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THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION
AND THE ALIEN

A SUPPLEMENT TO
IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE

FRANCES KELLOR



To Mary Austin
with the compliments
and friendship of the
author
Francis Keller

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A Supplement to
IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE

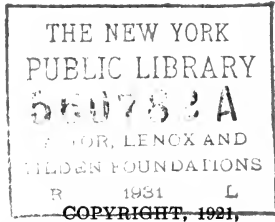
BY

FRANCES KELLOR

AUTHOR OF "IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE," "EXPERI-
MENTAL SOCIOLOGY," "OUT OF WORK,"
"STRAIGHT AMERICA," ETC.

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FOREWORD

The Federal Administration and the Alien is a supplement to *Immigration and the Future*, published in January of this year.

The last national election reposed such an overwhelming confidence of both native and foreign born people in the new Federal Administration that there is ground for renewed hope of the possibility of obtaining an immigration policy which will be representative of the wishes of all of the people of this great Republic.

There are indications that the hysteria concerning an "immigrant invasion" is disappearing; and that there is to be a return to a quiet time of normal thinking and just feeling. The appointment of exceptionally able statesmen to the posts of Secretary of State, of the Treasury, and of Commerce, strengthens the belief that the international aspects of immigration will receive due attention. The appointment of a Commissioner-General of Immigration thoroughly familiar with the subject is a further assurance that the national conduct of immigration will be improved, and that the laws will be better enforced. There is a likelihood that the percentage limitation bill will pass Congress, in which case the apprehension concerning an "alien invasion" will be removed. This will set the American mind free to consider larger phases of the question.

It therefore seems to be an opportune time to urge that we take time to study, to analyze, and to compare notes upon the post-war changes which affect aliens. The consideration of aliens as international human beings

and of their migration from place to place, as an important element in the industrial, economic, social, and political life of both emigration and immigration countries, does not lend itself to rush action.

The inheritance from the war is too great for such action to be wise. The American government policy has hitherto been to supervise the alien to the point of his adoption or rejection. Official acquaintance with him is limited largely to his ocean trip. The presence of thirty or more racial minorities in this country, all possessing a keen personal interest in international affairs, indicates that there should be a closer acquaintance between the American people and their alien guests. Naturally, Americans look to their national government for leadership in affairs which involve foreign peoples. Therefore, a permanent policy waits the assumption of such leadership by the new Federal Administration.

Immigration and the Future was intended to be a dispassionate analysis. It sought to portray the nature of the facts, the kind of procedure, as well as the attitude of mind which appear to be indispensable to the extension of the American immigration policy. The hearings on the Johnson bill to suspend immigration, held by the Senate Immigration Committee, but corroborated the beliefs, previously set forth, that scientific information of a trustworthy character, free from class interests, must precede the formation of a sound public opinion, and that any action taken without it is likely to be a political blunder. Also, that discussion on a broader scale than that of labor supply must prevail in our councils, if we would avoid the loss of a large part of the immigrants' possible contribution to American life.

This supplement deals primarily with the immediate problems confronting the Administration. At the same time, it seeks to place the responsibility for an inquiry

which will assure the foundations of a permanent policy. It indicates the necessity for considering immigration as part of the larger international questions which now occupy our minds. It deals with the individual alien, the problems he endures as well as those he creates, apart from the regulation of the amount of immigration. It separates the man from the mass.

I am indebted to the *Public Ledger* for the courtesy of reprinting the following articles which have appeared in its columns. The response to the points of view therein expressed seemed to indicate that a reprint might be of service in the formulation of public opinion,—an opinion which is fast crystallizing in favor of a more humane policy toward the alien, and a more just policy for the country.

FRANCES KELLOR

April 20, 1921

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SYNOPSIS

CHAPTER I. (*The Emergency.*) Page 17.—The immediate program is to get Ellis Island to the point of efficiency that existed before the war; to enforce the present immigration law; to reassign and coördinate Federal duties so as to avoid overlapping; to overhaul the antiquated naturalization service; to protect fully the alien through the State Department; to stabilize immigration through the Commerce Department; to capitalize immigration through the Treasury Department; and to provide a permanent substitute for emergency legislation through Congressional inquiry.

CHAPTER II. (*Fundamentals of a Policy.*) Page 24.—The American immigration policy, so far as the admission of immigrants is concerned, possesses four of the essentials of completeness—regulation, sanitation, deportation, and naturalization. Of the essentials that relate to the immigrants after admission it possesses one, namely, naturalization, and lacks all of the others—distribution, stabilization, capitalization, protection, and education. The facilities for all of them exist but they have not been applied in the form of an operating system. This country receives but does not follow up its aliens. It deports but it does not, consciously, insure against deportation.

CHAPTER III. (*Order in Administration.*) Page 30.—The method of handling the alien problem during the war was largely responsible for the demoralization of immigration administration. Responsibilities were parcelled out and that led to dilatoriness in some quarters, to excessive zeal in others, and resulted generally in confusion and overlapping of effort. To get at the bottom of the situation and deal with it fundamentally is the first step necessary to the simplification of the present complicated system and to the development of an effective one.

CHAPTER IV. (*Harmony Between Nation and States.*) Page 35.—The manifold control of the alien makes him at once the most regulated and the least controlled of human beings. A human shuttlecock, buffeted about between country of origin and country of destination; between nation and state; between locality and industry; between friend and foe; he is driven into a new citizenship

or back to his home across the sea. The failure of the Federal Government to assume and maintain complete control of the alien has been largely responsible for this state of affairs. It has been partly responsible for racial colonies and racial cleavages, and for American prejudices. It has accustomed native-born people to trust to luck that all will come out right in the end. But *what* end?

CHAPTER V. (*Protection of the Alien.*) Page 40.—The protection of the alien is an obligation imposed upon the national Administration by treaty agreements. He is bound to obey our laws but we are equally bound to respect his rights as an international human being. The imposition of unjust discriminations provokes evasion and contempt for American law. It is but a step from suppression to exploitation. The necessity for protection from exploitation promotes racial cleavages. This leads to conflict over jurisdiction of the alien as between representatives of foreign governments and our own. The United States has not assumed its full duties in this respect, and to this may be traced much of the aliens' misunderstanding of American institutions and reluctance to acquire citizenship. The new treaties should provide for a better protection, and the State Department should make an inquiry into the subject to perfect the laws and its own service to better carry out the spirit of international agreements.

CHAPTER VI. (*Naturalized Voter Between Elections.*) Page 47.—Internationalism crept into the last national election. The votes of the foreign-born decided the election. These votes were based largely upon the effects which American policies had produced in the countries of Europe. It was an exceptional situation, and it ought not to happen again. It will recur, however, if American administrators take no notice of the foreign-born voter between elections. It will persist, if the foreign-born voter is not called into counsel and made to feel that he is participating in American affairs. Larger and larger grows the immigrant's opportunities in Europe; smaller and smaller seems to be his outlook here. The richest and most varied storehouse of racial information and experience in all the world lies unused between elections.

CHAPTER VII. (*International Inconsistencies.*) Page 52.—The American Government drifted into internationalism after the war. The first indication was the Labor Conference which convened in Washington. The second indication was the arrival of a permanent correspondent of the League of Nations, and the third indication was the decision to send a delegate to the conference of the International Emigration Commission, after the election of 1920 had

served notice as to the American attitude toward international questions. By these acts we have been misleading Europe. We have committed immigration to the international labor group. We shall have to drift back again and define our ideas anew. In this we ought to have the confidence and support of our foreign-born citizens, acting through natural and not subterranean channels of diplomacy. But we will not have it unless roundabout methods are abandoned, irresponsible official statements are checked, and officials are held responsible for public utterances on racial affairs.

CHAPTER VIII. (*Racial Minorities in the United States.*) Page 58.—When the immigrant speaks for himself on behalf of free speech or democracy, there is little question of his rights. When he works in his own interests, little misunderstanding arises. But when he resorts to mass action, and acts through organizations, it creates a different situation. Ulterior motives are suspected, sources of funds are questioned, and activities are looked upon with suspicion. International propaganda has thrived on organization. Racial minorities will probably collect in solidarities so long as racial heritage and nationalism live. The question is not as to their suppression but their use. The problem is not to discourage their international values, but to find a place for them to function in American affairs and through American channels. Conciliation, not suppression—the note of the new Administration—should be applied to this situation.

CHAPTER IX. (*Immigration Turnover.*) Page 63.—Immigration turnover is expensive. It is costing heavily to set the immigrant at work and to give him experience and training, only to lose him when he is most valuable, economically. There is little in his short experience here to urge him, when he returns home, to win the good will and friendship of his countrymen for this country, as an offset to this loss. There is little effort made to convert him into a booster for Americanism, or into a salesman for American goods. What use, if any, can be made of the returning immigrant, and how can the loss be offset by international benefits? It is a new field, but the increasing cost of production and the narrowing margin of profits urge that the field be explored.

CHAPTER X. (*Is Every Alien a Potential Citizen.*) Page 69.—A discredited citizenship is a deterrent to many aliens who would be glad to become citizens if they were sure that citizenship would be recognized in their homelands and that they would be accorded wherever they go the full protection of the American flag. That recognition can be secured only through naturalization conventions between countries. This is because each nation, for military and

financial reasons, wishes to retain its hold over its own nationals. It creates an awkward situation for the foreign-born resident who goes abroad to visit his family or settle his affairs. Compulsory citizenship does not improve the situation, whether it be economic or political force that is applied.

CHAPTER. XI. (*The International Outlook.*) Page 74.—The international field is as indefinite as the national field is definite. The League of Nations proposes to deal with a large number of "twilight" questions which will be the problems of tomorrow. Americans will hardly participate in the deliberations. Nevertheless, it is possible for us to study the points of view, tendencies, and legislation in other countries on aliens and on immigration. We can extend our immigration service abroad and promote conferences for the interchange of opinions. We may even experiment with immigration treaties. We shall certainly negotiate new treaties, which will contain provisions to protect our citizenship. These eventualities already loom before us. What other things are in store for us in the dim recesses of the future no one can foretell.

THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION
AND THE ALIEN



THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE ALIEN

I

THE EMERGENCY

THERE is a widespread conviction that an immigration emergency exists. The House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization believes it to be a flood of immigrants. The Senate Committee on Immigration believes it to be the reorganization of a demoralized immigration administration. The House Committee finds a remedy in the three per cent. limitation bill, covering a period of one year. But the emergency which requires consistent hard work and constructive thought to remedy is as yet untouched.

There is real ground for the belief that the immigration service is demoralized. The necessity confronts the new Administration of restoring it to a pre-war basis. The pivotal point of the whole system is Ellis Island, which receives eighty per cent. of all immigration. The first task of the new Commissioner-General is to overhaul immigration stations. This involves restoring the morale of the staff, weeding out superfluous and undesirable incumbents, and establishing a service that will really serve the immigrant. It involves, also, the re-establishment of through transportation tickets, and the restoration of pre-war privileges, and methods to prevent congestion.

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Hardly less important than installing a business management is a proper enforcement of the immigration law. Evasions of some of the most fundamental provisions have long been notorious. Until the law is given a fair trial we shall never know how effective it can really become. That the law will actually be enforced, with responsibility centralized, is indicated by the transfer of certain powers from the Secretary of Labor to the new Commissioner-General, and by the abolition of advisory boards and other agencies which divide responsibility.

It may be seriously questioned whether the application of business management and the intention to enforce the law will provide the necessary relief, unless there is a recodification of the immigration law. It is defective in definitions; it is ambiguous in phrasing. Certain sections of the law as now phrased are unenforceable, and provisions dealing with the same matters are scattered throughout the law. The House Committee on Immigration could render a valuable service by employing a commission of experts to recodify this law.

The clear separation of the powers of the State Department with jurisdiction over resident aliens, and of the Labor Department with power over the admission of aliens, is perhaps the most acute problem in reorganizing the various activities relating to aliens. The war indicated very clearly that the regulation of immigration is quite a separate question from the treatment of the alien resident. In the former, the matter is wholly within the power of the Federal Government to admit or reject whoever it will on whatever terms it pleases. In the latter, the matter is governed by international agreement, in a field by itself. The regulation of immigration was in the first instance delegated to the State Department and has been hunting a domicile ever since. Whether it can be reinstated in the State Department is a question, but the

functions of the two—the power to admit the alien, and the power to deal with him after arrival—must be kept separate, if there is to be an efficient administration of the existing laws and agreements.

If better administration seems to be the problem of the Labor Department, then a survey of the field and the specification of powers and duties is perhaps the important task for the State Department.

The State Department should make a careful inquiry into the alien question as affected by conditions in the various foreign countries; the policies adopted or under consideration by these governments; the treaties that they have entered into or are considering with respect thereto; the relations between the foreign governments and their nationals who come to this country; the function of the foreign consulates in so far as they deal with their nationals who have come here to live; the protection of aliens by the Federal, State and municipal governments of the United States; a study of what has been done with regard to the protection and the rendering of service to aliens by the Federal, State and municipal governments of the United States; the efficacy of the laws enacted; the need for further legislation; the legislation that has been enacted or proposed for the purpose of restricting the aliens in the use of their languages or in respect to their employment and ownership of property; the extent to which any intelligent action has been taken or omitted to be taken with regard to the education of the alien and his children as to such subjects as are important for their assimilation; the activities and utilization of organizations of the various racial and linguistic groups; and in general the status of the alien in his country as affected by treaties between the United States and the country of which he is or has been a subject, by our Constitution and laws, and by the legislative, political and diplomatic policies of

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the various governments whose subjects are domiciled in this country.

There is no division in the Department of State that keeps in touch with the organized activities of aliens such as the many racial societies, trade bodies, foreign language newspapers, etc. It is vitally important that the State Department should be constantly informed concerning them since all of them have an international influence; also that their information and coöperation be secured for American interests. There should be a friendly relationship, such as existed during the war, between the State Department and these organizations. There is no division in which all information on laws, decisions, etc., affecting aliens is brought together or where a standard practice is being built up with reference to their protection. It is highly important that some official should be charged with the specific duty of dealing with this whole subject, including the direction of the inquiry previously outlined.

The reorganization of the naturalization bureau has been urged for many years. The elimination of technicalities, and of delays; the reduction of costs; a better organization of the educational work and the harmonizing of the various war emergency provisions are among the most important matters. But the whole question has been so affected by the war that a commission of experts to go over the whole subject seems necessary before the sources of the difficulties can be reached and wise provisions be recommended. Obviously the granting of citizenship is not a labor function and should be combined with the other citizenship functions of the State Department.

The stabilization of immigration is primarily a commercial matter and should receive the attention of the Department of Commerce. Successful distribution to the land is a great stabilizer, but it is essentially a ques-

tion of providing transportation, of funds, and of supervision until the immigrant has a start. Continuity of employment is another stabilizer, but this depends upon proper industrial organization, the maintenance of markets, and other factors. The use of racial groups to control the foreign market at home, the use of emigrants to improve trade relations abroad—these illustrate the nature of the probable stabilization methods of the future.

Opportunities to engage in business, especially exports, and to obtain credit for new enterprises may well determine whether immigrants who have saved money will remain here. The reduction of the cost of immigration turnover, the increase in the output of new immigrants, and the use of latent resources in trade—these are matters that merit the attention of the Department of Commerce. They suggest the creation of a division to take up the stabilization of immigration as a factor of national and international commercial importance.

The Treasury Department has the responsibility of capitalizing the resources of the alien. That responsibility will not have been fully met until a way has been found to safeguard the transmission of the immigrant's money abroad and until interstate transactions in the sale of land and the organization of land colonies are so regulated as to prevent fraud. Until these safeguards are provided, the immigrant will continue to risk his savings and blame this country for his losses. He will refuse to invest in American securities and will be suspicious about buying a home, so long as nothing is done to protect his savings and to interest him in American investments. We have talked so long about the evils the immigrant may bring us that it is time to consider measures to eliminate some of the evils that beset the immigrant on every side.

The defeat in the New York State Legislature of the bills which have for their object the protection of im-

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migrants' savings, and the failure of Congress to pass the bill which would have created a Bureau of Export Savings indicate not only that this subject is difficult upon which to legislate, but that its vital bearing upon larger affairs has not yet become apparent to business relations in the country. It is the heart of the racial economic system and is not lightly to be dislodged.

Congress has intimated that the three per cent. limitation bill is a temporary measure, pending the formulation of a permanent policy to be determined through a comprehensive inquiry into immigration. There is no denying that Congress has an accumulation of questions to answer. Among them are: What is Americanization? What shall be done with the foreign language press? Shall citizenship be compulsory, with deportation as the penalty for refusal? Shall the troubles of Europe be brought to this country? Shall aliens be registered? Shall the use of the English language be mandatory? Shall immigration be further restricted, and if so, how?

Congress also receives almost daily would-be panaceas, and suggestions of all kinds, some of which merit consideration. An inquiry, which will answer some of these questions and will dispose of some of the accumulation of panaceas, will be of immense service to the country and may bring to it some permanent peace of mind.

But while Congress is coping with this mass of material, weeding out the impractical and sifting out the meritorious proposals for careful study, the government should not lose sight of the immediate program which is to restore Ellis Island to a basis of pre-war efficiency; to enforce and recodify the existing immigration law, to rearrange Federal immigration duties so as to avoid overlapping; to stabilize immigration through the Department of Commerce; to capitalize the immigrant's resources

through the Treasury Department; to protect aliens; to overhaul the antiquated naturalization service; and to institute an inquiry which will provide a permanent substitute for emergency measures.

II

FUNDAMENTALS OF A POLICY

IN the meantime, let us again examine the most pressing of the conditions which confront the new national Administration, in the hope that it may be of service to new officials who bring to the task, not only their own best efforts but who have the good-will of the immigrant and the confidence of the country.

The pocket veto of the three per cent. limitation bill which was substituted for the Johnson bill to suspend immigration has given a clean slate to the Republican Administration.

Since the armistice was signed, no immigration legislation has been passed, and whatever action is taken will indicate what is to be the American post-war policy. Such action will be regarded as a measure of the progress and of the strength which this country has realized from its war experience. But the interval between the veto and the special session of Congress does not give the country time to propose any wise measure. Although unemployment and typhus will not be "news" to help their passage, it will be strange if emergency bills do not appear early in the session. For we are by no means free from the hysteria which prevailed during the winter. This will doubtless have to be satisfied before progress on a permanent measure can be made.

Could we have used the last three months in the preparation of permanent legislation, instead of spending it on emergency measures, at least preliminary suggestions

would be ready for the new Congress. But it is characteristic of us that we do not at the same time have a short range and long range view.

But the winter has not been quite wasted. The Senate Immigration Committee has rendered a distinguished service which with time will grow in importance. Its hearings have revealed how great is the measure of ignorance of post-war conditions. It has indicated how far away we are from agreement upon policies. It has shown although the country was in no danger of a flood of immigration, because foreign countries were keeping it at home, and because ships were lacking to bring it to this country, that facts could not stem the feeling engendered by propoganda and irresponsible statements. But a more important revelation was the realization that we are not thinking in constructive terms and, therefore, the many witnesses had no constructive suggestions for a permanent policy. Many thought that our present laws, if they were enforced, would answer the purpose. Much to our amazement and confusion, each witness who appeared, while using the same statistics, was able to present a different conclusion.

As the situation unfolded, under the competent examination of the Senate Immigration Committee, it became clear that our first need is to formulate a permanent policy which will contain the inescapable fundamentals which are necessary to the success of an intelligent and permanent plan. These fundamentals were fairly well revealed during the hearings.

The selection of immigration came first. It appears, however, that we have no method unless we include the very efficient selection which is now carried on by resident immigrants. They invite their friends to come to this country and accompany their invitations with prepaid tickets. Eighty per cent. of all the immigrants who come

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here are selected in this way. Personal relationships—not the needs and welfare of the country—are the determining influences. If personal desires and public welfare sometimes agree, it is due to accident rather than to design.

The regulation of immigration seems to have been next in importance. From the mass of immigrants who were selected by their friends and relatives, those who were mentally, physically, and morally unsound, or who were undesirable because of their political beliefs, were excluded. To these tests of fitness have been added a literacy test and labor test. But, as was shown, the final regulation as to numbers depends upon steamship capacity; and the final regulation as to quality depends upon the effectiveness with which the immigration law is being enforced.

