as not to mince the matter.[4] *p. xx*

7 They can expect nothing but their labor for their pains.[5] *p. xxiii*

8 Time out of mind.[6]
Pt. I [1605], bk. I, ch. 1, p. 4

9 Which I have earned with the sweat of my brows.[7] *I, 4, p. 22*

10 By a small sample we may judge of the whole piece. *p. 25*

11 Put you in this pickle.[8] *I, 5, p. 30*

12 Can we ever have too much of a good thing? *I, 6, p. 37*

13 The charging of his enemy was but the work of a moment.[9] *I, 8, p. 50*

14 I don't know that ever I saw one in my born days. *II, 2, p. 57*

15 Those two fatal words, Mine and Thine.[10] *II, 3, p. 63*

16 The eyes those silent tongues of Love. *p. 65*

17 And had a face like a benediction.[11] *II, 4, p. 69*

18 There's not the least thing can be said or done, but people will talk and find fault.[12] *p. 70*

19 Without a wink of sleep.[13] *p. 72*

20 Fortune leaves always some door open to come at a remedy. *III, 1, p. 94*

21 Thank you for nothing. *p. 94*

22 No limits but the sky.[14] *III, 3, p. 110*

23 To give the devil his due. *p. 111*

24 You're leaping over the hedge before you come to the stile. *III, 4, p. 117*

25 Paid him in his own coin. *p. 119*

26 The famous Don Quixote de la Mancha, otherwise called the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance.[15] *III, 5, p. 126*

27 You are come off now with a whole skin. *p. 127*

28 Fear is sharp-sighted, and can see things underground, and much more in the skies. *III, 6, p. 131*

29 A finger in every pie.[16] *p. 133*

30 No better than she should be.[17] *Ib.*

31 That's the nature of women . . . not to love when we love them, and to love when we love them not.[18] *Ib.*

[1] My fair son! / My life, my joy, my food, my all the world. — SHAKESPEARE, *King John* [1596–1597], *act III, sc. iv, l. 103*

[2] The book of Nature is that which the physician must read; and to do so he must walk over the leaves. — PARACELSUS [c. 1493–1541]. From *Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition), vol. XX, p. 749*

[3] Translated [1700–1703] by PETER ANTHONY MOTTEUX. Page numbers are those of the Modern Library Giant edition.

[4] See Shakespeare, 230:22.
You mince matters. — MOLIÈRE, *Tartuffe* [1667], *act I, sc. i*

[5] Nothing is to be gotten without pains (labor). — *Old Proverb*
See Shakespeare, 225:33.

[6] Time out o' mind. — SHAKESPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet* [1594–1595], *act I, sc. iv, l. 70*

[7] See *Genesis 3:19, 7:12.*

[8] How cam'st thou in this pickle? — SHAKESPEARE, *The Tempest* [1611], *act V, sc. i, l. 281*

[9] Don Quixote has mistaken windmills for giants, the "enemy," and attacks them. The expression "tilting at windmills" alludes to this incident.

[10] See Boileau, 311:15.

[11] The more familiar translation.

[12] Take wife, or cowl; ride you, or walk: / Doubt not but tongues will have their talk. — LA FONTAINE, *The Miller, His Son, and the Donkey* [1694]
Do you think you could keep people from talking? — MOLIÈRE, *Tartuffe* [1667], *act I, sc. viii*

[13] See Shakespeare, 243:22, and Pope, 339:5.

[14] Modern saying: The sky's the limit.

[15] El Caballero de la Triste Figura.
Translated by TOBIAS SMOLLETT.

[16] No pie was baked at Castlewood but her little finger was in it. — THACKERAY, *The Virginians* [1857–1859], *ch. 5*

[17] An old proverb.
You are no better than you should be. — BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, *The Coxcomb* [1647], *act IV, sc. iii*

[18] See George Bernard Shaw, 680:3.

1 Now blessings light on him that first invented this same sleep! It covers a man all over, thoughts and all, like a cloak;[1] 'tis meat for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, heat for the cold, and cold for the hot. 'Tis the current coin that purchases all the pleasures of the world cheap; and the balance that sets the king and the shepherd, the fool and the wise man even. *IV, 68, p. 898*

2 The ass will carry his load, but not a double load; ride not a free horse to death. *IV, 71, p. 917*

3 I thought it working for a dead horse, because I am paid beforehand.[2] *Ib.*

4 He . . . got the better of himself, and that's the best kind of victory one can wish for. *IV, 72, p. 924*

5 Every man was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. *IV, 73, p. 926*

6 Ne'er look for birds of this year in the nests of the last.[3] *IV, 74, p. 933*

7 There is a strange charm in the thoughts of a good legacy, or the hopes of an estate, which wondrously alleviates the sorrow that men would otherwise feel for the death of friends. *p. 934*

8 For if he like a madman lived,
At least he like a wise one died.
p. 935 (Don Quixote's epitaph)

9 Don't put too fine a point to your wit for fear it should get blunted.
The Little Gypsy (La Gitanilla)

10 My heart is wax molded as she pleases, but enduring as marble to retain.[4] *Ib.*

Giordano Bruno
1548–1600

11 Time takes all and gives all.[5]
The Candle Bearer [1582],[6] *dedication*

[1] "God's blessing," said Sancho Panza, "be upon the man who first invented this self-same thing called sleep; it covers a man all over like a cloak."—LAURENCE STERNE, *Tristram Shandy*
See Saxe, 556:2.

[2] It is a heartrending delusion and a cruel snare to be paid for your work before you accomplish it. As soon as once your work is finished you ought to be promptly paid; but to receive your lucre one minute before it is due is to tempt Providence to make a Micawber of you.—EDMUND GOSSE, *Gossip in a Library* [1891], *Beau Nash*

[3] For Time will teach thee soon the truth, / There are no birds in last year's nest!—LONGFELLOW [1807–1882], *It Is Not Always May, st. 6*

[4] See Byron, 460:7.

[5] See Eliot, 808:6.

[6] Translated by J. B. HALLE.

12 I who am in the night will move into the day. *Ib.*

13 It is Unity that doth enchant me. By her power I am free though thrall, happy in sorrow, rich in poverty, and quick even in death.
On the Infinite Universe and Worlds [1584],[7] *introductory epistle*

14 Our bodily eye findeth never an end, but is vanquished by the immensity of space.
Ib. Fifth Dialogue

15 There is in the universe neither center nor circumference. *Ib.*

16 Magicians can do more by means of faith than physicians by the truth.
The Heroic Enthusiasts [1585], pt. I, Fifth Dialogue

Charles IX
1550–1574

17 Horses and poets should be fed, not overfed.[8] *Saying*

William Camden
1551–1623

18 My friend, judge not me,
Thou seest I judge not thee.
Betwixt the stirrup and the ground
Mercy I asked, and mercy found.
Remains Concerning Britain. Epitaph for a man killed by falling from his horse

Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné
1552–1630

19 Each of us aspires to goodness,
Each of us desires the good
And desires it for himself.[9]
Pièces Épigrammatiques, 49

20 More exquisite than any other is the autumn rose.[10] *Les Tragiques. Les Feux*

Sir Edward Coke
1552–1634

21 Reason is the life of the law; nay, the common law itself is nothing else but reason.

[7] Translated by DOROTHEA SINGER.

[8] Equi et poetae alendi, non saginandi.

[9] Chacun au bien aspire, / Chacun le bien désire, / Et le désire sien.

[10] Une rose d'automne est plus qu'une autre exquise.

1 Every man is as Heaven made him, and sometimes a great deal worse. *III, 4, p. 468*

2 There's no sauce in the world like hunger. *III, 5, p. 473*

3 He casts a sheep's eye at the wench. *p. 474*

4 I ever loved to see everything upon the square. *p. 475*

5 Neither will I make myself anybody's laughingstock. *Ib.*

6 Journey over all the universe in a map, without the expense and fatigue of traveling, without suffering the inconveniences of heat, cold, hunger, and thirst. *III, 6, p. 479*

7 Presume to put in her oar. *p. 480*

8 The fair sex.[1] *Ib.*

9 A little in one's own pocket is better than much in another man's purse. 'Tis good to keep a nest egg. Every little makes a mickle.[2] *III, 7, p. 486*

10 Remember the old saying, "Faint heart ne'er won fair lady." *III, 10, p. 501*

11 Forewarned forearmed. *p. 502*

12 As well look for a needle in a bottle of hay.[3] *Ib.*

13 Are we to mark this day with a white or a black stone?[4] *p. 503*

14 The very pink of courtesy. *III, 13, p. 521*

15 I'll turn over a new leaf. *p. 524*

16 He's [Don Quixote's] a muddled fool, full of lucid intervals.[5] *III, 18, p. 556*

17 Marriage is a noose. *III, 19, p. 564*

18 There are only two families in the world, the Haves and the Have-Nots. *III, 20, p. 574*

19 He preaches well that lives well, quoth Sancho; that's all the divinity I understand. *p. 575*

20 Love and War are the same thing, and stratagems and policy are as allowable in the one as in the other. *III, 21, p. 580*

21 A private sin is not so prejudicial in this world as a public indecency. *III, 22, p. 582*

[1] That sex which is therefore called fair.—STEELE, *The Spectator, no. 302* [February 15, 1712]

[2] See Hesiod, 61:20, and Chaucer, 148:9.

[3] A needle in a haystack.

[4] A red-letter day.

[5] See Bacon, 179:12; Dryden, 304:25; and Heine, 482:6.

22 There is no love lost, sir.[6] *Ib.*

23 Come back sound, wind and limb. *p. 587*

24 Patience, and shuffle the cards.[7] *III, 23, p. 592*

25 Tell me thy company, and I'll tell thee what thou art.[8] *p. 594*

26 Tomorrow will be a new day. *III, 26, p. 618*

27 I can see with half an eye. *III, 29, p. 632*

28 Great persons are able to do great kindnesses. *III, 32, p. 662*

29 Honesty's the best policy.[9] *III, 33, p. 666*

30 An honest man's word is as good as his bond. *IV, 34, p. 674*

31 A blot in thy scutcheon to all futurity. *IV, 35, p. 681*

32 They had best not stir the rice, though it sticks to the pot. *IV, 37, p. 691*

33 Good wits jump;[10] a word to the wise is enough. *p. 692*

34 Diligence is the mother of good fortune. *IV, 38, p. 724*

35 What a man has, so much he's sure of. *p. 725*

36 The pot calls the kettle black. *p. 727*

37 Mum's the word.[11] *IV, 44, p. 729*

38 I shall be as secret as the grave. *IV, 62, p. 862*

[6] There is no hate lost between us.—THOMAS MIDDLETON [1580–1627], *The Witch, act IV, sc. iii*

[7] But patience, cousin, and shuffle the cards, till our hand is a stronger one.—SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Quentin Durward* [1823], *ch. 8*

Cut the fiercest quarrels short / With "Patience, gentlemen, and shuffle."—W. M. PRAED [1802–1839], *Quince, st. 5*

Men disappoint me so, I disappoint myself so, yet courage, patience, shuffle the cards.—MARGARET FULLER [1810–1850], *letter to the Reverend W. H. Channing*

[8] Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are.—ANTHELME BRILLAT-SAVARIN [1755–1826], *La Physiologie du Goût, aphorism 4*

Show me your garden and I shall tell you what you are.—ALFRED AUSTIN, *The Garden That I Love* [1905]

[9] I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy.—GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Farewell Address* [1796]

[10] Great wits jump.—LAURENCE STERNE, *Tristram Shandy, vol. III* [1761–1762], *ch. 9*

[11] Cry "mum."—SHAKESPEARE, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* [1600–1601], *act V, sc. ii, l. 6*

Let me point our a few other accomplishments of my Administration which may be of particular interest to you.

1. Cover the Voting Rights Act with emphasis on the bilingual election provision.
2. Support of Radio Marti
3. His position on the status of the Island of Puerto Rico
4. His meetings with Lopez Portillo of Mexico.

These are but a few of our initiatives that may be of special interest to our millions of Americans of Hispanic heritage.

Let me spend a few minutes more covering a few points of interest to you as well as all Americans.

A few words on the status of our economy.
A few words asking for support on:
The Balanced Budget Amendment
Tuition Tax Credit
The School Prayer Amendment

Other issues of importance to you like our policy in South and Central America; our tax policy; our immigration policy, our affirmative action programs and our policy to deal with the unemployment programs will be covered by the Cabinet members who follow me.

Now, I can get to the part of the program I enjoy most - let me hear from you.

Voting Rights act : I've supported the bilingual aspect of the voting rights

D R A F T

Thank you all for taking time from your busy schedules to spend this afternoon with us. Your attendance at this briefing is very important. We want you to learn the real facts about as many of our initiatives as possible. Only in this way, armed with the truth, can you answer the critics and support our programs.

My remarks to you today will be short because I want to spenc as much time as possible in an interchange of ideas with you and time to answer as many of your questions as possible.

Let me start off by tellin you a few facts about our Hispanic appointee record. My Administration had appointed 17 Americans of Hispanic heritage in policy making positions requiring Senate confirmation at the end of one year compared to 10 by the Carter White House. But we have not rested on our laures1 - we have continued to make significant appointments. Some recent full time Presidential appointments include:

Just recently, I nominated Everett Alvarez, as Deputy Administrator of the Veterans Administration;
Elizabeth Flores Burkhart, when confirmed by the Senate, will be a board member of the National Credit Union Administration; and Tony Gallegos has been confirmed and is now a commissioner at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

But let me turn to an area closer to home, right here in the White House -

Good news like bad news has a habit of leaking - s some of you may already have heard, but effective today, I am appointing a new Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison to be our outreach person to the U. S. Hispanic community. This person is of course, Henry Zuniga, who most of you know.

Henry's new responsibilities will provide him greater and wider access to bringing to us, your ideas, your concersn and your recommendations. I don't believe this responsibility could be in better hands than with Henry Zuniga.

And speaking of the White House, Henry is far from alone. We have other outstanding Hispanics here whose functions cut across virtually all issues lines. Let me point out a few: Diana Lozano is Deputy Director in the Office of Public Liaison. Diana supervises a staff of 20 people and her area of responsibility includes consumers, veterens, the handicapped, theaged, youth, religious groups, conser-tives, native Americans, blacks Hispanics and women.

