Chapter 5

Immigration After World War II, 1945–1998

WHEN WORLD WAR II ENDED in 1945, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and several other patriotic groups called for a ban on immigration for five to ten years. However, Congress passed legislation to bring 205,000 displaced Europeans to our shores within three years; added to that figure in 1950; and continued to increase the numbers of immigration permits, rather than restrict them, during the next four decades. Despite the narrow McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which essentially reiterated American beliefs in the 1924 policies established by the Johnson-Reed Act, special legislation to aid individual groups in dire circumstances characterizes the Congresses of the past five decades. The new policies reflected a more liberal and generous spirit in American society, but they also represented a response to communist expansion and the sense of Christian obligation that many Americans felt required us to provide a refuge for those escaping from tyranny. Not to be overlooked as an element in this change is the strength of ethnic lobbying organizations. Before World War II these groups shied away from opposing the views of patriotic organizations, but in 1946 they recognized that favorable legislation would come about only through petitioning and influencing Congress. Then special-interest legislation, and a completely revised immigration bill in 1965, worked their way into the statute books.

But before legislation could be passed the temper of the country had to change. Anti-Semitism peaked in 1945–1946, then began to subside. The changed perception of minorities was aided by a popular Hollywood film, *The House I Live In*, in which Frank Sinatra made a plea for tolerance in 1945; the publication of books like Laura Z. Hobson's *Gentleman's Agreement* and Carey McWilliams's *A Mask for Privilege*, which exposed the depth of anti-Semitic feelings in this country; the Supreme Court's decision to outlaw restrictive covenants in housing; President Harry S. Truman's 1948 proposal for a civil rights program; and increased American prosperity.

Postwar public opinion polls, for example, indicated that fewer Christians believed Jews to be greedy, dishonest, or unscrupulous; and overt anti-Semi-

tism, so common in the 1930s, became less frequent and less respectable. Accompanying the drop in prejudicial attitudes toward Jews was the decline of social and economic discrimination. Universities and professional schools eliminated Jewish quotas, and business firms that had been averse to hiring Jews modified their policies. Changes in major corporations and law firms came slowly. A symbolic landmark was established in December 1973, when E.I. du Pont, the world's largest chemical company, chose Irving S. Shapiro, the son of east European Jewish immigrants, as its president and chief executive officer.

Another persistent theme in American history, anti-Catholicism, also subsided after World War II. Conflict between Protestants and Catholics continued over aid to parochial schools, a proposed American ambassador to the Vatican, the relations of church and state, publicly sponsored birth control clinics, and abortion. But the deep emotional strife of the past eased greatly. The ecumenical movement of postwar society brought Protestants, Catholics, and Jews together in new areas of cooperation. In this same spirit Pope Paul VI visited the United States in 1965, conducted a prayer service before 70,000 people in New York's Yankee Stadium, and received a warm welcome. In 1979 and 1987 the charismatic Pope John Paul II made similar tours and met with even more enthusiastic receptions.

While decreasing anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism were essential for the enactment of new immigration legislation, the laws, which made possible the admission of many Asians and blacks from the Caribbean, would not have been possible without a decline in racial prejudice. While Chinese and Japanese immigrants had been scorned and were the first ethnic groups to be banned, they found growing acceptance in post-World War II America. Educational and employment opportunities began to open up for their children, and by the middle of the 1960s many state legislatures had outlawed racial discrimination. The most far-reaching of these measures came at the height of the civil rights movement. In 1964 Congress banned discrimination in public accommodations, education, and employment; it then passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, permitting all adult Americans to register to vote.

The decline of prejudice can be explained by several factors. The fear of divided loyalties that was so potent in World War I and, to a lesser extent, in World War II did not materialize during the Cold War. Prejudice is also strongly correlated with levels of income, religious intensity, and education. As incomes and education increased and as religion became less of a commitment and more of a social identification, tolerance grew. Education did not guarantee the end of prejudice, but there is no doubt that rising levels served to dampen the fires of bigotry. A highly educated public seemed more

willing to accept ethnic differences. At the same time, minority members of European and Asian groups absorbed the dominant values of society as they went though the public schools, state colleges, and universities. Finally, as a result of the immigration laws of the 1920s, the nation had achieved a general balance of ethnic groups. The fears of old-stock Americans that hordes of aliens might undermine American traditions and destroy existing institutions declined. The foreign-born percentage of the population steadily decreased from about one seventh in the 1920s to less than one twentieth by the 1970s. America was becoming a more homogenized nation as the grandchildren of Asian and European immigrants came to be indistinguishable from one another or, indeed, from those whose ancestors came here before the American Revolution.

The abatement of ethnic conflict and the general prosperity of post-World War II America created a climate suitable for the modification of the severe immigration acts. First Congress opened the doors to the families of GIs by passing the War Brides Act of 1945, which enabled 120,000 wives, husbands, and children of members of the armed forces to immigrate to the United States. Then it turned its attention to refugees. World War II caused enormous damage to homes and factories in cities and towns throughout Europe, and reshuffling of national boundaries left many people unable or unwilling to return to their native lands. Some had collaborated with the Nazis during World War II and feared retribution; others scorned the communists; still others could not endure going back and rebuilding their lives amid the ruins. As a first step in alleviating the problem President Truman issued a directive on December 22, 1945, requiring that, within existing laws, American consulates give preference to displaced persons in Europe. About 40,000 people benefited from this order before Congress abrogated it with the passage of the Displaced Persons (DP) Act of 1948. The legislation resulted from intensive lobbying on the part of a newly formed Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, which emphasized that 80 percent of the displaced persons were Christian. The DP Act won approval only after it had been mutilated by opponents of a liberal immigration policy. It was worded to favor agriculturists, exiles from the Baltic states, and those of Germanic origin. President Truman signed the bill reluctantly, denouncing the provisions that, as he put it, discriminated "in callous fashion against displaced persons of the Jewish faith." In 1950, after most of the Jewish refugees had gone to Israel, Congress amended the 1948 act and eliminated the offensive stipulations. Ultimately about 400,000 people arrived in the United States as a result of the two DP laws.

These acts only scratched the surface of the immigration problem. Postwar dislocations and the onset of the Cold War exacerbated the difficulties

of readjustment, and millions more still sought entry into the United States. To cope with the needs of these people, as well as to contain the voices of their friends and relatives in the United States who wanted immigration policies liberalized, in 1947 both houses of Congress established a committee to look into the question. Subcommittees carefully studied the old laws and the mass of rules, regulations, and proclamations governing immigration. Senators and representatives gathered data, heard testimony from 400 people and organizations, and then recommended that the basic national origins system remain intact. While rejecting theories of Nordic supremacy, the committee held, nonetheless, "that the peoples who made the greatest contribution to the development of this country were fully justified in determining that the country was no longer a field for further colonization and, henceforth, further immigration would not only be restricted but directed to admit immigrants considered to be more readily assimilable because of the similarity of their background to those of the principal components of our population." McCarran warned, "We have in the United States today hard-cored, indigestible blocs which have not become integrated into the American way of life but which, on the contrary, are our deadly enemies." The proposed legislation became the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952. It maintained the national origins system and strengthened security procedures.

