

ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE CUBAN COMMUNITY

A SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

of

THE CUBAN NATIONAL PLANNING COUNCIL, INC.

published by

THE CUBAN AMERICAN POLICY CENTER (CAPC)

Miami, Florida

August 1986

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August 1986

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PREFACE

The Cuban-American Policy Center (CAPC) is a program of the Cuban National Planning Council (CNPC) initiated in 1985 under a grant from the Ford Foundation to conduct policy research and analysis on socio-economic issues related to the Cuban-American community. The CAPC publishes two issue papers yearly, issue reports, and a quarterly CNPC newsletter.

This first CAPC issue paper is based on the Third CNPC National Conference held January 30-31, 1986. The conference titled "Ethnic Relations in the Cuban Community" served as a public forum for discussion of local and national issues related to the Cuban-American community. Numerous requests from participants and members of the community for a follow up on the conference discussions induced CAPC to select the conference proceedings as the basis for the first issue paper.

In order to provide a complete analysis of the issues discussed at the conference the issue paper is divided into two complementary parts. The first part presents a summary of the presentations delivered at the conference. Here, the key issues debated are identified. This part which is set to be published in August, 1986, will be widely distributed around the country.

The second part, due for publication in November, 1986, will offer a comprehensive analysis of the issues previously identified. These issues will be studied in their original context, with special attention assigned to differences in perception determined by variables such as ethnicity and profession. Possible options and policy recommendations will also appear on this part.

In the future, CAPC plans to conduct additional research studies on other salient policy issues. Publication of issue papers as well as shorter issue reports will help achieve our goal of a wider dissemination of relevant information. Simultaneously, the quarterly CNPC newsletter will keep our readers abreast of events concerning the Cuban-American community.

Born in Dallas, Texas, Mr. Frantz received his J.D. from the Baylor University School of Law in 1974. He was admitted to practice law in Texas in 1974, and before the United States Supreme Court in 1987.

After two years of private law practice, Mr. Frantz became Chief of the San Antonio (Texas) District Attorney's Office. He joined the Community Relations Service staff in 1987 as a trial mediator, and began a joint program survey with that agency

IN MEMORIAM

This report is dedicated to the memory of Gilbert G. Pompa.

Only a few months before his untimely death, Gil was a panel chair and an enthusiastic participant at the National Conference of the Cuban National Planning Council. This event was organized around the theme of ethnic relations. Surely, no one at that conference had a deeper understanding of the need to improve ethnic and race relations or a greater commitment to that goal.

Mr. Pompa's lifetime accomplishments included lectures abroad, valuable advise to and participation in national professional and community groups, and presiding over the Edgewood Independent School District in San Antonio, Texas.

Born in Devine, Texas, Mr. Pompa received his J.D. from St. Mary's University School of Law in 1958. He was admitted to practice law in Texas in 1958, and before the United States Supreme Court in 1967.

After two years of private law practice, Mr. Pompa became Chief of the San Antonio (Texas) District Attorney's Office. He joined the Community Relations Service staff in 1967 as a field conciliator, and began a most prominent career with that agency

of the U.S. Department of Justice.

At the time of his death Gilbert G. Pompa held the title of Assistant Attorney General and was serving as Director of the Community Relations Service. His leadership, expertise, and professional integrity brought his appointment to this post under both a Democratic administration in 1978 and a Republican administration in 1982. As a Presidential appointee, confirmed by the U.S. Senate, he was the highest ranking Hispanic in the Department of Justice.

Those of us who were fortunate to know him, remember Gil Pompa as a thoughtful and compassionate leader who opened new horizons in the conciliation of racial and ethnic conflicts.

It is with the deepest sense of respect that we dedicate this report to Gil hoping that it will help us all reach a better understanding of each other.

INTRODUCTION

The Third National CNPC Conference titled "Ethnic Relations in the Cuban Community" was held in Miami, Florida, in January, 1986. The conference was designed to discuss policy issues on the ethnic relations between Cuban-Americans and other groups.

The conference followed a workshop format with panelists that included a broad spectrum of economists, educators, politicians, community activists, bankers, and other professionals. The speakers were also representative of various ethnic groups, Blacks, Anglos, Jews, Cubans and other Hispanics, at the local (Dade County) and national level.

The speakers were grouped under five different workshops covering five main areas of concern: "Community Forum on the Role of Ethnic Groups", "The Meaning of Ethnicity and Politics", "Media Coverage of Ethnic Events", "The Ethnic Relations of Cubans" and "Ethnic Isolation and Integration". This first part of this issue paper presents the summaries of twenty-seven presentations in the order of appearance of the speakers in their respective workshops.

The summaries presented here identify the key issues and concerns expressed by the speakers. Special care has been taken to reflect the degree of importance assigned to those issues.

Emphasis has also been given to stating the issues in their proper context in order to retain their full significance.

This first part of the issue paper will serve as a basic source of information to be complemented later by our analysis and recommendations to appear on the second part.

summary, working paper, 1968
10/17/68, 17/68, 17/68

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anthony Quinn
Professor, Georgetown University
State Department Institute

MEMBERS: Mr. James M. Callahan
President
Mary University

Mr. Patrick S. Sullivan
Chairman, State Council for
Campaign Finance Reform

Mr. Henry Wright
Chairman of the Board
People's National Bank of America

Mr. Louis Brandeis
Chairman of the Board
Republican National Bank

WORKSHOP I

"COMMUNITY FORUM ON THE ROLE OF ETHNIC GROUPS"

THURSDAY, JANUARY 30th, 1986

10:15 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

CHAIR: Dr. Antonio Jorge
Professor, Political Economy
Florida International University

SPEAKERS: Sister Jeanne O'Laughlin
President
Barry University

Mr. Parker D. Thomson
Chairman, Dade County Fair
Campaign Practices Committee

Mr. Sonny Wright
Chairman of the Board
People's National Bank of Commerce

Dr. Luis Botifoll
Chairman of the Board
Republic National Bank

WORKSHOP I

"COMMUNITY FORUM ON THE ROLE OF ETHNIC GROUPS"

Chair: Dr. Antonio Jorge

The chair of this panel Dr. Antonio Jorge, professor of political economy at Florida International University, opened this workshop on the role of ethnic groups with a general reminder of the important role historically played by immigrants in the formation of American society, particularly the direct impact of immigration upon economic growth and development.

Dr. Jorge proceeded with an analysis of today's Miami and its unique conditions. He pointed out the fact that in the recent past immigrants have constituted approximately 42% of the local population, for which there is no precedent in this country in terms of the demographic density of the area of settlement. Moreover, in the case of Miami its geographical location allows this large minority of Hispanics to stay close to their countries of origin. Consequently, cultural, linguistic and economic ties remain, even becoming stronger with the passage of time. As a result of this situation, the so called melting pot is not going to work. This immigrant community is not one that will be easily diluted.

Dr. Jorge encouraged an intelligent, rational response to this process of profound structural transformation taking place in Miami's local society. He affirmed that only in this manner the necessary accommodations to social, cultural, economic and political changes will be fruitfully accomplished.

In a concluding fashion, professor Jorge posed what he considers to be the key question of the moment, that is: "How are we going to restructure this (local) society in such a way that it will work harmoniously for the benefit of all members of it?" Our goal should be a society in which cooperation and social harmony are the hallmark. The actions we (all groups involved) take today and the way we come together will determine what kind of a society evolves here in the next twenty years.

Speaker: Sister Jeanne O'Laughlin

Sister Jeanne O'Laughlin, President of Barry University, was the first panelist to take the podium following Dr. Jorge's opening remarks. Sister O'Laughlin directed her words to the present status of socio-ethnic relations in Dade County. She started by observing that we are no longer just identifying and raising the problems we confront. Instead we have moved to a state of ownership (acknowledgment and concern with) of the problems identified. This, she feels, is an important positive step because only when we own the problems we feel compelled to come to grips with them.

Sister O'Laughlin went on to recount our troubled past in Dade County. We have suffered and experienced, she said, prejudice, unemployment, crime, drugs, massive immigration, language differences, lack of inter-group communications, and numerous other problems. These are the problems that we own, now we begin to understand them.

