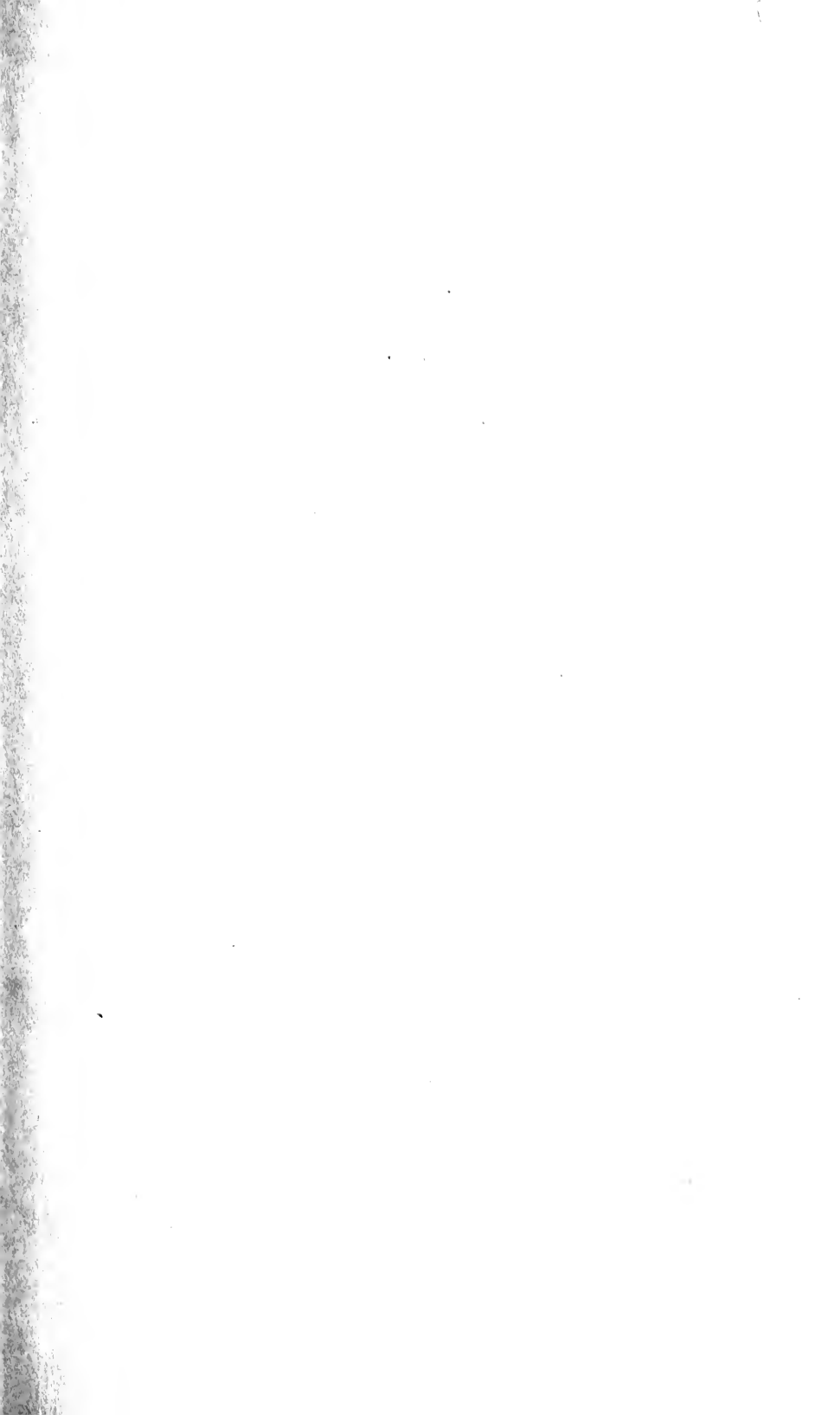


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HEARINGS BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1952

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

SEVENTH SESSION

The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization met at 9:30 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 318, Federal Courthouse Building, Cleveland, Ohio, Hon. Philip B. Perlman, chairman, presiding.

Present: Chairman Philip B. Perlman and the following Commissioners: Monsignor John O'Grady and Mr. Thomas G. Finucane.

Also present: Mr. Harry N. Rosenfield, executive director.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will be in order. Our first witness this morning will be Dean Carl Wittke.

STATEMENT OF CARL FREDERICK WITTKÉ, DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Dean WITTKÉ. I am Carl Frederick Wittke, dean of the Graduate School, Western Reserve University, and professor of history and chairman of the history department.

I am appearing here in my individual capacity, representing no one except myself as a historical scholar who has been interested in the history of immigration for about 35 years.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will appreciate anything that you may care to say on the subject matter.

Dean WITTKÉ. Well gentlemen, it seemed to me that I might be of the greatest use here if I tried to introduce very briefly historically some of the main points in the history of our immigration because it seems to me that much of the introduction in recent years has been hysterical rather than historical. First of all, down to World War I the attitude of the bulk of the American people was that this country was a nation where the unhappy and the persecuted of the world could find a refuge. There was never a period when there was not opposition to that point of view, but in general that was the prevailing attitude. The turning point came with World War I when the United States had the unique experience of becoming involved for the first time in a great European and world struggle, and after the war as everyone knows we began the quota system which we have now followed by the National Origins Act.

It seems to me that the reasons for that change were, first of all, the experience during the war with certain immigrant groups: again, if

we had been more historically minded we would not have been quite so surprised. Any nation that consists of so many groups is in the position of a molten mass and when a great crisis occurs in Europe, it is as though you blow a cold stream of air over a molten mass and certain elements begin to crystallize out.

The result was that during the war for quite natural reasons Germans and Irish-Americans had a point of view with reference to the struggle. Czechs and Polish-Americans and so on had another point of view. That difference of opinion disappeared completely in 1917 when the United States entered the war and we had a record of complete loyalty, very few exceptions from all these groups, but that was one experience. It was focused on the foreign language press also, which up to that time had been left practically unsupervised and certainly increased.

A second factor which brought about the change was an economic one, the fear that after the war that we would have a period of economic readjustment which would be difficult and that there would be millions of Europeans eager to come to America to escape the ravages of war.

Again I think that was greatly exaggerated for the simple reason that if you figure up the tonnage that was available to bring these so-called millions to America, there wasn't anything like the amount necessary to bring them. But that had a direct effect on organized labor, particularly, which for economic reasons, began to favor rather rigid restrictions.

Finally there was the general disillusionment after the closing of the war and the excitement of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia convinced a great many Americans of a great intrigue against American institutions and something had to be done to close the doors. As a result of that attitude which was new in this country on any large scale after World War I, was the enactment of the several quota laws, the national origins was brought in and I think also, the law preceding the present law which your Commission is considering.

Now I want to just for historical perspective point out first of all that there is no question in the minds of historians that immigration throughout the nineteenth century was a tremendous factor in the development of the United States. It was a tremendous factor in our economic and industrial life and it was a tremendous factor in enriching the whole cultural life of the American people. Immigrants from Europe made their contributions to American music, to the American theater, to various customs and habits of life and certainly we developed into a nation of political unity but based on a very rich cultural diversity which I think has helped to make America the unique democracy it is today.

I could illustrate that in dozens of ways. Speaking for the moment only about the economic situation, everybody knows that more than a century ago it was the Irish immigration which helped us to complete rapidly the many public works, the building of the canals, the building of railroads, the construction of all kinds of public works, the Irishmen in the mines of Pennsylvania, and later in the copper mines of the West, the German artisan who had a rich contribution to make, having been trained in the strict guild system of Europe. The German and Scandinavian farmer helping to open up the rich lands for agricultural work.

In the same way the newer immigrants so-called—and they are only newer in the sense of chronological order—took up some of those burdens. As the Irishmen moved up in the scale the Italian and Slovenian took up the shovel and in public works activities filled in the millions of towns and so on.

Here in Cleveland, for instance, we got the first contingent of Poles when about 1,800 of them were imported directly to break up a strike in the steel mills. Two years later they themselves staged one of the greatest strikes that Cleveland ever had in a demand for better working conditions and higher wages, and I could go on giving many other examples of just what immigration meant in the speeding up of the economic development and the industrial progress of the United States.

Now, the other point I want to make before my time is up is that many of the things that were said in later years in criticism of the Italian, the Pole, the Czech and so on, on the ground that they were an unassimilable group and represented a very foreign custom and ideology, they were all said a hundred years ago about these so-called representatives of the older immigration group.

Let me again pick the Irishmen, by way of example, because I think of no immigrants who more quickly became a 100 percent or 300 percent American than the Irishmen, but in the 1850's and 1860's, if you read the newspaper comments and all the literature, you will find that the Irish immigration which came in such terrific volume alarmed the old-time Americans; the Irishmen spoke a peculiar brogue, and he had a peculiar dress. He was forced to live in the slum tenements, in the garrets and in the cellars, and the Irish shanty towns developed in all our big cities. He was charged with being intemperate and loving liquor too much, of being a kind of boisterous, riotous person. He was depressing the labor standards of the average American.

Among them were paupers and therefore were adding to the taxpayers' burdens in maintaining almshouses and so forth. He had very large families and people were beginning to wonder how soon the bulk of America would be Irish instead of Yankee, and a newspaper ad in the 1850's and 1860's can be found to say "No Irishmen need apply." In other words, I could go on and on. They were members of a so-called foreign church, owing allegiance to a foreign potentate and therefore the question was raised whether they did not represent a European point of view rather than an American point of view. Every Irishman throughout the nineteenth century had a quite bitter hostility to England for historic reasons, and we had curious outbursts of Irish demonstrations against England, the most notable the Finnian raids right after the Civil War when thousands of Irishmen actually took up arms to invade Canada with which we were at peace, in order to twist the tail of the British lion in Canada for the sake of Irishmen abroad. A lot of the Americans said here we have an unassimilable group here in America, more interested in the homeland, in its foreign church and so on, than it is in becoming good Americans.

I select that simply to indicate that within a short time these Irishmen who came out of the garrets and the cellars and the slums rose up in the scale socially, economically, politically, to become as enthusiastic and patriotic Americans as any native Yankee who had come over on the Mayflower. The whole political situation was introduced a hundred years ago, much as you have heard it introduced today.

The Irish and Germans, let's say, became quickly organized politically by American political bosses, and remember that our voting laws and registration laws a century ago were terribly lax, and it was possible to repeat and possible to vote people who came in the morning at the docks of New York before the day was over.

My whole point in saying these things is to emphasize the fact that if you take the broad historical point of view, I have heard nothing said by way of criticism of more recent immigrants that cannot be duplicated from the record as to what has been said about the older immigrants of more than a century ago, but who in due course and with a proper American attitude toward them became quickly assimilated and represented an excellent economic and social contribution to this developing American.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Dean, as a result of the studies that you have made, what do you think the proper immigration policy of the United States should be?

Dean WITTEK. Well, I think there are others who will speak more specifically on that, but you must have gathered from what I have said that first of all I think the National Origins Act is absurd. Nobody can figure out accurately from the census of 1790 and I have looked at it, anything that approximates an accurate appraisal of how many of these different stocks we had at that time. I do not think we will ever again have the completely open door which we had throughout most of the nineteenth century. I think world conditions and economic conditions and so forth make that impossible. I do think, however, that we have or can have a considerably more generous policy than we have now. We could easily let in twice as many a year as we do now. I think the quotas might be redistributed so that those unfilled could be filled by another group and I personally, of course, would take a more liberal attitude in examining the ideology and so forth of the immigrants than I think is being taken today in many circumstances also.

In the middle of the nineteenth century there were thousands of refugees, political refugees, who came to this country from Germany and other countries, but particularly from Germany, let us say. The best example is Carl Schurz, Carl Hinsen and so on, who wanted to make over the United States as part of their revolutionary ideology; wanted to abolish the Senate and make the President directly elective and so on. Within 4 or 5 years they settled down in America and became respectable citizens and fought bravely for preservation of our Union in the Civil War and nobody challenged their contributions.

In other words, as a historian, I think time is a great factor and I think Americanization is a natural outgrowth and not a hothouse procedure. You can create in America the conditions which provide opportunities for those who come here seeking them and that is the best Americanization factor that I think of.

I have written at least five books and a number of articles in this immigration field and that is the reason I have some interest in presenting it in historical rather than hysterical perspective.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. ROSENFELD. May I ask you a question, Dean: At the outset you indicated three factors which I gather you thought were in part the

basis of the original National Origins and quota system. Do you regard any of them as valid today in the present scene?

Dean WITTKÉ. No, I think I mentioned the foreign language press as one, did I not?

Mr. ROSENFELD. Yes.

Dean WITTKÉ. That problem is virtually solved. I mean, if the foreign language press does its job; well, it will be signing its own death warrant because that serves as liaison between old and new culture.

Take the German press, for instance, down to World War I it was the largest press we had and today it is almost gone. Now it was bitterly attacked during the war just as the Irish-American press was in the period of neutrality and yet before the war ended everybody from the Secretary of the Treasury and State Department and so on down testified that we could not have welded the American population together into a unified whole and interpreted the meaning of the war except for the foreign language press.

Now the foreign language press is practically a dead issue. I mean it is not going to be long when even the Polish and Czech and Italian press is going to disappear largely, which is the best example of its having done the work well.

Now the economic factor is another one I think that I mentioned, the feeling after World War I that we would have a flood of Europeans flooding the American labor market. I don't believe that is as acute an issue today as it was 30 years ago or 40 years ago. The other issues are acute and we might as well face it. The excitement of 1918 was about the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution and what that meant for the entire meaning of American institutions. Certainly the communistic danger is greater today than it was 40 years ago, and that factor I think is still an important factor in our thinking, although I think it can be easily exaggerated.

We can have tests for admission which are reasonable and in the long run I have faith in the American historical process; this democracy which provides opportunity and freedom issue cashes in with dividends.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Mr. Freedheim here?

STATEMENT OF EUGENE H. FREEDHEIM, ATTORNEY, COCHAIRMAN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WELFARE FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND

Mr. FREEDHEIM. I am Eugene H. Freedheim, 2925 Eaton Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio. I am an attorney, and a member of the law firm of Mooney, Hahn, Loeser, Keough, and Freedheim.

I am here as an individual, Mr. Chairman, but I happen to be co-chairman of the legislative committee of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, and was last year the chairman of that committee's sub-committee on immigration and naturalization laws, a branch, and therefore I want to give the conclusions that that committee and the Welfare Federation reached, although in an official capacity I am not speaking for the Welfare Federation. I am speaking really for myself.

I have a prepared statement I should like to read.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

Mr. FREEDHEIM. My name is Eugene H. Freedheim. I am co-chairman of the legislative committee of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, and last year was chairman of that committee's subcommittee on immigration and naturalization laws.

After study of the bills affecting immigration and naturalization pending before the Eighty-second Congress, the above-named subcommittee made a report disapproving the McCarran-Walter bill and approving the Humphrey omnibus bill. That action was approved by the board of trustees of the welfare federation itself. After the passage of the McCarran-Walter bills the trustees took a position in favor of the President's veto. Thus the official position of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland has been expressed in those reports of disapproval and approval, but there has been no further action on the questions and my appearance here is upon my own responsibility. My views on specific issues must be attributed to me alone, as the trustees have had no meeting to pass upon this statement.

I recognize that the new law has incorporated certain improvements that were much to be desired, and am hopeful that any new legislation will adopt and expand them. I refer particularly to the elimination of the discriminations based upon sex, and the changes in immigration requirements that more readily permit the reuniting of families, as well as the improvements with respect to the immigration and naturalization of so-called Asiatic peoples.

I also believe that the United States is entitled to protect and preserve its own safety, and do not wish in any way to weaken the legitimate screening of individuals for reasons of health and security. I stress the word "legitimate."

On the other hand, I am fundamentally opposed to certain of the underlying assumptions and theories upon which the present law seems to be based, and am very hopeful that new legislation will not only adopt an entirely new and more forward-looking concept of immigration and naturalization, but will coincidentally cure the numerous minor and technical defects in the present statutes, which stem from fear of the alien, as such.

My position in substance is the same as that of Senators Lehman, Douglas, and Humphrey. The Humphrey bill, in general theory, and in specific applications, would entirely cure the present objections. Broadly speaking, these objections were well stated by Walter Bieringer of Boston, president of United Service for New Americans, who said at its last annual meeting:

The immigration law is racist in concept and racist in application. The so-called quota system, based on old United States census figures showing countries of origin of our population, is simply a means of excluding immigrants from many countries. It is an ignorant denial of the accepted fact that the strength of America was built by individuals representing every race and every creed. It is the antithesis of our democratic beliefs.

Every person in this room, unless he should happen to be a North American Indian, is either an immigrant or the descendant of a North American Indian. It ill becomes us, who are so lucky as to find ourselves here, to adopt exclusionary policies based upon race, color, or national origin.

Thus, I specifically oppose:

1. The whole national origin basis of the quota system, which admittedly was designed to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe, and which provides huge unused annual quotas for English and other immigration, while severely limiting the number admissible from countries where the problem of refuge and population are the most pressing. It is particularly unfair to continue to base the quotas upon the 1920 census, which obviously is antiquated, instead of using the 1950 census.

2. The annual cut-off of each quota. The existing law continued the old system, instead of permitting the pooling or carry-over of quotas, which would have given a bit more flexibility to our rigid quota system. In this connection is it not fair to contrast the policy of the Congress with respect to income taxes, in which a 1-year carry-back and a 5-year carry-forward of losses is allowed?

3. A particularly revealing section of the act refuses to follow the usual place of birth criterion for determining the applicable quota. This is the section which deals with a person having as much as one-half of his ancestry of Asian origin. Such a person might be one-half English or Dutch, for example, and might be born in England or Holland, yet he must be charged to the tiny Asia-Pacific quota, instead of to the English or Dutch quota. This is bare-faced racism, and is unworthy of the United States.

4. Exactly the same objections apply to the exclusion of dependent colonies of the Western Hemisphere from the nonquota concept applicable to South and Central American countries. If such colonies must be denied nonquota status, and I think it should be given non-status quotas the same as other countries in South and Central America, then Congress could have included them in the quotas of their mother countries. But, no, the law adopted an arbitrary quota of 100 per annum for them. Last year I spent a short time in Port of Spain, Trinidad, which has the most variegated population of any place I ever have seen, but where these numerous races live and work together in excellent amity. It is not worthy of our great American tradition to adopt a narrow, restrictive, racist policy toward such countries and such peoples.

5. I am extremely doubtful about the validity of the allocation of 50 percent of the quotas to the highly skilled. In the first place, the method can be used as a restrictive tool. Secondly, and more importantly, this theory denies the fundamental democratic concept of the worth of the individual. Do we not still concede that the unskilled laborer may be as good a citizen as his trained neighbor? And what has become of our concept of this as the land of opportunity, where the unskilled may become the skilled?

6. A minor but particularly harsh provision of the law requires aliens to notify the Immigration Service within 5 days of any change of address, with criminal penalties for failure to comply.

7. With respect to deportation, the McCarran-Walter Act adopted certain innovations which may cause great hardship. The pattern is similar to that of the Internal Security Act—no doubt the Commission is familiar with the case which arose in Boston last summer, where a resident of long standing was arrested for deportation because he had been a member of the Communist Party. The evidence showed that when he arrived in this country many years ago he paid 90 cents

dues and joined the party on the representation it would increase his wages. He paid no more dues and took no part in the party's activities. The United States district judge said he had no discretion: the man must be deported. The public outcry was so great, the Attorney General ordered the case dropped. The elimination of the 5-year statute of limitations for deportation on the ground of insanity, tuberculosis, etc., may result in extreme hardship. If persons who have been here 20 or 30 years are still liable for deportation for grounds existing at the time of entry, their lives can never be secure; and aside from the actual danger of deportation this provision opens the door to a vicious type of blackmail.

8. Another objectionable feature of the deportation sections permits deportation to any country which will accept the deportee. This harsh provision would permit deportation not only to the country of origin but to a country where even the language might be unknown to the deportee.

9. With respect to naturalization a great hardship has been imposed, especially on older persons here less than 20 years, by the requirement that the prospective citizen must be able to write as well as read and understand English.

I am happy to state that the general views here expressed are shared by a broad section of American public opinion. Among the papers that have expressed these views editorially are the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Des Moines Tribune, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the New York Herald Tribune, the Bridgeport Sunday Herald, the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, and last, but I hope not least, the Harvard Crimson.

If the immigration laws were revised along the lines here suggested, there probably would be no need for special legislation for displaced persons and refugees. However, the two Displaced Persons Acts have expired, and broad revision may not be accomplished. In that contingency I hope the Commission would recommend special legislation designed to facilitate the admission of displaced persons and refugees.

In this connection I speak with some personal experience, as I formerly was chairman of the refugee service division of the Jewish Family Service Association, and later its president, and was a member of the committee on displaced persons of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. It has been my experience, and I think the same is true nationally, that the refugees and displaced persons who have come to America in the past 15 years have almost universally become well-adjusted, hardworking, and loyal residents and have become citizens as rapidly as permitted by law; that far from displacing American labor, they have stimulated and provided additional employment; that they have added to our cultural wealth, and have, in almost every case, deserved the sanctuary provided by the United States.

I am hopeful that because of this experience, and because of the strong American tradition that this land should be a refuge for the victims of political, religious, and racial persecution and discrimination, some special consideration will be given to the problem by this Commission.

The United States has had a dual personality in the matter of immigration. One tradition welcomes the stranger, and treats him

on his merits as it treats the native-born; the other hates, fears, and resents the foreigner. One tradition upholds this Nation as a sanctuary for the persecuted and oppressed; the other slams shut the door. One tradition believes in democracy and abhors discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin. The other, frankly, is the advocate of all such distinctions.

It is my hope that the immigration and naturalization laws will reflect the first type of tradition, which, in my opinion, is or should be the true American belief.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. We appreciate your coming.

Is Mr. Steinfurst here?

STATEMENT OF DONALD S. STEINFURST, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON SERVICE TO NEW AMERICANS

Mr. STEINFURST. I am Donald S. Steinfurst, 1463 Beechwood Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pa. My occupation is that of manufacturer.

I am one of the founders and chairman of the Joint Committee on Service to New Americans, a Jewish sectarian group, organized to coordinate all the activities in relationship to the new American in Allegheny County. However, I am appearing here as a private citizen representing no particular group.

I have a prepared statement which I would like to read.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. STEINFURST. Members of the Commission, I appear before you as a private citizen representing no particular group or organization. I identify myself, however, as one of the founders and chairman of the Joint Committee on Service to New Americans, a Jewish sectarian group, organized for the purpose of coordinating all the activities in relationship to the new American in Allegheny County, his admission to the country and his readjustment to the American way of life in terms of obtaining citizenship, employment, and social, cultural, and economic adjustment. In addition, I have had the opportunity of observing and participating in similar matters concerned with the non-Jewish new American. I do not appear as an expert in the field of immigration, but simply as one fairly familiar with the problem of the new American in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pa.

As I understand it, the President of the United States has appointed this special Commission on Immigration and Naturalization to reassess our immigration policies for humanitarian reasons and he quite properly appointed this Commission after the enactment of Public Law No. 414, known familiarly as the McCarran-Walter Act, became law over his veto.

As this Commission holds its hearings throughout the country, it will hear repeated over and over again specific, particular objections to the law based upon the national origins quota system and I will not reiterate in detail these objections, which I am sure will be fairly well established by experts in the field of immigration, except to say, and this should be repeated hour by hour, day after day, that the national origins quota system adopted nearly 50 years ago has no current basis in fact when due consideration is given to the present-day location of those who want to emigrate to the United States. I am

sure it is not necessary for me to point out to the Commission in any great detail that the present quota system, to quote President Truman, "deliberately and intentionally discriminates against many of the peoples of the world." and that any attempt to support this theory is simply rationalization of a now outmoded idea.

It seems to me incredible that the McCarran-Walter Act was ever enacted and passed over the Presidential veto. True, we need, and still do need, a codification of the mumbo-jumbo of immigration laws that were on our books and in this respect Public Law No. 414 has provided some measure of relief. I cannot believe, however, that the lawmakers who enacted the act and the American citizen to whom it applies realize that its mere enactment is in so many ways contrary to the American democratic system; that it provides the Attorney General with powers that do not accrue to any other United States official; that the act puts into jeopardy the freedom of thousands of new Americans, including even those who have become citizens and their families. I will not take the Commission's time to go into detail, but it is necessary that I point out several of the glaring miscarriages of justice which appear to me to exist in the current law.

I wonder, for example, if all of the lawmakers, and certainly many American citizens, realize that under the law an immigration official now has the right to question "any alien or person believed to be an alien" as to his right to be or to remain in the United States and what is more, and this is even more shocking, it is mandatory upon the Attorney General to conduct a "home investigation." The term "home investigation" calls for some thinking.

It means, if I interpret the wording of the law correctly, that the Attorney General or his deputies are required to go into a home of any person, citizen or not, without a warrant and conduct an investigation as to whether or not that person is an alien or believed to be an alien. Under the term "home investigation," the Attorney General might conceivably question the neighbors and, gossip being what it is, might well jeopardize the rights of citizens by this investigation. This is contrary to all of our concepts of protective law.