A few weeks ago, Velma Montoya was appointed Assistant Director for stragegy at the Office of Policy Development. This is the first time an Hispanic has been appointed to work exclusively in a major policy formulation position in the White House. Velma is responsible for developing the long-rang economic policies of the Administration. Can you image, an Hispanic and a woman as the "point person" for staff-level coordination of long-range economic policies.

Last week, Vice President Bush promoted Susan Alvarado as his Chief Assistant for legislative affairs. In her new position, Susan advises the V.P. on Senate activities and acts as his liaison with Senators, their staff and the White House. Many of you also know Rafael Capo' who is Deputy Counsellor to the Vice President and a close personal advisor to George Bush. Rafael travels extensively with the Vice President and is a most effective advocate of your concerns.

Now these are 5 Hispanic appointees in key jobs in the White House with responsibilities cutting accross the widest spectrum. No other Administration in history has a record that even comes close in comparison.

THE ETHNIC ALMANAC

by Stephanie Bernardo

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1981

THE MEXICANS

Descended from the Toltecs, the Aztecs, the Mayas and Spanish conquistadores, Mexicans were living in the southwest for almost three generations before the Pilgrims arrived. But, despite this early start in "our" country, most of the Mexican-Americans living in the United States today are recent immigrants, or the children of immigrants who first crossed the border in the twentieth century.

Like the American Indians, the Mexicans made the fatal mistake of welcoming the Anglos to their land. Prior to the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, Don Pio Pico, the last Mexican governor of California, wrote: "We find ourselves suddenly threated by hordes of Yankee emigrants . . . whose progress we cannot arrest."

When the Mexican-American war ended in 1848, the southwest territory was ceded to the American government according to the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the Mexicans found themselves second-class citizens in a foreign land that had once belonged to them. Losing legal control wasn't the worst part—rich Mexicans soon found themselves losing their land as well through technicalities in the Anglos' laws. The *ricos* could not comprehend the need to pay property taxes on land that had been held by their families for centuries, and they often failed to file title claims or were cheated outright by unscrupulous deed keepers who either stole or failed to record their property titles.

The Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) brought thousands of Mexicans north of the border. By 1920 half of the migratory labor force of the Imperial Valley was Mexican; by 1930, there were 250,000 Mexicans living in California, and today the Mexican-American population is approaching 7.5 million. They are our youngest, fastest-growing minority, with an average age ten years younger than that of most other ethnic groups.

Besides giving us their land, the Mexicans contributed much to the culture of America. They showed gold-hungry Californians how to pan for gold, and introduced the technique of using mercury to separate silver from worthless ores. They gave us poinsettias, the Mexican hat dance. Mexican jumping beans, the Mexican hairless (chihuahua), and tacos, tortillas and the fiery hot food that people in the Southwest love to eat.

Like other ethnic Americans, the Mexicans have managed to distinguish themselves as actors (Anthony Quinn, Gilbert Roland), musicians (Trini Lopez, Joan Baez), dancers, choreographers (José Limón), judges (Harold Medina), politicians (Joseph Montoya) and sportsmen (Lee Trevino, Jim Plunkett, Joe Kapp). They've joined the ranks of successful businessmen and millionaires, too, despite the stereotyped image of a race of lazy banditos and revolutionaries that television commercials and the press have only recently put to rest.

Mexicans emigrating to the United States in the early 1900s. (Credit: Culver Pictures)

"Firsts" and Facts About the Mexican Experience in America

What's In a Name? Once considered a derogatory term, "Chicano" attained a new respectability in the late 1960s and is now used with pride by many young Mexican-Americans, although the older generation often prefers "Mexicano." Chicano comes from the Aztec pronunciation of "Mexicano" (*meshicano*) which was corrupted to "Xicano" (*shicano*) and finally to "Chicano."

Others prefer the term "Hispano"—especially if they are descended from colonial Spaniards and do not have Indian ancestry. The term "Mestizo" is used for Mexicans of mixed Indian and European background. But no matter what their individual heritage, all Mexican leaders are working to promote *la raza* (the race)—a feeling of fraternity and community spirit that binds together all people of Mexican descent.

Mexican Jumping Beans Known as "leapers" in Mexico, these bronco beans often make quick movements because of a moth larva living inside. When *Laspeyresia saltitans* moves inside his bean "house," the bean "jumps" up and down.

No Phony Mexican Anthony Quinn (1910–) was born during the Mexican revolution in Chihuahua to a Mexican mother and an Irish father. No one was keeping accurate records at the time, and for years Quinn was looked down upon by his Mexican brethren as a "pocho" (a derogatory term for a "gringoized" Mexican). But in 1961 Quinn determined to stop the Mexican tongues from wagging once and for all: "When I made a picture down in Durango, the people accused me of being born in America—and called me a phony Mexican." When the governor of Chihuahua visited the set, Quinn asked him for a birth certificate. After talking to witnesses who remembered Quinn's family and the circumstances of his borth, the governor complied with the actor's request.

Crossing the Barriers Mexican-born actor Ricardo Montalban has played plenty of Latin lovers in his career, but he's also been a Kabuki actor in *Sayonara*, a Frenchman in the musical comedy *Seventh Heaven*, a Jamaican in the Broadway musical *Jamaica*, and an Indian on the 1978 television series *How the West Was Won*.

Poinsettia Known as the Mexican flame leaf in England, this red-leafed plant has become synonymous with the Christmas season ever since Joel Robert Poinsett (1779–1851), the American minister to Mexico, sent the first specimens to friends in the United States way back in the early 1800s.

Mexican Name Shortener Vicki Carr shortened her name from Florencia Bisenta de Castillas Martinez Cardona Moss. Born in El Paso, Texas, Vicki started her career in high school, singing with Pepe Callahan's Mexican-Irish band.

Political Firsts The first Chicano elected to the U.S. Senate was Joseph Montoya in 1964. Montoya was also the youngest person ever seated in the New Mexico state legislature when he was elected to that state's House of Representatives in 1936.

The first Mexican-American elected to the U.S. Congress was Henry B. Gonzales of Texas. First elected to public office in 1953, he became a member of the San Antonio city council, and in 1956 he was elected to the state senate. His election was a first in the 110-year history of the Texas government.

The first Chicano elected as Governor of Arizona was Raul Castro. The Mexican-born Castro was elected in 1974.

The Bane of Banuelos Ramona Acosta Banuelos (1925–), a successful California businesswomen, was nominated as Treasurer of the United States by Richard Nixon on September 30, 1971. She had started her business career (Ramona's Mexican Food Products) with a $400 tortilla stand, and mushroomed it into a $5-million enterprise. A few days after her nomination, however, the food packaging plant she owned in south Los Angeles was raided by immigration officials who netted 36 illegal aliens working on the premises. Despite the controversy, Banuelos was confirmed and went on to become the highest-ranking Mexican-American in government office, serving as Treasurer from 1971 to 1974.

Television First The first Mexican-American to portray a Mexican-American in the title role of a television series was Gabriel Melgar. Melgar replaced Freddie Prinze in *Chico and the Man* with Jack Al-

bertson, during the fall 1977 television season.

Discovered at the age of twelve on Olivera Street in Los Angeles' Mexican-American community, Melgar has been performing with his family's music group since the age of four. Although he had never acted before, he was a natural for the part of a Mexican immigrant, since he himself had emigrated to California with his parents at the age of fifteen days.

Publishing First The first Mexican-American prison guard to write a book about her work experience was Janey Jimenez, the U.S. marshall who guarded Patty Hearst for over 350 hours over a two-year period. Her book, entitled *My Prisoner*, was published in 1977.

From Migrant to Management The first American of "Latin origin" to enter a Presidential primary in the United States was fifty-three-year-old Benjamin Fernandez, the son of Mexican immigrants.

Fernandez, a millionaire management consultant, threw his hat into the ring on November 29, 1978, for the Republican nomination in 1980. His parents had emigrated from the pueblo of Tanganzicuaro in the State of Michoacan, and for many years his family lived in a railway car (where he was born) at the Kansas City rail yards because they were too poor to afford any other housing.

Fernandez began picking sugar beets at the age of five to aid his parents, but his migrant-farming days ended when he graduated with a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Redlands in California; he later earned an MBA from New York University in 1952.

Illegal Aliens A Texas police officer commented on the "wetback" situation by stating, "the only way we're going to stop them is to build a Berlin Wall." Even that might not help, because there are over 9 million unemployed people in Mexico, and they keep coming north seeking work no matter how low the wages or how terrible the conditions. Some Mexicans have been apprehended twenty times, and one man was arrested five times in a single day. Estimates of the illegal alien population are between 3 to 5 million in the United States.

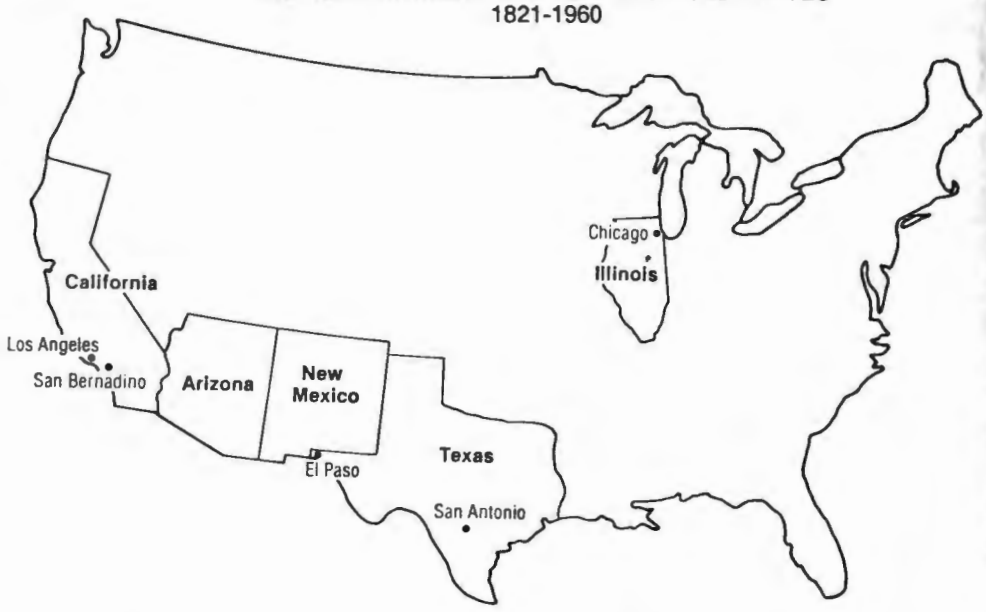
Why do they come? According to one illegal alien who used to earn only $500 in a good year as a tenant farmer in Jalisco, "Coming to the U.S. was a question of economics." Here he can earn $160 a week with overtime as a metals factory worker in Los Angeles and he has managed to save over $2,000 in the past six years. "I love Mexico. It is very beautiful, but you can't live there." (*Time*, Oct. 16, 1978, p. 61)

Do illegal aliens take jobs away from tax-paying American citizens? The evidence is not clear. In some industrial areas the illegal aliens might displace U.S. citizens, but according to Leonel J. Castillo, the first Mexican-American appointed as Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, "As best we can tell, there is no great rush of unemployed persons on the East Coast to go pick onions in 100-degree heat for three weeks," and in the agricultural field he believes they are not draining jobs from Americans.

The Other Side

Country:	MEXICO
Capital:	Mexico City
Official Name:	Estados Unidos Mexicanos (United Mexican States)
Official Language:	Spanish
National Anthem:	Himno Nacional de Mexico (National Hymn of Mexico)
National Flag:	Vertical bands of green, white and red with coat of arms in the center. Adopted in 1821. Green stands for independence, white for religion, and red for unity. The coat of arms depicts an eagle battling a snake. According to legend, the bird was sighted by Aztec Indians at Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City) and was taken as a sign to build their capital there.
Major Religion:	Roman Catholic
National Holiday:	Independence Day, September 16

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES
1821-1960



1821–1830	4,817	1901–1910	49,642
1831–1840	6,599	1911–1920	219,004
1841–1850	3,271	1921–1930**	459,287
1851–1860	3,078	1931–1940	22,319
1861–1870	2,191	1941–1950	60,598
1871–1880	5,162	1951–1960	299,811
1881–1890*	1,913	1961–1970	453,937
1891–1900	917	1971–1975	319,359
		Total (1820–1975):	1,911,951

1970 Census

Foreign-born Mexicans	759,711
Native-born, 2nd generation	1,579,440
Total Foreign-stock population	2,339,151

Estimated Mexican-American Population 7.5 million (The estimated number of illegal immigrants ranges between 3 and 5 million.)

*Main Ethnic Epicenters****		*U.S. Cities***** *with Most Mexicans*	
California	1,112,008	Los Angeles	509,342
Texas	711,058	San Antonio, Tx	121,986
Illinois	117,268	El Paso, Tx	116,470
Arizona	113,816	Chicago	107,652
New Mexico	37,822	San Bernadino, Ca	71,651

*No statistics are available for the period between 1886 and 1893.

**Though technically the peak decade, the 1921–1930 period has been surpassed by the years between 1966 and 1976.

***States with largest foreign-stock population—i.e., foreign-born residents and their children

****Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas

Who's Norwegian?

Business: Arthur Anderson, founder of a national accounting firm which dates back to 1913, the year when the Internal Revenue Service was inaugurated; Conrad Hilton, hotel-chain founder; C. W. Larsen, founder of Larsen Baking Company in Brooklyn in the early 1900s; Ole Evinrude, inventor of the first practical outboard motor.

Government: Minnesota Congressman Andrew Volstead, who introduced the National Prohibition Act of 1919; Bob Bergland (1928–), U.S. Secretary of Agriculture under President Carter—he was the first farmer to hold that position since 1945; Dr. Roger Egeberg, Assistant Secretary of Health and Scientific Affairs in 1969.

Science: 1939 Nobel Prize winner Ernest O. Lawrence, inventor of the cyclotron.

Law: Allan Bakke, medical student who won court battle for admission to University of California Medical School in 1978 as a victim of "reverse discrimination."

Journalism: Eric Sevareid, CBS news analyst; Victor Lawson, co-founder of the Associated Press in 1894.

Entertainment: James Cagney; James Arness; Sonja Henie; Celeste Holm; Risë Stevens; Judith Blegen; Sally Struthers (Scottish and Norwegian ancestry); Peter Graves; the Andrews Sisters (Greek and Norwegian ancestry).

Politics: Karl Rolvaag, son of author Ole Rolvaag, was Governor of Minnesota in the 1960s; Hubert H. Humphrey (1911–1978) was of Welsh and Norwegian ancestry.