In order to achieve good and constructive inter-ethnic relations in Dade County, Sister O'Laughlin recommended two main paths to follow: A community wide dialogue and the setting up of community models. She indicated that dialogue between all groups is the beginning of tolerance, which in turn is the beginning of acceptance. Acceptance will produce a common agenda and corresponding solutions, plus a set of common indicators of success. And this is what we desperately need in Miami.

Secondly, she spoke of models. In her view, we must raise from our midst models of the people, institutions, and other entities that epitomize those values key to social wellbeing, namely leadership, reaching out, daily care, acceptance, tolerance, and love for people and community. These models should then be constantly exposed to the community at large.

Sister O'Laughlin concluded by stressing that collaboration is imperative in Dade County. Only with the collaboration of the Black community, the Hispanic community and the Caucasian community, can this great city thrive and transcend our present

problems.

Speaker: Mr. Parker D. Thomson

The next speaker in this workshop was Mr. Parker D. Thomson, Chairman of The Dade County Fair Campaign Practices Committee. Mr. Thomson spoke on the need to emphasize and strengthen those areas of our community which create unity and positive inter-group relations. He identified local politics as one sensitive aspect of ethnic relations that can be the source of unity or of fragmentation in our community.

When ethnic relations are poor, dwelling on divisive issues only serves to exacerbate the problems. This was the case on the election campaigns of 1983 in Dade County. At that time political campaigns charged with strong appeals to racial and ethnic groups were polarizing the community. In fact, they were pitting group against group, particularly the Hispanic against the Black. The Fair Campaign Practices Committee was then created to educate the politicians about the damage they were doing to the community.

Mr. Thomson considered the response to the committee's appeal a clear demonstration of the existence of strong positive forces in this community. Political candidates, community leaders, the media, they all collaborated with the committee and as a consequence a dialogue was established. The result has been a change in campaigning tactics in Dade County away from emphasis

on divisive issues and toward unifying this community despite its diversity. There is still work to do but we are now on the right track. Dade County is learning to use its local politics as a source of unity for all the groups in the community.

Another related topic that Mr. Thomson commented on was Miami's ethnic diversity. He reminded us that unity does not mean homogeneity, and went on to affirm that this community's strength is in its diversity. Finally, he enthusiastically referred to the exciting growth of the arts within the Cuban, Black and Anglo communities, as the enlightenment resulting from a culturally heterogeneous community.

Speaker: Mr. Sonny Wright

Continuing with this forum on the role of ethnic groups was Mr. Sonny Wright, Chairman of the Board at People's National Bank of Commerce. Mr. Wright introduced the topic of perceptions regarding Dade's ethnic relations. He stated that the widely held perception that Cubans and Blacks do not get along too well is simply unfounded. A number of examples of Cubans and Blacks collaborating with one another, or working as partners in projects as "Bayside" (Downtown Miami), clearly indicate a much better relation than the one which is generally believed to exist. Unfortunately the media's coverage of cooperation between Cubans and Blacks is very limited. Instead, there is a great emphasis on the negative events. These conditions lead to confusion and mistrust. The media must react and start to

accentuate the positive aspects of this relation.

Mr. Wright also offered his analysis of the nature of the Cuban-American success. Determination and ambition kept Cuban-Americans struggling to overcome their disadvantages as recent immigrants. The Black community must understand that this sort of motivation is the key to success in our society. Blacks should not resent the Cubans' success, instead they should emulate them and even learn from their experience. Only such an attitude will bring prosperity and progress to the Black community while enhancing ethnic relations in Dade County, concluded Mr. Wright.

Speaker: Dr. Luis Botifoll

The last speaker in this workshop was Dr. Luis Botifoll, Chairman of the Board at Republic National Bank. Dr. Botifoll spoke of Miami and the many changes that have taken place here in the last twenty-five years. Back in 1960, he stated, Miami was not exactly what it is today. Back then discrimination was against Blacks, Jews were still not completely accepted, and Hispanics did not mean anything.

Despite the fact that in some quarters Cubans were not well received, Dr. Botifoll stressed that he is nothing but grateful to this community. We have to emphasize that whatever the problems we may have had along the way, this community has been rather tolerant with immigrants. We must realize that this is a

community integrated by minorities with no single segment constituting a majority. In fact, the group that may become a majority is that of the newcomers, and this is something that people resent. Yet, if we look around the world we can observe that places with similar ethnic situations as here, are much more problematic and explosive. As a matter of fact, Miami can be seen as an example of relatively good ethnic relations, with only a few instances of major crises.

Dr. Botifoll cited a number of significant changes materializing here in the last decades, among them: Jews became part of the mainstream and a political and economic force in the community. Blacks are now better accepted but still lack sufficient economic development. During the last decade Cubans dramatically improved their economic conditions from the previous disadvantaged position. Still, there exists a percentage of poor Cubans. One area that did not change, contrary to perceptions, is the essentially good relations of Cubans and Blacks, Dr. Botifoll reaffirmed.

Finally, he concluded with a list of objectives to be vigorously pursued in Dade County in order to assure a peaceful coexistence for all groups. First, Blacks' economic standards must improve rapidly. Second, Hispanics and Blacks should be granted adequate participation in community affairs. Third, residues of discrimination against minorities should be promptly eliminated. And fourth, the media should emphasize positive developments in

community relations, avoiding exacerbation of community conflicts.

LUNCHEON SPEAKER:

Mr. Edward James Olmos

THURSDAY, JANUARY 30th, 1986

12:30 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.

Luncheon Speaker: Mr. Edward James Olmos

Our luncheon speaker was Mr. Edward James Olmos, actor from the popular television series "Miami Vice". Mr. Olmos presented us an eloquent speech, delivered not so much as a celebrity, but as a member of the Hispanic community at large.

Mr. Olmos is now a resident of Miami and stated that by now he feels part of this community. The speaker proceeded to commend CNPC, and added that as an organization that stands for human dignity and the advancement of the humanities, it has to be encouraged beyond anybody's wildest dreams. Many things in life divide us, he added, such as economics, age, sex, politics, etc., but the humanities and the arts unite us, therefore their unique significance.

Politicians have to understand that their whole purpose is to make sure that the humanities are first. The same applies to religions, which must promote the full purpose of the human race. One day this culture will stop being a melting pot, instead every group will hold on to its own dignity as Cubans, Mexicans, French, etc, but aligning themselves with every other human being in the world.

Cubans are the strongest Hispanic Americans today. Coming from another group, Mexican-Americans, "I find it hard to believe the power and strength that the Cuban community has achieved in this

country," emphasized Mr. Olmos. Our groups are here to understand each other to the fullest, and hopefully to form alliances for the advancement of the humanities.

Mr. Olmos also spoke on the issue of U.S. relations with Latin American countries. He warned that a conflict has been brewing in the Western Hemisphere and now is about to burst. In a cautionary manner he indicated that past American attitudes towards Latin America are now going to come to bear. The U.S. government, not its people, is going to try to make sure that our political beliefs and our ideas prevail in those societies. But politics has to take the back seat now, because if we do not advance the humanities and the arts, regardless of race, color, creed, regardless of how rich or poor people are, or of their political affiliation, then it is over for good hemispheric relations.

Responding to a question from the audience, Mr. Olmos expressed that the key to Hispanic unity in the U.S. is the Hispanic woman. The Hispanic male cannot coordinate himself well enough with other Hispanic groups. But Hispanic women do not suffer from this difficulty. Actually, Hispanic women by uniting will place the Hispanic person in a very favorable light. Mr. Olmos concluded by declaring that: "If Hispanic women unite they will reach goals unreachable by the male of our species".