If it were not so tragic, it might be humorous to consider another right of deportation granted the Attorney General which reads, "The Attorney General may deport an alien if it appears to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that he or she has failed or refused to fulfill his or her marital agreement."

Under the current law the mere showing of misrepresentation of any part of the naturalization proceedings may be the basis for revocation. Previously, revocation could occur where naturalization was obtained by fraud or illegally. Now there is a possibility of mere misunderstanding being interpreted as misinterpretation; thus exposing a naturalized American to jeopardy of his citizenship.

Under the new law, the so-called good-moral-character clause is no longer limited to the 5-year period, but it is now extended to acts which occurred prior to 5 years. In other words, the court may, as it wants, delve far back into a citizen's life and find some act which it could call immoral (and this in itself is subject to interpretation) and revoke citizenship even though that act may have been committed and atoned for many years since.

These are simply three or four glaring miscarriages of justice that appear to have been spread upon our books by the passage of Public

Law 414, and which the incoming Congress, I hope, will eliminate.

I am more concerned, however, today with the opportunity of telling the Commission something about the new American in Pittsburgh: His numbers, his reception, his adjustment, his achievements, and even his failures and shortcomings. I think it is not necessary for me to point out to the Commission that Pittsburgh, perhaps more than any other place in the United States, has by its very nature become a melting pot in the Zangwill concept of that term. Pittsburgh is one of the great industrial centers of the world. Its diverse economic and business life has been built with the brains, skill, and labor of its immigrant population. In Pittsburgh you will find nationality groups from every region of the world building the heavy industry as well as commercial life of the city. If there were any dislocation or any maladjustment among the new Americans, such would show up immediately in Pittsburgh.

The contrary is true. Since the enactment of the first DP Act in 1948 and even before, under the Presidential directive of December 23, 1945, new Americans have come to Pittsburgh in increasing numbers. What has been their economic adjustment in the city; what has been their social adjustment; how have they been received in Pittsburgh; how have they reacted to Pittsburgh?

The figures are astounding. Since 1948, it is safe to say, in round figures, that 6,000 individuals have come into Pittsburgh under the DP Acts. Everyone who is eligible for citizenship has become a citizen or has taken the first steps toward obtaining citizenship.

In Pennsylvania the public-assistance law provides that public assistance may be obtained after 5 years and after citizenship has been obtained. I know of no case in which public assistance is now being granted. In other words, these people have become self-sufficient and self-supporting. They have integrated into business and commercial life of the community. Critical labor shortages have existed in Pittsburgh many times off and on in the last 4 years. The new Americans have filled jobs in such industries without depriving any other American citizen of employment.

During the last 4 years they have added to the national economy the sum of \$3,300,000, which is a conservative estimate of the sum of their earnings.

The United Vocational and Employment Service, a placement service, has stated that during the 4-year period from 1948 through 1951, 624 new Americans came for help in securing employment bringing with them vital skills, craftsmanship, and know-how from other countries. Of these 624 who came asking for help and seeking employment all, and I repeat, all of the 624 are productive workers in Pittsburgh, are earning their own livelihood, supporting their families, buying goods, and contributing materially to the welfare of the community. The only ones not employed as of this date are 18 and these are considered unemployable because of total physical handicap. Even the partially handicapped are making contributions to community living under a well-worked-out, sheltered, workshop plan at no expense to the public treasuries.

I submit to the members of the Commission that this is an indication of the way in which the new American has been integrated into the community from the purely materialistic side.

I call your attention to one provision in the law which tends to limit new immigration in the future to the highly skilled. Whatever reason this provision was put into the law for, we can all be thankful it wasn't in previous laws. Had it been, such immigrants as the Scotsman, Andrew Carnegie, who founded the steel industry; the Irishman, Thomas Mellon, who founded the first modern banking network; or the Swiss, Henry C. Frick, who opened America's coal and iron to the world, would not have been admitted to this country because not one of these three men, or hundreds of others I could name, was a skilled workman.

These new Americans have not insisted in obtaining employment utilizing their previous experience and skills; they have accepted all kinds of business and employment offers. Let me point out just a few of these: The Lutheran Service Society of Western Pennsylvania which has maintained a forward-looking, progressive service to newcomers of the Lutheran faith have had over 700 newcomers since the adoption of the first DP Act. Many of these, of course, had to have financial support from the society until they became self-supporting and now the Lutheran Service Society can look with great pride upon outstanding achievements in terms of successful employment. The former dean of the Medical School of the University of Riga, Latvia, is now teaching anatomy in the Medical School of the University of Pittsburgh. Many have continued their careers, including a number of physicians who came to Pittsburgh but could not practice because of the requirements set up by the Pennsylvania Medical Society and who worked in hospitals as technicians until they learned the English names of medicines and went to other States to practice.

Among the Jewish group employment has been secured in every field of heavy manufacturing and commerce and in the arts. One musician, prominent in his own country, worked at odd jobs until he finally achieved his proper position as a member of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra. One baker, the head of a large establishment in Europe, came to Pittsburgh as a displaced person and worked as a baker's assistant gradually rising in the scale until he now has two shops of his own employing over 50 people and giving work to other new Americans.

And I could go on for hours repeating over and over again the readjustment on an economic basis of these whom we have taken into our community in the past 5 years. Many young men are now in the military service of the United States, and I call your attention to the fact that there has not been one case of draft dodging among this group.

One aspect of the McCarran-Walter Act which must seem amazing to anyone who has read the act is this: The act seems to imply that present American citizens are unwilling to accept many new Americans. This could not be farther from the truth. Americans all over the country have opened wide their arms to receive the new American, to guide him to citizenship, to help him to readjust in a foreign land, to help him understand our language, our customs, and our modes.

In Pittsburgh, for example, there is one institution or group, as I am sure there must be in every other city in the country, which helps the new Americans become old Americans. The City Council

of the City of Pittsburgh established a civic unity council whose purpose it is to promote amicable and cooperative relations among the various cultural, national, economic, social, and religious groups in order that conditions which cause tensions might be eliminated.

The American Service Institute works through the entire structure of the community to bring about integration of all persons, particularly new Americans, into communal life serving as an organizer and consultant on problems of cultural and intergroup relations.

In short, American citizens want to help. I submit that the new law thwarts that wish and substitutes suspicion for the new American in place of the helping hand.

How have the newcomers admitted since 1948 behaved in relation to American laws? Have they been troublemakers? Have they violated our laws? How do they compare with the citizens who preceded them to this country or were native-born?

There has not been one case in Pittsburgh of any new American deported as a subversive, for health reasons, or for any criminal or delinquent act.

Let me say just a few words about the cultural integration of these new Americans into Pittsburgh communal, cultural life. Pittsburgh has long been a city of national groups who, on the one hand, embrace American citizenship opportunities and freedoms and, on the other hand, retain the cultures of their native lands. Pittsburgh has benefited tremendously from its new Americans. The new Americans have taken part in the long lists of activities, concerts, lectures, forums, exhibits, artcraft, and dramatics. Fifty percent of the personnel of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra is made up of foreign-born musicians, several of them from the new American group.

One of the implications to be derived from the McCarran-Walter Act is that its purpose is to keep out of the United States subversives and those who can do harm to our democracy. No one questions the wisdom of this concept. One only questions the method adopted to achieve this concept. If kept on the books unchanged, the McCarran-Walter Act will prevent the entrance into the United States of many who deserve such an opportunity.

Doesn't it stand to reason that those who have experienced the terrors of totalitarianism will be those likely to embrace with fervor the opportunities afforded by a democracy?

Doesn't it stand to reason that the new American achieving a chance for a free and untrammled life under a democratic regime will be even more proud and zealous to protect that opportunity than many of us who take democracy for granted?

I realize, members of the Commission, that statistics are necessary for you in order to carry out the President's mandate to the Commission. But statistics are cold; philosophies are often nebulous. I wonder if America, as the home of freedom, has changed very much since the days when it welcomed the newcomer to its shores—those newcomers who have provided the sinews and strengths by which we have become the Nation that we have. Perhaps the lawmakers should read again the simple words which appear on the Statue of Liberty:

* * * Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free.
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

If this nefarious law, undemocratic, unreasonable, un-American, unprincipled, and, in many cases, unworkable, is to remain on our statutes, perhaps these words should be changed, and, in no spirit of levity or smart-aleckness, maybe we should say on the Statue of Liberty: "Give me your tired (but not all of them), your poor (but only if they are skilled workers), your huddled masses yearning to breathe free (but only after they have been imprisoned for a few more years), the wretched refuse of your teeming shores (but only if those shores happen to be in certain localities in Europe): I lift my lamp beside the golden door." So long as this act remains on the statutes unchanged, the lamp will not be lifted quite so high and the golden door will be tarnished. I hope, Commissioners, your report to the President and his recommendations to the next Congress will again lift that lamp and brighten the golden door.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Monsignor Doyle is our next witness.

STATEMENT OF MSGR. MICHAEL J. DOYLE, DIRECTOR, TOLEDO CATHOLIC CHARITIES, TOLEDO, OHIO

Monsignor DOYLE. I am Msgr. Michael J. Doyle, director of Toledo Catholic Charities, Toledo, Ohio.

I have a prepared statement which I wish to read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will be glad to hear it.

Monsignor DOYLE. As a son of immigrant parents, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity of appearing before this Commission on Immigration and Naturalization appointed by the President of the United States to evaluate problems of immigration policies now in force, or soon to be enforced, in this country. My interest in these problems stems principally from the fact that I have had considerable experience as a diocesan resettlement director in relocating displaced persons and displaced families in the Catholic diocese of Toledo. My dissatisfaction with existing immigration policies stems from the fact that as an American citizen I cherish the democratic and Christian ideals that have made America great. Our position of world leadership, I believe, derives from the fact that peoples of various national origins, composing the greater part of our population, have been readily assimilable to the American way of life and who and whose offspring are the very strength and sinew of American democracy.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 is by no means wholly objectionable. It confers certain benefits such as the elimination of sex discrimination, citizen wives under the act having the same privileges as citizen husbands. Special priorities and preferences are given to keep families together. It eliminates discrimination against all persons of Asian background for naturalization and, for a limited number, opens up immigration of Asians, but the law retains the racist concept by insisting that regardless of where a person is born, if as much as one-half of his ancestry is Asian, he is chargeable to the Asia-Pacific quota instead of the country of his birth, exemptions being made only for the Asiatic spouse and children of American citizens. This is a peculiar mixture of concern for the family and a restrictive measure bound to work extreme hardship on many.

One of the most objectionable features of the law, to my way of thinking, is the retaining of the racist and restrictive philosophy of the national-origin system with its limitation on immigration of persons born in Southern and Eastern Europe, and giving a wide margin of preferential status to persons born in England and Ireland. This part of the act reflects a distrust of the Southern and Eastern European and a fear that such aliens are potential subversives. This restriction is particularly hard to accept at a time when the immigrants most in need of the opportunity to emigrate and most desirous of coming to America as a haven of security and an asylum against political persecution are persons born in limited quota areas, such as Italians and escapees from the iron-curtain countries. Congress must have been well aware of this need since it was familiar with the movement of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons from these areas during the last 4 years but, nevertheless, it rejected any change in the basic quota structure continuing to base that quota on the 1920 census, even though the 1940 and 1950 censuses were available. Congress further laid itself wide open to the accusation of prejudice against such peoples by refusing to listen to liberal Members, such as Senator Lehman, who pleaded for a pooling of quotas which would have permitted the use of unused quotas of such countries as England and Ireland by countries of smaller quotas.

The entire system of allocation of quotas has been changed in the 1952 act to introduce a system of selective immigration by giving "special preference to skilled aliens urgently needed in this country." This belittles the contribution the common man can make to the country of his adoption. It involves the use of specific contracts which cannot always be fulfilled with the uncertainty of status resulting therefrom. In the opinion of many, this particular clause of the act is so worded that it is extremely doubtful whether many persons can qualify under its restrictive limitations.

Eligibility requirements should be restudied with a view to making them less severe. The same is true for the process of deportation, exclusion, and denaturalization. A new scientific formula should be evolved to take the place of the national-origins formula, which so obviously discriminates against the southern and eastern European. Tens of thousands of these nationals have been resettled in this country by virtue of the DP Act of 1948, amended in 1950. I have personally directed the resettlement of 720 of such persons in and about the city of Toledo. I am happy to state that, without exception, all are adjusting to their new environment, taking out first papers of citizenship, and rapidly becoming integrated into the political, industrial, religious, and social life of their community. Reports from Europe tell us of the ever-increasing hardships brought about by surplus populations, repatriation, and the constant stream of peoples from behind the iron curtain adding an intolerable burden to the economy of the countries where they seek refuge. Much needs to be done in this area if the United States of America is to continue to enjoy the proud distinction of being the friend of the poor and the distressed and of reaching out the hand of assistance to our needy brethren everywhere.

Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic leaders of my community are most anxious to continue their collaboration in servicing refugees from Europe. We strongly advocate that Congress pass special legislation

authorizing the immigration of several hundred thousand more uprooted Europeans to our shores. We cannot understand why a country of such vast resources and almost unlimited opportunities should turn its back on the deserving, stateless peoples of Europe, who still, to the tune of hundreds of thousands, need that encouragement, that friendly interest, and that opportunity that America above every other country can give. Let us ever keep meaningful those proud words inscribed on the Statue of Liberty:

* * * Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Monsignor. The Commission appreciates your coming before it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Monsignor Mohan here?

STATEMENT OF MSGR. FREDERICK G. MOHAN, DIOCESE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES OF CATHOLIC RESETTLEMENT COUNCIL, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Monsignor MOHAN. I am Msgr. Frederick G. Mohan, Diocese of Catholic Charities of the Catholic Resettlement Council, Cleveland, Ohio. I have no prepared statement but I would like to make some remarks in support of the statement made by Monsignor Doyle.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear you.

Monsignor MOHAN. The thing I would like to say is that we have settled more than 6,500 DP's in and about Cleveland, and that we have found that in practically every situation they have adjusted well. We have had an office staff here which has taken care of those cases where there was necessity for some little help in adjusting, but they have become active working people here in our community and certainly have helped in the programs that we have been carrying on, particularly for our defense.

I had a chat with a few of the personnel people who have hired these people and they have been well satisfied with them and they would hire more of them, they say, if they were available. So, I think we ought in consideration of our immigration policies in this country, consider these people who have come here, the European, southern Europeans, in the light of the fact that the new immigration law does make it impossible for any more of those people coming here because the quotas are so highly mortgaged.

Some of the nationalities will not be able to come here for many, many years because of these quotas being so highly mortgaged.

Now, these people who we ought to recognize, who have suffered the ravages of tyranny, who have suffered the ravages of war, have proved themselves by their representatives here in this country as people who we should be interested in.

Now, we are trying to teach democracy to all the peoples of the world. We are taking the leadership now and we ought to consider the conditions of the world when we draw up an immigration law and our immigration policies, and that policy should reflect our leadership in the world and that we will take into consideration the over-

populated sections of the world and that we can, if we are going to teach these people democracy and if we are going to show them we are the leaders and that we want them to follow on our examples, that we will be interested in all of them; and give help and give them all an opportunity, particularly giving them an opportunity to come to this country.

We, I think, ought to, in formulating the immigration policy, consider the vast experience of the displaced-persons program and give a great deal of thought to all of the information that was acquired and was used by Displaced Persons Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Monsignor, do you think that such a policy is embodied in existing law, or would you recommend changes in the existing law?

Monsignor MOHAN. I think there needs to be a change in the existing law as the national origins basis of our accepting of immigrants immediately disqualifies many of these people who are central and southeastern Europeans.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you saying you are opposed to the national origins basis as a policy?

Monsignor MOHAN. Yes; because that immediately sets up discrimination.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Monsignor, may I ask a question: You mention that quite a few of these DP's have gone into industry in this area. Could you let us know broadly some of the industries that absorb these DP's?

Monsignor MOHAN. Yes, particularly the steel industry. I might mention that Republic Steel has a number of these people. The Cleveland Twist Drill Co. is another of the companies that has quite a few. Well, offhand I can't think of any more.

I would like to submit—now I apologize to the committee that I am making an oral statement but I have just returned to the city—I would like to submit a statement along this line to the committee, telling them of some industries and specific instances of adjustments of DP's in this city.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Do you know whether these industries can absorb more workers?

Monsignor MOHAN. That is my understanding, that they could absorb more.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Can you tell us what the attitude of industry is toward accepting and absorbing more escapees and refugees from various countries?

Monsignor MOHAN. Well, you understand the program just came to a conclusion as of January 1, but there were a lot of people coming in from the early months of this year, and we have been particularly busy trying to get all of these people settled. But we have been interested in what is happening to these people and we are making a survey at this particular moment to really find out what we have done.

The CHAIRMAN. How long will it take before the survey is over?

Monsignor MOHAN. We are hopeful it won't take more than a month or 6 weeks more.

Mr. ROSENFIELD. You will let us have the results of that?

Monsignor MOHAN. Yes, I will be glad to send you the results of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Monsignor.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness will be Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

STATEMENT OF RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE, CLEVELAND, OHIO, REPRESENTING THE JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND AND ORGANIZED JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF PITTSBURGH, BUFFALO, AKRON, TOLEDO, AND CINCINNATI

Rabbi SILVER. I am Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, rabbi of the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.

I am appearing in behalf of the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland, as well as for the organized Jewish Communities of Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Akron, Toledo, and Cincinnati.

I should like to read a prepared statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Rabbi SILVER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Commission, I appreciate this opportunity to express my opinion with reference to the vital and important subject of our immigration and nationality laws.

To establish at the outset a frame of reference, I should like to define the broad objectives at which legislation on this subject should aim. I believe our immigration and nationality laws should be just and humane, in keeping with our democratic heritage, our international commitments, and the moral values which we hold dear. Our immigration policies need, I believe, remodeling in accordance with these objectives.

First, we should eliminate the provisions in our immigration laws which discriminate against individuals because of their race or national origin. Public Law 414—the McCarran-Walters Immigration and Nationality Act—not only preserves the dead weight of the national-origins theory, but it adopts a new discrimination in that it sets up a separate quota for the British West Indies, which will be restricted to 100. Our present quota system based upon the long outdated national origins of our population in 1920, largely favors Great Britain and Ireland in the annual allocation, whereas these countries did not utilize in the years between 1930 and 1948 the quotas allowed them, and the unused quotas were not reallocated to other countries. The countries of southern and eastern Europe are allowed small quotas in pursuance of the national-origins system. Asiatic countries receive token quotas of about 100. Although the underlying theory of the national-origins system is to determine quotas by place of birth, quotas for orientals are determined on the basis of race, no matter where they are born.

I believe that it is morally wrong to differentiate between individuals on the basis of race or national origin. Such discrimination is clearly not based upon the inherent worth of the individual, nor upon equal justice to all men. Our quota system and the racial discriminations in our new immigration laws as well as those of the 1920's were founded on the doctrine that Nordic culture was somehow superior to all others, and that certain nationalities and races were by nature inferior to others. This doctrine has absolutely no scientific basis. There are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and character. There are races more favored than

others by circumstances, by environment, by geographic position, by the fertility of the soil, or by unusual wealth underneath the soil. There are differences between races, but no biologic gradation. The doctrine of racial superiority was used by the Nazis and the Fascists as a cover for their vicious motives in the last World War. Racial conceits and pretensions have frequently been used by the forces of privilege, darkness, and reaction—and the great religions of mankind have always warned mankind against them. "God created only one Adam," declared a Jewish sage, "in order that in the future no man shall be warranted in saying: 'I come from better stock than you do.'" And Paul declared in a magnificent summary of the Judeo-Christian tradition on the subject of race: "The God that made the world and all nations therein * * * hath made of one blood all nature and men to dwell on the face of the whole earth."

Most of us had hoped that political racial mythology died with the defeat of the Nazis and Fascists in the last war. Unfortunately, that has not been the case—and even in our free democracy, grounded as it is in human equality, the ghost of that myth still rises to haunt us whenever we look at the new immigration and nationality law of 1952.

The national origins system and all racial discrimination should be dropped from our statute books for yet another reason. Racial discrimination creates disunity at home and resentment abroad. It interferes with our foreign relations and the role of international leadership which destiny has thrust upon us in recent years. It is one of the fundamentals of our political philosophy and an essential part of our foreign policy to treat all peoples alike, regardless of race or origin. We stand committed to the principle of fundamental human rights for all men alike. We gave expression to it time and again at United Nations conferences, in our very participation and acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations, in our activity in behalf of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the Draft Covenant on Human Rights. We cannot press for international acceptance of these principles and at the same time offend nations and races by discriminating against them in our own immigration laws. The time has come for the sake of principles, consistency, and leadership to scrap the anachronism of the national origin theory. Limit immigration to 154,000 annually, if you must—and personally I do not favor such a ceiling, for I believe that we can and should make a larger contribution to the solution of the world's pressing immigration and surplus population problem—but distribute 154,000 quota numbers to those who are worthy to receive them without distinction as to race, sex, nationality, language, or religion.

Secondly, we should remove arbitrary and harsh provisions which are founded on suspicion of immigrants as such. I can only point to a few examples.

The new law expands the grounds for deportation and exclusion. It permits deportation and exclusion for vague and unidentified reasons, and it authorizes procedures based on the opinions of consular officials subject to no review instead of established rules of law.

These provisions of the law are unfair. They are unfair because they vest absolute power in the discretion of administrators to deport and separate families. Where discretion is so absolute, injustice frequently

ensues. Our laws should be founded upon humane considerations rather than upon suspicion, distrust, undemocratic procedures, and arbitrary discretion.

Our national experience certainly does not warrant any fear or distrust of immigrants. We are a nation of immigrants. The story of immigration to the United States is the story of America itself—a story of the rise and growth of one of the greatest and most prosperous nations on earth, and of a government which has successfully maintained its democratic character and institutions for more than 175 years.

Immigrants, coming from all parts of the earth, have made this Nation; by their labor and genius made it rich and prosperous, and by their blood, defended it on the battlefields of war. America has had need of the immigrant as much as the immigrant has had need of America. And what has been produced in our country of material, spiritual, and artistic value is to be attributed not to one or another national strain within our composite American life, but to all of them. In one way or another, they have all made significant contributions to the totality of American life.

In other regards, too, our immigration laws now upon our statute books should be revised. Aliens should not, except as penalty for a crime and as punishment imposed by the judicial branch of our Government, be subjected to arrest, detention, or banishment. Deportation is a very serious thing for a man who has lived in the United States for three or more years. It is even more serious for an alien who has lived here since childhood or for one who has married here and reared an American family. Deportation deprives them of their homes, their families, and sends them, as it were, into exile. Certainly, there should be adequate appeals and review procedures in all such cases.

Each provision of our new law should be examined to determine whether it is required by pressing public necessity and by moral justice. Deportation and exclusion from the United States should be weighed with a thorough appreciation of its dreadful consequences.

Thirdly, our nationality laws should not create a category of second-class citizens. Today those who have become citizens through naturalization are told that they do not have the same freedom to stay abroad which is granted to native-born citizens. The naturalized citizen cannot return to his native land for more than 3 years, and in no event can he go abroad to other countries for more than 5 years. If he does, he loses his citizenship. The native-born citizen may go abroad without any restriction.

Many naturalized citizens who go abroad promote the best interests of the United States. They are our ambassadors of good will. Some promote American trade and commerce. It is certainly not in our best interests to revoke their citizenship.

Finally, we should reexamine the proposed method of selecting immigrants. The application forms should not call for race or ethnic classifications in view of the immateriality of this information and the possibility that it may be utilized as a basis for discrimination. Public Law 414 also fails to grant nonquota status to the parents of American citizens, and people in this category are compelled to wait on quota lines before being granted permission to be reunited with their children.

The new law, in addition to making quotas available to aliens without regard to race and national origin, should also make quotas available to them more equitably. The new law makes a very large proportion of the quotas available to those with special skills, and may be so interpreted as to end all other forms of immigration. I believe that preferences may well be given to those with special skills, to parents of American citizens and to the spouses and children of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, and to those fleeing persecution. I would grant these three categories a preference to the extent, say, of 50 percent of the annual quota of 154,000—if this is to be the quota. The remaining 50 percent should be left open for the laborer, the mechanic, the farmer, the common man who came to America in the past and helped build our bridges, our roads, our factories, our industries, and whose children contributed to our culture and our civilization. Public Law 414, if it remains unmodified, may well cut off the immigration of the little fellow, the man of no superior education or technical training, who helped America become great. Those who today seek our shores carry gifts as great as any that earlier immigrants brought. Our quota system should be kept flexible so that we can continue to welcome these immigrants rather than to turn them away.

Nearly every great war leaves vast numbers of human beings uprooted, great numbers of people who have lost their families, who have no home to return to, no occupation to resume, who for many different reasons must seek to rebuild their lives elsewhere.

