

Leg: Choy

COPY<sup>rd</sup>

January 9, 1962

Mr. J. K. Choy  
1040 Grant Avenue  
San Francisco 11, California

Dear Mr. Choy:

Thanks so much for your recent letter and the attached copy of your article on the discriminatory nature of the Chinese immigration law.

I have read it and found it most interesting and valuable. You may be assured that I will continue to press for legislation to correct the inequities in the present law. I don't have to tell you that it is extremely difficult to get such changes through the Congress in this field, but I shall continue to press for it until successful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Hubert H. Humphrey



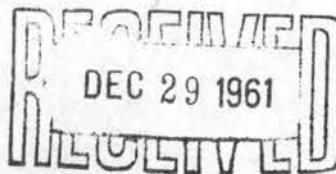
J. K. CHOY

ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT  
MANAGER CHINATOWN BRANCH

SAN FRANCISCO FEDERAL SAVINGS  
AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

1044 GRANT AVENUE  
GARFIELD 1-5421

1040 Grant Avenue  
San Francisco 11, California  
December 27, 1961



The Honorable  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
U. S. Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Humphrey:

It has been reported that when you were here a few weeks ago you told prominent members of the Chinese community that you favor the liberalization of the immigration law in a basic manner.

As a civil rights adviser to Attorney General Stanley Mosk I have undertaken a study of the discriminatory nature of the Chinese immigration law; and I am sending you the enclosed copy of my article on this unjust and inequitable legislation together with copies of the letters of Governor Brown and Attorney General Stanley Mosk addressed to the United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy on the same subject.

Due to the intricacies of the immigration law only Congressman Walter, Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, and the top level officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service know the law. In order to break up this monopolistic knowledge of such important legislation effecting our international relation and citizens' constitutional rights, there should be a Congressional investigation of the whole immigration issue to be followed by a bill liberalizing the immigration law.

As a Democratic leader in the Senate we pray that you will do something in clearing up the immigration issue so that the rights of all citizens are protected and better relation be had with foreign countries.

With my warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. K. Choy

JKC:mw1

encs.

Nov. 24, 1961

GOVERNOR EDMUND BROWN APPEALS TO ROBERT KENNEDY,  
U. S. ATTORNEY GENERAL TO LIBERALIZE CHINESE  
IMMIGRATION LAW

Governor Edmund Brown has written the following letter to United States Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, to support Attorney General Mosk's recent appeal to the United States Justice Department to liberalize the Chinese Immigration law:

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy  
Attorney General of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Kennedy:

I am writing to support a recent appeal from Attorney General Stanley Mosk for a new look at the status of wives and children of members of the Chinese community who may have circumvented certain immigration laws since have been repealed.

As I understand present policy, the relatives of such people are spared deportation but denied the right to gain full residence status.

Since there is no claim of wrongdoing on the part of the descendants in these cases, it would be both proper and merciful to interpret the immigration regulations in such a way as to assist these people to show their full devotion to this country.

Sincerely

EDMUND G. BROWN, Governor



STANLEY MOSK  
ATTORNEY GENERAL

State Building  
San Francisco 2, California

September 28, 1961

Honorable Robert Kennedy  
Attorney General of the United States  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear General Kennedy:

It has come to my attention that many worthy members of the Chinese community here in California have not been able to gain permanent residence and ultimate naturalization as United States citizens due to restrictive administrative interpretations of the immigration laws. I understand that Mr. J. K. Choy, a member of my Citizen's Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, will be in Washington privately during the week of October 16, to discuss this matter with Mr. Andrew F. Oehmann of your staff.

I am particularly concerned with possible injustices to those members of the community, mostly wives and children, who were themselves innocent of any fraudulent activities but who are descendants of persons who may have circumvented earlier immigration laws. I understand that these persons, as a matter of United States policy, are not being deported to Communist China, nor are their families being separated. At the same time, they are denied the right, in many instances, to gain permanent residence status. This leaves them in a limbo which has no end. It would seem only proper that if otherwise qualified they be afforded an opportunity to adjust their status in the United States and become integrated into our community.

Many of the laws which were circumvented by the ancestors of the affected persons have now been repealed and are generally conceded to have been harshly discriminatory against Chinese. In the meanwhile, many of these Chinese and their families have proved themselves to be valuable "citizens" of this state. It occurs to me accordingly that administrative leniency in the interpretation of the rules involved would be entirely proper.

STANLEY MOSK  
ATTORNEY GENERAL

State Building  
San Francisco 2, California

Honorable Robert Kennedy

-2-

September 28, 1961

I urge your office to do whatever is within its power to assist these Chinese who are victims of past discriminations and I pledge you the complete cooperation and assistance of my office in every way possible.