Engineering: Ole Singstad, engineering genius who created the world's first tunnel designed for motor cars—the Holland Tunnel.

Sports: Knute Rockne, head football coach of Notre Dame University's "Fighting Irish" from 1918 to 1931. Over the years his teams scored 105 victories, 12 losses and 5 ties.

Letters: Caroline Bird (of English and Norwegian descent), author of *Enterprising Women*.

THE PORTUGUESE IN AMERICA

Over the past three hundred years, Portugal has given America over 411,000 of her native-born sons and daughters. The peak decade for immigration was between 1911 and 1920, when 89,732 Portuguese emigrated to our shores. Many were farmers and fishermen by trade and chose to settle in the agricultural and fishing centers of Hawaii, California and Massachusetts.

Recently Portuguese immigration has been on the upswing; from 1971 to 1975 over 52,000 Portuguese have settled in the United States. Many joined friends and relatives in the "Ironbound" section of Newark, New Jersey, or in the Portuguese enclaves of New England—Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts. Others settled in neighboring states, and in 1974 the Department of Motor Vehicles in Rhode Island published the first driver's manual ever issued in the Portuguese language, attesting to the large influx of immigrants from Portugal, Madeira and the Azores.

From the "other side" the Portuguese contributed Madeira wine, Castile soap, sardines, and cork for bottle caps and bulletin boards. The Portuguese introduced the sweet potato to California, the ukulele to

Hawaii, and gave us the words *cuspidor* ("spitter") and "Canada." Although their ranks are small compared to the millions of German and Italian immigrants, the Portuguese managed to contribute quite a bit to America: they discovered California, helped found the New York Stock Exchange and donated famous authors, musicians, athletes, actors and statesmen.

♦ ♦ ♦

♦ On Thursday, September 28, 1542, Joao Rodrigues Cabrillo, a Portuguese sailing under the flag of Spain, entered San Diego harbor and landed near Ballast Point, becoming the first European to set foot on the Pacific coast. Further explorations by Cabrillo led to his discovery of Santa Catalina, San Pedro Bay and the Santa Barbara Channel.

♦ According to one legend, a group of Portuguese sailors with the Gaspar Côrte-Real expedition sailed down the St. Lawrence River in 1500, believing it to be a passage to the Pacific Ocean. Upon discovering their mistake, they shouted out in disgust, "Ca nada," meaning "Here, nothing!" Natives on the banks of the river heard their shouts and, believing them to be a greeting, repeated the words when Jacques Cartier's expedition arrived in 1534. (Cartier's journal carries a different version of the story and claims Canada was derived from a Huron-Iroquois word, "kanata," meaning "village.")

♦ During the first week of September in 1654, 23 Portuguese Jews from Brazil arrived in New Amsterdam. They founded the congregation Shearith Israel with Saul Brown as their first rabbi; services continued to be conducted in Portuguese until the mid-eighteenth century. Shearith Israel is the oldest Jewish congregation in the United States; its services are currently conducted at Seventieth Street and Central Park West in New York City.

♦ The first meeting of what eventually evolved into the New York Stock Exchange took place at the Merchants Coffee House on May 17, 1792. One of the founders of the New York Stock Exchange was Benjamin Mendes Seixas, the son of a Portuguese immigrant, Isaac Seixas, who had arrived in New York in 1730.

♦ Mass migration of Portuguese to Hawaii began in 1878 when the sailing ship *Priscilla*, which has been called the "*Mayflower* of the Portuguese," landed at Honolulu with 120 citizens from Madeira. Over the next 20 years almost 13,000 Portuguese came to the Islands seeking employment as farm laborers. By 1930 there were 167,891 Portuguese-Americans living in the continental United States, and 27,588 on the islands of Hawaii, where they comprised 7.5% of the total population.

♦ Although the ukulele was popularized in Hawaii about 1877, this small guitar originated on the island of Madeira. Known as the "machete" in Portuguese, this four-stringed instrument took its new name from a nineteenth-century British army officer, Edward Purvis. Purvis was a petite, lively man whose antics reminded his Hawaiian friends of a leaping flea—so they nicknamed him "ukulele" (jumping little flea). Purvis learned to play the machete and was responsible for the instrument's popularity throughout the islands, so when local craftsmen began to manufacture their own instruments, they began marketing them as "ukuleles" in honor of the lively little man who loved to play and dance.

♦ The first Portuguese school in America was established in Santo Christo Parish at Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1910. By 1973, almost 20% of the teachers in Fall River were of Portuguese descent, due to the large Portuguese-American population of that New England town.

♦ The first Portuguese-American elected to the House of Representatives was Frank B. Oliveira, the son of immigrants from the Azores, who served as a congressman from the State of Massachusetts from 1944 to 1958.

♦ The first U.S. soldier killed in World War I was a Portuguese-American, Walter Goulart.

♦ The first Portuguese newspaper published in the United States was the *Journal de Noticias*, which appeared in 1877.

♦ The first recorded Festival of the Divine Holy Ghost (Festa do Divino Spirito Santo), an annual event in California, was held at Sausalito, on San Francisco Bay, in 1887.

Facts About the Other Side:

Country:	PORTUGAL
Capital:	Lisbon
Official Name:	República Portuguesa (Republic of Portugal)
Official Language:	Portuguese
National Anthem:	"A Portuguesa" (The Portuguese). Words by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça; music by Alfredo Keil.
National Flag:	Vertical bands of red and green represent the blood of Portuguese heroes and hope for the future. Unfortunately blood seems to outweigh hope, as the red band is twice the width of the green. The coat of arms represents the Christian faith and a never-ending search for true knowledge.
Major Religions:	Most Portuguese embrace Roman Catholicism, although church and state have been separate since 1910.
National Holidays:	June 10, Day of Portugal

Facts About Portuguese-Americans:

Immigration to the U.S. (1820–1975):	411,136
Peak Decade (1911–1920):	89,732
Recent Immigration (1966–1975):	120,508

1970 Census

Foreign-born Portuguese	91,034
Native-born, 2nd generation	149,532
Total Foreign-stock Population	240,566

Who's Portuguese?

John Philip Sousa (1854–1932), the "March King"
John Dos Passos (1896–1970), author
Billy Martin (1928–), baseball manager
Tony Lema (1934–1966), golfer
Harold Peary (1908–), "the Great Gildersleeve"
Benjamin Nathan Cardozo (1870–1938), Supreme Court Justice
Humberto Sousa Medeiros (1915–), Archbishop of Boston
Jacques Loeb (1859–1924), biologist
Robert le Roy Ripley (1893–1949), compiler of odd facts and other trivia in "Ripley's Believe It or Not"

THE PUERTO RICANS IN AMERICA

Columbus landed on the island of Puerto Rico on his second trip to the New World in 1493, but the Spanish didn't settle on that island until 1508. For more than 400 years Puerto Rico was part of the Spanish Empire – until 1898, when it became a protectorate of the United States. The Foraker Act of 1900 made Puerto Rico an American territory, with an American governor, and the Jones Act of 1917 granted U.S. citizenship to all Puerto Ricans.

In 1910 there were only 500 Puerto Ricans living in New York. Thirty years later their ranks had swelled to 70,000, most of whom settled in the section of Manhattan that came to be known as "Spanish Harlem." The peak year for Puerto Rican immigration to the U.S. was

1946, when almost 70,000 Puerto Ricans made the plane trip to the mainland. By 1969 there were over 1.5 million Puerto Ricans living in the United States, with more than 977,000 living in New York City, where they comprised about 11% of that city's population.

The Puerto Ricans became America's first "airborne" immigrants. Instead of sailing past Miss Liberty into New York Harbor, they flew into Idlewild airport. They did not have to suffer agonizing weeks of steerage-class travel aboard sailing ships; they were not isolated at Ellis Island detention centers; and there was no need for them to wait five years before applying for citizenship papers.

Almost 70,000 Puerto Ricans came to the mainland in 1946 to seek a brighter future for their children; many found that extreme poverty awaited them instead. (Courtesy: Culver Pictures)

Since the end of World War II almost one-third of the island's population, some 800,000 "immigrants," have found their way to the United States. During the 1970s a trend toward "reverse" immigration began, as many "Neoricans" (as they are called by their island-bred relatives) returned to Puerto Rico. Most either were born in the United States or had spent most of their adult life there, and now were returning to their native land. These "reverse immigrants" are for the most part skilled workers in their mid-thirties, and their average educational level was about tenth grade. In 1972, more Puerto Ricans returned to the island than emigrated to the mainland, making the net flow minus 34,000 that year.

♦ ♦ ♦

♦ New York City's French Hospital was founded in 1869 by a Puerto Rican immigrant, Dr. José Julio Henna (1848–1924). Dr. Henna became a U.S. citizen in 1872.

♦ The first Puerto Rican to play big-league baseball was Hiram Gabriel Bithorn (1916–1952). Born in Santurce, Puerto Rico, Bithorn played for two Chicago teams—the Cubs and the White Sox—in the 1940s.

♦ The First Catholic church in the United States to minister to the needs of the Puerto Rican community was La Milagrosa, located at 114th Street and 7th Avenue in Manhattan. A former synagogue, the building was "converted" in 1926 to meet the growing needs of the community, reflecting the ever-changing ethnic mix of the neighborhood.

♦ The first popularly elected governor of Puerto Rico was Luis Muñoz Marín, who took office in 1948. The Crawford-Butler Act, signed by President Truman in 1946, permitted Puerto Ricans to elect an official of their own choosing rather than having to accept an appointed governor.

♦ Herman Badillo (1929–) was the first Puerto Rican-born American to serve as a U.S. congressman. Over the years, in addition to earning degrees as an accountant and a lawyer, Badillo has served as Commissioner of the Office of Relocation in New York City (1962), Bronx Borough President (1965), and as a member of the House of Representatives.

♦ In 1977, Maria Fernanda Hernández ("Marifé" for short) was appointed as U.S. Deputy Chief of Protocol for New York. Born in Puerto Rico, Marife has a mixed ethnic heritage—she is descended from Puerto Rican and French ancestors, was raised in South America, and was educated in British schools.

♦ In 1978, Dionisia Perez celebrated her 118th birthday. A native of Peñuelas, in southwestern Puerto Rico, Mrs. Perez did not claim to know the secret of long life, but she advised the young to "Sing, sing, and be happy." Of her 14 children, only 4 were still living in 1977, but she also had 60 grandchildren, 40 great-grandchildren, and 20 great-great-grandchildren.

"GEE, YOU DON'T *LOOK* PUERTO RICAN"*

By Irma Alvarado

There was a time when hearing that gave me a high that lasted all day. How proud I was that others had not guessed I was of Puerto Rican heritage! What an ego trip to be able to speak without an accent!

Unfortunately, it went deeper than that. I can't remember how or when I "learned" that it was wrong to be Puerto Rican. I must have been a small girl, because my memories of answering questions relating to my nationality never included "Puerto Rican." In grammar school in the 50s, I was Spanish (very vague). In junior high school, I was either Spanish or combination Spanish/South American. By high school (a parochial girls' school in the Bronx, N.Y.) I had narrowed it to Spanish father/Colombian mother . . . who knows *where* I picked up the "Colombian" part.

I'd like to be able to say that by the time I started college, I'd smartened up, but it didn't happen that way. I did, however, become a bit more generous. I admitted to a Puerto Rican mother, but quickly added that *her* parents were from Spain!

It's very sad when I think now of all the effort I put into avoiding any shame or embarrassment. I realize that my conditioning was the result of many different factors; growing up in a neighborhood where we were the only "Spanish" family didn't help. Would I have been better off if I'd grown up in El Barrio? Who knows. But how I wish I could have shared my pride in being bilingual, learned to mambo earlier, appreciated my mother's cooking sooner.

When did I change? I don't know. I think meeting my husband-to-be had a lot to do with it (yes, a genuine P.R.!). For some reason, I always knew I'd marry a Latino; maybe my roots were working on me all along, or maybe I didn't think anyone else would "accept" me. Most probably it was a combination of both. At any rate, he introduced me to a culture I hadn't known. He took me to Latin dances where I met lots of young Puerto Ricans, most working and many in college. They were bright, exciting. I wished I'd had friends like that as I'd grown up.

Looking back, I see myself mostly as having been a victim of the society around me as I grew up; somehow I got it into my head that being Puerto Rican was wrong. By the time I was old enough to understand that this notion was wrong, look at how much time had passed. I get angry when I think about it too much—at "them" for making me feel that way and at myself for not being able to overcome it sooner.

That's why it's so important to me that *my* kids feel a pride and dignity in their heritage. I want them to know about and see Puerto Rico (one has); I'd like them to speak the language (I admit to getting lazy about this at home). The danger of not instilling a sense of pride and love for their heritage in our children is that, in later generations, many of the traditions we take for granted now will become memories and trivia for our grandchildren. I don't want my grandchildren to miss out on the *fun* of being "different," as I did.

What do I say now to people who say I don't look Puerto Rican? It depends on my mood. If I'm feeling low, I'll hit back with, "Just what *does* a Puerto Rican look like?" More often than not, I realize that someone who makes a statement like that is either innocent or ignorant, so a smile of affirmation is enough. But don't knock it—that affirmation, in my case, was a long time coming.

Irma Alvarado is a New York Puerto Rican housewife.

Nuestro magazine, September 1977. Reprinted by permission.

Who's Puerto Rican?

Sports: Angel Cordero (1942–), top jockey who rode 345 winners in 1968; Chi Chi Rodriguez (1935–), golfer; José Santiago, Roberto Clemente, Orlando Cepeda (the "Puerto Rican Babe Ruth"), Carlos Ortiz, baseball stars; pro boxers José Torres (1965 medium heavyweight champ) and Sixto Escobar, the first Puerto Rican boxer to win the bantamweight world championship in 1936.

Music: José Feliciano (1945–), has been blind from birth, a victim of congenital glaucoma, but he was determined not to let blindness interfere with his musical career. José gave his first public appearance at El Teatro Puerto Rico in New York at the age of 9; Tito Puente, Tito Rodriguez—leading Latin musicians.