There was a time when a person who fled from persecution and tyranny in his own country could escape to a new world. Today a man who loses his country loses his place in the world, too. As a stateless person, he appears to have no status in the world community. The United States should take the lead in recognizing the peculiar dilemma of these unfortunates and in helping them.

If we are to be a good neighbor to the rest of the world, we cannot maintain the forbidding role cut out for us in Public Law 414. The time has come for us to remodel our immigration policy so that it conforms not to our fears, but to our hopes, our guiding historic principles and our role of leadership in helping mankind toward justice, freedom, and peace.

Commissioner FINUCANE. You mentioned the fact that you think it is morally wrong to differentiate between individuals on the basis of race or national origin. It has been testified that the economic situation of certain countries in Europe having excess population would be greatly improved if some of their people could be accepted by this country. On the other hand, it has also been stated that this country could not possibly absorb sufficient numbers to relieve the situation in the Far East where the overpopulation is so much larger than in Europe. In your judgment, would it be morally wrong to differentiate between the Far East and Europe in our immigration policy?

Rabbi SILVER. In my judgment it should not be based upon the place of origin of these immigrants.

Commissioner FINUCANE. The place of origin is, of course, merely a matter of identifying them.

Rabbi SILVER. I can fully realize that. It may well be determined by a board—an administrative commission, so the absorptive capacity

of our country for immigrants can be determined. I am not advocating all together unlimited immigration at this time. I think that preference should be given first to those who seek reunification with their families and, secondly, to those who are victims of persecution, and, thirdly, to those who do have special skills and qualifications; but after that I think perhaps the best rule would be first-come, first-served.

We are trying to win the good will of Asia in our foreign policy. We are fighting for the great ideals in the world and we can win those peoples of Asia to our point of view if we can persuade them that we are not discriminating against them because of race or color.

It is this very fact of race discrimination being exploited so far as it will be, and I am afraid it will be used against us, which is making our foreign policy unacceptable to so many peoples especially in Asia, where half the world's population resides.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Would you take that view, even though by accepting immigrants on first-come first-served basis we would not in any real sense help the internal condition of the Far East, India, and Pakistan and China, whereas if we gave our attention more to European countries, to Netherlands, or to Greece, for instance, we might very materially help the internal conditions there?

Rabbi SILVER. Well, we would be helping there and, on the other hand, would probably be helping the situation in Asia. We will never be able to completely solve the surplus population problem of either Europe or Asia by our immigration exclusively to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Under your proposal, would you make the residue available to everybody in the world, without regard to whether it was Europe or Asia?

Rabbi SILVER. That is right, giving these preliminary preferences to those categories which I have indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF THEODORE ANDRICA, NATIONALITIES EDITOR, THE CLEVELAND PRESS

Mr. ANDRICA. I am Theodore Andrica, nationalities editor of the Cleveland Press for the past 25 years.

I am supposed to write articles concerning and about the 45 nationality groups existing in Cleveland, and whatever I say is based on 25 years of experience with the nationality groups and immigrants. During the past 25 years I also traveled 15 years, every year from 4 to 6 months in Europe, visiting the homelands of these people. What I say about immigration legislation is also based on experience in the old country too.

The CHAIRMAN. What nationalities here in Cleveland have been involved in your writings?

Mr. ANDRICA. Before 1948, before the iron curtain fell totally, the nationalities involved in Cleveland were Polish, Jewish, if you call it nationality, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Austrians, Germans, Lithuanians, Greeks, Italians, Irish, mostly. On a secondary par, as far as numbers were reflected in Cleveland, they were the Scandinavian people, the French, Belgium, Dutch, and the smaller states like the Swiss.

I believe that there should be no unlimited immigration to America but that the total number of immigrants lawfully to be admitted should be at least twice or three times the present number. The country not only can absorb them economically, but what is more important, the United States needs the immigrants. All past experience shows that the immigrants have usually and normally large families, and I shall bring forth a thought which has not been so far presented; namely, that during the past 75 years, since we have had immigration on a very, very large scale, these immigrants, and their very numerous offspring, have contributed most vitally to the raising of the largest armies the world has seen as far as America is concerned. What the immigrants did, and are doing for the development of the United States, I believe, is no matter of controversy any more. They have built the cities of America, and one way of dramatically illustrating what the immigrants and their children do for any industrial city in America is the following theory: Assuming that tomorrow morning all immigrants and their children, but not grandchildren, don't go to work in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, New York City, Buffalo, Toledo, Chicago, Canton, Ohio; Youngstown, Ohio; Birmingham, Ala.; Texas, California—if you can imagine a picture that no immigrant will go to work in the plants of America tomorrow, and in industrial establishments, you can very well see what they contribute even today to the development of America. Contrary to the fears expressed by people opposed to immigration in the past, the immigrants did not constitute a burden to this country. Public records, not only in Cleveland but everywhere, show that the immigrants have been—and this is not theory—and are among the most ardent believers and practitioners of home ownership, which is one of the most basic tenets of our American life. Throughout all the wars which were fought by this country, the immigrants, starting with the Civil War, have proven—again, it is not a theory only—that they have been thoroughly loyal, both politically, militarily, and spiritually to this country.

I believe that the quota system should be changed because the figures on which the quotas are based are not only unfair but are definitely wrong; and this wrong has been perpetuated for 30 years now. Since 1872 or whatever year the law is based on, the world has changed. For instance, the Poles cannot bring their people to this country because at that time Poland was not Poland. All the peoples of the Austrian and Hungarian Empire, the Slovaks, the Rumanians, the Croatians, many Serbs, many Italians, many Slovenes, cannot have a just quota because they were not born in what was Slovenia, Roumania, Slovakia, Croatia—they were born in Hungary or in Austria. The only quota, that could be said to be correct, from eastern and central Europe, would be the Italian quota. Not even the Greek quota is correct because most of the Greeks who came here are from Turkey, from Turkish-dominated islands. So in that respect too, America has committed a great wrong—proclaiming by law to the entire world that the American Government does believe in discrimination is no good from the point of view of foreign policy. We are supposed to be the champions of liberty and justice to the entire world, and we are specifically talking now to eastern Europe, which is under the iron curtain. But here at home we are telling our people of Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, Czech descent that they are not as good as the Irish, Scandinavians, the

British, or the French—we are not intimating, we are telling them by law. An American soldier born in Cleveland, Ohio, of Slovak, Hungarian, or Polish descent does risk and often sacrifices his life on the battlefield for America, but he cannot bring his cousin from Poland, Hungary, as fast, or never, as does his comrade who happens to stem by sheer accident from Scandinavia. Another thing which we forget, and I believe, is that from the point of view of practical propaganda we cannot tell the iron-curtain countries, whether through the Voice of America, or Radio for Europe, or other means, that we sincerely desire their liberation from the yoke of the Soviets, when the Soviets can very rightfully come back at us and say: "What kind of justice is this in America, when you Poles, you Slovaks, you Rumanians in America, with citizenship in your pockets cannot exercise the same rights as somebody born or descended from Ireland, Scandinavia, France, and Belgium." It is powerful propaganda, and those of us who are familiar with it—from the first standpoint of view, we know that it is an almost unbeatable propaganda. The same thing goes for the Asiatic countries.

I want to resume again what I was trying to say: I believe in doubling the immigration—I believe in eradicating the national origins quotas, they are unfair, unjust, and completely incorrect.

Thank you very much.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Andrica, in connection with your observations about the way people in Europe feel about the immigration law, would you be able to provide the Commission with some documentation on that subject on the basis of your trips overseas; that is, the way people actually feel, as expressed either in their official documentation, or in their newspapers, or in other ways that may have come to your attention?

Mr. ANDRICA. I shall be very much able. I shall point out to you that devoted friends of America have been asking me repeatedly in many countries, if we are such champions of America why they cannot go to America. We can go to Poland—I am not talking only about Poland—we can go to Europe, anywhere, by showing a green passport which can be obtained for \$11 from any post office here, but they cannot even come on a visit to America. It is a statement which I cannot ever dispute—it is true.

Mr. ROSENFELD. In your trips to Europe, have you observed any reaction on the part of the people there as a result of the communications and letters from people of foreign extraction in the United States, urging them to espouse democracy and to oppose communism?

Mr. ANDRICA. Well, the best example of that is the Italian elections.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Has it extended beyond the Italian elections? What other countries?

Mr. ANDRICA. Greece, Yugoslavia, and until the mills were shut down about 2 months ago, to Rumania, to Hungary. I am not too familiar with Poland, but Yugoslavia is definitely in that sphere that Rumania was. Now the mills are shut down. Not technically, but you realize that you have to have special post offices in those countries from which you can mail also to America. So that thing is a little bit over, but until about 2 months ago there was a tremendous influence from America in homey letters telling them how life is in America, if nothing else.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Have you observed any indication from foreign-born groups in this country that they believe the immigration law is discriminatory against them?

Mr. ANDRICA. They understand it. They appreciate it. The only difficulty is that they are not as vocal as they should be, and that is again stemming from the fact that throughout this 30 years, they were gradually and permanently given the impression that they are somewhat second-class citizens. And if they are not vocal in this respect, it is because we have been able, or at least some people have been able, to tell them even by law, and I come back to that again, gentlemen of the Commission, that by law we tell them that they are not as good as somebody else. If you don't hear more from them, it is because they are not as vocal as some other people are, but deep down in their hearts they feel it very, very much. Maybe they can't express it as well as they should but they do feel it.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. How soon can you assemble your information?

Mr. ANDRICA. In a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Please send it to us in Washington just as soon as you can. Thank you.

Our next witness is Mr. Charles P. Lucas.

**STATEMENT OF CHARLES P. LUCAS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,
CLEVELAND BRANCH, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

Mr. LUCAS. I am Charles P. Lucas, 7811 Cedar Avenue, Cleveland. I am appearing as executive secretary, Cleveland branch, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I have a prepared statement I should like to read.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. Chairman, members of the Special Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, I wish to applaud the President of the United States for his wisdom in establishing the special Commission. You, the members of the Commission richly deserve the appreciation of thousands of Americans and would-be Americans for your patience in tediously pursuing a fact-finding course covering many regions of our great country.

To expedite time, I am assuming you have been thoroughly informed, through your own careful study and by expert technical testimony of the racially restrictive discriminatory features of Public Law 414. With the authority and on behalf of colored citizens in this region, I would like to address my brief remarks to section 202 (c) of the McCarran-Walter immigration and naturalization bill passed by the Eighty-second Congress over a Presidential veto.

Before, and after passage of Public Law 414, reverberating reactions in this region immediately sensed the effect of section 202 (c) on continued immigration from the West Indies. I have had the privilege of living association with colored peoples from many sections of the Caribbean area who have made satisfactory citizenship adjustments in and around Cleveland, Ohio.

I had the direct opportunity to know and work with Bishops Joseph Comez and D. Ormond Walker of the AME Church, both being ele-

vated to the bishopric from the city of Cleveland. It is the proud knowledge of Clevelanders in general that immigrants from the West Indies have made notable contributions to the total living pattern of our city. One heads a large and thriving Christian community center, another served as councilman in the city of Cleveland, still another established and operates one of the largest floral shops in the city. A reputable weekly newspaper here is owned and edited by a distinguished West Indian. The clergy and medical and teaching profession are liberally sprinkled with representation from the islands. I could recite in rather lengthy detail nearly a half-hundred names of individuals who have made noteworthy achievements in this and the surrounding communities of Akron, Youngstown, Canton, Columbus, Cincinnati, and Toledo, but time won't permit.

In this region, we have been the recipients of scores of solid citizens from Jamaica, Trinidad, and the colonies of the British West Indies. Reducing the flow of this element of the world's population is a serious blow to them and to us.

Cleveland has had a West Indian club for many years which had assisted in the urbanization and relocation of many of their countrymen. This community has received these new citizens with open arms and has welcomed the skills which they bring. Their quest for finished educational opportunities coupled with their desire for worthy home membership certainly qualifies them for the blessings of our growing republic.

At present, there is a widespread interpretation that under the McCarran-Walter bill, there will be a reduction by about 90 percent from the West Indies. It is also understood that instead of eliminating racial discrimination with regard to the admission of colored peoples that the bill perpetuates the restrictive features of the 1924 Immigration Act. This is naturally viewed with alarm in our community. Cleveland's total then, would be practically negligible under the present features of the bill. Therefore, this fertilization of our colored population in business, law, medicine, religion, government and the press would suffer a definite set-back if present standards on immigration are maintained.

The ability of these new citizens to make commendable adjustments in health, religion, employment, education and the political life of our community is truly amazing and inspiring. It is therefore hoped by a large majority of colored people in this area that your commission will find convincing evidence to present to the Eighty-third Congress of the United States which will provide a complete revision of Public Law 414 and especially section 202c.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lucas. We appreciate your coming before the Commission.

STATEMENT OF BELA NOGRADI, EDITOR, REPRESENTING ZOLTEN GOMBOS, PUBLISHER OF SZABADSAG, HUNGARIAN DAILY

Mr. NOGRADI. I am Bela Nogradi, editor of Szabadsag, a Hungarian daily, 1736 East Twenty-second Street, Cleveland, Ohio. I am also representing the publisher of Szabadsag, Mr. Zolten Gombos.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I imagine that the shortcomings of the McCarran-Walter Act have been elucidated from

many points of view, so I just want to read a very brief statement calling your attention to one special viewpoint, which should be taken into consideration in the light of the cold war. It may have avoided general attention that the law hits hardest those East and Central European countries which are under Communist rule at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be glad to hear your statement.

Mr. NOGRADI. Since we are engaged to strengthen the anti-Communist world it would certainly be a loss to exclude the thousands of men and women who are refugees from the Communist regimes in their countries. Surely there can be no more reliable element in the anti-Communist world than the refugees of communism.

Mere anticommunism, however, should not be considered sufficient moral passport to this country. We, the first generation of Americans of Hungarian descent are witnesses that after the Second World War there was an influx of Hungarians to this country who are tainted with totalitarian ideas, and I am sure a similar situation prevails among other nationalities.

This unhappy situation is due mostly to the inexperience of the American consular services. Through routine "investigation" it is almost impossible for an American official abroad to identify an ex-Nazi or ex-Fascist unless he was an exposed individual.

To remedy this situation, I believe, it would be a healthy idea to establish some sort of citizens immigration committee which may act in an advisory capacity to immigration authorities. This committee, consisting of prominent citizens beyond reproach in each nationality group, is apt to know more about the background of persons to be admitted to this country.

I request your committee to take these remarks into consideration and include them in its report to the President.

Thank you very much.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Do you have any recent reliable information as to the number of Hungarian escapees that are crossing into Western Europe?

Mr. NOGRADI. No, I have no special information, but I would estimate that, let's say, in the last 18 months, since the border inspection is more severe—I would estimate that no more than maybe 200 to 300 persons escaped.

Mr. ROSENFELD. From Hungary?

Mr. NOGRADI. Yes. It is a terrible risk, you know, and probably more than a thousand persons have tried it and lost their lives, or their liberty.

Mr. ROSENFELD. What has happened to the ones who have gotten across, do you know?

Mr. NOGRADI. They live mostly in Austria, in Vienna, and Salzburg, and very few of them, a negligible amount came to this country and other places, mostly prominent people, who by their prominence can assure a visa to this country—artists and so forth—that's a handful.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Have they gone anywhere else?

Mr. NOGRADI. Some of them went to Italy, a handful of them went to Australia, South America, but you can estimate them only by the dozens.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Are any of them being used by Radio Free Europe in broadcasting?

Mr. NOGRADI. I don't know if they are. But usually when they escape they use them in making a statement, making a broadcast, but that is not as a livelihood.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Thank you very much.

**STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY ALBERT ZIMMER, REPRESENTING
AMERICAN BANATER RELIEF OF CINCINNATI, OHIO**

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Chairman, may I introduce into the record at this point a statement submitted to the Commission by Albert Zimmer for the American Banater Relief Society of Cincinnati, Ohio. They have asked that this be submitted instead of appearing orally.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be admitted.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Albert Zimmer, representing the American Banater Relief, is as follows:)

OCTOBER 6, 1952.

To the Honorable President's Commission of Immigration and Naturalization:

(a) The immigration laws in regards of qualifying any immigrant shall remain about the same in general as are for admission at the present.

Naturalization shall remain about the same as is now. In order to give every future naturalized citizen an opportunity to familiarize himself with all angles of American political life. The same shall go for denaturalization and deportation. No man shall be deprived of his citizenship unless it is proven through our courts that he obtained the same through fraud and that he believes in changing our form of Government by force.

(b) All immigrants are being quickly absorbed into the American way of life; and under the present economy, they also will be in the future. No one knows what the future holds in store, nevertheless we are convinced that immigration is a great help to the country now and in the future.

(c) In effect our present immigration laws are antiquated and were made for peacetime when people lived in their ancestral homes and do not take care for the present needs

As for the national origin quota if changed to the population of the United States as of 1910 it would be more justly distributed than at present and for the present emergency of overpopulation in certain areas and similar cases there should be a law permitting 100,000 uprooted people who may be called refugees, expellees, escapees, or whatever new name may be found for them, to come to our shores regardless of national origin or religious belief. These people shall be permitted from such areas as is recommended by the President on the advice or recommendation of the State Department and religious and charitable institutions.

Comment.—We are convinced that changing the present quota of national origin of the composition of the population in the United States to 1910 plus the 100,000 per year of people who lost their former homes would go a long way to relieve the population problems in Europe and would not even be noticed in the United States or change the present composition of population it would easily be absorbed into the American way of life.

Yours very respectfully,

(Signed) ALBERT ZIMMER.

The CHAIRMAN. Father Gabor Takacs.

Mrs. STIBRAN. Father Gabor Takacs does not speak English, and I shall interpret for him. He is representing the American-Hungarian Catholic Newspaper, and I am representing that also, so may I interpret for him?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

STATEMENT OF FATHER GABOR TAKACS, CHIEF EDITOR OF THE HUNGARIAN CATHOLIC SUNDAY, REPRESENTING ALSO THE AMERICAN-HUNGARIAN CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER

Mrs. STIBRAN. I am Mrs. Theresa A. Stibran, 18133 Lomond Boulevard, Shaker Heights, Cleveland. I represent the American-Hungarian Catholic Newspaper, but before making my statement wish to interpret for Father Takacs, who also wishes to testify.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed to interpret for Father Takacs.

Mrs. STIBRAN. The Reverend Father Gabor Takacs, 4160 Lorain Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, is here as chief editor of the Hungarian Catholic Sunday.

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpreting for Rev. Takacs). The Reverend Father Gabor Takacs arrived in the United States in 1940 as a displaced person who had lived in a displaced-person camp in Italy. He is now 100 percent familiar with the English language, and he is very much concerned that an additional displaced-person law should be enacted somewhat similar, or very much like the 1940 displaced person law that we have had. In other words, he would like a companion bill to the McCarran bill which was passed by Congress. Father Takacs is very greatly concerned about this new, additional displaced-person law because he seems to feel that our job was not quite finished when the 1948—Public Law No. 774, I believe it was—was ended.

He feels that a great many of our refugees came into the United States leaving members of their families—in some cases husbands and wives, and in some cases mother and children left in a displaced-persons camp. He also seems to feel, as I myself advocate, that in 1948, or beginning 1948, in that law there was a deadline given which let people into the United States inclusive of a certain date from 1944 to 1947. Later on that was changed—those that left the iron curtain countries in 1948 could also come to the United States. He continuously kept writing and asking that this deadline should be changed—perhaps to 1944, because during the interval between the Allies and the enemy there were a great many refugees entering Western Europe that were equally eligible, should have been equally eligible to enter the United States as those that arrived there a year later. A great many of the refugees did not register at IRO because they were not informed to do so immediately after their arrival to Western Europe, so, therefore, they were not eligible to enter the United States.

Father Takacs is also asking me to mention that if we shall be successful to have a new displaced persons law in the future that we should include, perhaps, those refugees who went to countries other than to the United States, and those who have served in the foreign legions. I think it was a 5-year period they were supposed to serve, and then they are through with their 5 years, but they are not eligible ever to enter the United States. Father Takacs seems to feel that this should be eliminated and some provision made in the new law that these people perhaps could enter together with those that might enter from Western Europe; that left the iron curtain countries. Father Gabor Takacs claims that there are about 30,000 that were serving in a foreign legion, and served their 5 years that are scattered all over the world, many of them in India, China, Australia, England, even France. These are all the points that he has.

The CHAIRMAN. What foreign legion are you referring to?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). The Foreign Legion of France in Indochina, and some of England's foreign legions. He claims that most of them escaped in 1944 and 1945 and, therefore, they already have served their 5 years, which they had promised to serve when they joined these foreign legion armies.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they serve in armies of the United States?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). No. But they were refugees in Western Europe, and they signed up to fight communism in these foreign legion armies—to serve the French, and, of course, perhaps with the English Government, but at the same time they were serving on the same front where we are fighting evidently.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Did you say some of them fought in Indochina?

Mrs. STIBRAN. Yes.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Are they in England or Indochina or where?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). They were trained in those countries and they were sent to fight on other fronts wherever the English are holding the line, and the French are holding the line—as French soldiers.

He claims we are corresponding with them, the newspaper is being delivered to them, we are constantly in touch with these people. Of course, they are refugees from the iron-curtain countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Father Takacs say there are 30,000 Hungarians alone?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). He means that would be inclusive of all from the old Austrian-Hungarian territory. That would include Czechs, and Rumanians, and all those that came from the iron-curtain countries—he means all of them inclusive.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he mean 30,000 people who were behind what we now call the iron curtain, that fought on the side of the Allies—fought in the French Armies or the English Armies?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). Yes. They would be very thrilled and glad to assign themselves to the United States Army if that was provided for them—that's what they want in the first place.

The CHAIRMAN. Have the 30,000 finished the 5 years they agreed to serve?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). The father claims they have served—

The CHAIRMAN. Are some of them still serving?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). Some of them are still serving; some of them have served only as much as 2 years, and they have 3 years left. We are concerned about the ones that have served the 5 years and are reporting themselves that they would like to come to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when they have finished their terms in whatever army they happen to be in, then, has he got any idea as to where they are or what becomes of them?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). They, no doubt, have an idea, and I have an idea myself, that if they served in the French Army for 5 years that the French Government, perhaps, would provide them with some citizenship maybe, or they would be eligible to be citizens of those countries, but, of course, if there is a quota system it would have to be considered.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of the 30,000 does he think would want to come to the United States?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). The father claims that there may be approximately about 5,000 to 10,000 that would be very anxious to come to the States directly—some of them made connections, and got jobs, and some of them, perhaps, died of that number, or are ill of that number, and would not be eligible. But he believes that about 5,000 or 10,000 would be anxious to come.

The CHAIRMAN. And does he think that there are as many as 5,000 or 10,000 in that class that have already finished serving their 5 years?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). Yes, yes, that's what he means.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it 30,000 that have finished serving their 5 years, or is part of the 30,000 still serving?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). He thinks that 30,000 registered, but he doesn't have a full report of how many of those have fallen in those armies by accident or by war casualty—he does not know that number.

The CHAIRMAN. Are some of the 30,000 casualties?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). That must be so.

The CHAIRMAN. And some of them are still in the army?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). Most of them, the majority of them, are out—at least he seems to feel that there are about 30,000 that are through serving or have been there for 5 years.

The CHAIRMAN. And of that number, he believes 5,000 or 10,000 would want to come to the United States?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they now located in England or France or wherever they may be settled?

Mrs. STIBRAN (interpretation). Yes, and in the posts fighting.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Now you may testify.

STATEMENT OF MRS. THERESA A. STIBRAN, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN-HUNGARIAN CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER

Mrs. STIBRAN. I am representing the American-Hungarian Catholic Newspaper.

For myself, I was advocating that within the American-Hungarian Federation—that in 1948 I was working very much for Public Law 774, but after, and before it was adopted, I continually asked to change the deadline on that, and I thought it was somewhat discriminatory because it did not include the refugees that entered Western Europe directly in 1944 during the war, and I worked continuously for a new law after that ended, and the McCarran-Walter bill when it was in the Senate. I was corresponding and asking the Judiciary Committee to pass the law, but at the same time I asked that the quota numbers be revised because I did not feel that they were correct.

Here I want to mention that I agree with Mr. Andrica very much that the quota numbers were based on the 1920 race and nationality statute and it was not correct because many of those people were born in old Austria, Hungary, and, as he stated, were never eligible to follow him in that law.

I have jotted down a few notes here that I might read about the McCarran-Walter immigration bill. I believe it is discriminatory

only insofar as every law is discriminatory against somebody. The quota numbers given to each country should be revised because we have many limitations. I am against such a free-for-all law as the Humphrey-Lehman bill suggests. A new law should be provided within which additional numbers of refugees could enter from Western Europe and other countries. Our job there is not finished.

I am suggesting that a temporary emergency immigration legislation be enacted to admit at least an additional 300,000 immigrants to this country over a 3-year period. This should include those persons who served the 5-year period in foreign legions. We are under moral obligation.