WORKSHOP II

"THE MEANING OF ETHNICITY AND POLITICS"

THURSDAY, JANUARY 30th, 1986

3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

CHAIR: Mr. Guillermo Martinez
Columnist, Member, Editorial Board
The Miami Herald

SPEAKERS: Mrs. Athalie Range
Owner, Range Funeral Home
Former Commissioner, City of Miami

Mrs. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
State Representative
State of Florida House of Representatives

Mr. William A. Gralnick
South East Regional Director
American Jewish Committee

Ms. Francena B. Thomas
Director, University Relations
Florida International University

Dr. William Diaz
Program Officer
Ford Foundation

WORKSHOP II

"THE MEANING OF ETHNICITY AND POLITICS"

Chair: Mr. Guillermo Martinez

The chair for the second workshop was Mr. Guillermo Martinez, columnist, and member of the Miami Herald Editorial Board. Mr. Martinez opened this workshop titled "The Meaning of Ethnicity and Politics" with a short reference to a tale found in Lee Iacoca's autobiography. He used this tale of prejudice and double standards to illustrate the lack of awareness among minorities about how they are thought of in influential circles dominated by non-minorities. After this comment on the persistence of prejudice, he moved on to another sensitive example of poor ethnic relations in our community.

Referring to a column he had written about how the president of Florida International University (FIU) need not be a Cuban, Mr. Martinez expressed dismay at the enthusiastic response commending him for taking such a position even though he is Cuban. What none of these people ever said is that the president of FIU does not need to be a Black or a White, or anything else; just the most qualified person. For him, we usually only hear one side of the story.

Speaker: Mrs. Athalie Range

The next speaker was Mrs. Athalie Range, owner of Range Funeral Home and former City of Miami Commissioner. Mrs. Range considers ethnic relations in the Cuban community with respect to the political process, as not exactly the kind of relations they ought to be. She offered some observations of different factors responsible for her opinion.

The Cuban community must be commended, she said, for moving forward more or less under its own strength. Simultaneously, we must admit, albeit reluctantly, that the Black community has descended in the social-economic ladder rather than moving up. To exemplify this uncomfortable condition she pointed to the Miami Commission, nowadays dominated by Cubans with still only one seat occupied by a Black.

"Apparently Blacks in Dade County have been less interested in the political process than the Cuban community; or Cubans have been more knowledgeable on how to pursue political goals", she said. One way or another, continued Mrs. Range, today we can still say that Blacks have not found the way to promote themselves and others have not helped them either.

Mrs. Range also expressed her dissatisfaction with the general state of relations between the Cuban and Black communities. She spoke of the disadvantageous entrepreneurship position of the Black community. While there are probably no Black businesses in

Cuban areas of the county, Cuban businesses, as the family meatmarkets exemplify, have penetrated the Black neighborhoods. These businesses are owned, operated and staffed almost 100% by Cubans. Employment of Blacks in these establishments must be more generous if we are to aspire to better Black-Cuban relations, she added. Mrs. Range also showed some skepticism at the entrepreneurship promised to Black businesses at the "Bayside" project, saying that we must wait to see the real results there.

Finally, she finished her remarks with a note of advise: "When we speak of ethnic relations we need to look very carefully to see what is being done to cause these ethnic relations to really come about and to be worth their while; rather than having one conference after another that talks about ethnic relations and then leave the conference room and go back to our several businesses and jobs, whatever we have, and nothing happens to promote these ethnic relations until we have another conference."

Speaker: Mrs. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

Mrs. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, State of Florida Representative, was the next speaker in this workshop. Mrs. Ros-Lehtinen provided an analysis and detailed statistical summary of the new strength of Hispanics in politics.

Mrs. Ros-Lehtinen started by indicating that the problem with Hispanic voting has not been in voting turnout, but actually in voter registration. By 1980 the rate of voters' turnout for Hispanics and non-Hispanics was not significantly different. However, only 36% of Hispanics were registered compared to a registration rate of 69% for non-Hispanics.

In the last five years, continued Mrs. Ros-Lehtinen, Hispanic population in the U.S. jumped 16% to a new total high of sixteen million nine hundred thousand. At this rare level of growth the Hispanic population will double every eighteen years. Nonetheless, since about a third of all Hispanics are not U.S. citizens, in terms of voting strength we (Hispanics) are still well under 5% of the total voting population.

The impressive aspect of the Hispanic population though is GEOGRAPHICAL CONCENTRATION, which makes it possible to view Hispanics as the emerging political force in the United States. Some 95% of the Hispanic turnout is concentrated in only nine states. These nine states have one hundred ninety three electoral votes which represent 71% of the needed votes for the presidency. This represents a great potential for Hispanics to become an important factor in the election of the next president.

After looking at the national picture, Mrs. Ros-Lehtinen discussed the situation in Dade County. In 1976, white American born voters represented 76% of the total, by 1984 this number had

declined to 59%. Meanwhile Hispanics in Dade County represented only 10% of the electorate in 1976, and had increased to 21% by 1984. One direct impact of the white exodus has been the decline of the Democratic Party and the surge of the Republican Party in the county.

One aspect of the political process that Hispanic voters have historically not been involved with is the reapportionment procedure that occurs every ten years in Congress, and in the State Houses and Senate. The courts, she said, should not find it so easy to overlook what many considered a case of ethnic gerrymandering in Dade's 16th Congressional District.

Mrs. Ros-Lehtinen also pointed out that there are now seven Hispanic state representatives, up from zero six years ago. But meanwhile Hispanics and Blacks have remained under-represented at the county level. There is one Hispanic County Commissioner and only one Hispanic School Board member in Dade.

Mrs. Ros-Lehtinen concluded with an encouraging view of a future Dade County where some of the cultural differences might be erased while others will remain. But above all, a Dade County where the power structure will be shared by all ethnic groups and we all shall work together to solve the problems we confront.

Speaker: Mr. William A. Gralnick

Mr. William A. Gralnick, South East Regional Director, American

Jewish Committee, presented a general analysis of ethnicity and its meaning to our city.

Mr. Gralnick posed the question of what is ethnicity, citing a recent study by the Reverend Andrew Greenley in which he concludes that whatever ethnicity is, it has changed significantly. "We here in Miami, a rather isolated community from the rest of the country, tend to think of ethnicity as those represented in this room" (mostly Cubans, Blacks and Anglos), indicated the speaker. In fact, the history of the U.S. shows the term ethnic commonly applied in different time periods to English, Germans, Scandinavians, Irish, Italians, Poles and Jews. Yet, by now there has been such a convergence in income, education and occupation among these so-called ethnic groups, that they are no longer measurable by ethnic standards. In fact, pointed out Mr. Gralnick, there is a significant new fault line in American ethnicity, Blacks and Hispanics on one side and everyone else on the other.

In respect to the Jewish community, Mr. Gralnick noted a very peculiar problem in terms of ethnic identification. The Jewish political history in America has given us an individual, who by education and economics is a W.A.S.P., and by voting standards is a minority. Because of the ethics and laws in this country concerning separation of church and state, the census does not deal with ethnicity. In order to identify Jews, either specific polls among the Jewish community must be conducted, or parentage

must be asked. Fortunately, most American Jews being of Eastern European origin can be identified through family origin.

Finally, Mr. Gralnick spoke of our present condition in Miami. With great emphasis he stated: "We are not a tri-ethnic community. An it is a disservice to us all to say that." We have orthodox Jews and non-orthodox ones, Blacks Americans and non-native Blacks, and Cuban and non-Cuban Hispanics. We are a rather heterogeneous community that now and for the foreseeable future will be known by its differences. We are not going to melt or assimilate all that quickly, and for good reasons. Our agendas are very much different, and our interests only intersect on the important fact that if the city does not make it, none of our groups will.

Miami, despite what everybody says about this being the capital of central America and a major piece of Latin America, is in the U.S. Moreover, we must realize that the Cubans are not the last immigrants. New immigrants from different parts of the world will continue to arrive here, once again adding new ethnic dimensions to this city. Exhorting us all to be cautious against being too parochial, Mr. Gralnick closed his speech.

Speaker: Ms. Francena B. Thomas

Next appeared, Ms. Francena B. Thomas, Director of University Relations, Florida International University. Ms. Thomas indicated her hopes that in this conference she would play the

role of a "bridge-builder" in this business of solving ethnic tension, ethnic polarity, difficulties and unwillingness to understand and communicate with one another. We must start to communicate, we must begin to talk from our hearts. When we have constructive or productive confrontation, she affirmed, then we grow as a community.