The McCarran-Walter Act liberalized immigration in one area: it repealed the ban on Asian citizenship and granted nations in the Far East minimum annual quotas of 100 each. This was not a controversial change in 1952. During World War II, mainly because of foreign policy considerations, Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Acts, gave China a token annual allotment of 105 persons, and made Chinese immigrants eligible for citizenship. After the war Congress passed similar bills for natives of the Philippines and of India.

The removal of some restrictions against Asians did not mean the end of racism in immigration policy, for the 1952 act contained other discriminatory provisions. Those of European background born in the Western Hemisphere were eligible to come from their nations of birth, but Asians in similar circumstances were not. People with one Asian parent were charged to that parent's home country. Thus a person of Italian and English descent who was born in Mexico, which was a nonquota nation, could enter the United States easily, whereas a person of French and Japanese descent who was born in Mexico would be charged to the Japanese quota. The intent of Congress was clear: to admit few people of Asian heritage. The McCarran-Walter Act also set a quota of 100 for several of the West Indian nations. President Truman, who favored broadening immigration laws and eliminating

these provisions and the offensive national origins quotas, vetoed the bill, but Congress overrode his veto.

Within a year after the McCarran-Walter Act had become law, efforts were made to modify it. President Eisenhower wanted to admit more refugees, and in 1953 when the Displaced Persons Act expired Congress enacted the Refugee Relief Act, which admitted another 200,000 Europeans and a few hundred Asians. Passed at the height of the Cold War, the measure was meant to aid refugees as well as escapees from communist-dominated areas.

Liberals who wanted broad alterations in the law were disappointed, but Congress made a number of other changes during the 1950s and early 1960s along the lines of the Refugee Relief Act. After the abortive Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Congress passed a law that admitted another 29,000 refugees, chiefly Hungarians, but including Yugoslavians and Chinese. Some 31,000 Dutch Indonesians, another uprooted group, came in under a law passed the next year. The United Nations declared 1960 World Refugee Year and Congress responded with the Fair Share Law, which opened the doors of this country for more immigrants.

In addition to congressional actions, Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson used the executive powers they possessed under the existing immigration laws to relax restrictions. Thus 30,000 refugees entered after the 1956 Hungarian Revolution as parolees without visas, ineligible for permanent alien registration until Congress made them eligible. President Kennedy ordered the admission of thousands more, especially the Hong Kong Chinese and Cubans who sought refuge after Fidel Castro's seizure of power in 1959.

Additions to the basic immigration law made it possible for many to come who did not qualify under the quota system. In the early 1960s most immigrants were of this sort. By then the political climate was more conducive to immigration reform and not piecemeal action. In 1963 President Kennedy urged Congress to eliminate ethnic discrimination and the national origins system, which he insisted lacked "basis in either logic or reason. It neither satisfies a national need nor accomplishes an international purpose. In an age of interdependence among nations, such a system discriminates among applicants for admission into the United States on the basis of the accident of birth." After President Kennedy's death, President Johnson called on Congress to enact the Kennedy proposal. Following extensive hearings, a new immigration bill passed overwhelmingly in 1965. Designed to be fully effective in 1968, the act abolished the national origins quota system and made other modifications in immigration policy.

Although the national origins proviso disappeared, an overall limitation remained. Only 170,000 people, excluding parents, spouses, and minor chil-

dren of American citizens, were allowed to enter the United States from outside the Western Hemisphere. No nation in the Eastern Hemisphere was permitted to have more than 20,000 of this total, although immediate relatives were not counted. The United States still had a selective policy for immigrants, but now Congress put in place a preference system that favored family unification, occupational skills, and refugee status. Seventy-four percent of the slots were reserved for family members. Occupational visas accounted for 20 percent of the 1965 law's categories, and refugees received the smallest allotment.

Liberalization of the law for Asians and Europeans accompanied a shift in policy toward Canadians and Latin Americans. In the 1965 law Congress placed a limit—120,000—on immigration from the Western Hemisphere (immediate family members of U.S. citizens were exempt from the limit). The Johnson administration had not pressed for this restriction, but a majority in Congress feared the possibility of a massive increase in Latinos, especially Mexicans. The limitations were modified to admit Cuban refugees. Western Hemispheric immigration increased after 1965 and the Latino presence in the United States became more pronounced.

In the 1970s Congress added to the reforms begun in 1965 and shaped a worldwide uniform immigration policy. In 1976 Congress created a preference system for the Western Hemisphere and placed a 20,000 limit on all its nations, excluding immediate relatives of American citizens. This provision affected Mexico, which sent several times that number to the American Southwest annually in the early 1970s. Friends of Mexico said that the United States had a special relationship with its neighbor to the south and should make allowances, but Congress thought otherwise. The limit on Mexico helped other Latin American nations, however. Whereas Mexico had previously taken up about a third of the Western Hemisphere's overall quota, now other nations could increase their share. In 1978 Congress completed the reforms begun in 1965 when it created a worldwide ceiling of 290,000 quota places annually (not counting immediate family members of U.S. citizens) by combining the Western and Eastern Hemisphere totals; it also established a uniform preference system for all nations. This system reiterated clauses from the 1965 act that emphasized family unification, occupation, and refugees.

Congress also passed several other immigration acts after 1978. The Refugee Act of 1980 provided a regular system for refugee admissions and stipulated that the "normal flow" of refugees should be 50,000 annually. But like other limits on immigration, that number could be, and usually was, exceeded. In 1986 legislators gave amnesty to nearly 3 million illegal aliens, and finally in 1990 passed a law that increased immigration another 35 percent.

The changing policies of postwar America led to an increase in immigration compared with the rate during the lean depression years. Whereas only 528,000 people arrived in the 1930s and 120,000 during World War II, the numbers grew substantially after 1945. In 1978 they passed 600,000; they were averaging 600,000 annually in the 1980s. During the 1990s immigration reached an all-time high for a decade, with over 10 million people arriving from foreign lands. These figures do not include an estimated 275,000 undocumented immigrants arriving annually. The large increases in immigration meant that the proportion of the United States population that was foreign born also increased. Only 4.8 percent of Americans had been born abroad in 1970, but that figure increased to 9.3 percent in 1996. This was the highest percentage of immigrants in our population since 1930.

After World War II, Europeans at first dominated immigration flows. Many had experienced the horror of war, and they faced language barriers, shortages of funds and skills, and the culture shock of a new environment. Often they were discouraged about the chances of finding good jobs. "I knew I would have to start at the bottom of the employment ladder, but I had no idea that the bottom rung was so far underground," lamented one newcomer. Moreover, many DPs had been through the hardships of concentration-camp life, including malnutrition and physical torture, which made adjustment still more difficult. Those fleeing communism often escaped with only the clothes on their backs.