The sanitary precautions taken under the Health Service were found to be effective. One of the reasons for this efficiency is that the health service has been internationalized. In this way an effective coöperation has been built up among nations.

The deportation of immigrants, adopted as part of the immigration law to protect the country against evils which might result after they had been admitted, appeared to have become so popular that it was often used to anticipate as well as to remedy evils. Deportation has come to be considered as a good substitute for due process of law, when convictions have seemed to be difficult to obtain. A tendency not to discriminate in its use between trivial and grave offenses was also discernible.

But when the inquiry of the Senate Immigration Committee extended beyond the selection, regulation, sanitation, and deportation of immigrants, it found a mass of conjecture and ignorance which it seemed hopeless to explore. There were vague plans for the distribution

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of immigration. But no one seemed to know whether it was wise, as was suggested in the Sterling Bill, to have the various states assemble information as to opportunities for work and indicate their desire to accept immigrants, before they were admitted; or, as was suggested by a representative of the State Department, to have the passport issued on condition that the immigrant would live upon the land. On the whole it seemed better to leave the whole question to voluntary efforts.

Protection of immigrants after arrival appeared to be equally indefinite. The government has hitherto seemed quite content to leave this matter to the representatives of foreign governments. These act through the State Department on complaints, or through subsidized foreign agencies, or through foreign language groups and their organizations, or by means of the foreign language press. True, we have treaty provisions and laws which, in general, protect the immigrant, but aliens who travel from place to place under peculiar handicaps, in search of work and of a permanent foothold, often find it easier not to go to the trouble of invoking them.

Stabilization of immigration has received almost no official attention. The maintenance of wage rates and of standards of living; the promotion of interest in American institutions; and the establishment of contacts which would interest immigrants to remain in this country have been left largely to voluntary organizations, or to class activities. In the light of the fact that in twenty-eight years about 14,500,000 third-class immigrants entered the United States, while nearly 7,000,000 returned, stabilization, it appears, may be rated at about fifty per cent.

The capitalization of the immigrants' resources is largely concentrated in the racial economic system. This includes racial employment agents, banks, lodging houses, shops, insurance companies, and a press—all of which

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have a personal interest in the savings of the immigrant. From the amount of the sums sent abroad by immigrants and the large quantities of imported goods which they use, it would seem that American business is not fully capitalizing the resources of immigrants.

The naturalization system under which aliens become citizens, provides amply for men who take out their first papers. But there is a tendency to compel aliens, by legal or by economic force, to embrace citizenship. This indicates that the eagerness of the alien to become an American does not keep pace with the intention of the American. This fact cautions us to look into prevailing methods to ascertain what is askew.

Our system of free education is the pride of the country. For the child excellent provisions have been made. We believe in the use of one language, in the elimination of illiteracy, and in the extension of the knowledge of our institutions. But thus far all bills which provide a way by which the adult immigrant may more fully avail himself of these advantages have failed to pass Congress.

Of the ten inescapable fundamentals in the operation of a successful national policy, the Senate Immigration Committee, quite unintentionally but none the less clearly, indicated that four had been adopted and were in operation—regulation, sanitation, deportation, and naturalization. But the remaining six—selection, distribution, protection, stabilization, capitalization, and adequate education for the adult immigrant—remain to be provided for.

In the meantime, while we dawdle with emergencies, what is happening to the immigrant? He is arriving. He is somehow reaching his destination. He is finding work, and he is, for the most part, succeeding. But he is also going back home. Also, what is happening to the country? It is progressing. It is prospering. It is remaining true to its fundamental principles of Americanism. But

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only a new country, inestimably rich in resources, and operating on wide margins of profit, can possibly afford the wasteful and expensive methods by which these results are being accomplished. And already the strain is beginning to tell, in business depression and in government apprehension. Even the immigrant soon becomes jaded by his experience and struggle.

The true situation is that we possess but half a policy—one which receives the immigrant, but in no way provides a system for his assimilation. The emergency is to finish the structure, so we can decide intelligently whether we will further restrict or admit immigration. Unfortunately, the transition from the habit of patch work to the attitude of permanent constructive thought cannot be accomplished by leaps. We have drifted into a state of mind, where the fog of propaganda and race prejudice and class antagonism is very thick. The immigrant and the native American have ceased to see each other clearly through the mass of immigration bills in Congress.

So the country is bewildered, and public opinion looks confidently to the new Federal Administration to provide a policy and a program which will lead it toward the light.

III

ORDER IN ADMINISTRATION

PERHAPS the first step toward the light is to find out what is the matter with Federal Government Departments which deal with immigration affairs. While many of the difficulties existed prior to the war, so many new aspects of immigration have since been presented that the wonder is not that we have so many government departments dealing with the subject, but so few.

The presence in the country of enemy aliens, the distribution of international propaganda, the spending of foreign money to influence public opinion, the departure of aliens—half nationalist and half American—to fight for their home countries, the raising of funds for European purposes, the revival of nationalist sentiment and the consequent strengthening of solidarities and organizations, and the growth of racial opinion in the country—these and many other changes have confused our grasp of the new problems, and of their relation to each other. They have demoralized the administrative machinery.

There are many examples of this demoralization. Some wise statesman foresaw a situation like typhus, and safeguarded the situation by a provision in the quarantine law giving the President full powers. But we must needs rush into local disputes and the preparation of new bills to suspend immigration, and into most expensive methods of sanitation, rather than act through a President's proclamation, which would have reached the sources of the

disease. The Lord Mayor of Cork brought to light the long outstanding differences over passports between the State and Labor Departments. Notwithstanding the overwhelming decision of the country on November 2nd not to participate in the League of Nations, a representative was sent abroad in February, under Section 29 of the Immigration Law.

In the very delegation of existing powers there are immense possibilities for misunderstanding among officials and for a wide misunderstanding by aliens of American institutions. The State Department has a consular service, a passport division, and various other functions. The Treasury Department has an investigation bureau, a public health service, and collectors of the port, all concerning themselves with the affairs of the alien. The Labor Department has an immigration bureau, a naturalization bureau, a division of information and an employment service. The Interior Department has a bureau of education. The War Department has a recruit educational service. The Treasury and Post Office Departments share in the responsibility of dealing with the savings of immigrants. The Post Office Department has a censorship of the foreign language press and the regulation of foreign mails. The Commerce Department has a census bureau and navigation bureau. At least four departments have their own secret services.

Each of these government agencies is not only a point of activity but it is also a center of information. Probably nowhere else in the world is there such a valuable storehouse of information on all racial matters as there is in this country. During the war, these departments spent large sums of money to gather facts about the alien, but the information so gathered has never been assembled and analyzed. The various facts have not been related and their significance understood. In this condition, they are

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useless as the basis for any intelligent policy. The answers to many of the questions to which the Senate Immigration Committee received no answer are in the records gathered during the war.

But instead of creating at the beginning of the war a bureau of aliens in the State Department and centralizing all activities there, the duty of dealing with alien matters was distributed to some forty or more services or officials in the various departments. In the haste to demobilize war activities not only the records, but much of the experience, of war organization has been lost.

It is doubtful if, administratively speaking, the immigrant question can be put together again without a thorough examination into the situation. The transfer of a few bureaus and of a few officials will not greatly improve a situation which, if muddled at home, muddles our international relations. To be sure, administration is our own affair. But we cannot prevent its results from being some other nation's affair when the subject is an international human being.

Coordination without a fundamental understanding of the immigration question is impossible. Where, for instance, does the health service belong? Should it be attached to immigration, or should the examination of aliens be but one phase of its activity? Why is the Bureau of Naturalization in the Labor Department, and the Bureau of Citizenship in the State Department and what is the relation between the two? Does the education of the alien belong to the Labor or to the Interior Department? Are the principles underlying citizenship or are those of education to determine its final location?

If there is to be a reorganization of the Federal administrative machinery, for once let us go to the bottom of immigration and decide the question on its merits—a

thing we have not done since the alien was placed in charge of the Federal Government. We ought not to take one step until a full inquiry has been made into the situation. Such an inquiry should cover :

First, an examination of the principles of the immigration law as to the origin of the existing provisions, the considerations that dictated their passage, and their applicability to the present situation.

Second, a study of the administration of present laws, with especial reference to the powers of various bureaus, the duties of officials, the superfluity and duplication of effort, the personnel, and appropriations.

Third, a study of post-war conditions, concerning which no policy or legislation has been adopted. These include such matters as the hiatus created by the suspension of war regulations, and the failure to pass laws more suited to present conditions, and the changed status of the alien.

Fourth, a survey of the progress which assimilation of immigration is making, together with an analysis of the forces which are operating for and against its success. The tendency to base legislation upon a capacity for assimilation creates a situation in which we may find ourselves constructing a policy upon an insecure foundation.

Fifth, the collection of international information from emigration countries covering the laws, regulations, orders and conventions dealing with emigration and aliens; together with an analysis of the changes taking place in the countries from which the United States receives immigration. Similar information from countries which are now competing with the United States for immigration would be useful.

An important step, therefore, in the present emergency is to put the present administrative machinery in running

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order. But it will soon be obsolete in type unless we map out an inquiry which will insure the kind of overhauling necessary to perfect the handling of the present immigration traffic, and to improve the law that governs it.

IV

HARMONY BETWEEN NATION AND STATES

WHEN the states relinquished their full rights to the regulation of immigration, they were less specific about their rights toward the alien. During the war the conflict of authority between nation and states indicated how loosely this matter is regarded. Today it presents almost as delicate a situation as does the promotion of harmony among Federal agencies. Whether the regulation of aliens is to rest exclusively with the Federal Government is, however, a question which must be settled.

It has been assumed, since the Federal Government took control of immigration in 1882, that immigration was thoroughly nationalized. But with every new emergency, we find states and municipalities exercising powers in contradiction of this assumption. When the United States entered the war and the enemy alien became a menace, New York State undertook to deal with the situation within its borders, only to be reprimanded by Federal authorities. When the "one language" campaign was inaugurated, it was a state which undertook to prohibit the use of all foreign languages. When the cry of Bolshevism was raised, it was the New York State Lusk Committee that crossed lances with the United States Attorney General. When the patriotism of foreign born citizens was questioned, it was a state which prohibited the circulation of publications in foreign languages.

