population turn-over, which Mauk convincingly illustrates by using a variety of sources. After 1900, however, a more stable Norwegian-American immigrant community began to develop. With a population of 15,000 in 1910, the maritime colony had become Little Norway. Here, such familiar ethnic institutions as churches, voluntary associations, and newspapers, as well as celebrations of the 17th of May and Leif Ericsson, played an important role in the creation of a sense of Norwegian-American distinctiveness. This transition was not always an easy one, which can be seen in the tensions that organizations originally designed to assist sojourning sailors and seamen experienced.

In addition to such standard sources in immigration history as census records and other official statistics, Mauk has painstakingly located and used a great variety of other materials, including letters, diaries, newspaper accounts, archival materials and interviews. These sources greatly contribute in providing a rich picture of the life and history of the Norwegians in Brooklyn. The Colony that Rose from the Sea is an important contribution to Norwegian-American historiography, breaking new ground in its analysis of Norwegian maritime migration to the US, and in its exploration of Norwegian urbanites in Brooklyn. However, the results of this careful and well written study will also appeal to a larger community of scholars, and should be on the bookshelf of anyone interested in both trans-Atlantic and American immigration history.

Dag Blanck

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These days affirmative action is a hot political issue in the United States, and a great number of books on the concept have appeared in recent years. However, most books— even many of the scholarly works on the subject—are primarily contributions to a political debate and tend to fall into either the pro-or the counter-category. Therefore, it is refreshing to find a book that defies such simple classification.

Paul D. Moreno’s book focuses on the formative years of affirmative action, a period not thought of as such even by many scholars in the field. Moreno shows how the change from color-blind to color-conscious public policy in this area—which is frequently analyzed today and dated to the late 1960s and early 1970s—has a long tradition in the struggle against unfair employment practices, at least thirty years prior to Lyndon B. Johnson’s famous Commencement Speech at Howard University, D.C., in 1965, in which he used his hobbled slave metaphor to highlight the need for affirmative action as an instiutionalized way to achieve equality 'not as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result.'

Moreno’s book focuses on the period 1933–1972, from the introduction of FDR’s New Deal to the end of the first Nixon period in the White House, which represents the formative years of affirmative action as a color-conscious political and legal tool. He demonstrates that this introductory phase of affirmative action was not a steady development from color-blindness to color consciousness, but a period characterized by pendulum swings between the two concepts. In fact, the efforts in the 1930s—mainly under the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) and the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA)—were by and large color-conscious measures despite the fact that the New Deal as such was aimed at the problems of poverty rather than at those caused by race or ethnicity.

Moicno shows that the concept of ‘disparate impact,’ which was to gain the upper hand over the concept of ‘disparate treatment’ in legal analysis in the 1970s, had its genesis in the early 1930s. Whereas the former favors individual rights and merit-based personnel decisions, the latter is group-based, its proponents arguing that institutional racism was so pervasive as to render individual merit meaningless, offsetting group representation as the safest guarantee of individual rights. The New Negro Alliance (NNA), an organization established in 1933 by college-educated blacks dissatisfied with the performance of the traditional civil rights organizations, articulated—mainly through its organ the New Negro Opinion—a justification for race-conscious remedies for black unemployment. Thus it foreshadowed Justice Harry Blackmun’s declaration in the famous Bakke case, the first affirmative action case proper to appear before the US Supreme Court in 1978. ‘In order to get beyond racism, we must take account of race. There is no other way. And in order to treat some people equally, we must treat them differently.’

The NNA introduced nonviolent direct action as its main strategy. Assisted by a very competent law professor, William Rastie (who was later to become a federal judge and subsequently governor of the Virgin Islands), the NNA presented a sociological explanation of employment discrimination, thus foreshadowing the legal practices of the Warren Court of the 1950s. It made use of Franklin Frazier’s profile of race and employment, illustrating the heavy concentration of blacks in the lower rungs of the occupational ladder. Campaigns centered on slogans like ‘Don’t buy where you can’t work!’ and combined boycotts with legal action. Although only moderately successful, these initiatives launched, for the first time, a non-discriminatory standard in employment.

Ironically, the first task of the new activist group was to deflect the negative effects of the NIRA with regard to black employment. Because the NIRA contained a minimum wage provision black workers found themselves replaced by white workers because white employers now could exercise their racial prejudices without paying for it. The NNA and other groups working against racial discrimination in employment now started demanding quotas and proportional hiring. And they met some positive response in the Roosevelt

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2 W.E.B. Du Bois, the high-profile black leader and editor of the NAACP journal The Crisis from its foundation in 1910 until 1934, by 1933 had embraced the concept of ‘segregation without discrimination’ in recognition of the problems of color-blind integration efforts. Actually, this was the major issue that triggered his move from this bi-racial organization, which he had been so instrumental in founding.