In agreement with Mr. Gralnick, Ms. Thomas stated that we do not have a tri-ethnic community. Still she added that for the most part we can divide ourselves into different groups: Those who speak Spanish and the ones who do not. The ones who are white and speak Spanish, the ones who are white and do not speak Spanish, and the ones who are black and do not speak Spanish. Somehow, a lot of the issues we deal with in Dade County seem to circle around this condition.

She added, If there were fifty thousand Cubans in America or in Miami, bilingualism would not be an issue. But the high concentration of Cubans in Dade at this time, seems to be very, very frightening to the vast majority of the people who live in this county. And because it is not nice to say that you dislike or fear certain groups, instead we say we do not like their language, making an issue of bilingualism.

Ms. Thomas then asked: "And what do we fear?" "We fear being displaced," she responded. Unfortunately, these fears have impacted upon the political process. One would say that when we

elect people, we want leaders who magnetize us, who bring us together, rather than those who will polarize us and pull us apart. Yet, in Dade County we are so hungry for someone who looks like us in a power position, we will elect someone who is going to embarrass our own group with promises and plans in lieu of action, while exacerbating ethnic relations. The issue is pride and prejudice.

Ms. Thomas continued by asking the audience: "Isn't it about time that we gave up voting by ethnicity, as opposed to voting by qualifications or credentials that are presented?" I was pleased, she said, to see during our last election that Blacks were arguing over which Cuban they were going to elect as the city mayor, Mr. Suarez or Mr. Masvidal. The black community has grown in the political process. Is the Cuban community ready to elect a Black candidate when he or she might be running against a Cuban-American?

If you listen to the Cuban-American radio stations, some of the things you hear are so misleading and manipulative to the point that you can consider their behavior criminal. How can these stations claim to fairness? This kind of ethnic manipulation, by appealing to our emotions, must not be tolerated regardless of who is guilty of putting the radio show on the air. There have been Black radio stations who have done exactly the same thing, but we (the black leadership) have been very outspoken about our opposition to this practice. Unfortunately, this is not the case

with Cubans, only a few have expressed their disagreement with such practices.

Another short-coming in Cuban-Black relations mentioned by Ms. Thomas, was that of lack of collaboration. Organizations like the Community Relations Board (CRB) may invite representatives of the Cuban community to their meetings yet, few will actually attend, using as an excuse that CRB is a Black organization. She stressed the necessity to understand that any meeting dealing with issues related to Dade County is everyone's business. We cannot avoid participating in meetings simply because they are organized by a different ethnic group.

In Dade County we have to examine and understand that Blacks, Cubans and Anglos bring different experiences to the political arena. Most Anglos have secured the right to participate, and they are the ones who decide who is excluded. Then, they go on to concentrate on improvement of economic conditions of the county. Blacks emphasize the civil rights records of the candidates and their willingness to include Blacks in the process. They want the right to participate. Cubans have a tendency to give priority to the anti-communist issue, and only when this is clarified, issues of inclusion and participation are considered. A practice which may be short-lived because of changes in the new generation of Cuban-Americans, added the speaker.

We need to remember that Democracy is based on compromise. As Ms. Thomas put it: "we have to become more adept at constructive, productive confrontation, and tolerance and caring about each other". Dade County cannot get well if we allow the things that divide us to prevent us from caring about each other, she added. The three main groups here fear a kind of discrimination. Only compromise, understanding, tolerance and the willingness to give and take in this whole political process will help us to overcome these barriers.

Ms. Thomas portrayed the Cuban community's position in Dade County as that of an eight hundred pounds gorilla that can sit anywhere he wants. But if you were a gorilla, you would not be able to think, care or act. Cubans may be a giant in this city, but the giant has to control itself. If Cubans decide to run Dade County, and be noticed and proud, then Cubans have to understand and be willing to learn more about this community as a whole, certainly more than what they have done in the past.

Ms. Thomas concluded her remarks by saying that she speaks out of love for Dade County and her words are intended to help prevent any wrongdoing to this place she calls home.

Speaker: Dr. William Diaz

The next speaker in this workshop was Dr. William Diaz, Program Officer at the Ford Foundation. Dr. Diaz shared an interesting assessment of the issue of low rates of political participation

among Latinos and Blacks. From the onset he conceded having a less optimistic perception of the issue than that expressed earlier by Representative Ros-Lehtinen.

Dr. Diaz returned to the figure of 30% Latino turnout in the 1980 election as opposed to 61% in the Non-Hispanic population. And rhetorically he asked: "Are some groups, by virtue of their ethnicity, more civically aware, more politically involved, more politically knowledgeable, more positive toward politics and more likely to believe that they can make a difference?" As political scientists, he replied, we really do not know.

The standard explanation for political participation, continued Mr. Diaz, has to do with socio-economic status, people participating according to class. There exists an unwillingness to accept ethnicity as an enduring political value. Matters are complicated by the empirical relationship between ethnicity and social class in this country (with Blacks and Latinos at the low income end of the national scale). Therefore, it becomes rather difficult to determine if class or ethnicity determines political participation.

However, some studies indicate an independent effect for ethnicity. If we control for income, certain political attitudes of a group persist. If these attitudes predispose a group to participate, this can be seen as a political resource. Groups with strong participant cultures will benefit in our society,

simply because they do participate.

At this point Dr. Diaz asked a second question: "Do we (Latinos) have a political culture that discourages participation?" There is the possibility that we share a set of attitudes about government and about our ability to change it, that discourages participation. But the answers are not clear. There are strong arguments against this point of view. Experiences of organizations such as the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, indicate that if you eliminate discriminatory practices, and election structures that inhibit people from having representatives from their own group elected, participation will increase. This is also the case of Puerto Ricans with a low participation rate in New York and an 80% rate in Puerto Rico. Certainly there is nothing "genetic" or inherited that prevents us from participating in the political process.

Finally, there exists the belief that as we become more aware of ourselves as a Latino population with common interests, participation in the political process will increase. What Dr. Diaz considers disheartening is the example of the Black population. After the Civil Rights Revolution, and an increased collective consciousness, Black participation rates still remain low, though higher than one would guess given their low socio-economic status. Unfortunately, there has not been sufficient research on Latinos participation issues to determine

the plausible course to be followed by the Latino population,
concluded Dr. Diaz.

ENCLOSURE 11

"MEDIA CHANNELS IN THE 1980s"

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1988

10:00 AM - 11:00 AM

TO:

Dr. Peter J. ...
Executive Director
International ...

FROM:

Dr. David ...
News Director
WFLA-TV Channel 8
MIAMI

Dr. ...
News Director
WFLA-TV Channel 8
MIAMI

Dr. ...
Special Director
Public ...
WFLA-TV Channel 8
MIAMI

Dr. ...
Producer
WFLA-TV Channel 8
MIAMI

WORKSHOP III

"MEDIA COVERAGE OF ETHNIC EVENTS"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31st, 1986

9:30 a.m. - 11:00 p.m.

CHAIR: Mr. Peter Bernal
Executive Assistant
International Medical Centers

SPEAKERS: Mr. Dave Choate
News Director
WSVN-TV Channel 7
Miami

Mr. Al Buch
News Director
WTVJ-TV Channel 4
Miami

Mr. Ron Sachs
Editorial Director
Media Critic
WPLG-TV Channel 10
Miami

Mr. Hamilton Fisher
Producer
WCVB-TV, Boston

WORKSHOP III

"MEDIA COVERAGE OF ETHNIC EVENTS"

Chair: Mr. Peter Bernal

Mr. Peter Bernal, Executive Assistant to the President of International Medical Centers, chaired this workshop on "Media Coverage of Ethnic Events".

Mr. Bernal spoke briefly of the relevance of this rare occasion to have influential members of the media participating in a conference on ethnic issues. This workshop offers a great opportunity to learn more about the-behind-the-scenes machinery that presents us with the news, especially ethnicity related events. Without further delays he proceeded to introduce the distinguished speakers.

Speaker: Mr. Dave Choate

Mr. Dave Choate, the News Director of WSVN, Channel 7, Miami, discussed two major topics: Minority employment in the news media and news coverage in a multi-ethnic community.

