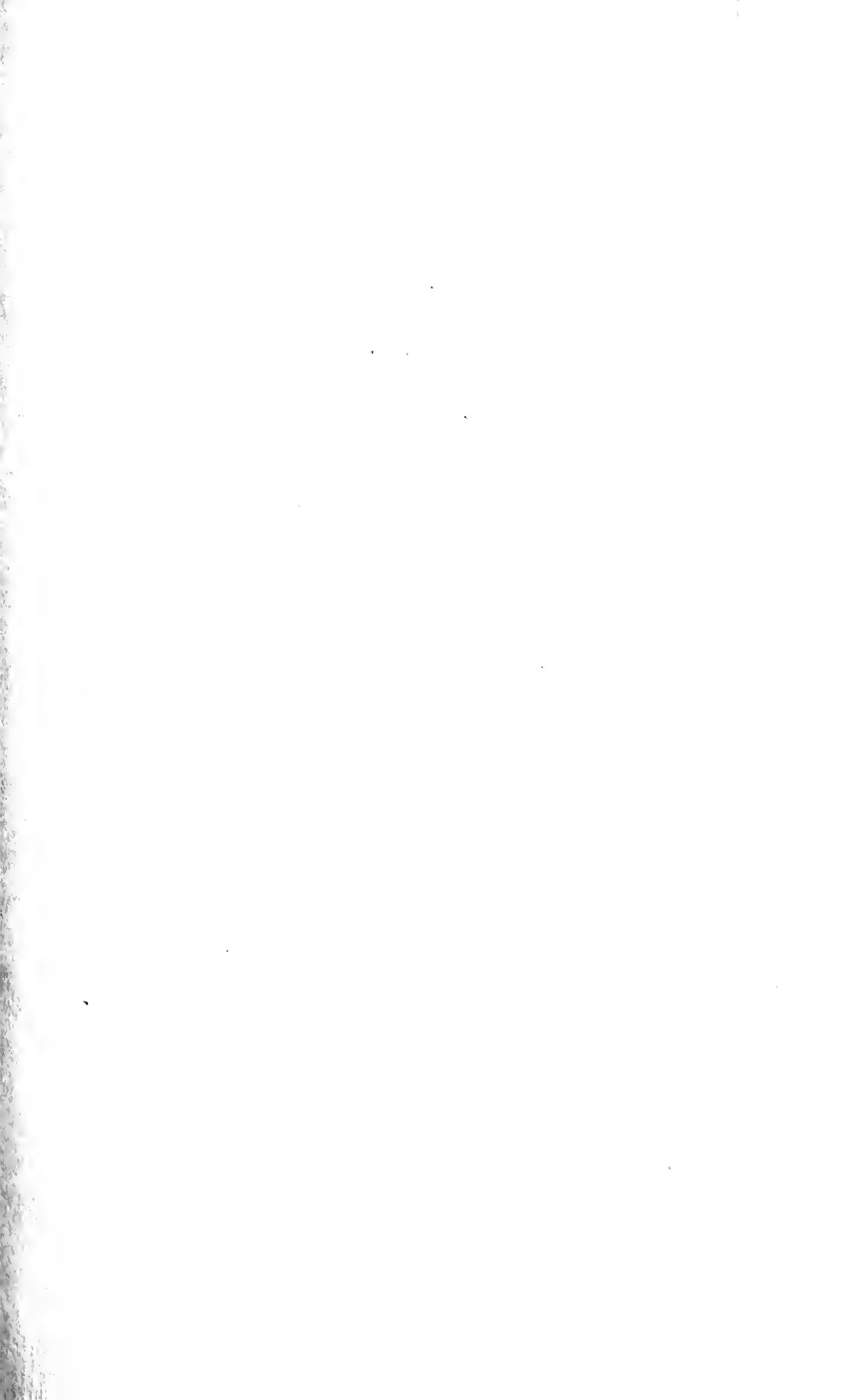


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HEARINGS BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1952

DETROIT, MICH.

NINTH SESSION

The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization met at 9:30 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 734, Federal Courthouse Building, Detroit, Mich., Hon. Philip B. Perlman (chairman) presiding.

Present: Chairman Philip B. Perlman, and the following Commissioners: Msgr. John O'Grady, Messrs. Thomas G. Finucane, Adrian S. Fisher.

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

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will come to order.

Mr. Boris M. Joffe will be our first witness this morning.

STATEMENT OF BORIS M. JOFFE, CHAIRMAN PRO TEMPORE OF THE MICHIGAN COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Mr. JOFFE. I am Boris M. Joffe, 803 Washington Boulevard Building, Detroit, Mich. I am representing the Michigan Committee on Immigration, of which I am chairman pro tempore.

I have a prepared statement I wish to read on behalf of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

Mr. JOFFE. My name is Boris M. Joffe. I thank the Commission for inviting me to testify. I am here as chairman pro tem of the Michigan Committee on Immigration, a State-wide unincorporated body of religious, ethnic, labor, and civic organizations who are and have been concerned with the preservation of our American heritage and its translation into action in the field of immigration.

The community spokesmen who will follow me will deal more specifically than I shall here with the deficiencies, omissions, and dangerous provisions of our immigration statutes as presently codified. I am here rather to present the broad aspects of the situation within which the testimony to follow may most appropriately be appreciated and considered.

It would, therefore, be well to indicate the nature of the body for which I speak. The Michigan Committee on Immigration is a non-partisan, informal, coordinating body consisting of many organizations and individuals in our community. Representatives from

nationality, religious, cultural, and fraternal groups, who are all interested in the contribution that immigrants have made and can make to the life of the United States, consult with each other on common problems. In the course of its concern with these matters it has found it both necessary and desirable to become interested in the legal aspects of immigration to the United States and has, as a result, concerned itself with what, in our minds, should be the appropriate foundations for an American immigration policy, its appreciation by the American public which cannot be attained without the public's education in the whole area of immigration. Our committee is contributing, and your Commission will contribute to this education, and therefore inevitably to the better, and less biased, understanding of the problem by the public. On the basis of such foundations, our committee has considered the equities and inequities of our present immigration system.

Among the organizations which thus come together to discuss these issues are—

1. Detroit Archdiocesan Resettlement Committee
2. Society for the Relief of Germans From Prewar Poland
3. Jewish Social Service Bureau
4. American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association
5. Polish American Congress
6. Jewish Community Council
7. Latvian Association in Detroit
8. Detroit Council of Churches
9. Columbian Federation of Michigan
10. Resettlement Service
11. Epirotic Society
12. International Institute
13. United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America
14. American Aid Society
15. Refugee Aid Association of Northern Greece
16. Latvian Relief, Inc.
17. Ukrainian Congress Committee
18. Jewish Labor Committee
19. Legal Aid Bureau
20. United Ukrainian American Relief Committee
21. Polish Aid Society—Harper Community House
22. Pan-Macedonian Aid Association
23. Polish Activities League
24. American Committee on Italian Migration

It is the fundamental position of the Michigan Committee on Immigration that the American point of view on immigration was appropriately voiced in 1864 by the platform of the Republican Party (then called the Union Party), which Abraham Lincoln helped to write, and which declared—

foreign immigration which in the past has added so much to the wealth, resources, and increase of power to this Nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.¹

The question is what constitutes a liberal and a just policy? It seems to us that the policy that we would adopt with regard to immigration should be based on precisely the same set of standards that we would use in considering whether or not any other procedure, law, or policy, of the United States was just and moral. Does the proposal fundamentally maintain the spirit of American democracy as ex-

¹The above quotation is from Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, New York, the McMillan Co., 1933, vol. II, pp. 110-111.

pressed in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution? This is the test of whether or not a policy for America in any area, immigration, naturalization, labor, taxation or any other phase of life is worthy of the name American.

It is the interest of America that it should be able to draw from the talent, skills, ability, loyalty, and education of the best that the world has to offer among those who seek admittance to our shores. Such an assumption must mean inevitably that we wish to see the elimination of the national origins quota system. While some can and do differ as to the total number of immigrants who should be admitted annually to the United States, in principle there is no difference among us as to the proposition that the racist, false, and dangerous doctrine of the alleged superiority of particular national groupings as expressed in the present national origins quota system must be abolished.

Similarly, we feel that native-born and naturalized citizens should be, as they have always been in the eyes of the United States Supreme Court, subject to no distinctions. Our present legislation makes invidious distinctions between the naturalized and the native-born and introduces dangerous concepts into our system of justice. A more extended treatment of this problem will be presented in our legal brief.

We of the Michigan Committee on Immigration feel that the immigrant has helped to make the Nation, we not only feel it we know it, and the sources of our knowledge will be presented by others today. In addition, however, we are aware of the fact that the Nation has done a great deal to shape the immigrant. We do not feel in this our democracy that there should exist a rigid, inflexible, deportation system which hangs as a vague threat over the head of every citizen as is presently the case in our immigration legislation. Certainly under conditions over which the immigrant has no control, such as possibly becoming a public charge in a depression—if it comes—comparable to that of the unlamented 1930's, no legitimate immigrant should be penalized by the threat of deportation. It is our position that when to the best of our ability we have examined the prospective immigrant and found him satisfactory as a prospective American from every possible angle—be it security, health, morals, etc.—when we have admitted him to our country, and when we have permitted him to become naturalized, we should do nothing to reverse this procedure except in cases where clear fraud has been shown to exist. Not only is this theoretical point of view important, but in addition it must be emphasized that the American procedure of judicial review should be applied here as well as to the other aspects of our American way of life. Our present legislation makes no provision for judicial review of immigration and deportation procedures.

With regard to the points which I have just made, many otherwise well-disposed citizens have, of course, raised objections on the grounds that while in theory these ideas are all right, nevertheless they are not sure that people of all ancestries are transformed into good Americans. They suggest that theories need to be checked by facts. In this connection the report of President Hoover's Commission on Law Enforcement is instructive (*Crime and the Foreign-Born*, National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report No. 10, 1931, p. 195). That report states that "in proportion to their numbers, the foreign-born commit considerably fewer crimes than the native-born."

If we are also concerned with the charge that our new immigrants may be illiterate, it is relevant to note that the most literate group in our population is not the native-born whites of native-born parents but the native-born whites of foreign or mixed parentage. We cannot measure Americanism by zeal for education, or literacy, or other qualities. Americanism is the spirit behind the welcome that America has traditionally extended to all races, religions, and nationalities. It is the spirit of George Washington who called upon all Americans "humbly and fervently to besiege the kind Author of these blessings * * * to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries."

Certainly the more than 100 years of immigration to the United States from our American Revolution until the first of the quota laws was passed in 1921 has demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that America became great precisely because of the contributions of people of all ethnic and religious and racial groups. To argue, as our quota system does, that one people is 30 times as valuable as another people is to perpetuate into law a dogma worthy of the Hitlerite forces against which America struggled in the greatest war of our history, and emerged victorious.

With regard to the details of our Immigration and Nationality Act, Public Law 414, sometimes called the McCarran-Walter Act, our legal adviser will render a more extended testimony upon the specific deficiencies of that law. I should like only at this time to point out that with reference to the basic assumptions I have already discussed above, the quota system as embodied in that law, the McCarran Act actually discriminates against Orientals in the racist sense and does not eliminate discrimination, as it professes to do. Its provisions on the "Asia-Pacific triangle" which requires that if there is any immigrant, regardless of the country of his birth, of whose parents one was born in a country which was Asiatic to which it assigns a grotesquely hypocritical quota of 100, or in a country for which there is no quota, then such an immigrant is assigned to this "generous" quota for the "Asia-Pacific triangle." Is this the way to capture and secure loyalties and imagination of people of Asia to our side, or is this the way of furnishing to our adversaries additional arguments against us? For the first time there is discrimination against would-be immigrants from Jamaica, Trinidad, and other parts of the West Indies, most of whom are Negroes, by the fixing of an annual quota of a hundred for any colonies regardless of the extent to which the quota of the mother country is not utilized, and it is another example of the discriminatory legislation in the McCarran Act. If we were to have accepted the McCarran Act's point of view on quotas—which, we do not, and which we believe to be unalterably un-American—at least the present legislation should have used 1950 as a base for the quotas rather than taking the figures of 32 years ago which do not reflect the present composition of our population.

The McCarran Act does more. As I indicated above, it makes arbitrary bases for deportation and in some instances eliminates the statute of limitations, thus putting threats and a shadow over the life of any would-be American. Judicial review in this situation is no more difficult to establish than in many other areas. In effect, what the McCarran Act has done is that in addition to limiting by quota,

it has also limited within quotas according to specific categories as was indicated in the veto message of the President. We have, in effect, adopted the theory of protecting ourselves against aliens. The way this law seeks to achieve such protection is fantastic. This alleged protection is against the countries of eastern Europe which have fallen under the iron curtain, and from which men and women have escaped at the risk of their lives, after personal experience with communism, and they are precisely the countries which we are choking off in this new anti-immigration system. We make it impossible for those men of worth to democracy, who are opponents of Soviet totalitarianism and who have risked their lives against it, to come to the United States. Such restrictions on immigration, in addition to being un-American in terms of the basic ideas which should govern our immigration laws as stated above, are also dangerous to our national security.

The question has also been raised as to whether or not special emergency legislation is required for the present world scene which has as some of its more tragic aspects the presence in various countries of refugees, expellees, iron-curtain escapees, and surplus populations in various countries of Europe. It is here that there are many differences of opinion as to what ought to be done. We are of the opinion that the problem of refugees and surplus populations is a continuing emergency which will harass both America and the free world for many years. Some of us are convinced that this problem should not be approached merely on the basis of piecemeal emergency legislation. We believe that the situation requires an overhauling and liberalization of our basic law as previously suggested, thus permitting the immigration of a larger number of worthy immigrants to America. Over and above the changes thus suggested there may be the necessity for flexibility in revising from time to time the total numbers to be admitted for special emergency periods so that situations such as the present one of refugees from behind the iron curtain may be taken care of.

One more point ought to be made. In 1946 Congress passed an act known as the Administrative Procedures Act. This act was designed to curb the threat of bureaucracy by making Federal bureaus more responsive to the people they were supposed to serve. The act required that officials before issuing decisions should give the people to be affected by them an opportunity to be heard, and to give fair hearing to all interested parties before making such decisions, as well as authorizing judicial review to check on just executive action. The authors of that bill were strangely enough the authors of our present Omnibus Immigration Act. It is curious because the bill of 1946 which was supposed to apply to all Government bureaus was specifically denied applicability by these very authors in the present immigration legislation which bears their names.

It is important at this time to indicate that our attitude with regard to our immigration laws is not solely one which deals with the rights and obligations that we have to immigrants or that they have to us. We are concerned as American citizens with the need of the United States. We therefore have examined the present statutes relating to immigration and naturalization from the viewpoint of how they would affect our foreign policy, our domestic economy, our fight against the totalitarian menace of communism, and, as I have outlined

above how they are related to our basic laws and values. All of these things are indivisible.

Certainly our foreign relationships have been greatly damaged by the type of legislation which we maintain in this country in the field of immigration. We have in effect made it impossible for those who could best work with us in establishing the free world on a secure basis to work with us because they feel that we consider them—this time by law—second-class people, that we believe they are unfitted for the benefits of our democracy. Is it any wonder then that as a result of domestic legislation the foreign-policy position of America becomes less tenable?

With regard to our domestic economy we know that grave manpower shortages have plagued us in the past and will plague us in the future, not only the shortages of manpower to serve our vast machine economy, but shortages of scientific manpower as well. Where would the United States have been today if with regard to immigration we had had a McCarran Act which would not have permitted entry to persons like Prof. Enrico Fermi or Prof. Albert Einstein or others instrumental in the development of atomic energy, persons who came to America in time to help this country stave off the threat of the Nazi totalitarian menace. There is no basis upon which scientific genius can be assumed to reside in the borders of only one or a limited number of countries. Any legal procedure which renders it impossible for the United States to take advantage of the most desirable qualities of men and women from all over the world who wish to contribute their talents to the building of America is a dangerous policy. It is one that may in time lead to fatal weakness on the part of the United States.

We have seen in America that the fight against communism has been immeasurably aided by the activities of those who have had first-hand experience, through persecution long experienced, with the Red menace. If we are sincere in wishing to combat totalitarian communism, it would, of course, be to our great advantage to make use of the unquestioned aid that such persons can give us. We are handicapped from receiving such aid by our legislation on immigration which makes it impossible for such persons to come to the United States. For example, if an individual behind the iron curtain attempts to slow down, to revolt passively or otherwise against his Communist masters, and as a result is sentenced by the political kangaroo courts of the Kremlin to a term in prison, and then later escapes to a part of the world from which he can make application to be admitted to the United States, the very facts of his anticommunism preclude his being admitted to the United States because under Public Law 414 he has been convicted of a crime in his native country. Consider the monstrosity of legislation which would leave to the determination of Communist Hungary whether or not Cardinal Mindzenty should be allowed to emigrate to the United States—since the present masters of Hungary accused him not of a political offense—and you get some idea of the travesty on justice and Americanism that such a law provides.

These points of view then which I have expressed to you are in no sense to be considered as specific inclusive statements of position on the part of the Michigan Committee on Immigration, but rather as a broad overview of the subject and an outline which will be filled in by others present who will deal quite specifically with various aspects

of the subjects that I have only briefly touched upon, or omitted altogether for reasons of time.

May I again thank the Commission for an opportunity to be heard, and to express a fervent hope that your deliberations will serve to advise the public and the Congress of the need to repeal the present unwarranted immigration law with its impractical, un-American and unscientific "national origins quota," dangerous to the best interests of the United States. We also hope, no less fervently that your recommendations will result in adoption of a fair, sensible, practical, and moral immigration law consonant with the ideas of Washington and Lincoln, as quoted previously in this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. JOFFE. That completes my testimony, Mr. Chairman.

I would ask your permission to read to the Commission at the request of Senator Blair Moody this statement which he in person could not deliver this morning. Senator Moody was very anxious to be here, but a previous engagement in Saginaw prevented it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear the Senator's statement.

(The statement of Senator Blair Moody, read by Mr. Boris Joffe is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BLAIR MOODY, A SENATOR IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to place a statement in the record of your hearings in opposition to Public Law 414, the iniquitous McCarran immigration bill.

This law passed over the veto of President Truman placed in the hands of the Kremlin a weapon of propaganda which will seriously damage our position. The Congress in taking this action served notice on thousands of people in Poland, Hungary, Greece, the Baltic States, and many others which have contributed to make America great and give her the position of leadership in this world that the majority in our Congress did not understand nor sympathize with the noble and courageous fight which they have lead against Communist oppression. This action also showed a lack of understanding of the spiritual and emotional aspects of the immigration question and shattered confidence in our leadership.

This bill failed completely to write a decent codification of the immigration laws of the United States. It set up new grounds to deport persons admitted to the United States. It established new grounds for excluding people from the United States. It increased the ways by which people can lose their citizenship and their right to citizenship.

Further, this bill leaves the quotas of many countries, which were outmoded more than 30 years ago because of the rigid attachment to statistics, heavily mortgaged, in some cases for more than a century.

For example, the Polish quotas are mortgaged until 1999; the Yugoslav quotas until 2001; the Lithuanian until 2087; the Latvian until 2274; the Estonian until 2146, and on and on. Is there any reason why Congress by a cruel, heartless, and inequitable law should destroy the hopes of millions of men, by keeping American families from uniting with their loved ones across the sea?

I fought hard on the Senate floor against this "nefarious" immigration bill, I voted against it. Together with Senators Lehman, Humphrey, and Douglas, I went to the White House to urge its veto by the President. I then fought to sustain the veto. This bill which was termed "harsh * * * discriminatory * * * undemocratic." by Senators Pastore, Lehman, Humphrey, and Douglas was passed over the President's veto by a margin of two votes in the Senate.

When Congress convenes in January of 1953 I shall fight equally hard to remove the injustices of this act which fixed into law the un-American concept of second-class citizenship.

The quota system drawn up for this bill used the census figure of 1920 to perpetuate the inequities of three decades ago and to continue the discrimination against peoples of southern and eastern Europe. This intentionally favors the

peoples from northern and western Europe over the peoples of southern and eastern Europe.

Because the Congress passed a bill full of hatreds, fears, and prejudices that have no proper place in American legislation or life, well over half of our present quotas go unused. At the same time, fugitives from Communist terror, aged parents, grandparents and other loved ones of some of our finest American citizens, wait in vain for the chance to come to freedom and reunion. But because of this law it will be generations before anyone from their country can obtain admission to America. What good is a quota number after death?

This law constitutes a slur and an insult to the people of ethnic origin and contains dangerous implications which cannot be allowed to stand. I, together with the members of the Senate and House who are champions of the people and right thinking will devote our strongest efforts to obtain a just and equitable revision of our immigration rules during the Eighty-third Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Is David I. Rosin here?

STATEMENT OF DAVID I. ROSIN, REPRESENTING THE MICHIGAN COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Mr. ROSIN. I am David I. Rosin, 428 Penobscot Building, Detroit, Mich. I am here on behalf of the Michigan Committee on Immigration, to discuss some of the technical and legal aspects of the new immigration law.

I have a prepared statement which goes into the matter in detail, which I should like to submit, and, with the permission of the Commission, I should like to summarize briefly the contents of the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. ROSIN. First, in order to discuss the general immigration philosophy and the possibility of changing the legislation that now exists, it must be necessary to analyze the acts we have. Now, I do not intend to discuss the policy giving rise to the present legislation or the social or economic factors. What I want to do is to try to point out some difficulties that exists in the attempts which may be made to enforce the present legislation, to administer it and some of the inconsistencies that occur.

One of the inconsistencies, I think, is in the national origins quota system that is perpetuated in the act. As I understand it, the purpose of the McCarran law was twofold. First, to eliminate some racial and ethnic barriers to citizenship and primarily as appears by the national quota preference system that is set up in the statute to give to this country the privilege of obtaining first the people who may be most useful to the economy of the United States. Now, if we are going to take the first principle, to remove the racial and ethnic barriers, then, of course, the national origins quota would be inconsistent with that. But even more fundamental, if the purpose is to allow us to have in this country first those people who are most valuable because of talents and education, then by eliminating the number of such people who may come from any particular national origin we are immediately defeating the purpose.

I can imagine a situation, for instance, of the need for sheepherders in this country. If our need is so great that more than 50 percent of the Spanish quota, where the sheepherders for this country most numerously come from, is exhausted we are out of luck for sheep herders. Consequently, the national origins program is inconsistent with the first preference given within the statute.

There are many other sections of the law which seem to be difficult because of administration of the law, because of powers vested in different branches of the Government and different individuals within those branches. For instance, in the matter of preferences, under the law a procedure is set up in the statute for approval of petitions for preference by the Attorney General. Once he has approved that petition he notifies the Secretary of State, who notifies in turn the appropriate American consul. Now after the Attorney General himself or some officer designated by him approves that petition after investigation and after it is assumed there has been a reasonable amount of scrutiny, the law then says that if a consular officer, not a consul but any consular officer, decides that he should not give a visa because the applicant he has not established to the satisfaction of the consular officer, or even if he gets a visa the applicant does not satisfy to the satisfaction of the immigration officer, not the Attorney General but some local officer in the Department of Justice, that he is entitled to preference or nonquota status, then he does not get admitted. In the case of satisfying an immigration officer there will be a method of appeal in some way in some cases, but if the consular officer is not satisfied there is no provision for an appeal to a nation-wide interpretive body.

It seems that the inconsistency and experience and burden of authorizing the Attorney General in the first instance of approving applicants and then having his approval subject to a complete change and a revocation, in effect, by a person who is not responsible either to the Attorney General or even to the Secretary of State who himself has no power to do that, would seem to be an inconsistency not intended or not practical in the administration of the law.

Commissioner FINUCANE. What change would you suggest on this point?

Mr. ROSIN. This is my personal opinion, of course. I think there should be two things: (1) that if the Attorney General has approved a petition, that approval should stand until the Justice Department itself questions it. There is a procedure in the deportation provisions of the law now under the McCarran statute whereby any improperly obtained visa may be investigated even after entry, and a person may be deported for being party to the improper obtaining of a visa and he would have an unlawful entry.

Commissioner FINUCANE. But the Attorney General doesn't go into all phases of admissibility of the applicant, only the limited area of relationship and citizenship of a petition.

Mr. ROSIN. I appreciate that.

Commissioner FINUCANE. In your judgment should the whole matter be handled by the Consulate?

Mr. ROSIN. I think it might be more expeditious and more practical as long as there is Nation-wide enforcement. I would feel there should be an appeal from rejection or denial by the consul to an agency within this country, and the possibility of judicial review of the agencies possibly of improper action. That would have the same safeguard. We would have a direct dealing with the visa officer and it would save the Government some expense and confusion. I believe that may be more practical.

Commissioner O'GRADY. As a practical matter, and from the point of view of American industry, how do you think a quota system of immigration based on preferences for skilled workers, will function?

Mr. ROSIN. My personal feeling is that it is going to be very difficult to administer and the probability is that it will not work effectively.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Do you think it might slow up immigration?

Mr. ROSIN. I think it will definitely slow it up because it is one of the elements of proof that is extremely difficult to ascertain, and it may be long before standards are sufficiently well established so that petitions can be expeditiously handled as to the need for a particular individual or group of individuals in this country. There are many industries and businesses where the need may be only temporary, where the Government may not feel there is sufficiently a continuing need for a group to be allowed to come in, and would only allow individual cases in cases of special urgency.

The investigation that takes place today under the contract labor waiver provisions of the law for skilled labor is an extremely cumbersome process and takes sometimes many months. This new process will take, I believe, even longer.

Now, we have in the statute also the problem of what to do to determine whether a person is admissible in the first place. The statute says, among other things, if a consular officer feels that a person may at any time become a public charge during his residency in the United States he may be denied a visa. "If in the opinion of the consular officer"—that is the thing.

Now, speaking from a purely legislative standpoint, this creates the possibility that a consular officer might say to a man, "I expect 20 years from now you may contract tuberculosis and have to go to a hospital, consequently I don't want to give you a visa as you just may become a public charge." That may not occur, but the fact that that possibility exists in this kind of legislation presents the opportunity for inequities and unfairness to persons and groups which should have been eliminated in an extensive codification of the law. It seems to me that a more objective standard should have been injected into the law so that even the consular officer himself would know the extent of the law. There is the fact of no individual appeal prevalent.

We also have in the new statute a perpetuation of a combination of prosecution and judicial officers in the same person. You gentlemen are probably familiar with the fact that in 1946 when the Administrative Procedures Act was enacted it was felt that various agencies had abused or had the opportunity at least to abuse this combination of being both the prosecutor and the judge, and that the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that in deportation proceedings the act should apply also, and then Congress decided it should not apply.

It would seem that the possibilities of abuse which existed in 1946 are no less imminent now; the difficulty on the part of the administrative officer himself to separate his personality to rule on his own questions. For instance, when an objection is raised there is a practical difficulty which makes it extremely hard for the individual to act as fairly as he would like to. And it seems to me that the statute should have provided for a separation of these two functions even within the agency itself.

Now, of course, we have in the statute many changes and limitations on the rights of residents in this country. In order to avoid the political or social aspects of it I would like to limit myself to the two points: (1) I believe there are standards in the statute allowing for deportation of individuals, which are contrary to our basic historical concepts of justice. We also felt in this country that a person took the chances on the consequences of his actions. But we also took the position that he should have known at the time the act occurred what the consequences would be. Now, we say in this statute that persons who may have been in that class 5 or 10 or 15 years ago, that they may now be told that what they did then, which did not affect their status, now affects their status and subjects them to exile.

We also have in the statute provisions for the deportations which are retroactive. I think in the worst sense, from the legalistic and legal point of view. There is a provision in the statute, section 221 (i), where if the consul or Secretary of State wants to revoke a visa once issued, he can do it without any hearing or without an opportunity for a man to testify himself.

Now, carrying this out to its logical conclusion, if a man gets a visa and comes to the United States, having fulfilled his legal obligations, the Secretary of State or a consular officer could say, "I have changed my mind, I am revoking the visa given because the statute says that that revocation can come at any time." So a man finds himself here without the opportunity to develop himself, without even knowing the reason for revocation, and again legislation which gives the opportunity to administrative officials to make their own law for a particular case without a study, without an appeal, without an opportunity to develop one's self, I believe is not the kind of law we should have as a codification or an immigration code, after 35 years of administering a former code. We should be in a position at this time to preserve those rights, to streamline the operation, without prejudice to the individuals involved.

We also have a naturalization section of the act which again complicates the picture on naturalization which was originally codified in 1907, and revised in 1924 and changed in 1940, and again changed. Rights which a man may have on December 22 he may not have on December 24 of this year, because he may not have been able to come here fast enough to preserve those rights. Although under the old law he may continue for some time to have them. The opportunity to come to this country to assert a claim of citizenship is limited by the new statute. The opportunity to appeal a consul's denial of a passport to a person who may be an American citizen is limited to those who have lived here previously or who are under 16 at the time of the application.

It seems that is somewhat unjust and harsh denial to the right to appeal. I think that summarizes, I hope in a shorter time, than the prepared statement would have taken to read.

I suggest to this Commission that these and other matters be completely investigated from the viewpoint of the committee of the Government with fairness to the individual and possibly a new structure completely be submitted to Congress for consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Your prepared statement will be inserted in the record.

Mr. ROSIN. Thank you again for the opportunity of being here.

(The prepared statement submitted by Mr. David I. Rosin on behalf of the Michigan Committee on Immigration is as follows:)

On behalf of the Michigan Committee on Immigration interested not only in the problems of the foreign born but also in the social and cultural development of the United States, I have been asked to present what I believe are significant technical and legal problems arising from an analysis of the act. I do not intend nor desire to discuss the propriety of the philosophy behind the legislation, the policy giving rise to its enactment, nor the social, economic, or political principles which may be involved.

It appears to have been intended in the original legislation that racial and ethnic barriers to the acquisition of citizenship in this country would be removed. It would then follow that in order for such barriers to be removed as to citizenship, there would be a broadening of the base upon which would be determined the eligibility of individuals to enter the United States and apply for citizenship. This appears to be contradicted by the perpetuation of the quota system based on national origins established in the 1924 Immigration Act. Further, the new system of priority and preference apparently aimed at the economic and cultural usefulness of individuals to the United States defeats its own purpose since it is modified and qualified by national origin quotas. In other words, where a prospective immigrant may have the most desirable skills and qualities and be vitally necessary to the economic or cultural interests of the United States and yet be not able to enter the United States because of the accident of an oversubscribed quota for the country of his birth or national origin, this country cannot use his talents. Consequently, as the principal behind the new quota system, as established in the act, is to foster priorities of immigration upon the needs of this country, then it would seem inconsistent to make national origin or country of birth a factor in determining the value of an individual as a resident of the United States.

It cannot be argued successfully that a person who qualifies for a first preference under section 203 (a) (1) is less desirable as an immigrant if otherwise qualified for admission under the immigration laws merely because of his birth or national origin as defined in the act.

In the administration of many other sections of the act, there can be confusion, arbitrary action, and administrative difficulty which not only will give rise to a substantial quantity of litigation before many of the issues are settled, but will also make for serious difficulty in many cases where a party claiming to be aggrieved by an administrative ruling may, because of the unavailability of courts for the enforcement of rights, be precluded from asserting them. Examples of this type of situation appear in sections 203, 204, and 205 of the act.

Section 203 establishes that the Attorney General of the United States shall approve the status as to priorities. This procedure to obtain such approval is set out in section 204. Section 206 authorizes the Attorney General to revoke his approval in cases which subsequently are found to have been mistaken. Yet, section 203 (c) requires the individual who has already been the subject of such approval through a Cabinet officer of the United States who has been entrusted by a statute to make such a decision to establish "to the satisfaction of the consular officer," when he applies for a visa, and "to the immigration officers," when he applies for entry that as a nonquota immigrant or a preference quota immigrant he is entitled to the status already investigated and approved. Not only is this a cumbersome and expensive procedure from the standpoint of the administration of laws by our Government, but also raises serious difficulties on the part of a prospective immigrant who is entitled to a preferred or nonquota status but to whom one of hundreds of subordinate consular officers or one of thousands of immigrant inspectors may capriciously and arbitrarily decide to preclude from the opportunity of accepting the approval already granted after scrutiny and investigation by the head of the Department of Justice of the United States.

The act provides numerous safeguards against the possibility of fraud, particularly in section 206 with relation to petitions for preferred or nonquota status and the other sections which refer to deportation for those who have improperly been admitted to the United States.

Where the Attorney General may have made an error in deciding the approval of a petition, the petitioner would have the right to obtain judicial review on the merits of the case. On the other hand, if a subordinate consular official who through whim or caprice denies the validity of a claim already established with

the Attorney General, the aggrieved party would have no judicial or other recourse for a determination as to his rights. It is not believed that our system of justice has historically been based upon administrative and clerical caprice.

This departure could lead to other types of cases involving rights of individuals to obtain a uniform policy decision in individual matters to legislative denial of the historically secure recourse to higher tribunals where administrative officials have abused or usurped power.

It is recognized that the courts have held that an alien who has never resided in this country cannot seek judicial review of a denial of a claimed right, but where the statute provides for approval by the head of one branch of the Government, it does not seem to follow that it should also provide for a reversal of the approval by a lower echelon official in another branch of the Government without recourse to some tribunal of national scope to determine the propriety of the action of the subordinate official. This is especially true in the legislation under discussion because the act expressly provides for the Attorney General to give notice to the Secretary of State of his decision granting preference or nonquota status and does not suggest to the Secretary of State that he has any power to change the ruling. If the Secretary of State has no such power, it is manifestly unfair to allow a minor official who, by the mere accident of his taking a particular case in the area in which a particular individual may happen to reside, to warp or subvert the decision which his own top superior cannot change or revoke.