The war spirit did but follow, however, precedents which had been established during times of peace. Then,

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whenever unemployment prevailed, it had been municipalities that had passed laws which prohibited aliens from following certain callings. In some states, corporations had been prohibited from employing more than a certain percentage of aliens. In other states, employers required citizenship papers as a condition to work in their plants.

Such discrimination had become so widespread during the Armistice that the American Bar Association recommended that the President be authorized to direct the Attorney General to file a bill in equity against any person threatening to violate the rights of any citizen or subject of another country which were secured to them by treaty rights. It was recommended that this provision should apply to acts threatened by state officers under the supposed justification of state laws. The proposed bill further provided that any act committed in violation of such rights, which constitutes a crime under state laws, shall constitute a crime against the peace and dignity of the United States and may be prosecuted in the courts of the United States. And further, that the President may use United States marshals to maintain the peace of the United States when such violations occur and may use the army and navy for such purposes if, in his judgment, the circumstances demand it.

But such confusion between nation and states has long been tolerated. The naturalization law furnishes the most striking example. When naturalization became a Federal matter, state residence was retained as a condition precedent to the granting of papers. There has been no greater obstacle to the acquirement of citizenship. By our own terms of employment, the alien is, in many instances, compelled to become a migratory workman. As such, he finds great difficulty in living long enough in any one state to complete his naturalization.

The question is, how far may states go in such mat-

ters as prohibiting the use of foreign languages, the exclusion of aliens from certain occupations, the interference with the possession and use of personal property and in forbidding the purchase of land by aliens? The discriminations of which aliens complain are due rather to a lack of understanding by the states of the nation's treaty obligations than to any desire on their part to contravene their guaranties. But it has apparently never been made clear to state and local authorities just where the rights of the nation end and those of the states begin.

Our treaty agreements generally contain "most favored nation" clauses, under which citizens or subjects of foreign countries are to be allowed to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the United States, and to carry on their business and enjoy the same protection for their persons and property as that enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the "most favored nation." Some of these treaties, as in the case of Serbia, frequently specify that there shall be no discrimination against such foreign-born citizens or subjects in the exercise of their trade or business, and that they shall not be subjected to taxes or conditions of any kind that are more onerous than those imposed upon natives or citizens or subjects of other nations.

With the alien tending toward temporary residence and nationalism and giving increasing thought to the upkeep of his native country; and with the American bent upon restriction, registration and suppression of racial differences and expression, protection increasingly becomes an affair of state. A way must be found to prevent the enforcement of laws which contravene agreements that are not only beyond legislative acts but are beyond the Constitution itself. These agreements while they have the force of law, rest only upon good faith, and the ultimate penalty for their violation is war. We must find a way

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to fully safeguard aliens, for as things now are, only those who are loud and insistent in their complaints, or who command powerful influences, racial or otherwise, obtain redress, while, to the mass of aliens, no attention at all is paid. It is impossible under such conditions to leave the protection of the alien to the remote consular agent or to the good graces of the reformer. Nothing but a profound statesmanship and a broad, tolerant, understanding policy can successfully shape the course of the alien in this country, whether it be toward citizenship or toward a return to his native country.

It is obviously impossible, however, for the nation to keep international agreements unless it has the understanding and sympathetic support of the state. This can be secured:

First, by studying the laws of the various states and municipalities and pointing out to the states wherein these laws conflict with treaty rights.

Second, by establishing a cooperation between state authorities and the State Department which will prevent the passage of such laws.

Third, by preventing the enforcement of existing discriminatory laws.

Fourth, by inaugurating a policy of *preventing* injustice rather than of waiting for complaints.

Most important, however, is the bringing of state and local thought into accord with the national government on matters affecting the alien. If state and municipal legislators could be induced to confer with the State Department before enacting laws which affect aliens, if for no other reason than to ascertain if they were acting within their rights, and in a way not to cause embarrassment, then the government would be saved many a trying situation. Racial relations throughout the country would thus be vastly improved and the honor and

dignity of every branch of our service would be upheld as a consistent part of a national policy.

Like many other aspects of immigration, it requires but intelligent interest and cooperation to avoid misunderstanding. There is every reason to expect such an accomplishment from an Administration which seeks to bring order out of chaos and harmony out of discord, no less between governments than among its own citizens.

V

PROTECTION OF THE ALIEN

PENDING such an adjustment between nation and states, the question is how to protect the alien against acts of commission. It is but a step from discrimination by the state to evasion by the alien, for the levying of injustice awakens the instinct to defiance.

An alien was arrested recently for the eightieth time in New York City for peddling without a license. This was a violation of a city ordinance. When he was arraigned for the last offense, the court records showed that he had paid fines at various times amounting to \$210. To the astonishment of the court, when ordered to pay his last fine, he proposed a compromise, namely, that the fines be regarded as "rent" and that they should average not more than seven dollars for each violation thereafter.

There are some two thousand alien peddlers in a similar position in New York City who would welcome the arrangement proposed by this habitual offender. They are the victims of an ordinance which prohibits the issuance of peddlers' licenses to persons who are not citizens—an ordinance passed not so much to hurt them as to favor others, hardly in need of such protection.

The question arises: Why do not these peddlers avoid this discrimination by becoming citizens? In the first place, many of them were born in what are technically enemy countries, although they may not be Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians or Turks. As technical enemy subjects, they are not eligible to citizenship without special consent of

the President of the United States. In the second place, not all of them can meet the requirements as to knowledge of English.

It is amusing to learn that an alien cannot be a barber in Michigan, that he cannot own a dog in Pennsylvania, or that he cannot be employed on our city streets to shovel snow. We are inclined to think an alien gets his deserts when an industry refuses to employ him without citizenship papers. But there is little that can hurt his pride of race or dignity of manhood which the friendless alien does not experience. From the first to the eightieth fine was for the peddler a long road of humiliation and degradation. The alien comes here in good faith, ignorant of the existing laws that discriminate against him. He makes no special appeal to our sympathy or interest. He is charged with most of our economic, if not political evils. He is an outcast. He is a source of revenue and the victim for all sorts of swindles by some of the immigrants who came before him. He is a lonely figure.

Obviously, the effect of discriminatory laws upon such an alien is not a good thing either for him or for the country. In time, his respect for American law breaks down. His obedience to authority disappears, and defiance and resentment take the place of the spirit of cooperation. Once the emergency which created these laws disappears, they are no longer enforced but they are rarely repealed. But the alien's experience with such laws has bred caution. While he evades them he builds his own walls for protection—the colony, the racial society, the foreign language press and the bank.

If it is but a step from discrimination to evasion, then it is a still shorter step from absence of protection to exploitation. The failure to enact laws to protect the alien from exploitation violates the spirit if not the letter of our treaty agreements. When immigration was taken

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over by the Federal Government and state laws were abolished, the protective features in the state laws were not re-enacted in the federal law. This omission is the cause of much of the prevailing system of exploitation. This includes porters, runners, money exchangers, quasi-bankers, employment agents, brokers and insurance agents, as well as gold brick and "get-rich-quick" swindlers. Many of these prey upon aliens from the moment of their arrival. They change their tactics with the times. The employment agent becomes the custodian of special funds to secure passports. The broker becomes an agent for relief funds and relief supplies for destitute Europe.

With the increase in immigration, so widespread had become their exploitation, that in 1910 New York State created a separate bureau for the protection of aliens and re-enacted many of the laws which prevailed when the state controlled immigration. Massachusetts followed suit. But the fact that New York State has again abandoned this work in the interests of economy, and Massachusetts has transformed it into educational work, illustrates clearly that the protection of the alien is the function of the Federal Government.

But for some time, there has been going on silently another conflict over the alien, none the less real because diplomatic. Americans have rather assumed that the protection of the alien was no particular business of theirs, since consular agents have been appointed in this country by foreign governments to protect their nationals. In this way, they have assured themselves that if aliens got into a tight place, they could take up the matter, through their legations, with the State Department. But experience shows that by the time the matter is again referred to state or local authorities, the alien has quite likely accepted discrimination as the rule in this country and has gone his way.

But aside from the effect upon the alien, and the nature of his reactions to our institutions, this procedure involves grave matters of policy. It is a question whether too much of our responsibility and authority has not been delegated to representatives of foreign governments, to quasi-officials, and to irresponsible racial and welfare organizations, about whose activities and ultimate purposes the government is not sufficiently informed.

Some of the results of this policy are already apparent. Today, naturalized citizens turn as readily to these agencies as when they were aliens. Their American citizenship papers have never quite emancipated them. Consulates, weary of invoking local laws, sometimes operate a banking business to protect their nationals, but they compete with American banks, and are not amenable to our laws. Aliens are sometimes advised to take out naturalization papers to obtain the necessary protection, and are at the same time assured that repatriation will be made easy if they wish to return home.

The alien is in an extremely difficult position. On the one hand he is an economic outpost of his native country and in competition with the native American. He is the objective of international propaganda. He is the prey of the exploiter. He is the target for economic discrimination. He is the victim of legislative discrimination. He is the pivot on which race antagonism and friction turn. On the other hand, he is the recipient of boundless opportunity. He is the beneficiary of American institutions. He is the much sought object of the Americanizer. He is the future aspirant for American citizenship.

It is a question whether any consular service can undertake to fully protect its nationals under such conditions. The very size of the country and complexity of its political organization add to the difficulties. Not counting the labor camps, the alien resides in more than 2,500

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communities where there are more than 100 aliens. His misdeeds are judged in thousands of different courts under hundreds of varying statutes and ordinances. American law and order is interpreted to him by officials who range from the justice of the peace to the Supreme Court judge. And sometimes individual citizens, impatient of the law's delay, expound their own interpretation of Americanism to him. In many places neither the alien nor the citizen is aware of his rights or duties.

To this situation can be traced much of the alien's misunderstanding of Americanism, his resentment of Americanization, his reluctance to acquire citizenship, and his aversion to learning the English language.