Yet these people had some advantages. Whether they were fleeing from communism or released from DP camps, the general climate was probably more friendly to immigrants than it had been at any other time in modern American history. A host of private organizations and governmental agencies stood ready to assist them. Jewish groups that had actively assisted refugees in the 1930s continued their efforts. The United Service for New Americans, formed in 1946, was especially helpful to Jewish DPs. Various other European ethnic and religious groups, as well as federal, state, and local governments, assisted still more. In 1957 Hungarians fleeing after the Russian army had crushed the Hungarian Revolution were flown in and quartered temporarily at Camp Kilmer in New Jersey. A federal program begun in 1960 and implemented by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare aided Cuban refugees; by 1980 over $1 billion had been spent on them. Later the Department helped the Chinese and the Vietnamese, among others. Often public and private agencies worked closely together to ease immigrant adjustment. Moreover, many refugees from communism found Americans sympathetic to their anticommunist views. By comparison, then, most newcomers probably experienced fewer problems than had nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigrants. Prior to the 1970s they

were fortunate too in coming during a period of relative prosperity after World War II, when jobs were available.

Although the enactment of special legislation enabled many southern and eastern Europeans to emigrate as refugees, expellees, or displaced persons, many came under the regular immigration laws, especially the 1965 act. American communities of Italians, Portuguese, and Greeks, among others, used the law to bring in their relatives.

Between 1960 and 1975 over 20,000 Italians arrived annually and settled in places where other Italians had gone, such as New York and New Jersey. They found not only friends and relatives who helped them secure jobs and housing but also churches, stores, and community organizations with familiar names. On the streets they heard their native tongue. After economic conditions improved in Italy in the 1970s fewer sought work in northern Europe or the United States. As a result, immigration from Italy fell off drastically after 1975; only 1,284 Italians arrived in 1995.

Portuguese too were aided by passage of the 1965 immigration act, though they were not as numerous as Italians. The act made their migration possible, and a military coup in 1974 provided a motive for many urban professionals, tradesmen, and entrepreneurs to leave, though a majority were not of the elite. Most émigrés left from Portugal, but a few came from the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in Africa. A few others were from the Cape Verde Islands, but Cape Verdians received their own quota upon the Islands' independence in the 1970s; about 1,000 of these Portuguese speakers settled in the United States in 1995. Portuguese immigration averaged about 10,000 annually in the 1970s, but was only 2,611 in 1995. Newark, New Jersey was the largest center of new Portuguese immigrants. The "Ironbound" district, as it was called, consisted of run-down shops and factories when the Portuguese began to arrive in the 1960s. Because of its size, many documented and undocumented Portuguese settled there. As one alien put it, "We are totally invisible. No one knows about us. Being illegal is just a label that doesn't mean anything." The Ironbound's thriving community consisted of restaurants, shops, and homes for newcomers. "I thought I was still in Portugal," remarked one. Brazilians, who spoke Portuguese, began to settle there in the 1990s.

Greeks were a third European group to benefit from the 1965 law. Between 1960 and 1980, 170,000 Greek immigrants arrived, generally settling among compatriots in Chicago and New York City. In New York they headed for the Astoria section of the borough of Queens, and another 20,000 or so located in Chicago. A Hellenic American Neighborhood Action Committee began in New York in 1972 to help immigrants adjust in their new circumstances. Despite good educations many Greeks accepted menial jobs in restaurants, coffee shops, construction, and factories. But enterprising families refused to

stay at the bottom and soon purchased businesses of their own. In 1980 *Newsweek* asserted that the Greeks had all but "taken over [New York City] coffee shops."

The most dramatic impact of the 1965 Immigration Act was on Asia. In many of the years after 1965 Asians accounted for over 40 percent of the newcomers; about 6 million arrived between 1970 and 1995. Not even counting refugees, nations such as the Philippines, Korea, China, and India were among the top sending groups. While Korean immigration dropped somewhat in the 1990s, migration from the Philippines, India, Vietnam, and China remained strong. Table 5.1 gives the ten leading sources of immigration to the United States in 1995 and 1996.

The more than 16 million immigrants who arrived after 1970 settled in all parts of the United States, but about three quarters concentrated in the nation's four largest states: California, Texas, New York, and Florida; and two others, Illinois and New Jersey. Ellis Island is now a tourist attraction; today, most new arrivals come through airports. Los Angeles is the leading center for immigration, and New York is second. Mexicans and Central Americans simply come across the southwestern border. New York attracts many immigrants from the Caribbean, Europe, and Asia, while Los Angeles and California receive Latinos and Asians. Los Angeles was 72 percent Anglo in 1960, but by 1980 people of European ancestry comprised only 40 percent of the city's population. Indeed, as the twentieth century came to an end, the

Table 5.1 America's Recent Immigrants

Immigrants Admitted from the Top 10 Countries of Birth

Country of Admission	1996	1995
1. Mexico	163,572	89,932
2. Philippines	55,876	50,984
3. India	44,859	34,748
4. Vietnam	42,067	41,752
5. China, People's Republic	41,723	35,463
6. Dominican Republic	39,604	38,512
7. Cuba	26,466	17,937
8. Ukraine	21,079	17,432
9. Russia	19,668	14,560
10. Jamaica	19,089	16,398

SOURCE: Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook*

state of California was on the verge of seeing its European-origin population become a minority. By the late 1990s one third of New York City's population was foreign born, a figure similar to the high-water mark of the first decades of the twentieth century. New York City was truly a world city demographically. Table 5.2 shows the 30 most popular metropolitan areas for immigrant settlement.

The amazing diversity and demographic change were not limited to New York and Los Angeles. Miami housed many Cubans after 1960 and other Latinos after 1980. Arabs prayed five times a day in Dearborn, Michigan, and transformed many streets in that community into a Middle Eastern phantasmagoria. In New Jersey were many Indians, and along the Texas-Mexico border, Mexicans. Like ethnic groups before them, Muslims established summer camps for their children. One such camp in Pennsylvania made no bones about its intention to "relax the body" and "strengthen the belief." To counter views of other Americans about Islam and terrorism, banners in the dining room stated, "No to terrorism, yes to moderation." While California was known for its Asian and Latino population, in the San Diego area a small community of refugees from Somali appeared after 1991. Its section was called "little Mogadishu," after the capital of Somali.

If diversity has been part of the new immigration, another change in recent years is that so many of the new wave of immigrants are now living in the suburbs. In 1986 the Census Bureau reported that about half of the 4.7 million immigrants arriving between 1975 and 1985 had settled in suburban areas rather than in central cities. And they often lived among other Americans, not in ghettoes of their own ethnic groups. While the Asian population of New York City doubled in the 1970s, it tripled in the city's suburbs. In nearby Bergen County, New Jersey, an official suggested that the Asian population was growing even faster after 1980. A Japanese journalist who lived in prosperous Scarsdale, New York, remarked that the late-night commuter train from New York City was dubbed "the Orient Express," because so many Asian fathers were on it. Outside Los Angeles, Monterey Park became the nation's first Asian-American city or suburb. Sometimes called "Mandarin Park" by those who disliked the changing demography, it was over half Asian (mostly Chinese) in 1994 but had been 85 percent white in 1960.