This discussion is not intended to suggest that fraud or impropriety should go undetected or unpunished. The law specifically provides for such situations. We do not intend to suggest that the caprice of an individual consular officer would be based upon improper motives, but we know that individual differences in background, philosophy, and approach to the problems of individuals leads to differences in decisions among such individuals and conclude that the only fair basis for the administration of policy must be by the determination of policy through the appropriate superior administrative or judicial agencies in our country so that the policy will be uniform and the administration of it will be equitable. The necessity for administrative standards and the absence of such standards is evident in other sections of the statute.

Section 212 (a) (10) precludes immigration by persons who may have been convicted for two or more offenses, not involving moral turpitude, for which the aggregate sentences for confinement actually imposed were 5 years or more. It is known that in many foreign countries the standards of justice differ greatly from those of our country. Not only do these standards differ as to what a crime is, but they also differ as to procedure in protecting the rights of persons accused of criminal acts, and they differ as to the punishment meted out for such acts upon conviction. Therefore, what may be a petty and insignificant offense in the United States or some other common-law country, may be in other countries a felony with punishment as high as 10 years. This is a departure from the former law which specifically provided that an alien was inadmissible for criminal acts only where the crime involved moral turpitude. In the 35 years of administration of the former law, the courts have established a structure of definitions by which an administrative officer could quite readily determine whether a particular crime fell into such a classification. The courts in construing moral turpitude have considered whether the acts complained of in a foreign country were cognizable as a crime in the United States and apply the standards of decency and justice that we in our traditions have developed with pride in its fairness and respect for the rights of both society and the individual.

Section 212 (a) (15) points up the difficulty of administration of an immigration procedure where the agencies determining admissibility of individuals are far-flung and the agents are numerous. This section provides that any prospective immigrant who "in the opinion of the consular officer" or later at the time of admission "in the opinion of the Attorney General" is likely to become a public charge at any time is not admissible to the United States. Not only are no standards set up for the determination of this issue, but an individual consular officer, who may not even be a consul, may make decisions based upon his own feelings, and it allows for interpretations as broad as to say that a person who might contract poliomyelitis or tuberculosis at any time in his life after entry and who goes to a public facility which will not charge for treatment of such diseases, as is the case in Michigan, that such person could be denied admission. This allows an individual officer to preclude anyone from admission to the United States on a ground which is vacuous and obviously not in conformity with what the policy of the law was announced to be.

The inconsistencies and uncertainties that will arise because of differences among consular officers, and consular officers within offices, could very well create chaos in the administration of this subsection and international ill will if such excuses are used indiscriminately by certain individuals and judiciously by others. There is no standard of any kind upon which the opinion of the officer or the Attorney General can be reviewed, and, as was pointed out before, there is no court to which one may go for review of a consular officer's opinion.

Statutes, even those establishing administrative agencies, have often been held incomplete and improper where the standards for administration of the statutes have not been clear and capable of objective determination. Similar objections from the legal and technical standpoint apply to subsections (13), (23), (27), and (29) of section 212 (a). The historical opportunity for reformation of one who may have committed a slight indiscretion in his life is withdrawn in the statute.

Section 212 (a) (12) refuses to condone a temporary departure from the standards of society notwithstanding possible strong social environmental emergencies or other excuses which may in the minds of the most rigid moralists allow an individual the opportunity of reformation, rehabilitation, and adjustment as a respectable member of our society.

A similar situation arises in connection with naturalization provisions of the law where the statute provides that adultery during the period during which good moral character must be established for citizenship precludes the granting of citizenship. Not only does the statute not define adultery, which is capable of several definitions, but it precludes naturalization of those who may not have even known that they had engaged in such acts. A divorce believed by the parties to be valid and the remarriage of one of the parties who ultimately applies for citizenship may be found to have been an improper relationship and preclude naturalization although the mores of our society are not in the slightest violated. For well over a century, the statutes of our States have evidenced the understanding that persons may innocently engage in extramarital involvements. The so-called Enoch Arden statute, which provides for a complete defense to a charge of bigamy on the part of persons whose spouses have absented themselves unduly long without explanation, and who remarry, evidence this liberal approach to the problems of the individual. The Federal legislation thus may create one standard of moral conduct for citizens and other standards of moral conduct for those who apply for citizenship. The courts have had occasion to review this question in naturalization petitions and have found in several cases technical adultery is not necessarily evidence of bad moral character. Not only does the problem arise in naturalization cases, but also in cases where discretionary benefits under the immigration or deportation procedure are dependent to some extent upon a finding of good moral character.

Section 221 (i) is another example of the opportunity to exercise discretion without preliminary notice, hearing, or other privilege on the part of the person whose claim to admission is involved to contradict the basis for such revocation of a visa already granted. This revocation might even be effected long after a person has become a resident of the United States and could afford an opportunity to deport an individual on the basis of an alleged improper entry notwithstanding no other bases to effect deportation without notice and hearing. This section provides for such action notwithstanding the earlier investigation, examination, and approval of a prospective immigrant's application for admission either by the Attorney General, consular officer, or both, and the issuance of the appropriate documents pursuant to such examination and investigation. Other provisions of this act provide sufficient protection to the Government by way of exclusion and expulsion proceedings if the document was obtained by fraud or misrepresentation, or was otherwise improperly issued. The logical remedy would appear to be either to have section 221 (i) repealed or to provide for hearings on proper notice and other safeguards for those who have already received rights under the law.

Section 222 (f) limits the availability of documents and records in connection with the issuance or refusal of visas or permits to enter the United States. It would seem that such documents and records should be available to either party in which the validity of the documents or procedure is an issue.

The statute provides a one-man hearing on the question of exclusion of aliens in section 236. This continues the policy of having the interrogating officer and the deciding officer the same person.

A new categorization relating to the acquisition of nationality at birth is established by the statute in section 301. This is the fourth time in 45 years and

the third time in 18 years where the Congress has established rules relating to citizenship at birth and retention of such citizenship. It may be pointed out that the Nationality Act of 1940 began to affect many persons born since 1934 only 2 years ago. Now, while many such persons may be preparing to come to the United States for permanent residence, these persons may find themselves in a different position from others identically situated who were able to enter the United States before the effective date of the statute. To reconcile the various nationality statutes and to adjudicate rights acquired during these overlapping periods will be an extremely difficult task even for experts. This problem also exists in the cases of persons who may be derivative citizens under section 321 of the act, since it reduces the age which derivative citizenship may be acquired to 16 years as against 18 years in the 1940 act, and 21 years in the 1934 and 1907 legislation.

Section 241 (a) (4) is a departure from prior legislation on the same subject insofar as it concerns aliens who have twice been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude after entry. Since neither a prison sentence nor actual confinement is necessary to render an alien subject to deportation, it is conceivable that an alien who during the space of 20 years' residence is convicted twice of misdemeanors such as simple larceny for which the maximum sentence in any event would be 90 days would be subject to deportation. It is not proper to state that under such circumstances, the alien is so undesirable that his deportation from the United States is either necessary or mandatory.

Section 241 (a) (8) again leaves open to the opinion of the Attorney General a question as to whether a person is deportable and provides for no objective or factual standards upon which to base his discretion. The former law did not leave the question of deportability of one who may have become a public charge within 5 years after entry to discretion, but rather to proof—which the alien was required to establish—that the cause arose after entry. It could be that this subsection intended to give the Attorney General discretion to alleviate the hardship that might ensue if his discretion were not available, but as a matter of statutory construction and technical administration, it would seem that the broad language should be clarified so that there would be no doubt as to the intention of Congress and the rights of an individual.

Section 241 (d) creates retroactive revocation of an otherwise lawful status. Although this may be constitutional and within the purview of Congress to do, as a lawyer I cannot help but object to legislation which creates penalties for acts or status acquired prior to the enactment of the law. Courts have held that although the deportation laws are not criminal, exile is sometimes far more serious than imprisonment for crime.

Section 242 (b) perpetuates the administrative technique which merges the prosecuting and judicial functions in one officer. The Administrative Procedures Act of 1946 was intended to remedy the evils that had been developed through such practices in prior years, and there seems to be no reason why administrative proceedings involving the freedom of an individual to reside in the United States should be different from those proceedings which involve property interests and which are covered by the Administrative Procedures Act of 1946.

Section 340 in subsections (a) and (c) sets up conditions upon which a naturalized citizen may lose his citizenship. These are grounds which have no connection whatsoever with the eligibility of the individual to have been naturalized and place upon him burdens of conduct, investigation, and fact finding which are not expected of other citizens. It creates a second-class citizenship which the Supreme Court of the United States has indicated is contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

Procedure to determine whether a person whose citizenship status has been questioned by a consular officer as a citizen of the United States, has been substantially changed by the statute. It does not provide for the judicial review allowed previously in cases of persons outside of the United States who have never resided in the United States, and, if they are over the age of 16 years, the opportunity for an administrative determination provided for in section 360 (c) is conditioned upon factors not specified in the act, namely financial ability of the claimant to make a trip to the United States, the availability of transportation in the country where he lives, and similar conditions. Under the Nationality Act of 1940, it is possible for a suit to be filed on behalf of such a person even though he is not in the United States and for a judicial decision to be obtained regardless of his age and previous residence.

It is respectfully suggested that it may be wise for Congress to review the entire immigration program, and pass completely new legislation to achieve a structure more consistent with inherent justice and public policy.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Rev. G. Paul Musselman here?

**STATEMENT OF REV. G. PAUL MUSSELMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF MICHIGAN**

Reverend MUSSELMAN. My name is Rev. G. Paul Musselman, 301 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, executive director of the department of Christian social relations of the diocese of Michigan. Before I read the statement I have prepared, I want to say that I appear here at the request of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, although I speak as an individual.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read the statement.

Reverend MUSSELMAN. This statement has been cleared with Rt. Rev. Richard S. Emrich, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Michigan and the president of the Detroit Council of Churches, who also approves it as an individual and asks to be quoted as saying he agrees with the statement 100 percent.

It is not the business of the church to interfere in matters of legislation, but it is definitely the business of the church and its leaders to sound warnings when certain legislation departs from the basic morality of our American democracy. It seems to me that our present immigration legislation does depart from our basic moralities in the following ways.

First of all, the present legislation on immigration does not express the neighborliness of our Nation. For most of our history "welcome" has been the word by which our neighbors knew us. Recently, the word "welcome" has given way to the word "warning." In this present legislation there is little welcome and much warning. We've narrowed the door to our house. Our neighborliness has become, by legislative act, negative and restrictive.

Second, it seems to me that the present immigration policy rather pays tribute to something which I thought we had long since rejected, and that is the theory of race, which in an extreme form was the basis of the Nazi totalitarianism. It is not true that certain races, as the Nazis claimed, had, by reason of birth, greater potentialities than others. That racial theory flies in the face of our faith. It would seem from our study of the present legislation that it tends, perhaps unwittingly, to perpetuate that mistaken and vicious theory of race.

Third, the present restrictive and discriminatory legislation is, in a most tragic fashion, advertising to the whole world our lack of faith in America. America is a land of opportunity for the ordinary man, but you would not know it by reading the McCarran-Walters Immigration Act. It seems to me that while, through the Voice of America and in our many endeavors to aid other nations, we are saying great

and creative things about the potentialities of America, we are, by our immigration policy, saying that we just don't really mean or actually believe what we are trying to tell our neighbors throughout the world.

The other reason why I do hope we will have an immediate revision of our immigration legislation and policy is because I think our present laws as they now stand render the cause of security a disservice. For purposes of security, as well as for sheer human brotherhood and decent morality, we need to win friends because only friends working together can do the job of security that needs to be done. The present laws certainly do not win friends and, therefore, they do not do us a service in the way of security.

It must remain for others more skilled in legislation than I to interpret in legislative terms basic moralities that would be true to the American scene. Into this field I would not trespass. I would, however, strongly urge that we speedily change these laws, especially the most recent. Let us admit that we have made a very bad legislative mistake. Let us write and pass legislation that will really express the greatness, the kindness, and the neighborliness which is in the heart and soul of our great Nation.

That ends my own prepared statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Van Antwerp, you are scheduled as the next witness.

STATEMENT OF HON. EUGENE L. VAN ANTWERP, FORMER MAYOR OF THE CITY OF DETROIT, PAST NATIONAL COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. I am Eugene I. Van Antwerp, 16845 Muirland Avenue, Detroit, Mich. I am here as an individual. I am former mayor of the city of Detroit, in 1948 and 1949, past national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a member of the Sons of the Revolution.

I am also a member of the Common Council of Detroit and have been every year since 1932. It is a nine-man council of the city of Detroit. I have a prepared statement I would like to read.

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

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. As representatives of many veterans of various religious and ethnic groups, we wish to make known our position and the position of our organizations on the McCarran immigration law. In doing so, we note also that many of our members are affiliated with other veteran organizations which in some instances, and with respect to this particular legislation, may have expressed different views.

We recognize that the immigration laws of the United States have long been in need of revision and codification. We strongly feel, however, that such revision and codification should properly be made with a view to nullifying any existing inequities and to preserving the values and ideas which we and our comrades sought to protect as members of the armed services of the United States.

In reviewing United States immigration policy as enunciated by the McCarran law, we find what we regard as serious and severe contradictions of the ideals for which we fought. It is our joint conviction that in its wars with its foreign enemies our country's military might was turned against Godless and dangerous concepts of tyranny and racism which threatened to engulf the world. Similarly, it is our conviction that our country's peacetime policies must be guided by the same considerations if we are to render secure the military victory achieved at such appalling cost. The McCarran immigration law appears to place a premium on values diametrically opposed to those values.

It forbids, for example, the nonquota immigration of highly skilled professional persons such as teachers, professors, and scientists, whose knowledge and competence could contribute immeasurably to the richness of our society and economy.

Within the national-origin quota framework which it establishes and through its failure to fill the unused quotas of any nation, the McCarran Act embodies into law an un-American racist concept. It establishes in effect a repugnant "race superiority" method of selecting immigrants. Its provisions thus inhibit the aspirations of eastern and southern Europeans, including those seeking refuge from iron-curtain persecution, and nullify our efforts to convince the millions under the Communist yoke of the sincerity of our democratic convictions. It penalizes those nationals in such countries as Greece, Poland, and Italy who fought with us during the last great war and who continued as stalwarts in the fight against an ugly tyranny.

We note with misgiving that the McCarran Act arrogates to foreign governments the right as well as the power to determine who is eligible to emigrate to the United States. Section 212 (A) (10) requires a consular officer to deny a visa to any person convicted of two or more non-political crimes and sentenced to an aggregate of more than 5 years in prison. Therefore, the judgments of the atheistic, immoral iron-curtain countries, as well as the judgments of the Nazi and Fascist tribunals as to what is or is not a political crime and as to what is or is not a crime in itself, are to be substituted for the American system of fair play.

We have the same thing existing in China today, where obviously false accusation is made obviously for the purpose of punishing those in contradiction to the present government in China. They are not accused of political crimes. They are accused of such crimes as starving children in schools and stuff of that description and found guilty by Communist courts and sentenced to severe penalties. That is obvious subterfuge to call these victims of political crimes, but as a matter of fact they are conjuring up a false charge to enforce a political unwillingness.

With regard to freedom of political choice, we point out that the distinction now created between the native-born and naturalized citizen places in the hands of an administrative tribunal absolute discretion to determine what is a political or social group or "subversive" and in addition subjects the membership of these groups indiscriminately to denaturalization and/or deportation. It might also be noted that the veteran who is naturalized during his period of service is made a second-class citizen because he may be subjected to interrogation without warrant—section 287 (A) (1). Further, because he

is denied the right to exercise the privilege against self-incrimination for a period of 10 years following his naturalization:

We are definitely opposed to any legislation which creates a presumption of fraud for the doing of acts which in themselves can be excused by circumstances surrounding them. On many occasions it has been necessary for persons to represent themselves as members of the reigning political group or former members in order to obtain passports or border-crossing cards to free zones of Europe. At that time these persons were permitted to seek visas to the United States in order to obtain freedom. It seems a peculiarly harsh punishment to place these persons in a position where they can now be deported to their native countries to be prosecuted for seeking political and social equality.

In summing up, we are constrained to state that it is our feeling that although the immigration laws were and still are in need of codification and revisions, and while we recognize that the American people are in need of protection from totalitarian governments and their agents, the restrictions embodied in the McCarran Act, together with the broad grants of power to administrative and executive officials and boards without judicial recourse and the creation of second-class citizenry and unrealistic immigration quotas, represent a denial and scrapping of the values for which we have fought. It is our position that the McCarran Act should be extensively amended or repealed to insure that the values previously mentioned shall be an inherent part of our immigration law and to prevent the injustices and inequities the present act creates.

In addition to this, I would like to call the Commission's attention to something I think needs remedial legislation so far as immigration is concerned, at least as our immigration laws are concerned. We have here in Detroit a number of people, particularly of Belgium and Polish extraction, who came here years ago and have been here in a nationality group almost, because they were constrained by circumstances to remain almost exclusively in a nationality group. These in their youth had little opportunity to become familiar with our language and customs. They are good citizens in the working out of their daily lives, although they are not citizens as such. They aren't able to obtain citizenry because they know neither the language nor the customs and they have reached the age where they can never assimilate those things.

Now, there should be a provision in the law that people who have resided here for a long number of years, who have done nothing repugnant and nothing of that nature shows in their record—they should achieve citizenry upon application after, say 25 or 30 years residency here legally achieved. A great number of people have appealed to me from time to time over the years I have been in public life asking that something be done in order that their fathers and mothers could become American citizens. They live here. They adore America and they are in accord with all its aspirations and they would like to be citizens. I would like to submit that to the Commission for their consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. We appreciate your coming here and making a statement to the Commission.

Mr. Frank X. Martel, will you testify next?

**STATEMENT OF FRANK X. MARTEL, PRESIDENT OF THE DETROIT
AND WAYNE COUNTY FEDERATION OF LABOR, AFL**

Mr. MARTEL. I am Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, AFL, 82 West Montcalm Street, Detroit, Mich. I am appearing here as representative of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor and its affiliated local unions.

With your permission, I will read a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Martel.

Mr. MARTEL. Gentlemen, appearing before your Commission as representative of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor and its affiliated local unions, I beg to submit the following:

That presently the immigration laws are unsound in the methods used for selection because they embody a quota system that is outworn and prejudicial. The philosophy of the present quota formula is a rank discrimination against nationals from countries some of whom we have admitted and who have measured up in every respect to our standards on a behavior comparable with that of the countries more favored under our present immigration laws. Therefore, we are depriving ourselves of a source of immigrants equal in capability of assimilating American custom and doing the useful work of an American and at the same time gratuitously insulting the citizens of those countries by classifying them as less desirable than citizens from the more favored countries under our present quota system.

In my many years' experience as an official in the trade-union movement I have discerned nothing that would indicate that those immigrants we now receive from the more favored countries are better workmen, more law abiding, or make better trade-unionists than those from the countries that are discriminated against under our present quota formula. I do not want my statement pertaining to the quota to be misinterpreted as an advocacy of favoring unlimited immigration.

It does seem that some fair formula could be worked out that would more satisfactorily meet not only our own needs but accommodate nationals from other countries who desire to come to our shores on a more equitable basis. Such formula might be better fitted to our foreign policy which is based on being not only fair and friendly to all democratic countries but to encourage their friendship and cooperation in the battle against world-wide communism.

When an immigrant has passed the rigorous tests of our present standards on admission and then by good behavior and study earns the right of citizenship which we try to teach him to regard as most valuable there should be no depriving him of that citizenship and deportation without due process of law including the right to a judicial review of administrative decisions.

A substitute method for the present national-origin quota system might be based on one in which "first come are first served." In other words applications processed in the order of their presentation. With some evaluations on priority for those who have blood relations in America, skills, and occupation preference in accord with our domestic needs and those vouched for by affidavit from responsible groups in the country who will assume responsibility for the immigrant. If national-origin quotas are to be retained rather than the

present prejudicial system, it should be based on the 1950 census and that the unused quotas should be pooled and made available for those still desiring to come. There should be no lowering of the standards or relaxation of safeguards to prevent subversive elements from entering the country. The requirements of mental and physical health and assurance of support against becoming a public charge should all be unquestionably retained.

It would appear from a reading of the McCarran Act that those who have had the courage to make the good fight behind the iron curtain or who have been punished by autocratic governments for organizing strikes would be barred under the law because in those countries this is regarded as a criminal act. In other words, the very people that we want to encourage throughout the world who have the courage to make the fight against low economic standards or a totalitarian form of government would be barred from entering this country because of a determination by their masters in the country of their origin that such conduct was of a criminal nature.

It is self-evident that the present immigration laws do not provide sufficient personnel for policing and enforcement of the law. Hence the large number of illegal entrants we have in this country. And it may be that the bulk of these illegal entrants come from countries that we now discriminate against which merely emphasizes the pressure in these countries for the need for an outlet or a sanctuary for those that have had the courage to make the good fight.

While it may not be germane to the function of this committee in its survey, we desire to direct your attention to the scandal presently uncovered on the border at Detroit wherein private individuals in Windsor have become fabulously wealthy acting as expeditors for people who seek to come into the country and having legal right to come. The services of these expeditors have been sought out by the immigrants because of their inability to get their cases properly processed in the offices of the United States consul at Windsor. Are there any who could believe that this situation grew up without the connivance of the personnel in the office of the United States consul at Windsor? While I wish to commend the Attorney General's office in Detroit for the vigorous manner in which he has prosecuted the immigrants who have illegally entered through this process all of us, I am sure, recognize that the public can have no confidence that this mess has been cleaned up until those in the Government service who have cooperated with the so-called immigration expeditors have been eliminated from the Service and punished for their acts.

The question of immigration laws was a subject matter before the American Federation of Labor convention, at which the convention expressed its determination to continue its efforts for sound improvements and necessary revisions of the immigration and naturalization laws. And in accord with the above policy I leave this statement with you.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Martel, may I ask one question: Have you given any evidence relating to the material you have indicated here concerning Windsor, to the law-enforcement authorities?

Mr. MARTEL. No; but the record is here in this court.

Mr. ROSENFELD. And you understand that that record is available?

Mr. MARTEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Rev. Arthur H. Krawczak, you are next.

**STATEMENT OF REV. ARTHUR H. KRAWCZAK, DIRECTOR OF THE
DETROIT ARCHDIOCESAN RESETTLEMENT COMMITTEE FOR DIS-
PLACED PERSONS**

Reverend KRAWCZAK. I am Rev. Arthur H. Krawczak, director of the Detroit Archdiocesan Resettlement Committee for Displaced Persons, which I am representing here. I have a prepared statement to read, which has been authorized by His Eminence Cardinal Edward Mooney.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

Reverend KRAWCZAK. In discussing immigration and legislation policies, we are dealing with a matter of utmost importance to our country. The need for a study and recodification of our immigration legislation becomes apparent when we consider our present laws in the light of the history of our country, our philosophy of democracy, and our present position in the world of nations.

Historically, United States is a land of immigrants. A greater part of our strength today lies in the fact that in years gone by we have welcomed people from Europe and the whole world. Many of our scholars, scientists, educators, business and labor leaders are sons and grandsons of immigrants. Practically every nationality group, today a part of the American tapestry, can boast of sons and daughters, who have made outstanding, and, in many cases, heroic contributions to the progress and growth of our democracy. Obviously, we are immeasurably stronger not only in terms of economic power but also in spiritual values because of the millions who came from abroad in the past. Yet, current restrictive immigration policies disregard this sacred American tradition.

The first objective of our immigration policy during the past 35 years has obviously been to reduce the number of immigrants coming to our shores. That objective has been achieved with a vengeance. Although our population has been increased by one-third since 1914, the quotas set under the 1924 act allow only one-sixth as many immigrants to come to America each year as came on the average in the 14 years immediately preceding World War II.

Students of our economy recognize that we can absorb a considerable number of immigrants into our industry and agriculture during a course of a year. It should not be difficult for us, on the basis of careful study, to decide how many immigrants the United States could absorb each year. Ours is a growing economy.

Our Nation is built on the basic concepts of democracy under God. Our philosophy of democracy is historically a Christian philosophy which emphasizes "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Unfortunately, this philosophy is not reflected in our present immigration legislation.

When our National Origin Quota Act was first passed in 1924 it was designed openly to restrict to a mere trickle immigration from southern and eastern Europe. The American people in this legislation declared to the world that they didn't want people from southern and eastern Europe; that they were going to make it as difficult as

possible for them to get into the United States. In the administration of immigration during the past 27 years we have proceeded on the same basis. We have made immigration of people from southern and eastern Europe more and more difficult. The McCarran-Walter Act passed by the last Congress, although a definite step in the direction of much needed recodification, nevertheless retains all the discriminations against the people of southern and eastern Europe and it adds many other discriminatory features to our immigration legislation.

It seems very unrealistic in light of democratic ideals to attempt to legislate what kind of people make the "best" American citizens.

Yet such is the case in our national-origin quota system. This concept of nationality "class"—this effort to place millions of Americans in the role of inferior citizens runs completely counter to our democratic principles. It is not only undemocratic, it is ridiculous. Where is there any evidence that Americans, who are descendants of southern or eastern Europe, have contributed less by and large to the building of our country than Americans descended from western or northern Europe? Actually, the States in which Polish, Italian, Greek, and other immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe largely have settled—New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan—are now among the most prosperous in the Union.

The United States must remain true to its traditions; safeguarding its democratic ideals; and it must also measure up to its position of leadership in the world.

The United States has assumed a world-wide leadership in maintaining the democratic way of life. It is, therefore, interested in building up the economies of other countries and strengthening them in their fight against communism. This cannot be done by material aid alone. No amount of material aid can solve the problems of Italy, or even of Western Germany and Greece and Holland, without an opportunity of settling some of their people in other countries. For instance, there is still the question of refugees and displaced persons in Europe. There is a large group of refugees and displaced persons in Greece. There is still a very large number of German expellees in Western Germany that are displaced. There is no place for them in a German economy. There is a constant flow of expellees and persecutees from countries back of the iron curtain. There are still large numbers of people in these countries that are suffering from hunger and starvation because they cannot find any gainful employment. These are conditions that confront the United States and other countries that are struggling against communism. The United States must do its fair share in meeting them.

In view of the above observation, we are of the opinion that the present and proposed laws, unfortunately, are discriminatory toward certain nationality groups—that the requirements as to eligibility should be tempered; also the processes of deportation; that unused quotas for a particular year should not be lost, but rather distributed to immigrants from other countries where the need is greatest, and that the United States should participate actively in relieving surplus population crises in European countries and lead the way by accepting some over here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand you advocate terminating the quota system?

Reverend KRAWCZAK. No. We would not favor terminating entirely the quota system, but to arrive at some scientific formula that would bring an equity in admitting immigrants from other countries, some basis perhaps of need in that country and to the point that we could absorb people without injuring our own economy here.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you propose a ceiling on the total number?

Reverend KRAWCZAK. Definitely some ceiling on the total number. The case indicated in my testimony would be based on careful examination of how many people we could absorb in our economy.

The CHAIRMAN. Having ascertained the number that could be absorbed, how would you determine from what countries they should come?

Reverend KRAWCZAK. That point I was trying to discover in the literature on the legislation on immigration now concerning the general policies in the McCarran-Walter Act itself, and since I haven't discovered it from the experts, I could hardly propose a formula myself. However, it should be a formula not based on discriminatory basis of the national-origins quota.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you proposing race and creed as factors?

Reverend KRAWCZAK. Not so far as nationality has been a factor on the present formula, basing it on the 1890 census wherein that process became very unjust and discriminatory toward South and Eastern Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. If you were to use the census of 1930 or 1940, would you give any weight to place of birth or race?

Reverend KRAWCZAK. Yes; to a certain extent. I appreciate that to the extent that we take the 1940 or 1930 census, we would increase the total quota, but we still would not eliminate discrimination against the nationalities group of Southern and Eastern Europe, if we keep that formula of quotas.

I suppose we should look at the specific need in Europe of relieving the surplus population countries which definitely reflects our own economy and own international security. That may be one of the proposed formulas. What is definitely would be I don't know. But definitely getting away from this national-origins quota which is basically discriminatory.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you apply that to the whole world, or just Europe?

Reverend KRAWCZAK. I was just limiting my remarks to Europe. I am just proposing that maybe one form of a formula. As I said in my testimony, it requires definite study. I am not in a position to make a study or pass an opinion on the formula. I am just saying that the way the quota system is and the way it is based is definitely unjust because the people whom you are apportioning according to that quota had their bulk of immigration safe, but specifically not so in the case of Italians.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you saying you do not consider the present formula equitable?

Reverend KRAWCZAK. Right. I am saying that nationality is only one factor in determining a quota system for a given country.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is Reverend Kuntz present?

STATEMENT OF REV. WERNER KUNTZ, DIRECTOR, LUTHERAN SERVICE TO REFUGEES

Reverend KUNTZ. I am Rev. Werner Kuntz, director, Lutheran Service to Refugees, 3919 John R, Detroit. I am appearing as director of that service.

May I express my happiness over the fact that a commission of this kind has been appointed. I think the hopes of a great many people rest upon you in the hope that through your good ministry we shall be able to accomplish some of the great purposes that so many of us have in mind. And it is particularly a pleasure for me to meet again with Mr. Rosenfield with whom we have had such pleasant association in Europe and here during the DP program.

I should like to read a statement, gentlemen, at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear you.

Reverend KUNTZ. I want to begin my testimony with an appeal for a return to the basic philosophy and attitude toward immigrants which is so peculiar to and distinctive of our American history and which has helped so decidedly to make our country the great nation that it is. That philosophy was one which cared and was concerned about people everywhere. It had a warm heart in it. It expressed itself in the inscription on the Statue of Liberty and constitutes America's first greeting to every immigrant. I was among them on the ship and saw when we came to New York Harbor with what reverence and devotion they pass toward the Statue of Liberty. On it are these words:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free.
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.

And they came by the millions through the years. They sought freedom, and they found it, and they have helped us to keep it.

I can appreciate the changes that have come into our world in recent years, the complications this has brought to the immigration problem and the additional safeguards that are required today. I am convinced, however, that the urge to protect our country has so dominated us that we have unwittingly, perhaps, permitted our basic American philosophy and attitude toward immigrants to thin out, grow cold, and fade away. Some of the things which I read in Public Law 414 seem more akin to the superiority complex that was spawned out of the foulness of nazism than to the humanitarian attitude which our fathers taught us. It is not the kind of thinking that one should expect of a nation that has been thrust into a position of world leadership and whose example can shape a better destiny for a disordered world. The drawing of nations toward the concept of freedom can be accomplished more by the demonstration of a warm American heart than by the cold outpouring of American money. It seems to have been forgotten by some that America can be humanitarian without forfeiting in any way its security.

What I am saying is not to be interpreted that I am opposed to all the restrictive provisions in Public Law 414. Some of them are wise and some of the criticism seems opinionated and unwise. I am entirely agreed that American citizenship is a privilege that should not be unquestionably given, but which should be earned by immigrants who will prove themselves. I am not at all averse to the

suggestion that a more complete record be kept of every immigrant in this country and that this record, fairly and sympathetically written, be a basic reference when citizenship is applied for. What we do want, however, and plead for, is that we give the opportunity of America, the opportunity to prove themselves, to larger numbers of people, particularly to offer asylum to the persecuted and distressed from other lands. This is the American tradition and we should not turn from it. We have enough history and experience, much of it very recent, behind us to show that such a policy exacts no sacrifice from us, but brings us gain in every way.

In line with this thinking I offer three specific proposals:

1. Special emergency immigration legislation, not chargeable to any quota, in behalf of 200,000 refugees in whatever countries they now are, especially the expellees of Europe. We must begin with these people because they are the homeless people of our world, and, for the most, unwanted wherever they may be today because these countries are already overpopulated. These are the victims of communism and are its most inveterate foes. They are among Europe's most resourceful people. I learned to know them intimately in Europe and I have been very close to them here and I have learned to appreciate what they mean to our country in terms of economic and moral value. And, it seems to me, that particular preference ought to be given to the more than 30,000 who had bona fide assurances from American sponsors under the old DP Act, as amended, but who were denied the opportunity to emigrate to America because the limited quota of visas was exhausted. The result was that many families were cruelly divided. Many who were compelled to remain lost their jobs and their living quarters, such as they were.

2. Second consideration should be given to people living in areas or countries that are overpopulated and a special emergency quota should be established.

3. A revision of Public Law 414 is needed to allow the admission of immigrants in the full number originally intended when the quota system was adopted. Unused quotas should be made available, especially to refugees and people from overpopulated areas who were not given the opportunity to emigrate under special emergency legislation.

I advocate these proposals for the following reasons:

1. They are in line with the American tradition.
2. They can be supported by all necessary security safeguards.
3. They will bring hope and rescue to many deserving families whose sorrows and misfortunes are no more their responsibility than they are ours.

4. They will create an atmosphere of hope among masses of European people and relieve tensions on which all forms of political fanaticism like to thrive.

5. They will relieve the treasuries of European countries from an overwhelming burden of public-welfare expenditure and assist these countries, especially democratic Western Germany, to recover and draw them closer to us and the free world and farther away from the enslaved world behind the iron curtain.

6. They will not burden the American economy or overcrowd the labor market. I have at the present time requests from industry in Detroit for labor of every kind which I possibly cannot fill.

7. They will help to fill the continuing and constant need for agricultural workers in this country. It has been our experience in the German ethnic program that about 90 percent of our farm placements have been more than satisfactory. My files are filled with thankful letters from sponsors and immigrant families. I brought my mail along this morning and opened about half of it, but there were about 17 letters I opened again from sponsors and people out in the rural areas who express their gratitude and say there are no problems here and it won't be necessary for you to take the time and expense to come to visit us, but if you are in the neighborhood please do come and see us. They are sticking to the farm and building their future there.

8. They will return many times over in taxes, in civic and cultural contributions, the nominal cost involved in administering the program.