I also wish to say that I am convinced that the Hungarian immigrants entering the United States in 1948 or after, those that came in recently, are quickly adjusting themselves, and we haven't had any occasion to find that any of them behaved in such a way that we would wish to send them back. They are all anxious to become citizens, the same as I was when I came to the United States 30 years ago. I came in at 6 o'clock one evening, and the next morning I was carrying my citizenship application paper, and I am a citizen for 24 years, and love to be here, and I wish it could be made so that others could come in and try to work for the United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us why you are opposed to legislation such as that embodied in the Humphrey-Lehman bill?

Mrs. STIBRAN. Well, I was reasoning that it is true that it is discriminatory if we don't open the gates in the Far East as much as we open the gates, say, to Western European refugees; debating about that, I can see that it could be easily called discriminatory. As I said, any law would be that. Of course, I always have said our facilities are limited. We can bring in so many, our personnel can take care of only so many, our boats can bring so many, we can assimilate them putting them to work—we have the facilities, but it takes time, and I feel if it was open all around the world it would require so many bureaus, so many examinations, so many people have to be placed in those parts to screen them, bring them in, examine them. If there is such a law as the Lehman bill provides, it perhaps should be a long-term law. Of course, the McCarran bill is a long-term law. As I stated, the quota basis, it seems to me, is all right except that the provision should have been revised while they were working on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in favor of the quota?

Mrs. STIBRAN. I am in favor of the quota system.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in favor of the national origins quota system?

Mrs. STIBRAN. Yes. But, as I said, now I am not against giving England so much more than other countries, but I am saying that we have seen that not as many people come in as the quota that is given to them, so, therefore, I believe that it should be revised and given to those countries not on racial origins, but on population number now, because people left those countries and are migrating all over Europe, and we cannot very well go and find out who was born in what country, and place them on quota according to their origin of birth.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you advocate using the most recent census, the 1950 census?

Mrs. STIBRAN. Yes; I would take that.

The CHAIRMAN. And would you have a quota based on that census?

Mrs. STIBRAN. Yes. For instance, the Italian quota corresponding to that should be higher, or the central European-Hungarian or Czechoslovakian, Rumanian, those quotas should be adjusted to today's numbers of citizens.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Would that still not be considered discriminatory against some countries?

Mrs. STIBRAN. As I said, in spite of all the arrangements we make, it is still discriminatory against someone else. I think that we have a moral obligation because they are refugees, they are homeless, they are without any future at all. That's the only reason that I am asking for a provision in the new law, like the 1948 displaced persons law was.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you advocating that we have a general immigration policy based on quotas, and that quota system based on 1950 census?

Mrs. STIBRAN. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that, you say, would still involve discriminations?

Mrs. STIBRAN. Well, if you look for discrimination you would find it in that equally.

The CHAIRMAN. And in addition do you think that we ought to have what you call a companion law?

Mrs. STIBRAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, something like the Celler bill, a temporary law?

Mrs. STIBRAN. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to temporary legislation to meet an emergency situation, would you also recommend that the permanent policy of the United States be based on a quota?

Mrs. STIBRAN. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. Based on what census?

Mrs. STIBRAN. It should be brought up to date, based on the 1950 census.

The CHAIRMAN. In taking the 1950 census figures, would you also apply that method to the countries as they exist today, and not as they existed at the time that the quota system was originally adopted, in order to provide for these countries that were then in some other empire?

Mrs. STIBRAN. That's right.

I entered under a Czechoslovakian quota in 1922, but when I entered as a Czechoslovakian our quota was higher than the Hungarian quota. If I had had to wait for the Hungarian quota corresponding to my birth, I would, perhaps, have had to wait another 2 years, but because it was not according to my birth I came in on the Czechoslovakian quota. You see, that's the old census of 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(There follows a written statement submitted later by Mrs. Stibran:)

OCTOBER 9, 1952.

Mr. PHILIP PERLMAN,

Chairman, President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I consider it a great privilege to have the opportunity to be heard by the distinguished members of the Commission.

When I expressed the wish that legislation would be enacted to admit an additional 300,000 immigrants to this country over a 3-year period, as an emergency measure, I am convinced that I have spoken for the great majority of Americans of Hungarian origin.

I also stated that, with some reservations, I am a supporter of the McCarran Public Law 414, which is based on the quota system. I stated that the quota numbers based on the 1920 census was wrong. It is wrong because in the newly created central European states at that time, the majority of the people could not, for various reasons, admit their origin of birth; rather, they claimed citizenship in a new country on the basis of merely being able to talk the required language. Fearing second-grade citizenship they tried to act as of a race, rather than of a country. Furthermore, many families were in a process of moving, trying to be united with their relatives.

To a question—my answer was that the basis of the quota should be based on a more recent, preferably on the 1950, census. That is a large order, and I hope that the following remarks will help clarify what I was thinking, and why I believe that too many mistakes were made in the past.

Mr. Theodore Andrica, nationality editor of the Cleveland Press, mentioned the fact that on the territory which was the old Austrian-Hungarian Empire, where the nonhomogeneous population consisted of Hungarians, Germans, Croats, Slovaks, Serbians, Rumanians, Czechs, Ruthenians, and some smaller groups of lesser known elements, the birthright as a basis for citizenship was impractical. As to the above statement I am in agreement with Mr. Andrica. I further said that I came to the United States within the Czechoslovak quota. I was very fortunate indeed, that I was born on the territory which was given to Czechoslovakia in Trianon. My mother, who was born only a few miles on the Hungarian side of the newly created demarcation line, was not so fortunate. She could never establish her status to be eligible to come to the United States on the Czech quota. While Mr. Andrica made his statements, I felt that my case could serve as a living example why we are having the difficult problems with which we are confronted when we are seeking to help enact a United States law, which would be the least discriminatory to the largest number of homeless refugees, who are scattered all over the world.

The great majority of refugees now staying in western European countries originate from the Russian satellite, and from the Balkan countries. These refugees, in their confusion hardly know what to answer when they are asked the question: What country are you from? They only know one thing, that they speak one or two of the many languages. That fact, and not what country they came from, should be used as a basis of classifying them, if we must. We cannot now get an accurate census from iron-curtain countries, therefore, we should not differentiate between these peoples, they are all from small countries where the migration of the peoples is in process for the last 30 years. The above is the reason why I believe that an emergency companion bill to the McCarran bill would be necessary to help free Western Europe of its refugee problems. Here is where we should feel morally obligated, because our foreign policy was such as it was, it helped to force the migration of these peoples toward the west.

As to the quota numbers of the McCarran immigration law, and considering it as a long-range program, which applies to all European countries and others, there is a great advantage not to be overlooked, is the fact, that within the quota American citizens can furnish their relatives with a supporting guaranty of an affidavit, and by paying for their own passage, they are not a direct burden on the American taxpayer. I would not suggest to take away unused quota numbers, for instance, from England, but I would raise the quota numbers of the countries whose quota is a mere token number. In other words, a more liberal quota is what ought to be given within the McCarran law. The security of the United States of America should be considered first and always.

We in America are humanitarians; we feel the suffering and hunger of the Asiatics, as well as the Europeans. To be hungry in your own country, and in your home, is more bearable than to be both hungry and homeless; therefore, somehow, we should have preference in giving help where it is more urgently needed. We will never escape the possibility that someone, or a group, might attempt to stamp our laws as discriminatory. Because our limitations are many, we cannot be hosts to the whole world. Resettlement of the immigrants is a difficult task. I am most familiar with the problem of finding shelter for a large family just arriving from another country, and this problem is on this end of the line, is minor in comparison.

It may be a little far-fetched to imagine a situation by which we would create a new Hungarian state out of Cleveland's own Buckeye Road and of its vicinity, which is seemingly all Hungarian. You would immediately have dozens of homeless groups of peoples of different race and nationality, who would not wish to live there. You see, what happened in Hungary in 1919 is similar. The many nationalities living in the old Austrian-Hungarian Empire for many years, in a comparatively peaceful atmosphere, were never forced or asked to be other than what they preferred to be. All arguments as to the falseness of the above statement has been settled by the very existence of those peoples. The newly created states were as nonhomogeneous as the old empire. That fact was further proven by Czechoslovakia's mass deportations of the Hungarians and Germans after World War I, and after a whole new generation later. To some "brilliant" idealists, Austria-Hungary did not look Hungarian enough, using that as an excuse they demanded that the empire be broken up in small states, and thereby did away with a great economical and political unity.

The peacemakers of Trianon, after World War I, which war was to end all wars (the second war, I believe, was fought to save democracy), were quite happy with their newly created states. We Americans, sensing that something was not exactly right, offered our idea of "self-determination."

Nothing, or no one could separate or divide those peoples, and now in their homelessness they still share the same fate. We will sadly fail them again if we will treat the immigration problems on the basis of the mistakes made in Trianon. Let us at last give them self-determination, accept their statement that they are homeless, and let us try to be equally generous to them all.

Respectfully and sincerely,

Theresa Stibran,
Mrs. John Stibran,
Shaker Heights 22, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Zygmunt B. Dybowski.

STATEMENT OF ZYGMUNT B. DYBOWSKI, PRESIDENT, POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS, DEPARTMENT OF OHIO, FORMER STATE ADJUTANT, POLISH LEGION OF AMERICAN VETERANS, EDITOR OF THE POLISH DAILY NEWS

Mr. DYBOWSKI. My name is Zygmunt B. Dybowski. My address is 5513 Stickny Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. I have been editor of the Polish Daily News for the last 30 years. I have been State adjutant of the Polish Legion of American Veterans, and now I am the president of the Polish-American Congress, Department of Ohio.

I am speaking on behalf of the Polish-American Congress chiefly, but I am also representing the two other parties.

I have a statement I wish to read.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. DYBOWSKI. The Polish-American Congress, Department of Ohio, representing over 300,000 citizens of Polish birth or descent, desires to voice its opinion on the question of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of June 27, 1952.

In our considered opinion, the act should be amended and purged of un-American and discriminatory provisions. In the first place, we would like to indicate that in the Immigration Act of 1924 there already was discrimination against the people from southern and eastern Europe in general and against the Poles in particular. There was an assumption unworthy of Americans which gave an impression that people from these areas made less worthy Americans than, for instance, the western and northern Europeans.

We do not wish to speak for other peoples, because they can speak for themselves, but as far as the Americans of Polish birth or descent

are concerned we feel that the Poles made as large a contribution to the American life, proportionately to its numbers, as any other group did.

The Polish group participated in the building of this country. Four hundred Poles came to America in 1609-10 and were engaged in the making of tar, glass, and bricks. They did pioneering work in this country, and one of them, Jakob Sadowski, founded the town of Sandusky, in the State of Ohio.

Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko, Gen. Casimir Pulaski, and 150 other Poles have fought under Washington during the Revolutionary War, and General Pulaski sacrificed his life at the Battle of Savannah on October 11, 1779.

During the Civil War, 7,000 Poles fought on the side of the Union, under General Krzyzanowski, General Karge, and others, and General Krzyzanowski was the first Governor of Alaska when this Territory was purchased from Russia, after the Civil War.

In the First World War 300,000 boys of Polish birth or extraction served under the Stars and Stripes, and during the Second World War almost 700,000 of them.

Now, in Korea, there are many men of Polish descent fighting, and Colonel Gabreski is the ace who shot down the largest number of Russian Migs in Korea.

Poles have also made a tremendous contribution to American life in all other fields of human achievement and were the first to stand up against Hitler and also against Soviet Russia.

Therefore, we feel that they should not be discriminated against, and the discriminatory provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act should be so amended that a larger number of Poles could be admitted to the United States, and not a mere 5,900 a year, as the present law permits.

The Polish-American Congress, Department of Ohio, is of the opinion that the Immigration Act should be so amended that it would be based on the census of 1920 or 1930, or on the last census, and not on the basis of 1890, which was arbitrarily set up for the purpose of discrimination against the Poles and other eastern and southern Europeans.

Hoping that the work of this Commission will set aright the injustice done to the worthy people of Poland, we wish your Commission the best of success.

Now, I want to add to the statement I just read, and say that over a million Poles were forcibly taken out from Poland during the Second World War by Hitler, and were put in concentration camps, and when the war was over these people could not go back to Poland because Poland under the Yalta agreement was given to Russia, as we all know, and they were forced to scatter throughout the world. They were hoping that they would be allowed to come to the United States, but only a small number of them were allowed to come here. The rest of them scattered throughout the world, and there still are 70,000 Poles in Germany who have no place to go because no one would take them. They are mostly older men that cannot work, or women that have been experimented on by Hitler, and his cohorts, and, consequently, there is no place for them to go. And we feel that these 70,000 Poles that are in Germany should, under some provision, be

admitted to the United States, since Poland was the first country to fight Hitler, and was the first country to fight Soviet Russia. There were also 200,000 Poles defending England during the Second World War. They fought at Tobruk in Africa, in Sicily, and Monte Cassino, and then when the war was over they could not go back to Poland because if they would have gone there they would all have been hanged by Soviet Russia. They also scattered, and Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, submitted a law that 18,000 of them be admitted to the United States; unfortunately, only 11,000 came and not even this little quota was filled for some reason that I really don't know, and the rest of them went to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand, and still a larger amount of them is still in England, and they also would love to come to America. That is about all that I want to say.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Charles Posner.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES POSNER, REPRESENTING THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF GREATER CINCINNATI, THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF CINCINNATI, THE CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL OF CINCINNATI, AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL OF CINCINNATI

Mr. POSNER. I am Charles Posner, director, Jewish Community Relations Committee, Cincinnati, Ohio, which I represent. I am also appearing on behalf of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, the Council of Churches of Greater Cincinnati, and the Citizenship Council of Cincinnati.

I have two letters addressed to the Commission, one from the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, the other from the Council of Churches of Greater Cincinnati, which I should like to read into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Please do so.

(The letter from Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, read by Mr. Charles Posner, is as follows:)

CATHOLIC CHARITIES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF CINCINNATI,
Cincinnati, Ohio, October 2, 1952.

To the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization:

As one of the several agencies in Cincinnati working in the resettlement program of displaced persons, our records indicate that, to date, we have resettled 163 family units (comprised of a total of 487 individuals) and 200 single persons. This makes a grand total of 687 persons (men, women, and children) resettled through our agency.

With the termination of the Displaced Persons Act, we find in our files a sizable number of assurances from sponsors still unfilled and, weekly, we reject requests to file applications for sponsorship of displaced persons to come to the United States.

Our contacts with the persons already resettled indicate an excellent adjustment on the part of the vast majority, both in the homes and on the jobs which they have filled. This would seem to be reliable evidence that they are becoming well adjusted and responsible citizens of our country.

MSGR. AUGUST J. KRAMER, *Director*.

(The letter from the Council of Churches of Greater Cincinnati, read by Mr. Charles Posner, is as follows:)

THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF GREATER CINCINNATI,
Cincinnati, Ohio, October 2, 1952.

President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization.

(To be delivered in person by Charles Posner at the Commission's Cleveland hearing.)

GENTLEMEN: Our Council of Churches has cooperated with Church World Service since the beginning of its DP resettlement program. Nearly 200 individuals in some 70 family units have been integrated into American society through the effort of our member churches and friends.

We are extremely disappointed that no more DP's or Volkesdeutsche can come into our country. Our Displaced Persons Commission had sent in another blanket assurance for some 10 families early this year, and only 1 family has come through on it. Thus our faith and hope, plus that of the sponsors we had arranged for these nine other families, has been crushed. The embarrassment to all concerned has been considerable.

May we testify to the fact that the great majority of these new immigrants who have come through our office have made excellent adjustments. They are now well acclimated and are taking on a new lease on life in this environment of freedom and prosperity.

Hoping that these matters may be of help to you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

B. BRUCE WHITTEMORE,
Executive Secretary.

MR. POSNER. I would like to say, first, that the opinions and feelings of the Jewish Community Council of Cincinnati have been well expressed by Rabbi Silver, who spoke earlier; so, I won't take time again to express the same sentiments.

Mr. John G. Olmstead, the director of the Citizenship Council of Cincinnati, asked me last night before I left to express some of his views; and, although he did not have time to prepare a statement, he gave some things to me over the telephone. He said that he was not familiar enough with Public Law 414 to express himself in the disapproval of all of its sections, but he did very definitely disapprove of section 202 of Public Law 414, which classifies a person who has as much as one-half his ancestry for people indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle as chargeable to that quota, regardless of where born.

He also feels that countries like Japan, China, and Australia should have a much greater quota than the minimum quota now set at 100. The Citizenship Council of Cincinnati, Ohio, Mr. John G. Olmstead, the director, gave me that statement to make. He believes that we should admit the 75,000 DP's processed but left stranded as of December 31, 1951, and 100,000 expellees a year. He thought that perhaps this might be necessary through some emergency legislation. He urged that we should remove the 50-percent mortgages placed on the quotas of many countries by the DP Act, and he stated that a legally entered immigrant should not be deported—and he italicized the next statement—*except under extreme circumstances*, but they must have every legal right to protect themselves from deportation.

That was the statement made by the Citizenship Council.

That is all that I have. Thank you.

MR. ROSENFELD. Mr. Posner, may I ask, has there been any general expression of view, either to yourself or among the various groups you have spoken for, concerning other than the emergency legislation which was last referred to in your two communications?

Mr. POSNER. There has been considerable feeling in the discussions that we have had that there must be new legislation. Our general feeling has been that it should be on a well-thought-out plan, rather than a piecemeal plan, which was expressed by Rabbi Silver earlier. I think the general feeling in the group that has discussed the feelings about immigration is that they should think this thing out on an over-all basis rather than a piecemeal job now and then, and finally end up with what we have now.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Does that represent pretty much the thinking of all the groups in Cincinnati that have been discussing it?

Mr. POSNER. Periodically, we have had meetings regarding the problems as they came along. I won't say that represents totally the entire opinion. But the general consensus of groups, I think, has been that there are too many problems within the McCarran bill, certainly too many criticisms and everything, and that there should be well-thought-out new legislation which would cover all the problems without the discrimination that we now face in our legislation.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Are you making a distinction between that and emergency legislation?

Mr. POSNER. There have been both sides presented, and yet I think the consensus has been generally that we ought to have over-all legislation, rather than a lot of emergency legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of over-all legislation?

Mr. POSNER. A well-mapped-out immigration bill, which would give priority to certain expellees and certain other groups. But, rather than having it set up as a side issue, it ought to be brought into the total immigration picture.

The CHAIRMAN. What was their point of view with respect to the national-origins quota system?

Mr. POSNER. They are completely opposed to the national origins and the racial concept of our present immigration.

Mr. ROSENFIELD. When you say "they," do you mean all these groups?

Mr. POSNER. These groups; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If they are opposed to that, do they recommend anything in its place?

Mr. POSNER. Well, I don't think that we have gotten into actually thinking about the general type of legislation that would be necessary, but, certainly, a more equitable legislation that would allow all groups to have an equal opportunity as individuals rather than depending upon what part of the world you happen to arrive in when you are born, or where you happen to come from. There may be certain priorities, and I don't know just how you would set those up—for parents or other things—but, generally, the people should have an equal opportunity as men and women, rather than 100 to Chinese, and 1,000 to somebody else. It is the brotherhood of men actually—that all men have equal opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you saying that, whatever number of individuals be admitted, they be admitted subject to certain priorities or tests, without regard to national origin or place of birth—

Mr. POSNER. That's correct, sir; if there had to be a quota set, that it would be set with a fairness to all concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. And, after the priorities are exhausted, would you then make the balance available to individuals regardless of where they came from, provided they qualify under health, security, requirements, and so on?

Mr. POSNER. That's correct.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Do the groups you represent intend to have any more discussions on this subject?

Mr. POSNER. Yes. Certainly we will have more discussions because I will have to report back on my appearance here.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission would like to learn the views of as many groups throughout the country as possible, as well as those of individuals, and we will be pleased to receive anything more from the organizations for which you appear that you may wish to furnish.

Mr. POSNER. I shall be glad to report that back and suggest that.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will be recessed now, and will resume at 1:30 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the Commission recessed until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

HEARINGS BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1952

EIGHTH SESSION

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization met at 1:30 p. m., pursuant to recess, in room 318, Federal Courthouse Building, Cleveland, Ohio, Hon. Philip B. Perlman (chairman) presiding.

Present: Chairman Philip B. Perlman and the following Commissioners: Monsignor John O'Grady and Mr. Thomas G. Finucane. Also present: Mr. Harry N. Rosenfield, executive director.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will come to order. This afternoon our first witness will be Mr. Sam Sponseller.

STATEMENT OF SAM SPONSELLER, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

MR. SPONSELLER. I am Sam Sponseller, regional director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations for the Cleveland area, which I represent here.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will be glad to hear from you.

MR. SPONSELLER. I should like to say, first of all, that I appreciate the opportunity to be here and to speak for what I consider to be the thinking of the organization nationally and locally. I think the Commission has, or perhaps will before it is through, hear from our national organization and, as I understand it, our position nationally is perhaps ever expanding as things now stand on immigration. We have not, to my knowledge, in the CIO ever been for limiting further—indeed, I think you will find that we have been for constantly raising the quotas and so on, both in numbers and perhaps maybe juggling some so that we might let more nationalities in.

Our experience, I presume, has been perhaps as profound as any other groups, maybe more so. Most of the immigrants have come, as you know, into industry. We know them not only to be good union members, we know them to be good workers and to be good citizens. Our organization has, I think, at the immigrants' own request, established some helpful procedures in naturalization so that we might not only encourage them but help them to become naturalized citizens.

We, I suppose, owe, as industry itself does—and I think we view it that way—a certain amount of our organizational success definitely

to the aid and assistance of immigrant citizens. We know that they have helped tremendously in industry. We know the jobs they have done and we know that they have helped in our own organization. We know something about the communities they live in and how they have helped to sort of develop their own communities.

I suppose that the best contribution I might make to the Commission's record and thinking here today would be to tell you that, in addition to what our national policy and our experience has been, here in Cleveland we, the CIO, take a very active part in community affairs, welfare and otherwise. I happen to serve on the executive committee of the Occupational Planning Committee of the Cleveland Welfare Federation. The Occupational Planning Committee attempts to sort of ascertain what is ahead in the field of occupation. It is to give employers some idea of what the labor market will be like. It is to help advise students coming out of school. It is to help advise people who might be wanting to change their occupation from time to time.

The Occupational Planning Committee has made some pretty thorough and complete surveys in the past. They have recently set up a committee to study what the next 10 years will be like. One of the things we already know is that there is, because of the so-called great depression here in America when the birth rate got so low, a shortage of people coming into the labor market now. There is a shortage of people coming into the schools and colleges. That is particularly true in the higher grades. The elementary schools are pretty well overloaded now. That is because the birth rates have picked up. It seems to me, if my memory serves me right, there are about 17 students now where there would normally be about 30. That is the proportion, a little over or not quite 50 percent shy.

The students, according to the studies of the Occupational Planning Committee, are being attracted away from school. In other words, not nearly so many are finishing as would be finishing and not nearly so many are entering as would ordinarily be entering. The Occupational Planning Committee, I gather—at least, this is my deduction and my own feeling—feels that we might very well wake up in a few years hence and find ourselves in a highly developed, technical society where we need technically trained people and not have them available. It would appear to me that immigration ought to provide an answer presently, and I don't know what it means in revision of quotas and so on, but surely we ought to take this pretty seriously. Our economy just can't live without the technically trained people we need. It ought to provide enough immigrants to help us man our operation presently so that the youngsters might stay in school and get the training they need for the future. Moreover, because our schools are available and about half empty, it would appear to me that we might very well relax our immigration quotas and make it possible for students with qualifications to come in to finish school here so that they might be able to serve us in our own society. That is aside from all our moral duties. That is thinking sort of selfishly and to help the rest of the world to get along in the same way as we are. I think plenty of other people are speaking to that and I need not labor that point.

I think I ought to say to you that it has been my thought and probably my experience—I have been in the labor movement for 30

years. I began in the Railroad Brotherhood and came up with AFL and have been with the CIO since its inception. I think there was a time when the labor movement as such had bitter views and frowned on immigration as such. I think they have now learned that we have a sort of blessed, as it were, situation and that immigration has been a blessing to us rather than any real hindrance. And I believe that the act as it presently stands—and I don't know all about it—ought to be certainly reviewed. My own feeling is that all in all—and I don't know how difficult it will be—immigration ought to be opened immediately if not sooner.

I should like to say one more thing. I had an opportunity to serve here in Cleveland on the so-called refugee committee, and I doubt that anyone in Cleveland has experienced other than very beneficial results from our part in the refugee program.

I should like to say one more thing. I understand that the refugee program is supposedly over, but I would hope that, because I think it has been so successful from the standpoint of integration, if we have cleaned up the refugee situation, we would reach out and open up in our ordinary quotas an opportunity for more people to come to America.

MR. ROSENFELD. Mr. Sponseller, could you make available to the Commission the reports of this Occupational Planning Committee?