In reference to the employment issue, Mr. Choate explained, finding competent people for openings in the news department is by far the most difficult task one can find. He noted that he was referring to competent people, not competent Blacks, or

competent Hispanics. When you add Blacks and/or Hispanics to the equation, then you are really talking tough, with a capital T, he emphasized.

There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon: first, sheer numbers. There are less Blacks and Hispanics in Dade than there are Anglos. Second, there are also less Blacks and Hispanics who have completed college. And third, there are even fewer minorities who have gone to journalism school.

Ironically, minorities are in greater demand than any other applicants. This presents a major dilemma for news directors. Every news director, every television network, wants the very best, the talented, the mature, the self-confident, the experienced. The latter quality usually missing.

We only have 28% minorities in our newsroom, expressed Mr. Choate. This is for the coverage of Dade and Broward Counties where minorities make up 39% of the population. Yet, this is also double the national average. The reality is that with their numbers being so small, experience lacking, and a high demand for their services, there simply are not enough minority job applicants to meet the demand.

The issue is further complicated by the fact that those few minorities that go into television news reporting, generally move toward the more glamorous end of the business, the reporters and

anchors. These type of roles are not the usual avenues which lead to positions in management. According to Mr. Choate, managers of news departments usually come from the ranks of the producers, assignment editors and the news editors. Consequently, only 2% of the nation's news directors come from minorities, and this condition is bound to remain unchanged in the near future.

Mr. Choate believes the challenge of the moment is: "Where do we find these people?." This is a real problem we face. The answer is hard to find but surely it cannot be to lower our standards or hire unqualified people. One idea is to set up better entry level training programs. The media needs to sharpen its skills and become better at detecting and nurturing potential candidates. More recruiting of minorities in our colleges is needed. Also the employers need to be more willing to take a chance with a candidate which may not be ready today, but could be the type of employee desired.

Mr. Choate introduced the second topic of his speech, how to cover news in a multi-ethnic community, with a remark about how carefully news coverage must be handled. And this applies not only to ethnic events, he clarified.

The first responsibility of a news presentation is to cover the news that are important to the community. News that people need to know, should know, and want to know. This is done always

seeking to be fair, complete and accurate. Perhaps the biggest criticism about the media is that only bad news are covered. In reality this is not true, lots of good stories are reported, stories of people helping people, stories of hometown pride, stories of street festivals and the like.

"Does the media stereotype ethnic groups in newscasts?" "Maybe, from time to time", replied Mr. Choate. But out of ignorance, not out of design. Do the news cover enough the minorities communities? The answer here is a qualified no. And he added, not all the news that happen in the Anglo community are covered either.

"I see all of South Florida, concluded Mr. Choate, the Hispanic community, the Black community, the Haitian community, they are all part of the community's total fabric." We have our problems, like any community does, but also great hopes for this community.

Speaker: Mr. Al Buch

Continuing in this workshop appeared Mr. Al Buch, News Director of WTVJ, Channel 4, Miami, who focused on the topic of stereotypes in the news media.

Having lived in Miami for the past two years, Mr. Buch considers this city: "a hell of a place to live". For him it is very exciting that we live in a community with the ethnic mix found in Miami. Simultaneously, the speaker was well aware of the

stereotypical image of what Miami is all about. He conceded that maybe we have an image problem here that we need to worry about. For instance, what is the image of Miami in the heartland of America? Furthermore, what is the image of the Hispanic community in the heartland of America?

Upon arrival in Miami Mr. Buch thought that his news program ought to start a Bureau in Central America. Maybe the Latin community would be interested in daily reports on Central American communities. His idea was scrapped after some research indicated a lack of interest among the Latin community for such a special coverage of Latin America. The lesson for Mr. Buch was that Hispanics in Miami feel very American, regardless of what stereotypes of them may exist elsewhere.

When it comes to news coverage the idea is to try to cover everyone equally, but to try to cover the kinds of stories that apply to as many people as possible. Regardless of our ethnic background, we all have similar fears, similar joys, and similar outlooks on the future, therefore, he added news are covered for all groups in the same manner. Television might be rightly accused of appealing to that lowest common denominator. Still there are Hispanic television and radio stations in Miami for those kinds of special programs that people demand.

Miamians are great and it does not matter what color of skin or what national heritage they have: "we are all Americans". With

this remark Mr. Buch brought his speech to a close.

Speaker: Mr. Ron Sachs

Another representative of the news media followed, Mr. Ron Sachs, Editorial Director and Media Critic of WPLG-TV, Channel 10, Miami, who conducted his speech mostly from his role of media critic.

Mr. Sachs began by saying that the news media receives an awful lot of criticism from all segments of the community, most of it of great validity. Yet, as he indicated, one of the problems of the profession is the lack of criticism from within.

When we speak of Miami Mr. Sachs pointed out, we speak of this exciting, vibrant community we live in. But this is also a rather divergent community made up of many separate and distinct components. It is no secret that this community truly lacks a sense of unity at almost any given time. Although this is not necessarily bad or destructive, such a reality certainly makes this town extremely difficult to cover from a news vantage point.

A shortcoming of news coverage, particularly in ethnic-related issues, is the marked tendency to cover events-in-crises. The very nature of the media makes us event oriented. Only occasionally we will do an indepth report. Somehow we seem to respond too much to economic pressures rather than serving the viewers, added Mr. Sachs.

In reference to the hiring of minorities, the speaker alluded to internship programs as an effective method of recruiting candidates. Another of his comments was that the reason why minorities tend to gravitate to high-paying, on-camera jobs, might be because jobs behind the camera are not attractive enough in terms of salary.

Mr. Sachs' final remarks focused on the issue of journalism standards. In Miami there is the English language media, Black oriented radio stations, and Spanish language media. Often members of the English media wonder why Spanish language TV, radio, and newspapers (particularly radio and newspapers), do not subscribe to the same standards of journalism as those of the English language. The truth is that since these people are not from here, the treatment they give to some news stories can be confusing to many locals. For example, the news stories appearing on the front pages of Spanish language newspapers can be perceived by many here as front-page editorials. Yet, the real conflict in this clash of standards is that one is led to wonder if we are all being told the same thing. The question remains, who can you best rely on for the most accurate information about what is really happening in the community?

Despite these and other difficulties, we can continue to strive to bring this community together. The media's role is just to do a better job of reporting on the community, beyond planned and expected events and crisis situations.

Speaker: Mr. Hamilton Fisher

Mr. Hamilton Fisher, Public Affairs Producer of ABC, at WCVB-TV, Boston. Mr. Fisher has been involved in a community service campaign called, "A world of difference". The goal of the campaign being to raise public and ethnic awareness of prejudice through media promotion and educational curriculums in the public schools. On this occasion, he spoke about the media and minorities' stereotypes.

Negative and frivolous stereotypes of Hispanics have a long history in the American media, Mr. Fisher said. Until recently characters as "Frito Bandido", with "a stilted accent and a mischievous toothless grin", were a dominant image of Mexican people in American popular culture. Today the stereotyping of Hispanic cultures in American television, film and print media, is more often than not that of illegal aliens. Moreover, an even more damaging image has developed: Hispanics as drug traffickers. This image is now an accepted perception on the part of the established status quo, declared Mr. Fisher.

The media certainly cannot be blamed for the creation of these stereotypes, he added, yet they are responsible for their perpetuation through constant, repetitive promotion. There exists an obvious lack of balanced positive images of the diverse Hispanic cultures that have contributed so much to American culture. We must emphasize the issue of stereotyping in television, because television is the most pervasive medium of

communication in American society. When television constantly portrays Colombian-Americans as drug dealers, the aftermath is a negative lasting impression.

In the case of Black Americans, early television programs that highlighted Black talent, like the old "Nat King Cole Show", were substituted by more traditional images of Black Americans. The coon, mammy, stud, and comic buffon stereotypes of Blacks became commonplace. There are loud, large black maids to white families in America today, but why must this remain a dominant image of Black women in the media? Even the "Cosby Show" perpetuates a stereotype, this program is yet another in a long line of non-dramatic Black programs.