9. They will give opportunity of expression for American humanitarianism which will do as much to strengthen the moral tone in American society as it will command the respect of the nations.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Reverend Kuntz. There are several questions I would like to ask you; will you go to the three proposals that you have made and take the first one. You suggest there ought to be special emergency provisions for 200,000 refugees. Now, do I understand correctly that in that number would you include 30,000 of those who had been processed under the old displaced-persons program but whose applications were not finally acted upon?

Reverend KUNTZ. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What about escapees from behind the iron curtain?

Reverend KUNTZ. Yes; I think they ought to be included in this minimum figure. This figure that I have suggested does not include the surplus-population people. Something should be done certainly for the people who at such tremendous risk and sacrifice and who are still crossing over today from behind the iron curtain—I forget the exact number but there were 500 a day when I was last at Camp Posen, and about 1,500 a day at another camp. They tell them the number is just as great. I have met some of these people, the tremendous risk they take to get away from enslavement. Certainly America is looking for that type of people and we have got to include them. I feel that the risk of these people being tainted with communism is negligible. Of course we have got to be insistent on a thorough examination. But these people have lost their loved ones; have made tremendous sacrifices; have lived in fear for many, many years; they are the type of people who are going to be the greatest bulwark in our position.

The CHAIRMAN. In the emergency legislation you are suggesting for refugees and expellees, would you also include persons in the displaced-persons program whose applications were not finally acted upon?

Reverend KUNTZ. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you include all those groups under your proposal?

Reverend KUNTZ. Yes; because I don't think you will ever be able to get them in otherwise. I think maybe in 5 years we won't need anything like this. There will be more of an absorption which will be a difficult one. Every day over there looks like Saturday afternoon in Indiana where everybody shows up and all are window shoppers. Nobody has a job. It is the futility of life. We ought to come to their

rescue immediately and I don't think we can under our regular immigration laws.

The CHAIRMAN. What program would you favor first?

Reverend KUNTZ. That you have emergency legislation covering the groups we have just been discussing.

The CHAIRMAN. And secondly, you suggested that consideration be given to those people living in areas or countries that are overpopulated and a special emergency quota should be established. Are you proposing that be done through an emergency quota also?

Reverend KUNTZ. I think so. I am not so sure of that. I don't think the quotas already listed will be large enough from those countries unless special quotas allowance is made, otherwise it will not be able to serve the purpose of those particular countries. Italy, for instance.

It seems to me if we are going to relieve those countries you have got to make that not chargeable to any quota, and I think this perhaps would be the last emergency legislation that I would propose.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the overpopulated countries you are referring to?

Reverend KUNTZ. I would think first of all Italy, and I would think of the Netherlands. Holland is terribly overpopulated, there is no future for a young man because his prospect of owning a farm would be limited to about 7 hectare, which is about 14 acres, and usually there are about 5 or 6 boys in the family and fathers don't know what to do with their children. There is just no future for them.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you propose to do about the rest of the world where overpopulation exists?

Reverend KUNTZ. I think that needs study, but also needs study from this point of view as to how adaptable those particular people are from Asiatic countries, let's say, to our American way of life. You can bring harm to an individual by bringing him to America which is so completely strange to his environment throughout the years, and he will be strange and he will be unhappy even in prosperity because it takes him too long to make the adjustment. For that reason I think the European adjusts himself much more easily and happily than the Asiatic does.

The CHAIRMAN. We have heard testimony directly to the contrary, indicating that people from Asia given the opportunity here would become just as valuable in our economy and in our way of life, as those who might come from any other part of the world.

Reverend KUNTZ. I wouldn't want to question that at all. I am speaking as a social worker in making the best possible adjustment over here, but certainly it is in the American tradition not to favor just particular groups, and if there is any reason to believe that the Arab or someone else can adjust himself, that is one way to say we like you as well as anybody else in the world. I would be wholeheartedly for that.

My thinking, of course, is completely humanitarian and I singled out the refugee because the man in a surplus-population country is nevertheless at home and he is accepted, while the refugee is not at home and he is unwanted, and for that reason, from a humanitarian point of view, I think we need to deal with a refugee first, whether he

is in Arabia, whether in China, or whether he is in Europe, and then take the next group.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Reverend Kuntz, from your work and observation, is it your belief that the Italian and Greek do assimilate quite readily in the United States if given a chance?

Reverend KUNTZ. Yes; they have got a large nationality relationship to go to first of all. There are a lot of people here who have made perfect adjustments and are excellent Americans, and they can always find themselves at home in this country.

Commissioner FISHER. It has been testified to by some witnesses before this Commission that relieving excess-population pressures in countries like Italy and the Netherlands would make sense as a practical matter, whereas it would have little beneficial effect in some other areas of the world which have large excess population. How can you justify a policy to relieve overpopulation in one area of the world and not in another?

Reverend KUNTZ. That is the non-European problem basically. The areas where you have a growing national condition necessarily, and a growing national pride, and where from the point of view of our world leadership and foreign policy you will find a growing tendency to be sensitive to any discriminatory action, real or fancied, and the problem therefore is to work out a formula which would settle the real problem of my second proposal, in the light of the practical applicants and the birth rate of those countries and problems of re-settlement here, without at the same time taking steps which can be reflected either accurately or by the hostile means of our vicious world enemy as a racial stand, as that the United States is interested only in Europeans. That isn't true, because we do care about it otherwise. It is a real dilemma; and if you talk about swapping unused quotas, you say, "Let's swap them in Europe or in the European area."

But how do you turn that about in India? I personally wouldn't want to be a party to anything that would make you feel—I think that is the point between us—I care any less about him than anybody else. That is a problem of immigration I am not particularly capable of solving; that seems to be a real forward step. It is the next dilemma we will face when we take the next steps.

Forgive me; that is a very long problem. But it is the whole dilemma we face.

I wish I could give you an intelligent answer to this question, but it is a great problem of relieving people, let's say, in India, and it isn't going to accomplish much.

First of all, they are used to hardship and suffering. That is their normal way of life. But how to deal justly and at the same time get political acceptance for that thing all over the world, I suppose, will be a matter of interpretation to those governments.

I threw this out rather boldly without giving too much thought to it, but I should like to think about that problem a little more.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Reverend Kuntz, have you had an opportunity to observe the assimilability and absorptive capacity within the country of non-European groups that were admitted under the displaced-persons program?

Reverend KUNTZ. No, I have no experience that I could quote that would be worth anything for the record as far as concerns people from any Asiatic countries, nonesoever.

The CHAIRMAN. Reverend Kuntz, you said you would like to think about it a little more. If you come to any other conclusions that you think would be of interest to us, will you let us have them?

Reverend KUNTZ. I will be glad if I can think of anything constructive.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Thank you, sir.

(There follows a supplementary statement by Reverend Kuntz:)

No one can adequately piece together the complete story of pain and sorrow and injustice involving refugees from behind the iron curtain. Behind it all, as the causative factor, is the ruthlessness of Nazi conquest and, even more, the inhumanity and brutality spawned within the walls of the Kremlin. Millions of people were murdered, imprisoned, deported. Other millions, at the risk of life, fled for the safety of Western Germany and Austria. They survived an agonizing experience. These are the refugees.

As time passed these refugees began to wonder whether their survival was worth the further pain and privation which awaited them. They were homeless still and penniless, refugees in an impoverished land whose great cities lay in ruins. The influx of so many refugees was resented by many native Germans. Their own economic survival seemed threatened.

Refugees of non-German background, though in great minority, were at an advantage. The International Refugee Organization, under U. N. sponsorship, assumed responsibility for them and supplied shelter, food, and clothing. Eventually these people, about one million in number, were resettled in various parts of the world. About 350,000 came to our country under the DP Act. A number of church agencies served with distinction in resettlement work. This is true, in particular, of the Lutheran Resettlement Service of the National Lutheran Council under whose direction some 35,000 Lutheran displaced persons were resettled in this country. Many pastors and people of our synod are indebted to this agency for its generous service.

The majority of refugees were of German background, about 10 million in number. It is estimated that one-half of this number were Lutherans. Their forefathers many years ago had pioneered their way into countries now behind the iron curtain. The hatreds engendered in war die slowly and these unfortunate people received no consideration in the U. N. mandate. Eventually our Congress amended the Displaced Persons Act granting 54,744 visas to ethnic Germans for emigration to this country. The synod's new board of social welfare, still in its swaddling clothes, presented this situation to the synod's board of directors as a serious challenge for Samaritan and missionary service and was instructed, by unanimous vote, to set up, within the limitations of a modest budgetary allowance, a program of service. Subsequent developments demonstrate how appropriate this decision was and how close this cause to the heart of God.

Our only regret has been that our Lutheran Service to Refugees was not born a few months earlier. From the beginning it was a race against time and called for a streamlined plan of processing. In the experience of other agencies refugee families required a period of 8 months or more to complete processing. Though we did not know it at the time, less than 4 months remained before the quota of visas would be exhausted. Our project had not yet been launched.

The fact that, in the face of these odds, our program prospered is due to the guidance and blessing of God and to the immediate response of warm-hearted pastors and people. Within 4 weeks after our first letter to our congregations most of our assurances for 530 refugee families had been received. We were thrilled by this spontaneous response. On February 1 we left to undertake, with a bit of apprehension, our European assignment of matching families to our assurances. Throughout the tense weeks when we interviewed many hundreds of families and individuals at Camp Wentorf in Germany, God's guiding and helping hand was constantly in evidence. The files of the United States Displaced Persons Commission and records of some 500 Lutheran refugee families which had been predoctrinated and which, therefore, could be processed more quickly, were made available to us; facilities and personnel of the United States Displaced Persons Commission were placed at our disposal without cost; the German Government paid transportation and maintenance costs for families we called in for interview from all areas of northern Germany; many of our cases were expedited beyond our reasonable expectation. All of this and more revealed

to us in growingly clearer outline the concern of our church's Lord in our work. We could ask for nothing more.

Our work, as we look back to it now, was very demanding in terms of time and emotional energy. However, the light of hope as we saw it born in the brightening eyes of men, women, and children, as we interviewed them and discussed with them the possibility of emigrating to America, more than compensated for the demands. This experience constitutes one of life's deepest joys and we shall forever be grateful for it. Our most painful moments came when families, whom we had definitely accepted and assigned, came back to us and told us that they had been rejected for immigration by the examining physicians or by consular or immigration officials for some technical reason involving regulations specified in the Displaced Persons Act. There were many tears, born of a hopelessness and a despondency that had come unexpectedly like a shot out of the dark. We were unequal to the task of consoling such people. There was so little for them to go back to. It was heartening, however, to see how a living faith in God softened for many this additional tragedy in the long chain of bitter experience.

Toward the end of March we learned that some 35,000 refugees remained in the processing pipeline, hoping and praying, but that only 5,000 visas remained to be given out. A frantic note was added to our work as we quickened our tempo still more to expedite, if possible, the processing of our families, many of whom sensed the impending tragedy of being left behind. The crushing blow came on April 22 when it was announced that the entire quota of visas was exhausted. An estimated 32,000 people, each destined for a specific new home in America, were stranded behind the gate which had suddenly closed. Among them were approximately 230 Lutheran families, to whom we had given assignments. The measure of their disappointment was beyond words. They had been lifted up to the mountain peak of a great hope, only to see the mountain suddenly disintegrate and to plunge with it, as in a thundering avalanche, back into the depths.

However, there is also a very happy side to our story. Approximately 850 of our people received visas. All of them are now with their American sponsors and are becoming acclimated to the life of our churches and communities. The adjustment is not easy. They live in a new world among strangers. Even so, the great majority of our Lutheran immigrants are happy and thankful. The threat of the Red terror is now far away. They appreciate more than many of us what it means to live in the land of the free. Even more heartening to many of them is the warmth of love and understanding with which they were received as brethren by many pastors and people of our congregation.

These refugee brethren were resettled within Lutheran congregations of the Missouri Synod in 33 different States. The largest number, in relative order, settled in Michigan, Texas, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, New York, Missouri, Minnesota, Connecticut, Washington, Ohio, Nebraska, Kansas, and Montana. A great many of the refugee immigrants are at work on farms, where their help is desperately needed and where they are working to greater satisfaction than sponsors expected. Others have found very choice jobs in our cities as skilled laborers and technicians.

In a project of this kind problem situations are bound to develop. Incidents of dissatisfaction on the part of sponsors or immigrants have been proportionately rare. Where they have occurred, they have been due not only to the inability of the immigrants to adjust themselves with patience and contentment, but, even more so, to the lack of understanding and compassion and, in a few cases, the attempt at exploitation on the part of an individual sponsor. Most problem situations, where they occur, are successfully worked out on the local level with the help of our pastors.

Our Lutheran refugee immigrants have now been with us long enough to enable us to evaluate this project reasonably well. The many letters we have received repeat over and over again the gratitude of these people to our church and our church's people. One letter states, "It is simply unbelievable that so much interest and kindness is shown to just a poor refugee family. It all seems like a dream. We shall never cease to thank God for what has happened to us. Yes, we are all well and I am satisfied with my work." This letter is typical.

Our sponsors too, with rare exception, write enthusiastically. "They are exceptionally fine people. What pleases me the most is this that they are consecrated Christians, eager for the word of life." "We are well pleased with our family. Not only have they acted properly in the community, but they are also

very regular in their church attendance, not having missed a Sunday thus far. They have already received communion and Mr. Artelt has joined the voters assembly. My people gave them a wonderful reception. It has been one of the thrilling experiences of my ministry."

Our own reaction is just as enthusiastic. We count it a rare privilege to have been in the thick of this Samaritan operation. It brought to us some of the most deeply satisfying experiences of our ministry. The memory of Him who taught His people to love and help and the conviction that we were carrying out His wishes were to us a joyous compensation. It has been a very significant mission of our church executed at a very nominal cost which promises to be less than \$15 per individual resented for this life and, perhaps, for the life to come.

We are particularly indebted to Mr. Alvin Knorr and Mrs. Gertrude Droege for the generous assistance given to us as volunteers both in Europe and here at home. We are particularly grateful to those pastors of compassionate heart who presented this mission with keen Christian understanding to their congregations and spent generously of their time and energy in ministering to the various needs of these families after their arrival. We acknowledge as well the excellent pier reception services given to us at actual cost by the staff of the Lutheran Resettlement Service of the National Lutheran Council and the volunteers reception services given by many of our Lutheran women at the ports of New York and New Orleans. The only phase of this mission that does not give us a heartening memory is the spotted response to our request for assurances. When measured in terms of an anonymous pessimistic prediction, the response was magnificent. After all, we did receive 530 separate and immediate assurances on the basis of a single, hurried appeal. However, we are a very large church, and we have difficulty escaping the feeling that the tragedy of lovelessness and self-centeredness, as our Lord tells it of the Priest and Levite, is still repeating itself with disturbing frequency in the lives of many of our people and congregations. We have a very long way to go to attain the warm-heartedness of our blessed Lord.

What of the future, especially the families who failed to receive a visa? For a time we hoped that the late Congress would make special provision for them. Urgent appeals were brought by us, by our public-relations department, and by other interested agencies to committees of the House and of the Senate, to whom this matter had been referred. However, Congress adjourned before the committees were ready to report definite recommendations. To our families still in Europe this comes as another crushing disappointment. It is likely that new proposals will be made to the next Congress in January. Our people can help to keep the cause alive by writing to or discussing it with their Washington Representatives and urging further special action in behalf of refugees.

For the moment, then, the only way that aliens can be brought to this country is under the regular immigration quota. This usually takes 1 to 2 or more years for processing and requires a different procedure. The Government does not provide a free ocean voyage, and the sponsors' responsibility is more definitely defined. Application cannot be processed through agencies such as ours, but must be filed directly with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., or with one of its branch offices. Detailed information and guidance may also be had at most travel agencies.

Our work is done, at least for the present. The Lutheran Service to Refugees will continue to operate only on a very limited basis to maintain contact with such families as have been resettled here and keep a watchful eye on refugee affairs generally. We are grateful to the Lord of the church to have had the opportunity to participate in a great and rewarding work.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Rabbi Morris Adler here.

STATEMENT OF RABBI MORRIS ADLER, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF DETROIT

Rabbi ADLER. I am Rabbi Morris Adler, 2062 Edison Avenue, Detroit. I am vice president of the Jewish Community Council of Detroit, Mich., which I am representing here.

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

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Rabbi ADLER. I speak in behalf of the Jewish communities throughout the State of Michigan. These communities of Jews represent a great diversity of opinion, interest, economic station, religious interpretation of their faith and political viewpoint. They comprise, as does any sufficiently sizable segment of the American people, the wide range of differing opinions to be found in our citizenry generally. Yet, on the issues raised by Public Law 414, known as the McCarran-Walter Act, they have united upon one spokesman to voice the sense of pain and shock they unanimously feel, at writing into the law of the land, a bill whose substance runs counter to everything they believe and everything they have been taught about American ideals and values. Rarely in my knowledge has the American Jewish community been as completely united as it is today in its reaction against Public Law 414.

I speak in the only way I know how, as an American. My Americanism has been fashioned by the history and spirit of this country, its dreams and hopes, and by the teachings of my faith and the shattering and tragic experiences of the Jewish people under tyranny and dictatorship. My American ideas are thus born of both faith and experience, of vision and reality. My Jewish tradition and the historic experiences of my group deepen and intensify within me the faith I uphold and cherish as an American. I speak with but one voice, but it is a voice that has gathered into it the accents of the American promise, as well as the teachings of Judaism and the sorrow-laden events in the life of my group.

Public Law 414 outrages my sensibilities as an American and as a Jew. I served as chaplain during World War II and saw action in the Southwest Pacific theater of that war. I ministered among others to American children of immigrant parents. I was at their side in the difficult hours of the ordeal they were undergoing in behalf of their country. I stood prayerfully at their grave when they were laid to rest far from home. I remember vividly the names of some of the parents to whom it was my sad duty to report the death of their sons. Not a few of them bore names that showed that their point of origin was in countries from which, for all practical purposes, all immigration is now barred by this law. And I say to myself, destined as I am always to carry the burden of memories of those sad and fateful days, "Have I honestly and truthfully interpreted the meaning of that war to those boys? Have I given them the true picture of Americanism? And now, have we won the war against racist doctrine on the battlefield, only to lose it in our own legislative halls?" For this law perpetuates racism and keeps it as part of the law of the land.

Among the members of the Jewish communities I represent, there are immigrants, and children and grandchildren of immigrants. America spelt to these immigrants a new world in far more than a geographic sense. They could say in the words of Job, "From my own flesh do I see", what tyranny and oppression mean. America appeared to them as a land that promised the freedom, the equality, the human dignity which they had for so long been denied in the old world. And now they are confronted by a law, which has provisions, sadly reminiscent of the world they believed they had left behind.

Among the members of the Jewish communities I represent are to be found descendants of old and early settlers of America. During the

coming year of 1953, American Jews will mark the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Jews in America. Jews have lived through the great struggles, and have shared in the great hopes, beliefs, and sacrifices out of which our democracy emerged. On August 17, 1790, the Jewish congregation of Newport, R. I., sent a message to the first president of the United States in which they stated their gratitude for a Government which generously affords "liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship" to all of its people. They further stated, "For all the blessings of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy under an equal and benign administration, we desire to send up our thanks to the Ancient of Days." President Washington graciously responded to the address of the Jewish congregation and the noble words he wrote in reply are part of the great literature of American history. He pointed out that the Government of the United States, "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." He expressed the thought that the word "tolerance" is not adequate to describe the spirit which America extends to all. "It is now no more," Washington wrote, "that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent, natural rights."

Out of our knowledge of what the absence of liberty means in suffering and oppression, and out of our participation in the democratic life processes of America, we have formed a conception of what democracy means. It means many things. It means above all, the dignity of the individual, the equality of the different, hospitality to people, generosity to backgrounds and faiths at variance with our own. It means the disregard of a man's race, ethnic origin, color, religion or place of birth in determining his worth, his rights, and his qualifications.

It is this conception of the American way, shared by the majority of Americans, Jews and non-Jews, native-born and naturalized citizens alike, that is contradicted and denied by Public Law 414. It is no longer a matter of immigration alone that we are dealing with. It is the denial of the American promise, it is the flouting of the morality of democracy, it is the repudiation of that which we daily profess, preach and teach and it is the breaking of faith with those who died that freedom and equality may live—these things are involved. The entire structure of democracy is weakened when the foundations are shaken.

A. Public Law 414 repeals the traditional hospitality which America has historically offered the oppressed, the homeless, and the dispossessed. If an objective and impartial study is made leading to a conclusion that our traditional hospitality must at present be curtailed—and no such study has led to such a conclusion—then the criteria of limitation can only be our capacity to receive immigration and our need to protect ourselves against the entry of those who are set upon destroying our democratic system. This law, however, curtails immigration by means of arbitrary, scientifically discredited and wholly un-American standards.

B. The basic principle of the dignity and worth of the individual as an individual, at the heart of religion as it is at the heart of democracy, is flouted and denied by Public Law 414. A man's suitability for entrance to this land is, under this law, established primarily in terms of

his birthplace or his race or his ethnic origin. Color, accident of birth, and geography representing circumstances incidental to a man's basic humanity, are elevated to the status of determinants of a man's qualification for admittance to the opportunity and freedom of America. The individuality of the single person is destroyed under the national origins quota system and he is treated solely as a national, as a part of a race, as a descendant of a certain ancestry—only that and nothing more. This approach is as undemocratic as it is immoral. Man is more than a member of a group. He is a person and represents an individuality. Whole groups of men are practically barred from entering America. As a distinguished member of your Commission has pointed out—"Not a single Austrian can get into this country before 1955. Not a single Latvian can get in before 2074. No Lithuanians can get in before 2087, and not one Pole before 1999" (John O'Grady, *The McCarran Immigration Bill*, the Commonwealth, June 20, 1952). People of Asiatic ancestry are singled out for additional special and unique discrimination in a provision that can only be defended in terms of racist doctrines. Negroes from Jamaica, Trinidad, and other colonies in the Caribbean that belong to European nations, are restricted from coming in on the quotas of their mother countries. Once again racism, which is repugnant to free Americans and incompatible with true Americanism, is perpetuated and reinforced by Public Law 414.

C. For the first time in the history of immigration legislation, two classes of citizenship are established. A chasm has been introduced between native-born and naturalized citizens. The very unity which our country needs today as never before, is undermined and weakened by a gratuitous insult to millions of naturalized Americans, who are Americans by worth though not by birth. It makes them citizens on trial, parolees of citizenship, and thus, by implication, in categorizing them the law stigmatizes them. Thus is a wide and dangerous tear introduced into the fabric of American life to its shame and enfeeblement.

D. Public Law 414 does not stop here. It tampers with the fundamental due process of law and robs the defendant of the sacred guaranties which our Constitution offers to all accused. The burden of proof is placed upon him, and the presumption of innocence no longer prevails. We must think deeply on this issue, for we cannot weaken the democratic process of law at any point, without weakening the entire legal system which our democracy has erected through the centuries. Penalties imposed retroactively, and a present law reaching into the past that preceded its adoption, are likewise practices which have no place in the legal structure of a democracy. They rob the individual citizens of the protection which law should extend to him.

E. Public Law 414 provides for the revocation of naturalization. The cancellation of citizenship is a penalty in the area of status comparable to capital punishment in criminal law. It means depriving a man of his American life, as the other means the taking of human life. It is the most extreme penalty a government can visit upon a citizen as citizen. This law does not show due regard for the seriousness of such a procedure or for its severity as a punishment. Let us raise standards of acceptance rather than lower standards of dismissal.

F. Another element in the entire situation created by Public Law 414 has grieved and disturbed the people I am privileged to represent before you. Our country enjoys the trust, responsibility, and honor of world leadership. What happens within the borders of America is no longer of specifically local interest. It has earth-wide repercussions. Public Law 414 holds up before the world a picture of the American democracy that perforce must lose friends for and alienate people from democracy. How we live in America may be a more important factor in interpreting the cause of freedom, than our public utterances and our foreign policies. When point 4 is negated by law 414, many people will find the denial more eloquent than the affirmation. There is unrest throughout a large part of the world as the insecurities, fears, and hungers of multitudes cause upheaval and ferment. That America, the last great hope of the suppressed against the threat of Communist tyranny, gives by law its support to inequality, racism, and discrimination cannot but shake their faith in us. We are trifling with the faith and prayers of millions the world over.

The Jewish community is engaged this very week in marking the ancient Biblical Festival of Tabernacles. Jews loyal to their ancestral tradition sit with their families in little huts, reminiscent of the time when their forebears were wanderers in the wilderness. Scripture ordains, "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are home-born in Israel shall dwell in booths" (Leviticus 23:42). The native Israelite was to leave the shelter and security of his home and take up a week's residence in the rude and shabby hut in which nomads customarily dwell. Holy Writ ordained this law that the native-born, settled citizen might ever have vividly before him the plight and need of the wanderer, the displaced and the uprooted.

An America that shuts its eyes, closes its heart, and bolts its gates to the homeless of the world has not only lost its humaneness, but it has weakened its democracy which rests in the last analysis on humane insights and sensitivities. Our moral obligation in an age which has torn millions from their homes and has dispossessed them from their birthplaces, is to deal humanely, generously, understandingly, and democratically. Let our humanity match their needs. Let our actions mirror our ideals.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Is there a tendency for various groups in Michigan, such as the nationality groups, to work together on questions of material interest, such as the immigration law?

Rabbi ADLER. Yes, sir, and on other questions of common concern as well. This city probably reflects as many of the nationality groups of the entire country as does any city of its size. We have a large majority of the nationality groups. We have worked together with all these groups in connection with civil rights and the FEPC. This is a city both of brotherhood and of tensions, and the people of good will, of these various ethnic and nationality groups, have worked together in as splendid a way—and I have served in a number of communities—as I have seen anywhere. This is one manifestation of a whole program of year-by-year working together, sir.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Does it extend beyond the city to the smaller communities?

Rabbi ADLER. Yes, sir. Bishop Hause is the bishop of a State-wide committee dealing with civil rights, which also comprises various

religions and nationality groups. Each group has its connections with members of its own groups in other cities, but, of course, the bulk of the population and the center of gravity is right near Detroit, but we do have connections in many informal ways with the people throughout the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Nicholas Wagener here?

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY SAMUEL J. RHODES FOR NICHOLAS J. WAGENER, PAST NATIONAL COMMANDER, CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES; ALVIN KELLER, COMMANDER, DEPARTMENT OF MICHIGAN AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II; AND BERNARD L. HOFFMAN, COMMANDER, DEPARTMENT OF MICHIGAN JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

MR. SAMUEL RHODES. Mr. Chairman, I am Samuel J. Rhodes, 3771 West Outer Drive, Detroit. Mr. Nicholas Wagener, whose address is 801 Federal Building, Detroit, has asked me to appear for him and submit in his absence a statement in behalf of the Michigan departments of three great national war veterans organizations: the American Veterans of World War II, the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, and the Jewish War Veterans. Mr. Wagener is past national commander of the Catholic War Veterans.

I will not read the statement, gentlemen, but will present it for your consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be inserted in the record.

(The joint statement submitted in behalf of the American War Veterans of World War II, Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, and Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, Department of Michigan, is as follows:)

As representatives of many veterans of various religious and ethnic groups, we wish to make known our position and the position of our organization on the McCarran immigration law. In doing so we note also that many of our members are affiliated with other veteran organizations which in some instances, and with respect to this particular legislation, may have expressed different views.

We recognize that the immigration laws of the United States have long been in need of revision and codification. We strongly feel, however, that such revision and codification should properly be made with a view to nullifying any existing inequities and to preserving the values and ideas which we and our comrades sought to protect as members of the armed services of the United States.

In reviewing United States immigration policy as enunciated by the McCarran Law we find what we regard as serious and severe contradictions of the ideals for which we fought. It is our joint conviction that in its wars with its foreign enemies our country's military might was turned against Godless and dangerous concepts of tyranny and racism which threatened to engulf the world. Similarly, it is our conviction that our country's peacetime policies must be guided by the same considerations if we are to render secure the military victory achieved at such appalling cost. The McCarran immigration law appears to place a premium on values diametrically opposed to those values.

It forbids, for example, the nonquota immigration of highly skilled professional persons such as teachers, professors, and scientists, whose knowledge and competence could contribute immeasurably to the richness of our society and economy.

Within the national origins quota framework which it establishes and through its failure to fill the unused quotas of any nation, the McCarran Act embodies into law an un-American racist concept. It establishes in effect a repugnant "race superiority" method of selecting immigrants. Its provisions thus inhibit the

aspirations of eastern and southern Europeans, including those seeking refuge from iron-curtain persecution, and nullify our efforts to convince the millions under the Communist yoke of the sincerity of our democratic convictions. It penalizes those nationals in such countries as Greece, Poland and Italy who fought with us during the last great war and who continued as stalwarts in the fight against an ugly tyranny.

We note with misgiving that the McCarran Act arrogates to foreign governments the right as well as the power to determine who is eligible to emigrate to the United States. Section 212 (A) (10) requires a consular officer to deny a visa to any person convicted of two or more nonpolitical crimes and sentenced to an aggregate of more than 5 years in prison. Therefore, the judgments of the atheistic, immoral iron curtain countries as well as the judgments of the Nazi and Fascist tribunals as to what is or is not a political crime and as to what is or is not a crime itself, are to be substituted for the American system of fair play.

To us this invokes both the question of freedom from religious oppression and freedom from political oppression. Were any of the above-mentioned foreign powers to make it a crime to attend religious services or to vote against the government in power, and permit maximum sentences up to 5 years, the victims of such unjust legislation must perforce be excluded from entering the United States.

With regard to freedom of political choice, we point out that the distinction now created between the native-born and naturalized citizen places in the hands of an administrative tribunal absolute discretion to determine what is a political or social group or "subversive" and in addition subjects the membership of these groups indiscriminately to denaturalization and/or deportation. It might also be noted that the veteran who is naturalized during his period of service is made a second-class citizen because he may be subjected to interrogation without warrant, section 287 (A) (1). Further, because he is denied the right to exercise the privilege against self-incrimination for a period of 10 years following his naturalization.

We are definitely opposed to any legislation which creates a presumption of fraud for the doing of acts which in themselves can be excused by circumstances surrounding them. On many occasions, it has been necessary for persons to represent themselves as members of the reigning political group of former members in order to obtain passports or border crossing cards to free zones of Europe. At that time these persons were permitted to seek visas to the United States in order to obtain freedom. It seems a peculiarly harsh punishment to place these persons in a position where they can now be deported to their native countries to be prosecuted for seeking political and social equality.

In summing up, we are constrained to state that it is our feeling that although the immigration laws were, and still are in need of codification and revisions, and while we recognize that the American people are in need of protection from totalitarian governments and their agents, the restrictions embodied in the McCarran Act together with the broad grants of power to administrative and executive officials and boards without judicial recourse and the creation of second-class citizenry and unrealistic immigration quotas represent a denial and scrapping of the values for which we have fought. If it our position that the McCarran Act should be extensively amended or repealed to insure that the values previously mentioned shall be an inherent part of our immigration law and to prevent the injustices and inequities the present act creates.

ALVIN KELLER,

*Commander, Department of Michigan,
American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS),*

NICHOLAS J. WAGENER,
Past National Catholic

War Veterans of the United States of America,

BERNARD L. HOFFMAN,

*Commander, Department of Michigan,
Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.*

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Louis Levan is our next witness.

**STATEMENT OF LOUIS A. LEVAN, SENIOR VICE COMMANDER OF
THE WAYNE COUNTY COUNCIL, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES**

MR. LEVAN. I am Louis A. Levan, 1-2112 Griggs Street, Detroit. I am senior vice commander of the Wayne County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, which I represent here.

I have a statement which I wish to read. It is more or less a request for more time.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read it.

(The statement read by Mr. Louis A. Levan, senior vice commander of the Wayne County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, is as follows:)

WAYNE COUNTY COUNCIL,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Detroit, Mich., October 7, 1952.

In behalf of the Wayne County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars, which constitutes over 18,000 members, I appear before this committee with no recommendations dealing with immigration and naturalization laws of our country.

In view of the short notice given our organization to appear before this committee our organization does not have the complete opportunity to fully study recommendations which could be made to this body. We fully realize that the purpose of the President's Committee is to get a cross section of opinion as to arrive at a conclusion in bringing about legislation dealing with naturalization and immigration.

All of the posts of Wayne County have been duly notified that at our next council meeting which will be held on Monday, October 20, 1952, we will discuss at length all recommendations dealing with immigration and naturalization and that from this meeting and by action of the delegates assembled all recommendations will be forwarded to the Committee in Washington, D. C., prior to November 1, 1952, if this is permissible and agreeable.

We are sorry that we are unable to make any recommendations at this time, but I am sure the Committee is more interested in receiving cross-section opinions as well as opinions agreeable to the majority rather than opinions of individuals.

We also wish to express our sincerest thanks to the members of this committee for the invitation and we feel that their approach on the matter of conducting these hearings across the country serves a twofold purpose. First, in getting the cross section of thinking of the citizens and organizations of our country and secondly, in giving them the opportunity to voice their opinions and views.

WM. D. RICHERT,
*Commander, Wayne County Council,
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.*

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Could you give us some idea when we may expect to hear from you?

MR. LEVAN. We have a meeting October 20, and I would say about the 27th, which will give us a week. The only opportunity we had was to bring it up in one district, and there were so many diversified opinions, pro and con, and, of course, this happened to be a district with the foreign element, and I think that we ought to get together and we will be pleased to give you a statement. We have our opinions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

(Submitted statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY EDWARD J. CHURCH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WAYNE COUNTY COUNCIL, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

WAYNE COUNTY COUNCIL,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Detroit, Mich., November 21, 1952.

MR. HARRY N. ROSENFELD,
*President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization,
1712 G Street NW., Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I am sorry to have inconvenienced you with our delay but wish to inform you that the Wayne County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars, at its meeting held October 20, by majority vote adopted the same statement submitted by the Amvets, Catholic War Veterans, and Jewish War Veterans in dealing with your hearing. We therefore request that the Wayne County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars, be added to the statement as was submitted at your Detroit hearing by the afore-mentioned organizations.