Also, to this failure of protection may be traced the increasing concern of the foreign governments for the welfare of their nationals and their tendency to divert emigration to other countries, safeguarded by treaty agreements, specifically covering their protection. A study of such treaties shows that they are taking up questions of protection which the United States has not yet even remotely considered. They provide, for instance for the same standard of wages for aliens as for native workmen engaged in the same kind of work, the full protection of laws, customs, and usages, and the same benefits from insurance and compensation laws. Under these treaties, countries of emigration are to be advised when immigrants cannot find work so emigration may be stopped. Charitable aid is provided through mutual aid societies for immigrants needing temporary relief. It will be a novelty for the American to think of future immigration as dependent upon an agreement to protect the wage rates and standards of living of the immigrant.

We are about to negotiate new treaties, treaties in which the human rights of aliens should receive more

consideration, and in which their status should be more definitely fixed. We have in the past relied perhaps upon too exalted an opinion of human fairness, to look after the stranger far removed from his homeland. We now realize that the powers are too delicate to be so left.

We face a period in the world's history when the migration of people will be the phenomenon of the world. The United States itself is fast becoming an emigration as well as an immigration country. It is a time when the lure of foreign markets and ease of transportation will lead Americans to go to all parts of the world. It is for the American abroad, as well as the alien in this country, that we must plan—for as we treat aliens here so will the American be treated abroad. Nothing but the most exhaustive knowledge, the application of vision, and painstaking care in the formulation of treaty provisions can safeguard the alien whose character and power of adjustment in the very near future is to be tested to the uttermost.

In so grave a matter, involving good faith between nations and the stabilization and utilization to the full of our own immigration, it is not for a private citizen to suggest a remedy. It can only be urged that the State Department turn its attention to this question—that it study carefully and thoroughly the status of the alien in this country, his location and the laws which now apply to him; that it ascertain in detail the nature of official and quasi-official powers not being exercised among aliens; that it become familiar with the organization and activities of the societies maintained by aliens to protect their countrymen, and that it follow the ramifications of these activities abroad. Whatever course the assembling and analysis of such facts will suggest, the alien as well as the American will be equally assured that our high obliga-

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tion to other nations and to our own country will be squarely met, for Mr. Hughes will be able no less to achieve this than when, as Governor, he restored to aliens in New York State the full protection of law.

VI

NATURALIZED VOTER BETWEEN ELECTIONS

THE foreign born citizens decided the election," says Irving Fisher in his recently published explanation of the presidential vote.

Whether they did or not, an important question in immigration policy-making is what part will foreign born citizens have in it? For we are beginning to see that whatever policy is formulated, and whatever program is undertaken, cannot be a success without the coöperation of the people whom they most affect.

For the most part such policies have been made without consulting them. The result is that in national elections the nationalist issue to some has proved more absorbing than have American issues.

In the November election, many of the races changed their political viewpoint to conform to that in their homelands. Many of the foreign born voters, who had overwhelmingly supported the Democratic party in the past, swung their forces to the Republican ranks. The national issue of the campaign had little influence on such voters. It was what their kinspeople in Europe thought of Mr. Wilson that determined their vote. Members of races that failed to obtain the "self-determination" that had been expected by small nations bolted from the Democratic ranks. Wherever his stand in the Peace Conference affected adversely the interests of their native countries the foreign born turned against his party. The foreign-language press in the United States and the

speeches of foreign born leaders contained many appeals to foreign born voters to vote for or against Mr. Wilson on the plea of what he had or had not done for their home countries.

A situation of this kind cannot continue with safety to the nation. But it has demonstrated that Americans must win the interest of the foreign born in national American affairs, and invite them to participate more fully in our national life. This is the task that confronts the Republican Administration, and it is a task that must be undertaken if political unity is to be wrought out of the thirty racial minorities in the United States.

How is it to be done? We must admit that local political bosses and campaign leaders have failed. In fact, they have generally catered to the racial consciousness of the foreign born voters instead of inducing them to view party issues in their national significance.

To secure the interest of the foreign born voter in American political issues and affairs requires a continuous *bona fide* recognition of such voters—not something to be used today and discarded tomorrow, as has been the case with many of the friendships which were established during the war.

For the first time in the history of this country a friendship between Federal officials and racial leaders and groups was built up during the war. The habit formed by government officials of consulting these leaders about racial affairs worked well, and some very serious national blunders were avoided. But when the war machine was dismantled, these relationships seemed to have no value in peace time and they were consequently rather ruthlessly abandoned.

These friendships are well worth reviving and strengthening. The foreign born voter has technically given up one allegiance for another. With great diffi-

culty he has learned the language. He has studied our institutions. He has met our requirements and has done his best to become an American.

If there is any one subject in this country upon which the foreign born voter can help the country it is immigration. It is his happiness, prosperity and future that are most greatly affected by new immigration policies and laws. It is his point of view and personal interest that needs to be joined to those of the native born to secure an all-round policy that will fully represent American interests.

The more foreign born leaders are brought into contact with leading Americans, the more their leadership becomes identified with the American government and American interests, the less will be the need for mass meetings, or for wire-pulling to influence the government through propaganda or by other indirect means.

We have the richest storehouse of racial experience and information in the world, but we seldom use it for our government. It was a subject of comment at the Peace Conference that our representatives had so little racial understanding. Our critics did not know, as we know, that English-speaking Americans seldom get close to the foreign-speaking Americans; that half of the immigrants who came here have gone back, and that one-half of those who have stayed have not yet learned our language and have not sought American citizenship.

To accomplish lasting national unity and harmony, we should have in all of the Federal positions which deal with immigrants native born Americans who have a knowledge of immigration affairs, who are in sympathy with foreign peoples and who understand them and possess their confidence. To re-establish the faith of the immigrant in American institutions, nothing less than this is the task before us. No man should be appointed

to direct affairs which relate to the immigrant, who does not possess such knowledge. It will be as futile to appoint men without such qualifications, as it would be to appoint men unfamiliar with commerce to deal with trade; or with finance, to direct banks; or with agriculture, to manage farming.

Such consideration has never before been given to this subject, largely because it has become almost a tradition that such posts must be held by men who are known to favor the restriction of immigration. It has, therefore, been assumed that all foreign born people are for a free immigration. Yet it is well known that some of the most ardent restrictionists are foreign born, or are the children of foreign born parents. The vitally important thing is that appointees should have no bias either way, and that this great international subject should be lifted from class prejudice to the plane of statesmanship.

Otherwise, capable men will not accept these positions. Men worthy of the leadership of Mr. Hughes, Mr. Mellon or Mr. Hoover are not willing to become national policemen at ports of entry, nor are they willing to serve as commissioners general of immigration with a high-sounding title but with little scope for the use of their ability, nor to act as officers of a health service which is hampered by petty state jealousies. To attract men who are worthy of filling these positions they must be raised to a plane of dignity and of power and be coördinated and governed by a broad constructive policy. This will give them scope for the use of initiative, intelligence, resourcefulness and judgment and enable them to appreciate the significance of immigration both at home and abroad.

There is another reason for urgent national action having for its object a selection of better officials. The state of mind of our foreign born people is such today

that future progress in Americanization depends upon some national recognition of them which will increase among races already here reciprocity of thought and harmony of action.

We have been singularly without imagination not to see that Americanization will fail so long as there is no recognition of the interests, feeling and rights of these minorities in the adoption and amendment of our immigration laws, which constitute their life and happiness. We have been slow to realize that reciprocity between the various races and between them and ourselves requires that, between elections, naturalized citizens be encouraged to put something of their idealism, practicality and capacity for sacrifice into national political life.

Through the right kind of leadership in office, through conferences with foreign born citizens, through the re-establishment of friendships between government leaders and foreign born citizens, it will be possible to interpret more fully to both aliens and citizens, American institutions, government, laws, and public affairs. This will secure the coöperation of the racial organizations, the racial press and racial groups.

To keep in touch with the foreign born citizen between elections, to find a way to use his interest and enthusiasm, to secure the coöperation of his organizations and press, and to put into government service his experience and ability, requires leadership. It is for the new Administration to find a way to re-establish the friendships between the alien and the nation and to provide such leadership.

VII

INTERNATIONAL INCONSISTENCIES

THE friendship and coöperation which existed between the Federal Administration and the racial groups during the war was based largely upon mutual interests which were international in character. They snapped with the revelation of American international inconsistencies. It is doubtful if they can be renewed while these inconsistencies persist. But the sympathetic understanding and support of these groups of foreign born citizens is of the utmost importance.

One of these inconsistencies has been to attempt to participate in international affairs in a roundabout way. The first question is, Will the United States be content to treat future immigration as a labor matter, under the International Labor Office of the League of Nations? This question presents itself as the result of the international labor conference held in Washington in 1919, at which time that office was created. Notwithstanding the attitude expressed in the last national election, a representative, with a commission from the President, was selected in February to attend a meeting of the Emigration Commission.¹ It was possible to take this action under Section 29 of the Immigration Law which empowers the President to appoint special commissioners to make investigations or attend conferences abroad.

It is no new experience for European countries to re-

¹This representative has been recalled by the new Secretary of Labor.

ceive American representatives claiming to have authority to speak for the government of the United States on immigration affairs. Europe has been overrun with them—representatives whose trails cross and recross each other. The people of Europe are confused by the various interpretations of this country that are presented to them. The foreign born in the United States are misled by the accounts they receive concerning American activity abroad. The native American is bewildered.

In the past, American representatives have been appointed to facilitate action in international affairs before policies on fundamental questions had been adopted. For instance, our participation in international discussion is scheduled to begin with the fundamental proposition that immigration is largely a labor matter, while the national emphasis is upon citizenship.

It rarely occurs to busy officials concerned with state matters to consider how international negotiations and decisions will affect the foreign born in this country. Such officials are in the habit of thinking that America does enough when it admits the immigrant and that the policies of this country are of no particular concern to him.

But we would not fail to take into consideration the effects of a tariff bill on commerce. In fact its object is to protect trade in the interests of prosperity. We would not fail to take into consideration the effect of a finance measure upon American financial institutions. But when it comes to immigration, the fact that such deliberations have a vital relation to the prosperity and assimilation of the immigrant in this country is rarely considered. In fact, a suggestion that they be so considered arouses the suspicion that "foreigners may be trying to run the country." The leadership in immigration affairs, however, is among the foreign born people. There is growing among them a vast racial economic

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system which, because of the American's indifference, is participating in its own way in international affairs.