Immigration will continue to be dominated by developing nations, at least in the near future. Knowledge about the United States is plentiful around the globe and so is the desire to emigrate. Commenting on the situation in Israel, one scholar noted, "Communications are dominated by the 'big eye' of television where the American influence is large, indeed almost inescapable." He noted that in nations throughout the world, "Millions share sleepless nights pondering the machinations and incredible complexities of the Ewings of

Table 5.2 Immigrants Admitted, by Top 30 Metropolitan Areas of Intended Residence, Fiscal Year 1996

Metropolitan Statistical Area	*Number*	*Percentage*
New York, N.Y.	133,168	14.5
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	64,285	7.0
Miami, Fla.	41,527	4.5
Chicago, Ill.	39,989	4.4
Washington, D.C.-Md.-Va.	34,327	3.7
Houston, Tex.	21,387	2.3
Boston-Lawrence-Lowell-Brockton, Mass.	18,726	2.0
San Diego, Calif.	18,226	2.0
San Francisco, Calif.	18,171	2.0
Newark, N.J.	17,939	2.0
Orange County, Calif.	17,580	1.9
Dallas, Tex.	15,915	1.7
Oakland, Calif.	15,759	1.7
Bergen-Passaic, N.J.	15,682	1.7
San Jose, Calif.	13,854	1.5
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	13,034	1.4
Detroit, Mich.	11,929	1.3
Jersey City, N.J.	11,399	1.2
Nassau-Suffolk, N.Y.	10,594	1.2
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, Wa.	10,429	1.1
Riverside-San Bernardino, Calif.	10,314	1.1
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	10,290	1.1
Atlanta, Ga.	9,870	1.1
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, N.J.	9,286	1.0
El Paso, Tex.	8,701	0.9
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.-Wis.	7,615	0.8
Sacramento, Calif.	6,953	0.8
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, Fla.	6,553	0.7
Honolulu, Hi.	6,553	0.7
Fort Worth-Arlington, Tex.	6,274	0.7
Total Immigrants Admitted to U.S.	915,900	100.0

SOURCE: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice

'Dallas'—in about as many tongues and accents as one could care to conjure. Blue jeans are the great leveler of the twentieth century, popular as much in Leningrad as in Louisville. Every man's dreams and expectations tend somehow to be spun out in Hollywood and on Madison Avenue rather than in centers closer to home." American movies were no less popular than TV, and in the 1990s French officials, among others, complained about what they believed to be the negative influence of Hollywood productions. Travelers from the United States were almost sure to find McDonald's fast-food restaurants in the major cities of the world. In 1997 the State Department announced that the backlog of people awaiting immigrant visas to the United States was nearly four million, with countries such as India, the Philippines, and Mexico topping the list.

Newcomers from Asia were radically changing the nation's Asian communities and having an impact on American demography. Except for the Japanese, immigrants accounted for the majority of the population of Asian-American communities in the United States. Whereas from 1951 to 1960 only 25,201 people entered the United States from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, during the next 35 years, over a million arrived. The impact of such immigration was potentially staggering when one realizes that fewer than 250,000 people of Chinese ancestry lived in the United States in 1960. While immigration from Taiwan fell after the mid-1980s, it rose from the People's Republic of China, and it is not known how many Chinese entered illegally. Smuggling rings that appeared in the 1980s brought in illegal workers from China for a hefty price. Once here they found themselves virtual indentured servants, forced to work 60 or more hours a week at low wages to pay off those who had smuggled them in. Moreover, the newcomers settled in a few American cities, such as San Francisco, New York, and Honolulu, substantially swelling the numbers already there. San Francisco's Chinatown more than doubled its population from 1952 to 1972, and New York City's Chinese population grew from 33,000 in 1960 to 300,000 in 1990. By 1980 New York's Chinese population was the nation's largest, living in the old Manhattan Chinatown and new settlements in the boroughs of Queens and Brooklyn. From 1990 to 1994 another 60,000 Chinese could be found in the city. The rapid influx strained housing. In the mid-1980s some experts estimated that nearly 2,000 new immigrants were searching monthly for apartments in New York City's Chinatown. In addition, restaurants and garment shops also sought Chinatown locations. The old Chinatown spread north into Little Italy and east into the famed Lower East Side, the home of tens of thousands of Europeans decades before. Capital to purchase housing for people and businesses came from Hong Kong, where uneasy investors feared the transfer of that colony's control from Great Britain to China,

which took place in 1997. As a result, commercial rents were higher in Chinatown than in most areas of the city.

The new Chinese immigrants had to face not only high-priced and crowded housing but also strained community facilities. In the 1970s and 1980s newspapers carried stories of conflicts between the old and the new Chinese, including violent gang and street fights. The nation's Chinatowns, which had won a reputation for their low crime rates, were now threatened by new violence.

Like earlier immigrants without language and labor skills, Chinese immigrants could be exploited. Even when they had mastered English, they had trouble finding work. One Chinese man described his parents' situation in a garment factory: "There [are] no vacations, no pensions; they just work and work all their lives. We're willing to work, but can't find [good] jobs." In 1972 an estimated 7,500 Chinese, most of them immigrants and many of them women, worked in 250 garment factories—virtual sweatshops in New York City's Chinatown—for wages as low as 65 and 75 cents an hour. A Labor Department administrator said these "employees" in Chinatown were one of the most exploited groups in the metropolitan area. While many of the new Chinese immigrants struggled to make ends meet in overcrowded urban neighborhoods, others located in suburbs or found housing in less congested areas. These were mostly well-educated professionals, part of the brain drain to the United States after World War II.

The scientific community of America was disproportionately foreign-born. From the end of World War II until the 1960s, scientists and engineers came to the United States, from Great Britain and Canada especially, and Germany was not far behind. Most of these immigrants found jobs in private industry, but a considerable number taught and did research in American universities. Many had originally come with a temporary visa or as students but elected to remain in this country.

In 1961 the foreign-born made up about 5 percent of the American population but 24 percent of the members of the National Academy of Sciences. The national Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel estimated in 1970 that 8 percent of the nation's professional scientists were born and had received their secondary educations abroad. Of the 43 American holders of Nobel Prizes in physics and chemistry up to 1964, 16 were of foreign origin. Of the 28 Americans receiving Nobel Prizes in medicine and physiology, 8 were foreign born.

The situation in medicine was similar as American hospitals increasingly became dependent upon immigrant physicians for their staffs. In 1950 only 5 percent of new medical licenses were granted to foreign graduates, but by 1961 this figure reached 18 percent. Ten years later, more immigrant doctors

came to America than were graduated that year by half of the nation's 120 medical schools. In New York City, where nearly 30 percent of foreign-born doctors settled, 70 to 80 percent of the residents and interns of some hospitals were immigrants. After changes in the law in 1976 the proportions began to decline. Even so, by the mid-1990s there were 28,000 Indian physicians practicing in the United States, and they comprised 10 percent of the nation's anesthesiologists.

While immigration laws and procedures favored the admission of scientists, engineers, and doctors from abroad, attractive conditions in America were also essential to lure them. A study done by the National Science Foundation in mid-1970 revealed several reasons for immigration. Many, such as the Cubans, disliked their political situations at home, and others were curious about life in America. Insufficient opportunities for research also drove some out. But above all, existing opportunities made the United States seem like the land of golden opportunity. Most of the newcomers cited a higher standard of living, lower taxes, and higher salaries as major factors inducing emigration. About half said that their salaries in America were at least twice what they would have been in their homeland.

Regardless of the educational and income levels of the new Chinese immigrants, there was one major difference between them and the Chinese who came before World War II: they lived in family-based societies rather than the old bachelor ones. The new Chinese immigrants arrived as families, and their new communities were family oriented. Women raised the children and labored outside of the home as well. Some were professionals while others worked alongside their husbands in the many restaurants and small shops. Thus Chinese immigration and settlement patterns began to resemble those of so many European immigrants.