Thanking you,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) EDWARD J. CHURCH,
*Executive Secretary, Wayne County Council,
Veterans of Foreign Wars of United States.*

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Donald Montgomery.

MR. ROSENFELD. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Montgomery, who was to testify in behalf of Mr. Walter Reuther, of the United Automobile Workers, had someone call this morning. Unfortunately, he is ill, but asked that he be permitted to testify at the Washington hearing later this month.

The CHAIRMAN. His statement may be given to the Commission at that time on behalf of Mr. Reuther.

Mr. Oran T. Moore, you will be our next witness.

STATEMENT OF ORAN T. MOORE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT, INC.

MR. MOORE. I am Oran T. Moore, 11454 Wisconsin Avenue, Detroit. I am president of the board of directors of the International Institute of Detroit and am testifying in behalf of that organization.

I was in the Federal Naturalization Service from 1907 when it was organized in the Department of Justice until I was retired in 1933, and I went with the Chrysler Corp. from 1933 to July of this year, when I was retired as the director of citizenship of that organization. I am still connected with the agency of the Metropolitan Detroit Community Chest.

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

MR. MOORE. Thank you, sir. I have a prepared statement I will submit and I would like to make a few remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. We will insert the statement in the record and you may proceed.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Oran T. Moore, president, International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit, Inc.):

OCTOBER 6, 1952.

The International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit is pleased to have the opportunity to submit to the President's Commission on Immigration and

Naturalization a statement of its views regarding a desirable immigration and naturalization policy for the United States.

The International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit is a nonsectarian, non-political social service agency incorporated under the laws of Michigan for the purpose of helping foreign-born people and their families in their adjustment to American life in the expectation that they will become loyal American citizens. The operating budget of approximately \$100,000 a year is provided by the United Community Services (Community Chest) from the annual torch drive. The extensive support and influence of this agency is indicated by the fact that it has a paid-up membership of 2,400 and has recently erected a new \$500,000 headquarters building by private subscriptions in over 4,000 gifts from individuals and organizations.

The many services of this agency includes assistance with filing citizenship applications and in filling out all manner of Government forms, a translation and interpretation for social, civic, and medical services, casework service on complicated naturalization, immigration and deportation problems, English and citizenship classes, recreation activities designed to help foreign-born people feel at home in Detroit. This agency carries a professional and clerical staff of 28 men and women who speak 20 different languages and are in constant touch with the various nationality communities in Detroit.

The members of the staff and board of directors of this agency have seen at first-hand the tragic results of the injustices and unnecessary hardships which result from some features of the present laws. A study of immigration and naturalization laws and procedures has been one of their concerns for many years.

Immigration into the United States previous to 1921 was based on the theory that the United States was a haven for the oppressed and for the refugees from the persecutions of other governments. These people and their children have made America great. They have fought three wars for this country and are the very backbone of the United States. This being true, we regard the new type of restriction which came into effect in 1921 as illogical, bigoted, and undemocratic.

The operation of the Displaced Persons Act as judged from our own experience in Michigan and in accordance with the final report of the United States Displaced Persons Commission amply proves the folly of the quota laws, past and present.

It is our conviction that immigration should be truly selective, that this selection should be made on a more reasonable, equitable basis, on the basis of health, security, moral qualities, and skills.

The International Institute is opposed to the increasing regimentation of foreign-born persons and especially to the new type of policing in many features of the McCarran-Walter Act recently passed by Congress over a Presidential veto.

We are especially opposed to the elimination of the statute of limitation against deportation and to the easy denaturalization which the new law makes possible. Denaturalization should only occur after deliberate, serious, and judicial consideration. It should not be a matter of administration. We are opposed to distinctions between naturalized and native-born citizens. There should be no second-class citizenship.

The International Institute on Immigration and Naturalization favors the forgiving of mortgaged quotas and a more liberal provision for the naturalization of veterans than the present law provides.

The International Institute deeply appreciate the opportunity to express its views.

MEMO TO AMERICA

"The various governmental agencies administering the DP program spent approximately \$19,000,000 of appropriated funds. This amount was repaid to the United States Treasury many times over by the close of the Commission's activities. It is estimated that the wage earners among the 400,000 admitted to the country will have paid \$57,000,000 back in Federal income taxes alone by the end of the calendar year 1952.

"But even more is involved. Reliable insurance company estimates indicate that it costs about \$10,000 for an average American family to raise a child to the age of 18 years. Of the 400,000 persons admitted into the United States under the Displaced Persons Act, some 300,000 had reached 18 upon their arrival. Therefore, the United States was enriched by some \$3,000,000,000 in productive human resources through the act. Dick Whittington sought gold on the streets

of London. The United States found wealth in these immigrants coming to its shores.

"The contribution made by the infusion into the stream of American life of new skills and new talents is not measurable alone in terms of money to be recaptured through taxation nor of the energy and talent brought to agriculture, industry, commerce, the arts and sciences, or some of the professions. Their devotion to democracy grew out of their first-hand experience with what it means to live under a tyrannical form of government. Their cultural, social, and other contributions have already been shown to be enormous. The over-all impact will be significant with the passage of time and the integration of these peoples, their children, and their children's children into the American way of life."—From the final report of the United States Displaced Persons Commission, 1952, page 350. United States Government Printing Office.

Mr. MOORE. I will confine myself to what I consider are a few glaring defects in our present immigration law. First, in my opinion the un-American and bigoted provision of the law relating to our quota system, where we grade our potential citizens on some foolish notion that their desirability depends entirely and solely on the original background of our composite citizenship at a certain specified date. Hitler also expressed this theory. Our Declaration of Independence recites the fundamental theory that all men are created equal. We show our doubts of this statement by this very law, and we defeat the theory by a quota system which restricts immigration substantially to Nordic races. If other races are not desirable, let us be honest, say so, exclude them from entering the United States under any considerations. At a time when we are making every effort, including tremendous financial grants to show our friendship to other nations, we slap in their face a law which says: "We want to be your friends, but we will not permit you to enter the United States on an equality with other nations."

We have twice made a complete revision of our immigration and naturalization laws in recent years—in 1940 and again in 1952. In this most recent enactment we put in the law a fine feature providing for certain admission of immigrants based on selection. However, by tying this enactment of the old bigoted quota law we practically nullify it. For 150 years the United States was the haven of the oppressed and the political refugees from other lands. These immigrants are the backbone of this Nation. My second point is covered under section 203 of the present act, which reenacts the most vicious feature of the old law. By treating members of a family as individuals, who are prospective immigrants from countries where the quotas are small, we permit the husband and father of the family to enter the United States, but because of the small quota, we thereby enforce a 5-year separation of a family until he can acquire citizenship. He is not able to bring his family to the United States on a non-quota basis until this has been accomplished. You will say this is not true because we may have a provision in the new act that a certain percentage of the quota is allocated to wives and children. But this is only for the immigrant qualified under the selective feature of the act if they accompany him.

This enforced separation, as I know from many years experience, is the cause of more broken homes and is a constant hindrance to domestic happiness of American families, and, in my opinion, a source of great immorality. The law provides that the wives and children of a legally admitted alien may enter the United States on a non-quota basis at any time. In the long run this would not substantially change.

That is my opinion as to what the law should be. In the long run, this would not substantially change the number of immigrants entering the United States. This should be possible as soon as he is able to establish to the proper Federal authorities that he is able to support and maintain them here.

In my reading of this new law, I find two particular clauses that, in my opinion, are very harmful especially in our local situation. Section 290 of the new law provides that a record should be made of every immigrant entering the United States, however, short a period of time is his proposed visit. The recording of such visitors, by way of the bridge or tunnel here in Detroit, would involve an expense entirely out of proportion to any value that that record might have.

Another thing that is also local, probably to a greater extent than anywhere else in the United States, is the provision of section 101, and 15 (b) of the new law. This provides that students entering the United States for training, or education, must come under the strict interpretation of the student act. Many students coming to the United States through the port of Detroit, came in under the provisions of section 32. They attended our universities here in Detroit. They attended our technical schools such as the General Motors and Chrysler Corp. maintain and Ford maintains. They attended the parochial schools here if they were under college age. They worked in Windsor or nearby Canada. They entered the United States from night to night to attend these schools. Under this new law, none of those students in that category would be allowed to enter the United States except that they come here and establish residence as students. Thousands of young folks from the Canadian border here will thus be denied the privilege of these technical opportunities we are able to offer to them. Many of those people are employed by American concerns established in these nearby cities in Canada. I think that probably I could go on record as objecting to some of the highly restrictive features of the new law, but it seems to me that these are the four technical points that I wanted particularly to cover.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Moore, could you enlighten the Commission in terms of your industrial experience with persons of immigrant background in the Chrysler Corp., as to their contributions to the economy of this area, and so forth?

Mr. MOORE. Well, the city of Detroit was a city of a quarter of a million people 50 years so. It is now a great metropolitan city of over 2 million—one-fourth of those are of foreign birth. They represent a tremendous factor in this great industrial development that has changed this city from the beautiful little residential town on the Detroit River into this great industrial area that has been called the backbone of our war industries during three wars. Without them, I doubt if we would have been able to accomplish many of the things we have.

At one time Chrysler had a great many alien employees. Gradually, after I went into the services of Chrysler, we assisted in the naturalization of probably 10,000 or 15,000 of those people—we helped them establish their citizenship. They are able, trusted, worthy employees of that corporation. I think this arsenal of democracy might not have functioned so satisfactorily if it hadn't been for the great group of loyal, foreign-born employees we have.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Have you any views on the question of the labor supply, whether or not it is necessary to have additional immigration to meet the labor supply needs of American industry?

Mr. MOORE. Of course, the economic situation is a tremendous factor in the desirability of bringing in additional immigrants.

Mr. ROSENFELD. What did the automobile industry do to meet their labor shortages during the critical war years?

Mr. MOORE. Detroit was fortunate in that we had a very high wage situation here. So that when industrial expansion was necessary and tremendous increase in employment was required to carry on the industry here, people came here from other parts of the United States. We have had a great flow in of people from everywhere, all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the situation now?

Mr. MOORE. Now, there is, again, a tremendous demand for employment. We are getting a lot of people from outside the State just at the present time coming in to industry. I am not in touch with it continuously, but I know from the fact that I go into employment offices to visit that we are getting a great many people from outside of Detroit who are coming here, transient employees.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Is that in excess of the demands for labor here, or do the demands for labor invite those people, so to speak, to come here?

Mr. MOORE. The demand for labor invites them, because there is a big demand right now. There is enough expansion here in Detroit, so there is a big demand.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a surplus labor supply here, or is it short now?

Mr. MOORE. I would say now it has gotten to the point where it is a short labor market.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any opinion as to the capacity of the country to absorb more nonskilled workmen?

Mr. MOORE. I could only go back and cite the history of immigration over the years. In the years when we had unrestricted immigration they came and regardless of economic conditions we pretty well absorbed them and spread them out across America, and our tremendous growth, in my opinion, was very closely allied to the unrestricted immigration of those years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the saturation point is being reached?

Mr. MOORE. I am not an expert enough to determine when that time has, or if it will ever arrive. I personally don't think it has.

I think the immigrant has been an asset to America continuously since the beginning of history here. I don't think there is any question about it, in my opinion.

Commissioner O'GRADY. How do you think the selection of persons by skills under the new act will work out as a practical matter?

Mr. MOORE. By the time the certification required will be completed the job would probably be gone. That's one of the difficulties. There is a tremendous demand in Detroit as there has been for the last 2 years for certain types of skills. I suppose that same situation prevails throughout the United States. There is a great demand here and has been for engineers of all classifications. But jobs do not wait; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Moore. It is very kind of you to come here and we appreciate it.

Mr. Fred Bauer, you are scheduled next.

STATEMENT OF FRED BAUER, SECRETARY, AMERICAN AID SOCIETY, INC.

Mr. BAUER. I am Fred Bauer, 15260 Maplewood, East Detroit, Mich. I am secretary of the American Aid Society, Inc., which I am representing here. It is composed of 11 groups, with central headquarters at 1220 West Bostwort, Chicago, Ill.

I wish to submit a statement on behalf of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Fred Bauer, secretary, in behalf of American Aid Society, Inc., is as follows:)

The Detroit chapter of the American Aid Society, Inc., submits, herewith, to the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, the following statement of its views regarding a desirable immigration policy for the United States:

The American Aid Society, Inc., is concerned primarily with displaced and needy persons from Central and Southeastern Europe, usually spoken of as expellees. They are persons of German ethnic origin from Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, many of whom are relatives of members of the Detroit chapter. The members of the society are United States citizens who are well established in Detroit and amply able to bring their relatives, who are in great need abroad, to this country and to give them good homes, if the United States immigration law permitted them to enter. The quotas, however, are so small that it is practically impossible for any considerable number of these relatives to come to the United States under existing law.

The Detroit chapter filed assurances for 262 families under the Displaced Persons Act but only 62 families came because the number permitted under section 12 of the Displaced Persons Act was not adequate for the remaining assurances. The home-and-job opportunities for those who failed to receive visas are just as good as they were for those who came. Sponsors throughout the United States had the same experience of offers of sponsorship exceeding the number of visas available.

The testimony of the Chairman of the Displaced Persons Commission before the House Judiciary Committee on May 22, 1952, showed that 28,500 persons of German ethnic origin actually had received assurances and were eligible for visas except for the lack of visa numbers. It is the belief of this society that sponsors stand ready to renew their offers of sponsorship for these 28,500 persons and for thousands of additional expellees.

The expellees or persons of German ethnic origin who came to Detroit this past year have proved their worth. They are working in defense industries in skilled occupations. For example, they are tool and die makers, model makers, etc. They are learning English rapidly and fitting into the life of our community. Our society has every reason to believe that people like them still abroad will make equally good Americans.

The letters which persons of German ethnic origin abroad have sent to members of the American Aid Society indicate inability to earn a living in Germany and Austria because the economy will not support them, although they are skilled and energetic workers. It is, therefore, the conviction of the society that emergency legislation to permit the admission of 300,000 persons over a 3-year period is urgently needed. At least 117,000 of this 300,000 should be assigned to persons of German ethnic origin now resident in Germany and Austria.

The quotas for Yugoslavia and Rumania are extremely small and taken for years to come. The American Aid Society recommends strongly that the mortgage on future quotas, which was one of the provisions of the Displaced Persons Act, be canceled immediately. This should be done at once even though the greatly needed revision of the quota system, which may take some time to accomplish, has to be deferred for some months.

SUMMARY OF THE SOCIETY'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Five immediate recommendations to the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, therefore, are as follows:

1. Cancellation of the mortgage on future quotas.
2. Completion of the unfinished business of the displaced persons program to make possible the admission of all 341,000 persons authorized under the Displaced Persons Act.
3. Authorization of the admission of 300,000 persons over a 3-year period, including the admission of 117,000 expellees.
4. Continuation of United States participation in present international programs for migration and resettlement.
5. Aid for the refugees from communism who have escaped communistic tyranny behind the iron curtain.

As long-range policy, the American Aid Society recommends a complete revision of the national-origins-quota system, basing the number to be admitted on the needs of the present, not a percentage of the immigrants of the past.

The American Aid Society deeply appreciate having been given this opportunity to express its views.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bauer.
John Panchuk!

STATEMENT OF JOHN PANCHUK, CHAIRMAN, MICHIGAN COMMISSION ON DISPLACED PERSONS, REPRESENTING ALSO THE UNITED UKRAINIAN AMERICAN RELIEF COMMITTEE, INC., AND THE UKRAINIAN FEDERATION OF MICHIGAN

MR. PANCHUK. I am John Panchuk, 5911 Harvard Road, Detroit. I am representing the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons as its chairman. I also represent the president of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Inc., which is a national relief committee, which had been engaged in resettlement of displaced persons, and the Ukrainian Federation of Michigan, which represents some 40 civic, local organizations of Americans of Ukrainian extraction.

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

MR. PANCHUK. I wish to state that a statement will be filed. It has not been done already, but one will be filed in behalf of the Michigan State Commission on Displaced Persons. I am particularly interested in the immigration policies as reflected by the current law, and the new law that will go into effect as I happen to be an American citizen by naturalization, of Ukrainian parentage, immigrants, a group which did not have and does not have any quota provisions under the immigration law. That's one phase of it.

Working among the nationality groups, not only Ukrainian but people of foreign birth here, we have inevitably come to the conclusion that they are good citizens, outstanding citizens, and it becomes at times very painful to find immigration restrictions based upon national origins, especially where those quotas are unfair in their proportions.

For instance, the city of Detroit has over half a million people who are of foreign origin. A large bulk of those people are from so-called European Baltic areas. We have found that during the two wars, during the periods of depression and prosperity, they have borne the duties of citizenship well in every respect. Their adjustment, economically and socially and religiously, I think has been above reproach. In any difficulties we have had in Detroit, as related to social and economic adjustments, they have been, as evidenced by certain happen-

ings, due largely to conflicts of native-born Americans going back in the past. I have in mind some of the color problems that we have had here, people from the South and so on. True, that was due to the housing difficulty or situation and all of that, but the same economic factors have prevailed here. We find that for some reason there has been a philosophy of giving preference to the Anglo-Saxon groups on the nationality origin quotas, which, I think the facts of history demonstrate, so far as restrictive immigration are concerned, are not justifiable, whatever the basis of that philosophy may have been. We have never used their full quotas, and we find that these people of whom I have spoken have met all their responsibilities in every way, whether it is in time of great stress like war service—we have had very large numbers of people from that origin that have performed outstanding service during wartime; in civic work, State work; in factories.

For instance, within the last month I have had representatives from one of the leading manufacturers, the Ford Motor Co., come to me to put them in touch with DP's who are here, labor groups. They need them badly. They said they had put them to work in Buffalo and elsewhere and found them very good workers. Because of a shortage that developed they want to get every possible DP they can that can pass the physical examination they will put him through, and they will put him to work.

The same is true with the Packard Co. My experience shows that from that standpoint industrially they have been very satisfactory.

From some aspects of the unfairness of the nationality origin, I can cite you a number of examples as related to Ukrainians. They come from an area in eastern Europe, which was under Russia, before the war Austria, Hungary, and so on; it is a large group representing about 40,000,000 people. When these immigrants tried to obtain their citizenship the naturalization clerk will tell you, if you will ask him, that he has had trouble after trouble because they will not recognize any such thing as Ukrainian, either for the purpose of country of which he is a subject, or national origin. There have been tremendous dissatisfactions, and ill will brought about. Yet, in every respect, they are recognized as coming from that group with a good culture—a good cultural heritage and background, and, even now, they don't have a quota yet. Our own committee, the United Ukrainian Relief Committee, brought 30,000 Ukrainians for resettlement under the DP Act who have gone into various States; the same is true with the NCW group, and from the standpoint of international relations and getting and creating good will, it is bad.

I can cite you as an example, my father. He came in a long time ago. He left Austria-Hungary. He was born in northern Bucovina. He never owed any allegiance to that country, never was born there. Twice he had to register as an enemy alien; he helped put me through school so that I could become successful, and married a girl that was of native American stock, if you will. I have had friends, went through colleges here. Now I am vice president of a big insurance company, vice counselor and a general board member. These things seem to irk people. Why these invidious distinctions? Is there a stigma attached to it? When he came over here Ukraine was in the Austria-Hungary Empire.

The CHAIRMAN. You say when he came over here Ukraine was in the Austria-Hungary Empire?

Mr. PANCHUK. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. And when that empire disintegrated, what happened to the particular province from which he came?

Mr. PANCHUK. That became part of Rumania and under the 1921 act, he was shown as Rumanian; but he didn't like it and still doesn't like it, because it was ascribing something to him that he never was.

Anyone who has dealt with people of national origins here knows that they are keen and eager to become a part of our American community. You will find that the children of the first generation forget the language so fast they can't even talk it. They go to American schools; they are thoroughly Americanized. Well, I came like Information Please, unrehearsed and unprepared. I've been so busy that I apologize.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Panchuk, I think the Commission would be interested to know a little bit about the general distribution and the general kind of employment in which the many Ukrainian DP's who have come into the United States have found themselves. Could you enlighten the Commission a little bit on that?

Mr. PANCHUK. Yes. They have been employed in a great variety of employments. They have been skilled people, engineers, those have found employment very easily. They have been sought after. Some other professionals like doctors have had a tough time. However, the State of Michigan is very badly in need of doctors; there is a shortage, and a number of them have been employed in hospitals, in technical capacity, in accordance with their profession, however.

We have made an effort here to permit the examination by the State board of registry of DP doctors, and we have made some progress. We have clerks working in industry, some of the girls have been found to be exceptionally good as stenographers and clerks in such skilled industries, and I know several insurance companies here have employed them and found them very good. They are in restaurants; a great number, of course, are in factories. Some of the professional groups like lawyers have to go through a complete retraining period, and there are some that have enrolled, and I don't know of one that has flunked first or second year.

There are a number of them on farms. In the orchards of Michigan, I know that several have been highly successful in the orchard fields. Some of them in the dairy business here; there are some very good dairy men here. So they have been pretty well scattered and assimilated. We had a great number of artists; we have a Ukrainian opera in Detroit that was a success in Europe. We had the famous Ukrainian chorus which gave over 300 concerts to the DP's in Europe, they have made a tour of the United States, and have received the highest acclamation from critics throughout, and artists. Some of them have helped to decorate some of our new churches here. So they have taken advantage of the opportunity and have been appreciated.

The CHAIRMAN. What solution would you propose to the problem you mentioned where, as in the case of your father, he was ascribed to the Rumanian quota although born in the Ukraine?

Mr. PANCHUK. Well, that situation is no different, I believe, than you find with reference to other countries in Eastern Europe. There have been similar situations.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, Poland itself was divided up.

Mr. PANCHUK. That's right. Now the United Nations of which we are a member has recognized Ukraine as a country on equality as a matter of fact with other nations. We all know it is a satellite, a very involuntary one, but in which the cultural and national heritage is very strong, and which is very anti-Communist, and it seems rather strange that for some purposes we would recognize it, and deal with them, and yet when it comes to dealing with people of that same background who are our own citizens in our own country, doing everything here, we say: "No; we draw the line." And I think that can be very easily worked out so far as the quota is concerned because they do have their place of origin, they declare themselves, they produce documents, and you will have no more difficulty there than you will have with the Hungarian-Poles or other Balkan and eastern European countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Chairman, may I submit for the record statements submitted to the Commission by several organizations:

The first is by Mr. Adolph Dulin, chairman of the Relief Association for Germans of Prewar Poland, of Detroit, Mich.;

The second submitted by Mrs. Estelle Gadowski, president of the Polish Aid Society; Mrs. Katherine Wojsowski, chairman, Immigration Committee; Mrs. Estelle Sauocki, cochairman, Immigration Committee; all of Detroit, Mich.

The third is a telegram from Eloise M. Tanner, executive secretary, International Institute, of Flint, Mich., addressed to the Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Those statements may be inserted in the record.

(The statements identified follow:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY ADOLPH DULIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE RELIEF ASSOCIATION FOR GERMANS OF PREWAR POLAND

**RELIEF ASSOCIATION FOR GERMANS OF PREWAR POLAND,
Detroit, Mich., October 7, 1952.**

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,

HARRY N. ROSENFELD, Executive Director, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Seven years after war has ended in Europe there are some 10 million expellees in Western Germany without employment and most without homes. Practically all of such persons can be made useful and desirable farm workers in this country. They cannot be admitted under the quota system, because they are not classed as residents, entitled to benefit of quota and have no quota numbers. Their situation is getting worse rather than better.

The United States must share the responsibility for the distress of these unfortunate persons and in recognition of the responsibility should do what can be done to help them to find homes and employment. Most of those who come out of Poland and other countries, are experienced farmers and will make good on American farms.

Our problem stems from dislocation of millions of industrious people who have been deprived of their homes and the opportunity to provide for themselves. Full information as to all details is not available and, as is common in many social and economic adjustments, some persons take advantage and the program is condemned.

We should have a program that meets the need of those who have been displaced, who have lost home, country, and the opportunity to work.

From the survey that has been made and general knowledge of conditions, it appears that the United States is in need of manpower for agricultural work. The German ethnic origin expellees, and also others, are mainly farmers and desirable for agricultural work and are anxious to be settled on farms in this country.

My recommendation is, that the next Congress set up emergency immigration legislation, to bring into the United States 300,000 expellees, of German ethnic

origin, at the rate of 100,000 a year for the 3 years. And that the greater number of these expellees should be farmers.

The United States needs agricultural workers, and these expellees could be placed quickly on American farms without hardships to others. Farm families should be preferred, because they cannot be resettled in Germany where there is no land and are more satisfactory here.

This emergency immigration should only be for expelled people, or, in other words, people without a country.

All other immigrants should come under the regular immigration laws. The German Government should be urged to let the expellees use their funds to pay for transportation to the United States and if the expellees do not have the funds for such transportation the United States Government should loan them the money, or they should obtain it from special emergency organizations, or possibly from relatives in this country to provide funds.

In addition to this emergency allotment we should have a quota immigration system for all countries and the new immigration law should be revised with larger quotas. And to give special consideration for the overpopulated areas, and to those who are without countries, such as the expellees of German ethnic origin, now living in Germany.

In this way, the United States in some degree can discharge the responsibility to the unfortunate expellees, particularly those of German ethnic origin, who have suffered most because they were often standing neutral or with the Allies in the late war.

Very respectfully yours,

ADOLPH DULIN,

Chairman, Relief Association for Germans of Prewar Poland.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED IN BEHALF OF THE POLISH AID SOCIETY, BY MRS. ESTELLE GADOWSKI, PRESIDENT; MRS. KATHERINE WOJSOWSKI, CHAIRMAN OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE; MRS. ESTELLE SANOCKI, COCHAIRMAN OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE

POLISH AID SOCIETY,
Detroit, Mich., October 2, 1952.

HON. PHILIP B. PERLMAN, CHAIRMAN, AND MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S
COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,

Washington 25, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: As an organization with a 50-year interest in the Polish citizenry of this country, their descendants, and the acculturation of the new arrivals in this city, we feel that an inquiry into the whole field of immigration, nationality, and naturalization laws is of paramount importance.

We are representatives of the Polish Aid Society and wish, on behalf of its members, to state our concern over clauses in the code of immigration laws which are unfair in the consideration of the national-origin quota system.

We feel that some aspects of the immigration, nationality, and naturalization laws need to be revised. Moreover it is our belief that the revision be made in light of the augmentation of the quota system and the depletion of the mortgaging of quotas.

In view of our position we may state that the immigration policy be examined with the aim of bringing it into line with our national ideals.

Sincerely,

ESTELLE GADOWSKI,
Mrs. A. J. Gadowski,
President, Polish Aid Society.

KATHERINE WOJSOWSKI,
Mrs. A. Wojsowski,
Chairman, Immigration Committee.

ESTELLE SANOCKI,
Mrs. C. T. Sanocki,
Cochairman, Immigration Committee.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MISS ELOISE M. TANNER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FLINT, MICH.

[Western Union]

OCTOBER 6, 1952.

Mr. HARRY N. ROSENFELD,

*President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization,
Courthouse, Detroit:*

We are happy that the recent immigration and naturalization legislation permits Asiatics to become naturalized, but we strongly disagree with the discrimination set up in the quota system against them. This may further jeopardize our relationship with the Far East. We believe that the stateless people living in America would find great security in having a first paper. Some provisions of the new deportation laws will work great hardship against aliens.

ELOISE M. TANNER,
Executive Secretary, International Institute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mrs. Marie Trilevsky present?

STATEMENT OF MRS. MARIE TRILEVSKY, TOLSTOY FOUNDATION,
STATE OF MICHIGAN REPRESENTATIVE

Mrs. TRILEVSKY. I am Marie Trilevsky, and I am representative of the Tolstoy Foundation, whose headquarters are 300 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y. It is a charitable organization, founded by Countess Tolstoy, the daughter of the great Russian writer, Leo Tolstoy, for the purpose of helping to resettle mostly the Russian displaced persons, and my brief statement is only my own opinion, inasmuch as I worked 3 years with the displaced persons on the Resettlement Committee for Church World Service and in the capacity of a representative of Tolstoy Foundation. I have a prepared statement which I wish to submit.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. We will receive your statement and make it a part of the record.

(The statement submitted by Mrs. Marie Trilevsky is as follows:)

I recommend that changes in immigration laws be such that—

1. First, preference be given those people who were displaced by war and made homeless by Communist tyranny, and escapees who every day break through the iron curtain in search of freedom.

2. Congress should adopt emergency legislation as may be required fully to complete the displaced-persons program to which our country is committed. This legislation should provide for the admission to the United States of (a) those who were processed under the Displaced Persons Act but for whom visas were not available on December 31, 1951, (b) an additional number of persons of those groups for whom a clearly insufficient number of visas were provided in the original legislation, and (c) our fair share, 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. The additional visas here recommended should be authorized within the period ending December 31, 1952, and should be granted without regard to sectarian considerations.

I submit the following recommendations for promoting integration and resettlement of immigrants in the United States:

1. A practical and realistic orientation program to be given each immigrant; for example:

(a) English language written and spoken in practical everyday American phrases and accents; also the pronunciation of every letter in the alphabet; and practice in answering questions when applying for employment.

(b) Immigrants should know American standards of weight, in terms of pounds and ounces, and measurements in terms of feet and inches.

(c) There should be practical and realistic job counseling, according to the cultural and economic standards of the United States, so that when immigrant applies for a job in the United States he will be prepared for the type of job opportunity available for him.

(d) Personal appearance and conduct when applying for employment should be stressed; for example, neatness, alertness, willingness to accept job opportunities. They should be asked to avoid hard-luck stories and shabbiness to arouse pity from the prospective employer.

(Signed) MARIE TRILEVSKY

Mrs. Marie Trilevsky,

Tolstoy Foundation, State of Michigan Representative.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will stand in recess until 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

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1952

DETROIT, MICH.

TENTH SESSION

The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization met at 1:30 p. m., pursuant to recess, in room 734, Federal Courthouse Building, Detroit, Mich., Hon. Philip B. Perlman (chairman) presiding.

Present: Chairman Philip B. Perlman and the following Commissioners: Msgr. John O'Grady and Messrs. Thomas G. Finucane and Adrian S. Fisher.

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

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission will come to order. The first witness this afternoon will be Rev. Sheldon Rahn.

STATEMENT OF REV. SHELDON RAHN, DIRECTOR, SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT, DETROIT COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Reverend RAHN. I am Pastor Sheldon Rahn, appearing as director of the social service department, Detroit Council of Churches, 404 Park Avenue Building, Detroit 26, Mich. I have a statement I wish to read.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear your statement, sir.

Reverend RAHN. Thank you. There are about four Protestant agencies filing statements with you today, so I shall not duplicate some of the emphases they are making, but in my rather brief statement here I shall attempt to summarize what seems to be the consensus of judgment in the Protestant community on some of these polls relating to our immigration and naturalization laws.

The McCarran-Walter Act, passed recently by Congress over a Presidential veto, violates both Christian and democratic standards of justice. Unless it is substantially amended, the United States will most certainly jeopardize its moral leadership throughout the free world.

Furthermore, the McCarran-Walter Act fails to provide a workable procedure by which the United States along with other countries may resettle hard-pressed refugee families in Europe and Asia.

There we have in mind the formalized quota system which does not provide for any pooling of quotas and any flexibility. Most serious of all, the present act actually carries the rejection of Asiatic and other colored peoples to the point of placing a new and dangerous

racist principle of blood ancestry at the heart of our basic immigration law. The McCarran-Walter Act assigns quotas on the basis of earliest ancestry rather than country of birth and present citizenship.

It is unthinkable that the United States should permanently adopt a blood and race formula for dividing more desirable from less desirable people for immigration purposes. Such a formula is unscientific, contrary to all religious precepts, and an irreparable insult to whole continents of people with quality families denied an equal opportunity for a quota number because of their race.

Our Protestant denominations continue to support the following basic features for a long-range immigration and naturalization policy for this country:

1. Pooling of unused quotas among all countries up to the maximum number allowable by law, now set at 154,000.

2. Elimination of discriminatory provisions based upon race, color, or sex.

3. Temporary increases by Congress of the maximum annual immigration figure from 154,000 to 200,000 or more as may be realistic and practical as America's emergency share of the world's refugee problem. Our religious bodies believe that such short-term, carefully controlled adjustments within our basic immigration machinery are far more desirable than special legislation for first one section of the world, and then another, without adequate attention to long-range needs throughout the world.

4. Provision for a visa and deportation appeal board of some kind.

We welcome the activity of your Commission in studying this exceedingly important problem.

The following spokesmen for Protestant and Orthodox religious agencies operating in the resettlement field will file statements in the course of this hearing: Detroit Lutheran Charities, Rev. Harry Wolf, director; Lutheran Service to Refugees, Rev. Werner Kuntz, director; Christian Social Relations Commission, Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, Rev. G. Paul Musselman, director; Tolstoy Foundation, Detroit office, Mrs. Anton Trilevsky, Detroit representative; Hungarian Protestant group, Rev. John Paul Nagy.

Mr. ROSENFELD. You say in the third recommendation of your report, "without adequate attention to long-range needs throughout the entire world"; would you care to enlighten the Commission on long-range needs which you think the Commission should give heed to in its considerations?

Reverend RANX. I don't believe it is possible to evaluate long-range needs in the world without pretty careful study, probably through an agency like the U. N. But, even thinking in terms of emergency needs for the surplus populations without homeland, et cetera, some sections of Asia, particularly Korea, and so on, suggest that this refugee problem is more than a European problem, as serious as it is in Europe, and we have always the temptation to think more of western and southern Europe than we do perhaps on other sections of the world which are less heavily represented. It could only be termed in such technical agencies' studies as those of the U. N.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Do I understand you to be advocating a flexible immigration policy?