MR. SPONSELLER. Yes. I am authorized to say so, because I have asked them—I wanted one of their more able spokesmen to be here, because I think it is very important—that the progress report and the final report of the survey of the committee will be available to the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, if they desire to receive it. Some of it is completed now, I take it, but they would be happy to furnish it when completely finished. I tried to get one of them to come over and make a personal appearance, but unfortunately there was a death in the family of the Secretary. However, they will make their survey and their data, as it were, available to your Commission. If I may, I will inform them that you would be interested in receiving it.

MR. ROSENFELD. We would be very grateful if you would have it sent to our Washington headquarters.

COMMISSIONER O'GRADY. Does this survey take into account the labor needs of industries?

MR. SPONSELLER. Yes, as I understand it. I was on the committee, but this was done by technical people, not by myself. As I understand it, they took the Cleveland area as a whole and they broke it down not only by industry but by occupation. For example, there are engineers in this, that and the other place, you see, and they tried to be in a position to advise employers as well as students, and also people who were looking for jobs, as to what they could expect and who was needed here and so on. So, it is broken down by industries, and then there is an overlapping of occupations so that if you find a peculiar occupation in a industry you would not find that overlapping, but, where you find occupations which are identical or very similar or related, then you will get both that industry's need plus the total need of all such occupations in the community, and I think it is quite accurate.

Mr. ROSENFELD. To the extent that the survey has been completed, does it forecast that the labor supply in this area is going to be inadequate to fulfill the labor demand of the Cleveland area?

Mr. SPONSELLER. That is correct and that is particularly true, if I may add, of the people who need college training, so to speak. You have now—as I said before, I am just searching my memory—about 17 students in college where ordinarily you would have had a few years ago about 30 students. Now, those 30 students were going out to the various industries—and, of course, that was one thing—but when the various industries come to Detroit to get 30 out of 17, you can see what is happening. Actually, what is happening is that they are going in and grabbing students before they have completed their college courses, and that is making it even worse. It is robbing the market. It is preventing the students going on and getting what it seems to me to be awfully important: the fuel of our system of society. It is the training they need to be finished college students. One of these days they are going to have unfinished college students and there are going to be a whole lot of jobs where there is nobody with the kind of skill and technical training needed.

Now, the gap is being filled to some extent, and again I think the survey may show you this better than I can explain it, by these companies making available time for the students to go on and finish their college training.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the situation regarding unskilled labor?

Mr. SPONSELLER. Well, it appears to me that the unskilled labor situation there is about the same thing. I think you will find it that way. Again, I would rather you look at the survey. I think you will find the unskilled labor all up through semiskilled and highly skilled and so on, to suffer to about the same extent.

Another thing to be recognized is that there are a great many jobs nowadays which used to be considered just a highly skilled job, which has a great smattering of engineering in it: so that you will find, in order to fill those jobs in our society and to perform them properly, you have got to have a college-trained or partially trained individual.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that, but numerically are they as great as those in the unskilled or semiskilled occupations? I am really interested in finding out what your conclusions are as to that.

Mr. SPONSELLER. According to my knowledge—and again I refer you to the survey, because I think the answer will be there—the picture is about the same all the way through. Actually, no doubt now you have a great many people working without much training in so-called semiskilled jobs who have been quickly upgraded because there is a dearth of them. Even then, if you will pick up the paper here in Cleveland, you will find out there is no end of ads for the trained machinists, the boring-machine operators, and this, that, and the other. So, I think you will find just that all down along the way.

Frankly, my plea is that we ought to have an immigration procedure which would leave in school the student who could qualify for further training, perhaps with a degree of training where he came from. It would leave room for persons who had no particular skill, the common laborer. It would leave room for semiskilled, and so on. If you must have quotas—and I assume you will always have

them—it would appear to me the quotas ought to be geared to our over-all need; so that you would let in people unskilled and semi-skilled, and those partly college trained, and those who have finished and want to go on and on.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Davey here?

STATEMENT OF ALBERT O. DAVEY, JR., VICE PRESIDENT, CLEVELAND FEDERATION OF LABOR, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, AND EDITOR, THE CLEVELAND CITIZEN

Mr. DAVEY. I am Albert O. Davey, Jr., representing the Cleveland Federation of Labor, of the American Federation of Labor, of which I am vice president. I am also editor of the Cleveland Citizen. My business address is 6724 Carnegie Avenue.

I followed Mr. Sponseller's remarks with some interest. I find, however, that my feeling relative to the approach of the labor movement to immigration as such seems to be in two definite categories. There is the top leadership, for the simple reason that they recognize the humanitarian aspect of the thing and then there is a great gap in between until we get to that portion of the labor movement that is directly and perhaps selfishly involved in the releasing of the limitations. I am talking about Americans who have relatives in foreign lands. And then this great gap in between that has not become too interested because of the fact that they have not become involved personally.

However, that is not to say that the top AFL men have been pushed in these positions. I honestly believe they have led the way despite too little interest in too many areas. But also I think at the same time they are aware of the difficulties that arose some years back when there was the great influx of unskilled labor which was used as a competitive item to American labor. I think that the general stand of both the American Federation of Labor and the CIO were that in the back of their minds they were for the lifting of quotas or liberalizing them. I think that is a pretty sound comment on the fact that they are thinking beyond the minor confines of the labor movement as such.

I don't know whether this is involved with this group, this Commission, or not, but I do think that far more stringent policing should be instituted on our southern and southwestern borders. The importation of what is referred to as wetback labor has not as yet had any direct influence on our area here.

However, in the over-all picture it seems to me that we are limiting ourselves by the refusal to accept into this country the portion of those people who must go some place. We are, to a certain extent, feeding and clothing and perhaps furnishing munitions overseas to the extent that, in certain instances, we are going to have well-fed and well-clothed slaves; that it behooves us to go beyond the furnishing of dollars and supply havens of rescue to human beings, not as statistics, and to accept into our industry and into our educational system, not as units of production but merely as living human beings; and I think to a great extent that has been the approach of a good many of the people in the labor movement who have become involved and interested in this business of the definite restriction of how many we shall take in.

It is certain that the labor movement is interested in health standards and restrictions and that they be maintained and, if the need be so, even stressed more fully. However, it is just as certain that we, of course, cannot do the world-wide job and all the job ourselves, but it is contrary to everything this Nation stands for not as labor or management or anything of the sort but just as Americans, to turn our back to anybody before we have done everything we can to give them a chance as human beings. It is a philosophical approach that still recognizes the practical aspects to our economy, to our industrial picture.

Mr. ROSENFELD. This afternoon two great labor organizations, the CIO and your organization, the AFL, have indicated that whatever competitive aspects immigration may cause in the labor market, they nevertheless point out the significance of immigration to America in broader terms. However, how do you account for the fact that some witnesses who advocate a strict limitation on immigration have testified that one of the things they are worried about is the effect on the labor market?

Mr. DAVEY. Well, I think the labor movement is very definitely concerned in that and recognizes that danger. Yet, we have met that danger before and have risen above it, and I believe there are a great many people thinking in terms of over-all perspective rather than a restricted area, even though that small area be the United States.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Are you saying that even though labor's immediate feeling is their own selfish interest, the United States requires a non-restricted immigration law?

Mr. DAVEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Labor organizations themselves have said they are not afraid of immigration—I don't mean unrestricted immigration—and they have told us that when we did have unrestricted immigration, those who came into our country joined the organizations and became very active and valuable members of the labor organization. What is your opinion on that?

Mr. DAVEY. That is very true. These historically were windmills and have gotten us far too incensed over things that solved themselves because of national development of our Nation. I think there are a great many leaders in the labor movement, both CIO and AFL, who recognize that very fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that today they are not afraid of any of the problems that have been made?

Mr. DAVEY. You say "not afraid." I would say we will not make an issue of it. They have their guard up. There is still the constant feeling that this might become completely unrestricted to the point of its just being mass immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. A good many ideas have been expressed by witnesses as to how, under the limitation of a ceiling, the total number authorized should be issued. But no one who has yet testified has advocated unlimited immigration. Do you think that the labor organizations are worried about such a situation arising?

Mr. DAVEY. I have heard it expressed by some leaders in the labor movement that the present shortage of students in the higher branches of education, for instance in colleges, will be taken up by the higher birth rate that Mr. Sponseller told about, taking care of the young-

sters. Adding to that, there is a fear that we would come up to meet a situation that exists today and finding that the growth of these youngsters is going to take care of that, and we might be working at the same problem from two ends, coming to meet it with our own children and at the same time bringing in more. That is one of the fears that is still not major enough to cause opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The studies that are made, are not all those factors taken into consideration?

Mr. DAVEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

We will hear Professor Schroeder next.

**STATEMENTS OF OLIVER SCHROEDER, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR,
WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, REPRESENTING THE PROTES-
TANT FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND AND THE CLEVELAND
CHURCH FEDERATION**

Professor SCHROEDER. I am Oliver Schroeder, assistant professor of constitutional and world law, Western Reserve University. I am here with Dr. W. Terry Osborne, associate general secretary, Cleveland YMCA; Rev. George Kuechle, St. Mark's Missouri Lutheran Church, Cleveland; Rev. Oliver C. Grotefend, Hope Lutheran Church, Cleveland; Mrs. M. F. Bixler, cochairman, and Mrs. F. C. Loweth, co-chairman, Department of Christian World Relations, Cleveland Council of Church Women. All of us jointly represent the Protestant Federation of Cleveland and the Cleveland Church Federation.

We deeply appreciate the honor of being invited to present our views. None of us are authorities on this very complicated problem. I think all of us are aware that Congress, which has taken many months to pass this last immigration bill, has gone into it very deeply. There are some convictions we have that we should like to express, and the folks who have attended here, the six of us, are very considerably concerned in this problem which our country faces. It is my task to present some general observations on this and then to briefly mention the four or five specific points which we have adopted.

I think it must be obvious that in the 19th century we practiced political international isolationism, and our immigration followed that. We welcomed to our shores the people who wanted to leave the old country and they came here. They came here in most instances severing their whole tie with the old country, except those relatives they brought over later. It was a part of our political international isolationism.

After World War I and II, I think we are cognizant that we are no longer alone in the world. We have now placed many restrictions on immigration. We cannot say with any definity here now the number that should be admitted, 154,000 or 250,000 or 500,000; we are not capable of doing that. But what we do say is that the immigration policy of the United States is and has been one segment of over-all policy of America in international affairs. We may speak a great deal about the brotherhood of man, but if we do not carry out the brotherhood of a man in the immigration policies it has a sour note when we seek to sell America overseas.

It is for that reason we as Protestants are very keenly aware of any discrimination that might come about in our immigration on the basis of race, color, or national origin; that we feel is not a fair way of determining who should be admitted to our country.

I would also like to call your attention to some of the things on which my associates and I are very specific:

1. Congress should enact legislation providing for the admission, on a nonquota basis, of those persons who were processed under the Displaced Persons Act but for whom visas were not available on December 31, 1951.

2. Legislation should also be enacted by Congress covering our fair share, in cooperation with other nations and under proper safeguards, of those who have escaped from behind the iron curtain subsequent to January 1, 1949, the cut-off date specified under the displaced persons legislation.

I want to call your attention to two very, very innocuous ideas but very difficult ideas. One is fair share. A great deal of thought is going to have to go in it, and I don't think that any one of us will be able to determine what is our fair share of handling these poor unfortunate souls who have been able to escape from totalitarian states, but that is a goal to which we should proceed. We believe it can be worked out as all our problems are worked out, with the representative way, in our conscience.

The second is this problem of safeguards. There are instances and we do not know how broad, when we feel it may be wise for the Congress to determine rather specifically what safeguards are to be set up. We have had some indication that safeguards are required to secure us from infiltration by persons not willing to become citizens of our country, but interested in undermining our country. There must be safeguards against that.

There is a great desire when you see human suffering across the seas to admit those persons. Human sympathy goes all out, and human sympathy is great. In order to acquire those safeguards much more has to be done than to rely on human sympathy. We are not aware of how it should be done. We feel there should be a resolution to which Congress should address themselves.

3. The Congress should make the quota system more flexible. Serious consideration should be given to the pooling or adjusting of unused quotas in order to facilitate family reunion, to provide skills needed in our country, and to offer asylum to persecuted victims of totalitarian regimes.

Once again you get into one of those devilish words. Your idea of "flexible" and mine are probably greatly different. We do believe that too stiff, too much of a stratification is not good, for by very astute flexibility we may be able to alleviate the problem in one area where it is greatest. I like to think of the flexibility. I know of some of the questions asked about the great amount of money expended overseas for supplying military supplies. I have a sneaking suspicion that American foreign policy got its shot in the arm very astutely in Lebanon, when the State Department arranged for a lot of transport planes to get the Moslems to Mecca. You can spend all the money you want to arm the Moslems, but they are great spiritual people. I think with the same kind of astute flexibility, with the same people of

Christian faith and Hebrew faith we will be able to award those persons with that spiritual help that they need.

4. The Congress, while it should approve such precautionary measures as may be required to ensure our Nation against the infiltration of individuals hostile to the basic principles of the Constitution and institutions of the United States, should establish a system of fair hearings and appeals respecting the issuance of visas and deportation proceedings.

I am very, very concerned about the possibilities of persons who have come to this country, who have expressed their desire for citizenship, who have become citizens, who now may lose their citizenship as a result of some misdeed in the past, and that forms also a basis for deporting them.

We have in this city of Cleveland in our Protestant community many persons who have not yet taken out citizenship. I, as a born American, can be punished by law or get punishment, but I can never be deported from the United States. Now, if you allow persons who have been naturalized citizens to go through the same process and deport them after stripping from them their protection of American citizenship, you are setting up a two-class system of American citizenship and saying that only those born in the United States have this full protection.

It is very, very important, it seems to me, that that be considered in any new suggested legislation. Also, that if there be a necessity for deporting aliens, that the basic hearings are required which we require in criminal procedures. That should be required so that it will not be up to the whim of one or more administrative officials, but under the full protection of what we like to call the common law of justice, which will be afforded these individuals.

I realize that some unscrupulous characters were the targets of these new deportation provisions, and it may be that the city of Cleveland may be relieved of some police characters who are now going through denaturalization and deportation; but our way is not for punishing the wicked, and it was for protecting the innocent. That is the primary importance.

Many aliens in the city of Cleveland are in danger if a misdeed be the basis for deportation.

I would like to conclude by stating that this problem of surplus population is one that we cannot solve ourselves. I do a lot of speaking in the interest of international affairs. I also run up against a problem of solution. If you cooperate too much all the Chinese will want to come live in the United States. I have a strong suspicion the Chinese love the homeland as much as we do. Surplus population is not a problem of the United States but a problem of carrying the weapons, which we have found the best, equality of man, and to establish within the great surplus population areas of this world an opportunity for them to solve their own problems. What share we should do in eliminating the problem we cannot decide, but the primary responsibility we feel rests in the nations where the surplus population occurs, and with our help. The point 4 program has been one means by which we have been able to do some effective good in that field.

May I conclude by saying we believe that is not a problem to be solved in this year and this decade alone. It is a continuing problem.

And the immigration policies of this country should be under continuous scrutiny and should not be frozen by one act or one bill but should be under constant study to see where our foreign policy, with one arm of immigration, can be effective for our world community, and where all men can live in peace.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Professor, would you give us your judgment, as a professor of constitutional and world law at the university, as to the effect of American immigration policy in our laws upon the laws of other countries and the policies they assume, and whether there is any relationship that you have observed between those two?

Professor SCHROEDER. I think there certainly has been a relationship if not in the—well, I would say in the laws. I have a very strong feeling that the unholy terror that has opened up in the Orient has been one direct result of our unfortunate Chinese Exclusion Act, which you will recall was an act of Congress following some years after the United States-Chinese Treaty of 1868. In that treaty we extended to the Chinese the same friendship that they were to extend to us, the same right to become citizens; and then the Congress of the United States passed a Chinese Exclusion Act, and we had the familiar Supreme Court case which upheld the later act of Congress and superseded the treaty and the Exclusion Act treated the Chinese as a special group and took away from them the friendship which they had with the treaty the United States gave them. It took away the citizenship. There is no question in my mind as to the hatred many Chinese have today, and hatred built up in Japan being directly influenced by our immigration law.

It was my privilege to serve in the Navy during the war, and I was associated a lot with the Japanese. You can't learn to speak the language and learn their customs and come into contact with the Japanese without learning something of the way they think. The most potent weapon in China and fighting us was Asia for the Asiatics, throw the white man out. I found one of the reasons why many of our men who were captured found mistreatment at the hands of Japanese students and Chinese persons who had gone over to the Japanese side who had studied in the United States. I have heard the same thing from personal friends of mine, too. I ran into a certain Japanese officer who spoke perfect English. He said:

When I was at the University of Chicago the restrictions placed upon me by the white people, the immigration restrictions placed upon my people, taught me to believe that the United States sets themselves up as God, and now we are showing you that we are God.

That had a tremendous impact on the Orient.

The only thing that I can see which can save us in the Orient is the hope of such great institutions as the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions that carry the message of Christianity, and seeing how well that seed is planted. I have the firm belief that that seed will bring the Chinese back to us as our friends. There is no denying that the Chinese exclusion in the immigration laws made a tremendous impact. If we do the same in the black races, we are going to reap the same holocaust in years to come, it seems to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. W. Terry Osborne, you may testify next.

STATEMENT OF W. TERRY OSBORNE, ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY, CLEVELAND YMCA. REPRESENTING THE CLEVELAND CHURCH FEDERATION AND THE PROTESTANT FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND

Dr. OSBORNE. I am Dr. W. Terry Osborne, associate general secretary, Cleveland YMCA. I am here with Professor Schroeder and some others, all of us representing the Cleveland Church Federation and the Protestant Federation of Cleveland.

Professor Schroeder has presented the picture as to certain agreed-upon procedures of policy. My experience has been somewhat different. I have been in Europe quite a good deal in the last 25 years. I was in the DP camps, not as a DP but representing the world-wide YMCA. I was directing YMCA activities in Germany in the 1945 and 1946 period. I have great sympathy and have developed a great feeling for people who have been displaced. I was there again this summer and I was amazed at what has taken place in that part of the world. I am of the opinion—and this is merely an opinion of mine and does not represent anyone else's—that we are, as Professor Schroeder said, not going to solve all the problems, but I think we can be very helpful in opening up opportunities for more people. And I think the screening should be very fair in every way. There have been and there probably always will be people getting into the country by devious means who do not represent the best interests of the United States. It may be a cross section of some country or some people, but I rather doubt that we want the complete lower cross section who have opposition in their basic philosophy against this form of government.

I think we can do something else in these countries on a long-term basis where they are overcrowded. We can continually, through personnel and through other means, assist in finding outlets for the people who are in areas where it is overcrowded, but I don't think we can move everybody. I don't think escape is the total answer to the problem. Escape is a psychological normal thing that takes place with all of us. We want to get away from things we are doing, but to me that is not the solution and is only one of the procedures.

I think I would rather answer questions than to speak so some of the others with me can speak at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you consider to be the solution?

Dr. OSBORNE. I think that that is the problem that none of us have been able to answer and had we been able to easily answer it, it would have been easy to do. The solution has not been found and that is why you are here and we are here to try to work out some kind of things in the thinking. I think one of the things that will help is for all this country to look at this thing squarely and open up opportunities for the people around the world from these overpopulated areas. Just taking these people from behind the iron curtain and sending them to some other place is not solving the problem. I think that is only half of it.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Did you find in Germany that all the expellees wanted to emigrate here?

Dr. OSBORNE. No; I don't think so. I don't think that is true.

I have a deep feeling that the people who are on the move want to get to some place where they can establish a home and in the early days directly after the war the feeling was, "What is going to happen to me, my family, my people? How are we going to get settled and where are we going?" Many times during that period these people said they didn't mind all the rest of this. They had gone over the hurdle of having their papers processed and that was a satisfaction and then they come to this country. Maybe they are happy and maybe they are unhappy here.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Reverend George Kuechle will be heard from next.

STATEMENT OF REV. GEORGE KUECHLE, PASTOR, ST. MARK'S MISSOURI LUTHERAN CHURCH, REPRESENTING THE CLEVELAND CHURCH FEDERATION AND THE PROTESTANT FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND

Reverend KUECHLE. I am Rev. George Kuechle, pastor of St. Mark's Missouri Lutheran Church, Cleveland, and formerly was a missionary to India.

I am also here with Prof. Schroeder's group, representing the Cleveland Church Federation and the Protestant Federation of Cleveland.

Thank you for this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, and starting with where Prof. Schroeder left off, having worked in India quite a few years, I remember how that Exclusion Act also was passed to include people who wanted to become citizens from northern India, who have red blood the same as you and I. That created bad blood in India. That, of course, was quite a few years ago. However, I recently came back from Europe. I attended the Lutheran World Federation meeting which also had a very long report on the fine work which the world service department of the Lutheran World Federation has been doing for over 5 years, with headquarters in Geneva. These folks have brought over to our shores about 35,000 people, and to Canada about as many, and to Australia not quite as many, and to South American countries, let us say possibly from 20,000 to 25,000.

I visited the camps both in the British zone, and one in the vicinity of Bremen, and another one right near the Elbe River, and the Elbe River there forms the boundary of the iron curtain. I spent a few days in Berlin, mostly in the American sector. I spent a few hours in the Russian sector and I spoke to dozens of pastors who had come in for a meeting and also with a number of laymen in particular, also with a widow in Saxony whom I had been supporting for a number of years—and now I can understand why this good lady could not write me various things which I had asked her, but she poured out her heart to me. Now she is not interested in emigrating. As a matter of fact, so far as the church people are concerned we are encouraging our brothers in the faith to stay there and to testify and fortify themselves with their faith in God and with prayer; but the pressure is increasing over there—I don't have to mention by whom—and in this one camp I remember now I spoke to some young men who had been

in the organization which is the police force organized by the Communists. It is a front for the army which the Communists are organizing in the German zone. Well, these young men came across the zone of death and brought a few others with them, and of course they want to come over, and they look to us as liberators. They ask, "When are you coming to free us?" I heard that question 10 times a day and oftener, and so, Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I am wondering whether we shouldn't return more again to the basic philosophy of our country in the past century, when America was an asylum. I would like to sum it up in those beautiful words which are inscribed on the Statue of Liberty:

* * * Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shores,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

I realize we have to be realistic in this matter; that there has to be restrictions and limitations; that we can't just let in everybody.

But we have been thrust into a position of leadership. Now, I am just wondering whether we cannot exercise this position much better by practicing common, ordinary humanitarianism, by letting our warm American heart beat out there in those areas rather than throwing our weight around.

Now, I know we have to use military power and we have to use men. But I remember a well-known cartoon which appeared just at that time in a local paper, and it depicted a poor little underdog looking at Uncle Sam; looking at Uncle Sam and saying, "That is all you have got is men." If America is concerned only about its own security it will fall, I believe, under the judgment of Christ, who said: "He that findeth his life by a selfish policy of security is looking to lose it."

I think America will have to get back again to that basic philosophy. Now, as to practical problems.

Well, I certainly support these wholeheartedly. Namely, that we open up the pipeline. I spoke to some of those people who are in the pipeline and others it cut short, who have been waiting for months—in fact, years; and then we hear it from our sponsors over here too.

Let me say, since a representative of labor was here, many of these expellees or refugees from behind the iron curtain so far as the European zone of Germany is concerned, are dirt lovers. Farmers wouldn't want to live in the cities; they want to go out on the land. Certainly, it seems to me, we have enough spaces to accommodate them or to accommodate many of these people. They lived on the land out there. They farmed and they want to come over here.

Canada is doing it. Australia is doing it. Venezuela, Brazil, and Chile are doing it. Why can't we do it? I'm afraid America at the present time is not pulling its weight and so, gentlemen, as a churchman and a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, I think this new act should be realistic, it should in some which way reflect the Christian philosophy upon which our whole life here in America is based; that we become again more an asylum for the oppressed, the distressed, and persecuted, and make room for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Rev. Oliver C. Grotendorf.

STATEMENT OF REV. OLIVER C. GROTEFEND, PASTOR, HOPE LUTHERAN CHURCH; PRESIDENT, LUTHERAN RESETTLEMENT COMMISSION, REPRESENTING ALSO THE CLEVELAND CHURCH FEDERATION AND THE PROTESTANT FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND

Reverend GROTEFEND. I am Rev. Oliver C. Grotefend, pastor of the Hope Lutheran Church, Cleveland, and president of the Lutheran Resettlement Commission, Ohio. I am likewise a member of the group with Professor Schroeder.

I am not going to review the statement of our views, as given by Professor Schroeder. I would like to speak particularly about the local problem that we have, and it may be of some assistance in determining what is going to happen with immigration.

In the first place, the Lutheran Church in Ohio has brought over approximately 2,000 people, but this has not represented our problem in the integrating of immigrant personnel, because we discovered after they came in under this program they moved from all over the United States and finally came into busy cities.

For instance, out of 2,000 brought in we have nearly 2,000 in the city of Cleveland alone that were sponsored and brought in by the Latvian organization. That group they have broken down into ethnic groups: 600 Latvians, 300 Estonians, 200 Hungarians, 200 Ethnic Germans, 100 miscellaneous, etc., with which we have contact and notice, and these people are ours.