Entertainment: Freddie Prinze, the late star of the TV series *Chico and the Man*, was of mixed Puerto Rican and Hungarian Gypsy ancestry; Tony Orlando; Chita Rivera is one-fourth Puerto Rican; Brunilda Ruiz, ballerina; Liz Torres, actress of Venezuelan and Puerto Rican ancestry; Erik Estrada, star of NBC's *Chips* series, and newscaster Geraldo Rivera. José Vincent Ferrer (1912–) made his New York theater debut in 1935 despite his father's objections that "It is not the career I would have picked for you, but it's your own life, not mine. Do what you must with it." His father was a successful lawyer, and hoped his Princeton-educated son would follow in his footsteps, but the lure of the stage was too strong for José. Raul Julia (1940–), a San Juan-born actor, has been performing in New York theaters for more than 14 years. His recent Broadway roles include *Dracula, Three-Penny Opera* and *Betrayal*. Julia has also appeared as Othello and in the 1978 film *The Eyes of Laura Mars*.

THE ROMANIANS IN AMERICA

Although Romanians trace their language and ancestry directly to the Romans, they are descended from several tribes, including the Goths, Huns, Slavs and Dacians, as well as the Romans who ruled their nation in the second century A.D.

Romania did not become an independent, unified nation until 1861, when Moldavia and Wallachia merged, and it wasn't until after World War I that Romania gained the provinces of Banat, Bucovina and Transylvania.

The first immigrant to America from what is now Romania was a Transylvanian priest, Samuel Damian, who came to our shores in 1748. The first major wave of immigration from Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina, the Austro-Hungarian provinces that were to become Romania, was triggered in 1900 by a series of economic, social and political upheavals. Altogether some 53,000 refugees entered the United States in the first decade of the twentieth century.

By 1905, America had its first Romanian Orthodox Church, St. Mary's in Cleveland; its first Romanian Catholic parish, St. Helen's on Cleveland's East Side; and its first Romanian language newspaper, *Tribuna* (the Tribune), as well as its first Romanian mutual aid society.

Another 13,000 Romanians sought refuge here between 1911 and 1920, and in the first part of the 1920's over 60,000 Romanians settled here. The flow was stopped by the immigration law of 1924, which limited their quota to 603 new arrivals each year.

THE SPANISH IN AMERICA

Between 1820 and 1975, a mere 246,334 Spanish immigrants came to America, yet the Spanish-speaking population of the United States is one of our largest minority groups. Most of these Hispanic Americans have Spanish ancestry that has been filtered through the cultures of other lands, such as Mexico, Puerto Rico and the rest of Latin America.

The Spanish were the first settlers in Florida and the Southwest; they introduced the horse to North America, gave their language to some 12 million Americans, gave us place names in the West and Southwest, and lent their good name to such things as the "Spanish flu" (which spread wildly in 1918, killing almost 20 million people worldwide), Spanish fly (a reputed aphrodisiac made from beetles), and Spanish Moss (an epiphytic plant that hangs from trees in the Southern U.S.). They gave us Spanish mantillas and flamenco dancers, but *not* José Greco (who is Italian).

♦ ♦ ♦

♦ Ponce de Leon discovered Florida in 1513 and claimed it for the King of Spain. In 1565, Spanish forces founded the first permanent European colony in America at St. Augustine, Florida, and did not relinquish their claim to that state until 1763, when they traded Florida for the return of Cuba and the Philippines following the French and Indian War.

♦ In addition to the horse, the Spanish also introduced cattle, sheep and swine to North America between 1540 and 1565.

♦ The first Catholic parish was founded by Father Martin Francisco Lopez de Mendozo Grajales at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, to tend to the religious needs of the Spanish settlers.

♦ Los Angeles is not the original name of that California town. It was shortened from El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles de la Porciuncula, "The Town of Our Lady, Queen of the Angels of the Porciuncula." There are more than 400 cities and towns in California with Spanish-origin names. The state itself is named for an imaginary island in Spanish folklore, meaning "an earthly paradise."

♦ Other Spanish place names: Texas (from *tejas*, land of tile roofs), Nevada (land of snow), Colorado (red land).

♦ The first Spanish newspaper ever published in the United States was *El Redactor*, which debuted on July 1, 1827, in New York City.

♦ The first opera ever produced in Spanish at New York's Metropolitan Opera House was Enrique Granados' *Goyescas*, in 1916.

Facts About the Other Side

Country:	SPAIN
Capital:	Madrid
Official Language:	Castilian Spanish
National Anthem:	Himno Nacional (National Anthem)
National Flag:	Horizontal bands of red bordering a yellow field twice their width
Major Religion:	Roman Catholic

Facts About Spanish-Americans:

Immigration to the U.S. (1820–1975):	246,334
Peak Decade (1911–1920):	68,611

1970 Census

Foreign-born Spaniards	57,488
Native-born 2nd generation	97,668
Total Foreign-stock Population	155,156

Who's Spanish?

Music: Carlos Montoya (1903–), flamenco guitarist.

Government: Elwood Quesada (1904–), first head of the Federal Aviation Agency, and former vice-president of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

Letters: Truman Capote (1924–), born in New Orleans of Spanish descent; Anais Nïn (1903–1977), the diarist, was of Spanish-French descent.

Entertainment: Martin Sheen (1940–), of Spanish and Irish parents; Raquel Welch (1940–), whose real name was Raquel Tejada—her father was a Bolivian immigrant of Castilian extraction; Imogene Coca's father was a musician of Spanish descent; Xavier Cugat (1900–), the "Rhumba King" was born in Barcelona.

Sports: Rosemary Casals (1948–), top tennis player, is the grandniece of cellist Pablo Casals.

Science: Severo Ochoa (1905–), biochemist.

Politics: Joseph Montoya (1915–1978), U.S. Senator from New Mexico whose parents were descended from eighteenth-century Spanish immigrants.

THE SWISS IN AMERICA

Some 350,000 Swiss people found their way to the United States between 1820 and 1975. The Swiss are one of America's smaller foreign-stock groups: according to the 1970 census they comprised 0.7% of our foreign-stock population.

Despite their rather small numbers, the Swiss have managed to make their mark on America in many different fields of endeavor. From the other side, the Swiss gave us: Swiss chard, a leafy green vegetable that was first cultivated here in 1806; dotted Swiss fabric, for curtains and party dresses; Swiss cheese; and the Brown Swiss cow, first brought to New England in 1869 as a dairy breed.

The Swiss immigrants and their descendants in America gave us: Hershey's milk chocolate; Sutter's mill; the Chevrolet; Waldorf salad; Lobster Newburg; the Lincoln Tunnel; and an assortment of Nobel Prize winners, diplomats, pioneers and military men. There were even two U.S. presidents of Swiss-German extraction—Hoover and Eisenhower.

The first Swiss citizen in America was Diebold von Erlach, a mercenary soldier in the service of Spain who fought and died in Florida in 1562. But despite the early arrival of a few scattered Swiss citizens, it wasn't until 1670 that the first Swiss settlement in America was established, near Charleston, South Carolina. In 1683, Swiss immigrants settled in Pennsylvania at the behest of William Penn, who assured them of religious freedom. It has been estimated that almost 25,000 Swiss came to America in the 1700s, during which period they established colonies at Germanna, Virginia; Purysburg, South Carolina; and New Bern, Dakota, a settlement founded by Christopher de Graffenried (1661–1743) in 1710.

According to the 1970 census, there were over 49,000 Swiss-born residents and almost 169,000 children of Swiss immigrants living in the United States.

♦ ♦ ♦

♦ Colonel Henry Louis Bouquet (1714–1765) was the hero of Fort Pitt, and a military genius during the French and Indian War.

♦ Albert Gallatin (1761–1849) served as Secretary of the Treasury under both Jefferson and Madison, and enjoyed a full career as a diplomat, senator, U.S. Representative and, later, banker. He also founded the American Ethnological Society and New York University.

♦ Ferdinand-Rudolph Hassler (1770–1843) was the first Superintendent of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

♦ Swiss-born Louis Agassiz (1807–1873)

CHAPTER 12 IMMIGRATION FROM LATIN AMERICA

THE SPANIARD'S CHILDREN

IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF July 3, 1898, bugles rang out across the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. They sounded from the deck of the Spanish battle cruiser *Infanta María Teresa*, one of six warships penned up by a United States blockading squadron; they summoned the Spaniards to a brave but ill-fated dash for the open sea, in a climactic and decisive moment in the Spanish-American War. Within four weeks, Madrid would sue for the peace that stripped her of her last New World possessions. The *María Teresa*'s captain, Victor M. Concas y Palau, later wrote mournfully that his buglers' notes were "the signal that the history of four centuries of grandeur was at an end. . . ."

Yet it was not the end of Spain in the Americas, only of her jurisdiction there. A nation's power may die, but its imprint on history survives. In four centuries Spain and Portugal had stamped an Iberian image on the greater part of the Western Hemisphere. From Cape Horn all the way up to the southern tips of Texas and Florida at the 25th parallel of north latitude, mountains, jungles, lakes, rivers, seas, and islands are part of what we still call Latin America. Most of its people and place names are a blend of the Indian and the Hispanic, with a strong infusion, particularly in the Caribbean region, of the African strain created by the importation of slaves.

Hundreds of thousands of the children of this Latin culture formed the backbone of one of the twentieth century's great migrations into the continental United States. By 1970 they and their sons and daughters constituted a bloc of perhaps nine million Spanish-speaking Americans. The descendants of the conquistadors were thus encountering and modifying the folkways of the nation to the north that grew from seeds planted by England, Spain's mortal enemy when she was at the height of her glory in the 1500s. Long after the armor had rusted and the flags faded, heavily modified remnants of the two nations' traditions still confronted each other, as if some historical cycle beyond our comprehension had to be fulfilled.

The greatest numbers of these latest Hispanic settlers in the United States came from Mexico, which won independence from Spain in 1821, and from Puerto Rico and Cuba, both of which Spain lost in 1898. It is ironic that these generally poor and undereducated dark-complexioned Catholic immigrants arrived mostly after the passage of the laws of the 1920s that had the aim, among others, of reducing the inflow of poor, undereducated, dark-complexioned Catholics. But Congress did not foresee the increasing demand for cheap labor in the fields and orchards of the Southwest, which acted as a magnet for Mexicans. It did not anticipate that hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans, already under the American flag in their home island, would move without restraint or red tape to seek new opportunities on the mainland of the United States. Nor did it forecast a revolution in Cuba, sixty years after the Spanish left, that would fill certain neighborhoods in Miami with refugees from Communism.

The migrations that resulted furnish the occasion for a summarizing scrutiny of America's role as world asylum, and for some analysis and speculation concerning the future. For these latest immigrants came, in good measure, from unusually "primitive" localities to a modernized United States. They came to a nation more powerful than it had ever been, more richly endowed

with miraculous inventions—and more self-conscious, divided, and hamstrung by its problems than at any time in its history. Inevitably, this affected the reception accorded the Latin-Americans, their prospects, and their hopes for themselves. In one way, they could not avoid re-experiencing what the Germans, Irishmen, Swedes, Italians, Africans, Poles, and others who came before them experienced. But they would do so in a radically different setting. Old theories might not apply to them; repetition of earlier immigrant behavior on their part might have no value. In any event, they would test, under new conditions, what had been said by exclusionists, assimilators, pluralists, Anglo-Saxonizers, those who still denounced the American past as ever flawed by racism, and those who insisted that meritorious men of every race and tongue had always prospered in the United States, given a little time. In the end, Spain's children might show Americans where the nation had been and where it was going. At least as far as the next bend in the road.

The first "Mexicans" to live within the boundaries of the United States were not immigrants at all but members of old Spanish-descended families in the territories taken from Mexico by conquest—the future states of Texas, California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. These sons of the Spaniard were good copy for writers of romantic fiction, among them Helen Hunt Jackson, whose *Ramona* (in 1884) glamorized the *Californios* and their world of missions, horseflesh, wine, and hospitality. They were also the distant vanguard of less aristocratic legions who began to trek northward from Mexico around 1900.

As always, jobs were the attraction. The Southwest pulsed with booms in mining and railroad construction from 1880 onward; then in 1910, as the region's cattle-based agrarian economy was being broadened with the help of irrigation to include large-scale general farming, there was a revolution in Mexico. In the Southwest, hands were needed to plant and to pick cotton, beans, lettuce, beets, artichokes, grapefruit, oranges, spinach, grapes, tomatoes, and melons. Native American "hoboes," "bindle stiffs," "fruit tramps," and other picturesquely named migrant workers furnished much of the necessary labor, but the Mexicans fleeing their homeland were hired, too. World War I and the industrial expansion of the 1920s drew many American workers to army camps, factories, and cities—and created an even more urgent demand for Mexicans to fill the vacated places.

The true dimensions of Mexican immigration are hard to draw. The border was long and ineffectively patrolled, and thousands slipped back and forth unrecorded by statisticians. The official figures alone, however, showed a Mexican influx of 185,000 in the period 1910 through 1919, and nearly 500,000 from 1920 through 1929. Even the Mexican who reported himself to United States officials, furthermore, and intended to remain in his new homeland, did not quite fit the category of the uprooted. His journey might be only a few miles in length; the cactus-strewn deserts and mountainous horizons around Santa Fe or Los Angeles were like what he had left behind; he moved in what Carey McWilliams, a leading student of Mexicans in the United States, has called "an environment that was geographically, culturally, and historically familiar."

A cotton picker in California's San Joaquin Valley in 1936

What he sought and found in the United States was, first of all, freedom from the uncertainties and dangers of internal warfare that plagued Mexico during the long period of revolutionary upheaval that began in 1910; and, secondly, a wage that was higher than any he could command on his native ground: in the 1920s, for example, it was about $105 a month in the United States and $18 in Mexico. A popular *corrido*, or ballad, about a Mexican youth who emigrated caught the essence of things.

> Vámanos, madre, que allá está el *dollar*
> y mucho, juro, que he de ganar.

(Let's go, Mother, over there is the dollar,
And I swear I am going to earn a lot of them.)

The dollars did not come easily, however. The work was brutally hard. Cesar Chavez, who in 1969 was leading the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in the fourth year of a strike against California grape growers, recalled for a reporter his own boyhood as a sugar-beet harvester in the 1930s. "That was work for an animal, not a man. Stooping and digging all day. And the beets are *heavy*. Oh, that's brutal work. . . . *that* is how a man is crucified. *Crucified.*" And the camps in which the farm laborers were put up were often horrible collections of unshaded tents and shacks, inadequately supplied with water and open-ditch latrines. Moving from one such camp to another in boxcars, trucks, or rusted jalopies piled high with bedsprings, chicken coops, and children, the Mexicans knew they were in no Promised Land. This was particularly so after the Depression began, when wages plummeted to as low as fifty-six cents a day; when families of four, with every member working, toiled to earn cash incomes that averaged $340 a year for the family; when a Mexican father spoke for thousands when he cried, "It is work or starve for my children"; and when, in the off seasons, sheriffs' deputies, state troopers, and the border patrol would round up and deport Mexicans by the hundreds to save relief costs.