Mr. Fisher indicated that one writer from "Hill Street Blues", remarked that stereotypes in the media, especially in television, were an unfortunate by-product of the tremendous deadline pressure that goes along with the job. The excuse of deadlines cannot relieve writers and producers of prime time television from their social responsibility to respect the sensibilities of minorities. Yet, Mr. Fisher explained that the majority of those who are responsible for programming that perpetuates ethnic stereotypes do not intend personally to spread misconceptions and prejudice. In fact, they are to different extents, victims of prejudice themselves.

Mr. Fisher concluded that: "prejudice is a disease and not a set of opinions chosen by an individual". Only through education one is allowed to see the stereotypes in American media and popular culture, and to understand their source and effects on the national consciousness. Intensive lobbying efforts on the part of ethnic America are imperative if those who control the flow of news information are to realize their responsibility to present the whole story.

TO: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

FROM: Mr. James B. ...
State of Florida

Mr. ...
Miami, Florida

Mr. ...
President
National ...

Mr. ...
Miami-Dade ...

WORKSHOP IV

"THE ETHNIC RELATIONS OF CUBANS"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31st, 1986

11:15 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

CHAIR: Mr. Gil Pompa
Director
Community Relations Service
U.S. Department of Justice

SPEAKERS: Dr. Juan Clark
Professor, Sociology
Miami-Dade Community College

Ms. Janet Reno
State Attorney
State of Florida

Ms. Leah Simms
County Court Judge
North Miami Beach
Florida

Mr. Raul Yzaguirre
President
National Council of La Raza

Ms. Celia Suarez
Associate Dean
Miami-Dade Community College

WORKSHOP IV

"THE ETHNIC RELATIONS OF CUBANS"

Chair: Mr. Gil Pompa+

Mr. Gil Pompa, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Director of the U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service (CRS), was the chair of the fourth workshop of the conference.

Mr. Pompa offered a short recapitulation of the topics discussed at the conference hitherto. He subdivided the topics in accordance to three main classifications: First, where Cuban-Americans generally see themselves within the broader community. Second, where others see Cuban-Americans. And third, how some institutions, particularly the media, can condition these interactions. By interpreting and organizing the speeches in such order, he was able to provide an early analysis of the picture emerging from the discussions.

Mr. Pompa proceeded to introduce the speakers of this workshop announcing the topics to be covered here: Cubans' interactions with the administration of the justice system; Cubans' relations within the broader Hispanic-American family; And, lastly,

+ 1931 - 1986

studies indicative of psychological stress suffered by Cubans while adjusting to a new culture and life style.

Speaker: Dr. Juan Clark

The first panelist appearing in this workshop was Dr. Juan Clark, sociology professor at Miami-Dade Community College. Dr. Clark discussed two studies about the Cuban-American community.

One of these studies was related to a survey conducted at Miami-Dade Community College in which students were asked about the problems of our community. In 1984 the survey showed the number one problem to be inter-ethnic conflict. Crime came in second. In 1985 we had a reversal, and the emphasis was assigned to the problem of crime. The issue of drugs in particular appeared as a strong concern.

Dr. Clark then introduced the ethnic factor, and showed how results are influenced by it. Both in 1984 and 1985 Anglos perceived inter-ethnic conflict as the most important problem in Dade County. Furthermore, in 1985 they responded positive when asked if inter-ethnic conflict was on the rise. On the other hand, Cuban-American students did not report a significant increase on inter-ethnic conflict, instead they expressed a higher concern with the crime issue.

Another issue surveyed by Dr. Clark was the loss of ethnic (Hispanic) heritage among the youth. The results clearly

indicated that the vast majority of these college students already prefer English to Spanish to communicate with their peers of the same ethnic background. This is clearly a serious loss of heritage, added Dr. Clark, because when we begin to lose the language we are not far from losing our culture.

The second study discussed by Dr. Clark was one conducted by Johns Hopkins University. The study dealt mainly with the adaptation problems of Cuban refugees into American society. The focus was a comparison of two groups of refugees, those arriving in the U.S. in the early 1970's and those arriving with the Mariel boatlift in 1980.

The two groups exhibited little difference with respect to satisfaction at arriving in the U.S., both were clearly satisfied. Also, there was no significant difference in the percentages intending to become American citizens. The differences demonstrative of inter-ethnic conflict arise when we deal with the topic of discrimination. The 1980 arrivals felt less discrimination from Anglos, and a higher percentage among them declared never being discriminated by Anglos. A shocking result of this study was that the vast majority of the 1980 refugees definitely agreed on being discriminated by the "old" Cubans (those who arrived earlier), manifested Dr. Clark.

"This results should make us realize that we all are in the same boat. Twenty years from now, whether you arrived here in 1960 or

1980 will be irrelevant," said Dr. Clark. Cases of definite maladjustment and deprivation among the 1980 arrivals have been allowed to happen. The speaker reminded us that it is both, in our own interest as well as our social responsibility, to promote and facilitate the adaptation of this particular migration to American society.

Speaker: Ms. Janet Reno

The second panelist to appear in this workshop came from the Justice system, Ms. Janet Reno, State Attorney, State of Florida. Ms. Reno's words were directed to the issue of crime in Dade County.

The Dade County Grand Jury in the spring of 1982 conducted a study on the Cuban contribution to crime, particularly the contribution by the Mariels (1980 Cuban refugees). The results supported what we had always sensed. That is, that the pre-Mariel Cuban community did not contribute significantly to crime in Dade County. Actually, Cubans exhibited the highest disparity of population percentage to crime participation of all groups. A different picture emerged after 1980. A large number of criminals were dumped on Dade County among the new arrivals. They indeed have had a very significant impact on crime in the area. Even though this is the case, we must also consider the fact that over 90% of the Mariel refugees had not been involved in criminal activities by 1982. Actually, most of them are law-abiding and constructive citizens. We all must spread these

figures, added Ms. Reno, in order to improve the image of Mariel refugees. After all, Anglos as well as pre-Mariel Cubans have helped to perpetuate the negative image these refugees have suffered.

Ms. Reno's second topic was the importance of understanding the criminal justice system. One critical aspect being the differences between the Roman Law System that existed in pre-Castro Cuba and our Common Law System in the U.S., based on trial by jury.

Sometimes, Cuban-Americans are frustrated by some aspects of our process, as having to prove somebody guilty beyond, and to the exclusion of, a reasonable doubt; or cases where a "technicality" forces suppression of some evidence. We must realize that if everyone is to have faith in the system we must explain the functioning of the system. Perhaps the one thing we should emphasize is that this is a great and free country because of these limitations imposed by the system: A system which is designed to prevent abusive government. Ms. Reno also voiced her concern about insufficient activity in the area of crime prevention. She expressed her worries about drug programs not being equipped to deal with some of the special problems faced by young adolescents growing under cultural conflicts.

Regarding Hispanic participation in the justice system, Ms. Reno, declared that recruiting is a problem in Dade County. Only 11% to

12% of the lawyers in her staff are Hispanic. The reason why, she has discovered, seems to be the tremendous premium in this community on bilingual, bi-cultural, trial lawyers. Her office has real difficulties attracting or retaining those with experience when there is such a high demand for their services.

Lastly, Ms. Reno recommended to the community to pressure for the nomination of a Hispanic lawyer to a judicial position in our county, something that the Hispanic community not only needs but deserves.

Speaker: Ms. Leah Simms

Our next speaker was Ms. Leah Simms, County Court Judge, North Miami Beach, who concentrated on the issue of minorities' under-representation in the judicial system. Ms. Simms' emotional speech opened by exposing what she referred to as a "very startling fact". She declared: "I am the only Black female judge in this state" (Florida). "This is shameful, I am certainly not proud of this statistic" continued the speaker. Even worse yet, her position is the lowest in the judiciary: she mediates people's court.

In Dade County where there are one hundred and twenty judges, four of them are Hispanic and seven Black. Hispanics have absolutely no representation on the bench in the state of Florida, and they should be ashamed of this, expressed Ms. Simms. The only way to get this representation is by pressure. But she

accused Hispanics of taking the judiciary passively.