It might be interesting to notice that so far as we know only one single person in this group has received public aid—and he received public aid without our knowledge of it, and we immediately tried to take care of that case. We feel this program is going to involve a measure of personal contact which we try to express in our work. As the immigrant is received into any community he is integrated with one of our church groups. For his social welfare work he is integrated with one of the welfare agencies and will not dare to become a public charge.

Now in that connection, of course, it is going to be difficult to handle if we are not set up for it. We would like to make a plea that the four points made by the Cleveland Church Federation be considered very carefully and under the first point, particularly, we want to think of the Ethnic German program; that it be continued to include all those who are at present in the processing, and who have bona fide assurances or who have families who are in the United States and might be integrated very carefully into our program without too much trouble.

We too feel very keenly that if you attempt to solve the excess population of certain countries, you are asking for a problem that you cannot solve nor can we solve, and it might just involve a disintegrating program for our own country.

In other words, we do not have in mind that type of thing. We think in terms of the displaced persons who are handled under the Displaced Persons Act. We think in terms of the revision of that act in which we have the ethnic German groups, and being Lutheran, of course, there are a lot of problems for us in there, because a lot of those were Lutheran.

And then we think of the refugee problem which has been alluded to here. The refugee problem in Europe as it was after the war, and is now being constituted by escapees. We feel that the Government under some wise provisions that they may make ought to permit the immigration of some of those peoples into the United States. We feel that a relief of the tension and pressures of Europe will probably advance the welfare of the world and help us again to gain friends there and ultimately raise the standards of all men. We feel that when some people are slaves, all people are subject to be slaves.

Now I have the caseworker here who actually is the person who has done the majority of manual work in connection with these cases, and she would be glad to answer any questions you may have, and I would be happy to add anything in the line of answers that I may be able to add.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this: Are you advocating that the Government do something about escapees and refugees?

Reverend GROTEFEND. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Should it pay any attention to overpopulation problems at all?

Reverend GROTEFEND. We feel that the overpopulation problem is just too delicate and dangerous a thing for us to handle. What constitutes overpopulation? Hitler said Germany was overpopulated and turned around and gave a bounty to people to have children. When a nation is overpopulated, I don't know. We have some people in America saying we are getting overpopulated. I feel if you give relief to these countries, it must be under some other name than relief of overpopulation.

Commissioner O'GRADY. What groups do you consider to be in need of resettlement?

Reverend GROTEFEND. Well, as I see it, the three groups of people that are a problem in Europe today, one of them has been greatly relieved by the Displaced Persons Act. Those are the people from Baltic states, where their countries were given over to Russia and they could not go back. That was, as we understand, the displaced person; Latvians, Lithuanians, certain Hungarians, and Polish, and that group of people.

Then the refugee people, as we see it, are the group of people who were former nationals of Germany and her allies who could not come to America, but whose homes were completely destroyed and also, they escaped from parts of Poland and Austria, Hungary, and those countries.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Would you include the refugees who fled to Greece, such as Bulgarians and many other nationalities?

Reverend GROTEFEND. That is right.

Commissioner O'GRADY. What about the refugee population in Italy, many of whom are from Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, and so forth?

Reverend GROTEFEND. As we think of refugees, they are people from outside of the country, that have been driven out by circumstances beyond their control and beyond the control of the country itself.

They, we would agree, would be a subject for legitimate relief. Italy was one of the countries, together with Germany, where too many people had to go to the army, and then the Government gave bounties

to parents for having children. We come to the problem of relieving them, and how can you do it? I think it would be very unpopular in the minds of a great many of our people to state as a relief problem for Europe, the relieving of overpopulation.

Now when you speak of these expellees, as to whether they are refugees, then I believe we have a moral responsibility to them; and when I say "I" most of it is personal, but we have introduced this at pastors' conferences and at other places. Then the fellow who escapes from behind the iron curtain, the escapee is an individual that I believe can have tremendous value to us—that is the only way we get firsthand information of what actually goes on, and I think it has a tremendous effect when some of these displaced persons talk to our people and explain to our people what they had, and what was taken away from them and now what America means. I believe there is good propaganda value in those people. We won't get too many people. They can't get away. I think the escapee should be considered again with all the screening that all the others were put through.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the problem of overpopulation should not enter into any long-range immigration policy for this country?

Reverend GROTEFEND. That would be our thinking in that regard. That that is that country's problem and not ours.

By the way, may I state: We are not excluding them. We appreciate China and India and Japan and those other countries, too. We don't want those excluded in our over-all thinking.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Are you interested in them as refugees, too?

Reverend GROTEFEND. You bet they were refugees. We are not trying to localize.

Commissioner O'GRADY. What is your opinion on the national origins quota system?

Reverend GROTEFEND. I think we would have to say that the statement of nationalities has got to be revised in order to be fair all the way through. What basis that has to be determined on, wiser heads than mine hang, in terms of local pictures rather than the whole national picture.

Exclusion of nationalities is a dangerous thing, because when you get somebody from France they may be French or anything; somebody from America is liable to be anything. I think we ought to be—in our restriction—it ought to be in the protection of the United States rather the locale from which they come.

The CHAIRMAN. I should like to take up a point made by Professor Schroeder recommending a pooling or adjusting of unused quotas, with priorities for family reunions, needed skills, and so on. Assuming there would be a ceiling on the total number authorized, and there was an unfilled residue, would you make that residue available to individuals from anywhere in the world, regardless of origin or where they came from?

Reverend GROTEFEND. That is right. May I put one cautious thought in there. This displaced program didn't work out quite the way we had anticipated it when we first began to talk about it. If there is some way of assuring that those people who come will remain for a

reasonable length of time in the area from which they were to come—I don't mean local area, I mean the occupational area. We brought over a number of people who we thought were going to fill a need in domestic problems. They came into Cleveland and you can't get a domestic out of the whole group. All are working in factories.

We brought over a group of farmers who discovered they could look out the window and could come in Cleveland and form little ethnic groups. Here is where they came and I think at one time, there was an Italian and German section, and so on.

There ought to be some way, if the wisdom of government can do it, of restricting for a period of time this terrible movement into concentrated areas. We don't relieve our problem; we increase our problems.

Commissioner FINUCANE. In that regard, what period of time would you think would be fair?

Reverend GROTEFEND. The DP first comes and on the first day his eyes pop out. He is in the land of never-never. After 3 months he wants to know how to get back. After he is here a year you couldn't get him back. In that year's time they have moved once or twice. If we get them located somehow happily—maybe the assurance program didn't work out the way it was supposed to, or they had too many promises in Europe. After they get established they get a telephone, they get an automobile and they start by buying their home. In the 3 years' time we have been taking them into this country I would say a good 30 percent of them have their own automobiles and a good 20 percent are buying their homes. That is pretty good in 3 years' time. I would say if we could keep them in for 3 years you will have established some degree of—well, they will find themselves a little better.

Commissioner FINUCANE. If they were not permitted to leave for 3 years, do you think they would then have less desire to move out to something else?

Reverend GROTEFEND. In my opinion they would have acclimated themselves so there wouldn't be this great discontented group looking for something better and never understanding what they did have for what they did.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Mrs. Bixler, we will hear you next.

STATEMENT OF MRS. M. F. BIXLER, COCHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORLD RELATIONS, CLEVELAND COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. BIXLER. I am Mrs. M. F. Bixler, cochairman of the department of Christian world relations, Cleveland Council of Church Women.

I am also a member of the group with Professor Schroeder.

I heartily subscribe to the ideas that Professor Schroeder brought to you and think that they may help in the solution of this great problem. I think my thoughts are mostly along the lines of the spirit back of this whole problem.

I have a short statement I should like to read.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mrs. BIXLER. The Cleveland Council of Church Women, representing 30,000 women in Greater Cleveland, is part of the United Church

Women, a Department of the National Council of Churches in the United States of America, which in turn represents 10 to 11 million church women.

We recognize that the problems before the world are today gigantic; that they are not only political and economic, but moral and social and need a spiritual solution. We believe these problems must be solved in the spirit of justice and good will which must prevail in all relationships.

We also believe that our Nation, founded on the principles of the right to life and liberty and opportunity for all, has suddenly come into a position of world leadership. Every legislative act of our Nation makes an impact for good or evil on the lives of other nations. We must not forget that one nation speaks to another nation through official acts of government.

We believe the McCarran-Walter omnibus bill S. 2550, does not reflect the best thinking of the American people, when more than 25 of the largest and strongest religious and legislative organizations in our country, after careful consideration, have gone on record as opposing this bill. They believe this bill fosters discrimination in regard to color and nationality, injustice in regard to quotas and granting of visas, and a lack of provision for fair hearings and appeals.

We believe this document was based on fear and does not truly represent the spirit of America.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Alice F. Loweth.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ALICE F. LOWETH, COCHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORLD RELATIONS, CLEVELAND COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. LOWETH. I am Mrs. Alice F. Loweth, cochairman of the department of Christian world relations, Cleveland Council of Church Women.

I am also with Professor Schroeder's group, which is representing the Cleveland Church Federation and the Protestant Federation of Cleveland.

I would like to read my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

Mrs. LOWETH. The chief aim of the department of Christian world relations of the Cleveland Council of Church Women, is to help in our small way to build a just and lasting peace through information, education, and the development of friendly understanding of the people of other lands. This aim, one for which our Government is striving, is not furthered by inflexible and unjust immigration and naturalization laws. Especially inimical to the furtherance of peace are stringent, retroactive deportation laws.

Every inhabitant of this country, excepting the American Indian, either is or descends from an immigrant. Our country has prospered with the influx of a varied people with fresh ideas. That is how we came to be. To continue as a free nation, friendly and welcoming, we must have flexible immigration laws, which are fair and just, including quotas which are not discriminatory.

The McCarran-Walter omnibus immigration bill practically strangles immigration. While it removes certain unfair discriminations

of the past, it adds others and provides quotas based on 1920, which are outgrown and unwise. Furthermore, it does not provide adequately for the final disposal of displaced-persons business, or for the reuniting of families. People of Asiatic blood cannot come in on the same basis as Europeans, and now, of all times, we must make friends with Asia. How can we if we treat her people as inferior to other people?

Especial attention needs to be paid to our immigration officials in other countries. Often they are the only Americans with whom the people of those countries come in contact. Therefore they should be of superior ability with a high regard for the dignity of every human being. This, unfortunately, is not always the case.

As a representative of the Cleveland Council of Church Women, I advocate a thorough reconsideration of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Robert A. Pollock, you are scheduled next.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. POLLOCK, REPRESENTING THE JUNIOR ORDER OF UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS

Mr. POLLOCK. I am Robert A. Pollock, Canton, Ohio, and I am representing the Junior Order of United American Mechanics.

It is a real pleasure to meet before this Commission. This immigration problem to me has been a life study. I could take you back and tell you just when the immigration bills of this country were passed.

The first was way back in Grover Cleveland's time and I think he vetoed it. We had another bill passed under Roosevelt's administration, which he vetoed. Then Taft vetoed one when he was President. At that particular time I remember later on when there were a million people coming to America each year for a few years, and at the First World War they were coming at that time, shortly before it, and then the immigration bill was passed under President Wilson's administration and it was vetoed, passed over the President's veto, and the quota was established and from that time up until this present time, with that quota of 140,000 to 150,000 people coming to America there isn't anybody who can deny or think that we didn't have enough people in America to carry on and take care of, not only America but practically the whole world in many instances.

We don't need a change in the administration. Only since I have come here I have listened to a number of people talking about the discrimination of some countries. That is a problem in there that this Commission will have to decide, of course.

I want to say to you that at this particular time in America I have listened to these arguments and I just want to talk—because a brief has been already established—but I represent 50,000 people in this State that are members of this organization, and I have listened to these arguments here. There isn't any of you here or in this audience who think that we need more farmers in America because of what happened recently in the destruction of crops and pigs and so on. We don't need any more farmers.

I want to say, too, you talk about your schools. I listened to that today. In Ohio there isn't a college that hasn't more pupils today than they had a year ago. I was at Ohio State University the last week

talking to the president. We have nearly a thousand more there than we had a year ago. Our public schools are crowded. That is going to be a problem at this time. The problem in Ohio and in this Nation is what we are going to do with youth in America at this particular time. In our State of Ohio in 2 years' time or 3 there will be more pupils in the first 6 grades than there are now in the whole 12 grades. Then you talk about the number of people coming here.

One man here said in 65 or more years, we would have 70,000 of them. What would we do with them? Where would we get the money at this particular time? That is one of the main issues in our immigration problem, is that America is not able to take care of people now here who are in need, let alone having any more coming into this country of ours.

Our schools at this particular time, this year, are appropriating \$268,000,000 for education in our schools. But think about it, sirs, Commission members, we are appropriating in Ohio for 2 years \$274,000,000 for relief. We are spending more for relief in Ohio than we are to educate the youth of America.

There are many things that I would like to talk to you about here today on this immigration problem, but we do believe this organization—we do believe in America at this time—they talk about a labor scarcity here. I heard that this afternoon. There isn't any labor scarcity in America, and I want to reiterate here now and again that our colleges—one of them talked about our colleges not being able to take care of them. We have had, as I said, an increase in every college in the State of Ohio and our boys and girls are going to school and they receive that education to carry on.

Have you heard of any factory or any place anywhere in America that we have not met this issue now to its fullest extent, to supply, to supply with our 7 percent more manufactured goods, practically all the world? America is prepared. We are taking care of all the things that are needed, not only for America, but if the world is going to be saved, America is doing it, and we want to take care of the people in our country at this particular time, take care of those who are in need, and we will have our hands full.

You may make some changes in this discrimination, but I am representing this organization, and my personal feeling is that we have enough people in America to take care of America. And let me say this: We talk about them coming here; but if you men will go over the records in the years of our depression, more people left America than came into America just because the money is the only thing that many of them want. I am glad to see them come, those that are in the quota. We have enough in America to take care of all our needs, and I am hoping that this Commission, when you make your recommendations—you may make some changes, but I hope that this Commission will recommend that this new bill will be given thorough consideration, voted by the majority of the representatives of the country, even passed over the President's veto; give it a chance. America will take care of itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.
Dr. Edwin A. Brown.

**STATEMENT OF REV. EDWARD A. BROWN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, CLEVELAND BRANCH**

Dr. BROWN. I am Dr. Edward A Brown, 740 Superior West, Cleveland. I am pastor of the Westlake Methodist Church and am executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, Cleveland branch, on whose behalf I am appearing.

I have two statements I would like to read to the Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear them.

**STATEMENT BY THE CLEVELAND BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES
UNION**

Dr. BROWN. I am happy to present to the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization the position of the American Civil Liberties Union regarding the issues involved in immigration and naturalization. In particular I would like to state why the American Civil Liberties Union objects seriously to some of the provisions of the recently passed McCarran-Walter bill.

Our interest in this problem has to do exclusively with the matter of those rights and liberties which are inherently the privilege of all citizens of the free world. Over 30 years ago the American Civil Liberties Union was founded to champion, in season and out of season, the threefold cause of civil liberties as set forth in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence: (1) Government by the people, grounded on freedom of inquiry and expression—speech, press, assembly, and religion—for everybody; (2) specific rights guaranteed to the people, such as due process and fair trial—for everybody; and (3) equality of all people before the law regardless of race, color, place of birth, position, income, political opinions, or religious belief. The union is dedicated simply and solely to furthering the actual practice of democracy in safeguarding the civil rights of all the people.

It was the harmony with the deepest convictions we Americans have cherished for a century and three quarters that the Congress should have opened the doors to some 300,000 displaced persons and made it possible for them to find refuge in our country. And the record of these persons since their arrival have overwhelmingly validated this action and confidence of Congress. Unfortunately, the problem continues in this continual stream of refugees who escape from behind the iron curtain and have no place to go.

The American Civil Liberties Union was organized to work within the boundaries of the United States but our convictions regarding civil rights root down into the nature of life and the moral universe itself. Civil liberties is not merely an American way of life. These rights root down into the eternal ordering of things and therefore are the privilege of all men—however much they may be denied by the circumstances in which they live. These unfortunate thousands who are even now fleeing the nightmare of life in Communist-controlled lands have a right to these liberties which we Americans cherish so highly. Such is the conviction of the Union which I represent. But we go beyond that.

These rights and liberties are not something which we can cherish within our own borders and be unconcerned with the plight of needy peoples across the world. Concern for the rights of men is not some-

thing which we can circumscribe, fighting valiantly for those on our side of the fence and manifesting no concern for those on the other side. Any such allocation of concern would backfire and in the end destroy our passion for justice and cut the nerve of our endeavor. If we have a valid concern for civil liberties it must be for all men in the very nature of the case. In great areas of the world where men live in virtual bondage, we are helpless. All we can do for them is to demonstrate that here in the United States man can be free and use that freedom for the highest ends. But there are some people outside our borders whom we can help. These people who by the thousands refuse to bow the knee to these oppressive dictatorships and who have fled to temporary places of refuge have some claim upon us and the rest of the free world. In this hour when our democratic way of life with its guaranty of civil rights is challenged, how better can we demonstrate its validity than to adjust our immigration and naturalization policies to the exigencies of the present world situation and make it possible for these heroic people to find asylum among us?

It is our understanding that this Commission has been set up to get a clearer and more comprehensive picture of what is involved in the attempt of multiplied thousands of people across the world to gain entrance to the United States. We understand that the Commission is concerned with the fashioning of such an immigration policy which in every respect will be in accord with those rights and obligations which inhere in our Constitution.

If such is the case, then it is our conviction that the McCarran-Walter bill as passed by the last Congress should be radically changed. We do not believe that this law as it now stands guarantees those civil rights fairly to those seeking admission to this country as they are guaranteed to those of us who are citizens.

This is no place to go into a detailed analysis of the provisions of the McCarran-Walter law. The national office of the American Civil Liberties Union stated its position on this bill on May the 5th of this year, and I assume that this Commission is already acquainted with that statement. I merely desire to point out that in the judgment of competent counsel the civil rights of those entering this country are not adequately protected. Such "tremendous discretionary power" is placed in the hands of the Attorney General that it could easily, under conceivable circumstances, deny civil rights and be "wielded as a club of oppression."

We object to the law because it perpetuates racial discrimination in two new ways: "Persons of Asiatic ancestry born in American Republics are not put in nonquota classes but are assigned to special quotas of 100 annually, which are much too small, and persons born in Caribbean colonies, for practical purposes Jamaican Negroes, are taken out of the larger mother country quotas and assigned to small quotas of 100." This type of discrimination is morally indefensible, it is undemocratic in character and seriously impairs our standing in the eyes of the disinherited millions of the world whom we shall have to win for the democratic way of life if the free world is to survive.

In some of its provisions the McCarran-Walter bill is an improvement upon the older law but there is enough in it so positively harmful that in our judgment it should be radically changed or repealed and

replaced by a law which guarantees these basic rights which lie at the center of our way of life.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION STATEMENT ON M'CARRAN-WALTER
IMMIGRATION BILL

The acceptance of persons from foreign countries, on a nondiscriminatory basis, and accordance to them of just and fair treatment, is a demonstration of belief in human rights which is the foundation of democracy. It exhibits a faith in the strength and stability of democracy to absorb within its boundaries immigrants from many different countries—the diversity which has already contributed to America's greatness.

This policy is more than morally right. It is practical. Our country, like every nation, has the right to safeguard its security and restrict undesirable persons from entry; but it cannot practice unjust discrimination in immigration without suffering ill effects. Propagandists for Communist totalitarianism are watching every action we take of a discriminatory or unfair nature to use in the ideological warfare that they wage. When our values, and our sincerity in giving practical demonstration to them are challenged, it is essential that our behavior be in firm accord with our beliefs and traditions.

The immigration legislation now receiving the attention of Congress in the form of the McCarran-Walter bill is a mixture of a progressive and retrogressive immigration policy. A considerable portion of the bill deals with issues outside the scope of the specialized interest of the American Civil Liberties Union and our comments are therefore directed only to those sections applying to civil liberties.

In its elimination of much of the present statutory discrimination based on race and sex, the bill shows understanding of the principle of nondiscrimination. By permitting the entry of former members of totalitarian parties if within 5 years they have demonstrated active opposition to totalitarian ideology, it relaxes the bitterly harsh provision of the McCarran act which forbids immigration of any former totalitarian.

But these provisions do not make the McCarran-Walter bill a good bill. There are many sections which need drastic revision and amendment before the bill can be presented to the country as the expression of a democratic immigration policy. The Humphrey-Lehman bill, which has been proposed as a substitute, is more in keeping with United States principles of equality and fair treatment.

The Walter bill, and the McCarran bill in a similar section, places in the hands of the Attorney General an enlarged, tremendous discretionary power which could be wielded as a club of oppression. For example, section 241 (a) (8) permits deportation for anyone who has within 5 years of entry become a public charge "in the opinion of the Attorney General." Section 241 (c) (2) permits deportation when "it appears to the satisfaction of the Attorney General" that the marital agreement made for entry has not been fulfilled. The ACLU believes that deportation should depend upon a finding of objective fact, not on an arbitrary opinion which would be almost unreviewable by the courts. Similarly in section 244 (a) (1) (2) the present provision of undue hardship for suspension of deporta-

tion would be changed to permit only on the opinion of the Attorney General that it would result in "exceptional and extremely unusual hardship." In addition to placing arbitrary power in the hands of the Attorney General, to so stringently restrict suspension of deportation for aliens who already have lawful spouses and/or children is cruel and unwarranted; at the very least these provisions should be merely prospective.

The placing of such power into the hands of the Attorney General is a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of due process of law. Not only in deportation, but in exclusion cases as well, aliens should be entitled to a fair hearing before an independent body. The case of the German war-bride, Ellen Knauff, who was excluded for 3 years, dramatically describes this lack in the procedures of the Immigration Service. It was only after a hearing, bitterly opposed by the Department of Justice officials who control the Immigration Service in these matters, that the charges against Mrs. Knauff could be aired and disproved. Certainly aliens who came to our shores voluntarily and are allegedly instilled with the principles of American democracy are entitled to the same treatment accorded a citizen—a fair hearing. The McCarran-Walter bill should be amended to make applicable the Administrative Procedures Act, the best guaranty yet devised by Congress of fair procedures. There is no reason to fail to apply to human beings what is already being applied to property.

Section 212 (a) (28), on admission of former totalitarians, as stated above, is an improvement over the restrictive McCarran Act. But the phrase "actively opposed to the [totalitarian] ideology" is vague, and may still restrict entry of genuine antitotalitarians who have not had the opportunity to be active in expressing their opposition. This section should be broadened to permit the entry of former totalitarians, who repudiate the ideology under oath. The bill is restrictive, too, in requiring the deportation of any alien who, at any time after admission, had been active in Communist or totalitarian political causes. This is regardless of whether such a mistake was acknowledged and the association terminated. The same criticism should be leveled at the section which renders deportable any alien who once was associated with activities "prejudicial to the public interest," even if such actions had long since ceased and frequently even if such associations were innocently made. Fear and lack of understanding of the principles of change, both in history and human life, is characterized by the section disqualifying from citizenship any person who was once affiliated with the "direct predecessor" of a Communist or totalitarian organization, despite the fact that the original groups may have been democratic in nature and the individual had resigned in protest when it was captured by Communist forces.

As Senator Estes Kefauver points out in his minority report on Senator McCarran's bill:

Such rules are unrealistic, inequitable, contrary to the American tradition, and dangerous to American unity and security. We judge a man for what he is, not for what he may have seemed or may have touched. We would give aid and comfort to our worst enemies if we arbitrarily thrust from our doorstep, for offenses long since forgotten, or for imagined contaminations, men and women who can add strength to our Republic.

The third major area of the bill which needs revision is the section dealing with race discrimination. While the Oriental Exclusion Act

of 1924 is eliminated, the McCarran-Walter bill unfortunately perpetuates discrimination in two new ways: (1) Persons of Asiatic ancestry born in American Republics are not put in nonquota classes and are assigned to special quotas of 100 annually, which are much too small, and (2) persons born in Caribbean colonies, for practical purposes Jamaican Negroes, are taken out of the larger mother country quotas and assigned to small quotas of 100. The elimination of race, in some respect, is coupled in this bill with this new racial discrimination which is morally indefensible, undemocratic in character, and harmful to United States interests which demand that the principle of equality should be given full expression.

There are several other provisions of the bill, noted below, which are violative of civil liberties and need to be amended before the McCarran-Walter bill can be acceptable.

1. Statute of limitations: Those provisions eliminating the operation of the statute of limitations (operative previously to grounds for deportation which would have been grounds for exclusion) violate civil liberties. The ACLU opposes the failure to continue—and broaden—the coverage of the statute of limitations.

2. Arrests and interrogations: Section 287, insofar as it merely permits searches of moving autos without warrants, does not present a civil liberties issue; but subsection (a) (1), permitting interrogation of any alien or person believed to be an alien, should be opposed, because it is so obscure as to possibly permit arrest or detention without warrant or without probable cause.