Along with economic exploitation—which the white migrant farmer also endured, especially in the Depression era—went anti-Mexican prejudice. All the traditional charges that had been leveled at immigrants in the past were sounded anew. Typical remarks were those of the Archbishop of San Francisco, Edward J. Hanna, who declared that the Mexicans "drain our charities," formed "a large part of our jail population," and were of "low mentality."

"You can americanize the man from the southeastern

Working under conditions not much changed from those in the 1930s, Mexican migrant workers in 1968 harvest onions in New Mexico.

MARCIA KEEGAN

and southern Europe," said another Catholic clergyman, before a Rotary Club audience, "but can't americanize a Mexican."

Yet while labor unions and civic boosters in Texas and California denounced the policy of allowing unchecked Mexican immigration, the growers, who held the Southwest's highest political cards, saw to it that the supply of cheap and manageable Mexican labor was not reduced. During World War II, when there was a generally acute labor shortage, the United States government entered into an agreement with Mexico for the temporary admission of workers called *braceros*, who were trucked across the border during harvest months and trucked back later. Thus the restriction-minded Americans who had denounced Southern and Eastern European immigrants twenty-five years earlier for allegedly being "birds of passage" were treated to the sight of their own government providing Mexican "birds" with temporary nests and grain. The *bracero* program, a testimony to the strength of the Southwestern farm lobby, was supplemented during the 1950s as unregistered workers slipped into the country by—among other methods—swimming the Rio Grande. No one knows how many of them came and went before the border patrols were tightened, but as many as 447,000 *braceros* were imported in 1959. In 1964 the utilization of *braceros* ended, but in the late 1960s it was still possible, under a clause of the McCarran-Walter Act, for individual foreigners to retain their foreign citizenship while entering the United States for periods of temporary work. The Mexican holders of such "green card" visas earned in the United States an estimated $15,000,000 in wages in 1967; presumably, much of this cash left the country with them.

A good many Mexicans, then, had never considered themselves, or ever been considered, immigrants in the ordinary sense. Yet as the decades rolled by, more and more of them remained in the towns and cities intermittently between farming jobs, and some of them settled into industrial or service work or small businesses. Somewhat more than half a century after 1910, when the heavy Mexican surge northward had begun, there were some five million Americans of Mexican birth or parentage in the Southwest, adding color to the national demographic patchwork and creating fresh data for the students of assimilation patterns.

They were an almost unknown minority, in one sense. They were poor, with a third of their families earning less than $3,000 per year. They were crowded into *barrios* (literally, "neighborhoods") in major cities, in squalor bearing the usual marks and scars of poverty—broken homes, high rates of infant mortality, frequent

Robert Kennedy offered bread to Cesar Chavez as the Mexican-

arrests, much disease, a tendency toward narcotics addiction, a staggering school dropout rate—and, with all these discouragements, a birth rate as much as fifty per cent higher than that of the general population. Yet the Mexicans had not attracted the kind of anxious attention from domestic critics of America's shortcomings that other minority groups had. One student of the problem went so far as to say, "For the Mexican-American, there are no liberals."

Part of the reason for this state of affairs might have been found in the fact that the Mexicans, while as eager as any other people for a decent livelihood, had not sought much help from non-Mexicans, or shown any eagerness to adopt American life styles as part of breaking poverty's grip. They did not practice the self-rejection implicit in some of the earlier immigrant groups' struggles to "Americanize." There was in them a kind of Indian stoicism and Spanish pride, expressed in Cesar Chavez's reply to the question *cómo está*, namely, *batallando con la vida:* "I am still struggling with life." The Mexican sometimes struggled with life by singing in the face of adversity, confirming in hostile minds the stereotype of the "lazy, happy greaser." Sometimes he sought strength for the struggle in wine or in marijuana or in intense religious exercises, to the neglect of what the Puritan-based national culture called "useful work." Sometimes he struck an aggressive "I am myself" pose, and suffered for it. That happened, for instance, to some Mexican youths in Los Angeles during World War II. They called themselves *pachucos*—roughly "regular guys," or "swingers"—trying to maintain their treas-

American leader of the grape pickers ended a fast in 1968.

ured masculinity and arrogant freedom, *machismo*, despite their impoverished minority status. They adopted as a uniform the "zoot suit," a costume consisting of broad-brimmed hat, finger-length jacket, and billowing pants pinched tight at the ankles—a costume that cried "Hey, look at me," just as did the beaded chaps and gorgeous leather boots of the Mexican cowboy. But American servicemen in Los Angeles, despite the fact that thousands of Mexican-Americans were in service, regarded the zoot-suiters as draft dodgers and delinquents. Young arrogance met young self-righteousness; insults were traded; fights broke out, and finally, from June 3 to June 8, 1943, thousands of sailors and soldiers rampaged through the Mexican *barrio* of Los Angeles, beating up and stripping zoot-suit wearers, often with the amiable acquiescence of the police.

Decades later, the sons and nephews of some of the Mexican-Americans involved in those riots were still attempting to find a comfortable place in the national life. Again, the paths they sought might not be the same as those trodden by the "newcomers" from Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. Those older immigrants had fought their way upward by successful performance in the schools, by group involvement in American party politics, and by individual adaptation to the prevalent social demand for success in business and the professions. But Mexican-American children, to begin with, seemed unwilling to meet a school's demands if they perceived in those demands a threat to Hispanic identity. Often the teacher's first requirement was that pupils abandon the speaking of Spanish during school hours. Unlike earlier "foreign" children, the young Mexican found that this change set up an unacceptable tension between himself and his family. To follow the rule was to turn his back on his own. Yet to reject it was to be punished. "It's always my parents telling me to be proud I'm Mexican and the school telling me to be American," one junior-high boy complained. Often the dilemma was solved by dropping out—which elicited harsh reactions of the sort expressed by one Los Angeles high-school principal: "They don't belong here anyway—they belong in the fields." Ultimately, both child and society were losers in that sort of battle.

Dr. Manuel Guerra, an educator of Mexican background, made a plea for bilingual instruction and raised the familiar flag of cultural pluralism. "We do not want," he said, "to give up the Spanish language, pray to God in English, substitute mashed potatoes for *frijoles* or 'junk' our *piñatas*. Rather we want to bring all of these values to American society as our contribution to the diversity and wealth of our country. Rather than the melting pot, we believe in the heterogeneity of American society, including the give and take with other peoples and other cultures."

Even setting aside the language question, the schools might also have failed to make contact with large parts of the Mexican-American community because the educators focused on the preparation of youngsters for a middle-class status, which few of them desired. In 1967, for example, there were only thirty thousand Mexican-Americans in the entire Southwest—a very small percentage of their population—who were in "professional, technical and similar work": doctors, lawyers, teachers, accountants, engineers, draftsmen, and the like. That might have been due to lack of opportunity and preparation, but it was also possible that Mexican-Americans by and large were not eager to accept the constraints on dress and behavior, the rigid time schedules, the emphasis on such symbols of security as insurance policies, bank accounts, expensive automobiles, homes, gadgets, and vacations—in short, all the appurtenances of a life style that even successful middle-class Americans term a "rat race."

On the other hand, Mexican-Americans seemed to be slowly and belatedly exerting some of the bloc voting power that had advanced so many Irishmen and Italians. As of 1967, they had elected three Representatives and one Senator to the Congress of the United States, a handful of representatives to the legislatures of Arizona, Texas, and Colorado, and a fairly sizable delegation—thirty-three—to the New Mexico legislature. A few Mexican-Americans sat on the judicial benches of

typical of the squalid conditions from which most tried to escape.

Arizona and Texas, and there had been several Mexican-American appointments to Federal posts, though to be sure these were posts of more honor than responsibility. And Mexicans sat, in increasing numbers, on city councils and boards of education in the five states where they were most concentrated. Time might well bring more Mexican names onto party slates. But it was not unlikely that young Mexican-Americans (the median age for the entire group was several years younger than for the population as a whole) would find the traditional climb to party influence too slow for their communities' urgent economic, medical, and educational needs. Even minority-group officeholders, under our system of coalition politics, must undertake expensive campaigns, make numerous concessions, and worry about their public images in order to win election; once in office, they must make compromises to secure even marginal gains. It is a basically conservative system that may work best in a smaller and simpler society.

Young Mexican-Americans who were convinced that traditional political practices were irrelevant might see the way out for them in other action. Two possible varieties of it are suggested by the careers of Cesar Chavez and Reies López Tijerina.

Chavez was born in 1927, the grandson of a successful Mexican immigrant who owned substantial property in Arizona. But his parents lost everything in the Depression, and Chavez spent his youth in the movable hell of the migrant camps. In 1952 he was an apricot picker, living in the Mexican *barrio* of San Jose that was grimly named *Sal Si Puedes*, "Escape If You Can." While there he was recruited into the Community Service Organization, a grass-roots pressure-and-action group of and for the poor, started under the leadership of Saul Alinsky, a Chicago-based self-styled radical who specialized in such work. Through the CSO, Chavez rose to leadership. Chavez in the 1960s was not a politician in the ordinary sense, and he would even have denied that he was particularly a leader of Mexicans; his constituency was agricultural labor. Yet the bulk of his followers were Mexican-born or of Mexican parentage. And if politics is the art of securing group objectives in a pluralistic society through persuasive leadership, then politics was the primary gift of Chavez. He had organized the grape pickers, whose earlier brave attempts at unionization had been ignored by established labor organizations—and been broken with ease by the growers. Chavez had earned national attention, publicity, and donations, and had inspired a nation-wide liberal boycott of table grapes. He had gradually begun to win concessions from the growers.

Despite the influence of the tough world in which he

For most of the self-uprooted Puerto Ricans (such as those shown here in tenement flats), chronic poverty, the language barrier, and the burden of large families meant merely the substitution for tropical of northern slums in mainland American cities.

grew up, Chavez preached nonviolence and adopted Gandhi-like techniques, including fasts, peaceful mass pilgrimages to legislative halls, and constant exhortations to his followers to practice love and brotherhood. His career bore a clear resemblance to that of Martin Luther King, Jr.

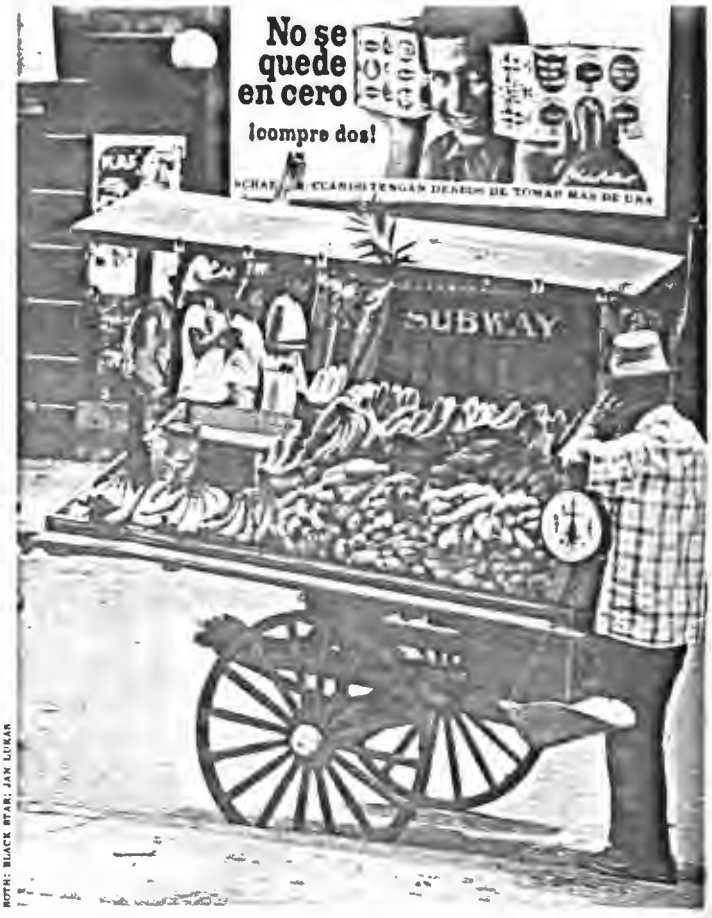
In contrast, Tijerina might have been characterized as a middle-aged equivalent of Stokely Carmichael. He preached "brown power" to cheering students who wore buttons inscribed CHICANO POWER and VIVA LA RAZA. Flanked by guards in brown berets, he shouted such charges as "If the Anglo is frightened it is because his historical crimes are catching up with him." Tijerina claimed that certain government-owned forests in the Southwest were in fact the property of the Mexican-Americans under pre-1848 grants, and his "confrontations" with the authorities over the disputed soil led to prison sentences.

Chavez deplored talk of *la raza*, "the race." "Today," he warned in 1969, "it's anti-gringo, tomorrow it will be anti-Negro, and the day after it will be anti-Filipino, anti-Puerto Rican. And then it will be anti-poor Mexican, and anti-darker-skinned Mexican." And yet Chavez himself, with his contemplative withdrawals, stubborn individualism as a leader, and strangely contrasting appeals to the mystique of community spirit, seemed quintessentially Mexican. He and Tijerina shared with many black leaders the goal of autonomy for the ghettos, and with young Indian activists, too, the demand that the government stop trying to impose on the minority poor the cultural values of the majority; thus money for improvement should be spent as the affected groups saw fit. All such spokesmen preached the worth of the minority group; all aimed to bring their people into the sunlight by strengthening, not discarding, the customs that made them different. For Chavez, the cultivation of such group consciousness among Mexican-Americans was only a first step toward a larger concept of brotherhood, while for Tijerina and those like him, it might be an end in itself. But both viewpoints were a long way from preachments of salvation through assimilation.

Many of the problems and responses visible among the Hispanic-Americans of the Southwest were strikingly similar to, almost duplicated by, the next largest Spanish-speaking group in contemporary America, the Puerto Ricans, who were primarily in and of New York.