The Philippines sent even more immigrants to America than did Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China, and ranked second only to Mexico in immigration to the United States after 1960. Between 1960 and 1995, 1.3 million Filipinos arrived. Filipino women married to American servicemen, stationed in the Philippines until the bases closed in 1992, accounted for some of this migration. But the Philippines as a former American colony was highly Americanized. English was spoken by educated Filipinos, and many of the nurses and doctors had received training in universities that used American technology. Mostly an urban middle class, many medical professionals headed for the United States to utilize their training. In the late 1970s it was estimated that more than 9,000 Filipino physicians lived in America, compared to about 13,000 in the Philippines. Filipino nurses were crucial for the operation of many American urban hospitals.

These men and women came in family groups, unlike the migration be-

fore 1940, and settled mostly on the West Coast. A high proportion of the women went to work for pay, and as result Filipino-American family incomes were higher than the American average. Like so many other immigrants, they read ethnic newspapers catering to them and worried about the struggle for democracy and economic development in their homeland. They also joined ethnic organizations; but Filipinos, because of their fluent English and high levels of education, did not form ethnic ghettoes. Unlike most other Asian groups, they were apt to intermarry during their first decades in the United States.

More noticeable than Filipinos but fewer in numbers were Koreans. They received attention because of conflicts with African Americans and because they were at the center of the Los Angeles riots of 1992, which destroyed many of their businesses. Few Koreans lived in the United States before 1950. Then came a few students, a few businessmen, and—after the Korean War ended in 1953—wives of American servicemen. The Korean War had an impact on Korean society, for the penetration of American culture triggered immigration, especially after 1950. Koreans learned of our country from the wives of American servicemen and from students, many of whom remained in America after completing their educations. Korean newspapers also told of life here; in 1976 one series of articles was published as a book, *Day and Night of Komericans*, which became a best-seller. However, knowledge was one thing, the law was another; not until the 1965 immigration reform act was it possible for many Koreans to emigrate. First came doctors and nurses, and once they were settled they sent for their relatives.

The 1990 census counted just under 800,000 Koreans, most of whom had arrived since 1960. The largest community was in Los Angeles, but there were also important Korean populations in New York City and Chicago. Many economically successful Koreans, such as medical professionals, lived in the suburbs. Koreans in Los Angeles mixed with other groups, including Mexicans, Samoans, and Chinese, but the city had a Koreatown and the Koreans themselves had a rich community life. For Koreans an important institution was the church. Because so many were Protestants, they affiliated with Presbyterian and Methodist congregations, but they also began to hold separate services. In 1985, the First United Methodist Church of Flushing, in Queens, New York City, had only 30 members in its English-speaking congregation but 450 in its Korean congregation. In many suburbs, where the more prosperous Koreans lived, Koreans held services in their language, even though many of them spoke English well.

Koreans also formed business associations to assist their many economic enterprises. No other immigrant group so easily found a niche in small business. In the 1970s they were successful in running small grocery and vegetable stores in predominately black neighborhoods, replacing Jewish and

Italian merchants. In the 1980s and 1990s they branched out and opened nail salons, dry cleaners, and liquor stores. The immigrants running these shops were often college-educated men and women who worked long hours while keeping their stores open late at night. Korean businesses were especially noticeable in New York City and Los Angeles, but they also moved into declining neighborhoods in cities like Newark, New Jersey. El Paso, Texas had only one Korean store in 1982; three years later thirty more were reported. In that Texas city, as elsewhere, Koreans quickly earned a reputation for successful merchandising. As one El Paso merchant put it, "They're moving in like crazy—it seems every space that's available, they take it. They're very hard-working and industrious."

Urban Korean merchants in predominately black areas found themselves in the midst of growing conflicts. Some black residents claimed that the Koreans insulted them, would not hire them, and did little to help the local community. Black groups organized boycotts of Korean stores, forcing several to close and leading to violence in a few cases. But no one predicted the upheaval that occurred in Los Angeles in 1992. When a white jury refused to convict white police officers of beating a black man—an event broadcast on television—blacks and Latinos in the city erupted. Korean stores in the ghettoes were attacked and more than 2,300 were destroyed, resulting in $350 million worth of damage. Although community leaders tried to patch up the differences and bring groups together, many Korean merchants refused to reopen their stores; they blamed the police for inadequate protection.

Korean immigration to the United States had been declining before 1992, and it continued to fall. However, the Korean economic crisis of 1997 prompted a renewed interest in emigration. Some Korean Americans expressed shame and shock. One remarked, "We thought we were doing so well. Now all of sudden for nothing, there is no money in the bank. . . . I feel so, so, embarrassed, and so annoyed—very mixed." Answering the Korean Association of New York's appeal to send money home, men and women lined up in Korean-owned banks to transfer money to relatives in Korea.

Like the Koreans, few Indians from Asia lived in the United States before 1950, but after that date their numbers grew rapidly, with over 800,000 Indians reported in the 1990 census. Although they settled in most regions of the country, the largest contingent could be found in the New York City area, especially across the Hudson River in New Jersey, and in California. A majority of the first Indians were men who soon afterward began to send for their wives and families. Of the nation's newcomers, these Indians had the highest incomes, much higher than the general national average. The educated elite did well economically in professional positions, as did others who went into business. One of the most successful was the newsstand conces-

sion run by Indians for New York City's Transit Authority. Others purchased service stations, but the most notable businesses were motels, many run by Indians with the surname Patel. By 1985 an estimated 80 percent of California's independent motels were operated by Indians. They then branched out and won the concessions for over a quarter of the Days Inn chain motels. One wag labeled these "Potels."

Indians spoke English and were generally not ghettoized. They often lived near their places of work: universities, hospitals, and corporations. Because they were so highly educated and taught in colleges and universities, there were often a few Indian families in places such as Middlebury and Burlington, Vermont, where IBM located a major establishment. Another IBM facility in Boulder, Colorado, employed Indians, as did high-tech industries on the West Coast. Indians formed their own organizations, and were bound together as Sikhs and Hindus. Among some groups, ethnic identity was maintained within the larger Indian community. Bengalis began to hold their own cultural events and publish a magazine. One leader remarked of the annual conference, "The struggle now is to make sure that this second generation, which was raised in America and sees itself as very American, rightly so, does not lose touch with its language and its music."

If Indians represent the elite of the new immigrants, Vietnamese refugees are at the other end of the spectrum. Many, after enduring horrendous hardships, arrived in the United States with few skills, no English, and little knowledge of American culture. They came in several waves, the first being those who were airlifted from Saigon after it fell to the communists in the spring of 1975. Others crossed into Thailand or fled by ship; they were known as "boat people." About 170,000 eventually ended up in the United States. In 1978 a new crisis developed as communists tightened their control over members of the business class, many of whom were ethnic Chinese. As the crisis spread to Laos and Cambodia, endangered Hmong hill tribesmen who had fought against the communists with the backing of the CIA sought refuge in Thai camps. The bloodbath of Pol Pot's Cambodian Khmer Rouge government sent shock waves through the world. Over a million were killed, and thousands of Cambodians fled across the border. In the 1980s the United States and Vietnam agreed upon an "Orderly Departure Program" to process directly relatives of those who had already settled in the United States. In addition, a law passed by Congress created a program for the children fathered by American servicemen and Vietnamese mothers to come to the United States. Many had no knowledge of their fathers and some were abandoned by their mothers. The refugee flow began to slow in the mid-1990s after the United States had received over one million people from the former Indochina.