3. Revocation of naturalization: The present law permits such revocation for fraud; section 340 (a) permits it for "concealment of a material fact or by willful misrepresentation." The broadening is improper because it is retroactive instead of merely prospective.

4. Proceeding for declaration of nationality: While a citizen abroad whose nationality is questioned may now come to the United States and sue for a certificate of nationality and is at large pending determination of the suit, section 360 would treat him as alien, subject to exclusion or admission on terms laid down by the Attorney General. This provision violates civil liberties as it would mean exclusion of possible citizens without even a hearing being held on the exclusion.

5. Denaturalization upon adjustment of status: Section 246 (b) permits denaturalization of any person who became a citizen upon the basis of a record of a lawful admission for permanent residence, created as a result of an adjustment of status for which he was not in fact eligible and which is subsequently resumed within 5 years. This section should be opposed because it represents punishment for acts not committed by the person punished.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Miss Madeline L. Greco.

STATEMENT OF MADELINE L. GRECO, REPRESENTING AMERICAN SERVICE INSTITUTE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY AND 13 OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Miss GRECO. I am Madeline L. Greco, administrative assistant, American Service Institute of Allegheny County, 200 Ross Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

I would like to preface my prepared statement, which I wish to submit, gentlemen, with a comment that I am one of a three-member delegation from Pittsburgh who is appearing before this Commission today. We each have a different point of view to bring to this Commission and we are, therefore, not attempting in our own individual presentations to cover all of the aspects of the recently enacted Public Law 414, but are merely bringing to you the point of view that each one of us feels best equipped to give.

I specifically represent the American Service Institute of Allegheny County, which is a social agency charged with the responsibility of rendering technical service to Allegheny County, Pa., charged with the responsibility of rendering technical service to individuals on immigration and naturalization.

As a resource agency, the American Service Institute also acts as a consulting and coordinating body to groups, organizations, and private and public agencies, whose area of work encompasses services to the foreign-born population of our community.

The opinions and views expressed in this statement are practically all from the practitioner's point of view in a social work agency, and we bring the concerns of those of us who are practicing in the area of social work and who have to work with people who may be affected by the implications of this law. I therefore proceed with the conclusions, and the things that we have drawn out of our experience. Our experience has shown that the people of foreign extraction in our society have often been placed at a disadvantage when we compare their relative freedom and security to that of those privileged to have been born in the United States.

Public Law 414 not only perpetuates this pattern, but by its provisions imposes greater penalties on the foreign people, the foreign-born than on its native-born citizens—and this was very aptly put by one of the preceding speakers on the Council of Churches delegation; I think it was Mr. Davey—by casting a glare of suspicion over our naturalized citizens as well as the aliens resident in our communities. The law has the effect of giving these people a second-class status in our American societies.

I might digress a moment to amplify this: At the present time in Pittsburgh, Pa., the public health agencies are conducting a chest X-ray survey, and in carrying out this project, these agencies have asked all social and civic agencies to encourage everyone living in the community, all individuals, to take advantage of this chest X-ray.

Now, the primary purpose of the chest X-ray, of course, is for the diagnosis and prevention of TB. But at the same time if it shows up the needs for clinical care on heart or cancer disease, these people are referred to a public health clinic where they are expected to follow through on referral and to get care.

Because we have an adequate clarification of how such a referral would affect the alien, particularly that of short residents, we feel that we need to have very clear clarification of that provision.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me for interrupting. Do I understand you came from Pittsburgh to appear here?

Miss GRECO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And would you state again what organizations you represent?

Miss GRECO. I represent the American Service Institute—in addition, the opinions expressed in this statement are the joint thinking of these organizations:

The American-Bulgarian League, American Service Institute of Allegheny County, Catholic Slovak Brotherhood, Council of Jewish Women, Croatian Fraternal Union, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and United Jewish Fund, Greater Beneficial Union of Pittsburgh, Jewish Family and Children's Service, Lutheran Service Society, Serb National Federation, Verhovay Association, Jewish Community Relations Council. In addition, we speak for the social and civic agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

If I may, I will submit our prepared statement.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to receive it.

(The prepared statement submitted by Miss Madeline L. Greco, administrative assistant, American Service Institute, is as follows:)

AMERICAN SERVICE INSTITUTE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

As a member of the delegation appearing before this Commission from the city of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pa., the opinions expressed in this statement are the result of the joint thinking of 12 organizations representing a cross section of interests in the implications contained in Public Law 414, the recently enacted Immigration and Nationality Act.

The delegation also speaks for the fraternal and nationality organizations, and for social and civic agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, where the population of this great industrial area is more than 40 percent foreign-born or of foreign-born parentage.

I specifically represent the American Service Institute of Allegheny County, a social agency charged with the responsibility of rendering technical service to individuals on matters of immigration and naturalization. As a resource agency, the American Service Institute also acts as a consulting and coordinating body to groups, organizations, and private and public agencies whose area of work encompasses serving the foreign-born population of our community.

Our experience has shown that the people of foreign extraction in our society have often been placed at a disadvantage when we compare their relative freedom and security to that of those privileged to have been born in the United States. Public Law 414 not only perpetuates this pattern, but by its provisions imposes greater penalties on the foreign-born than on native-born citizens. By casting a glare of suspicion over our naturalized citizens as well as the aliens resident in our communities, it has the effect of giving these people a second-class status in our American society.

We recognize and endorse the importance of legislating adequate safeguards to the internal security and welfare of our country. Our concern, however, is directed to the interests of millions of patriotic, law-abiding, sincere, and well-disposed Americans by choice in this country whose way of life and status are placed in jeopardy by the methods which may be applied in administering this law. The impact which this law has upon the people it affects is one of fear and insecurity. This is reflected in the numerous inquiries coming to us from private health and welfare agencies whose case load includes the foreign-born. For example, because of the arbitrary methods which can be employed by the Attorney General and his staff in administering the law, the question immediately arises as to what constitutes a public charge. Since the term is not clearly defined in the law, these agencies are faced with the lending of whatever assistance appears to be required in the case of an alien at the risk of subjecting him to deportation if such assistance is construed by the Attorney General to be a violation of the public-charge provision. For the alien recently arrived or of short residence in this country, the law works a particular hardship by keeping him under the constant fear of deportation if he should unwittingly or unknowingly place himself in a situation which the Attorney General might construe as a violation of the public-charge provision (sec. 241, No. 8).

For the first time in the history of our immigration and nationality laws, the glare of suspicion can be cast over any of our naturalized citizens of long standing. This is typified in a comment recently made to us by a prominent

professional man in our community who was naturalized more than 30 years ago when he said, "I have always felt safe and secure in the knowledge that I am an American citizen, but with a law that can reach back and question anything in my original application, who knows what can happen?" (sec. 340).

It is our considered opinion that the provision of a mandatory neighborhood investigation (sec. 355 (a) and (b)) required for applicants for citizenship has the potential for inviting character assassination and the activity of malicious informers. It can subject the petitioner for citizenship to the possibility of unscrupulous attacks upon his character which may prejudice the examiner hearing his petition. This provision in the law, to our knowledge, provides no safeguards to the petitioner against the unsubstantiated and prejudicial results which may come from such an investigation. By the very methods which we know to be employed in this procedure at the present time, many of our potential new citizens are filled with apprehension at the thought of being investigated in their neighborhoods—"Like as if I were a criminal"—as one of our clients reported when he discovered the extent and nature of the investigation made in his particular application for citizenship. Rather than encouraging these well-meaning and well-intentioned individuals to work toward their new status as American citizens with hope and pride, the requirement of a neighborhood investigation frightens many people, particularly those who live in communities not friendly to the new arrival or to the so-called foreigner. The net result is that people sensitive to the positives and negatives in human relationships may sacrifice a cherished hope for citizenship rather than subject themselves to what may prove to be a humiliating and demoralizing threat to themselves and their families in the communities where they live and the places where they are employed.

We believe that all human beings, alien and citizen alike, who are loyal to the American ideal and who are an integral part of our great American culture and progress, should be free from unreasonable burdens and restrictions and the unnecessary harassment which can result under the administrative procedures of this law. The groups which I represent are concerned about the complete authority vested in the power of the Attorney General to make final decisions on denaturalization and deportation proceedings. Such authority is virtually dictatorial—a principle contrary to our traditional concepts of American justice.

We, therefore, respectfully urge this Commission to recommend the following revisions:

1. Clarification of the public charge provision (sec. 241, No. 8).
2. Strong provision for judicial review in all cases, and the application of such measures as will safeguard the dignity and rights of all individuals by protecting them from administrative abuse.
3. The retention of the present 5-year statute of limitations where the violation does not involve the internal security of the United States or serious criminal and moral offenses.

(A supplementary statement submitted by the Pittsburgh section of the National Council of Jewish Women through Miss Greco, follows:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE PITTSBURGH SECTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

PITTSBURGH SECTION,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN,
Pittsburgh, Pa., October 2, 1952.

The Pittsburgh section, National Council of Jewish Women, a group of over 3,000 women, in accordance with our national policy urge the revision of the quota system to enable the members of all national groups to share more equitably in immigration to the United States eliminating discrimination against people because of race, creed, or national or ethnic origin.

Immigrants of all races and creeds have added their cultural and economic contribution to the development of our country. In Pittsburgh, industry has and can continue to absorb immigrant labor with resulting benefits to the economic development of the entire community.

We feel too that both the ideology of our present immigration and naturalization laws as well as the laws themselves should be so modified that the naturalized citizen has a feeling of security and asylum equal to that of a native citizen.

Along with this thinking we believe in the "retention of a statute of limitations" on offenses for which a person can be deported.

The Pittsburgh section, National Council of Jewish Women, cognizant of the gravity of the immigration and naturalization situation under the present laws with the added dangers of the effectuation of the McCarran-Walter bill urge consideration of the opinions expressed herein.

(Signed) MRS. HAROLD H. SOLOF,

Vice President, Bureau of Education and Social Action.

The CHAIRMAN. Rev. Elwin A. Miller.

STATEMENT OF REV. ELWIN A. MILLER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LUTHERAN SERVICE SOCIETIES OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

Reverend MILLER. I am Rev. Elwin A. Miller, a clergyman and executive director, Lutheran Service Societies of Western Pennsylvania, 533 Wabash Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

I am a member of the delegation which Miss Greco mentioned. The organizations she mentioned, including the Lutheran Service Societies of Western Pennsylvania of which I am executive director, had a meeting called by the American Service Institute, at which we discussed these issues, and came to grips with these ideas we are putting forth here today.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear you.

Reverend MILLER. In this new Public Law 414, we are fairly and very conscious of the fact that a tremendous job has been done on codifying an old law and making some worth-while improvements, and especially in the area of the preferred immigrant. Beyond that, there are certain recommendations and considerations that I would like to present from our group in Pittsburgh.

As stated by those lawmakers who were or are mainly responsible for the new law, that it is impossible to pass a law which in the future might not need further adjustment, I turn to the last part of the law which refers to the joint congressional committee, of which I think there has been an implication for the possibility of future study and adjustment of this law.

With these implications in mind, and the thoughts of my fellow citizens of Pittsburgh, I shall make the following recommendations and these recommendations are made only in connection with title II, and titled "Immigration, Chapter I," which is the quota system. I make the following recommendations mindful of the fact that our constant flow of foreign-born people into this country, with their national cultures, have not only brought the best from the lands from which they came, but also the merging of those cultures into what we call today the over-all American culture, that has helped to make our Nation as great as we find it to be at the present time; and in these recommendations we make a common plea for a need for a constant flow of people, as we have had in the past, and perhaps a new kind of law within each generation to add to this richness of American life lest it become sterile; that is, with this constant flow, so that we can understand other cultures by having people live here beyond the short term of a visitor's visa; and as a leaven in the lurch, as it were, a large nucleus of foreign-born people, which can adequately help us with a foreign policy.

Now these recommendations, No. 1, that the joint congressional committee in section 401, be given a special assignment. This assignment should be the continuous reconsideration of the annual immigration quota, and the formula on which this quota is made; that is, referring to the formula in section 201 which is one-sixth of 1 percent of the 1920 population of this country: a recommendation on immigration-quota formula should be made to Congress at least every 3 years, and the reason I make that statement is that in the past 3 years we have had an experience with the DP Act of 1948, and the extension of the act after 2 years, and a strong desire at the present time amongst a considerable number of people to allow additional refugees to come into our country. That is, with this reconsideration of the formula that we might be able to solve the problem of effecting an emergency law every now and then as we have experienced it within the past 3 or 4 years.

The second recommendation is the matter of canceling out the mortgage which the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 has caused.

The third recommendation, and that is going back to the second recommendation, a canceling out of the mortgage of the DP Act; as we all know, the act is going to affect by 25 percent the annual quotas up to 54, and then 50 percent beyond.

The third recommendation: To give humanitarian consideration to the refugees, which we don't find in the present law, that are people that are worthy within the population pressure groups, that are in political sympathy with the United States, and to enter a program of cooperative planning with other countries for the health and welfare, and possibly relocation of these peoples, if not immigration, to the United States.

The fourth recommendation is the revision of the Asia Pacific triangle quota in relation to the birth of immigrants; that is, that with the European population their immigration quota is based on where they are born, the quota of the country in which they are born, and we would like to have that also be the same for the Asiatic people.

The fifth recommendation is that the unused immigration visas be made available. I understand in the present law that these unused immigration visas that are handed out to people that are not able to come over are canceled out, and we would like to have those made available to worthy immigrants within any quota area.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you propose to distribute it?

Reverend MILLER. I would say that could be the consideration of the joint congressional committee on the basis of population need abroad and in relation to the needs that our country has for employment and other cultural needs.

I think to be realistic in meeting the population needs of the world that we have to reconsider the formula on which these quotas are set up; that is, to not go back to 1924 for the basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mrs. Elisabeth Ponofidine, you are scheduled next.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ELISABETH G. PONOFIDINE, REPRESENTING INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE, BUFFALO, N. Y., AND SEVEN OTHER AGENCIES

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. I am Mrs. Elisabeth G. Ponofidine, 16 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y., representing International Institute of Buffalo and a number of other organizations in Buffalo.

The CHAIRMAN. What organizations do you represent?

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. I represent eight organizations in Buffalo, Mr. Chairman; namely, Board of Community Relations of the City of Buffalo; Council of Social Agencies; Diocesan Resettlement Committee of Catholic Charities; Labor Committee to Combat Intolerance; Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Council of Churches; Jewish Federation for Social Service; International Institute.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come here from Buffalo, N. Y., and did you come here at the request of those agencies?

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. I came from Buffalo, N. Y., at the request of those agencies, and I would like to be permitted to read a brief statement, representing those organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

(The statement read by Mrs. Elizabeth G. Ponofidine in behalf of the following organizations in Buffalo, N. Y.: Board of Community Relations of the City of Buffalo; Council of Social Agencies; Diocesan Resettlement Committee of Catholic Charities; Labor Committee To Combat Intolerance; Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Council of Churches; Jewish Federation for Social Service; International Institute is as follows:)

We, who represent organizations that are concerned with individuals who have immigrated to this country, and with the whole process of immigration, have during the past many years seen grave family and community problems which resulted from some of the limitations and inequalities in our present immigration laws. We have already felt some of the consequences of the new McCarran Act even though the law has as yet not actually gone into effect, and will not do so until December 24, 1952.

Also, we have already had family and community problems created by the enforced separation of family units because of quotas being mortgaged for almost the next hundred years; problems because people cannot bring members of their families from areas with small quotas and where there is no opportunity to earn a livelihood.

In our area in Buffalo there are today large shortages of skilled labor which could well be filled either by DP's or by people coming from overpopulated areas, most of them people whose one hope is a desire to breathe the air of freedom. Among groups of good Americans whose forebears came from many European countries there is justifiable anger and irritation because of an immigration policy which has made it impossible for friends and families of the same country of origin to come to this country.

We who are concerned with this problem feel that an immigration policy which is based upon a national-origins quota system is doing a grave disservice to prospective immigrants and to our own country.

The basis for the national-origins quota system is long outmoded. The assumptions of innate race and ethnic superiority or inferiority have been the weapons of Fascists and Communists alike and have no place in the free American system. It is our belief that the interest of our country will be best served by eliminating quotas based on national origins; the alternative which might well be suggested is that there should be established a national immigration policy committee making a continuous study of population trends in our country, the amount of immigration which our country needs and can absorb, and which shall set within fixed maximum and minimum limits the number of immigrants to be admitted to this country in a given calendar year. This number could be

allocated among the various countries of the world on the basis of the demands for immigration visas in each country, determined by qualified, independent investigations made through our American consulates; the need for additional labor sources on our part and the need for meeting the problem of overpopulation of some of the countries of the world. This committee should set priorities and preferences, but the preferences should be based on individual worth and not on national pedigree. There should be a wider preference for relatives of American citizens and legal resident aliens. There should be a preference for refugees and political persecutees and a preference for economic-hardship cases. It is our firm belief that immigrants should be selected on the basis of their character, their talent and love for freedom rather than for race, color, creed, or national origin.

We have noted with great alarm the tendency to create classes of citizens based on birth in our country as opposed to naturalization.

We believe the idea of revocability of citizenship, acquired in proper and legal ways, should be completely rejected.

There is already a marked uneasiness on the part of God-fearing, law-abiding, and freedom-loving naturalized Americans who are being placed almost in the category of second-class citizens because of the accident of birth.

We believe that the idea of revocability of citizenship is alien to the philosophy set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and to all legal precepts developed in our country since the day of independence.

We submit that this type of division between groups of citizens irreparably damages our national unity.

We also firmly believe that our present laws are too stringent in refusing the right of asylum to persons who have reached our shores in search of freedom, and who for fear of political persecution are unable to return to their native land. We believe that the freedom-loving people of America have always been willing to share their opportunities with the oppressed and the persecuted, not only yesterday, but also today.

Again, as American citizens we feel deeply that our immigration policy should be directly related to our international policy, and it appears to us that the present policies, through their strict national-origins quota system, and because of their lack of relationship to our national needs and our international moral obligations, are not designed to best implement our foreign policy.

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. These statements of our beliefs are made, not only as representatives of volunteer agencies who are concerned with and deal directly with immigration situations, but as citizens of a country which, since its inception, has offered more rights and privileges to its citizenry, whether native-born or naturalized, than any other country in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there are any labor shortages in or around Buffalo?

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. Yes; we have had a great deal to do with placing displaced persons into jobs. I can tell you that we haven't got a single one that is unemployed unless he is sick. And the other day I had a call from one of the big industries saying that they were opening a plant in another city and couldn't we persuade some people to go to that city and work there.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Has any study been made in Buffalo about the labor needs of industry?

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. There was a study made by a student of one of the social organizations concerning displaced persons. Contrary to what has been said by one of the gentlemen who testified here earlier, we find that the change of employment was not at all as frequent as it appears. We find that people were eager to work in spite of the affidavits that were signed in Europe. Some of them, it is true, did not remain in the jobs that were selected for them. However, they were quite willing to take a similar job where they were able to be

interviewed by the employer and they knew what the conditions were going to be, and that they were satisfied; but quite often you know, provisions for employment were made without talking it over with the person, rather having a dim idea of what he was going to do here. We also do not believe in slave labor. We believe that people cannot be forced to stay for years in a given job once they are brought over here. They should have the same freedom of moving as other people.

Also, if you don't know the English language, an engineer—and that is a fact—will go to work in a factory as a laborer to support his family. However, his talents are wasted. He could do much more productive work if he had a chance to move as soon as he could have a refresher course or as soon as he learns English. And to attach them to a place and say "You have to stay there for 3 or 4 years," that would be cruel.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Have your organizations informed or interpreted to the public in your community in Buffalo what you have been doing, or what your experience has been pro and con?

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. Of course we have been doing that all along since before the passage of the DP Act, we have been concerned with doing that. Of course under the Displaced Persons Act the reaction of the people to that very much may be their experience with one person, which colors their whole belief. We and different members of various organizations mentioned here, and many others who we weren't able to get here, naturally do a great deal of interpreting all the time. At the time when the McCarran Act was passed we had Monsignor Loftus. We had quite a group of recommendations brought together by him, who discussed that and who brought out views about the McCarran Act.

The CHAIRMAN. If there was so much opposition by the public to this law, how do you account for the fact that the Congress passed it over the President's veto?

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. I think our two Senators in the State of New York heard the expression of our views and were with us on that. I wonder whether the Congressmen and Senators of other States, if they actually knew something about the human-needs and human-interest stories, whether they wouldn't feel a little differently. Sometimes they are rather removed from the actual human interest.

I think this is a matter that has to be interpreted constantly. For one thing, the situation is changing but the human needs remains the thing. I think you can only really understand it if you present it on the basis of human needs. When you present the whole immigration policy it is for a good long time, you don't change the bill very often. Nevertheless, it never fails, the moment we pass the bill somebody gets concerned and we all start working toward changing things because we realize that an injustice has been done.

The CHAIRMAN. I again come back to the question, if there was such opposition to the bill as some witnesses have indicated, how was it passed over the President's veto?

Mrs. PONOFIDINE. I think the public really doesn't quite understand really what the Immigration Act means. Senator McCarran certainly did, and he was very insistent on keeping it. But today when we try to feel at least that the place of birth is such an unjust thing to judge a person upon, just as an illustration, in comes a Greek per-

son and says "My brother has just died in Greece and I want to take his child here, he needs to come to America, he needs me." We have to say that he probably will be long dead and buried before his time comes on the quota.

Somebody says in England, "Do you think he can come?" And we say, "Oh certainly, he can." Now that is unjust, the incident of birth in one country or another; a person who needs the care and bringing up by a close relative cannot come here, and somebody for whom maybe it doesn't mean so much at all will be able to come.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Tricarichi.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES S. TRICARICHI, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON ITALIAN MIGRATION OF CLEVELAND

MR. TRICARICHI. I am Charles S. Tricarichi, 3475 East One Hundred and Fortieth Street, Cleveland. I am here to represent the American Committee on Italian Migration and Judge Celebreese of the municipal court, who is the head of the committee but was unable to appear himself.

The law, like anything else, the law is not for the artist or for the Pope; but the law is like Marshall once said: "The calling of the thinker."

I am thinking, along the lines of an immigration law, it should be based on full, and with a great deal of, foresight relative to our times; and, like anything else, the elasticity of law should be able to meet the times and should change with the times, have the ability to; and that applies to any immigration law as well as to any other law in this country. Since our life at all times is like playing a game of bridge with destiny, we must govern ourselves in view of the picture of today. America has always been considered the leader of the world, and as a leader it sets a pattern for which the rest of the world follows. In one respect, in the position of immigration, America has failed its duty as a leader. By that, recalling back historically, our immigration laws prior to the McCarran Act were based on our 1924 laws, I believe, and most of the South American countries, and some of the English possessions such as New Zealand and Australia, adopted a similar pattern in 1922 and 1923.

Thinking along those lines, any law passed by America today will also be followed by people who have followed our conscientious thinking previously. And right now we are faced with several problems in the world. We as a country cannot do as much for the world problem as countries like New Zealand or Canada or Venezuela, who can take a great deal of population, but we can set a pattern in this country for which other countries will follow suit. We can set a pattern not based on national groups or origin of birth; we can set a pattern based on need and necessity. That need and necessity must work two ways: It must work for the country receiving the immigrant and also the country giving the immigrants asylum.

Today, in Europe, we are faced with overcrowded population in certain countries; specifically speaking, I would say Germany, Italy, and Greece. That overpopulation has caused us to pour millions and

millions of dollars in the Marshall plan, which is only a temporary solution to the problem in Europe. It will never solve the problem; the problem hasn't been settled today, and it never will; but a reorientation of population of these countries specifically could do a great deal to solve a world problem, and also save the American taxpayer a good deal of money.

It is true that the United States cannot take the greatest loads, but they can set the pattern, even if we adjust ourselves to the world need on the basis of 150,000 immigration, that is a small number with relation to the world problem. But that would set a pattern for countries like Canada, New Zealand, Venezuela, who can take a larger population, and much larger population from the crowded countries of Europe.

Today, in this country, a country such as Italy could employ such workers in each skill, such as masonry, stonecutting, and needlework. There is a shortage in those special skills.

As I said before, there has to be a need on both sides, the country giving and the country taking. I also say in all frankness there has been an abuse of immigration in the past few years; the country giving has not given their best people. That problem could probably be cured by some sort of commission which would be established, and in which a prospective immigrant may be allotted the 3 month's period in which to prove his skill. I mean I have heard stories—and I believe they are true, and I blame both the Italian council and the American counterpart—as far as they ask for farmers and they get people who have no conception of farming, I believe that has created a great deal of antagonism toward some of the people who we are receiving on the basis of needs, and that could be cured by some sort of commission which could be established in a country—Italy, Germany, or whatever country—and they would have a period of 3 months' rehabilitation there in order to prove their skills, which we need. Some of the skills which we need in our society could help make a better America; over a period of years has made a better America.

That is all I have to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Where would you prove those skills?