The Puerto Rican migration began, like so many others, with the modernization of the homeland. In 1940 the island was impoverished, its economy wrecked

Puerto Ricans arriving in New York found East Harlem a place where more and more of the signs, goods, and foods were geared to their wants. While the young began acclimatization, going to school, playing traditional games of the city streets (below), their parents fell into the time-honored paths of migrants—learning trades, earning money, dreaming of the return home. But many stayed, and filled a vacuum as the old middle class stampeded to the suburbs. They may have stayed because they could not afford to do anything else, but, again, the paths they trod were well worn: puertorriqueños *moved up in their jobs; they formed small businesses; they improved their homes when they could. "I always thought I would go back," said one old man in the late 1960s. "But it was too expensive, too long a trip. I finally went in 1958, with my son, who paid for the airplane ticket. In three days I was ready to come home. I had been away too long and I was a New Yorker, not a real Puerto Rican anymore."*



BOTH: BLACK STAR; JAN LUKAS

by long years of heavy dependence on sugar and tobacco cultivation. Then the government undertook a series of development programs to bring diversified industries to the land, resettle impoverished farmers, increase cash incomes, encourage tourism, modernize cities, and raise the level of literacy and of public health. The programs were remarkably successful, but one consequence was a population boom. In 1968 some 2,700,000 Puerto Ricans were clustered on their island—an average of close to eight hundred per square mile—making Puerto Rico one of the world's most crowded areas. This furnished one stimulus for emigration. Another was added not by the poverty that survived in the midst of progress but by the improvement in national living standards. The phenomenon of rising expectations set in. "Even in the 'thirties," a Puerto Rican explained to a reporter, "many of the basic commodities were imported from the mainland. The people began to yearn first for a radio, then for an automobile, and eventually for a TV set. . . . Their desires were aroused; cash became more and more important to them, and New York was the place to get it."

New York did offer attractions after World War II, primarily jobs that paid an average of thirty-five or forty dollars a week, almost twice as much as island jobs did, with unionization, health benefits, pensions, and Social Security sometimes included. Moreover, New York was easy to reach. There were no problems of immigration visas. Puerto Ricans had been American citizens ever since the Jones Act of 1917 created the framework of government for the Caribbean colony. They retained that status when Puerto Rico became an almost completely independent self-governing commonwealth in 1952. And, just as the transatlantic steamer of the 1890s offered the European migrant cheap passage to the Promised Land, the postwar transport plane furnished the same to the hopeful Puerto Rican. Price wars among major carriers and a number of nonscheduled lines reduced fares to as little as $35 per person, and the aircraft flying at 250 miles an hour ate up 1,600 air miles in no time. A family could board a "thrift flight" at San Juan at eleven at night, carrying coats to put on over their light clothing when they got off in the northern climate, and be deposited at Idlewild (now Kennedy) air terminal when dawn was silhouetting the New York skyline. So the steerage had become airborne. Thousands of Puerto Ricans made the journey. Some were "birds of passage" and did not stay long, but by 1953 the average net gain was about forty thousand a year, with the flow swelling or diminishing in response to business conditions in the United States.

Not many of the newest immigrants were *jíbaros*, cane-field peasants. They were already partially urbanized. A 1950 sociological study of a sample group of Puerto Ricans in New York showed that they were on the whole older, better educated, and more likely to be skilled than those who had stayed behind. About eight out of ten went to work immediately upon their arrival, in jobs overwhelmingly concentrated in the light manufacturing and service occupations. The men became "pressers and floor boys in garment factories, dishwashers, bus boys, pantrymen, laundry workers, [and] porters"; the women were likely to end up as "domestics, in hospitals, and in laundries . . . as hand sewers, floor girls, cleaners, [and] sewing-machine operators."

In some cases, the Puerto Ricans actually lost job status, though gaining in salary, as a result of migration. An experienced machine operator unable to understand complicated instructions given in a new language might at first have to accept a job pushing a hand truck between departments in a plant. In many cases the lost ground was made up, occasionally with the help of the unions, particularly in the garment industry. Puerto Ricans were not readily accepted, however, into the skilled-labor unions like those of the painters, carpenters, electricians, and bricklayers. Not many, therefore, were able to attain such employment. At the same time, few moved into the white-collar classes. Even those who qualified for that sociological label were apt to be marginal small businessmen, operating barbershops, cleaning establishments, lunch counters, beauty parlors, radio repair shops and groceries. Like the owners of "Mom and Pop" candy stores and delicatessens in older ethnic neighborhoods of New York, they fended off bankruptcy only by using their families as unpaid and overworked help.

Some Puerto Ricans were placed by the Migrant Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico's Department of Labor in jobs as far to the northwest as Milwaukee. But the overwhelming concentration was in the low wage brackets in New York. That was the mecca, though a tarnished one. The Puerto Ricans hit the city in the early years of what was to become an apparently permanent shortage of low-income housing. The median income of $36.28 a week for a Puerto Rican family in 1950 bought little in the way of residential space. Most of the newcomers were confined to a few neighborhoods. They lived in Brooklyn, in a district known as Morrisania in the Bronx, or, most of them, in East Harlem. Also known as Spanish Harlem, or simply *El Barrio* to the Puerto Ricans, East Harlem ran from 100th Street northward, bounded on one side by the East River and on the other (roughly) by central, or black, Harlem. The quality of accommodation offered

In a scene from "Rebels of Sierra Maestra," a CBS special report in 1957 on Cuba's guerrilla fighters, revolutionary leader Fidel Castro, above, leads his men in a cheer. Opposite: Cuban refugees arrive in Miami, fleeing the successful revolution.

in these Hispanic enclaves was reflected when, in the early 1950s, a church group in East Harlem circulated a questionnaire among 1,000 tenants asking them to list their housing problems. There were 721 cases of defective wiring, 612 of inadequate plumbing, 571 of broken windows, 895 of rats in the building, 696 of gas leaks, 778 of no heat, 553 of no hot water, and 308 of leaks in the roof. It went without saying that the victims of these housing-code violations, lacking political influence, lacking command of English, without money for lawyers, and having no comprehension of bureaucratic byways, were almost powerless to compel landlords to make repairs.

Life had not been any more gracious in the slums of San Juan, it was true. And yet in familiar surroundings, misery had perhaps been less threatening. A Puerto Rican named Piri Thomas grew up in *El Barrio*, experiencing early in his life poverty, drug addiction, and prison. In a deeply moving memoir entitled *Down These Mean Streets*, he recalled his mother comparing the lot of the lowly in two cultures:

> . . . in Puerto Rico those around you share *la pobreza* with you and they love you, because only poor people can understand poor people. I like *los Estados Unidos*, but it's sometimes a cold place to live—not because of the winter and the landlord not giving heat but because of the snow in the hearts of the people.

Similar observations by Puerto Ricans are plentiful in the anthropologist Oscar Lewis's *La Vida*, a study of the culture of poverty in San Juan and New York.

Puerto Ricans in the United States also found themselves coping with a problem that was relatively new to them, racial discrimination. Some of the islanders were quite "white," many were dark-skinned like the majority of Mexicans, but about twenty-five per cent were *negritos* and *grifos*, blacks and mulattoes, descended from slaves brought in by the Spaniards. In a general way, social and economic advancement in Puerto Rico, as in the United States, came more quickly and easily to the light-skinned. But black Puerto Ricans, and especially those with only a few "negroid" characteristics, were unprepared for the shock of being taken for "niggers" in the United States and treated accordingly. For them, the choices were agonizing. They might deny their blackness, assume the white man's attitude of hostility to Negroes (often thoroughly reciprocated by American blacks), and live in a twilight zone between the races. Or they might seek co-operation with Negroes, individually or in organizations, and even positively accept their own color and define their own loyalties by it. Very few made this choice. Piri Thomas did, and it imposed on him the ache of a painful separation from his father, who was likewise black but who cried out to his son: "I don't like feeling to be a black man. Can you understand it's a pride to me being a Puerto Rican?" To which Piri replied with cruel honesty, "What kind, Poppa, black or white?"

For some Puerto Ricans, the escape from this and other traps was a return flight to San Juan. But thousands stayed to rear families, and each child born in the United States was a tie to the new land. By 1968 the Puerto Rican community of New York City had grown to nearly a million. The majority of its members were young, the group's median age as a whole being only nineteen.

The children often suffered the same initial linguistic problem in the schools as did the Mexican-American youngsters. A majority of Puerto Rican parents might want their children to attend college; a survey in 1950 indicated this ambition. But it was a vain hope for most of them. Puerto Rican children had a high dropout rate in the 1950s and 1960s. Bewildered by the strange tongue, the first- and second-graders would drop behind the class, would sometimes be labeled "unco-operative" or "stupid," would retreat into fantasy, aggression, or truancy, and would begin a long downward slide. To combat this sequence, some teachers in the New York City system suggested a new approach: that the Puerto Rican beginner be taught in Spanish and gradually in-

troduced to bilingualism. It was assumed that whatever benefits this might produce, an improvement in the child's competence in Spanish was itself a worthwhile educational goal.

Such an approach, of course, would set the pupils marching to a different drumbeat from the one sounded for the immigrant children of the early 1900s, and would rest frankly on what one writer has called "the philosophy of the multiethnic society in which all groups are identifiable," a philosophy that "attacks the middle-class value system on many fronts. . . ." Undeniably it was arousing the wrath of tradition-minded teachers, one of whom denounced multiethnicity as a gimmick, and declared in a newspaper interview that schools must "organize parents to cooperate, to send their children to school on time, to behave in school." The battle was joined, and it was a long way from being decided.

Again like the Mexicans, the Puerto Ricans appeared to be moving into political office on a slower timetable than the older nationality groups. This was, of course, a subjective and preliminary judgment. The New York Puerto Ricans were so youthful, in the most literal sense of the word, that in 1969 eighty-five per cent of those born in the United States were still under fourteen years of age. Patently, this helps to account for that state of affairs described in the headline of a New York *Times* story written on the eve of the 1969 city elections: "Puerto Rican Prospect: 10% of Population, 0% of Political Power." The article noted that while the Puerto Ricans could boast of one borough president and two of the thirty-seven city councilmen, all three leaders would leave office at the end of the year. Moreover, of 246 candidates running for municipal office in that election, only five were of Puerto Rican origin and none of these was on the regular Democratic ticket, which was the one that most Puerto Ricans normally voted. In Albany there were only three Puerto Rican legislators, all from the Bronx.

Inexperience and a certain amount of dispersion through many neighborhoods and districts might explain Puerto Rican political weakness in New York. But it was also possible that Frank Espada, a Puerto Rican who was vice-president of the New York Urban Coalition, had come very near the truth when he stated: "We are in the process of losing our second generation in terms of political involvement. The only Puerto Ricans that can break into the system are those who break into machine politics, which doesn't reflect our aspirations and goals."

The new breed of Puerto Rican, under twenty-five years of age, confronted a number of hurdles in the way of his goals—perhaps including an ambivalence about what goals to choose. There were obvious crises to be solved: a median Puerto Rican income in New York City of only $3,949 in 1968, rising numbers on the relief rolls, an unemployment rate sometimes equal to three times the national average. But the Puerto Rican had also to define himself, to decide what relationship he would try to create with whites and Negroes. He had to consider whether he would look for models in urban American patterns of family life and consumption, or in Latin styles. He had to choose between individual and group action, and between militants and traditionalists, if he wished to exert political pressure. Above all, he had to decide upon what emotional and geographic foundations he would build.

That was, paradoxically, both hard and easy, for the Puerto Ricans had never entirely left home. The first

In a Cuban neighborhood in Miami Beach, a blindfolded child attempts to break open the gift-filled Christmas piñata.

generation of Puerto Ricans on the mainland drew comfort from the fact that they could visit the island often and cheaply. Oscar Handlin believes that this may be the key to their failure to create separate institutions right away, such as ethnic churches and private schools, to cushion the shock of separation. Like the French-Canadians of New England as well as the Mexicans of the Southwest, they were "never altogether detached from the lands of their birth" in the fashion of the European immigrant who knew that he had "decisively severed his ties with his old home . . . and that his future was entirely in the United States."

But the children born to Puerto Ricans in New York did not share their parents' hopes of return. For them, "home isn't a dusty plaza on a tropical island, but a New York block where smells of fried fish and hamburgers mingle with the Latin beat drifting from the corner record store. . . ." Yet they were not ready to disappear entirely into the theoretical Melting Pot. They might turn out to be both old-countrymen and Americans in a deeper sense than most "hyphenated Americans" of the past. Through such organizations as the Puerto Rican Citizens Committee for Unity (which has a counterpart in MAPA, Mexican-American Political Action, and another in PUMA, Political Unity for Mexican-Americans), they might find a special strength, resting, according to a Fordham University student of Puerto Rican affairs, "not on the continuation of a traditional culture in the form of an immigrant community, but on the solidarity which results from organizing their efforts for the pursuit of group interests in the political arena." *Puertorriqueño* power, as one might say, would be more than a dwindling fortuitous product of their common background. They would use it, too, to perpetuate that identity—to encourage, for example, Spanish-speaking schools and Spanish neighborhoods.

Meanwhile, the Puerto Ricans were leaving their mark, like those who had gone before—in little *bodegas* selling plantains, in restaurants dishing up *asopao* (a chicken or sea-food stew with rice and vegetables), in papers like *La Prensa* and *El Diario de Nueva York*, which converted Blondie into Pepita and Mickey Mouse into El Ratón Miguelito, in billboards advertising a popular brandy as endowed with *alma española*.

Though Mexicans and Puerto Ricans came from, and settled in, widely different areas—one agricultural, one urban-industrial—there was enough similarity in their American experience to tempt an observer into speculating about the influence of innate Latin qualities. Such a racial theory would collapse into rubble, however, as soon as it was tested against the amazing experience of the Cuban refugees of 1959 to 1969. For the exiles from Castro's revolution seem to epitomize the traditional success story of the foreign boy who makes good.

While the first year's refugee wave, forty thousand strong, was arriving by boat and plane in 1959, United States officials laid plans for the future. Almost from the beginning, Washington provided Federal temporary assistance funds of up to a hundred dollars a month for refugee families—whom the Cuban revolutionary government allowed to take only five pesos, one watch, one ring, and the clothes on their backs out of Cuba. Washington also allocated special funds to the Miami school system to help handle the influx of Cuban children, whose numbers grew by as many as a thousand a week. In 1965 the Federal government started to provide Cubans with air transport to the United States. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare also made grants to experienced social-work agencies, such as the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the International Rescue Committee, to help them maintain Cubans in special resettlement centers and then move them into jobs throughout the country. Under vigorous administration, approximately 109,000 Cubans were placed outside of the Miami area, and as far from the Caribbean as Chicago and southern California.