A second inconsistency has been the tolerance of a correspondent of the International Labor Office in Washington. His main work is to gather information for the League of Nations. Here, again, the question arises whether all agencies of a governmental character domiciled in the United States should not conduct their affairs in conformity to regulations established by the Secretary of State. We should then know what agencies are at work here, and their activities.

Much of the race prejudice and suspicion which culminates in reactionary legislation is due to the fact that the average American thinks that his government does not know what international forces are at work in the country. He is uneasy because he thinks his government has not the situation in hand. Roundabout methods used by foreign governments are as upsetting to American peace, as are our roundabout methods in international affairs to the European state of mind.

Another illustration of such methods is our use, to secure restrictive legislation at home, of consular information which is in effect a general condemnation of racial groups abroad. A sample of this kind appeared in the form of a paraphrased report recently issued from the State Department. It described conditions of immigration abroad and their probable effect upon the United States. It not only placed the State Department in the position of issuing propaganda, but in its general characterization of races made the foreign born citizens of this country feel that prejudice ruled the Department upon which they most deeply relied for protection and for interpretation of their point of view. The following extracts, from among many, illustrate the nature of this report:

“A large proportion of immigrants are inimical to the best interests of the American Government.” “Immigrants are small in stature and are of a low order of intelligence.” “They are greatly un-American and dangerous in their habits.” “They may be expected to be a drain on the resources of America for years.” “They are mentally incapable of acquiring any conception of patriotic or national spirit.” “Seventy-five per cent. will congregate in urban centers and add to undesirable congestion.” “Immigrants are raw laborers, waiters and servants who are intellectually incapable of being dangerous.” “These people are without political principle and entirely without patriotism and are usually evasive, dishonest and incapable of appreciating any responsibility toward any government.”

The above excerpts are from official consular reports, presumably based upon impressions gathered by consular officials while viséing passports. They are unjust generalizations, applied to the emigrants of virtually every European country. Yet they were partly responsible for the passage of the Dillingham bill limiting immigration to a three per cent. basis. The fact that these statements were introduced in the deliberations of the House and Senate committees gives them a more serious aspect. It would not be surprising to hear echoes of them in the legislative halls of Europe, where our attitude toward European immigrants is constantly discussed. Whether this country is justified in thus characterizing the people of Europe in order to promote local legislation, based, presumably, on superficial observation, involves a delicate question of propriety.

We can perhaps best answer the question by imagining our own reaction were we to see statements of this character issued in the official reports of foreign nations about

Americans. It requires no imagination to see that such official documents do not tend to restore the friendship between our government and the foreign born in this country.

There are some questions that are wholly a domestic matter. The regulation of immigration and the conditions under which aliens may remain in the country no one wishes to inject into international discussion. Americans have reiterated over and over again, through the contract labor law, through the literacy test and now through the more recent percentage test, that the question of assimilation overshadows that of labor supply; that the maintenance of an American standard of living is of greater importance than the cost of production, and that we are more concerned with whether a man will become a good citizen than with whether he will become a good workman.

But there are other questions which internationalize themselves. So long as the selection, distribution and assimilation of aliens is largely through racial channels in this country, the alien assumes increasing importance in the eyes of European countries. So long as the receiving of immigration is dependent largely upon the will and attitude of mind of the nations whose intending emigrant is their national, certain subjects will necessarily be within the international field. To control immigration at the source, to inspect it on shipboard are matters to be arranged through international coöperation. To adopt passports as a means of controlling immigration, to protect aliens, to secure recognition in native countries for naturalized American citizens—these must necessarily be the subject of international conference.

A good beginning toward clarifying public opinion would be to discontinue roundabout methods in dealing with the international aspects of immigration and

to discourage similar methods by foreign agents in this country. A second desirable step would be to put a stop to the custom of issuing irresponsible and ill-considered generalizations concerning racial groups. A third would be to check the looseness of expression which has pervaded many official utterances and to hold officials as responsible for the statements they make in after dinner speeches as for those contained in official reports.

This would tend to restore the confidence of foreign born people in the Federal Government, and would make possible their whole-hearted support of our national and international policies. But faith is not restored by proclamation, nor is confidence regained by inaction. To separate the two fields—the regulation of immigration which is a wholly domestic affair in the hands of the Department of Labor, from the handling of the affairs of aliens, which is wholly an international matter in the hands of the State Department, is essential. To build up under each a comprehensive policy, harmonious and supplemental, then becomes a matter of organization. Both the native and foreign born American will then understand that both the movement of immigration and the resident alien are receiving due attention. The good will of the foreign born is essential to the country's well-being. It is to be gained as much through their understanding our international policies as by their participation in national affairs.

VIII

RACIAL MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

IF the question of uniting the many races in this country behind the national government were only a question of the government and the individual immigrant, there would be little ground for concern. But it is not. This easy, natural approach to the immigrant is affected by a racial economic system which has roots in Europe as well as in the United States.

The native American functions in public affairs through his organizations. So does the foreign born. To secure consideration he has to be a member of something or other. This, too, the foreign born has learned is the road to efficiency. To interest the immigrant today on matters of public concern his organization first must be interested. His response, while apparently an individual judgment, is usually in harmony with this group thought.

How has it come about that so many of the cultural, social, and benefit societies which existed among the many racial groups before the war have since become, upon an enormous scale, the medium of expression for racial thought?

When the Committee on Public Information undertook to "win the war by propaganda," one of the first things it did was to strengthen old racial solidarities, encourage new ones, and connect racial leaders with their native governments. When the Treasury Department sold Liberty Bonds, it did the same thing. When

the War Department needed increased production it, too, appealed to racial groups. What is more natural than that these powerful racial organizations, at the close of the war, should wish to retain their power and their overseas contacts, and to assume a greater share in shaping the destinies of the home countries? What is more natural than that the home countries should appeal to their former nationals to help them influence affairs at the close of the war? Anti-American? Not in the least—merely internationalism, expressing itself naturally through racial leaders who perfectly understand and feel its significance.

Therefore, we need not be surprised to learn that two Greek factions in this country tried to settle the election between Venizelos and Constantine. They held mass meetings, which often resulted in riots. They raised funds. They conducted a campaign by correspondence in the interest of rival political leaders in Greece. Thousands of personal letters were sent to the homeland telling the people there how to vote. Among the Greeks in America the return to royalty was the real campaign in October, 1920. Interest in American political issues lagged, and might have died altogether except for the funds which were supplied for political advertising in their press.

Nor should we be surprised to hear that a nationalist society has collected a fund of \$750,000, of which one-fifth is intended for the relief of war sufferers and four-fifths for political propaganda abroad. We begin to understand how politics overshadow all other considerations, even the plight of relatives and friends experiencing stress and want abroad. The four daily Russian newspapers, for instance, are more enthusiastic about sovietism than republicanism. Subsidies to foreign societies, to preserve the culture and language of the home

countries, are not rare. It is no longer necessary for nationals in a new country to influence affairs in their native countries by indirect methods. They have become prosperous and well organized and are powerful agents for good or evil. They act upon their own initiative, and they are also appealed to for aid by their own countrymen at home. Some European countries are openly considering how to give their nationals in foreign countries a voice in home affairs. They are giving increasing attention to profits from transmissions of money, actually going so far as to place their consulates in competition with American banks, so that not only remittances but also the profits may go to the native country.

Does any sane administration think we can deal with these manifestations of internationalism by means of a purely domestic program? When the Netherlands Emigration League established a chain of branch agencies in this country "to protect, distribute, and Americanize Dutch immigrants," what did that connote? That the Netherlands is against Americanism? Not at all. It meant that the Netherlands wants to be sure that its immigrants will succeed. If they are successful, Americans will have a higher regard for Holland and for Dutch immigrants, and will encourage immigration from that country. They believe that Americans will do more business with Holland and that Dutch immigrants will invest in Dutch securities. That is the long view of it. It is chiefly because foreign nations regard emigration as an economic asset that they set up their own agencies of protection and grant subsidies. They consider the protection of the immigrant and of the immigrant's savings of paramount importance.

The responsibility for dealing with these racial minority organizations belongs somewhere in the national Administration. They are partly alien and partly made

up of naturalized citizens. They express the interest and activity of millions of American residents. They are a storehouse of information, and they are rich in resources, be it of leadership, intelligence or funds. Distribution, stabilization, capitalization or assimilation will progress faster with the coöperation than with the aloofness of these groups. It is all very well to say that the native American will attend to this as his own affair. These racial minorities exist primarily because he has failed to do that very thing.

Americans unquestionably prefer that their attitude and expression toward European affairs be made through official channels and in a dignified manner that cannot be misunderstood. It is fair to expect the same precision from foreign groups in this country that deal with European affairs. It is not too much to ask foreign societies operating in this country to obtain American charters. If they undertake to influence political affairs in their home countries, our State Department should be advised as to the tenor and extent of their action. It is a mistake to treat with suspicion as matters for investigation by the Department of Justice, activity which can be more wholly American through recognition and coöperation.

It may be advisable, in order to avoid future misunderstanding, that the promotion of new activities of agencies of foreign governments be referred to the State Department before they are put into operation, and that semi-official agencies be held strictly accountable for their activities among immigrants domiciled in this country. Then we shall not witness the dismissal of a consular agent who does a banking business in violation of New York laws. We shall not find racial groups in America trying to promote abroad measures with which our government is not in sympathy. We shall not be suspicious

of the representatives of American societies who attend foreign political gatherings.

When individuals speak for themselves on foreign affairs, in the interest of free speech and humanity, there can be little question of propriety. But when large organizations, through a small directorate, backed by large funds, take the place of the individual, it becomes a different matter. Some racial societies have more than 100,000 members who are thus made articulate on foreign affairs through a few leading spokesmen. Some foreign language newspapers number nearly half a million readers, and so violently do they sometimes express their partisan opinions on foreign affairs that they have been excluded from circulation abroad.