Reverend RAHN. Yes; and presumably the emergency refugee probably would get a high priority in utilization of any pooled quotas, at the present time leaving us free to deal with surplus and overpopulated areas, too, as a secondary measure, much as was introduced this morning with Pastor Kuntz.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Mr. Coffey here?

STATEMENT OF REID COFFEY, REPRESENTING THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFFILIATED WITH THE CIO

Mr. COFFEY. I am Reid Coffey, 8000 East Jefferson Street, Detroit, Mich., representing the United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO.

On behalf of our organization, I would like to express our extreme regret that our international union president, Walter Reuther, is unavoidably detained because of previous commitments in Washington on a hearing, and it was determined as of last night that Donald Montgomery, in charge of our Washington office, would appear before this committee today, but he is sick with a bad cold and unable to attend, and we would like to ask the permission of the Commission to appear with a brief in hand at the Washington hearings later this month completely spelling out our opposition to the McCarran-Walter bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization's statement may be presented at our meetings in Washington. I think that is the 27th, 28th, and 29th of October.

Mr. ROSENFELD. I should like to read into the record a telegram the Commission has received, to the same point.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

(The telegram read by Mr. Rosenfield is as follows:)

Because of my absence from Detroit and the illness of Don Montgomery of the UAW-CIO, Washington office, who was to have appeared in my stead, the UAW-CIO would like the record of the Detroit hearings to show that we have arranged to be heard during the course of your Washington hearings. We would further like for the record to show that the UAW-CIO is completely opposed to the McCarran-Walter bill as it is presently written.

WALTER REUTHER,
President UAW-CIO.

The CHAIRMAN. Prof. Edgar L. Johnston.

STATEMENT OF PROF. EDGAR L. JOHNSTON, WAYNE UNIVERSITY, REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

Professor JOHNSTON. I am Edgar Johnston, professor of education, Wayne University. My home address is 2301 Vinewood, Ann Arbor, Mich., and I am here to represent the National Consumers League. I am a member of the executive board of the Michigan Consumers League and cochairman of the Governor's Study Commission on Migratory Labor.

With the indulgence of the Commission I would like the privilege of presenting a written statement to be mailed to the Commission, if that is convenient in the next day or two. I very much regret that

Miss Elizabeth Magee, the secretary, is prevented from attending these hearings on account of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation in Washington, and Miss McAllister, chairman of the board, was unable to be here, and I just learned of the hearings yesterday afternoon.

I would like, if that is agreeable to the Commission, to comment briefly on the interest of the National Consumers League in the matters of administration and legislation and then to submit a written statement which would be a more organized presentation.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Professor JOHNSTON. The National Consumers League is an organization about 50 years old which represents the consumer's interest in the conditions under which the products we consume are developed. It was organized primarily at the time that sweatshops were very common in the garment-working and other industries, and at the time there was no protective legislation for women and children in industry and concerned itself primarily with the industrial type of industry.

The Consumers League within the last few years has shifted its interest to a very great extent to migratory agricultural labor because the kinds of conditions which were found in the early 1900's in the urban industries are in part duplicated in the field of agriculture.

In fact, one of the bulletins of the New York Consumers League has I think an apt title in describing migratory agricultural labor, the title "Sweatshops Under the Sun," that will illustrate it.

I am not going into detail on the problem of migratory labor, which has been dealt with very effectively by another Presidential Commission and by hearings of Senator Humphrey's committee in the Senate earlier this year. I would like to touch on some phases of that problem which I think are directly related to both legislative and administrative relief, possibly through the report of this Commission.

The Michigan Study Commission on Migratory Labor, of which I am cochairman, was organized this spring to consider the problems involved in the use of migratory agricultural labor in our State. We found that last year we had about 60,000 out-of-State migratory agricultural workers, coming in in April and leaving in October and November, some of them coming in in March, which for the most part were family groups with—in most cases—children of varied ages engaged in agricultural work and without the protection of any child labor or other legislation. We found a number of related problems.

I started in it as a schoolman because I was concerned with the lack of educational opportunity for migrant children. I couldn't go far until I found that was related closely to health and housing and transportation and recruiting, and the very limited economic return of the families.

Now, as to the relationship particularly to your Commission. The number of migrant laborers increases as in part the number of illegal entrants to the southwestern part of the country increases. Mr. Ducoff in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimated in 1949 1,000,000 migrant laborers 14 and older. Incidentally, nobody, knows how many children. In spite of the Sugar Beet Act, I found children working regularly in sugar beets, and the same could be duplicated or multiplied in other crops in which no limitation as to age in which children may work is present.

He found about 100,000 legal Mexican nationals in 1949 and estimated about 400,000 illegal entrants from Mexico, the so-called wet-backs. Incidentally, in the report of Senator Humphrey's committee the number of estimated migrant workers was up by 50 percent to a million and a half. The number of legal Mexican entrants was up to 151,000, and the estimate for the illegal entrants was something over 500,000. The problem is getting more serious rather than less. The result of this influx of legal and illegal entrance from south of the border is to provide a supply of cheap labor. Evidences on record before the Humphrey committee show wages of 5 and 10 cents an hour, not uncommon on farms down there on wetbacks, because they were peculiarly vulnerable. They could be threatened with imprisonment and deportation. For that reason they were really not only migrants but also they were vagrants.

The result has been the displacement of domestic workers. It has resulted in lowered wages. It has resulted in underemployment as well as unemployment, because in many cases it has expressed the work to a larger group.

Now, as to the relationship of this to the concern of this Commission, I think that some of the administrative procedures of the Immigration and Naturalization Commission are very definitely related to the extenuation of this problem: some of it obviously falls in other departments, the Department of Labor, the Department of State, which are involved in the Mexican agreement.

I should like to just point out that the executive agreement between the United States and Mexico was arrived at to a large extent in virtual secrecy and without any hearings which involved representatives of other groups, labor groups and the public, in the matter of the demonstration of need and the requirements of the stipulations of the particular agreement.

The determination on which that was based was the prevailing wage, but nobody knows what a prevailing wage is. It is whatever the county boards, representative of the large farmers of the areas using the migrant labor, are willing to pay or find they have to pay, and that in turn is passed up to the State department of labor and to the National Department of Labor. There is no open hearing with representation of public and of labor in regard to it.

I suggest in terms of legal relief two bills which were before Congress, which would be directly related to the concern of your Commission. The bill dealing with control of labor contributors; the bill dealing with the control of illegal entrants, and certainly the provision of more adequate funds to the division of immigration and naturalization which was relatively successful in controlling the wet-back invasion in certain sections by an airlift by which the illegal entrants were taken back into the interior of Mexico.

I should say administratively there could be a great deal of benefit through more public and thorough investigation of the factors of need at the time an executive agreement is reached; the forecasting of labor needs should be based on adequate living wages according to American standards and not on what these very depressed people are willing or have to accept.

I would like just to make one point before concluding, and that is that the National Consumers League is not insensitive to the needs of providing in America a refuge for people from other lands, including

our neighbors to the south. But we think that the attempt to relieve need below the border by importing misery here and further accentuating the workers of our own areas is not helping that problem. The migratory problem is becoming increasingly a serious problem. It is a problem of national and international immigrations, and unless we are to develop in this part of our industry a system of peonage we certainly need to have remedial legislation and administrative relief which will eliminate some of the most serious of the problems related to the importation of migrant labor.

MR. ROSENFELD. What would you suggest the Commission do?

PROFESSOR JOHNSTON. In regard to the stipulation of the President's Executive order, section 2 (b), which refers to action in relation to the present economic situation in the United States, I am suggesting that the economic situation as it affects the migrant laborers is occasioned to a large part by an overestimate of the number needed, an overestimate that is accepted all too easily because there is no public hearing, because there is no determination of need in terms of the same basis as it would be determined in relation to industrial employment. There is, of course, no spokesman for the migratory worker. He is without a spokesman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(The written statement referred to above, by Professor Johnston, was submitted and is as follows:)

At the request of Mrs. Dorothy McAllister, chairman of the board of the National Consumers League, I am representing the league at the hearings this morning. While the league is sympathetic to the broad purposes of the inquiry conducted by this Commission and aware of the need for restudy of our immigration laws as they affect immigration from all parts of the world, I should like to direct my attention this morning to one phase of immigration which vitally affects the welfare of migrant agricultural workers within the United States. With this purpose in mind, I shall direct my attention primarily to section (B) of the Executive order establishing the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization.

The Consumers League was organized about 50 years ago as a group of socially minded people concerned with the maintenance of satisfactory standards of working conditions and livelihood for the workers who produce the products we consume. The league has always been concerned with workers in family groups and conditions which affect the welfare of children. In its early days, much of its attention was directed to sweatshop conditions in urban industries. The league was instrumental in stimulating the passage of legislation protecting women in industry and eliminating child labor. For the past decade, much of its attention has been directed toward the plight of the migrant agricultural laborer in the American economy and the conditions affecting family life and the welfare of children among these groups. With the wide variety of industrialized agriculture and the need for large numbers of migrant agricultural workers for limited periods of time during harvest, there has developed a new class of "displaced person" within the American economy, a group entirely outside the protection of current legislation concerning labor conditions, social welfare, and protective legislation. Child-labor laws almost universally exclude children engaged in agriculture from their provisions. As a result, small children labor in the fields and are exposed to hazardous conditions of transportation and undesirable living conditions. As a bulletin published this year by the New York Consumers League implies in its title, we now have "Sweatshops in the Sun."

The Governor's Study Commission on Migratory Labor, of which I am cochairman, was appointed by Governor Williams in March of this year. It is broadly representative of producers and processors of agricultural crops, public health and welfare agencies, labor and education, and the three major religious denominations in Michigan. The Commission was appointed in large part as a result of public concern about the problem involved in the employment of more than 60,000 migrant workers at the peak of the harvest season in early August. Unquestionably the Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor fo-

caused public attention on these problems and suggested the need of such a State commission to study the question and make appropriate recommendations for legislation and administrative improvement.

Migrant workers are employed in a wide variety of crops, particularly in the harvest of fruit and the cultivation and harvest of sugar beets and the various vegetable crops. They begin to come to Michigan early in April or May, are migrant within the State during a considerable portion of the summer, and leave the State at the close of harvest, the majority of them having completed their work and left Michigan for their State of origin by the middle of November. In spite of mechanization, which has decreased employment in certain crop activities, the total number of migrants employed has increased each year, and the number for the current summer will undoubtedly exceed the 60,000 brought into the State for seasonal agricultural employment last year. Most of the migrants come as family groups, a fact which presents serious problems of education, child labor, and satisfactory housing, lack of health facilities, and incomes inadequate to maintain a satisfactory standard of living. The life of the migrant family is particularly hard on children.

My own interest was aroused several years ago when I had occasion to visit schools for the University of Michigan and saw children, obviously of school age, working in the fields in the shadow of the schoolhouse, and found that school people by and large were unaware of their presence—except to enroll them on the school census in the spring in order that the district might receive its share of "primary school funds." Under the circumstances child labor is the rule rather than the exception. The Sugar Act of 1937, as successively amended, does provide an age limit of 14 years for work in sugar beets and limits the labor of children 14 to 16 to 8 hours a day. Unfortunately, even this limitation is rarely observed. In a study of the Spanish-speaking migrant workers in four counties, which I carried out several years ago, children under 14 were reported as working regularly "in the beets." In 17 of 58 families interviewed, the youngest age reported was 5 years and the median of the group, 11. In the four counties included in the survey, less than one-fifth of the children of school age were enrolled in school in late October when schools had been in session from 4 to 8 weeks. The results are to be found in school retardation and educational deprivation. A study of migrant workers in Colorado last year has presented evidence that migrant children are receiving even less education than did their parents.

The question may be asked as to what relationship these conditions—deplorable though they may be—have to the investigations of the Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. The answer is that the supply of migrant labor and the wages and working conditions of migrant laborers as a group are directly affected by the entry of large numbers of Mexican nationals—both legal and illegal entrants) crossed the border.

As pointed out repeatedly in testimony before that committee, the effect of this immigration—legal and illegal—is to lower wages and living standards for domestic agricultural workers and to force many of them to leave homes in the border States to seek work elsewhere at whatever wages they can get. It is clear, also, that the so-called prevailing wage in agricultural labor certified by the Secretary of Labor is, in actuality, a unilateral decision by the large-scale employers of that labor. The certification by the Secretary of Labor is on the basis of data presented from State departments of labor concerning the prevailing wage as indicated by county farm employment committees which have only employer membership. I know of no instance in which the farm worker has been a party to the determination of prevailing wage. The same thing is true in regard to the certification of need on which the executive agreements for importation of nationals are based. Obviously, it is to the advantage of the large farm groups, which are the major employers of migratory labor, to have an abundant supply of cheap labor available and to use the importation of Mexican nationals and of wetbacks as a lever to keep wages down and workers docile. (Testimony before the Humphrey committee indicated cases of wetbacks employed at from 5 to 10 cents an hour in 1951.) The result for domestic labor is that it is forced out of its home territory in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and adds to the migrant stream. The results are displacement of workers, lowered wages, underemployment of those who do remain, and increased migrancy of family groups. As the Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor says:

"Migrants are children of misfortune. They are the rejects of those sectors of agriculture and of other industries undergoing change. We depend on misfortune to build up our force of migratory workers, and when the supply is low

because there is not enough misfortune at home we rely on misfortune abroad to replenish the supply."

I realize that the problems involved here are complex ones and that many phases of this problem do not come within the jurisdiction of this Commission. It appears to me, however, that certain remedies of abuses occasioned by the legal and illegal entry of Mexican workers to the United States are within the scope of the Commission's recommendations. Some of the remedies are legislative; others are administrative. Under legislative remedies come those measures which can make control of illegal immigration effective. Certainly increased funds for the employment of officials of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service are in order. At present, that Service has had to man a 1,600-mile border with somewhat less than 900 men. It was also given only one-sixth of the amount asked to make possible transportation of illegal immigrants to their homes some distance from the border. It seems clear that much more important than penalties imposed on the unfortunate wetbacks alone is the provision of penalties for those who employ them. The bill to control illegal entry, which was presented by the Humphrey subcommittee, would seem to give promise of eliminating this abuse. Unfortunately, the Congress did not see fit to pass a measure with teeth in it.

The executive agreement of 1949 as continued from year to year certainly deserves careful consideration. Under it, both Governments assume responsibility to control illegal immigration. That responsibility does not seem to have been carried out in action. The priority in contract employment given to wetbacks now in the United States appears to give definite encouragement to illegal entry. Testimony presented before the Humphrey committee criticized the secrecy surrounding the negotiations for the executive agreement and the lack of representation of representatives of labor as well as farm employers in negotiations for the agreement. One witness before the Humphrey committee referred to the 1951 international agreement as a four-power pact * * * among the Associated Farmers, the Department of State, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Justice. It seems clear that the executive agreement and the whole matter of forecasting of labor needs and consequent provision for legal entry need careful and thorough consideration. There is a close relationship between this legal immigration and the illegal traffic in wetbacks. Both have a definite and devastating effect on the conditions of migratory labor throughout the United States.

I would wish to emphasize at this point that the Consumers League is not unsympathetic to the Mexican agricultural workers who seek employment here, driven by misery and economic necessity at home. Unquestionably, we in the United States should be concerned in economic developments in Mexico and, particularly, in proposals to develop the resources on both sides of the Rio Grande for the benefit of residents of both countries. This kind of cooperative relationship is constructive and desirable. On the other hand, the exploitation of poverty-stricken wetbacks in order to maintain a supply of cheap farm labor here is neither good neighborliness nor good economics. Continuation of the abuses which have existed and increased within the last few years is, in effect, to establish a type of peonage in the United States and to further aggravate the disadvantages of the million and a half migrant agricultural workers and their families who are virtually outcasts within their own land.

The CHAIRMAN. Father Joseph C. Walen is next on our schedule.

STATEMENT OF FATHER JOSEPH C. WALEN, DIRECTOR OF CHARITIES, CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF GRAND RAPIDS, AND EDITOR OF THE WESTERN MICHIGAN CATHOLIC

Father WALEN. I am Father Joseph C. Walen, director of charities, diocese of Grand Rapids; director of the diocese and resettlement committee there, and editor of the Western Michigan Catholic; 202 Association of Commerce Building, Grand Rapids, Mich.

I would like to read my statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear it.

Father WALEN. I wish to present my statement regarding the need of a more liberal policy on immigration to the United States from the perspective of one who has seen the good done by the Displaced Persons Act.

While this act was in operation, the diocesan resettlement office of the diocese of Grand Rapids found job and housing opportunities for approximately 800 persons.

It was most heartening to see relatives greet relatives, a greeting intense in its warmth because the homeless victims of war seemed to the American residents to be returning from the dead. These once displaced families did not need much time to take their place, and to have a place in the cities, villages, and farms of the 29 counties in western Michigan which comprise the area of the diocese of Grand Rapids of which the Most Reverend Francis J. Haas is bishop.

As the flow of war refugees slowly dwindled, we began to receive requests from American citizens interested in bringing friends or relatives to this country who could not qualify under the Displaced Persons Act. We had other requests from citizens who were interested in bringing to America relatives or friends who were delayed, for one reason or another, in their admittance to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act, and their hopes to emigrate expired with the act.

To all these persons who came to our office, eager and willing to aid people anxious to come to America, we explained that new legislation would probably be enacted to permit their relatives or friends to enter this country. We were sincerely hopeful that the record of the operation of the Displaced Persons Act would result in continuance of policies making possible the admission of many who were wanted in America, who were unwanted in Europe, and who wanted America.

During the many months of necessary debate preceding the enactment of new immigration legislation, we were able to sustain the hopes of several people with the anticipation of a "new law," a law that would not shut the doors of hope for those Europeans who were corresponding with people in our area. Many a letter, I am sure, from persons with whom I dealt, contained the reassurances that new immigration legislation would permit entry to this country.

Needless to say, we watched the progress of immigration legislation in Congress. We watched the reception accorded the request of President Truman to admit 300,000 immigrants over 3 years. Our friends watched the progress of House Resolution 7376 of Representative Celler. They watched the progress of the Lehman-Humphrey bill.

When the McCarran-Walter bill was passed we foresaw what a sense of discouragement would overtake those who had hoped to greet in America victims of war. The hoped-for "new law," we were forced to tell our people, would not be helpful in bringing friends and relatives here. We explained that for some it might mean a wait of many, many years before their friends could hope to immigrate to this country.

The despair on the faces and in the voices of those who learned the consequences of the new law spoke more tellingly than any written piece about the shattered hope of those who had looked to America as a haven of hope.

I would like to join many others who have been engaged in the work of the Catholic resettlement committee in asking for the elimination of some of the harshly exclusive provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. I refer to the national origins theory which discriminates against persons from southern and eastern Europe. I refer to the provision that excludes the unskilled immigrant. In the light of the many contributions to the welfare and the progress in this country by the thousands of unskilled immigrants of two and three generations ago, this provision seems to ignore the value of looking at the record to determine how we can benefit in the future.

Also, the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act that jeopardize an opportunity for a fair hearing for those faced with deportation or denaturalization are not consistent with the record and reputation of America for fair play to all. I acknowledge that the act provides for some necessary revisions of existing immigration laws. But the most important revisions should relate to bringing up to date our immigration policy of seeing America in the forefront in leadership and cooperation with all free nations, without discrimination against any nation or any group of nations.

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

Commissioner O'GRADY. Does your statement represent the views of your diocese?

Father WALEX. I wouldn't say I am speaking officially for the bishop, but I would say on the basis of public service record and his addresses, I would say his sentiments are pretty much in line with what I said here today.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Prof. Amos Hawley.

STATEMENT OF AMOS HAWLEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Professor HAWLEY. I am Prof. Amos Hawley, chairman of the department of sociology, University of Michigan.

I would like to talk particularly to the matter of the quota. It seems to me that the concept of the quota as it has been written into our immigration legislation is defective in a number of respects. There are several rather doubtful and many greatly uncontested assumptions on which it rests. In the first place the assumption that a nation can only absorb a given number of immigrants regardless of the size of that migration legislation is defective in a number of respects. There are Nation's population; another assumption is that there is only a fixed amount of work to be done and if you admit immigrants you take the work away from that amount of native people; again, there seems to be an assumption that the consumers are not an important part of the economy.

For these reasons in particular, I think it might be well to reconsider the matter of a quota. The principle of the quota is, however, probably one which rests on political expediency, and in view of the various interests that are apt to be involved which will express themselves maybe on something that is not escapable.

It should be observed though that this country could not but benefit from immigration. Immigrants are typically young people and they

probably are, with a small percentage of exceptions, in a more vigorous condition of life and are on the whole a smaller risk population.

From the standpoint of the sending nations, however, immigration is not in fact much of a solution to its problem. Problems are usually far more basic than those that can be solved by draining off a few people. There are problems of dislocation in the economy; of inadequate participation in international trade and so on. We cannot really contribute materially to the solution of population problems in foreign countries by opening the doors to immigration.

The issue thus, it seems to me, largely is one of politics and humanity. Our present basis for a quota, the national origins principle, as others have indicated, is most unsatisfactory. It is invidious; it is based on a nonobjective basis. Thus it seems to me that if we are to bow to political expediency entirely and proceed with a quota, we need a more rational basis. I would like to suggest that population size, or relative population size, be observed as a quota basis rather than national origins. That, complemented by considerations of a sanitary, educational, and political character. By political I am referring to the subversive risk—and that we do need some protection against.

So I think that what is needed in the light of our international position in our relations with others, our foreign policy, is a more rational quota, accepting, as I said, rather hesitantly, the need for some restriction on the number.

Commissioner O'GRADY. When immigrants leave a country such as Italy, do these immigrants not return a part of their earnings to that country's economy, thus helping to build it up?

Professor HAWLEY. That is a fact. It is a question, of course, of whether it is a very sound basis for the economy. That does provide for foreign exchange. The bulk of Italy's foreign exchange has been through immigrants. Probably it carried Italy through some difficult periods.

On the other hand, it is rather difficult to evaluate what Italy lost in terms of labor power and whether or not that was a deterrent, I don't know, in any case Italy did not develop a very sound economy.

Commissioner O'GRADY. How would you say the population of northern Italy has been faring, compared to the southern part?

Professor HAWLEY. Italy is a country divided, of course, between north and south, and the population problem has been more serious in the south and the bulk of migrants have come out of the southern part of Italy. The northern industrial part hasn't developed rapidly enough to absorb the excess population in the southern area. It is comparable to northern Europe in the nineteenth century.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Do you think that the situation in Italy and Germany has been influenced greatly by the migrant?

Professor HAWLEY. Germany, of course, is in a different situation than our own. It is a chaotic economy at present and it is not organized to even accommodate the population that is resident in the western parts, and in being a small population it does not require many immigrants to make a considerable burden on that economy in the short run.

In our case, however, population of 157,000,000, it is not very difficult to absorb 3,000,000 people in a relatively short interval of time.

That is a small fraction, about 1½ percent. It could not be a very important dislocating factor.

There is considerable experience to show that when migration is unrestricted, in fact even when it is restricted, the volume of migration seems to move from areas of low rates of capital development to areas of high rates of capital development, with about a 3- to 6-month lag. It is self-adjusting by virtue of that. You have communications between migrants and family members in areas of origin, so that in the past we have not gotten migrants from Europe when we were in the ebb phase of a business cycle, and a similar condition prevailed abroad in the probable points of origin, nor have we got immigration when we had a high level of business activity and the place of origin had a high level of business activity.

Seemingly, this has only worked toward a net migration here when there was a low level abroad and high level here. We observe the same thing internally within this country, with urban and rural areas. So there is considerable control exercised by the direction of economic opportunities.

I think it is interesting that in the depression decades we actually lost 46,000 people through a net emigration.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any data indicating what amount of immigration the United States might absorb over a given period of time?

Professor HAWLEY. No; I haven't. That is really a speculative matter. It is somewhat like trying to estimate the proportion of a population of a given national origin. There are a number of contingencies. It would certainly depend on what span of time one were dealing with. A matter of a year would present quite a different problem than a decade or a generation; it would assume some knowledge about the trend of the economy, and I would prefer that an economist forecast that. I haven't attempted to do what you say.

Commissioner FINUCANE. With reference to your remarks about draining off some population from an overpopulated country, do you think it would be a temporary help which would give the country a chance to readjust itself more easily than if it had to cope with large excess population?

Professor HAWLEY. It depends, of course, on what proportion of the population you can move in a given interval of time. The population represents a rather bulky sort of cargo and when it becomes a matter of moving a million or more, it cannot be done in a short interval of time, under the best conditions of transportation. So most economic crises cannot really be treated by distributing the population abroad, unless this happens to be a very small number. A country with a total population of a few hundred thousand might conceivably have some quick alleviation through migration. With a population of 40 or more million you could not very well expect it.

There are some speculations, certainly not very reliable, although seemingly reasonable, as to what happens to a population when immigrants leave. It is thought that the immediate effect as to that is to reduce the death rate, particularly under periods of economic stress. If that is true, then the immigrants are perhaps quickly replaced by people who would have otherwise died, and certainly you cannot, if you look at the long-run population growth trends of some of our

principle sources of immigrants, see any effect in them of large-scale immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Mr. Harold Silver here?

STATEMENT OF HAROLD SILVER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE RESETTLEMENT SERVICE OF DETROIT

Mr. SILVER. I am Harold Silver, executive director of the Resettlement Service, 5737 Second Avenue, Detroit. I speak on behalf of this organization, which is the major agency in the Detroit area for the adjustment of Jewish immigrants and has been conducting this activity for the past 15 years.

I have a prepared statement, in which I am joined by two of my associates, Mrs. Julian H. Krolik, vice president, and Nathan L. Milstein, chairman, case committee.

Before submitting the statement in the record, I would like to summarize it briefly to economize on time.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. SILVER. In the great majority of its provisions the Walter-McCarran Act breathes restrictionism, raises the barriers against new immigration, regards prospective and recent immigrants with suspicion prone as a class to breed disloyalty and crime.

It perpetuates the national origins quota system which is iniquitous from a moral point of view; it harms our position in our international relations and is based on an assumption without the least support in science and everyday experience. We have had thousands of D. P.'s and refugees come through our agencies. I have known hundreds of them personally. They came from countries of large quotas, like Germany, and of countries of small quotas like Poland, and countries of infinitesimal quotas like Lithuania. They are different in backgrounds, personality, and attitudes and education, and in the degree of their adaptability; but none of these characteristics had any relationship whatsoever to the country of their birth.

The second point I would like to make is that these immigrants from our own very intimate knowledge of them have made a remarkably good and amazingly rapid adjustment. They have been absorbed into the economy of this country or community without the slightest ripple and without displacing anyone else.

Most of them, of course, have found jobs in factories and shops and there are numbers of them who are engaged in the professions and have made important contributions to the cultural and artistic life of this community.

One of them is a professor of engineering in one of our State universities; another is a psychiatrist of note in one of the State hospitals; we have had doctors, some lawyers, some dentists and businessmen who in opening businesses of their own have created jobs for others.

We find these people among contributors to the blood fund of the American Red Cross, among the contributors to community chests and other philanthropic organizations. They are completely loyal to our Government and devoted to the principles of democracy.

Having experienced in their own persons the effects of dictatorship, they have become inoculated against the danger of being propagandized against adherence to any totalitarian system.

The third point I shall wish to make refers to the deportation provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act. Over and above all the specific provisions on deportation, the whole concept of deportation of the act is one of punishment. Punishment in a manner abhorrent to the best traditions to America. An immigrant who sins against the law is liable to punishment the same as anyone else, and in addition to that he is liable to the cruel and inhuman punishment of deportation. That constitutes double jeopardy. And we think we might well head it with the Biblical injunction: "One law shall you have for the native as well as for the stranger within your gates."

Of the numerous restrictive positions and in the deportation sections of the law, I would like to say just this, to cite two illustrations: the statute of limitations on certain grounds for deportation has been eliminated by the act; an alien can now be deported for something that occurred ten, twenty or fifty years ago. Among grounds for deportation introduced by this act is confinement in a corrective institution; corrective as distinguished from a penal institution. Thus, a youngster at the age of twelve or thirteen, gets into trouble and is sent to a reform school or industrial school, which is a treatment institution really, stays there for a year and is then liable to deportation, no matter what his record has been since his release and how well he might have adjusted.

The fourth point is our attention to the double standard which is introduced into the act for the native-born and the naturalized citizens. This is indefensible from any moral point of view. It subjects numberless groups of people who have presumably passed the test and gained citizenship with the fear of losing this priceless possession. It creates second-class citizens. I would like to quote from a speech by General Eisenhower of October 1, reported in the papers:

And neither at home nor in the eyes of the world can America risk the weakness which inevitably results when any group of our people are ranked politically or economically as second-class citizens.

We are convinced that more humane and liberal legislation governing our immigration and naturalization policy and legislation more in keeping with the leadership role in the United States and international affairs is called for, and that this can be accomplished with all due regard to our national security.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Your prepared statement will be inserted in the record.

(The prepared statement by Mrs. Julian H. Krolik, vice president; Harold Silver, executive director; and Nathan L. Milstein, chairman, case committee, on behalf of Resettlement Service of Detroit, is as follows:)

We are grateful for your invitation to present our views to your Commission on the subject of your inquiry.

Resettlement Service is a social agency established and financed by the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit. Through its activities and those of its cooperating organizations, refugees and displaced persons have been helped to establish themselves in the community. This help is given in various forms: Housing, employment, English classes, maintenance relief, business plans, vocational guidance, child care, medical care, and counseling on personal and family problems.

During the past 15 years we have served some 4,000 new Americans who have settled in the Detroit area. We can testify that these people can be compared favorably with any group in the population—first, second, third, or *n*th-generation Americans—with respect to their industry, honesty, adaptability. On the

score of being law-abiding residents, their rate of law and ordinance violations is definitely lower than that of a good many other groups in the metropolitan area. Their love of their adopted country and their complete loyalty to its Government and institutions are beyond any question: their horrible experiences at the hands of totalitarian dictatorships is a very effective inoculation against their falling victims to Communist propaganda. We have found them to be extremely eager to become American citizens, and they file their applications almost as soon as they arrive.

On the basis of our many years of experience we can testify that the economic adjustment of the immigrants has been amazingly rapid. With the exception of minors, housewives and the elderly among them, they have secured employment in a very short time and have become integrated into the economic structure of the community. While most of them naturally have found their level in factories and shops, some have gone into business and the professions—like teaching, engineering, dentistry, and the arts. A few have made noteworthy contributions to the professional and cultural life of Detroit and Michigan. A great many of them are contributors to charitable drives.

The scores of persons associated with our organization, whether as members of the board, its various committees, volunteers, and staff, have been close to the immigrants and their problems. We have been with them through their various stages of adjustment to a new land, a new language, new customs. We know their difficulties, their struggles, their achievements, and their attitudes. As Americans, we feel proud that our country has given these people an opportunity to live as self-respecting men and women under free institutions. We know that they and their children will make their contributions to developing and strengthening our heritage of democracy and liberty.

We are also convinced that many thousands of others in Europe and elsewhere can do the same if admitted to the United States. A generous immigration policy will bring benefits to our economy, our society, and cultural institutions. It will also demonstrate to governments and people everywhere that we are willing to share our freedoms and our abundance to the end of easing overpopulation and helping escapees from totalitarianism.

In our judgment the McCarran-Walter Act does not do that. In the great majority of its provisions it breathes restrictionism, raises the barriers against new immigration, regards prospective and resident immigrants with suspicion, prone as a class to breed disloyalty and crime. It perpetuates the national-origin quota system, which is based on a racist philosophy, on an assumption that natives of some countries are inherently superior to others—an assumption without the least support in science or everyday experience. The quota system has always been unworthy of the spirit of America: in the present international climate it lends credence to Communist lies about our foreign policy and our attitude to other nations.

As an agency dedicated to serving immigrants and helping them to become good Americans, we are profoundly disturbed by the harsh, unreasonable restrictions and deportation hazards imposed by the McCarran-Walter Act on resident aliens and naturalized citizens. We wish to point to some of the major provisions of the act which, in our opinion, will instill fear into our foreign-born population, subject them to unnecessary police surveillance, and threaten them with investigations, arrests, deportation, and separation from their families.

(a) The requirement that every adult alien must carry his registration card on him at all times, and must notify the authorities within 5 days of every change of address, introduces a passport system characteristic of dictatorships.

(b) Social-security records, considered confidential for citizens, are opened to the immigration authorities as far as aliens are concerned.

(c) Change of immigration status from temporary visitor to lawfully admitted immigrant is so delimited that very few persons can take advantage of the provision. This will result in the deportation of many aliens who will leave American spouses and native-born children behind them.

(d) New grounds for deportation have been added; and deportation is made retroactive notwithstanding that persons had entered prior to the enactment of the law or that the condition resulting in the deportation proceedings occurred prior to the enactment.

(e) The statute of limitations on certain grounds for deportation has been eliminated (sec. 241 (a) (1)). An alien can now be deported for something that occurred 10, 30, or 50 years ago.

(f) Among the new grounds for deportation is confinement in a corrective (as distinguished from a penal) institution. Thus, a youngster who spent a year or more in an industrial school or reformatory would be subject to deportation no matter how long ago that occurred and regardless of what his subsequent record has been.

(g) A "subversive" is deportable even though he has reformed and discontinued his affiliation with subversive organizations. In this respect the act is harsher to resident aliens than to would-be-immigrants.

(h) Home investigations in naturalization proceedings are made mandatory. This will cause many unhappy and tense situations for applicants for citizenship. It becomes a weapon in the hands of disgruntled neighbors for harassment of aliens.

(i) A mere showing of misrepresentation (not necessarily fraud) in any part of naturalization proceedings can be made the basis of the loss of citizenship. No naturalized citizen can feel completely secure from the jeopardy of denaturalization.