A heavy proportion of the more than 285,000 Cubans who had arrived by early 1967, however, remained in Dade County, which includes Miami. It was a natural debarkation point not far from Havana, and it had a thriving Hispanic colony even before 1959, composed of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Latin-Americans. Miami had long been in the business of welcoming tourists from the southern continent to the United States. By 1969 it was estimated that Cubans made up ten per cent of greater Miami's population. As an index to their concentration in certain neighborhoods, by February of 1966 the local Catholic dioceses had to furnish eighty Spanish-speaking priests just for the Cubans; sixteen parishes said the Mass in Spanish; more than five thousand Cuban children were enrolled in parochial schools. Unlike the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, whose nominal Catholicism did not seem to have a tight hold on them once they were transplanted to America, the Cubans were in the main active church supporters.

They were diligent in their own business as well as the Lord's. The Miami *Herald* referred to them as "the cream of a nation in exile," a somewhat biased judgment, suggesting that everyone who remained within Fidel Castro's jurisdiction was skimmed milk. But it was true that these refugees were endowed with ability, experience, and middle-class concepts of achievement. Most of them were soon off relief and paying back, in taxes, a substantial portion of the hundreds of millions

of government dollars spent on the refugee program.

Men like Raul G. Menocal were among the new Cubans of Miami. Menocal had twice been mayor of Havana, and by 1967 he was vice-president in charge of the Latin-American division of a Coral Gables bank. There were also men like Angel Aixala and the Luis Encheniquis, father and son, who began a marine construction company named International Boats that by 1966 had annual gross sales of $1,500,000. And Raul and Jesus Gutierrez, who built a small company into the million-dollar-a-year Calmaquip, selling American products to Latin America. And Manuel Fernandez, who was stripped of his cattle ranch and packing house when he fled at the age of seventy in 1961—but who five years afterward was the contented owner of the Wajay Crackers Company.

Such individuals undoubtedly had head starts in the form of business contacts in the United States. These guaranteed them access to credit, and some had probably found ways to transfer assets out of Cuba despite Castro's laws. But there were also thousands of Cubans like Jose Simon, an attorney. He arrived in Miami so poor that his first, gratefully accepted job was as door-to-door salesman for a milk company. Simon studied English at night, and by early 1967 was a professor of Spanish at Emory University in Atlanta. At that time 2,500 Cubans were teaching in United States schools and colleges, and 1,900 Cuban physicians were working in United States hospitals.

By the end of Castroism's first decade, the Cuban community in Miami showed a respectable top layer of affluence, demonstrated in the expensive and handsome homes of refugees who owned automobile dealerships and garages, restaurants and hotels, small factories, real-estate agencies, and the like. Many of the Cubans still eagerly awaited the day when the usurper would be overthrown and they would return to their rightful homeland. But thousands were discovering that children born in the house of strangers create blood ties to those strangers and their house. Increasingly, Cubans who had children enrolled in American schools—where they were becoming "more American than Cuban"—were applying for citizenship papers and settling in for good. "The Cubans," said one Dade County Chamber of Commerce official, "have put a lot more into this community than they have taken out." As time went by, they were beginning to add their own lives to their investments in America.

The Cubans may have shaken the belief of many native Americans in the laziness and ineptitude of Latin-Americans, long contemptuously referred to as "spicks," "dagos," and "greasers." They may equally have punctured romantic notions that the Latin-American soul is too poetic to be fettered to the office stool. In any event, these particular Cubans represented a picked group of elite immigrants—educated, and supremely able to manipulate the machines, the blueprints, the bank figures, and the statutes that add up to power in the modern world.

They had their historical counterparts in many earlier immigrants to America who came well educated or well heeled or both, or who came with skills in metallurgy or glassblowing, for example, comfortably aware that they would be hired by industry as soon as they stepped ashore. They, too, were part of the immigrant procession through America's history.

Such people as the Castro refugees cannot fairly be compared to Mexican farm hands or Puerto Rican bellboys. Yet there was possible meaning for the lives of all of them if they simply *believed* in a Hispanic identity. For every twentieth-century America[n] as a child of the machine age, seemed to need an i[dentity] and for minorities, both privileged and underp[rivileged], the search was invested with particular urgenc[y]. [Th]ere was in New York in the late 1950s a Federación de Sociedades Hispanas, Inc., which hoped to unite Latin-Americans in the area. At first Puerto Ricans tended to stay clear of such efforts, apparently because they cherished their American status. But by the end of the 1960s numbers of them were joining in the activities of the federation, because it offered them a path to self-respect safer than "Americanism," which bigots could deny to them. "Their self-image is better served as Latinos than as Puerto-riqueños," wrote one sociologist some years earlier, and "who can say but that such elements are a proud thing, and necessary in order to bear their kind of life?"

One of the activities of the Hispanic Societies in New York was to celebrate Columbus Day as a *día de la raza.* The holiday was marked in New York by a widely publicized parade, and traditionally the emphasis was on the discoverer's Genoese background. It was a day to woo the Italian vote. The Spanish-Americans of New York, however, had a special ceremony of their own. They would gather at the statue of Columbus on the Mall in Central Park. There, fittingly, they would lay flowers at the feet of the man who, under the Spanish flag, began it all nearly five centuries ago. With the flowers were placards that managed to link the destinies of Spain, Spain's children, America, and the world:

AMERICA WAS DISCOVERED
FOR THE GLORY OF SPAIN
AND THE GOOD OF ALL PEOPLE.

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History of

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

By
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And the Editors of AMERICAN HERITAGE
The Magazine of History

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This paper, prepared for Reagan Administration officials by the White House Office of Policy Information, articulates the philosophical underpinnings of the President's Tuition Tax Credits legislation.

TUITION TAX CREDITS

On June 22, 1982, President Reagan submitted to Congress proposed legislation entitled "The Educational Opportunity and Equity Act of 1982" which would provide tuition tax credits to parents whose children attend private elementary and secondary schools. While all presidents since 1969 have expressed support for the tuition tax credit concept, President Reagan is the first to actually offer legislation, thus fulfilling a pledge he made during the 1980 campaign.

In submitting the bill to Congress, the President declared: "In order to promote diversity in education and the freedom of individuals to take advantage of it, and to nurture the pluralism in American society which this diversity offers, I am transmitting to Congress today a draft bill which provides federal tax credits for the tuition expenses of children attending nonpublic primary and secondary schools."

The proposal

The President's bill would permit individual taxpayers to receive a credit against their income taxes of 50% of the cost of tuition and fees for each child in non-public elementary and secondary schools up to a maximum amount established in the legislation. As proposed, the maximum credit would be phased in over a three-year period, rising from $100 in 1983, to $300 in 1984, and ultimately to $500 in 1985.

For taxpayers with adjusted gross incomes over $50,000, the amount of credit would be proportionately reduced; for families with incomes of $75,000 and above, the credit would not be available.

Taxpayers could qualify for tuition tax credits only if the schools their children attend are not-for-profit tax exempt institutions, provide a full-time elementary or secondary school program for eligible students, and do not discriminate on the grounds of race or national origin.

The need for tuition tax credits

Americans have good reason to be proud of a public and private educational system unrivaled in the history of civilization. The enormous accomplishments of our people in their 206-year history as a nation are a tribute, in large measure, to the quality and diversity of educational opportunity available to them.

But increasingly in the past few decades, the quality and diversity of our educational system have become threatened. In many schools, educational performance has steadily declined, in-school crime and similar disturbances have increased, and costs have continued to climb -- often beyond what inflation and enrollment levels would seem to justify.

The result is that growing numbers of Americans want a greater choice in education, but many -- middle-income Americans as well as low-income families -- cannot afford to make a choice. In particular, parents who desire private alternatives to public education are faced with a worsening double burden of paying State and local taxes to support public schools in addition to the rising tuition payments required for their children who attend private schools.

Unless these problems are corrected, the quality and diversity which have been a hallmark of the American education system may further erode. To prevent that from happening, we must increase educational freedom of choice, improve tax equity, and provide greater competitive incentives for improving school quality. Tuition tax credits are an extremely effective means of helping achieve these objectives.

Promoting educational freedom of choice

Tuition tax credits would help give parents the financial means to make a genuine choice in deciding what kind of education they wish to provide their children -- to restore, in the words of the President, "the traditional right of parents to direct the education of their children."

At present, many parents' choice is limited by the combination of high State and local tax payments (used to finance local public schools) and the similarly high costs of private tuition. Given the constraints on most families' budgets, the extra burden of sending a child to private

school -- in terms of other family necessities they would have to forego -- is often simply too great, even though the parents may prefer that their children receive a private education. Thus, the typical low- or middle-income family may have no real option but to send its children to the local public school.

While we know, of course, that many public schools are doing a fine job of educating their students, parents who are not satisfied should be able to send their children to school elsewhere. The ability to make this choice should be widely available, and not an option open just to the wealthy.

A tuition tax credit would help expand this choice by permitting a working family to keep more of its income to devote to the education of its children. This tax savings would allow the family to consider not only the local public school, but various non-public schools as well. The family could then evaluate each one and select the school which would provide the best quality education for its children, without cost being such a limiting factor.

Such a tax credit would provide the greatest benefit to those who need it most -- low- and middle-income families. Clearly, a fixed-dollar credit is of greater proportional value to someone with a relatively lower income. Assuming, for example, that all families spend 5% of their income on education, an additional $500 savings doubles the education budget of a $10,000 per year family, and increases by 40% the budget of a $25,000 per year family. By contrast it increases by only 20% the education budget of a $50,000 per year family devoting the same percentage of its finances to education.

Moreover, lower- and middle-income families are proportionately the largest users of non-public schools, even with the financial constraints. In 1979, fully 54% of the students in private schools came from families with incomes below $25,000.

Members of minority groups and the disadvantaged would also benefit significantly. A 1978-79 survey by the National Catholic Education Association, for instance, showed that 18.6% of the students in Catholic schools -- the nation's largest private school sector -- were minority group members.

Essentially, then, it is those students who have received fewer educational advantages in the past who would gain the most from tuition tax credits. That is why economist Thomas Sowell has concurred with educational economist E. G. West's evaluation that tuition tax credits are "a crucial event in the history of education" with a "revolutionary potential for low-income groups." The proposal, Sowell maintains, is "most important

to those who are mentioned least: the poor [and] the working class..."

Tax equity

The proposal is important to working Americans in another way: it would promote greater equity in taxation. Tax equity would be justified in any case, but it is especially called for where government policies impose a special burden, such as the requirement that all citizens pay taxes to support the public schools, whether or not they use them. Such policies should be constructed, as those in this proposal are, so as to minimize any penalizing effect.

Present school tax policies, however, are obviously not constructed that way. Low- and middle-income families who choose to -- and are able to -- send their children to private schools not only pay for the education of their own children, but through their taxes pay for the public school education of the children of other families -- including the wealthy.

In addition, public school students now receive substantial financial benefits from Federal programs. Parents who choose public schools receive an average of more than $600 per pupil in direct and indirect Federal aid -- a total of as much as $25 billion. By contrast, children who attend private schools receive very little Federal assistance.

Tax credits will go a long way toward reducing this unfairness. Of course, parents of children in private schools should not -- and will not -- be exempt from supporting their local public schools, since as members of the community they indirectly benefit from the schools whether or not their children attend them. At the same time, these parents should receive some financial relief from, in effect, having to "pay twice" -- relief which the tax credits would provide.

Constraining the cost of education

The credits, moreover, are appropriate compensation for parents even beyond equity considerations. Parents who send their children to private schools relieve the public schools of the costs of educating their children -- without depriving the schools of the parents' tax payments. Not only can this constrain the rise in taxes needed to finance the public schools, but it can make more money per pupil available in the public systems.

The savings can be significant. In Louisiana, for example, non-public schools educated 152,000 students in 1980-81, thereby reducing the cost of operating public schools in that State by $300 million.

Without the credits, however, public schools could suffer through the potential influx of large numbers of former private school students who could no longer afford to attend the private institutions. For instance, if only one tenth of the private school population of nearly five million students shifted to public schools, the cost to the public school system could increase by almost one billion dollars. It is doubtful whether most public schools could absorb such a cost increase and continue to maintain their current educational standards.

Restoring competition in our educational system

By contrast, tuition tax credits would promote higher educational standards in both public and private systems, not only in the manner just described, but also by stimulating a healthy competition between public and private schools systems.

The vital role competition has played in our society, in providing quality goods and services at affordable prices, is well known. This economic principle applies in the provision of education as forcefully as it does to any other product or service. If a school has little or no competition, it may lack the incentive to improve its educational quality since its students, as virtual "captives," have to attend the school regardless of its educational standards.

If, however, the students have additional options, the school would face the choice of either suffering an undesired drain on its enrollment to other institutions, or upgrading its standards in order to maintain its level of student attendance.

Even some opponents of tax credits have begun to recognize these beneficial effects of competition. A recent New York Times editorial, for example, observed that "the threat of tax credits served to jolt public education out of its lethargy. In New York and other places public schools now show encouraging signs of improvement."

This improvement in quality through competition would provide the greatest help to those very poor families who could not afford, in any case, to send their children to other than the public schools. In fact, the prospect of improving the quality of education available to low-income minority youth through incentives in this manner was one of the prime motives in leading the President to support tax credits. Since these youth face considerable barriers in their quest for upward financial mobility, the better education that competition will produce will be an important step in helping them to secure a job after they leave school, and eventually in helping them to leave the cycle of poverty.

Not surprisingly, some leaders among minority groups have begun to recognize the advantages competition can provide for their members. In 1978, for example, the Congress of Racial Equality observed that "even just the potential of parents being able to reject a school that is not doing its job, can work great changes in the public schools."

Anti-discrimination provisions of the bill

In addition to offering these educational and economic benefits, the President's proposed legislation also provides several protections to ensure that tuition tax credits cannot be abused. The bill, for instance, contains strong provisions to ensure that no credits will be permitted to taxpayers who enroll their children in schools that discriminate on the basis of race or national origin.

A credit cannot be claimed unless the school is tax exempt under section 501(c)(3) of the IRS code.