The integration of racial solidarities into American life so that their international interest functions through wholly American channels is the most delicate of all our domestic affairs which have international connections. The guidance of this racial thought and activity requires deep racial understanding and expert leadership. It requires patience to deal with prejudice and distrust and the pride of race, if this vast racial power is to be directed so that it will do no harm to American interests while it helps to promote peace and stability in the native countries. That the war, which has strengthened racial solidarities, has inextricably bound them up in future international problems is undeniable. It is a wise Administration which will take this into account and will direct their will through winning their confidence.

IX

IMMIGRATION TURNOVER

ONE out of every two American immigrants returns to Europe. In the last twenty-eight years 7,000,000 people have recrossed the ocean. This is one of the conspicuous results of having but half of an immigration policy—a policy which deals with admission, but not with assimilation.

How do these emigrants from the United States interpret the American point of view to their country? What is their description of American character, institutions, and life? Countless millions of the people abroad have listened to them and judged this country through their eyes. This opinion, so formed, influences commercial and financial affairs between Europe and the United States.

What as yet has America consciously done to win the good will and friendship of these immigrants, and thus enhance our standing with their countrymen abroad? It is a question whether we have given any attention to the rôle which the returning immigrant plays in the development of European opinion. Therefore, it is not to be expected that immigrants who have found conditions in America not to their liking, or who have had reason to complain about the inequalities of American laws that apply one way to native born and another way to foreign born, or who have witnessed our increasing dread of everything that is alien, should take back with them

our ideals, vision or inspiration. If that is true, it is a lost opportunity for Americanism.

With the past we can do nothing. But what about the future? Of course, it is true that the more favorably immigrants are impressed with America the more they will want to stay, and in that case their appreciation will be contained in the letters they write home. But as the nationalistic sentiment grows and transportation facilities increase, immigrants in even greater numbers will return to their native land.

The graduation of the United States into an emigration as well as an immigration country presents a new situation. First, there is the necessity for regulating and supervising outgoing immigration and protecting the returning as well as incoming and domiciled aliens. But more serious is the cost of an immigration turnover of such magnitude and its effect upon European production and thought.

Eighty per cent. of all immigrants who arrive come on prepaid tickets furnished by relatives or friends in this country. Therefore, American wages pay for their transportation. The average amount of savings which each one takes home with him is \$2,000. This is saved from American wages. The average amount transmitted to his family before he goes back is about \$300 a year. Therefore, American wages help to support the immigrant, his family, his government, and foreign bankers.

We can hardly console ourselves for this distribution of his savings on the ground that the immigrant earns this money and can spend it as he likes. When 7,000,000 emigrants return to Europe it represents a stupendous loss of funds which might be made to contribute to American prosperity, especially in the present financial depression in which there is need for ready cash.

This is not all. Skilled workmen who have become

familiar with American methods of production are replaced by green men who have to be trained at additional expense. People who speak the English language are replaced by others who do not. Residents familiar with our customs, laws, and institutions are succeeded by people from countries which have little in common with us. This exchange is expensive. It has been stated that the average cost of labor turnover per man is \$40. If it costs this much to exchange workmen, it becomes an interesting question how much it costs to exchange immigrants. If America had intended to become a training school for European industries, receiving unskilled men from lands overseas and sending them back trained and skilled workmen, it could not have rendered more effective service than it has to industries abroad.

An illustration is to be found in the recent establishment in this country of a national racial organization known as a mechanics' company. This racial organization is reported to have 17,000 members and 250 branches. Only mechanics of that given race, who have been trained in this country are eligible. The object is to secure money from countrymen here to start factories in their native land and to send back American-trained mechanics to operate these plants. It is a nice question whether the amount of American machinery and raw materials this organization buys in order to manufacture goods to compete with American products offsets the resulting loss of man-power and of markets to American products.

Since the war, racial chambers of commerce have increased the number in this country. Racial steamship lines are in process of formation. Consulate offices and semi-official organizations have expanded their commercial activities enormously. The foreign trade organization is being developed as part of the American racial economic system. The racial trade publication is flourishing. All

of these activities rely upon coöperation from foreign language groups to advance the trade interests of the home country.

What Federal department has the responsibility for securing the trade and influence of this foreign group market for American commerce? The American producer needs some national assistance, for he sees but dimly the commercial aspects of immigration. European business interests comprehend them much more clearly, and are somewhat amused over the fact that a progressive country like the United States is not yet awake to the economic importance of immigration. Americans realize but little the way in which commerce, finance, labor, and international affairs are interwoven with the flow and ebb of immigration, while the able economists of Europe have studied every phase of the subject. They realize, as we do not, that no country can afford to ignore such an enormous commercial asset as racial business has become in the United States.

If it is important to have some Federal department help American business reduce the cost of immigration turnover, and capitalize its foreign market resources in its own country, then it is also important for it to go a step further and find a way for every immigrant from this country to become an enthusiastic interpreter of American institutions as well as a salesman of American goods.

With the immigration door of the future swinging more freely outward, shall we leave the advantage to be gained from the returning immigrant solely to the native country? Cannot the immigrant be given an American experience that will help to improve trade relations between his native land and the United States? Cannot the immigrant, while in America, be taught the use of American-made goods, so that his choice will be for American-made goods even

when he is back in his homeland? Cannot the immigrant be taught to like America enough to send back other workmen when our production needs require them? In short, cannot immigrants be made boosters instead of knockers of this country when they return to their native lands?

Why not intelligently set about having foreign born trade groups work for American business interests? Why not start intelligent competition to attract the interest of the immigrant immediately after his arrival? The competition will be no child's play. For instance, every Italian immigrant who leaves his native country is given a complete manual of instructions on how to be successful in the new land. That is done to insure his assistance to the homeland. Why cannot we as intelligently help that immigrant toward success in his work here in order that America will derive the benefit? While it is true that we may not need the "foreign market" in America for local consumption of American-made goods (although in these times of depression we wish we had it), we may well find the control of that market indispensable to our future international trade relations.

The Department of Commerce will find this field well worth cultivating even to the extent of putting in a special bureau. The reduction of the cost of immigration turnover is an economic matter closely allied with international trade. The capture of the foreign market in this country for American goods is a trade matter involving the racial business of the country. The education of temporary immigrants so they will help Americans in foreign markets is a scientific matter within the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce.

The complete integration of the racial economic system of this country into the American economic system is a great task. Its achievement will make the Department of

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Commerce great. The new national Administration has the rare opportunity to achieve the economic assimilation of immigration and to use it as an asset in its perfection of international relations.

X

IS EVERY ALIEN A POTENTIAL CITIZEN?

ECONOMIC assimilation is not the only conquest which the new Federal Administration has the opportunity to make among its own foreign born people.

The Italian historian, Ferrero, could never understand why the United States should pursue a policy of compelling alien people to "declare allegiance to a constitution which they often do not understand." He inquires "whether it is not doing violence to common sense" to make citizens of men who have been born and educated abroad, "to grant them political rights which they do not want and of which they have never thought?"

There are many persons who believe that we have gone to extremes in the matter of offering American citizenship to every stranger. They base their opinion on the fundamental proposition that whatever is thrust upon a person is seldom welcome. They argue that citizenship, which is the most precious gift a nation can confer, should be guarded most zealously and that it should be most earnestly sought by newcomers to this country before being awarded. Certainly that is the attitude taken by most European countries. Sweden, for instance, is not concerned whether or not the foreign born living in Sweden declare their allegiance to the kingdom. Italy disavows any interest as to whether the Basques or Greeks living in Rome enroll themselves as subjects of Italy. France never makes citizenship a dependency of economics.

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But it is different in the United States. We regard every alien, except the Oriental, as a subject for Americanization, education and citizenship. The moment he arrives we set about incorporating him into American life. We intimate to the alien that it will be much better for him, especially in his employment relations, if he becomes a citizen. Some employers in their zealous desire to accelerate citizenship, advertise that none but citizens need apply for jobs. States pass laws prohibiting aliens from engaging in various kinds of occupations. Cities pass ordinances prohibiting them from engaging in certain callings. Patriotic organizations conduct "drives" to induce aliens to take out their first papers.

There can be no question but that this has cheapened American citizenship. It has created the impression that it is something that is given free with admission. It has reduced it to a kind of permit to work. It has been used as a convenience.

If this country needs immigrant workmen, should it concern itself with the question of the fitness of the intending immigrants for the work to be performed, or should it be influenced primarily by the question of whether the immigrants will apply promptly for their first papers? If we are to consider immigration as economic rather than as political, then we must bear in mind that economic influences are flexible, whereas the political remain fixed. Jobs may be available today, but there may be a surfeit of labor a few weeks later. Economic law corrects this. But to make immigration contingent upon citizenship, as has been proposed, is to go contrary to the experience of all other countries.

Nearly every other country makes a distinction between the political and economic aspects of immigration. They regard those who intend to remain as distinct from immigrants who intend to depart after a few years. Unless

we, too, recognize that distinction, unless we take it for granted that there are some immigrants who want to become citizens and some who do not, our own perplexities are bound to increase. It means that we will have to divide our immigration into two general classifications:

First, the immigrants who intend to settle here permanently, and, second, those who come here with the intention of returning to their homelands. To the former we may properly offer the advantages of American citizenship and the opportunity to learn our language and adopt our customs. To the alien who establishes a domicile, even greater concessions can be made. To the alien we should extend but the courtesies and protection of our country. This is an attitude which the immigrant will understand and appreciate. South American countries, for instance, look upon the immigrant as a person who is admitted to do a definite piece of work, and so long as his performance is satisfactory and his behavior is not such as to menace the public the government asks nothing more of the immigrant. The subject of citizenship is not raised, unless by the immigrant himself.

There are some who believe that the naturalized citizen is in a different position from one born in this country and that the granting of citizenship should, therefore, be as much within the jurisdiction of the State Department as are questions affecting native citizenship. The fact that many countries do not recognize the American citizenship of their nationals, and that questions affecting the separation of families and their support and compensation of injured workmen and settlement of property and other affairs of naturalized citizens are constantly arising, illustrate the nature of the problems which exist when naturalized citizens renounce their former allegiance and are separated from their property and their families.