The federal government processed the first wave through camps set up in army bases. There officials and voluntary workers attempted to help refugees adjust to their new lives. The government also attempted to scatter the newcomers, but the effort was only partly successful. Many Vietnamese favored southern California and moved there as soon as they could. Yet a substantial number ended up in Texas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and other states as well.

Who were these Asian refugees to America, and how did they fare in their new land? In the first wave, arriving in 1975, many were urban, well educated, knew English, and had formed close ties to the United States' efforts in South Vietnam by working with American armed forces or for American corporations. Some had been officials or military officers in the South Vietnamese government. Among the second wave, coming as part of the large exodus from Indochina in 1978 through the early 1980s, were ethnic Chinese who frequently owned small businesses in the cities. These middle-class people often settled in America's Chinatowns rather than near other East Asians. Included too in this influx were Vietnamese businesspeople and those who had worked for the United States and the government of South Vietnam before 1975. Although a predicted bloodbath did not take place when the communists took over, these people were harassed by the new regime and their old ways of livelihood destroyed. Others in this wave were a large number of desperate people from Laos and Cambodia, many peasants uprooted by the constant fighting. Hmong tribesmen frequently were illiterate farmers who lacked urban skills and experience.

Regardless of their backgrounds, all Vietnamese refugees faced problems in their new land, including racism that erupted into public hostility and even violence. In Philadelphia, Denver, New Orleans, New York, and Seadrift, Texas, refugees encountered chilly receptions. The most newsworthy violent episode pitted Vietnamese fishermen against white Texans. Some refugees who entered in 1975 settled along the Texas Gulf Coast to engage in shellfishing. Unfamiliar with American regulations and customs about fishing for shrimp and crabs, immigrants used smaller boats than did Americans and did not always follow established rules and procedures. Tempers flared as prices for shrimp and crabs remained low and fuel prices were high in 1978 and 1979. One American complained, "There's too many gooks and too few blue crabs. The government gives them loans and houses but doesn't care about us. Who's gonna protect our rights? The Vietnamese are gonna take over, it just isn't right." In the summer of 1979, an American trapper was killed during a fight between native whites and refugees. Although the Vietnamese were arrested and indicted, tensions remained high when they were acquitted of murder charges.

Ugly episodes of racism and violence during the 1980s victimized other

groups too. In Washington, D.C. arsonists fire-bombed 11 Korean stores in a two-year period; in one incident a Korean woman was killed. In Philadelphia, Koreans reported a rise in thefts committed openly. In a Detroit bar, unemployed and angry automobile workers beat Vincent Chin, a Chinese American, to death. Asian Americans were incensed when the defendants were sentenced to only three years' probation and a $3,780 fine. These occurrences were by no means isolated. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1986 that there was a 62 percent increase in anti-Asian incidents from 1984 to 1985. In Los Angeles County in 1986 violence against Asians accounted for half of the racial incidents, compared to only 15 percent the year before.

While the rapid growth of racial violence was troubling, most refugees did not experience it. Their most acute problems included lack of English, lack of familiarity with American ways, and little or no capital. Federal government programs, along with aid from church and community groups, helped many of the newcomers become self-sufficient, and by the 1990s some of the first wave of refugees was on the way to becoming successful in the new land. In Chicago, Vietnamese immigrants revived the once economically depressed Argyle Street. Within ten years of their arrival they operated fifty shops in this "Little Saigon." A city alderman remarked of their success, "The change has been astronomical. No one used to dare go there after 5 P.M. and now there is a real night life."

Ten years after appearing on the scene, these refugees also began to make their mark academically. The media publicized stories of Vietnamese arriving penniless with no knowledge of English and winning academic awards a short time later. In 1984 one such refugee, Chi Luu, became the valedictorian of his graduating class at The City College of the City University of New York. Two years after that, Hoang Nhu Tran became the second Vietnamese immigrant to graduate from the Air Force Academy and the first to be named a Rhodes Scholar for two years' study at Oxford University, England. The son of a high-ranking Vietnamese air force officer, he had fled in 1975 to the United States.

For the boat people and others who arrived in the 1980s the picture was not as bright. Many had survived horrendous conditions at sea and malnutrition in refugee camps. Moreover, many were poorly educated; some of the Laotians were not even literate in their own language. Uprooted by constant fighting and emotionally drained by refugee camp living, they lacked the knowledge and means to adapt readily to American ways. The cultural gap was deep. An official working with the Hmong people relocated in Montana observed that they had never encountered freeways, food stamps, checkbooks, or birth control pills. He explained, "This is like Disneyland to them. It's like us going to Mars and starting over again."

Although most refugees came as families or were able to reunite with their

loved ones within a few years, it was not always possible to do so. One quarter of Cambodian families were headed by women. Their husbands had been killed or had been lost trying to escape to Thailand. For these women, with little education and only an elementary knowledge of English, life was hard. Social workers reported that they had an especially difficult time adjusting to the United States. They knew little English, and they were reluctant to go out. "When I go out," explained one, "some people ask me lots of questions and I can't answer enough." Some had been raped during their escapes, which added to their fears of leaving their apartments. Thus, in addition to the problems they faced economically, many experienced mental health difficulties. Low-paying jobs often lacked health insurance; this made welfare a necessity to keep Medicaid benefits. Because their children were learning English in the schools, women had to rely upon them to interpret and explain American ways. For some, such reliance was a loss in status and proved embarrassing as well when questions were asked about birth control. The jobs they found were low-paying and in the service sector. Cambodians, for example, found a niche in California's Dunkin' Donuts shops, even though few if any had ever heard of donuts in Asia. Government officials worried that Cambodians, Hmong, and even some Vietnamese would become a permanent dependent class. Surveys after 1980 reported high rates of welfare, although they also revealed that the longer the refugees remained here the more likely they were to learn English, find jobs, and become self-sufficient. No doubt the first wave, with their higher status, would help the newest Asian immigrants adjust, but only time would tell the final stories of the refugees.

In the 1980s and 1990s the numbers of several new groups of Asians coming to the United States increased. Among them were Thais, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis. Some of the first Thais were women married to American servicemen who were stationed in Thailand during the Vietnam War. Then came some medical professionals. Bangladeshis benefited from a lottery provision of the immigration laws, begun as a temporary measure in 1986 and made part of the 1990 immigration act. This provision reserved several thousand visas for people who came from nations that had sent few immigrants to the United States after passage of the 1965 immigration act. Those receiving visas were determined by a lottery in which names were selected at random. The largest Bangladeshi community was reported to be in New York City, with smaller settlements in New Jersey, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. From 1985 to 1995 annual immigration from that county increased from 1,146 to over 6,000. While some of the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis were professionals, others had to begin at whatever jobs they could. Members of both groups drove taxis, opened restaurants, and ran small newspaper shops. The number of Asian restaurants in American cities

increased geometrically, and diners were no longer limited to Chinese and Japanese establishments. Although Pakistanis formed their own organizations, they also affiliated with America's growing Muslim population. Some experts think that Muslims may one day overtake Jews behind Protestants and Catholics among America's religious groups. Like Indians, Pakistanis became shopkeepers. In New York City Pakistan Day festivals were held; Pakistan had moved up to eighteenth on the list of countries sending immigrants to America. Their communities were relatively small but growing, and given the family unification system provided for in immigration laws, they had the potential for future expansion.