Administration. Actually, the Public Works Administration (PWA) in 1935 specified that twelve per cent of the skilled labor payroll must go to Negro employees in its first federal housing project, in Atlanta. Other federal agencies followed the PWA lead, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) being a case in point. Societaiy of the Interior Harold Ickes himself was careful to have a proper proportion of blacks in the Civilian Conservation Corps, Armed Forces, and in his own office. The National Urban League argued for the view that the quotas imposed were to be considered minima, not maxima, and that unemployment rates among blacks rather than Census figures should determine the quotas.

A Philip Randolph’s threat of a March on Washington, in 1941, marked the end of this phase of affirmative action, symbolically indicated by the establishment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. Improved employment opportunities for blacks because of the war situation, coincided with the general disrepute of racism caused by the propaganda and deeds of the Nazis in Europe, produced a de-emphasis on race-consciousness in the USA as well. Color-blindness and nondiscrimination became American ideals, not only in the war industry but in society at large as well. Moreno claims that this overarching ideal held its sway until the early 1960s, when new strategies were developed based on the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The general growth of the economy — with expanding opportunities for employment also for minority groups — created a prosperity that seemed to alleviate racial relations and labor conflicts, although there were times of tension, such as the postwar recession of 1946-47 and the big strikes in the early 1950s. However, the Cold War helped paper over deeper cleavages in American society in the first postwar decade. The push for equal rights for blacks was exerted mainly by the NAACP under the auspices of the ‘separate but equal’ doctrine, emphasizing the second word in the concept, demanding real equality, and by and large keeping the conflicts within the courts of law.

The main strength of Moreno’s work is perhaps his detailed study of the Fair Employment Era — the postwar years down to the Civil Rights Era — mainly through a case study of New York. Moreno maps the efforts of the Fair Employment Practice Commission and the State Commission Against Discrimination and the impact of state laws against discrimination. Where the FEPC relied on moral persuasion, conciliation, and voluntary compliance, the SCAD had more teeth to it, and forced it to issue ‘cease and desist’ orders. One common criticism of the consequences of the SCAD efforts was that they made employers resort to quotas to shield themselves from accusations of discrimination. Furthermore, the SCAD relied on court decisions in cases involving jury selection, voting rights, and labor union membership cases. The analogy was troublesome when applied to employment situations because of job qualification requirements and the availability of competent applicants. Nonetheless, the SCAD efforts were quite successful in pursuing group solutions over focusing on individual complaints, with a concomitant emphasis on disparate impact rather than disparate treatment, paving the way for the adoption of color-consciousness in the affirmative action programs in the late 1960s.

Moreno also maps the activities and interplay of the large number of federal agencies that developed in the 1950s and 1960s to battle employment discrimination: the President’s Committee on Fair Employment Practice, the President’s Committee on Government Contract Compliance, the President’s Committee on Government Contracts,
the President’s Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Moreno’s book addresses direct action/affirmative action related to cmployment. In the latter half of the 1960s the field of education and other problematic areas were included as well. Moreno demonstrates how color-consciousness was reintroduced in programs under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, slowing that by 1972 both Congress and the Supreme Court to a great extent had accepted ‘disparate impact’ as proof of employment discrimination, and that this was not as novel an idea as may have appeared to many contemporaries observers. What happened later is a different story, but Moreno’s book provides an interesting, informative, and scholarly backdrop for an evaluation of that development.

Ole Moen

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The unusual character of this book, and its strengths and weaknesses, reflect the neat unique position Daniel Patrick Moynihan occupies in American political and academic life. Although he is a former director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University and world famous as a social scientist and historian, Moynihan writes *Miles to Go* primarily out of his long career in making social policy, first as a high-level bureaucrat and advisor to presidents from Kennedy to Nixon and then for over twenty years as a Democratic senator from New York. In the Senate he finally rose to chairman of the Finance Committee in 1992, a position he cites as a former chairman as saying has jurisdiction over ‘just about everything’ (5) The Republican majorities in both chambers that resulted from the historic congressional elections of 1994 cut his tenure short and provided impetus for this, the latest of seventeen volumes he has written or edited as America’s premier (soine would say only) scholar politician.

One strength of *Miles to Go* is implied by the title, an allusion to Frost’s poem ‘Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening’ with its sense of pausing temporarily to reflect before returning to responsibilities as yet unfilled for the enlightenment of constituents, colleagues and ‘history’, Moynihan the career public servant ponders the meaning of his struggles in a ‘Personal History of Social Policy’ before returning to the fray. His 63-page ‘Introduction’ invites readers to share his perspective as elder statesman and long-term policymaker. We are privy to a conversation between him and Yeltsin in 1987 about Lenin’s library in the Kremlin, which he visits as a representative of the United States as the USSR totters toward collapse. We are invited to share his greater sympathy for the defeat of old friend and government careerist George Bush than for the upstart president-elect from Arkansas, who arrives in the capital as if he had a ‘mandate for all manner of governing’ (2) with 43 percent of the vote and who brings a staff proposing ‘all manner of