Mr. TRICARICHI. Well, along the lines I was thinking of setting up—say, if you wanted to get some immigrants from Italy I would have an American commission there in Italy, and have maybe a 3 months' guaranty period by which these people could really prove their skills. I mean, we don't want to get people who will be a burden upon our society but we would welcome people who could contribute like many others have, and I think that could be accomplished in that manner.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Would you advocate that training be given these people to fit them for job needs?

Mr. TRICARICHI. This wouldn't be training; it would be a place to segregate the people according to their claimed occupations. Recently I talked to a farmer from Iowa, and he was telling me they asked for some farmers and they got people of other trades which created an antagonistic feeling which could be avoided by these camps, to prove their ability.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Did it create antagonism on the part of the one who sponsored the people and brought them over?

Mr. TRICARICHI. Partially on their part, and partially by the people in whose community they come, which could be done away with. As far as the problem of the other countries like Venezuela and New Zealand, if we set a pattern about a liberal immigration law, of course we wouldn't take the greater part but a very small percentage, but by setting a liberal policy we would also set the pattern by which a great deal of the problem in Europe could be solved by the other countries, like New Zealand, Venezuela, and Brazil, following suit.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Wouldn't this selective program you mentioned be difficult to set up?

Mr. TRICARICHI. The only reason I spoke of the selected program was to relieve some of the stigma that has been attached within the last couple of years to the policy of certain groups. I mean, with reference to its immigration policy, I think it has not been handled as properly as it could have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Margaret Fergusson here?

STATEMENT OF MARGARET FERGUSSON, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CLEVELAND

Miss FERGUSSON. I am Margaret Fergusson, director of the International Institute of Cleveland, 1620 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

I would like to limit my presentation to the two subjects; namely, quota laws and deportation. I wish to preface my remarks by saying that I believe in restrictive and selective immigration, but I believe the present quota law, however, is unfair.

I believe it is unfair to base the quota on the 1920 census, and that a 1940 date would be better.

I believe it is unfair for Ireland, with a population of approximately 2,900,000, to have a quota of 17,800, and Greece, with a population of approximately 8,000,000, to have a quota of 310.

I believe there should be some plan for the redistribution of unused quotas and the pooling of these to be issued to countries in need of them.

To rewrite the law is a time-consuming thing; and, pending drastic revisions, I believe consideration should be given to emergency legislation which would admit larger numbers for a certain period of time.

There should be some correlation between our foreign policy and our immigration policy. If we encourage people to escape from behind the iron curtain, and if we encourage Italians to fight communism, we should have an immigration policy which is complementary to it and consistent with it.

Under deportation, I believe the McCarran Act does not leave discretionary power in deportation cases in the hands of the Immigration Service. Previously, the Service was given more power in hardship cases, and hardship was not defined as "exceptional or extremely unusual hardship."

The question is not only whether it is "exceptional and extremely unusual," which term is hard to define, but it should bear some relationship to the severity of the offense.

This is in no way a criticism of the Service, but the Service must be given certain discretionary power, which I believe they do not have under the new law.

These statements are based on the experiences of a social agency working in the field of immigration and, therefore, well aware of the strength and weakness of the new law.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the International Institute of Cleveland?

Miss FERGUSON. We work very closely with the Immigration Service in Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it composed of a great many other organizations?

Miss FERGUSON. No; it is a separate organization. It is a branch of the YWCA.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it work with these other agencies?

Miss FERGUSON. Yes.

I believe the McCarran Act has many good points. I think the changes it has made in the field of naturalization have been excellent. I think many of the discriminations that existed before are not existent now. However, I think in the field of immigration more care should be given in the field of deportation.

I would like to explain a little bit about my stand on restrictive and selective immigration, because I think that it is a little touchy with a great many people. I should also like to explain what I have said about a certain number of people coming into the country in addition to a quota for a limited time. I believe that there are many people in Europe who did not qualify under the Displaced Persons Act who will never be able to come to this country under the quota laws, who should be permitted to come because of the relationship to people who have been admitted for permanent residence and the need for families to get together; and it is to that point that I believe a certain allocation, not from the quota, but a certain allocation of people coming into the United States outside of the quota is required to relieve a situation that, to my mind, needs relief.

Now, so far as quotas are concerned, I have said I don't believe they should be increased. I think a 154,000 quota for people in addition to our nonquotas at this time is large enough. I think the distribution is the unfair part. I think it is the fact that we have so many for Great Britain and so few for some of the other countries, all of whom have made good citizens and bad ones, and I think they deserve the same amount of consideration as people rather than nationals of another country.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Do I understand, Miss Fergusson, that in order to unite families in the United States you would permit family members abroad to come here irrespective of quota limitations?

Miss FERGUSON. I would not have that done in countries where it is their home country particularly. I am thinking in terms of Italy, Austria, and Germany as being the displaced-person countries. I think there are still persons who at the time we had a displaced-person law did not qualify as displaced persons. The quotas are full. I am not thinking in terms of husbands and wives. I am thinking in terms of fathers and mothers of aliens who are second preference now when many of the quotas are filled. I am thinking of grandmothers and grandfathers, uncles and aunts, in some instances.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Where the quota is oversubscribed would you admit those without regard to quota?

Miss FERGUSON. Yes; particularly Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you put in the nonquota category?

Miss FERGUSON. The same as we have it now. The husbands and wives and parents are first preference, are they not?

Mr. ROSENFELD. Do I understand you would not add to the non-quota any except this group that you have just been explaining to Commissioner Finucane?

Miss FERGUSON. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Miss Ferguson.

Is Mr. Pascu in the hearing room?

STATEMENT OF DANILA PASCU

Mr. PASCU. I am Danila Pascu, 7011 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. I am connected with the Rumanian Baptist Church in Cleveland and am an employee of the Cleveland Baptist Association. I worked among DP's in Cleveland, and I was sent by the association to Europe in 1948 to organize a relief agency.

I am appearing here in my individual capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will be glad to hear you.

Mr. PASCU. I would like to present my views and our dissatisfaction with the new McCarran Act. Like some of the countries, those behind the iron curtain with such a small quota, I would like to say that we are trying to encourage the people to stay at home, and I am speaking about Rumania, where I came from in 1939, and about some of the people that I know over there. There are some with whom I came in contact since the war and after the war. We are encouraging them to fight communism rather than leave and come here with the law that puts them in a different category from other people who have the same duty. I am speaking of Rumania, Bulgaria, and so on. They have the struggle there. They will have to sacrifice their lives there. We want them to do that; but at the same time we tell them, "You will not be given consideration as are given other nationalities who are doing the same thing, maybe on a less scale." And I think the quotas of those nationalities should be increased to give them hope that we are considering them and appreciating what they are doing. I want to say also that I am not satisfied about this provision of the McCarran Act that provides about losing of the citizenship. I became a citizen back in 1943, and I have two children that I brought here to America in 1941. One was 2 years of age and the other was 4 years of age. They are going to grow. They are American citizens because I and my wife are citizens. They are naturalized citizens. Their life is going to be the American life here.

I feel uneasy to think that my son is going to be uneasy all his life because there is a provision that causes a naturalized citizen at some time because of something might be deported. And suppose that Rumania is going to be Communist for the next 50 years. We don't know about that. And on top of the punishment he gets he has to go away from here; he has to go away from here and he has to face over there the guilt of his father who came here to America and has gone to Europe as an American citizen fighting communism. I just feel uneasy myself, and I feel uneasy about my children, and I know that this is the feeling of a great number of naturalized citizens—just uneasiness. I am in a different category than other citizens of the

United States. I am required to fulfill my obligations to make my sacrifices and do my best, and I am happy to do it. Yet there is something that my citizenship doesn't bear the same weight like the citizenship of those who are born here.

I would like also to speak about refugees since I met them in 1948. Since then I am in correspondence with many of them and I am helping them to settle down here in America. I am in touch with many nationality groups here in Cleveland. I place them in jobs and in homes and help them to adjust. I think that if an additional number of them are going to be permitted to a special law there would be a larger number of them trying to escape the Communists, too. I know that many of those who have escaped to the free countries have gone back to Rumania and they are doing it through underground channels. The news gets back to them that way.

In 1948 I was there, and I met at least three young men who said, "Oh, well, we don't go to America. We go back. We want to fight. All we came for here is to keep the hope in us. We will encourage others to come and try to escape if they can." And I know about the die-hard ways some of those people had to escape. Now, I think we should give hope to those people that when they succeed to escape they are given some consideration here and help them to adjust and live in some country where they can enjoy freedom. Since America is regarded as a sort of "kingdom of heaven on earth" for many of those countries, I think that more of those people should be allowed to come to America under the provision of a special law.

I would like also to add that I met in Europe some people and I was trying to help some of them to come to this country, but I had difficulties. They have difficulties to come here, and I put a definite person before you. I found him in Paris. He is the leader of the Rumanian—he was a great leader of the youth in Rumania. He is an honest man. Among the refugees, everybody told me that he is the best man we have here. Yet he is not allowed to come here because back in 1938 or 1939 as a young student he belonged to the Iron Guard. There was a price set on his head in Rumania. He was in hiding for 3 years. He said he did not see the sun for many months. He was in hiding in our Premier's home. And he wanted to know if there wasn't anybody in America to take cases like his or similar cases into consideration in such a way that he should not be put in a certain class of people that says, "Did you ever belong to that group? If so, the doors are closed to you."

Now, he wrote me again and again asking if there wasn't any commission or any agency here in any State to consider cases like his. I would like to suggest the consideration of such persons too.

Mr. PASCU. That is all I want to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Commissioner O'GRADY. In regard to those people who are in these various predicaments you have described, could you give us some illustrations, some written statements on those cases?

Mr. PASCU. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you send them to us in Washington, and we would be glad to have them.

Mr. PASCU. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. George Green here?

**STATEMENT OF GEORGE GREEN, DIRECTOR OF THE CITIZENS'
BUREAU OF CLEVELAND**

Mr. GREEN. I am George Green, director of the Citizens' Bureau of Cleveland, 701 Marshal Building, Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio. We are a welfare agency under the Welfare Federation in Cleveland and we deal with foreign-born people.

I should like to file a statement with the Commission on two phases of the present law; namely, that dealing with deportation and the other dealing with the quota and the method of assigning quotas. I also wanted to make a little comment in that statement relative to perhaps something this Commission might do by way of formulating approval of regulations to implement this new law.

We might as well face up to the fact that on December 24 we are going to have to live with it, at least for a little while, and we had better see what we can do when we do have it. When we first had the DP Act I thought it wouldn't work. But we all got together and we were able to have some amendments passed and we did a lot of things we didn't know we could do. We may be able to do a lot of things with this new act.

In almost every page of this new act there is a reference to discretionary authority. The Attorney General and the Secretary of State and even the Secretary of Labor are going to have these discretionary authorities and those rules and regulations are going to have a lot to do with the humaneness, at least, with which this law is going to operate.

I would like to make a statement on those three things and submit them to the Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to receive your statement. (The statement submitted by Mr. Green is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF GEORGE GREEN, DIRECTOR OF THE CITIZENS' BUREAU, CLEVELAND, OHIO, BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 6, 1952

My name is George Green and I am director of the Citizens' Bureau, a welfare agency which provides services in the fields of immigration and naturalization for the foreign-born and others of the city of Cleveland. I am also a member of the Board of Directors of two national agencies interested in matters of immigration and naturalization legislation, namely, the American Federation of International Institutes, Inc., 11 West Forty-second Street, New York 36, N. Y., and the National Council of Citizenship and Naturalization, 1775 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. Both of these agencies through their representatives submitted statements to, and testified before, the joint hearings before the Subcommittees on the Judiciary, Eighty-second Congress, during March and April of 1951.

Generally speaking my views on our future immigration policy coincide with those expressed in the various formal actions taken by both of these agencies on that subject. However, it is my independent judgment that the Immigration and Nationality Act which becomes effective December 24, 1952, despite the many seemingly objectionable provisions it contains, represents a real step forward and that it would have been a tragic mistake to have scrapped the accomplishments of so many years of industrious work on the part of so many people in committees and at public hearings by a failure of Congress to override the President's veto. Let's take the good while we can but with a firm resolve to attack and eliminate the evils one by one as they become more glaringly apparent with the law's administration.

The original McCarran bill with its harsh and unworkable provisions was definitely objectionable. The legislation which was passed on June 17, 1952, is a

far cry from that bill. There are many desirable provisions in the new act which everyone recognizes. The President enumerates a number of them in his veto message. It is not perfect by any means. No immigration and naturalization law ever is. It is highly technical, complicated, and in some instances dangerously ambiguous. Particularly many of its provisions dealing with the quota and deportation matters appear to me so impractical and unrealistic that early revision of them is inevitable. That the act may need amendments is recognized by the embodiment of significant provisions within it. It provides for the immediate appointment of a joint congressional committee to make a continuous study of (1) the administration of this act, and its effect on the national security, the economy, and the social welfare of the United States, and (2) such conditions within or without the United States which in the opinion of the committee might have any bearings on the immigration and nationality policy of the United States. I understand that this committee has already been appointed and is at work.

Both the Commission and the committee are directed to study and make recommendations regarding our future immigration and naturalization policies. Is not the President's Commission duplicating what the joint congressional committee is supposed to do, and may not the latter be in a much better position to bring a fresher point of view and present objectives more likely of legislative attainment to the next Congress? The joint congressional committee is not a static organization. The complexion of its membership is subject to change after every election and should therefore be currently responsive to public opinion. I cannot see therefore wherein the Commission can accomplish anything of real value for the next Congress to work upon beyond a resubmission through the President of recommendations that have already been offered, heard, and found wanting so far as legislative achievement is concerned.

The testimony being heard in Cleveland today is accumulative in nature to that previously offered at the joint hearings before the Committees on the Judiciary by the same type of agencies, individuals, and interests whose efforts for the enactment of a more humane and liberal law culminated in the introduction and the overwhelming defeat of an amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Senator Lehman in the last Congress. Could not the President's Commission in some ascertain the reasons which impelled over two-thirds of the Members of both Houses of Congress to pass the new legislation over the President's veto? It seems to me this knowledge is absolutely essential if we are to expect our Congress to work dispassionately for a new approach to a determination of our future immigration policy. The Commission would need to set out upon an entirely different itinerary from the one it is now following in order to learn these facts. In a large number of States both Senators regardless of party voted for this law and in them are many large cities which are not being visited by members of this Commission.

We must face the fact that the Immigration and Nationality Act becomes effective on December 24, 1952, whether we like it or not, and it is my feeling that by intelligent interpretation and the promulgation of a set of liberal and humanitarian rules by those authorized to formulate them the law can be made to work for the time being at least to the benefit of all concerned. I believe that it is in this particular sphere of action that the President's Commission can wield a tremendous influence and render a worth-while service. The rule-making authorities set up in the act as well as this Commission are creatures of the President's own making. If the Attorney General, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Labor, and others come forward with a code of feasible regulations we can make a much better law out of the one that appears so objectionable to so many. There were many of us who vigorously opposed the recent Displaced Persons Act and felt that it could never function because of its rigid provisions as to housing, employment, and assurances. An intelligent and liberal-minded Displaced Persons Commission brought forth a set of regulations which did make it work and accomplished that which at the beginning seemed impossible. The President's Commission by emulating the Displaced Persons Commission can contribute much to the shaping of our immigration policy of the future by insisting that the law now on the statute books is liberally and intelligently construed by the administrative authorities who are empowered with wide discretionary authority to prescribe the rules and regulations for its administration.

Mr. ROSENFELD. I should like permission to insert in the record at this point a telegram received from Mr. V. S. Platek, president of the

National Slovak Society of the United States of America, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.
(The telegram is as follows:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY V. S. PLATEK, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL SLOVAK SOCIETY OF THE U. S. A.

On behalf of its 40,000 members, the officers of the National Slovak Society of the United States of America support the President of the United States in his effort to make further study of the newly enacted immigration laws which we deem discriminatory and unjust.

V. S. PLATEK, *President.*

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Chairman, I also request permission to put into the record a statement received from James C. Mylonas, representative of the supreme lodge, Order of Ahepa, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.
(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY JAMES C. MYLONAS, SUPREME LODGE, ORDER OF AMERICAN HELLENIC EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION

In the many years that I have spent in this community, I have watched with a great deal of pride the condition of my fellow countrymen whose national origins stem from the ancient country in the Aegian Sea. I have watched with a greater interest and pride the stalwart citizens of Greek origin who have become interwoven in our community. I see amongst them doctors, lawyers, dentists, successful businessmen, artists, and laborers in every walk of life.

I turn with pride and find the relief rolls absent and lacking Greek names, nor are they found in other public institutions. Our churches are full and indicate the high spiritual standards. These statements indicate that the soil of this community has been a proper location for the development of Greeks to a high moral, physical, and economic standard. In their many businesses they are expanding. They cannot find adequate help and the pressure to try to bring their relatives and friends from teeming and overcrowded Greece is strong. They ask for orphan children, for companions, for servants, for spouses and have demonstrated two outstanding situations; first, the percentage need for increased immigrants; and second, to maintain them under healthful and flourishing and high standards. But, what are some of the obstacles that they must go through?

First, it is necessary that a sponsor prepare various papers which will be sent to the American consulate in Greece; then the party in Greece must be notified to appear before the consulate and answer questions regarding the petition to enter the United States. Due to poor transportation and the consulate being located at a distant location, it may take more than 2 months before this can be accomplished. In many instances, numerous papers are prepared and much money expended, only in the end to be rejected because of the strict laws of the United States.

Second, it is also necessary for the sponsor and immigrant to be blood relatives and in many instances, it is very difficult or impossible to invite someone in great need to the United States for the purpose of becoming a useful citizen in this country because he does not have the qualified relative to invite him to the United States.

Third, as far as orphans are concerned, it is a very expensive matter, for the party must go to Greece to obtain the orphan and adopt the orphan at the probate court in Greece and then give all the papers to the American consulate in Greece, who in turn send them to the United States and in many instances, it is rejected because of some discretionary power of an officer in that particular department.

Here the American citizens of Greek origin read the history of their Greek people, how they fought with great success and unusual bravery the Italian and Nazi hordes, holding back the arrogant egotists until the might of our country could crush them. Here again Greece was called on to hold up the principle of democracy and suppress the insidious hand of the Red Communists' poison. This is modern history showing the great sacrifices that helped maintain the principles of this country.

Now again the country of Greece is called upon as a sanctuary for the multitudes surrounding it fleeing from the cruel oppressive hand of the gluttonous Communist murderers, and Greece is filled with the people of the surrounding countries who have no homes and are dispossessed. Why then, should we not show our appreciation for the past, our concern for the depressed, by erasing some of the many obstructions toward opening arguments toward worthy residents of Greece whom we are in a position to protect and whose financial condition we will guarantee. Any assistance that this community can give will be assisting the path of this country in the ways of its founding fathers. Now this is all we ask.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES C. MYLONAS,
*Representative of the Supreme Lodge,
Order of Ahepa, Washington, D. C.*

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Chairman, may I request that the Cleveland record remain open at this point for the insertion of statements submitted by persons unable to appear as individuals or as representatives of organizations or who could not be scheduled due to insufficient time.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

This concluded the hearings in Cleveland. The Commission will now be adjourned until it reconvenes in Detroit, Mich., at 9:30 a. m., October 7, 1952.

(Whereupon at 4:55 p. m., the Commission was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., October 7, 1952, at Detroit, Mich.)

STATEMENTS SUBMITTED BY OTHER PERSONS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CLEVELAND AREA

(Those submitted statements follow:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MRS. T. CHALLGREN AND FAMILY,
BUFFALO, N. Y.

OCTOBER 3, 1952.

Mr. HARRY N. ROSENFELD and Mr. PRESIDENT: We do not wish to have the McCarran-Walter immigration law changed in any way. We have too many immigrants in these United States now; also we wish to have this so-called police action ended in Korea, so all our boys will be brought back home at once.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. T. CHALLGREN (and family),
496 E. Homecrest Drive, Buffalo, N. Y.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY EDITH GRANT, 133 MERRIMAC STREET,
BUFFALO, N. Y.

BUFFALO, N. Y., October 5, 1952.

HARRY N. ROSENFELD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I for one do not want the McCarran-Walter immigration law changed in any way.

It was passed by our elected Representatives in Congress, and that is good enough for me.

We have too much immigration now; that is what is the matter with this country.

Why not send some of these boys to Korea instead of our boys. I notice it's most of our boys doing the fighting and dying beside paying the bills. Hands off the McCarran-Walter immigration law; it suits me.

EDITH GRANT,
133 Merrimac Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

STATEMENTS SUBMITTED BY ARTHUR WALDMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, UNITED VOCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, PITTSBURGH, PA., AND MARCEL KOVARSKY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, JEWISH FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICE, PITTSBURGH, PA.

THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES,
THE UNITED JEWISH FUND OF PITTSBURGH,
Pittsburgh, Pa., October 24, 1952.

Mr. HARRY ROSENFELD,
Executive Director, President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, 1740 G Street NW., Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ROSENFELD: I herewith transmit to you two statements on behalf of the Joint Committee on Service to New Immigrants which is sponsored by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and the United Jewish Fund of Pittsburgh. The joint committee is responsible for coordinating the efforts of our fraternal and welfare agencies in serving the new American.

As soon as I receive additional statements, I shall forward them to your office.

Sincerely yours,

MEYER SCHWARTZ,
Secretary, Joint Committee on Service to New Immigrants.

REPORT BY UNITED VOCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, 931 PENN AVENUE,
PITTSBURGH, PA., RE ÉMIGRÉS

We have been asked to submit good reasons why more émigrés should be permitted to come to this city. We hereby submit 624 good reasons for bringing additional émigrés to Pittsburgh. During the 4-year period from 1948 through 1951, 624 new Americans came to the United Vocational and Employment Service for help in seeking employment. We are more than a little proud to say now that all of the 624 are productive workers in this community, earning their own livelihood, supporting their families, buying goods, and contributing materially to the welfare of the community.

Many of the newcomers have brought with them vital skills, craftsmanships, and know-how which have been utilized to the fullest extent by the industries wherein they are employed. Many have filled jobs in industries where critical labor shortages existed. Those who found employment in the mercantile field served to fill the gap which was created by others who left the field to work in critical industries. During the 4-year period they have added to the national economy the sum of \$3,300,000, which figure is a conservative estimate of the sum of their earnings.

Following is a partial list of a number of local firms who have satisfactorily absorbed the new Americans; C. G. Hussey Co., Pittsburgh Plated Products, Reliance Steel Co., Hyman Blum Co., Tracy Manufacturing Co., Palley Manufacturing Co., Pittsburgh Crushed Steel, and Tyson Metal Manufacturing Co., who are all manufacturers or fabricators of copper, brass, aluminum, steel, or other metal products; also, Machine Products Co. and Tool Thrift who are tool makers.

Many smaller concerns have likewise hired a number of émigrés, and the fact that all of them have continued to hire émigrés surely speaks for itself. It is also interesting to note that five émigrés have opened their own business and are now in a position to offer jobs to others in the community.

This evidence bears witness to the fact that émigrés are productive, earnest, and conscientious members of the community; moreover, they force the conclusion that more newcomers would be a sound investment adding strength to the community as well as to the Nation.

Submitted by—

ARTHUR WALDMAN,
Executive Director.

JEWISH FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICE, 15 FERNANDO STREET, PITTSBURGH, PA.

With the exception of a small minority who, because of extreme age or sickness, have been unable to work and become self-supporting, the DP's have become absorbed into the economic life of Pittsburgh. The occupational distribution corresponds to that of the general population except for an overrepresentation in the unskilled field. Because they have been relatively so few in numbers, they have not caused any serious competition and they have not been conspicuous in any field. They have adapted themselves readily to American working conditions, bringing a willingness to perform any task. Only a small fraction of the total number of DP's have required continued assistance, the great majority having been able soon to take care of themselves. Some of them have brought special skills which have contributed to the technical and cultural development of our community.

The social adjustment of the DP's involves learning the language, customs, and ways of the new country, establishing social relationships, participating in organized activities and, in general, becoming integrated into the life of the community. It might be stated as a rule that the adjustment of the DP's, as that of immigrants in general, has varied inversely with age. The children have adjusted most readily to life in the new environment and have soon become practically indistinguishable from the native children. They have learned English rapidly, have associated freely with other children, and have presented no special problems. With older people, the situation has been different. They find it hard to make new friends, get used to new customs, and acquire a new language. However, the DP's have made an extraordinary record in acquiring knowledge of English.

They attend night schools, special classes in citizenship, technical classes, etc. Some of the students are over 70 years of age. They make an effort to identify themselves completely with America. Further evidence in their desire to become Americans is seen in their acquisition of citizenship, their participation in the war effort, military service, etc. They exhibit an unusual desire to become naturalized. Many of them took out their first papers almost immediately after their arrival. They are tremendously impressed with the privileges of citizenship; they feel intense allegiance to this country and do not want to be known as DP's or refugees but as "new Americans."

Submitted by—

MARCEL KOVARSKY,
Executive Director.



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