Ms. Simms, also declared that: "affirmative action is not a dirty word, it means equal employment." But, this applies to every public office in this nation, except the judiciary (which is by appointment). The judiciary is the place where your rights are determined. The place where wrongs are righted. The place where discrimination is reversed. The place, also, where Cuban-Americans have no representation.

There is no ethnic disharmony in our judiciary, there are not enough Blacks, Hispanics or women, so there is no overt disharmony. There is no ethnic communication either because Blacks, Hispanics and women are just ignored. Even though Ms. Simms says she has no evidence of injustice, she believes that it is a disservice when minorities' tax money goes to pay for public servants and the minorities have no fair representation.

Ms. Simms brought out a question she is frequently asked: "should we hire or appoint Black judges or Hispanic judges regardless of their qualifications?" This, of course, is a very white male response to affirmative action, as well as to hiring minorities. What those asking the question overlook is the fact that once you come before the Judicial Nominating Committee, you must have a law degree. What distinctions are we going to make after that? This is especially the case when most of the candidates possess sufficient experience. Pressure is needed upon Congress people

as well as business people to influence who gets appointed to the bench. In reality, minorities' representation in every committee, every commission in Dade County, tends to be purely token.

Finally, Ms. Simms pointed to the fact that we (minorities) seem to be really concerned with electing representatives to the county and city commissions. Yet, we always fail to elect county or circuit judges representative of our groups. Our lack of interest is evident. Everything that we need to know to influence the choice of the judiciary is a matter of public record. We cannot ignore this issue anymore. The judiciary is where we go to solve conflicts, it should then be representative of an entire community, not just one sector.

Speaker: Mr. Raul Yzaguirre

The next speaker taking to the podium was Mr. Raul Yzaguirre, President of the National Council of La Raza. Mr. Yzaguirre gave a concrete account of the different nuances in the relationships between Hispanic-Americans.

Mr. Yzaguirre stated that when we are talking about intra-group relations within the Hispanic community, we are talking about an immensely dynamic situation. Lots of changes are taking place for a number of reasons. He expressed that from his perspective, the differences that we see between Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Cuban-Americans, are going to be only temporary

differences. As we have more experience with the larger society, "the factors that impinge on Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are going to be impinging on Cuban-Americans," he said. The differences will disappear, not only in the area of socio-economic characteristics, but also in attitudes as well.

At the present time, one of the salient differences between the three main Hispanic groups (Mexican-Americans 70%, Puerto Ricans 13%, Cuban-Americans 7%) is attitudinal in nature. We can categorize this difference in terms of Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans viewing the United States society, for a variety of historical reasons, as a hostile society, an environment associated with discrimination, exploitation, abuses, and systematic exclusion. On the other hand, the Cuban-American community possesses a much more positive view of American society. Cubans escaped oppression in their native country and look at America as a society of opportunity.

Obviously, there are areas of agreement and universal approval among the different groups of Hispanics. Yet, the differences in backgrounds are manifested in a number of ways, ranging from political affiliation to interpretation of everyday life circumstances. The result of these differences often promoting division and misunderstanding between the groups. Yet, Mr. Yzaguirre reiterated, that as Cuban-Americans succeed economically they will begin to push against some invisible barriers, and start to feel more frustration. Eventually, the

Cuban-American community will face the same problems as the Puerto Ricans and Mexican-American communities. Mr. Yzaguirre concluded: "we may have come across in different ships, but we are here in the same boat."

Speaker: Ms. Celia Suarez

Closing this workshop was Ms. Suarez, Associate Dean, Miami-Dade Community College. She opened her speech with a reference to our "vivencias" or the life experiences of a person or fate as individuals. Based on her "vivencias" she spoke of life in our multi-ethnic community.

We have discussed in this conference the fact that there are many different groups within this community. There are not only the Blacks, the Hispanics, the Jews and the Anglos, but there is diversity among all of these groups as well. Yet, there exists one common thread that we all share, the "boys' club culture".

This culture constantly reminds us not of discrimination, nor of the failures of affirmative action, but of the painful impact of exclusion. The "boys' club" of childhood days matures into male power and their resulting dominance in the business and political world. The male network makes decisions, sometimes informally, frequently formally, that exclude women and minorities from access to resources. While the men get recognized for their achievements and successes, most of the work, the real work, is

being done by women. The same women who make approximately sixty cents for every dollar a man makes.

The important point, continued Ms. Suarez, is that our community is already beyond the stage of tokenism; there are token women, Blacks and Hispanics in the business, political, educational, and other sectors of the local, state, and national scene. What is important to consider is that the exclusion of any group results in lack of access to the corridors of power where the economic resources of the community are distributed. If women and other minorities continue to be the victims of exclusion, their economic gains are minimal. The poorer any one group in the community is, the poorer the community as a whole becomes.

To alleviate conditions that hamper our community's progress, Ms. Suarez discussed education as a non-exclusionary activity. Miami, aside from having become an international banking center, and a center of great multi-national activities, should also become an international center of pluralistic-type education.

People from many parts of the country should be sending their sons and daughters to college in Miami, simply because from here they will emerge as people completely capable of functioning in different languages and different cultures. Unfortunately, she added, we do not talk too much about this, nor do we foster re-allocation of resources to bring about change.

We must be aware that education plays a fundamental role in our society. The media problems we have discussed will not get solved. The judiciary problems will not get solved either, because today, after twenty-three years of presence of Cubans and other Hispanics in Dade County, the under-representation of Hispanics in decision-making roles in the school system and in higher educations persists. This is one of the reasons behind our ethnic problems, and until this one is solved, Ms. Suarez does not see any purpose in talking about others.

A clear example of Hispanic under-representation in the field of education is Florida Internationa University (FIU). There are fourteen critical decision-making positions at FIU, and there has not been a single Hispanic among that group. In reality, Hispanic under-representation expands from elementary to graduate school. At the North Campus of Miami-Dade Community College, the student body is 45% Hispanic, yet only 4% of the faculty is Hispanic. We sometimes forget this issue because we are busy dealing with economic and political power issues. But Hispanic students in the school system need the role models. The educational system, also, needs the influence and the participation of Hispanics, who, so far, in our community are the largest group where multi-lingual and multi-cultural skills exist.

In her conclusion, Ms. Suarez, challenges all of us to realize that to be an educator in this community you should be bilingual,

bicultural, or multi-lingual or multi-cultural. "This is not a political issue, it is a cultural issue," she affirmed.

WORKSHOP V

"ETHNIC ISOLATION AND INTEGRATION"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31st, 1986

3:00 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.

CHAIR: Mr. Luis Lauredo
Executive Vice-President
Miami Savings Bank

SPEAKERS: Dr. Jorge Salazar
Chairman
Economics Department
Florida International University

Mr. Tee S. Greer
Acting Associate Superintendent
Bureau of Business Management
Dade County Public Schools

Mr. Rafael Valdivieso
Vice-President
Program and Research
Hispanic Policy Development Project

WORKSHOP V

"ETHNIC ISOLATION AND INTEGRATION"

Chair: Mr. Luis Lauredo

This final workshop of the conference was chaired by Mr. Luis Lauredo, Executive Vice-President of Miami Savings Bank. Mr. Lauredo in his brief introduction praised CNPC for its many accomplishments. In particular he praised the agency's boldness in approaching the Cuban-American community as part of the larger Hispanic community of the U.S. Only a few years ago this was unorthodox practice, but CNPC chose to promote education of all Hispanics about the common bonds that unite us, indicated Mr. Lauredo.

Speaker: Dr. Jorge Salazar

Dr. Jorge Salazar, Chairman of the Economics Department of Florida International University, made a presentation on the subject of ethnic isolation and ethnic integration from a hemispheric perspective. Dr. Salazar purported to establish that we (Hispanics) have no choice but to integrate to the larger American society. Isolation would not allow us to make any contribution to the Americas.

In fact, the Americas are now a grown-up continent. The role of Hispanics in the U.S. must be to explain to the Anglo population

what Latin America is all about. Yet, even within the Hispanic group itself we do not fully comprehend Latin America and its system. Then, Dr. Salazar recommended that our youth should be immersed in the cultures of the Americas as a whole, not just the culture of the U.S., which of course, has to remain the essential part of their education.