Sincerely,

STANLEY MOSK  
Attorney General

SM:bb

cc: Honorable Andrew F. Oehmann

December 1, 1961

## THE DISCRIMINATORY CHINESE IMMIGRATION LAWS

By J. K. Choy, Assistant Vice President  
San Francisco Federal Savings & Loan Association

In this titanic struggle with International Communism for the preservation of international security and the insurance of political, economic and individual freedom throughout the world, we have to strengthen the totality of the country by launching a positive and effective offence towards winning the cold war based upon well-established global moral leadership.

One of the first and foremost contacts an average alien has with the United States is in the field of immigration laws. If the field of legislation is still clustered with unjust and discriminatory provisions and practices, our foreign policy and diplomatic overtures, no matter how sound and enlightened, would unavoidably be reduced to a state of impotency.

In view of the urgency of the situation, our legislators in both houses of Congress should take concerted and tangible actions in re-examining our immigration laws with the objective of deleting that which is unfair and discriminatory.

Ever since the passage of the Immigration & Naturalization Act of 1952, popularly known as the McCarran-Walter Act, there has arisen many problems relative to its interpretation and enforcement. In the past years, neither the interpretation of this law nor its enforcement was such that reasonableness and justice could be said to have been properly served. In fact, the enforcement of this legislation brought out some of its glaring defects which continuously impair and threaten the welfare and happiness of our American citizens. These defects take the form of :

1) Lack of judicial review of administrative decisions concerning non-resident Americans; and

2) The exercise of arbitrary powers by American consular officers over American citizens in the processing of visa applications involving families of American citizens.

The injustice and indignities suffered by the Chinese people hark back to what was known as "the Chinese Exclusion Laws." The Chinese Exclusion Laws were primarily racial discriminatory in the field of immigration and naturalization by means of denial of simple justice to particular class of permanent residents.

HISTORY OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS. In 1850 the Chinese miners in California were forced to pay discriminating taxes by that state government. In 1873 the Chinese were barred from testifying in the California court against a white man. In 1882 Congress passed the first Exclusion

Act excluding Chinese laborers for 10 years and prohibiting naturalization of Chinese. In 1892 and 1902 the basic prohibition of Chinese laborers was renewed. In 1907 the exclusion law was to run perpetually only exempting merchants, teachers, ministers, students and visitors. In 1924 the act forbade admission of all persons racially ineligible to citizenship. From 1867 to 1890 every party platform contained a declaration for exclusion of Chinese. All members of Congress from the West were for exclusion. However, in general the Executive branch of the federal government and the State Department did not support exclusion.

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS. In 1943 President Franklin Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress supporting the Magguson Bill for repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Laws. There was then a powerful war time wave of public pro-Chinese sentiment for their heroic struggle against Japan for containing the Japanese armies for years while the power of the Allies dissolved in the Japanese holocaust. So the least America could do would be to boost Chinese morale renouncing "unequal treaties" and recognizing China's equality through repeal of the insulting exclusion laws. The important part of the President's message for the repeal is as follows: "Nations, like individuals, make mistakes. We must be big enough to acknowledge our mistakes and correct them -- By repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws we can correct a historical mistake -- The extension of the privileges of citizenship to relative few Chinese residents in our country would operate as another meaningful display of friendship -- we shall regard her (China) as a partner in the days of peace."

The discriminatory Chinese Exclusion Laws are a violation of all elementary and natural laws if we review the following court decisions of the exclusion cases:

Decision of the Immigration officers is final, if that decision was reached after a hearing in good faith, however summary in form. (Chin Wow v. U. S., 208 U. S. 8) (Ex Parte Yoshimasa Nomura, 297 F. 191)

A Board of Special Inquiry is not bound by ordinary rules of evidence as in legal procedure, but may permit any evidence, so long as there is a fair hearing. (U. S. ex rel Chew Deck v. Commissioner of Immig. 17F. Supp 78. Affirm 86F 2d, 1020)

The decision of an immigration officer is final, unless reversed on appeal to the Attorney General. The court will not interfere with the decision, unless it can be affirmatively shown that the Immigration officer abused his discretion, conducted the examination in an improper manner, or otherwise was unfair and arbitrary. (Lum Sha v. U. S. 82F (2d) 223; Wong Choy v. Haff 83F (2d) 983; Lee Bow Sing v. Proctor 83F (2d) 546)

A person arriving at a port of entry and claiming citizenship, must submit satisfactory evidence to the immigration authorities; and he is not entitled to have his claim determined in court proceedings, unless some evidence is produced to substantiate his claim. (U. S. ex rel Jew Lee v. Brough 20F (2d) 1023)



If no citizenship rights are involved, the right to admission is to be determined by the immigration officials only. (Wong Hai Sing v. Nagle 47F (2d) 1021)