(j) A naturalized citizen is also put in greater jeopardy in the matter of refusal to testify before a congressional committee on subversive activities. The act creates a double standard of morality and hazard and makes for second-class citizenship.

We have called attention only to the major restrictions and disabilities placed by the act on aliens and naturalized citizens, over and above those that prevailed by operation of previous legislation, much of which was already harsh. An additional if less tangible factor is that, in administering the act, officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and of the Foreign Service become imbued with the punitive and restrictionist spirit of the law, thus adding to the atmosphere of fear and insecurity of our foreign-born and naturalized population. We have already seen evidence of that in the fact that authorities are beginning to enforce some portions of the act even before its effective date.

We are convinced that more humane and liberal legislation governing our immigration and naturalization policy, and legislation more in keeping with the leadership role of the United States in international affairs, is called for, and that this can be accomplished with all due regard to our national security.

The CHAIRMAN. Rev. Harry Wolf.

STATEMENT OF REV. HARRY WOLF, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LUTHERAN CHARITIES

Reverend WOLF. I am Rev. Harry Wolf, representing the Lutheran Charities, of which I am executive director, and the Lutheran Resettlement Committee of Michigan.

I have a prepared statement I would like the privilege of reading.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear it.

Reverend WOLF. It is scarcely to be expected that every voice raised on behalf of our immigration and naturalization policies will have something new or different to say. But it is expected that in a democracy the voice of the people shall be heard and heeded. We are grateful for this opportunity to express briefly our viewpoints in this matter.

I feel that the problems involved here must be viewed from four viewpoints: (1) the international aspect, (2) the national aspect, (3) the emergency or temporary nature of the problem, and (4) the permanent, long-range effects of our policies.

On the international scene the United States is the acknowledged world leader in the economic field. All free nations look to the United States for assistance as well as guidance in matters of economics.

Leadership cannot be limited to one aspect of a nation's life. Above all, there must be moral integrity which is the basis for moral leader-

ship as well as leadership in every other department of a nation's life. Applied to our immigration policies, moral integrity requires that we look at the world full of refugees and study the requirements of justice and make our contribution to the solution of the problem on that basis. Our immigration policy of the recent past and expressed in the new legislation passed in 1952 can hardly be said to be geared to the solution of the international refugee problem.

From a national viewpoint we can hardly say that the old immigration laws were based on our national needs or the realization of our full potentialities as a Nation. The very narrow basis of national origin was chosen on which to base the quota rather than the fitness of the prospective immigrant to make his or her contribution to the American way of life.

That same basis to a large extent has been carried over into the new legislation and forms the basis of the new quotas. This is most unjust and unfair to many most desirable refugees who wish to make their contribution to our free democratic way of life.

Our national growth and development and the enrichment of our cultural life demand a larger number of new neighbors each year. Economically, we can sustain a much greater population. The present manpower shortage in many areas demonstrates our need in this direction.

When we look at the world picture with the vast numbers of uprooted people, we see problems requiring immediate attention.

There can be no postponement of the refugee problem. People do not live in a vacuum. The man who is dispossessed of his country and his home is looking for a place to settle down and take root. As long as the refugee had hope, even a faint hope of finding such a place, life held meaning for him and he did not despair.

Now, many are beginning to despair of ever finding a home. The DP program came to an end; the ethnic-German program helped only a handful, and millions are still left in camps and in subhuman shelters all over Europe. Some plan must be devised immediately to keep hope alive in the hearts of these people or it will be impossible to win the struggle with the reactionary forces of a latent fascism and menacing communism.

The fourth factor to be considered in developing our immigration policy deals with the long-term problems of our own Nation and the world. In this area we can take more time to deal with the vastly more complicated problem of surplus populations of many nations. This is a problem entirely separate from the refugee problem which should have attention now.

In summarizing, I would like to list a number of points for repeated emphasis:

1. There is room in our country for many more new neighbors.
2. Our own recent experience with displaced persons indicates that they make good citizens and they are a strong bulwark against Communist ideology.
3. Sociological studies reveal that the nations which have experienced a continuous influx of immigration have been strengthened and invigorated thereby.

4. The United States has a continuing responsibility to admit a fair proportion of refugees and immigrants. This is a part of the price of membership in the world family of nations.

5. Our professions of democratic faith must be expressed in actions if they are to have any meaning for our day.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Rev. Mr. Wolf, would you have any more explicit information about what you mean by your first point: "There is room in our country for many more new neighbors"? Would you care to express a more specific opinion on that?

Reverend WOLF. I believe that our country has not become too exhausted of its resources, as far as its capabilities of providing food and the raw materials for a good life and all that it takes to support a much larger population.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Mrs. Anne Kurth here?

**STATEMENT OF MRS. ANNE KURTH, CHAIRMAN, SOCIAL ACTION,
THE DETROIT ARCHDIOCESAN COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN**

Mrs. KURTH. I am Mrs. Anne Kurth, 1048 Yorkshire, Grosse Point. I am chairman of social action, the Detroit Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, which is the organization I represent here.

The Detroit Archdiocesan of Catholic Charities and its affiliates believe in a Christian attitude toward immigration. May I read a prepared statement?

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

Mrs. KURTH. The Detroit Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women and its affiliates believe in a Christian attitude toward immigration and repudiate any tendency to regard the peoples of other nations as essentially inferior.

The Detroit council urges that Congress further liberalize the present restrictive and discriminatory provisions of the immigration laws. We especially urge that means be devised to use quota numbers remaining unused at the end of the fiscal year for the benefit of citizens of countries with oversubscribed quotas.

We recommend that Congress enact special legislation that will admit additional numbers of refugees and displaced persons on a nonquota basis, to aid in alleviating the problems created by Communist tyranny and overpopulation in western Europe.

Studies indicate that the regulations of the executive agencies can be simplified to remove from the applicant a great burden of trouble and expense in time and money. While not overlooking considerations of United States internal security, we urge that regular studies and reviews be made to keep the administrative requirements as simple and feasible as possible.

The Detroit Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women expresses the hope that our Government will continue to participate in international programs for the movement of refugees and residents of overpopulated areas to countries in need of additional manpower.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mrs. Alice L. Sickels here?

**STATEMENT OF MRS. ALICE L. SICKELS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT**

Mrs. SICKELS. I am Mrs. Alice L. Sickels, executive director, International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit, 111 East Kirby Avenue, Detroit, which is the organization I represent. A statement was submitted this morning by our president, Mr. Oran T. Moore, which contained part of our material, and I wish to present some additional material and make an oral statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mrs. SICKELS. I should like first to invite your attention to a section of the report entitled "The DP Story," page 350, with the heading "The Problem Ahead,"¹ stating the problem which remains unsolved.

And, for your information, I have brought the want-ad section of yesterday's Detroit News, October 6, which shows the demand for labor in Detroit, although we accepted in Detroit 17,000 displaced persons.

The International Institute would agree most wholeheartedly with the statement of Mr. Eugene Van Anwork, past national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, in his statement that the national-origin quota is contrary to the ideals for which the veterans in the United States armed services have fought, and that as a result of the McCarran Act some veterans become second-class citizens.

In this view Mr. Van Anwork was joined by Mr. Wagener, past national commander of the Catholic War Veterans, speaking jointly for the American Veterans of World War II, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, and the Polish War Veterans.

The International Institute would go further and agree with the Reverend Arthur H. Krawczak, whose statement was approved by His Eminence Cardinal Edward Mooney, that the national-origin plan is more than undemocratic; it is ridiculous.

The Reverend Sheldon Rahn, of the Detroit Council of Churches, in which over 600 Protestant churches and eastern Orthodox churches are affiliated, has also voiced his opposition to the national-origin plan.

The question is asked: What to substitute? In this the institute feels that we must begin with the basic philosophy on which our immigration policy is based. The present national-origin plan throughout grew out of the philosophy of fear after World War I, the fear of the foreign-born. Since we are an agency devoted to Americanization, we would begin with an ideal of immigration that would be in accord with our national ideal:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal and endowed by the Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The experience of the International Institute in 30 different cities in the United States and our experience here in Detroit proves the truth of this basic assumption. For we have known, first and first-hand, the people of all origins who have migrated to this country through the last 30 years, and we have found them to be equally good Americans if given equality of opportunity.

¹The DP Story, Washington, 1952, U. S. Government Printing Office.

In the first generation people born in other countries often present unequal contributions to American life because of the inequalities of the opportunities in their backgrounds; but we in the International Institute movement have watched the children of these parents grow up; and, given the opportunity for adequate food, education, and freedom from fear, the foreign-born parents, with their limited education, who laid our streetcar tracks and our telephone lines and our gas mains, have given us American children in one generation who have become physicists, attorneys, businessmen, judges, and, perhaps, even members of this Commission.

The criteria for choosing the potential Americans should be the measure of a man or woman without reference to the pigment of his skin or the color of his eyes, the culture of his parents or their religion.

Now we have already in our immigration laws some of the criteria of a desirable American: Good health, sound mind, intelligence, honesty, and, perhaps we should also add, willingness to work. These should be definitely thought through and set up as the criteria for choosing our immigrants of the future, in whatever numbers it seems wise at the time to admit them. We recall that even our present 154,000 annual number was limited during our depression years by policy, at the time, because it was not wise during those years to admit so many people. In other years it may be wiser to admit more. We believe that at the present time it would be wise to immediately admit those who were ready to come, who had their quota numbers ready, and a certain number may be 200,000, maybe more, of those who are refugees, to help to solve this problem immediately. We know that any other basis than the measure of the man himself would not be in the end an American criteria for immigration. The American soldiers with oriental faces and their buddies who fought on the shores of Italy were as equally American as their blond buddies of the Christian faith; and this is the philosophy of immigration which seems to us to be American.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Dr. Nicola Gigante.

STATEMENT OF NICOLA GIGANTE, MICHIGAN CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON ITALIAN MIGRATION

Dr. GIGANTE. I am Dr. Nicola Gigante, 1728 Seminole Street, Detroit. I represent the Michigan Chapter of the American Committee on Italian Migration, of which I am Michigan director.

I have a prepared statement I wish to read.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Doctor.

Dr. GIGANTE. I am privileged to represent the Michigan Chapter of the American Committee on Italian Migration.

The people I represent, and I, have read with a feeling of thankfulness the statements of the President of the United States requesting, in one, emergency legislation to permit entry of a certain number of people from Europe to relieve overcrowding in some nations, and establishing in the other this Commission on Immigration and Naturalization.

We feel that both of these moves represent the most logical and effective effort to help world democracy. For the first time in American

history, an appreciation of our immigration and naturalization structure is being registered on local levels, giving us the opportunity of making known our views on this truly human issue.

We feel that, although the financial aid generously given by this country has done an immense amount of good, and in the case of Italy it has saved that nation for democracy for the time being, a solution to the eternal problem of overpopulation is what is needed to help the Italian nation permanently.

The admission into this country of 300,000 people from Europe is not going to solve the demographic problem of Europe, but it is going to be of considerable immediate help and of great moral value. It obviously is not going to create upheaval in the labor market of this country; instead, it will materially benefit some branches of American industry now in distress because of lack of skilled labor. As an example, the marble industry is in dire need of skilled marble cutters. The garment industry needs skilled workers. Terrazzo workers, tile setters, decorators, cooks, and so forth, are needed.

The President's statements bring hope that immigration laws based on racial or national origin might in the future be modified so that the stigma of discrimination against the people of Southern and Eastern Europe will be erased. Twenty-seven years of experience with our existing immigration laws have proven that the likelihood of a foreigner becoming a good American citizen is not related to the country of his birth. We feel that the requirements for admission should be based solely on the qualities of the candidate for immigration and on the possibilities of his placement in the economic structure of this country.

Obviously, it would not be in the best interest of our Nation to open wide the doors to anyone who would enter. Obviously, the weight of relieving the chaos of Europe should not rest on the shoulders of Americans alone. But we believe that nations with room to spare will follow the example of the United States, as they have before.

When in 1924 this country inaugurated the principle of national origin as a limitation on immigration, other nations followed the example, other nations like Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, and Australia. If the United States, which has assumed leadership of the free world, will now liberalize its immigration laws, those countries in need of manpower, undoubtedly, will follow.

After World War II there developed increased interest in immigration problems. There was an awareness on the part of the American public of the injustice of the present immigration law and of its inadequacy in coping with the dislocations brought about by the war in Western Europe. In some nations the already serious problem of overpopulation was enormously aggravated by the arrival of refugees and escapees.

The American people have accepted the necessity of keeping democracy alive in Western Europe. They have supported that acceptance with a tremendous investment of tax money to keep freedom-loving people free. But UNRRA aid or Marshal-plan aid are not solutions to the problem of overpopulation. Financial help was necessary, but of temporary value. Nations such as Italy, with 47 million people living in a land area barely as large as California and with almost a total lack of raw material for large-scale industrialization,

can only be helped effectively by absorbing part, at least, of their surplus manpower.

Communism thrives where unemployment and poverty rule, and in unemployment and poverty lie the strength of the Italian Communist Party. Italy carries on her back the dual burden of surplus manpower and underemployment, and if her burden cannot be lightened her economic and military usefulness to herself and to us will be impaired.

The postwar immigration problems were recognized in several bills presented to Congress, but unfortunately the McCarran bill was passed, even over the veto of the President. The McCarran bill has been a great disappointment to all concerned. It is an anachronistic bill.

It was hoped the new bill would be one that would temper the act of 1924 and liberalize it while at the same time disposing with the nonsensical idea of national origin. The new bill is exactly the opposite of what it was hoped it would be.

I am basing my opinion of the bill on our President's veto message and on his order establishing your Commission. I have drawn, too, from the criticism expressed by Senator Douglas, of Illinois, in his talk on the Senate floor on May 19, 1952; from opinions of Senator Herbert Lehman, of New York, expressed in his talk of July 4, 1952, and from the views of Congressman Machrowicz and Senator Blair Moody, of Michigan; from labor leaders like Walter Reuther and many other persons interested in the immigration problem.

The McCarran bill does not touch the un-American concept of national origin. It adds only 400 people to the total amount of quotas, and bases the quota determination on a census which excludes rightful citizens of this country such as the Indian and Negro. It curtails the rights of citizenship to the point of dividing citizens into two classes. It deprives naturalized citizens of their right of protection by trusting their destiny to the discretion of the Attorney General or of consular authority. It makes these authorities supreme judges of their present status and their future course. Is this an American law?

I respectfully submit that the McCarran bill does not belong with the body of laws of this country, a body of laws which for 176 years has represented the beacon, the hope, the refuge of all freedom-loving people of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Dr. GIGANTE. I would like to ask this Commission's permission for the possibility of introducing to you an Italian mother Mrs. Carolyn Sinelli Burns, who would like to relate an incident in relation to something that was said to the Commission this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Mrs. Burns may appear.

STATEMENT OF MRS. CAROLYN SINELLI BURNS

Mrs. BURNS. I am Mrs. Carolyn Sinelli Burns, 16924 Stoepel Avenue, Detroit.

I have asked to testify in order that I may furnish for the record a little experience in our home. I am an American of Italian origin married to an Irishman, and who has adopted a Chinese girl, and we have a little Irish-Italian daughter of our own. But I thought it would be important to place in your record that when I was asked

to consider adopting a Chinese girl we had not hesitated to accept her in our home because of our past experience in my mother's home, when she was living, over a number of years with foreign students from the Asiatic countries who have made their home with us; and, therefore, we found that the students that have come here recently, particularly from China and Korea, have adjusted as readily as those who came here during the depression days, and had to endure the hardships of the American depression; and we find that this little girl that we have adopted has adjusted very magnificently in our American way of life and economy.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Joseph W. Skutecki.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH W. SKUTECKI, PRESIDENT, POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC., DIVISION OF MICHIGAN

Mr. SKUTECKI. I am Joseph W. Skutecki, president of the Polish American Congress, Inc., Division of Michigan, 2281 East Forest Avenue, Detroit. I am here to represent that organization of 600,000 Americans of Polish descent, residing in the State of Michigan.

I have a prepared statement setting forth our views which I wish to submit.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and inserted in the record.

(The statement submitted by Joseph W. Skutecki, president of the Polish American Congress, Division of Michigan, is as follows:)

To the Chairman and Members of the Commission:

The Michigan Division of the Polish American Congress, representing 600,000 Americans of Polish ancestry, submits the following memorandum expressing its views, opinions, and wishes concerning the immigration policies of the United States:

As we see it, there are two main aspects to the problem of immigration:

(a) Long-range immigration policy affecting the economic growth, national ideals, world leadership and strength of the United States, and

(b) Emergency legislation to relieve overpopulated areas of Europe and to allow immigration to the United States of escapees from communistic oppression.

Looking at our immigration policy from the wide and long range, the present over-all number of 154,657 immigrants eligible to be admitted each year, as provided in Public Act 414, Eighty-second Congress, is not sufficient for the economic needs of the United States. Shortage of skilled craftsmen, artisans, technical workers or even farm laborers is very apparent in many sections of the country. From the broad humanitarian standpoint, the present quota is neither sufficient to admit the recent refugees from communism, nor large enough to relieve the explosive situation in overpopulated countries.

It must be admitted that America is greatly indebted for her greatness, industrial might and present power in the world to the immigrants and their children or children's children. And the very future of our country in large measure depends on the influx of new blood, new ideas, and new manpower. Stagnation is death.

Even within the small number permitted to enter the United States under the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act the distribution of admissible immigrants is not fair. It is still based on the deplorable national origin theory devised to exclude people from Poland, Baltic States, or central European countries—it is still based on the absurd and false assumption that a person born in Northern or western Europe is more desirable for United States citizenship.

This is a faulty and presumptuous opinion.

The record will show that immigrants or their descendants from eastern or central European countries are no less loyal, patriotic, industrious, and deeply attached to the American principles of democracy than the immigrants from the favored countries. They are among the very best citizens of the United

States, contributing in a much greater percentage to the military strength, defense and protection of our country than their number would indicate. (According to the published reports, 17 percent of the enlistees in the United States Armed Forces are of Polish descent, whereas only 4 percent of our population is of Polish ancestry.)

If you consider the smallness of the quotas for Poland, for the central European countries or for the Baltic States under the new immigration law and the fact that these quotas are mortgaged for years to come, it is apparent that it is almost impossible for the new immigrants and refugees from the countries under the communistic oppression to enter the United States. The cut-off date of January 1, 1949, in the Displaced Persons Act closed to door to all recent escapees from the countries behind the iron curtain. The Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America blare to the peoples behind the iron curtain the superiority and advantages of our American democracy, and encourage them to escape to freedom, but if the unfortunate victim of Communist tyranny escapes to the American zone, he finds the gates to liberty and freedom shut tight against him.

The very severe and stringent attitude toward Polish escaped seamen, those men of excellent character and of unquestionable loyalty to democratic principles and ideals, has caused special hardships to hundreds of worthy individuals. They could not return to Poland, governed today by the Moscow-trained Communists, because of their political views and danger of death in the mines of Siberia. Yet, at the same time, they cannot legalize their entry into the United States. By our existing acts in the field of immigration, we negate the hopes of unfortunate victims of Communist tyranny.

Considering our future immigration policy from a broad humanitarian standpoint and from the point of the welfare, strength, and world leadership of the United States, we recommend the following corrections and improvements in our immigration laws:

(1) The over-all total of immigrants to be admitted per year should be greatly increased.

(2) The quota for Poland and all other countries should be based not on the narrow national origin theory of 1924, but on broad humanitarian considerations and the 1952 economic needs of the United States.

(3) The unused quota numbers of a given year, within the total allowed by law, should be made available the next year to other qualified immigrants who are barred because their particular quotas are exhausted. Such unused quotas should be used in hardship cases and for those who have skills needed in this country or are victims of Communist tyranny and oppression.

(4) We recommend immediate cancellation of the mortgage on quotas resulting from the Displaced Persons Act. The visa numbers used for displaced persons should have been charged to the unused quotas of the past, as provided in the original Stratton bill, not to the quotas of the future.

(5) We recommend impartial judicial review in denaturalization and deportation cases.

(6) We recommend provisions in the immigration law to allow escapees from Communist oppression, who are bona fide political refugees or excellent character, to enter the United States.

(7) We recommend that legally admitted immigrants should not be subject to denaturalization and deportation after a certain number of years for any cause except for treason to the United States or for major criminal offenses committed prior to naturalization.

(8) We recommend urgently needed emergency legislation to permit the admission of 300,000 people over a 3-year period. These 300,000 numbers should be used for refugees and escapees from the countries dominated by communism and for persons residing in countries where there is an acute problem of overpopulation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Benjamin C. Stanczyk will be the next witness.

STATEMENT OF BENJAMIN C. STANCZYK, PRESIDENT, CENTRAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. STANCZYK. I am Benjamin C. Stanczyk, president of the Central Citizens Committee of Detroit, Mich., 3061 Penobscot Building, Detroit, Mich. I am here to represent that organization.

I have a prepared statement to submit for the record and would like to enlarge upon that somewhat in my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. STANCZYK. The Central Citizens Committee of Detroit, Mich., is an organization consisting of approximately 200 civic, social, veterans, and cultural organizations; included amongst them in our membership, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Commission, are the Polish Legion of American Veterans; the State Department with its several posts; the Polish Army Veterans Association; the Polish National Alliance; the Polish Roman Catholic Union, and other similar organizations in the Detroit area, approximately 200 of them with a combined membership of about 150,000.

In enlarging somewhat upon my formal statement for the record, I should like to make a few remarks: First of all, people of Polish descent are freedom-loving people; they are people who have done much throughout the world for the cause of freedom and independence. History records the first armed rebellion of the white man on the north continent as being a rebellion against the House of Burgesses in the Virginia Colony in the year 1617.

This was 3 years before the people settled, the group of the Mayflower settled in Massachusetts. At the time the House of Burgesses attempted to restrict voting to Englishmen only, and that group of 25 or 26 Poles took arms against the House of Burgesses, and that fight for freedom, for independence, for equality, has come right down through the ages.

I am told that in World War I of the first one—the first 100,000 volunteers for the Armed Forces, 40,000 were men of Polish descent. I am told further than in World War II, 17 percent of our Armed Forces were men and women of Polish descent. The founder of our Military Academy was a gentleman of Polish descent.

May I call upon my own observations and experiences as an assistant prosecutor in Detroit during the past several years. We find that of the 17,000 DP's who have come to the Detroit area, we have had a negligible amount of crime which has been limited to misdemeanors. I know of no felony involving a displaced person recently arriving in the Detroit area during the past 4 years.

We find further that of the total crime committed in the Detroit area only about 3 percent of our felonies in the last 4 years have been committed by noncitizens. So it would appear from that that the displaced persons make good citizens. It would appear that the non-citizen does an excellent job of acclimating himself to our system.

During World War II and the period of occupation thereafter, Poland suffered approximately 7 million casualties. There are still several thousands, several hundred thousands of men and women throughout the world who fail to find a refugee haven. We find them in Venezuela sharing their earnings with some racketeers who exploit them to give them a working permit. They are people who had to leave Poland, who were with the Armed Forces throughout the world. **They are attempting to gain access and entry into the United States.** It is my contention that the American policy of immigration should give a haven and a refuge for these men and women who fought valiantly not for their cause but for the cause of independence and democracy for the rest of the world. They were fighting our battle when

they were fighting at Tobruk, when they were fighting at Monte Cassino, and I feel that any approach to an immigration policy should be based upon those humanitarian considerations.

I say that our policy of immigration should change, first of all, the national origin basis for quotas. That should be done away with and a system of priorities should be substituted in its place, such as I have described in some detail in my written brief, a system which would, first of all, depend upon an American citizenship interest, which has been well-defined over a period of years, upon the entry of the prospective immigrant into the United States; secondly, the status of relatives in the United States of that prospective immigrant; and then, thirdly, the skills or the occupations of that person.

Just a few minutes ago, a witness on this stand testified that there is a serious labor shortage in the Detroit area, and I have personal experience that we have great difficulty in finding artisans in Detroit.

It appears that in the last few years we have developed new industrial techniques which have opened new vistas, and the barriers and the frontiers in industry have disappeared because of improved industrial techniques.

I believe that in the field of agriculture, with the reclamation of millions of acres of arid land, we have found new frontiers, we have opened new frontiers through new chemical processes, new fertilizers, new chemical catalysts. So this country has much room for those people in Europe who have very many valuable things to bring to us.

Thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Your formal statement will be incorporated into the record.

(The statement submitted by Benjamin C. Stanczyk, president, on behalf of the Central Citizens Committee is as follows:)

CENTRAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE,
Detroit 26, Mich., October 6, 1952.

MR. PHILIP B. PERLMAN,
President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich.

DEAR MR. PERLMAN: Pursuant to invitation of Mr. Henry M. Rosenfield, under date of September 24, 1952, we are submitting herewith a brief explaining the views of the Americans of Polish Descent in the Detroit area.

I. Our present policy of limiting immigration to 154,000 aliens a year, which figure is divided into a series of quotas based on the national origin of the immigrant, does not meet the requirements of this country. The formula gives Eire (the Irish Republic) 15,000 immigrants annually, and Great Britain (England, Scotland, Wales) 63,000 immigrants; experience has shown that this quota is utilized only to the extent of approximately 25 percent, and some visas remain unused each year. This means that actually we limit immigration to approximately 100,000 each year.

World War II started because Germany violated the territorial integrity of Poland. Poland suffered approximately 7,000,000 casualties during World War II and the period of occupation thereafter. Those Poles who managed to survive are barred from the United States by our present immigration laws.

Frequently we have seen the situation where merchant seamen from countries behind the iron curtain have jumped their ship and entered the United States. These persons have not been treated as bona fide political refugees and should be allowed admittance into the United States rather than deported.

Our statutory requirements for the naturalization and deportation should be based on—

(a) Acts of treason by the naturalized citizen.

(b) Criminal offenses involving moral turpitude committed prior to naturalization.

The standards expressed in the McCarran Act results in a second class of citizenship because that act provides for deportation based on criminal offenses committed after naturalization. It is not consistent with the traditional American system of fair play. It is in contravention of the spirit of that portion of our Federal and State Constitutions which prohibit ex-post facto punishment.

II. Our policy of immigration and naturalization should be flexible to meet changing conditions in the light of social and economic conditions in—

- (a) The United States
- (b) The rest of the world.

The United States has been moving its frontiers continually during the past 20 years and it has opened new areas for agricultural rehabilitation because of—

(a) The availability of irrigation water which has resulted from the construction of our huge dams all of which have reclaimed millions of acres of wasteful desert land and converted them into rich farm land.

(b) New and improved agricultural techniques, such as improvements in chemical fertilizers, chemical catalysts, which allow greater yields per acre, improvements in seeds especially for grains, new farm machinery, and other scientific farming techniques.

(c) Improved industrial techniques which result in greater production per man-hour.

In light of the foregoing, it is urged that our immigration should provide for the entry into this country of not less than 300,000 and not more than 600,000 immigrants each year. The President of the United States, acting with the advice of the Labor Department, should be authorized to fix the quota based on economic systems prevailing in the United States and in other parts of the world.

Such a flexible policy of immigration is necessary in order that the United States should be prepared to offer refuge to escapees and refugees from countries behind the iron curtain and from such areas which suffer from serious overpopulation which results in economic crises.

Our immigration policy should take into consideration the need in this country for skilled artisans and craftsmen who bring with them skills and crafts which are rapidly disappearing in this country. In this category we should include chefs, cooks, bakers, cabinetmakers, glass blowers, tailors, barbers, milliners, and other similar craftsmen. It appears that during the past 50 years the emphasis in our industrial system has been on mass production rather than on the development of skilled artisans and craftsmen. This has resulted in a serious shortage of such craftsmen especially in those areas where mass-production industries are prevalent. These include Detroit, Pittsburgh, Birmingham, and other similar cities.

III. It is urged that the national-origin quota be done away with entirely. The reasons and arguments set forth in the first portions of this brief should be included herein by reference. It is repeated here that the quota allocated to Great Britain has never been used beyond 25 percent of such quota. Instead of the system of national origin for a quota system, the system of preference should be worked out based on the following considerations:

(a) American citizenship interest in the arrival in this country of the prospective immigrant.

(b) Relatives in the United States of the prospective immigrant.

(c) The skill or craft of the prospective immigrant and its need or demand in the United States as indicated by our own Labor Department.

(d) The country of origin and the effect of the emigration of the applicant from that country on the economic conditions of his native country.

(e) Other pertinent considerations such as political refugees, refugees from religious persecution, physicians, surgeons, ministers, priests, rabbis, and other learned individuals coming into this country.

It has been urged in Congress that the immigration of 350,000 persons of Italian origin from that country would aid substantially in employment or economic conditions in that country and would also mean the enrichment of our own economy because of the valuable crafts and skills possessed by the immigrants. The problem of refugees and escapees from areas behind the iron curtain will continue to loom as an important factor in shaping our immigration policy. This is based upon the humanitarian consideration of giving haven and refuge to those who have fought for the Allied cause in the past, who have made sacrifices of their economic fortunes and who have suffered otherwise in resisting the oppres-

sion and tyranny of the Nazis or by the Russians. By giving refuge to these refugees and escapees we are giving moral support to the struggle for liberty which is being carried on in such places as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and the Baltic States.

There should be a critical evaluation of our immigration policy with regard to the Far East. The Pacific triangle as defined in the McCarran bill and the provision for the entry of 100 persons into the United States from the triangle is incongruous with our former policy of giving aid and assistance to countries in Asia and particularly India, China, Korea, Manchuria, and Japan.

SUMMARY

It is urged that the national-origin system for immigrations quotas be done away with and in its stead a system of preferences based upon social and economic conditions be worked out. It is further urged that the inflexible figures of 154,000 immigrants be scrapped and in its place a flexible system be established which would allow not less than 300,000 and not more than 600,000 immigrants annually.

It is urged that proper consideration be given to escapees and refugees from behind the iron curtain and to the serious overpopulation in Western Europe. Respectfully submitted.

THE CENTRAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE,
By BENJAMIN C. STANCZYK, *President*.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES N. DIAMOND, REPRESENTING THE ORDER OF AHEPA (AMERICAN HELLENIC EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION) IN MICHIGAN

MR. DIAMOND. I am Charles N. Diamond, 18911 Lindsay Street, Detroit. I am here as representative of the Order of American Hellenic Education Progressive Association and citizenry of Greek origin in Michigan.

I have a prepared statement I would like to read.

THE CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

MR. DIAMOND. My name is Charles N. Diamond. I reside at 18911 Lindsay Street, in the city of Detroit, Mich. My occupation is a tax collector for the Wayne County treasurer's office. I am an American citizen of Greek origin and have been a resident of the United States of America since 1913. I am a World War I veteran, member and past commander of American Legion Post No. 100 and a life member of the Disabled American Veterans. At the present time I am a vice chairman of the Michigan committee on immigration; a member of the Michigan State committee on displaced persons and for 2 years have been a member of the AHEPA displaced persons committee.

Taking into view the fact that the vast majority of European immigrants who came to this country, irrespective of nationality and despite their disadvantages at the time of their admission, have become an invaluable asset and have decidedly contributed to the molding and advancement of our social, economic, and political institutions and ideals, we strongly recommend that the general immigration laws of this great country of ours, the United States of America, should be more liberalized and the gates left open to such immigrants as those who are honest, hard-working, and freedom-loving persons, to enter this country and become good American citizens and real assets to this land of ours.

Regardless of nationality, there should not be any discrimination of citizenship. There should not be two classes of citizenship.

Our present laws and policies, especially since the McCarran-Walter bills were passed and became the new law for immigration, appear to be based on the assumption that no honest, hard-working, freedom-loving person in the world would attempt to enter the United States for permanent residence.

We all know that the American consulates everywhere are required to presume that anyone applying for an immigration visa has some evil design for destruction of this Government, the industry and morality of the American people. We know that every immigrant has to prove to the satisfaction of the American consul, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Secretary of Labor, immigration commissioners, and to the President of the United States that he does not plan any harm to the American people and to the American Government and also prove that he or she will not become a public charge.

All immigrants are subject to the rules, regulations, and discretionary sensibilities of the Attorney General, under the present laws. After the alien has become an American citizen, having passed all necessary forms and qualifications, he is immediately subjected to special laws which operate to his special disadvantage and to the disadvantage of his American-born children.

To avoid the stigma of having second-class citizens, there must be laws which apply to all citizens alike and equality under the law should be to have one standard; one system of dispensing justice and meting out punishment to all persons alike within the jurisdiction of the United States of America.

While we cannot speak with any authority regarding the needs of other countries and peoples of the world, we can speak about the needs of Greece and her suffering people.

One of the gravest problems of Greece, arising from the present world crisis, is created by the overpopulation, because the people of Greece also were and are the victims of oppression, being people who lost everything they possessed while fighting for freedom and liberty—fighting communism.

Under the Displaced Persons Act, 7,500 Greeks were permitted to enter the United States. Not one of them has given any trouble to the Government or to the people of the United States of America.

The American consuls in Greece reported that 42,000 applications were investigated and ready to be approved if there were more visas available; the regular quota of the Greek immigration has been mortgaged to 2,063.

The old Greek quota was based on a basis of 1896—some say 1920, but it goes back farther than that—yet, was applicable under such basis until 1952, and now under the new law of McCarran, there is none—until 2063.

If American participation in the international effort is to be continued to assist in the immigration and resettlement of a substantial number of persons from the overpopulated areas of western Europe, the present laws need a drastic change, and if necessary an emergency legislation must be passed by the new Congress. However, they may not be the permanent solution to the future and for that reason we strongly recommend that the entire quota system be abolished; that the so-called mortgaged quotas be forgiven as of this date—as of January 1953—and the immigration and naturalization laws and policies should be brought up to date.

We speak of freedom. We speak of our freedom-loving allies, but we close the doors to them.