There are others who believe that every test for the ad-

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mission of an alien to citizenship should be as severe as a court trial and that the judge should be aided by an official of the United States Attorney General's office to arrive at a decision which would thus be based upon the record of the alien and his demonstrated fitness to become a citizen. There are still others who believe that all aliens should be registered and be kept under a kind of surveillance until they take out their citizenship papers and that surveillance should then be supplanted by education for American citizenship.

These varying points of view indicate that American thought is beginning to correct the misshapen idea that every alien is a potential citizen and that economic opportunity and political opportunity are identical. The record of departures during the last twenty-eight years indicates that every other alien evidently disagrees with this point of view, since he returns home. It is becoming evident that Americans are in doubt about it, as is indicated by their present trend of thought.

There is another difficulty with naturalization. The nationalization of the naturalization law has not yet been completed. State residence is still required and other local limitations prevail. Many aliens who, by nature of their work, move from state to state are thus handicapped in their desire to become citizens. This accounts for many of the failures of first-paper men to complete their naturalization. A large number of men, who have thrown off the bonds of one country and have not yet acquired those of the new country, have a confused sense of patriotism to guide them in the larger aspects of their American life. This twilight zone of mixed patriotism is well worth our considering in any plan to secure a better citizenship.

It is apparent that the necessary steps cannot be taken to remove technicalities in the law, nor to assure a better preparation of the alien for citizenship or provisions

cannot be made to have the granting of citizenship more ceremonious, and the examinations for such final action more thorough, without a considerable study of the changes which have occurred in the half century since the principles of the law were laid down. This may well require a commission of experts to formulate. Now, all matters affecting American citizens abroad are in one department, while all matters affecting citizenship in this country are in another department. This is an impracticable division. For many years, Americans have been promised an overhauling of their naturalization law which would correct these evils and would provide for preparation for citizenship as well as improve the standards. Why should not the new Administration fulfill a promise which carries with its fulfillment so much of justice to the alien and of assurance to the country?

XI

THE INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

GRANTED that the first duty of the New Administration is to create an effective immigration service, the performance of that duty will not complete the task that confronts this country in the matter of immigration. There are other tasks as complex as that of developing an effective immigration service. Adequate enforcement of the immigration law, proper methods of reception and distribution, looking to assimilation also, are of paramount importance, but there are, in addition, problems of an international character that must be solved. These cannot wait upon the completion of a national program.

There are several international plans under consideration which will vitally affect immigration to the United States and the status of aliens in all immigration countries. They show that, outside of American circles, events are moving more rapidly than we think. We, who see the headlines describing the millions who wish to come to this country, are for the most part unaware of this current of thought.

The first of the international plans has to do with standardizing immigration methods and with defining the status of aliens, and it is to be under the jurisdiction of the Emigration Commission of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. There is located in each country, including the United States, a correspondent who is now engaged in gathering the following data

to be presented at the fall session of the League of Nations:

Reports of surveys conducted in various countries with especial reference to statistics and their completeness; information concerning existing institutions and organizations for aliens; relations between capital and labor in reference to immigrants and the facts of their transportation; repatriation; the recruiting of foreign workers; information upon treaties, contracts, conventions, and rules of civil law. This survey, when completed for the United States, will afford a fairly complete picture of the situation.

The purpose of the survey is to determine, first, if it is possible to coördinate and standardize legislation in various countries, so as to simplify and modify the formalities attending the entrance and departure of immigrants; second, to insure competent advice to immigrants and to permit their recourse to efficacious tribunals; third, to insure access to labor exchanges; fourth, to settle the conditions under which certificates from one country may be confirmed before their acceptance by another. On this basis the Emigration Commission of the International Labor Office would also consider the elimination of agents interested in stimulating immigration and the substitution of public officials charged with the responsibility of providing information to intending emigrants. The next step would be the creation of national labor exchanges and information offices in countries of emigration and immigration. The abolition of padrone systems and other forms of exploitation and the establishment of a protective system would then be in order.

But more important still is the attempt to develop equality of treatment for immigrant workers by examining into the conditions, under which it would be possible to arrive at an international convention governing

them. This includes the formulation of the principles to be applied to foreign workers in the matter of social insurance as well as the right of association and meeting. It involves also the presentation in simple terms of those conditions under which foreign workers and their families may enjoy the same facilities as are granted to nationals in the matters of general and vocational education, civil rights, the benefits of laws for relief of distress, protection for bank deposits and protection of the transfer of the savings of immigrant workers.

In conclusion, the Emigration Commission asks an opinion as to whether the International Labor Office should have supervision of the following tasks:

“Adjustment, if possible, of the difficulties that may arise between countries of immigration and emigration, in regard to the migration of workers; co-ordination, through common agreement, of the legislation of the various nations so as to reduce the points of unnecessary friction; application of measures of international character to insure the satisfactory operation of national laws concerning migrations; protection of immigrants not entitled to consular protection; application of international conventions which may be concluded in relation to the recruiting of workers in foreign countries; coöperation in the organization of labor exchanges for immigrants and emigrants, and the establishment of systems for recording international statistics on emigration.”

It will be seen that matters upon which the American is thinking, in national, if not local terms, are already the subject of international discussion. Individual countries cannot deal with these matters satisfactorily, and it is equally clear that emigration countries, in the future, cannot afford to have their nationals dealt with in an irresponsible manner.

The increased use of immigration and labor treaties

for the purpose of taking care of the surplus of population is not improbable. A number of such agreements have been concluded since the war. In general, these agreements provide for the determination of the number of people to be sent to the country of immigration and the manner of their selection and transportation. They specify in detail that the standard of living, of wages, protection and insurance shall be the same for the immigrants as for native born workmen, that the immigrants shall be given opportunity for education, and that they shall be extended relief in time of stress and want.

In some instances, joint commissions have been established to see that the provisions of the agreement are carried out, and to make regulations to cover new situations that may develop. If there is unemployment, provisions are made for the return of the nationals and the emigration of further nationals is stopped. Arbitration is provided for in case the joint commission cannot agree.

Negotiation of conventions between individual countries to deal with situations which present peculiar aspects is another development. It has been found whenever such matters have been left to general immigration laws that greater friction and misunderstandings have resulted. These include such questions as the immigration of Orientals, status of naturalized citizens, as between the country of origin and of adoption, and regulations and protection in new countries that are seeking immigrants for the purpose of development but which are not providing the usual government safeguards.

The disposition is growing in countries of emigration to control the conditions under which their nationals shall leave and to determine where they shall go. This does not necessarily take the form of coercion. For instance, there will be held in London, in June, a conference of colonial representatives. Among other things, they will

discuss plans for sending all British emigration to the colonies. Matters such as transportation rates, bonuses, grants of free lands, funds for establishing settlers and naturalization advantages will also be discussed, together with the kind of organization best fitted to put such plans into effect between the mother country and the colonies.

The determination to control emigration is seen in efforts of various governments to prohibit stimulation, to enforce more rigid regulation of steamship agencies and to establish semi-governmental agencies whose object is to check the individual's tendency to emigrate.

Some foreign governments are not only trying to hold their people at home but they are attempting to induce their emigrated people in other lands to return to their home countries. The effect is already apparent in the diminution of prepaid passage tickets which relatives and friends in America have been in the habit of sending home. As another step toward the control of emigration, foreign governments are seeking to devise a uniform passport system.

Evidences are not lacking that competition for immigration from South American countries, Canada, Mexico and Australia is increasing. The demand is not wholly for settlers. Although settlers are preferred, the question of providing a temporary labor supply is under consideration in some of these countries.

Immersed as Americans are in home problems, these tendencies seem to most of us to have very little bearing upon immigration to America. In fact, they seem to be rather a good thing. This, of course, depends upon what ideal the American holds for the future. If he is looking forward to a period of settling down and of holding what he has—a situation in which new immigration and an increasing emigration are of little moment—then the control of the sources of supply by other countries

and the success of competitive countries are of small importance. There can be no quarrel with this decision if American business is prepared to pay the price. The cost of immigration turnover, as we have shown, is heavy unless there is some international trade compensation. The loss of traffic to shipping may mean that the new American steamship lines of the United States Shipping Board will not only have to discontinue much of their service, but that existing lines will increase their service and extend it to other parts of the world at the expense of our own. This will increase the freight rates and add to the American cost of production. Railroads will suffer a loss. Today they need tonnage; a slow development of the agricultural sections and a shortage of labor cannot but delay their restoration to a profitable operating basis.

It is a well known fact that goods of the native country follow the immigrant. Even in our own wide-awake United States, we have seen that our merchants do not have a monopoly of their own foreign market—the “foreign market” at home. If this is true at our doors, how much less likely are we to obtain or hold markets in South America and other countries where immigration is increasing, sometimes with market concessions in return for it.

Forward action requires that no matter what immigration policy is finally adopted, it should be accompanied by a thorough knowledge of its full economic significance. Even though the time may not be ripe for the United States to participate in the conferences on immigration, or to negotiate agreements, it is foolhardy not to be informed with regard to what other countries are doing, and not to take into account the effect of these plans upon American business and life. It is one thing to act

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through deliberate intention with the facts before us; it is quite another to blunder along in ignorance.

The permanent program which should not wait even upon the completion of our immediate domestic duty is, therefore, for the State Department to make a careful inquiry into the question as affected by conditions in the various foreign countries. It should study the policies adopted or under consideration by those governments; the treaties that they have entered into or are considering with respect thereto; the relations between foreign governments and their nationals who come to this country; the function of the foreign consulates, in so far as they deal with their nationals who have come here to live, and the protection of aliens by the Federal, State and Municipal governments of the United States.

We shall then be prepared to say whether immigration or labor treaties will be acceptable to this country and to include wise provisions in our new treaties. We shall be able to judge of the probable future of immigration to this country and the terms upon which it will be available. We shall then be prepared to deal fully with the alien as an international factor as well as a potential citizen.

The probability is that the United States will pass emergency legislation. The country, as is its habit, may then settle back to watch its effect. If the law proves too onerous, its provisions will be evaded. The danger is that in the interim we will not give either thought or inquiry to the larger aspects of immigration with which we must sometime deal intelligently. If our policy in regard to international human beings is ever to be as sound as are our policies upon international finance or other affairs, let us not fail to see the significance of the changes in the position of aliens, and be prepared to act.

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