Moreover, the bill contains its own strong enforcement mechanism.

First, any school that wishes the parents of its students to be eligible for a tuition tax credit must file a statement with the Treasury Department each year attesting that it has not followed a racially discriminatory policy. If a school does discriminate after filing such a statement, school officials would be subject to prosecution for perjury.

Second, the bill authorizes the Attorney General, upon complaint by a person who believes he has been discriminated against by a school, to bring a law suit against the school.

If the Federal court then finds the school discriminates, tax credits available to parents of those attending the school are automatically taken away for three years, retroactive to the year the discrimination suit was filed.

While providing these powerful protections against racial discrimination, the legislation also protects the legitimate interests of private schools. A school cannot be found racially discriminatory merely because it fails to pursue or achieve racial quotas. In addition, a school is free not to file an annual non-discrimination statement if it does not wish the parents of its students to be eligible for tuition tax credits. In that case, the enforcement mechanism would not be applicable.

Moreover, the Attorney General cannot bring an action against a school until it has had an opportunity to comment on allegations made against it. This provision will enable

the Attorney General to prevent frivolous or malicious complaints from reaching the courts. The Attorney General must also give the school a chance to show that it has abandoned a racially discriminatory policy. Finally, tax credits cannot be disallowed until all court appeals have been exhausted.

Safeguards against additional federal interference

The President's bill also prevents any increases in Federal interference in the operation of private schools. In the past, Federal aid to schools has all too frequently been used as a means of infringing, either directly or indirectly, on the operation of local schools in areas which should properly be of no concern to the Federal government.

These Federal dictates -- the "bureaucracy's intrusive reach into the nation's classrooms," as the Administration's 1981 year-end report described them -- have done little to improve the quality of education, but they have done a great deal to undermine local autonomy and promote a stifling conformity which impairs educational quality.

The President's legislation specifically precludes an increase in such interference by affirming that since the tax credits are provided as tax relief to individuals rather than as aid to institutions, they are not to be construed as Federal assistance to schools. The bill will thus eliminate the danger of Federal intrusion into private schools' operations.

The constitutionality of tax credits

The bill preserves, as well, the constitutional separation between Church and State. The bill will give tax relief directly to students' families. No Federal payments will be made to educational institutions, and the bill specifies that no student for whom a tuition tax credit is claimed will be considered a recipient of Federal financial assistance. These safeguards provide adequate protection to meet the relevant constitutional tests.

Indeed, while the Supreme Court has not ruled on tuition tax credits, constitutional scholars and the U.S. Department of Justice have concluded, after careful study, that the President's legislation is constitutional.

There are, moreover, constitutionally-agreeable precedents for this form of aid. For example, since the proposed tax credits would be equally available for use at sectarian and non-sectarian schools alike, they would be similar to the tax deductions approved in the Walz case in 1970.

The tax expenditure argument

Finally, some have tried to argue that since the proposed tuition tax credits would be a Federal "tax expenditure," they would provide an unfair benefit to private schools at a time when the growth in Federal aid to public schools is being slowed.

Aside from the fact, already discussed, that the credits will benefit students and not institutions, the idea that when the government provides its citizens with a credit against their taxes it is "spending government funds" is wholly inappropriate. Such a notion implies that the government has prior claim to all of a taxpayer's earnings, and that whenever the government permits him, through a tax credit or a tax rate cut, to keep a little more of his income it is "giving away" Federal money. By contrast, the President believes that an individual has first claim to what he earns, and that the government can tax its citizens only within strict limits.

That does not mean, of course, that all tax credits are of equal merit. Tax credits, as opposed to general rate cuts, are used to provide tax reduction in specifically selected instances. While such credits should not be automatically rejected because of the attachment of the pejorative label of "tax expenditures," each must be individually judged as to whether it is an appropriate form of tax relief. Tuition tax credits, with their many beneficial effects, are certainly well-justified by this criterion.

Moreover, as the President has pointed out, inflation-induced bracket creep, coupled with Social Security tax increases, left most Americans paying more in Federal taxes in 1982 than they did in 1981. Tax credits, therefore, will permit working Americans to keep a much-deserved extra portion of what they earn, to be used for the worthwhile purpose of educating their children.

Conclusion

Tuition tax credits thus offer an important opportunity for restoring the quality and diversity of an educational system which has such a long-standing and valued tradition in our society. In addition, the credits promise greater educational choice, improved tax equity, and a much needed measure of tax relief for over-taxed Americans.

The credits will, in the words of President Reagan, be the means by which our society will be better able to "provide the learning, shape the understanding and encourage the spirit each generation will need to discover, to create and to improve the lot of man."

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no land—nor, perhaps, the sun or stars. But there is a chart and a compass for us to study, to consult, and to obey. The chart is the Constitution."

September 17, 1981, marks the 194th anniversary of our Constitution. Its Framers scarcely could have conceived of the timelessness of the document they so carefully drafted. They prepared a Constitution to meet the needs of a fledgling nation. Yet today, amid the complexities of the twentieth century, that same Constitution, with only several amendments, serves a nation whose territory spans a continent and whose population exceeds two hundred and twenty-five million. With the passing of each year, it becomes increasingly evident that, in the words of Chief Justice John Marshall, our Constitution will "endure for ages to come."

The Constitution establishes the Congress, the Executive, and the Judiciary, and through a deliberate allocation of authority, it defines the limits of each upon the others. It particularizes the liberties which, as free men and women, we insist upon, and it constrains both Federal and State powers to ensure that those precious liberties are faithfully protected. It is our blueprint for freedom, our commitment to ourselves and to each other.

It is by choice, not by imposition, that the Constitution is the supreme law of our Land. As we approach the bicentennial of this charter, each of us has a personal obligation to acquaint ourselves with it and with its central role in guiding our Nation. While a constitution may set forth rights and liberties, only the citizens can maintain and guarantee those freedoms. Active and informed citizenship is not just a right; it is a duty.

In recognition of the paramount importance of the Constitution to our Nation, and in recognition of all who have attained the status of United States citizens, the Congress by joint resolution on February 29, 1952 (36 U.S.C. Section 153), designated September 17th as Citizenship Day, and by joint resolution of August 2, 1956 (36 U.S.C. Section 159), requested the President to proclaim the week beginning September 17th and ending September 23rd of each year as Constitution Week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, call upon appropriate Government officials to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on Citizenship Day, September 17, 1981. I urge Federal, State and local officials, as well as leaders of civic, educational and religious organizations to conduct ceremonies and programs that day to commemorate the occasion.

I also proclaim the week beginning September 17th and ending September 23rd, 1981 as Constitution Week, and I urge all Americans to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities in their schools, churches and other suitable places.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 16th day of Sept. in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and sixth.

RONALD REAGAN

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National Hispanic Heritage Week

Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Representatives of the Hispanic Community. September 16, 1981

Thank you very much and *buenas tardes*. I had to say that because the rea-

son I was late today—and I apologize to all of you—is because I had a very distinguished visitor in the office. And he had a presentation to make, and it did run over the time, but it was the Patriarch of Antioch—I'm trying to think again exactly what his title is—but of the Maronite Christian people in Lebanon. It was fascinating, the story that he was telling. But what fascinated me the most was that he conducted the almost 30 minutes of message to me in our language, in English, and he had simply just sat down and learned English in order to make this trip. And I had to confess that if I was going to Lebanon—[*laughter*]—I couldn't do what he did. But anyway, it couldn't be interrupted, so I was late.

But as a Californian, it's a special pleasure for me to welcome you here to the White House. And I know it probably wouldn't be technically proper for me to say *mi casa es su casa,* because this is already *su casa*—[*laughter*]—I just am a temporary tenant here. But all of us from the West have a special place in our hearts for Hispanic culture. Incidentally, as long as I was talking about language, the day after tomorrow, I'm going to be speaking to an audience in Denver, Colorado, and I was going to tell them a little story that happened to deal with a visit that, when I was Governor of California, I made to Mexico on behalf of the then administration in Washington.

I made a speech, and I sat down to rather unenthusiastic and scattered applause, and I was a little embarrassed; I didn't know what I might have said that was wrong, and I was doubly embarrassed when the next man up, speaking in Spanish which I didn't understand, was getting enthusiastic applause every other sentence. So, to hide my embarrassment I was clapping before anyone else and clapping after everyone else had finished, until our ambassador leaned over to me and said, "I wouldn't do that if I were you—he is interpreting your speech." [*Laughter*]

But coming from the West and having Hispanic culture in our hearts, it's so much a tradition in the Southwest that moving here to Washington was a bit of a culture shock. I understand that whenever there's Federal business to be done in any of the Southwestern States there is fierce competition among the Californians on my staff to get the assignment. It has something to do with enchiladas and refried beans and the fact that you don't just get those every day in Washington, D.C. In fact, I don't know where you can get them. Somebody, I'm sure, will tell me there is a place when I leave here.

But seriously, all of this has given me a deep appreciation for Hispanic culture, including its music, food, and qualities, but more than that, the qualities of character that it engenders, especially the sense of personal honor and integrity.

In the past election, I talked about five important values—family, neighborhood, work, peace, and freedom. Campaigning in Hispanic areas, I never felt more comfortable about those values. During the last two decades, when our traditions and values were under attack as never before, Hispanic Americans held firm to their beliefs like a solid rock amidst a stormy sea. They demonstrated a commitment to family, a reverence for God, as well as the pride and self-respect that comes from hard work.

Today, all of us are rediscovering those values, but the Hispanic community never lost them. And this dedication is beginning to bear fruit. Progress made by Hispanics can be described as nothing less than phenomenal. After years of adversity and, yes, discrimination, there is no doubt that Hispanics are taking their rightful

place in American society. In my own administration, they're playing an invaluable role. Eighty Hispanics have already received appointments at all levels, and 18 of them in major positions. And I'm happy to say in looking back over the records to see how we're doing, that these first few months tops anything that has happened in the entire administrations that have preceded us. But across this land, in the private sector you're making your way into positions of influence and leadership. And all of this is a tremendous source of pride for a people that have worked so hard to overcome the obstacles before them.

A most admirable quality is the sense of honor and duty that is rooted so firmly in that culture. Few others can claim the patriotism demonstrated by our Hispanic citizens. Consistent with this, they've received awards for heroism and bravery far in excess to their proportion of the population. Two of my first ceremonial functions as President were, interestingly enough, directly related to heroism of Hispanic Americans.

First, I was honored to welcome back the hostages from Iran, and two of the Marines had been especially heroic. Both of them were Hispanic Americans. One of them, Jimmy López, is remembered not only for risking his life to help several Embassy employees escape, but also for his spirit of defiance in captivity. Before they left to come home, he wrote on his cell wall, in Spanish, which the Iranians did not understand: *"Viva la roja, blanca, y azul."* [Long live the red, white, and blue.] His devotion will not be forgotten.

And then on February 24th, we discovered that there had been neglected for several years the presentation of a Congressional Medal of Honor, given only for service above and beyond the call of duty. And it was to go to a brave man, Master Sergeant Roy Benevidez, raised on a farm down near the border in Texas. His heroism in Vietnam earned him that highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor, and I had the honor to present it to him. I had the honor to sit and visit with him for awhile about this, and let me just say a word or two about it. If you tried to put it in a television show, no one would believe it.

He was manning a desk when helicopters came in from an attempted rescue mission of a patrol surrounded by the enemy. The crews were shot up; the helicopters were shot up. They were readying others to go back in and try again. And he just walked away from his desk and climbed in the first helicopter, and he was the first man to—he's the only man to drop down from the only helicopter to get in. And he went 75 yards through heavy fire to get to this patrol of 12 men, 4 then dead and 8 wounded. And one by one, he carried the 8 out through that fire—wounded, shot four times. And after he'd been shot four times, he had to put down one of the men he was carrying and draw his bayonet and engage in hand-to-hand combat with a Vietnamese, who had clubbed him with a rifle and then was trying to stab him with a bayonet. And I think you would appreciate this when I tell you that he said, "I know we're taught to pary the bayonet by shoving it aside." "But," he said, "you don't always think of that." [*Laughter*] And he said, "So I grabbed it and held it against him." And in the sawing effort to get it loose, his left arm was totally disabled. But what I loved most of all was—he had been shot, remember, four times when this happened—he said to me, "That's when I got mad." [*Laughter*]

Well, the proclamation that we celebrate today about the strength that the Hispanic people have given to this country—all of this is based on the strength of character which I spoke of earlier. Recognizing this, I am proud to have proclaimed this "National Hispanic Heritage Week." In doing so, I hope that all Americans will reflect on how lucky we are to have such a wonderful people as a part of our country and a part of ourselves.

I could confess something, and my people of my own background wouldn't hold it against me: I think that if the country were just left to us Anglos, it would be kind of dull. [*Laughter*]

Thank you all very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

United States Ambassador to Nigeria

Nomination of Thomas R. Pickering. September 17, 1981

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas R. Pickering, of New Jersey, to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He would succeed Stephen Low.

Mr. Pickering entered the Foreign Service in 1959 as intelligence research specialist in the Department of State, and was political officer (Test Ban Treaty) in Geneva on detail to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1961–64. He attended Swahili language training at the Foreign Service Institute in 1964–65. In 1965–67 he was principal officer in Zanzibar, and Deputy Chief of Mission in Dar es Salaam in 1967–69. In the Department of State, he was Deputy Director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs (1969–73), and Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Executive Secretary of the Department (1973–74). In 1974–78 he was Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs in the Department in 1978–81.

Mr. Pickering graduated from Bowdoin College (A.B., 1953); Fletcher School of Law (M.A., 1954); and the University of Melbourne (M.A., 1956). He served in the United States Navy in 1956–59. He is married, has two children, and resides in Rutherford, N.J. He was born November 5, 1931, in Orange, N.J.

Mississippi River Commission

Nomination of Rickey Dale James To Be a Member. September 17, 1981

The President today announced his intention to nominate Rickey Dale James to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission for a term of 9 years. He would succeed Wilmer R. Hall.

Mr. James is a self-employed farmer and manager of cotton gins and grain elevators for the A.C. Riley Co. Since 1972, he has worked with various levee and drainage boards in Missouri and was employed with the Kentucky Department of Water Resources engineering office while attending the University of Kentucky in 1971.

He graduated from the University of Kentucky with a degree in civil engineering in 1971. Mr. James is married, has two children, and resides in New Madrid, Mo. He was born January 29, 1948, in Fulton County, Ky.