Our common defense requires that we make the best possible opportunity of the material resources of the free world; we should permit such material to come and become the productivity and assets of our industries. We can and we should take some of the migrants now available in Europe. Our expansion of industry and the enlargement of our defense forces have increased the demands on our available manpower reserves. We need skilled and trained personnel in the immediate future. Let us help ourselves by helping the unfortunate and remembering that they are willing to come and work—the people of Europe. Farmers and farm workers are needed and we can draw them from the overpopulated Europe.

There is a great danger now; the danger of permitting those suffering people to become the real victims of communism unless we extend to them the American helping hand; not as charity, not for welfare, but for an opportunity for them to come here, go to work on farms and industry, and live the American way of life.

It was an unfortunate act of Congress when the McCarran Act was enacted over the veto of President Truman. It permitted our own allies to lose faith in America and it helped the cause of Stalin.

We pray that the President's Commission will find cause to recommend that the new Congress must take action immediately to repeal the unjust and unfair present laws of immigration.

We pray that the voices of the suffering, heroic people of Greece will be heard and the proper relief be given to them.

We pray that the appeals from the people of other countries will also be heard and be considered, irrespective of which nationality or group.

If the Commission finds it necessary to urge the quota system be continued, we strongly urge that the 1950 census be used as a basis with the beginning of 1953 and all past mortgaged quotas be forgiven. An increase of the quota number is necessary and legislation authorizing the President of the United States to recommend special emergency legislation if and when necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. DIAMOND. May I ask the Commission, if possible, to permit Mr. Constantine A. Tsangadas, who is one of the most prominent attorneys of Greek origin in the city of Detroit, past national president of the Order of AHEPA, to appear and take a little time for oral presentation, in addition to this statement, if you please?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; is Mr. Tsangadas here?

STATEMENT OF CONSTANTINE A. TSANGADAS, PAST NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE ORDER OF AHEPA

Mr. TSANGADAS. I am Constantine A. Tsangadas, 1406 Dime Building, Detroit. I am admitted to practice law in the States of Ohio and Michigan, being admitted in 1921.

I appear before this Commission in connection with this matter, first, of having direct interest as being an immigrant myself, and being originally connected with the order of AHEPA since 1923, and as one of the original members of the displaced persons commission of AHEPA, which was sponsored 5 years ago.

My interest as a member of the bar is such that I must make a statement first, that the immigration laws as well as the naturalization laws of the United States should be properly codified. Although there is tremendous criticism against the McCarran Act, there are certain phases of it which would enable those who are appointed to administer the law to carry it out, or to carry out the purpose of Congress.

However, it is time that Congress should consider appropriate legislation of considering every angle connected with immigration and naturalization. I will not discuss particular phases on the quota except to bring out to the Commission this point: That the greatness of America is due to the contribution of all those who came to the United States either by force or through their willingness. That is the cause of the greatness that America was destined and is now leading the whole world.

Taking the question of quotas, which is one of the controversial points, for which most of our groups are interested, I want to say to the Commission that you cannot consider the quota on the basis of origin as it has been considered by Congress up to this time; there are economical questions to be considered as well as ideological questions presented throughout the world today. America is spending billions of dollars to carry out the true civilization of the world, and preserve peace, and we come here in connection with the immigration question, and discriminate upon certain minor points which are spoken to disgrace us to the people who are to be considered our friends.

I must say that, although the southeastern part of Europe has a very small quota, the Commission should consider that and offer some solution to Congress, if Congress is going to amend this legislation, to cure these conditions.

I will refer particularly to the trouble that exists today in Greece. It is not a present question. The question of the unsettlement of conditions in Greece goes back not only economically but ethnically. We all well remember that after the First World War Greece was compelled to be the policeman of the civilized world, to go into Asia Minor after the loss of the skirmish between Greece and Turkey; one million and a half of the people of Asia Minor were thrown into Greece—one-fourth of the then existing population of Greece, which was around 4 million people.

In other words, Greece itself had a population of nearly 4 million people and we had one million and a half more thrown into that little country to be taken care of by Greece. With great thanks to the American Friends of Greece and the Near East relief associations and other charitable associations, Greece tried to solve that problem; but that problem could not have been solved in a short time. The economic condition of Greece today is due to that particular point, because there were one million and a half people thrown there, who, although most of them were Greeks or of Greek origin, Christians, there were some other. There were Jewish people there, and there were Armenians, Syrians, Arabs, against which the Greek people and the Greek Government did not discriminate but it opened its doors to them.

Since 1923 and through the Second World War, these people were not able to be assimilated because Greece is a poor country and is not a farming country that could have absorbed all these people.

We claim now that Greece had the internal trouble of communism. There isn't any more communism in Greece than you will find in most of the other European countries. But when people have not sufficient food, when the father sees his children starving, he will try to get food some way, even to rob, to help his family through. The question of the quotas based on the basis of origin could not be helpful to the situation of Greece. Mr. Diamond stated that 7,500 displaced persons from Greece came to America; in addition to that there were 2,500 of those who had been so classified who had been in the United States, and a number of orphans were brought in by citizens.

At this point I want to beg the committee to consider the question of the orphans. Greece has today more than 75,000 orphans that she could not properly take care of. I have been instrumental in helping to bring some of the orphans into the United States. But with the closing of the Displaced Persons Act, those orphans cannot come to the United States; no one can adopt orphans in any country, to bring them into the United States, unless there is a quota opened. These orphans could not be considered under the immigration laws as children who could come in through exemption from the quota.

I believe as a question of humanitarians, as Christians and human beings, we should consider the question of not only orphans in Greece but throughout the entire Europe of today that are suffering, and some in Asia that are suffering.

Now I believe the unused quotas based on national origins, which are not being used by countries such as Great Britain and Germany, should be used by other countries. I believe east and southeast from the border of Czechoslovakia and Hungary the entire quota for that part of Europe is about 6,500 population—6,500; that would be the number. I don't believe that amount is sufficient; that is, the number is so small that even those who are in the United States could not bring in under the present law their own close relatives.

I wanted to bring my mother here after the Second World War, and she could not come because she had to be on the first preference quota. I bring these short remarks to the Commission, and I say most emphatically that the question of immigration is not only an economic question for America, it concerns the entire world and we must not be considered as looking after a pound of flesh or trying to make money out of everything at all. It is our obligation if we are going to lead the whole world, we must lead them at every point and not only try to spread our civilization.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is Rev. Paul Nagy here?

STATEMENT OF REV. JOHN PAUL NAGY, PASTOR OF THE FREE HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH

Reverend NAGY. I am Rev. John Paul Nagy, 9181 Mason Place, Detroit, pastor of the Free Hungarian Reformed Church in Detroit.

I have a statement I wish to read, which expresses the views and stand of the Protestants and displaced persons of Hungarian origin in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear it.

Reverend NAGY. Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission, article XIV, section I of our Constitution says—

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States: nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law: nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

A great American, Alexander Hamilton, said: "The Constitution is itself in every rational service and to every useful purpose a bill of rights."

A naturalized citizen, father of four American-born children, pastor of a bilingual Christian congregation and representative of the displaced persons of Hungarian origin, I feel and believe that our Constitution is the most perfect defender of human rights and dignity next to the Holy Scriptures.

Therefore, using our Constitution as my bill of rights, on behalf of my fellow citizens and legitimate immigrants of Hungarian origin, I respectfully ask the revision of the immigration and naturalization laws passed by the Eighty-second Congress, in order that they may conform more perfectly with the above amendment taken from our Constitution.

As it now stands, "our privileges" (privileges of American citizens of Hungarian, Polish, Italian, etc., origins) have been abridged * * * our equality has, in a sense, been denied, when according to the quota allotments in the new immigration law a citizen of the United Kingdom is far more welcome than a citizen of any country on the Continent. In other words, our parents, relatives, and countrymen are less desirable.

"To err is human" is a well-known proverb. The Eighty-second Congress erred in passing a defective and discriminatory bill of Senator McCarran, which is an insult to many honest and loyal citizens of the United States and hundreds of thousands of persons who would like to come to the United States.

All mistakes can be corrected by noble-hearted, intelligent men. As our Constitution begins: "We, the people of the United States * * *" so I say, We, the people of the United States, of foreign origin, demand and believe the Eighty-third Congress will correct this great mistake and will:

1. Take into consideration the privations already borne by those who were uprooted from their homes: the circumstances under which refugees live in the overpopulated countries of Germany, Austria, and so forth, the heartbreaking misery inflicted on many because families were split up, leaving behind aged parents, depriving them of affection and support of their children. Alleviate the suffering by having legislation provide for the admission of those who were processed under the Displaced Persons Act, but for whom visas were not available on December 31, 1951.

2. Give serious consideration to the adjusting of unused quotas in order to help reunion of families, persecuted refugees and provide workers needed in our country.

3. Remove all discriminatory statutes which are based upon consideration of nationality, race, or color. As Almighty God has

created all men equally, our great Abraham Lincoln proclaimed all men equal, so should Congress classify all citizens of the United States.

4. Provide for admission of those displaced persons who are in the South American countries, Australia, New Zealand, and so forth, and are suffering ill health under the unaccustomed climate of the Torrid Zone.

5. Give the refugees and immigrants of Hungarian descent equal standing with those of other small or great nations.

6. Take precautionary measure to ensure our Nation against the infiltration of hostile forces and protect from the attack of subversive groups and newspapers those who are not as yet citizens of our country but are loyal and honest workers of our American society.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is Joseph P. Uvick here?

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH P. UVICK, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES

Mr. UVICK. I am Joseph P. Uvick, 907 Fox Theater Building, secretary of the American Council of Nationalities, in whose behalf I am appearing.

I have a prepared statement I wish to file, but before doing so, I would like to make a brief observation.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. UVICK. I would just like to add a brief observation to this effect: That I would be willing, in fact, anxious, to have your honorable Commission determine the benefits the United States received, on the basis as a witness suggested here earlier, of "a pound of flesh," what the United States has received in admitting 300,000 recently displaced persons aside from any other humanitarian considerations. I do that because I am aware of the fact that you have had the humanitarian phases of it presented to you very adequately.

As a lawyer and as a city magistrate of Grosse Point, Mich., and being of Lithuanian origin, speaking the language fluently, my contact with at least the Lithuanian group is quite intimate. As a good American I would have to say that I am more than proud and sometimes a little ashamed that they have done so well compared to sometimes our own native sons. There isn't a week but what I examine several abstracts of men purchasing property. As of yesterday a man, being here 2½ years, has paid up his mortgage, which is something that we, not having been shocked by the adversities they have experienced, would feel it impossible to do.

Based on their share of Army volunteers and draftees, it would be immodest in my case to even suggest the success of the family, being a son of a coal miner and immigrant, a penniless man when he came. If this Commission could properly picture to Congress the assets that the United States has gained, not necessarily being humanitarian at all but strictly selfish in the national interest being served, I think that Congress would not have to feel they have to find a way to limit and lessen the number, but would feel the need as an objective of attaining the maximum number of immigrants to the point of reasonable absorption.

True, if we would open the doors wide as they were up to the time of the First World War, humanity is so unsettled in other parts of the

world that the avalanche would smother us. There are at least ten or fifteen thousand people just across the river here who would give anything they had to get across the border legally. That is true of every border we have, so we must have regulations. But the number of 300,000 has proved so insignificant during the past 3 or 4 years and has been absorbed so readily, as was indicated by the lady from the International Institute, that you gentlemen going through the United States collecting that phase of it, I believe, would be able to put in your report a consensus report to this objective as a proven fact.

I just viewed 1,500 in a hall the other day. Most of them were young and in their prime and ready to be hitched to our industrial machine, ready to be put into the Army. If it is true that it costs us about \$16,000—it must cost us at least \$10,000 because even the Government allows a child to be counted as an exemption—to raise a child to where he would be fit for the Army or be fit to be put to work, every one of these men and women who has come has saved us ten to fifteen thousand dollars.

I thought I would present this idea: That on a purely selfish dollar-and-cents, pound-of-flesh business, do we want only 100,000 or 200,000 of grown-up human beings ready to be hitched to the plow, or should we have at least a half million? I think we could absorb a half million a year. It's just as we do in our tariff. We could do the same thing in immigration. There shouldn't be any argument in Congress on that score. Many men of Congress are of necessity the product of their environment, their contact with people of foreign extraction. Their approach to that in Congress is limited by their environment, when they think that when they leave a foreigner in here they have given away something.

We should, I believe, accept at least 300,000 or probably one-half million a year and really open the gate past the discriminatory idea that people from one part of the world are different from the others.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir. Your prepared statement will be inserted in the record.

(There follows the prepared statement submitted by Joseph P. Uvick, secretary, American Council of Nationalities:)

OCTOBER 6, 1952.

President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization:

GENTLEMEN: Responding to your invitation to present my views and those of Lithuanian organizations on immigration policies, law, and administration, may I, as its secretary, give the views of the American Council of Nationalities, supplementing the views of particular organizations or nationality groups.

This council consists of representatives from the following nationality groups: Croation, Czech, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Rumanian, Slovak, Macedonian and White Russian, Serbian, and Armenians.

While the council was not organized with immigration as a primary consideration, it is of deep interest to all represented nationality groups. The articles of association of the council express its purposes, and a paragraph from the articles that may be pertinent reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned representatives of the several nationality groups in the metropolitan area of Detroit, descendants of the nations behind the iron curtain, or those countries endangered by the communistic aggression, having considered the threatening danger of communism to the United States of America and the communistic oppression of the lands of our forefathers in Europe and Asia, do hereby unite and associate ourselves into the American Council of Nationalities."

The underlying purposes of the council's existence obviously imply that we earnestly recommend enactment of laws that would effectively screen out all immigrants of sympathetic leanings toward communism.

Our collective views on immigration are predicated upon and must stand the test of what would bring the best present and future results for the United States. Would our recommendation benefit the United States economically and culturally, and increase her manpower effectively in no less ratio in each instance than our normal increase of native population?

No one we know of now questions the wisdom of our country's founders to the open-door policy or the subsequent continuation of nonquota immigration up to a time when it appeared that we may be flooded because of unsettled conditions abroad. We then limited the number and sought preference by the quota system.

Conditions are even more unsettled now, and if we dared to open wide our gates, a flood of humanity would inundate us, so some regulation is inevitable.

1. How many per year is the primary question.

2. Has the quota system proven itself as a justification for its perpetuation?

Rolled into one, it's how many should be accept, then whether to favor certain nationalities and thereby at the same time discriminate against others.

We believe that the number can be substantially increased and that it was and is a mistake to slant the quotas to favor northern or western Europe on the false assumption that the Baltic State and Central Europeans would be less valuable to the United States.

Because of humanitarian reasons primarily, we have accepted many more since World War II than the former or new quotas allow. What is our experience with the great number of displaced persons? Haven't we absorbed them without economic indigestion? In proportion to their numbers, won't we find them with as many or even more homes purchased than our general average? As many volunteers and draftees? And one factor we must not forget that most all of them grown up and in their prime to be hitched to our economic machine: That they did not cost us anything to raise or educate them. In effect, we adopted future full-grown sons and daughters who are rooted here to stay.

Therefore, when we consider immigration in terms of generations as being a part of our basic growth, or most recent influx of displaced persons, we were and are the gainers, and we should increase our adoption of manhood at its best.

Little need be said that our discrimination was not and cannot be of any benefit. We find no advocates that seriously contend that races or European geographic origins produce provable differences measured by results of our experience with immigration here in the United States.

In conclusion, we may summarize by stating that we should increase the number to be admitted. Then seek to achieve that number by allocating proportionately the unused to those that have exhausted theirs and forget about the mortgaged future quotas as a means of limitation.

Fundamentally, it's still a question of whether sound wisdom should dictate that it's safer to grow slower by normal native birthrate, or grow stronger more quickly and increase our productivity in every field as we have in the past by adding to our humanity.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH P. UVICK, *Secretary*.

The CHAIRMAN. Lee A. White, you are the next witness.

STATEMENT OF LEE A. WHITE, DIRECTOR OF CRANBROOK INSTITUTIONS, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONALITY DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES, MEMBER OF THE MICHIGAN COMMISSION ON DISPLACED PERSONS, AND MEMBER OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT

Mr. WHITE. I am Lee A. White, a director of Cranbrook Institutions, chairman of the nationality department of the United Community Services, and a member of the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons. I am also a member of the board of directors of the International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit.

Miss Florence G. Cassidy, secretary of the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons and the nationality department of the United Community Services has prepared a statement in behalf of those organizations, which will be submitted. This statement deals with, as I need not deal with, specific recommendations with regard to possible improvements in the legislative program, and is in hearty support of the suggested intensive study of the whole problem with a view to further beneficial legislation.

I should like only, in being present myself, to supplement very briefly, with what I hope is not too sentimental an approach, this material with experiences of my own, and I speak out of 40 years of background experience. In the immigration connection I am a member of the board of directors of the International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit.

I have mentioned my connection with the Cranbrook Institutions; and, while a dollar is a poor measure of the worth of an institution or an individual, it is perhaps interesting that if those institutions were to be reconstructed at this date it would cost perhaps \$45,000,000 to do the job. They are now 25 years old.

What interests me very greatly in relationship to your problem is that those institutions were built and given to the people of Michigan in furtherance of its cultural program by a man who is an immigrant to the United States and whose father was an immigrant to the United States, and then a migrant to Canada, and then a returned immigrant to the United States. This man who gave so greatly and his wife, who added so much from her own resources, both were children of immigrants. Mrs. George G. Booth, like her husband, was the child of an immigrant parent. These institutions include students ranging all the way from the age of 3 to postgraduate students who have completed the professional work at universities. The students in those institutions have come from 25 foreign countries. They have been taught by faculties brought from many parts of the world—Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, German, French, Welsh. The product of the institutions has gone back to the countries of their origin, with the hope that they may make a contribution to their national development, to the well-being of their beings. The institutions, which are six in number, include the Cranbrook Institute of Science, whose distinguished head is Dr. Robert Hatt. Dr. Hatt has just left for Iraq to render a high service, we trust, to the Iraq National Museum of Research. Dr. Hatt passed through the streets of Detroit at the time of the most unfortunate race riots of a very few years ago, and on the way to Cranbrook pondered the problem of what those institutions ought to be able to do to help meet this problem, and so, eventually, an exhibit was opened there of a scientific nature, purely anthropological, and that exhibit has ever since been traveling in this and neighboring countries, and is a scientist's scientific preparation of the equality of peoples, or, at least, let us say, the absence of those inequalities which are popularly presumed to exist.

Well, you can see why, aside from any convictions I might have had of a prior character, I should be considerably moved by the atmosphere, and the circumstances under which I work, and especially recognize what many peoples have contributed to make America what it is. And, in this field, perhaps, so broad a statement of conviction

as to seem sentiment and an emotion, I should like to add these few words: that I do not find it easy to believe that God intended to bestow on one group of immigrants, and their dependents, and to deny to others, the blessings and the material advantages that America offers. Looking upon America and its citizens as "One Nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all," I have not inclined myself to divide my allegiance to the United States in its entirety, or my sense of indebtedness to its pioneers regardless of whence they came, or whither they journeyed, or where they settled, nor have I felt disposed to sit in judgment upon an immigrant or a native son and apportion liberty and justice in accordance with my pride or my prejudices. It does not seem to me the part of wisdom to waive the opportunity, which is still ours, to increase by importation the rich human resources, cultural, spiritual, and material, which the world offers us. I doubt that I have a right of inheritance, or at least an exclusive or particular right of inheritance to those things which, while called America, are actually the accumulation of centuries to which diverse peoples have contributed. I believe that I shall enjoy the more that part which comes to me in proportion to my willingness to share it with others now and in the future. But I am not so guileless as not to recognize those abuses, and those problems which may attend hospitality, those problems which make it extremely difficult to be humanitarian, and I feel the need, as the President stated when your Commission was established, "to make a study of the basic assumptions of our immigration policy, the quota system and all that goes into it, the effect of our immigration and nationality laws, and the ways in which they can be brought into line with our national ideals and our foreign policy."

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Miss Florence Cassidy, you are the next witness.

STATEMENT OF FLORENCE G. CASSIDY, SECRETARY OF THE MICHIGAN COMMISSION ON DISPLACED PERSONS AND SECRETARY OF THE NATIONALITY DEPARTMENT OF UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES

MISS CASSIDY. I am Florence G. Cassidy, secretary of the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons and secretary of the Nationality Department of United Community Services, on whose behalf I am appearing.

I have a prepared statement I will submit, and will be glad to answer any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement will be inserted in the record.

(The statement submitted by Miss Florence G. Cassidy, secretary of the Michigan Displaced Persons Commission and secretary of the Nationality Department of United Community Services is as follows:)

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, the nationality department of the United Community Services has been in close touch with United States citizens of more than 30 different nationalities for the past 15 years. Its testimony, therefore, is based on first-hand knowledge. The department is extremely glad to have an opportunity to express its views both on the subject of a desirable long-range immigration policy for our country and the special needs of the immediate future.

Ever since 1924 the immigration policy of the United States has been based on the fallacious assumption that persons born in northern and western Europe are more readily assimilated and make better United States citizens than persons born in other parts of Europe. In our experience we have found no evidence to support this assumption. People of education, skill, integrity, character, and ambition are to be found in all nationalities. Individual fitness rather than country of birth should be the criterion. Ever since 1924 the quotas of certain countries have been so small that it has been impossible to bring about promptly the reuniting of separated families and the establishment of normal family life in America. This we believe to be bad for our country as well as a great hardship to the individuals concerned. The smallness of these quotas has also resulted in feelings of inferiority on the part of immigrant groups in this country and in feelings of resentment in their countries of origin.

We believe that relationship to United States citizens, technological qualifications, and the economic needs of the United States are a better basis than country of birth for determining the number to be admitted. Public Law 414 sets up certain technological and other preferences, but still within the framework of quotas based on country of birth as determined by the 1920 census. The needs of the present rather than a quota based on population distribution in the past, in our judgment, should be the main consideration in our immigration policy.

We are not advocating a wide-open-door policy, but even within a restrictive policy it should be possible to allocate visa numbers on a much fairer basis than that which prevails in the national-origin quota system.

If the American people are unready and the Congress hence unwilling to discard completely the national-origin formula, certain readjustments can and should be made within the present quota system. The quotas can be based on the census of 1950 instead of 1920. They would not be wholly satisfactory but they would be less discriminatory than the present quotas. The unused quota numbers of a given year could be pooled and used the following year for hardship cases regardless of the country of birth of the applicant. The quota for Great Britain and Northern Ireland is not used at present, and the unused numbers under existing law are wasted. To correct this situation, we are suggesting a plan that would keep these numbers from being wasted.

There should be some relation between our immigration policy and our foreign policy. Discriminatory quotas are cited by enemies of the United States as evidence that we are not the champion of all free peoples. Our past policy toward Asiatics has been especially damaging, and it has not been fully corrected by Public Law 414. This new act is excellent so far as most of its naturalization provisions are concerned. We heartily approve of the section which makes foreign-born residents of the United States, regardless of race or country of birth, eligible for naturalization on the basis of individual worth. The immigration provisions of Public Law 414, however, are less satisfactory. For example, the Asia-Pacific triangle can still be cited by Communists as evidence of discrimination.

The lack of correlation between our foreign policy and our immigration policy is seen in the matter of escapees from behind the iron curtain. On the one hand, we encourage persons who are dissatisfied with communism to escape and, on the other hand, we fail to make any provision under our immigration laws for them, once they have escaped. Even the Displaced Persons Act, which was much more liberal than Public Law 414, provided only for those escapees who had come into the western zones before January 1, 1949.

Our immigration policy ought to be sufficiently flexible to allow the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service discretion not to deport in far more instances than those provided for under Public Law 414. In the period from 1940 to 1950, this country witnessed the growth of procedures such as suspension of deportation, preexamination, and other devices for the regularization of status which prevented the separation of the families of United States citizens and those of aliens long resident in the United States. We feel that by greatly curtailing this discretion, Public Law 414 has been a step backward: For example, limiting suspension of deportation procedure to cases which present "exceptional and extremely unusual hardship." The main consideration should not be a matter of whether hardships are usual or unusual. Hardships can be severe, undeserved, and devastating and still be usual, as in Nazi Germany or Communist countries. The consideration in our deportation policy should be whether cases actually present serious hardship, not whether the hardship is usual or unusual.

We believe that much more consideration should be given by the Congress than has been given in the past to applying the principle of a statute of limitations to our immigration laws. We have long had a limitation of 5 years on the deportation of aliens who become public charges from causes not affirmatively shown to have arisen subsequent to entry. This principle should be applied to far more cases, even to those involving criminal offenses when the alien came to the United States as a child and received his entire "education in crime" in the United States.

The foregoing statements have to do with our long-range immigration policy. It will require a considerable amount of education of public opinion before changes along these lines are made. Pending such changes, we recommend certain emergency measures to care for the crucial needs of the present hour.

The danger of Communist control in Italy is increased by overcrowding, overpopulation, and lack of industrialization in certain sections of the country. Emigration to the United States and other countries is one answer to this problem. Thousands of United States citizens of Italian extraction are amply able to forward the necessary affidavits of support and to guarantee that Italian immigrants to this country will not become public charges. There is no question about our ability to absorb such immigrants from the angle of our own economy. There is no question, also, about the explosive situation which now prevails in Italy.

Similarly, overpopulation in Greece could be relieved without a severe strain on our economy. Excellent assurances or affidavits forwarded under the Displaced Persons Act by United States citizens of Greek birth or descent were received by United States consuls in Greece for more than three times the number of persons eligible for immigration under the sections of the Displaced Persons Act which applied to Greeks. The offers of homes and jobs contained in these affidavits still hold good. If an emergency quota for Greece is provided for along the lines of last year's Celler bill, there would be no question whatsoever about the necessary financial guaranties being forthcoming.

The need for provisions of a temporary nature for escapees from behind the iron curtain was discussed above in the paragraph having to do with the relation of our immigration policy to our foreign policy. It is a matter of tremendous importance and one which should be considered in the formulation of an emergency policy if it proves impossible to care for this need within the framework of a revised long-range policy.

Regardless of whether at this time we advocate a complete revision of our quota system or the passage of emergency legislation, we should never depart from two basic principles:

(1) Our immigration policy should be a sensitive instrument of our foreign policy capable of being used to relieve tensions in critical areas and to provide hope for persecuted and oppressed peoples.

(2) Our cherished institutions, which guarantee fair hearings, sound administrative procedures, and judicial review, should be applicable to foreign-born as well as native-born, to alien as well as citizen, so that in the administration of our immigration laws we may demonstrate to our own people and to the world the quality of our Americanism.

Respectfully submitted.

FLORENCE G. CASSIDY.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Miss Cassidy, are there any observations you would like to make to the Commission in connection with the recent experience you have had in the DP program, and the resettlement and absorption of those people?

Miss CASSIDY. I would be glad to answer any questions I can now. The question was about the displaced-persons program and how they have been absorbed into the State of Michigan. We have had, Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, 17,000 displaced persons in Michigan. They have represented every conceivable profession. We have had a very high percentage of people who were university graduates and who were professionals, but we also have had unskilled workers. We have had farmers; we have had every profession and every occupation that it is possible to think of, as we were the fifth among the States in the United States in the number of displaced

persons who came. I would like to say that we have had only 100 complaints from dissatisfied sponsors, which, I think, is a very high "batting average" out of 17,000.

We also feel that we can add to the testimony that has been submitted regarding the fact that these displaced persons have been young people in the prime of life, that a very much higher ratio of people between the ages of 25 and 55 have come than one finds in the general population of Michigan, so that they have been very great economic assets as well as very great cultural assets. We have found no difficulty in their absorption, which ties in to the testimony that has been given this afternoon about how many people can the United States economy absorb. We are quite sure from our experience with the displaced persons, and from our knowledge of the Michigan labor market, that there is no problem of absorption.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Is any research being done by any of the universities in the State concerning how displaced persons have been absorbed into Michigan industry and agriculture?

Miss CASSIDY. I think that there are such studies in process; they have not been finished. There has been one study that has been made of a certain group of Russian and Ukrainian displaced persons, which has been made for the east European side. But, so far as all displaced persons are concerned, it has not been completed; but I think it a wonderful subject for many theses, and I believe that it is in the thought of a number of the departments of sociology to do that very thing.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Miss Cassidy, Michigan happens to be a State that is crucial in discussions of labor-market supply and labor-market shortage. We have had information and testimony today from several people to the effect of increasing labor shortages. Is there any general disposition on the part of people in Michigan to be concerned if new people come in?

Miss CASSIDY. Well, we believe that we can handle this because during the period of the displaced-persons program we had two extremes. We had a critical unemployment period, and we also, now, have a period of shortage of labor. And during that unemployment period we were able through the cooperation of voluntary agencies in neighboring cities to work out, as I thought was brought out this morning, the influencing of labor to go to the place where there was need. For instance, we had many displaced persons that went to Buffalo, by arrangement with voluntary agencies and the New York State commission, that had originally thought they were coming to Michigan; and, if any policy that is set up in the future under our immigration law envisions in its administration the cooperation with State bodies and voluntary agencies, I think there can be that exchange. There is also the possibility of that exchange of information and the rerouting of people through the United States Employment Service machinery itself, so that when there is a critical unemployment situation in one area people can be deflected from that area during that period. We had that situation once when Muskegon was a critical area under the displaced-persons program, and once when Detroit was a critical area, so that it did not cause us any trouble. It is true that you will have periods of employment and unemployment until our employment is better stabilized than it now is, but that isn't an insuperable problem. State and private agencies have learned to cooperate to solve it.

Another point is that the whole growth of the United States Employment Service, with exchange of information between States, was not a factor in the situation when the 1924 immigration law, for instance, was passed.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.
Is Mr. Willard C. Wichers here?

STATEMENT OF WILLARD C. WICHERS, MIDWESTERN DIRECTOR, NETHERLANDS INFORMATION SERVICE; SECRETARY, NETHERLANDS PIONEER AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATION; AND DIRECTOR OF THE NETHERLANDS MUSEUM

Mr. WICHERS. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, I am Willard C. Wichers, of Holland, Mich. My address is City Hall, Holland. I am the midwestern director of the Netherlands Information Service, director of the Netherlands Museum, and secretary of the Netherlands Pioneer and Historical Foundation, all of which are in Holland, Mich.

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, I am speaking today as an American of Dutch extraction long interested in Netherlands-American relations. By way of a personal note, I am a member of the Michigan Historical Commission, and am deeply interested in the history of the development of our State by immigrants from many countries, not the least of whom were the Dutch.

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

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. WICHERS. I should like to direct my remarks today to section 2-c of the President's Executive order; namely, the effect of our immigration laws and their administration, as it relates to the serious problem of overpopulation in the Netherlands. Since New Amsterdam days, the Dutch people have played an important part in building America. May I recall that it was Amsterdam bankers who made loans to the fledgling United States, and thus served to tide our struggling Nation over one of its greatest financial crises. And, it was Dutch guns on the island of St. Eustatius that fired the first salute honoring our Stars and Stripes. From that time on, the Dutch-Americans have contributed substantially to the growth and development of our Nation. Citizens of Michigan are well aware of the important contributions made to the building of our State by the Dutch immigrants who came in such numbers to western Michigan, 105 years ago. The accomplishments of Dutch immigrants of the past are being matched by the good citizenship of today's immigrants from the Netherlands.

I would like to take a few moments to explain the critical situation which exists in the Netherlands today, and the country's need to find outlets for emigrants. In 1950, the population of the Netherlands was in excess of 10 million, and it is estimated that it will be 11 million by 1960. The central planning office estimates that, by January 1, 1953, the working population will have increased by 148,000. This figure represents only the increase due to population growth, and does not take into consideration the increase due to greater efficiency and modernized equipment. It is estimated that increases due to population and efficiency will make it necessary to find employment for ap-

proximately 245,000 new workers by January 1, 1953. It is impossible for the industry of the Netherlands to absorb this additional number of workers, even though large industrialization programs have been carried out since the war, and are still being developed. The Netherlands Government is confronted with the fact that their population problem is so acute. It has the greatest population concentration of any country of Europe.

Therefore, the Netherlands Government has started an active emigration program to take care of this surplus occupation population. Its aim is to have between 60,000 and 70,000 emigrants per year. This program includes financial, and other, assistance to prospective emigrants. And, as a result, the number of emigrants has been increasing steadily. It was expected in 1952 that a goal of 60,000 would be reached with, approximately, 25,000 each to Canada and Australia, 6,000 to New Zealand, 3,500 to South Africa, 3,000 to the United States, and 1,500 to other countries outside Europe.

However, during this summer, both Australia and Canada announced substantial cuts in their immigration program. The Australian cuts are particularly damaging to the emigration program of the Netherlands, because many of her nonagricultural workers could be absorbed in the industry of Australia. Australia has announced that it will only accept 50 percent of the estimated total of 25,000 Netherlands; and that, next year, it will only be able to accept about 40 percent of this number. Housing problems and inflation are the most compelling reasons for the Australian and Canadian cuts.

Therefore, the Netherlands is obliged to look for new outlets for her people. Naturally, she turns toward the United States, where so many Netherlandsers have gone, from the very first. Unfortunately, the Netherlands quota of emigrants to the United States is much too small to substantially aid in the solution of this country's problem. Presently, only 3,155 people born in the Netherlands can enter the United States; and, after December 29, when the McCarran Act goes into effect, this number will be reduced to 3,136. Currently, Netherlands people who apply for permission to enter the United States, will have their applications placed on file, for consideration some 18 months to 2 years from now.

The difficulty of raising the specific national quota of one country, against that of another, is understood. However, apart from a direct increase in the quota, there is another way which would help the Netherlands solve its population problems without establishing an undesirable precedent. During the war, the Netherlands quota could not be used, because the country was occupied by the Germans; and thus, approximately, 18,000 quota numbers were lost. If these could be restored to the Netherlands, it would greatly assist her efforts to establish a population equilibrium. It may be pointed out that the Netherlands, with Greece, is the only wartime ally of the United States which is now desperately in need of outlets for its people and is exhausting its annual United States quota for immigration. Since the immigration quota of Greece is only 300 per year, the adoption of the above solution, if extended to Greece, would cause no great increase in Greek emigration.