Dr. Salazar expressed his pessimism because of his feeling that our (Hispanic) children are becoming increasingly aloof and distant from the Americas south of the border. This is a sad situation, because in the end there will be either coexistence or conflict in the Americas. In order to explain this last point, he referred back to history and made some projections into the future.

Historically, the Latin part of the Americas has always been more important than the Anglo side, at least until the 19th Century. Afterwards, the U.S. population grew faster due to massive immigration. Yet, by now the pattern has been reversed once again. Latin America has a population of over four hundred million inhabitants while the U.S. has two hundred and forty million. Earlier this century, economic evolution in Latin America produced rapid growth, industrialization and urbanization. By the 1930's what Latin America wanted was economic independence. This attitude fostered ideas of cooperation in terms of integration and of common markets.

Dr. Salazar also spoke of traditional political differences between the U.S. democracy and Latin democracy. As he explained, Latin democracy is based on a singularistic philosophy, with the individual making a unique contribution to the society. The Anglo-Saxon philosophy on the other hand is a nominalistic philosophy. Here the individual is part of a whole system and it does not deviate radically from the system. Beyond all this there is also the difference of a participatory democracy in the U.S. and a corporatistic democracy in Latin America (in the latter, influential organized groups are more significant than individual voters). These are some of the differences that Hispanics must explain to American society.

After this explanation of some historical aspects of Latin American society, Dr. Salazar spoke of the future. The GNP of Latin America in the year 2000 will be close to one and a half trillion dollars at 1985 prices (half of the U.S. GNP). The figures for population indicate six hundred million inhabitants in Latin America for that year. Trade will be around two hundred billion dollars in exports (a bit less in imports). Foreign debt should be half a trillion dollars but at the same time there will be three hundred billion dollars in Latin American assets abroad.

Simultaneously, there will be a larger Hispanic presence in the U.S. by the turn of the century (up to 20% of the population). Dr. Salazar re-emphasized the important role that this Hispanic community will play as a mean of promoting understanding between

the Americas. We are U.S. citizens but of Latin origin, "we are the power in the middle," he added.

The implication of this situation is that if the Americas are divided in the 21st century, then this continent will not be the leader in the world. Latin America as it becomes united is going to be a big power in the 21st century, as important as the European Economic Community. We (Hispanics) as U.S. citizens have a tremendous responsibility to promote better understanding between the Anglo and Latin America. Coexistence is a must for the well-being of the whole continent. Concluding, Dr. Salazar added that, in order for Hispanics to successfully assume this role as a mediator, integration is the only way to go.

Speaker: Mr. Tee S. Greer

The next speaker was Mr. Tee S. Greer, Acting Associate Superintendent, Bureau of Business Management, Dade County Public Schools, who made his presentation on ethnic isolation, referring directly to the case of the Dade County school system.

"We have a unique school district", Mr. Greer stated. We have a Hispanic population of 40%, a Black population of almost 32% and a White or other population of approximately 28%. At the same time, the Dade County Public Schools District is the 4th largest school district in the nation. During the past ten years, our emphasis has been directed toward instructional activities: improving basic skills, bilingual education,

etc. However, maintenance has been neglected, particularly in our inner city area.

Mr. Greer then offered a summary of his ideas. The school district ought to address complaints about the insufficient number of Hispanic administrators (Some improvements have been made but a lot more is needed on this issue). More Black administrators are also needed. We need programs to create interest in our schools and address the drop-out problem. New schools and facilities are in demand. Integration in our schools must continue, and all of our schools should be made equally good.

Mr. Greer also gave some advise to CNPC and similar agencies. We should be honest and sincere about integrating our schools and eliminating ethnic isolation. We have to become involved in helping to set the policies for education today and for the future. Also, we must take an active role in improvement of ethnic relations in our schools. Moreover, we need to support other ethnic groups and work together. Lastly, we need to help to make the image of our school district a positive one. This last issue affects us all, but even more so the Cuban community since Cuban-Americans are the largest group in the student body. To conclude, Mr. Greer exhorted us to "move forward and eliminate ethnic isolation and move toward integration".

Speaker: Mr. Rafael Valdivieso

The last speaker in this conference was Mr. Rafael Valdivieso, Vice-President for Program and Research for the Hispanic Policy Development Project, who dealt with the issue of misunderstandings between different Hispanic sub-groups.

Mr. Valdivieso expressed his belief that if we (Hispanics) developed group solidarity, we could accomplish a lot. He illustrated the differences among Hispanics with the case of Cubans sometimes resisting their designation as an ethnic minority. Yet he said that even though there are differences, there are also grounds for converging similarities.

Mr. Valdivieso spoke of cultural assimilation: adoption by a minority group of the majority language, habits, customs and values. Then he defined structural assimilation in terms of integration into the political and economic fabric of the larger society. Usually cultural assimilation precedes structural assimilation.

At the same time we know that, because of discrimination and other obstacles, this assimilation did not occur with many of America's racial minorities, particularly the Black population. But the Black population turned things around and made Blackness into a positive thing, source of pride, racial and ethnic pride. This development also inspired other groups such as Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans.

Mr. Valdivieso explained that the outcome of this process has been a "cultural pluralism", characterized by the minorities keeping some of their attitudes and values, while participating in the society. Of significance here is the fact that "cultural pluralism" is adopted out of an initial sense of rejection by the larger majority society, indicated the speaker.

Under cultural pluralism, structural assimilation is possible. The minority group participates and acquires socio-economic mobility. Two methods have been used to achieve this mobility by Hispanics in the U.S. Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans have employed collective strategies, while Cuban-Americans have gone at it individually through entrepreneurship. Yet the results can increasingly exhibit similarities for all the groups.

Another theory to explain cases like that of Miami is Alejandro Portes' theory of the "Economic Enclave": the minority group enjoys socio-economic mobility but within a limited cultural-ethnic context. Such a development can engender tremendous resentment on the part of others in the larger society. As a result animosity and discrimination take a collective form, with the entire minority becoming the target. As a response, the minorities mobilize, adopting collective strategies to defend and improve the enclave. In the case of Miami the enclave has become a regional, international, hemispheric phenomenon, attracting new members from distant places. As a result, ethnic diversity is bound to increase

within the enclave.

Mr. Valdivieso's last point dealt with the growth of heterogeneity in the Cuban-American population in terms of economic class, race, social and occupational aspects. This will lead to an increasing tempo of political mobilization. The poor will be acknowledged, since, in order to face off discrimination and envy from the larger society, everyone in the enclave must be helped. At this point, Miami is already a very strong enclave with a strong future potential. It has also become politically mobilized and possesses collective awareness. In the words of the speaker: "An ethnic minority is evolving here".

Mr. Valdivieso ended by indicating that similar developments will take place in the case of Mexican-Americans and some other immigrants such as those from the Pacific rim. But, the situation for Puerto Ricans looks bleak since their small middle class is scattered outside the New York City area, which is the reverse of what has happened in South Florida. Nonetheless, he hopes we (Hispanics) will work together within the American society to bring about change.



Acknowledge

Cuban National Planning Council, Inc.

September 17, 1986

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Dear Friend:

The Cuban National Planning Council (CNPC) is pleased to present you with a copy of our first Cuban-American Policy Center (CAPC) Issue Paper.

We are distributing the paper to a limited group around the country hoping that the information presented here will prove valuable in your involvement with the Cuban-American community.

Should you desire additional information, please contact me at (305) 643-2838 or 642-3484.

Sincerely,

Miguell Del Campillo
CAPC Coordinator

MDC/mp

Enc.



P410c ^{DEL} Campillo, Miguell

September 30, 1986

Mr. Miguell Del Campillo
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Dear Mr. Campillo:

Thank you for sending a copy of the first Cuban-American Policy Center (CAPC) Issue Paper.

This publication is extremely timely, and our office will keep it on hand as a reference for congressional use in Miami and in Washington.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

WILLIAM LEHMAN
Member of Congress

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