While the number of East Asians grew substantially after 1965, increases were also recorded from the Middle East. Following the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, many fled to the United States, some entering as refugees and others as regular immigrants. A good number of these people were professionals and entrepreneurs who found that their livelihoods were threatened in Iran. Some were Jews who feared persecution. In California and elsewhere Iranians utilized their skills, became self-employed, or worked as professionals. Many were fortunate to know English and were relatively successful. The Iranians of Los Angeles located in Beverly Hills and Brentwood, two of the city's most affluent neighborhoods. This group was active in construction and some, like the Ersa Grae firm, built shopping centers and subdivisions in several states.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980 triggered another wave of refugees. As the war dragged on thousands of Afghanis fled to neighboring Pakistan; authorities estimated their number to be 3 million. The United States supported those fighting the Soviets and at the same time recognized that assistance would have to be granted to the unfortunate refugees. Those who entered without proper papers had a difficult time convincing the government they were entitled to asylum, but eventually several thousand were admitted annually as refugees in the 1980s. Their numbers began to decline when the Soviets ended the war, and only 616 refugees were accepted in 1995. Afghanis came to a nation that had few of their compatriots, and most who came before 1979 were highly educated. The newest refugees had diverse backgrounds. A few opened restaurants, but they became better known for operating fried chicken stands. "It's like Koreans with markets," remarked one. "When one starts, he gives jobs to friends and they get started in the same business."

Another Middle Eastern migration consisted of Armenians, who also headed for Los Angeles. When they began to arrive, the city scrambled for residents who spoke Armenian to teach in the public schools. A survey of Armenians in Los Angeles discovered that over 90 percent spoke Armenian

at home, a higher figure for language maintenance than other Middle Easterners. But like generations of other immigrants before them, the children were learning English and no longer speaking their parents' language at home.

Turks were another group whose migration grew after 1965, although they averaged only 3,500 in the 1990s. One center of settlement was New York City, in the Sunnyside section of the borough of Queens. Most Turks were secular Muslims, but some followed conservative teachings. In the United States they found themselves living among some of Turkey's traditional enemies, Armenians and Greeks, some even working at Greek-owned gas stations. In one New York school, a Turkish-speaking counselor was brought in for parent-teacher conferences and to assist in expanding the curriculum to include Turkish folk tales, music, and dance.

Israel, traditionally a country receiving immigrants, continued to do so after the fall of European communism at the end of the 1980s. Many Russian Jews then went to Israel. At the same time, Israelis emigrated, both legally and illegally, to the United States. American culture thoroughly penetrated Israel. Israelis saw American television and movies, and many had friends or relatives already in the United States before they emigrated. The immigrants usually spoke English and were often well educated; of all the Middle Easterners Israelis were most apt to know English. That and the fact that many were highly educated gave them an advantage in the United States. Whether living in New York City, Los Angeles, or Chicago, Israelis did well. In Los Angeles, for example, of all the Middle Easterners, Israelis had the highest earnings.

Israelis, Turks, Armenians, and Iranians speak different languages and come from diverse cultures, but even many of the Arabic-speaking immigrants had little in common. The wars in the Middle East between Israel and her neighbors served as a catalyst for migration, as did the bitter civil war in Lebanon. Thus Palestinians, Lebanese, Jordanians, and Syrians left. Chaldeans, a Christian group from Iraq, settled in Detroit where they were small shopkeepers. Many Palestinians purchased small stores in California. A Palestinian estimated in the mid-1980s that his ethnic group ran about half of San Francisco's groceries. Like so many other "mom and pop" immigrant shops, these were businesses where the whole family worked. In Los Angeles, the men ran laundries and the women hair salons. As refugees, Palestinians also included many professionals little concerned with the turmoil in the Middle East. They shared one trait in common with other Arabs and Middle Easterners: the desire to maintain their culture.

Black immigrants found that particular parts of the new immigration pol-

icy allowed them to enter the United States in growing numbers. African immigration grew slowly after World War II, but civil strife made it possible for some to come as refugees. Some were Asians who found the new regimes threatening. Such was the case for Indians living in Uganda in the 1970s. About 70,000 fled or were compelled to leave; most went to England or Canada, but several thousand others settled in the United States, where they became part of the Indian migration. Some whites left Africa as well, but most African immigrants were black. Ethiopians left after a Marxist revolution there in 1974. Ethiopians also had reasons other than politics to concern them. A dreadful famine prominently displayed on television in the mid-1980s made many grieve for their countrymen. "It's in the back of our minds all the time," said Bishop Paulos Yohannes of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of the Savior. "Every time you eat, you see them." Another group of refugees were Somalians arriving in the 1990s. An estimated 20,000 came after 1991, with 12,000 settling in the cold climate of Minneapolis. Many worked in the food processing jobs that were available. Mostly Muslim, they organized their own mosques, wore traditional clothing, and tried to maintain their culture. They frowned on women working outside the home. If working in the cold climate of Minnesota seemed unusual, so did the fact that other Africans found employment on the ski slopes of Colorado.

Unlike most other new immigrants, African men outnumbered women. Often African migrants were well-educated professionals who found jobs in American hospitals and in universities, teaching such subjects as economics. One journalist found fifty-five Nigerians employed in a single New York City hospital. Elite Nigerians formed their own professional groups, yet not all new immigrants were professionals, nor did professionals find life easy at first. They were willing to take low-paying jobs to get started, and they saved their money to bring their families to the United States. Others had menial positions because they lacked immigration papers. When hearing of another who was slain, one Senegalese livery cab driver observed, "I am scared but I can't do anything else. I have no choice. I have no green card. That's why I drive a cab." Some became entrepreneurs selling goods on American streets; on rainy days they appeared from almost nowhere to sell umbrellas. Like Jewish peddlers of old, they fanned out across the United States to sell their wares in St. Louis, Detroit, Atlanta, and Chicago. One individual noted, "The average African who leaves his mom and dad and leaves his continent—that is a risk-taker. They are Christopher Columbuses. They come here with a suitcase, and they end up with a home. They make life from nothing."

Their numbers are certain to grow, at least in the near future. The 1990 pro-

vision for "diversity visas" gave Africa a sizable share of that category. In addition, in 1998 President Bill Clinton increased the refugee allotment from Africa to 12,000. Along with refugees and family members exempt from the quotas, Africans were averaging well over 20,000 annually in the 1990s. This new immigration was diversifying black America. The newcomers spoke different languages, were mostly Muslim, had their own cultural institutions, and distanced themselves from native-born African Americans.