It is my firm belief that an increase in the Dutch immigration quota to the United States will be beneficial, not only to the Netherlands, but the United States as well. History has proved that Dutch immi-

grants have quickly adjusted themselves to our American way of life, and have become desirable citizens.

History also records that immigrants from many nations have helped build our great Nation.

About a year ago Her Majesty, Queen Juliana, sent a personal communication to President Truman expressing her great concern over the need of the displaced persons of Europe. She reiterated the humanitarian consideration of this problem when she was a guest of the United States last April. The Netherlands has given haven to many of these deserving refugees.

Commissioner FINUCANE. May I ask just one question: Earlier today Professor Hawley, of the University of Michigan, expressed the view that draining off the surplus of excess population in these European countries would not result in substantial good to the country itself, although he thought as a humanitarian matter it might be well to do that. Have you any observations on that point at all?

Mr. WICHERS. Well, I think that the situation as described by Professor Hawley might be something of a generalization. I think that in specific instances the problems might vary. In Holland, the Dutch have since the war, through Marshall-plan aid, opened large new areas of land by draining sections of the Zeider Sea, but they simply can't cope with the growing population fast enough, and I think that is particularly true in the agricultural areas, where there just is not opportunity for farm labor to find much employment. As a result of this, farm labor has been going to Canada, and Australia, and has done a very significant job, in some cases almost under pioneering conditions, and I think the attitudes of governments change by their own needs.

In the postwar period the Netherlands for a time restricted the type of people who they permitted to emigrate because certain skills, certain crafts, were required. Under the occupation, thousands of lives were lost, and not only in Holland is this a peculiar problem, but is was generally a problem in these countries that the skills were not available for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country, so that there was an attitude, or a general prevailing policy to keep these people at home until this job could be done. But I think we are now approaching a point where in Western Europe a substantial recovery has been made, and these very able craftsmen could come to the United States, and, as other speakers appearing here have testified, the growing opportunities in American industry, and the real needs for skilled people are apparent on every side, and it could really make a contribution.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Suppose, for example, it were possible to drain off the excess unemployable population in the Netherlands within the next few years. As I gathered from what Professor Howley said, that would be temporary relief and in the next 10 years we would be back right where we are today. Have you any thought on that?

Mr. WICHERS. I am inclined to agree that that is a continuing problem. When you have predictions that the population is now just slightly over 10 million, and the birth rate is surpassing the death rate by 150,000 a year, the most elemental mathematics will show you that by 1960 we will have another million people, and to support those people on so small an area of land—industrialization was part of the answer, but it is not completely the answer.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Do you consider it part of the answer?

Mr. WICHERS. Yes, indeed.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Wichers, I was interested in your recital of the areas to which the 65,000-70,000 planned annual emigration from Holland was scheduled, and I notice that was all to overseas areas.

Mr. WICHERS. Substantially.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Has there been any intra-European migration? For example, France is said to be in need of farmers.

Mr. WICHERS. There has been some, sir, but very limited.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Why is that?

Mr. WICHERS. I confess I can't answer that. I just don't know the reason for that. I suspect it must be some restrictive problem, because the Dutch have always had close ties with France, and natural ties in many ways, both by religion and culturally, and I think that it certainly must be some treaty restriction that prevailed.

Mr. ROSENFELD. With respect to movement overseas, does this new organization, Provisional Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, play a substantial role with respect to the Netherlands?

Mr. WICHERS. Yes. They work very closely with the committees that have been established in the Netherlands for immigration.

Mr. ROSENFELD. How many of the 65,000-70,000 are planned to be moved by this PICMME organization?

Mr. WICHERS. I don't know that, I'm sorry.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of some of the testimony we have heard in these hearings as to the beneficent effects of immigration, how do you account for Canada and Australia having reduced the flow of immigration to their shores?

Mr. WICHERS. I think perhaps the problem is one that in immigration is rather new, and with such a shortage of foreign exchange very little subsidy can be given by the Netherlands Government to these people, so that they have a very difficult role after they get there in the whole problem—if they are agriculturalists, in housing, not only in securing farm implements.

I think the experience in Canada and Australia has been a very happy one on both sides. I think the Governments of all of these countries have been very satisfied. But apparently they are now faced with this practical problem and are imposing quota restrictions on the basis that economically they had better slow down the rate.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Wichers, I would like to go back to your recommendation and see if I understand it. Are you proposing to this Commission as a solution in connection with the Netherlands the use of the unused quotas which were unfilled during the war period?

Mr. WICHERS. That is correct.

Mr. ROSENFELD. What is your opinion of the proposal made by the President last March 24 in regard to a special emergency program for the Netherlands, Germany, Greece, and Italy, which would have provided an outlet in the case of the Netherlands of 7,000 a year for 3 years?

Mr. WICHERS. Well, I think that could be a very desirable solution to a critical problem that exists now. I only presented Holland's problem because I am more familiar with it, but I am very much in support of the sentiments that have been expressed here by others.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Zaio Woodford Schroeder is our next witness.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ZAIO WOODFORD SCHROEDER, REPRESENTING THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I am Mrs. Zaio Woodford Schroeder, 1011 Bishop Road, Grosse Pointe Park, Mich. I am here to represent the General Federation of Women's Clubs, international affairs department.

The International Affairs Department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs consists of the 5 million women in the United States, and the Council of International Clubs; that includes some 16 foreign countries that have a membership of 5½ million women.

My purpose here today is, of course, to add my voice to an intensive study of the entire problem, but I would like to particularly add emphasis as to the question of the relationship between immigration laws and restrictions in our entire foreign policy. It is very interesting when we are in the process of preparing programs for our international clubs to try to reconcile the differences that exist, and the restrictions that exist, in our immigration law in conjunction with our foreign policy. In other words, it is something like this: We will say to them "We have an American heritage, and that is it." We are planning programs for you in your clubs, and we want to give you an insight as to how freedom-loving people live and function in an economy built upon that kind of heritage. Let me say that my mail is very voluminous in replies from these clubs, when they say to me: "Yes, you say you invite escapees from communism into your country, and then, in turn, after you have given lip service to that principal, then you, in turn, make restrictions." After all, as a citizen of this country, I am responsible for the making of those laws. So, my plea is this: Your immigration laws in this country, our immigration laws, should be a flexible instrument of our foreign policy. We haven't any right—and I say this with a tremendous amount of sincere vehemence—to say this is one problem and this is another. There is no differentiation—they must be considered together.

One of the outstanding examples that I would like to bring to your attention is the Voice of Russia, particularly as it is broadcast in India today. The Voice of America may come over the air and say: "This is what we stand for." Then, Russia, in turn, broadcasts these restrictive problems that we have here, the positions we take on displaced persons and I don't know what all. I say to you, as a sincere person, I don't know what to reply to these women when we have these kinds of problems.

It is my viewpoint—I am not going to offer a solution because I am not an economist, nor am I an internationalist in any sense of the word, I am not a trained person in that respect, but I do know if we are going to create the kind of relationship with the women in the foreign countries, we have got to do something about our immigration problems, and certainly revise our laws after due study and consideration. I think that is about all I would like to say. I do feel most sincerely that we are not preserving our American heritage in permitting our laws to remain as they are.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your criticism of the laws as they are?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Well, in the first place, they are antiquated. I am speaking now from the standpoint of an individual. I don't know why we would expect to follow laws that were established in an econ-

only of, say, 20 to 25 years ago. After all, the world has become dwarfed in 25 years, Mr. Chairman, in every way, and I certainly think we can't dwarf our thinking in these problems to the degree that we are affected by what happens in these countries in the Far East and in the Americas.

Commissioner O'GRADY. Has your organization given much attention to immigration problems?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. They haven't done as much as I would like them to, but I expect them to do more in the future. May I say, Father, that perhaps they were a little ingrown during the years, but, like other Americans, maybe they have expanded themselves, and I do believe they are going to do a great deal more in the near future. Certainly, we are confronted with these problems, and we hope to present a projected line of study, so that they may come to an opinion. We believe that if 5 million women have an intelligent opinion, that the impact of their opinion might have an impact on some of our country, no matter how good or how poor they might be.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. ROSENFELD. Mr. Chairman, I have been asked by three individuals to introduce, if the Commission be willing, their prepared statements in the record. With your permission, I should like to insert those statements now.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be inserted in the record.

(The three statements follow:)

STATEMENT OF MSGR. JOSEPH CIARROCCHI, PASTOR, DETROIT, MICH.

To the Honorable Presidential Commission on Immigration:

As editor of an American-Italian weekly, *La Voce del Popolo*, and as pastor of the Italian Church of Santa Maria in Detroit, I wish to present my views on legislation on immigration which would meet today's needs. I have in mind, mainly, the needs of Italian immigration.

1. The present allotment to Italy is 5,799 immigrants per year, which in conclusion is reduced to about 1,000 when all exceptions and retroactive considerations are taken into account. Its benefit is hardly felt at all.

2. For other countries, emigration may be a surplus; for the life of Italy, it is essential. Italy has very poor resources, while its population increases every month, making conditions continuously worse.

3. The unrest in Italy for such a condition is dangerous, not only for the Italians but also for the whole of Europe and, by reflection, for America itself. Communism, which is very strong in Italy, is waiting for a chance, because Italy is the key to the expansion of communism to Western Europe.

4. The famous fourth principle of President Truman to meet world conditions, calls for the uplifting of countries in need. For peace on earth, this principle is as important as the building of a strong army to prevent invasion. No matter the help you may give to Italy, the disproportion of resources and population is such, that only emigration would prove effective.

5. Objecting to Italian immigration as unwanted, seems to me short-sighted. After all, the Italians have contributed quite a deal in material work, and have contributed especially on a cultural line. All considered, it is an immigration which the United States not only can stand well, but find also beneficial.

6. Waiting for the recall of the McCarran law (even if possible) and pass another law on immigration, would take too long for the urgency of the problem. It is good that the work is started, but for the present time, a supplementary law is needed immediately to help the countries most in need—something in the line of the Celler bill. In that bill, Italy would be allowed immediately 117,000 immigrants to be distributed in 3 years. It would be a considerable help.

7. It has been discussed also that the total amount of 150,000 immigrants allowed per year should not be allocated exclusively to particular countries, but some way kept in a bloc, so that it could be used by a needy country, when not used by the country to which it was originally allocated.

8. As a general principle, it is good to keep in mind that this country can stand a much larger immigration than the 150,000 per year. In Detroit, today, we experience lack of workers, not lack of jobs.

STATEMENT BY A. L. ZWERDLING, DETROIT CHAPTER CHAIRMAN, AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION (ADA)

We congratulate President Truman on his farsighted action in directing this Commission to hold a series of hearings in various parts of the country which will give the American people a better opportunity to make themselves heard on this basic issue.

When the Eighty-second Congress adopted the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, overriding the courageous veto of the President, it retained and expanded a discriminatory quota system founded on racism. The 1952 act effectively turns our backs on the noble sentiment expressed on the Statue of Liberty, and announces to the world that democracy is for home consumption only. Even at home the naturalized citizen and alien are given only limited access to our traditional rights. After fighting a costly war to defeat racism abroad, we have made it the keystone of our philosophy in dealing with immigration and naturalization.

Less than half of the 154,000 immigrants whose admission is provided for per year are allowed to enter this country because the McCarran-Walter Act retains an inflexible quota system which discriminates against the peoples of southern, central, and eastern Europe. In the year ending June 30, 1951, 50,000 of the 65,721 quota for Great Britain and Northern Ireland went unused, while in other parts of Europe there were tens of thousands of displaced persons and victims of totalitarianism clamoring for entry to our country.

The act eliminates the previous quota-exempt class of intellectuals which made possible the enrichment of American culture by facilitating entry of European professors.

The legislation flies in the face of our costly and all-important efforts in the field of foreign affairs to cultivate the support of peoples of Europe and Asia. If appeals to justice, morality and mercy go unheeded, at least national self-interest should dictate consideration of these arguments.

While Americans spill blood in Asia where bloodshed could be avoided if we had the allegiance of the peoples of the east, this legislation adds further fuel to the flames by making racial ancestry the most important test on which admission of peoples from what is called the "Asia-Pacific Triangle" is based.

In the field of deportations this law revives the medieval, un-American concept of "banishment" for those who are aliens, no matter how long in the United States. It creates a second-class citizenship and inequality of opportunity. Further, it makes provision for harsher treatment for the naturalized citizen than for the native-born.

One of the most vicious features of the act is its failure to afford immigrants or aliens the rudiments of a fair hearing, which are basic to our way of life. It erects an absolute power on the part of administrative officers to flout the rights of the individual in the name of the state.

We urge this Commission to spell out in strong and unmistakable language the need for basic revision of this law. Only by eliminating our present discriminatory system can we effectively rebuff the Communist attack on our effort to win the allegiance of freedom-loving peoples in Europe and Asia.

STATEMENT OF P. G. NICHOLSON, DETROIT 26, MICH.

Honorable sirs, I believe that the Greek quota of 308 persons to migrate to the United States is terribly low. I beg to submit the following comments. First, the fact that the McCarran-Walter Act allows 25 percent of the quota to be allotted to aliens who have brothers and sisters in the United States, citizens thereof. Under this portion of the law, it can be seen that quota numbers allowed for allotment of 25 percent would mean that only approximately 75 persons are admitted in this category. Inasmuch as the McCarran-Walter Act has its purpose in unifying families, it is respectfully prayed that more consideration should be given to this portion of the act.

It is also to be considered the question of whether or not legal resident wives of American citizens will be considered under this act as nonquota immigrants, or preference quota immigrants. If they are considered preference quota immigrants, are they to be charged against the quota for Greece, and, if so, would this possibly destroy any benefit whatever which might accrue from the fact that United States citizens' brothers and sisters applying for their alien relatives inasmuch as it would decrease the quota from Greece, it would seem.

As the department is well aware, the quota for Greece is exhausted for the next 100 years and there are many persons born in Greece and living there who are desirous to come to the United States. The conditions in Greece at the moment are pitiable and they have relatives in the United States who would gladly guarantee through the United States Government that the said persons would not become public charges.

Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that poverty in itself breathes communism and the poverty in Greece at the moment is tremendous. It is sincerely believed that should the quota be made larger or should the law be made broader so that more of these poor unfortunate persons might be able to come to the United States, bear in mind not to be public charges, but to be taken care of and supported, if necessary, by their relatives, it would reflect the situation in Greece tremendously at the moment and of necessity would not require the huge donations of money now sent for their benefit. I respectfully submit that inasmuch as the quotas for many countries are not filled each year, it appears possible that some additional quota numbers should be allotted to Greece. Inasmuch as it does not increase the number of immigrants entering the United States other than stated as allowed by the over-all quota. It is a well-known fact that the quotas for England, Ireland, Switzerland, Belgium, and Germany are never filled and it is hoped that some of the quota numbers from these countries might be allotted to Greece to give her some addition to what she now has, 308.

It is a well-known fact that the people of Greece have fought for the freedom of the world and against communism and it is also a well-known fact that they have been well supplied with money for that purpose from the United States Government. Under the circumstances it would seem that the allotment for Greece insofar as the quota is concerned, should be 5,000 or more a year instead of the measly 308 which they are now allowing.

While I am making my plea for a larger allotment of quota numbers to be issued, I feel that inasmuch as the McCarran-Walter Act attempts to unify families, certainly more consideration should be given to aliens applying for admission to the United States from Greece where such aliens do not have relatives in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. B. A. Seymour, will you appear?

STATEMENT OF MRS. B. A. SEYMOUR, MEMBER OF THE MICHIGAN COMMISSION ON DISPLACED PERSONS

Mrs. SEYMOUR. I am Mrs. B. A. Seymour, 876 Edgemont Park, Grosse Pointe, Mich.

I am a member of the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons, which I represent.

I shall go back to the beginning of the DP program. I happened to be the archdiocesan chairman of Volunteers for the Archdiocese of Detroit. In that capacity I greeted the first arrivals, the first boats that came over, and I had first-hand dealings with the displaced persons, and I followed them up very carefully to see what type of persons and what type of citizens they would make in the United States. In our follow-up system through volunteers, many of whom were trained, we followed these people out into the country to find out how they adapted themselves, whether they would be good citizen material. I cannot vouch for the success of them 100 percent, but I will say that on an average 85 to 95 percent adjusted themselves very well. I think if these people coming into the United States adjusted so well, why should we not increase our immigration quotas.

As the law now stands, we know that the quota based on the national origin status is not just. It makes for the separation of families, and where there is a separation of families, where we cannot unite them, well, many other problems, as you may imagine, will result from that. I believe that where we have the large quotas, and these quotas go to countries who do not use them, that these quotas should be used by the other countries, so that the small countries would benefit thereby. I think that in dealing with the people coming into the country first-hand we have had adequate examples of the true success that they have made, these people who have come in. They have their bare hands, but they have the intellect, and using their intellect and with nothing except their bare hands, they have been able to achieve success. I think we want more of them.

If you could envision the people that I have dealt with, not only of one nationality, but of many nationalities—the Estonians, the Latvians, the Italians, the Lithuanians, so many of them—they have been such successes. I know you don't want to go into details as to cases, but so many of them have been successful that I feel that all of us who are in the field and dealing with them day by day realize that some basic change should be made in our immigration laws. As they stand now, I feel they are unjust, and I think that we in the United States are held as a beacon light to the European countries of justice and reliance, and I think, for one, that we should not let them down.

Mr. Chairman, I also have a prepared statement I wish to submit for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(There follows the prepared statement submitted by Mrs. B. A. Seymour, member of the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons:)

COMMENTS ON UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION

There should be a basic revision of the entire immigration policy. It is obvious that the national origins quota system is absolutely unjust for it favors immigrants from western and northern Europe and discriminates against the peoples of eastern and southern Europe. The injustice of this national origins quota system is apparent in that it is readily recognized that nations who have large quotas never fill their quotas while nations with small quotas could more than fill them—as an example, Italy has been able to enter only 200 persons a year; Greece's quota is hypothecated for the next 50 years, and Lithuania's for the next 100 years.

The law, as it now stands, is unjust as it tends to disrupt family life by separating members of the family—in its very essence the law is cruel and should be reevaluated.

We can readily absorb 150,000 persons a year—even more. Emergency measures could be taken to raise the number to be taken into the country. This will ease the overpopulation of parts of western Europe, such as Italy, Trieste, Greece, the Netherlands, and Western Germany.

We have raised the hopes of Europeans in a just United States. Can we let this faith and reliance be misplaced? I say "No." Let us be just in our immigration policies.

MARCELLA SEYMOUR,
(Mrs. B. A. Seymour),

Member, Michigan Commission Displaced Persons.

OCTOBER 7, 1952.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Mr. Saul Grossman.

**STATEMENT OF SAUL GROSSMAN, SECRETARY, MICHIGAN
COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN**

Mr. GROSSMAN. I am Saul Grossman, secretary of the Michigan Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, 1442 Griswold Street, Detroit. I am here to represent that organization.

I have a prepared statement I wish to read, to which is attached a statement of Marko Kosta, which I also wish to submit.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. GROSSMAN. There are three glaring defects in the immigration and naturalization laws that I wish to deal with: (1) Deportations; (2) denaturalization; and (3) police-state practices of Immigration Department agents.

1. Deportations

The inequities of the present laws can best be described by regard to one particular case that has received Nation-wide attention—the Louis Ragni case. Mr. Ragni was recently ordered deported to Italy. At present, his case is before this Federal court for review.

Hearings in Mr. Ragni's case have taken place over a period of 18 years. He faces deportation for alleged past membership in the Communist Party. Mr. Ragni worked as a coal miner in Pennsylvania and was an organizer of the Mine Workers Union. It is because of his labor activities that he came to the attention of the Immigration Department for possible deportation.

Never arrested or convicted of any crime in this country, he is married to an American citizen and the father of five children, all born in the United States. His oldest son, Lawrence, is in the Marine Corps on active duty, recently returned from 1 year's combat duty in Korea. A second son, Joseph, 20, is with the Marines in Korea now. His father just received a Purple Heart awarded his son for wounds received in battle. A third son works in a General Motors shop in Detroit. His daughter Joann, 18, is a student at the University of Michigan. Nancy, 16, is a senior in high school.

On the basis of present laws, Mr. Ragni's deportation is practically assured. This will result in the breaking up of this American family in a manner reminiscent of the slave auction blocks of the last century. Which members of Mr. Ragni's family should accompany him to Italy is a problem I would like to see solved by those Members of Congress who voted for the McCarran-Walter law.

I have just been informed that Mr. Ragni's son, Joseph, was awarded the Bronze Star which was delivered to him today.

Mr. Ragni's case is only 1 of more than 45 in Michigan alone. The terrible personal tragedies involved cry out for a humane solution.

2. Denaturalization

The status of naturalized citizens in the United States is such that such persons can never be certain that their citizenship will not be taken away from them. In Detroit alone, more than 10 people face loss of their citizenship on political grounds. One, George Tacheff, a 67-year-old pensioner, had his citizenship taken away and has already been arrested for deportation. The new McCarran-Walter law sets up even further grounds for denaturalization. There is no room for second-class citizenship in our democracy. The law should be changed

to provide for a reasonable statute of limitations in denaturalization cases.

3. Police-state practices of immigration agents

Immigration Department agents have arrested people without warrants, planted evidence, intimidated elderly men and women, threatened and cajoled people into becoming informers, and caused people to lose their jobs. We enclose a copy of an affidavit which was sent to the Attorney General over 2 years ago. No action was taken. These reprehensible practices still continue. I could document many, many of them. The provision of the McCarran-Walter law authorizing such agents to arrest anyone without warrant runs counter to constitutional guarantees and should be repealed.

(The statement of Marko Kosta submitted by Saul Grossman follows:)

My name is Marko Kosta. I live at the Milner Hotel, Detroit, Mich. On Monday, April 17, 1950, at about 9 a. m., I was in my room, just getting out of bed, when I heard a knock at my door. I went to the door and opened it. There were two men at the door. One of them showed me a badge and said they were immigration officers, and they walked into my room.

They asked to see my passport, and I told them I had no passport.

They said: "Well, just get dressed."

When I was getting dressed they looked around my dressers. They asked me many questions. They asked: "You have a Bible?" I said "Sure." They said: "But you don't believe in the Bible?" I said, "Sure, in the old country where I was raised everyone learns the Bible in school."

As I picked up my private papers, which I keep in my inside pocket, from the dresser, I noticed on top was the constitution of the Communist Party. The document was not there before the two officers came into the room, and when I saw it I threw it at them. I said, "That don't belong to me." They said, "Never mind, you just put that in your pocket." So I did.

They said, "Well, come on, we'll go down and see about your passport and a few other things." I went with them in their car to the immigration office on Jefferson. They kept me there and questioned me for about 7 hours, until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

During the course of the questioning there were five or six agents of the department coming in and out, questioning me. An inspector identified to me by the name of Gorman said: "Why don't you be a good American and tell all you know about these organizations?" I said, "I am a good American." He said, "No, you're not."

Another inspector came and said: "This is the great Marko Kosta. He wants to be the martyr of the Communist Party."

After many, many questions which they kept asking over and over again, they gave me two papers to sign. One of them was my statement which I read and signed. The other was a paper authorizing the agents of the Immigration Department to search my home, and in which I was asked to give up my constitutional rights. I refused to sign the paper. They kept on insisting I sign it. Finally they told me that they could get a search warrant but it would take them a long time to do so, so I should make it easier for them by signing the paper. They finally asked me to sign a statement appearing on the bottom of this document to the effect that I read but refused to sign the statement. This I signed.

During the questioning one of the men—I think it was Williams—appeared to be mad at me. He said, "You know, we are going to start a war with Russia in 2, 3 months. We are going to do it just to knock Russia out of existence. Before we do that we will put all you Reds in jail so we won't have any trouble with you." I said, "That don't depend on me what you are going to do." He said, "Aren't you going to help the United States when we fight Russia?" I said, "Sure." He said, "Don't tell me you'll help the United States, you'll help Russia."

They then took me downstairs and took my fingerprints. They didn't ask me whether I wanted them taken, but just told me they were going to take them, and did. They then took me upstairs and started questioning me over again on the same points. After I refused to make any further statements they told me to get my coat, they were going to take me to the county jail.

On the way downstairs the two immigration men who had come into my room that morning stopped, and one of them said: "Marko, you can do a great thing for this Government and country. Because this country depends on men like you."

I said, "What do you want me to do?" He said, "Just admit that you are a Communist, then we will tell you what to do."

I said, "What do you want me to do? Do you want me to join the Communist Party so I can admit I am a member?" He said, "No, we don't want you to do that. If you only admit you are in it, we will find something for you to do." I said, "Well, I won't admit that." He said, "Well, if you don't admit it we will put you in jail for 5 years." I said, "That's all right, better men went into jail than I. So what's difference if I go in, too?"

They then took me back upstairs, and one of the two men stayed with me in the room. He said, "Marko, you know Williams got you in a spot, don't you?" I said, "Why?"

He said, "He wanted you to deny you were a Communist so he could be sure to put you in jail for 5 years. Why don't you tell me the truth and I will fix it up. It will be easier on you. We just want to know if you are or not." I said, "I can't, because I ain't."

They then took me to the county jail, seventh floor. They took my fingerprints and one picture. They then took me downstairs, and outside the building they again asked me whether I was going to change my mind about being a member of the Communist Party. I said I couldn't because I wasn't.

MARKO KOSTA.

Dated: April 26, 1950.

Commissioner O'GRADY. What was the charge against Tacheff whose case you mentioned?

Mr. GROSSMAN. The charge against Tacheff was fraud in connection with his citizenship. At the time he became a citizen he alleged that he was not previously a member of the Communist Party and concealed the fact from the immigration agency.

One case I think is interesting, it just came to my attention, the case of a naturalized citizen, naturalized since 1934, who works for the Ford Motor Car Co. Two immigration agents came to the department in which he worked, had him summoned to the office, and told him they had a warrant for his arrest, and asked him to come with them, and he did, he actually went with them. Of course, they did not have any such warrant for his arrest, they are only enabled to arrest noncitizens, they cannot legally arrest a citizen, but this didn't stop them from doing that, just taking him down to the Immigration Department and "working him over," as we say, for several hours.

While immigration agents supposedly have jurisdiction over noncitizens under this section of the McCarran-Walter law, it is—I don't know how to place it exactly—all noncitizens were supposed to register. I suppose they are supposed to carry registration cards with them showing they are noncitizens. But if this section of law is in force, I think it will be up to the Government to reform the registration laws, so that you can prove you are a citizen. It is likely you and I would have a difficult job in proving we were American citizens before immigration authorities.

Mr. ROSENFELD. What section are you referring to as authorizing the arrest of anyone without a warrant?

Mr. GROSSMAN. It authorizes immigration agents to arrest noncitizens without a warrant actually, but there are no limitations on who they can arrest; that is to say, what criteria they would use to determine who is or is not a United States citizen.

Commissioner FINUCANE. Do you remember the section?

Mr. GROSSMAN. No, I'm sorry. I looked through the law several times, but I can't recall the section by number.

Mr. ROSENFELD. You say "arrest any one"—do you mean anyone who is an alien?

Mr. GROSSMAN. Who is supposedly an alien—I'm sorry—perhaps I should make that clear.

This is a brief statement, and I intend to supplement this statement with another I will submit.

The CHAIRMAN. You may send it to us.

(The statement submitted by Saul Grossman for the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born supplementing a statement originally submitted before the Commission on October 7, 1952, in Detroit, Mich., follows:)

1. Deportations

A great deal of material has already been submitted to the Commission analyzing the deportation sections of the McCarran-Walter Act. These sections literally deprive noncitizens of all rights of free speech, bail, due process of law, and other constitutional guaranties. One particular point that has been overlooked in the material I have seen submitted is in the definition of "advocates." Section 101 (a) (2) defines it as follows:

"The term 'advocates' includes, but is not limited to, advises, recommends, furthers by overt act, and admits belief in."

This provision strikes directly at the guaranty of freedom of speech, and explicitly imposes thought control on noncitizens. This is particularly so in view of the fact that mere membership in organizations that the Attorney General may from time to time place on a subversive list has been held to establish guilt by association.

Instead of just another analysis of the law, I would like to continue itemizing what deportation means in human terms. In my oral testimony before the Commission, I mentioned the case of Mrs. Monica Itryna, who left for Poland, Mother of seven living children, two of them veterans of World War II, she left them and her five grandchildren, a citizen husband, her home, friends, and relatives for a country she originally left as a little girl of 11 some 40 years ago. Why did she leave? Because she was ordered deported for alleged membership in the Community Party some 20 years ago. True, she could have stayed on for a while longer while clever attorneys searched for loopholes in the law which would enable them to drag the case through the courts for another year, 2, or even 3. In the meantime, however, she might be tossed into jail and held without bail; she would have to submit to medical and psychiatric examinations; she would have to report on her associates, activities, beliefs, friends; in other words, she might as well be in jail as free under such conditions. And, in the end, she might still be deported not to Poland, which language she speaks, but to a Fascist country because the Attorney General might decide that "in his discretion, (he) concludes that deportation to such country would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States" (sec. 243 (a)).

Bewildered, uncomprehending, one of Mrs. Itryna's sons, a grown man with children of his own, wept unashamedly as he told me: "Why do they have to deport her? I fought Hitlerism in Europe. This is just as bad."

Previously mentioned was the case of Louis Ragni, who has two sons who are marine veterans of the Korean war. Then there is Mrs. Ruth Fabian. The last 15 years of her life have been spent in and out of hospitals. A mass of scar tissue from serious burns, she recently underwent surgery for internal cancer. Soon afterward she was arrested for deportation. Periodically she returns to the hospital for further operations—they have to be scheduled between hearings at the Immigration Service. Her daughter speaks proudly of her heritage—a descendant of Revolutionary War heroes on her father's side. When younger she would boast that one of her relatives was Buffalo Bill.

It would appear from the enclosed pamphlet *Exile* that the Immigration Service delights in harassing elderly women with families, women who should be honored for their contributions to raising the living standards of the American people.

There are more than 250 men and women who face deportation for their past political beliefs at the present time. That number will be greatly increased after December 24. The personal tragedies in countless American families will

be a direct result of the inhuman and backward policies of the American Government.

I endorse the proposal made to your Commission that no legal resident of the United States should be deported except for false statements made upon entry.

2. *Denaturalization*

Here, again, there has been sufficient said upon this subject to warrant repeal of these sections of the law. Besides making it as easy to take away citizenship as it is difficult to secure it, the law makes the denaturalization provisions retroactive, a clearly unconstitutional proviso (sec. 340 (i)).

Revocation of citizenship for naturalized citizens should be the same as for native-born. There should be no distinction made in their status.

3. *Police-state practices*

In my appearance before the Commission, I made the statement that under the McCarran-Walter law even citizens could be arrested by immigration agents without warrants. At the time, I could not give the Commission the section of the law which I thought could do this.

In rereading the law, however, it seems even more dangerous than I had previously thought. The section in question reads as follows:

"Sec. 287. (a) Any officer or employee of the Service authorized under regulations prescribed by the Attorney General shall have the power without warrant—

"(1) to interrogate any alien or person believed to be an alien as to his right to be or to remain in the United States;"

You will recall the hue and outcry that the Palmer raids brought forward from prominent people throughout America—"illegal," "arrests without warrant," "unconstitutional," etc. In the eyes of the civilized world, this was one of the worst blots on our democracy. Thousands of people, citizens and non-citizens, were arrested without warrant in illegal raids.

Under the McCarran-Walter law, however, there can be no charge of illegality. It will now be legal to arrest without warrant any person. Prove your citizenship or stay in custody for "interrogation." The noncitizen who has to carry an alien registration card is better off than the citizen in this regard. He can prove his status, but how many people are presently in the habit of carrying proof of citizenship with them? The next logical step must be to require every person to carry on his person, at all times, a passport. This law lays the legal basis for mass Palmer-like raids.

Immigration agents will become even more brutalized than they are at present. They are getting the training in treating foreign-born as inferiors that the Gestapo got in their treatment of "inferior" Jews and foreigners. This brutalization process must be halted or we will face the prospect of the same consequences that befell the victims of Hitlerism.

4. *Conclusion*

Forty million people in the United States, the approximate number of foreign-born and their immediate families, are condemned under the McCarran-Walter law to a separate status, denied the freedom of speech and thought guaranteed to all under our Constitution, under threat of deportation, denaturalization, and destruction of their families.

What can the children of foreign-born Americans think of our democracy when they see the pall of fear their parents live under? How many of these children are warned by their parents not to discuss certain things because "they might get into trouble."

In the eyes of the world, America under the McCarran-Walter law must seem a strange land. The strongest, greatest nation in the world, proud of its democratic traditions, cringing under the possibility that a 6-year-old girl coming from a foreign country might grow up and join a "subversive" organization. Mothers must be torn from their children, families and homes destroyed to prove how democratic a country this really is. In a frenzied attempt to supposedly preserve democracy in the United States, democracy itself must be outlawed.

Let no one think that the McCarran-Walter law affects only those who are foreign-born. All American history shows that the restriction of noncitizens inevitably leads to the assertion of unrestricted power over citizens and that their rights are indivisible. As in 1798 with the Alien and Sedition Acts, in the 1840's with the Know-Nothing movement, and in the 1920's with the Palmer raids, so again today attacks on the rights of noncitizens are the forerunner and a foundation for attacks on the rights of citizens.

Let us reaffirm our belief in the democratic traditions of American history. A necessary start is the repeal of the McCarran-Walter law.

The CHAIRMAN. This concludes the hearings in Detroit. The Commission will stand adjourned until we resume hearings in Chicago, Ill., at 9:30 a. m., October 8, 1952.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p. m., the Commission was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., October 8, 1952, at Chicago, Ill.)



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