In exclusion cases, the procedure is not judicial but administrative and the alien, upon hearing for exclusion, has no right to appear by counsel and examination and cross-examination of witnesses. (U. S. ex rel Wong Sai Chaam v. Commissioner 41F (2d) 526)

At a hearing before a Board of Inquiry, the credibility of witnesses is to be determined by the Immigration Inspector exclusively unless these officials acted arbitrarily in discrediting the witness, the court will not interfere. (Woon Sun Seung v. Proctor 99F (2d) 285)

The application to the courts of a denial of fair hearing should set out the facts from the record, showing unfairness. (Ex Parte Tom Woo Chun 29F (2d) 760)

An alien who commits perjury at a hearing before the Board of Special Inquiry may be excluded on the grounds that the crime of perjury involves moral turpitude; notwithstanding a subsequent correction of the false testimony. (Ex Parte Chin Chan On 32F (2d) 828)

As Chinese Exclusion Laws were so inhuman, discriminatory, and oppressive, consequently, Chinese victims of these laws sought every ingenious means to evade them to protect their interest against its operation in the past years. Therefore, it would not be surprised that many Chinese American citizens and permanent residents might be involved in legal complication with these laws because their ancestors and relatives had previously entered the country illegally.

From the broadest view of the spirit of justice the U. S. A. is a contributor of the illegal actions of the victims of the Chinese Exclusion Laws because it passed and put in force the most inhuman, discriminatory and oppressive acts on a friendly people some of whom had been originally welcomed to migrate to the country and had contributed invaluable services in the opening up of its wild West. The U. S. A. recognized vaguely this contributory and accessory responsibility in the spirit of President Franklin Roosevelt's message to Congress for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act when he stated that "Nations, like individuals, make mistakes. We must be big enough to acknowledge our mistakes and correct them -- By repeal of the Chinese Exclusion laws we can correct a historical mistake."

Should these innocent Chinese victims of the inhuman, discriminatory and oppressive exclusion laws suffer for the illegal actions of their ancestors and for the contributory, accessory and unjust laws of the government which passed such acts against a friendly people who had rendered invaluable service in opening up part of the country for development?

Although the U. S. A. had repealed the Chinese Exclusion laws under President Franklin Roosevelt the country has not cleaned up the "rubbles" of the wreck, caused by the application of these laws. If justice is to



be done the "rubbles" of the wreck should be cleared up by new legislation in Congress so that Chinese American citizens and permanent residents in the states will not henceforth be prosecuted in their direct or indirect and incidental involvement with the past illegal actions of their ancestors, relatives and friends violating the exclusion laws. Such magnanimous, compassionate and just statesman-like legislation will be in accord with the spirit of the promotion of international friendly relationship, the application of the rule of law to rectify international wrongs or mistakes, the strengthening of the spirit of civil rights of democracy at home, and the extension of justice to adjusting the wrongs long due to many Chinese American citizens and permanent residents in the states.

With regard to the discriminatory Chinese Immigration Law, we are particularly concerned with (1) injustices to Chinese members of the community, consisting of mostly wives and children, who were themselves innocent of any fraudulent activities but who were nonetheless related to persons who may have circumvented earlier immigration laws which have since been repealed. We understand that these persons, as a matter of United States policy, are not being deported to Communist China, nor are their families being separated. But on the other hand, they are denied the right, in many instances, to acquire permanent residence status. This leaves them in a limbo which has no end. It would seem only proper that, if otherwise qualified, these people should be afforded an opportunity to have their status adjusted and become integrated into our community. Many of these unfortunate Chinese and their families have proved to be valuable "citizens" of the United States. (2) We advocate that the Chinese Immigration quota be increased or revised. The Asiatic-Pacific Triangle formula should be abolished. Presently the Chinese Immigration quota is set at the outmoded and outdated figure of 105. We urge that new legislation provide for an increased quota or, as an alternative, provide for the application of given countries to the benefit of countries that have oversubscribed their quota. In connection with the Chinese quota there is still a special ranking discriminatory provision which should be corrected. For under the present law, persons of Chinese ancestry, even though born in countries other than China, are still charged to the 105 quota allotted to Free China. (3) Extend the Refugee Relief Program. In the Refugee Act of 1953 (now expired) considerable relief had been given to Chinese who had escaped Communist oppression and tyranny. Most of these persons escaped to Hong Kong. And many of these persons are relatives and friends of American Chinese residing in the United States. Thus, extension and revival of the Refugee Relief Program will not only constitute a humanitarian act, but it will also strike an effective blow at Communism in Asia.

It is with pleasure to recall some of the past statesman-like actions and utterances in Congress by President Kennedy in his presidential campaign on Chinese Immigration for which the Chinese community has been most grateful in giving them hopes to rectify some of the grave injustice done to the Chinese residents in the states.