English-speaking West Indians also added a new dimension to black America. As before World War II, immigrants from the Bahamas went to Florida, and Jamaicans and Guyanese settled in New York City. Other cities that received these immigrants were Philadelphia, Hartford, and Washington, D.C. The Hartford community was originally formed by farm workers who picked apples and tobacco in the Connecticut River Valley. Immigration laws made it possible for West Indian women to take the lead in moving to the United States. Using the occupational preferences, they came as nurses and as child care workers. Some were single but others, once established, petitioned to have their families join them. West Indian women had one of the highest labor force participation rates of all the ethnic groups. Their fluency in English also made it possible for many to find white-collar clerical work in American cities. The men had a reputation for running their own small-scale businesses, such as shops catering to the immigrants or livery services, which in New York City took subway tokens as payment. Most of the men and women were not independent entrepreneurs, however. Because of the existence of so many two-wage earning families, they had incomes above those of native-born black Americans. Yet they still encountered the same racism. Many people believe that white Americans favor West Indians because of their reputation as hard workers. As a result some West Indians did not wish to be identified with African Americans, or as one said, "Since I have been here, I have always recognized that this is a racist country and I have made every effort not to lose my accent."

These new immigrants often returned home periodically or permanently. But as so many settled in the United States they formed organizations built around their economic needs and culture. Cricket was played in places were West Indians congregated, and shops sold food such as curried goat. Each island differed, and West Indians did not necessarily believe that they were part of a larger West Indian culture. Although these immigrants spoke English, newspapers such as the *New York Carib News*, dedicated to their particular needs, began publication. In Brooklyn in the late 1940s West Indians began holding a parade that celebrated their traditions. Repeated every Labor Day, by the 1990s it had become the largest ethnic parade in the nation, drawing over one million people to see the pageantry, hear West Indian

music, and eat ethnic food. Like an earlier generation of West Indians, the latest newcomers began to naturalize and move into politics. By the 1980s they were beginning to elect their fellow countrymen to political office in New York City. The prospects for influence in New York were relatively good, for foreign-born blacks made up over one quarter of the city's black population of two million.

French and Creole speakers from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Haiti joined the Caribbean flow. The largest group by far was from Haiti but their reception in the United States was considerably different from that of Jamaicans, Guyanese, or Barbadians. These mostly Creole-speaking migrants fled the dictatorial regime of the Duvalier family and a wretched economy, which made Haiti the poorest country in the Caribbean. The elite left first, but by the 1970s desperate Haitians unable to obtain immigrant visas were boarding rickety boats and heading for Florida. Once in the United States they took any jobs they could find. In Miami, where many of them settled, they were often scorned as another poor immigrant group. If caught they could be deported as illegal aliens. Haitians and their supporters among civil rights and religious groups insisted that they were refugees and entitled to asylum, much like Cubans. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 granted asylum to those who arrived before 1982, but before that act passed the United States government rejected their contention that they were refugees and, beginning during the Reagan administration, intercepted Haitian boats at sea and returned them to Haiti. In 1992 presidential candidate Bill Clinton criticized Republicans for this policy, but he continued it after he was elected. Then the government sent some Haitians to the American Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba to await a resolution of their situation. Quarrels over their HIV status complicated the issue, but some Haitians were admitted. In 1994 President Clinton ordered an invasion of Haiti, both to restore democracy and to stem the Haitian exodus. The president warned that unless democracy was restored tens of thousands of Haitians would head toward the United States. These actions drastically slowed the exodus. In late 1998 President Bill Clinton and Congress agreed to allow thousands of Haitians illegally in the United States to adjust their status to legal immigrants.

While Asians, Middle Easterners, Caribs, and Latinos were the major beneficiaries of changing immigration policy after 1960, some Europeans also benefited. During the Cold War the United States granted refugee status to Poles and Soviets who managed to leave. They lost this opportunity when the Cold War ended, but Poles were able to gain admission by using the lottery. The Soviet Union permitted many Jews to leave in the late 1970s, but when Congress passed a law tying increased trade to Russia with a relaxation of that country's emigration policies, the Soviets responded by tightening re-

strictions. Of those who managed to get out during the 1970s many were well-trained professionals. They settled in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, and New York. So noticeable was their presence in the Brighton Beach section of Brooklyn that the area earned the nickname "Little Odessa."

After communism collapsed in the Soviet Union, its people were once again permitted to leave. The U.S. Congress passed the Lautenberg amendment in 1989 declaring that all Jews, along with some Armenians and Pentecostal Christians, should be considered refugees. As a result, in the next 6 years about 300,000 people came to America from Russia and the Ukraine. Police complained that the new immigrants were used to corruption and tyranny, being from a place "where to cheat the state, to evade the law, is a heroic deed." While some newcomers got into trouble with the law, others struggled to learn English and begin life anew.

When economic conditions improved in Ireland during the late 1960s and 1970s, few wanted to leave. After the economy turned down, however, the Irish discovered that the 1965 immigration law curtailed the number of visas available to them. Thus many of them entered the United States illegally, settling in Boston, New York, and Chicago, where men worked in construction and women as child care helpers. *The Irish Voice*, a newspaper devoted to the concerns of these "New Irish," carried numerous want ads for child care. Congress responded to the pressure of Irish groups and provided a lottery in 1986. Applications poured in from Ireland, and Irish immigrants won 40 percent of the slots. The lottery was made permanent in 1990, with 40 percent of visas reserved for Ireland for a 3-year period. As a result many of the "New Irish" legalized their status. From 1992 to 1996, 95 percent of Irish immigrants to New York entered on visas won in the lottery. In the bars of their communities the Irish brogue and familiar Old World music could be heard. In these new neighborhoods one could purchase "Irish chocolates, Irish sausages, Irish brown bread and Irish Beer."

The latest European immigrants came at a time when people of European ancestry were mixing in ways not dreamed of by their grandparents. While not as impressive in numbers as immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, they added to America's ethnic diversity. Black America was being changed by the new immigration. In 1940 less than 1 percent of American blacks were foreign born, but the figure was approaching 10 percent at the century's end, and black immigrants came from a great variety of cultures. Asians comprised less than 1 percent of the nation's population in 1945 but over 3 percent in 1995, and the number is growing rapidly. Whole new Asian communities, such as the Vietnamese, appeared after 1970. Middle Easterners too were changing. Formerly most

Arabs had been Christians, but now Muslims were the dominant group. But Middle Easterners were also marked by great diversity of language, religion, and culture.

Demographic changes were pronounced in six states, but they could be seen in many communities. Even white churches in the South could not escape the new immigration. Outside the Shallowford Presbyterian Church in DeKalb County, Georgia, a banner proclaimed ONE IN CHRIST in four languages—English, Korean, Spanish, and Asian Indian—noting four separate services. When services overlapped, parking became a problem and so did cultural conflict. One woman who had been attending church there for forty-one years remarked, "I don't like all this jumping around. I like formality." Others complained that worship did not begin or end on time. The Mexican-born assistant pastor noted, "Punctuality is not a virtue for Hispanics. Time is to benefit the celebration of life, not for life to serve time."

No change was so noticeable as that taking place among America's Latinos, who made up more than 10 percent of the population in 1998 and were on the way to overtaking African Americans as the nation's largest minority group. Their story is the subject of the next chapter.