On October 18, 1960, the Chinese World of San Francisco printed the following report :

KENNEDY BACKS LEGISLATION AIMED AT REUNITED SEPARATED FAMILIES

Washington Senator John F. Kennedy, Democratic candidate for president, made the following statement last Saturday:

A report has come to me that there are American citizens of Chinese ancestry who have members of their families, including children who have been stranded in Hong Kong for long periods up to several years. These people are encountering problems to get permission to enter the United States to reunite with their families.

The United States is proud of its citizens of Chinese background, who have loyally supported their country both in peace and in war.

The number of these cases is not large -- in any event, not more than about four thousand -- but their significance is vastly greater in a community like the Chinese, where the institution of family life is deeply respected. The feeling that these people are being discriminated against is something which we cannot afford to have continue.

I believe that the next President of the United States should take steps to simplify administrative procedures which have caused unnecessary delay in uniting these families by providing machinery for prompt and fair hearing which decisions based on the available documentary records.

We should expedite and improve our immigration methods, so that American citizens who have children and families in Hong Kong or elsewhere in refugee centers may have the opportunity of being quickly reunited with their families.

In the speeches of Senator John Kennedy (U. S. Government Printing Copy) they were reported as follows:

Senator Kennedy pledged during a campaign speech to American Chinese at Hyannia Port, Massachusetts in August 6, 1960 that "high priority" would be given by a democratic administration to the platform plank calling for amendments to the immigration and naturalization laws to ban discrimination based on national origin. "Our democratic platform specially states that we must remove the distinctions between native born and naturalized citizens to assure full protection of our laws to all -- I shall insist that this pledge be given high priority -- There is no place for second class citizenship in America".

According to an article, "The Melting Pot of Francis E. Walter" by Meg Green in the Reporter Magazine, October 26, 1961, the following was reported:

In 1952, Senator Kennedy strongly fought to sustain President Truman's veto of the discriminatory McCarran-Walter Act on immigration ... Then in 1955, Senator Kennedy called the McCarran-Walter Act "the most blatant piece of discrimination in the nation's history" and suggested the whole thing be scrapped.

On account of the intricacies of the immigration laws, it is believed advisable to formulate a representative Immigration Committee, which may comprise of prominent civic minded citizens whose duty is to study the possible liberalization of the laws in order to correct injustices effecting American citizens and residents of foreign ancestry in the United States and to remove international misunderstandings especially with countries of Asia and Africa. Considerable improvement of the present laws could be the means to right the past wrongs through executive orders. A great deal of the administration rulings are still cluttered with unjust and discriminatory practices.

In order to have a fair and just administration of the immigration and naturalization laws, it is of paramount importance that the post of Commissioner of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service be held by an outstanding dedicated civic minded and humane public servant, trained in law or in political science with unquestionable integrity and qualification which will inspire public confidence. In the recent appointment of Mr. Raymond F. Farrell who succeeded General Joseph M. Swing as Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the New York Times, November 28, 1961 issue, has the following editorial on humane immigration service :-

#### A HUMANE IMMIGRATION SERVICE

As Commissioner of Immigration to succeed Lieut. Gen. Joseph M. Swing, President Kennedy has chosen a career officer in the Immigration Service with extensive investigative experience. Raymond F. Farrell, an associate commissioner for the past three years, is a 55-year-old lawyer who was with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other agencies before joining the service in 1941.

The appointment assures continuity of administration in a difficult area of law enforcement and it encourages the career service. But without wishing to prejudge Mr. Farrell as Commissioner, we think the President missed a great opportunity here for necessary reform.

For many years the Immigration Service has had a reputation for narrow, illiberal administration of laws which are themselves not noted for their humanity. Too often the service has seemed to regard any means -- sudden arrests, sidestepping of the courts -- as justifying the end of removing some undesirable alien from the scene. Unlike prosecutors who have and use discretion in administering the criminal law, the service has apparently taken the position that it has no choice but to insist on deportation for any deportable act, no matter how trivial or technical.

To change this unhappy history, to bring new wisdom and breadth of vision into immigration enforcement, it would have been more

effective to appoint someone from the outside, not part of the present tradition -- preferably a lawyer of unassailable standing. Since, instead, it is Mr. Farrell who has been chosen, we can only hope that he will demonstrate the largeness of spirit to reform from within.

Enlightened and public-spirited citizens are requested to write to the President, the U. S. Attorney General and Congressmen and Senators to liberalize the discriminatory Chinese Immigration Laws in order to rectify the injustice perpetuated on United States citizens and residents in the states of Chinese ancestry.

\*\* THE END \*\*



April 24, 1962

Memo to Senator

From Jack Flynn

Re: Congressman Walter's bill, HR 10079, which is at Senate desk awaiting referral to committee.

This measure (attached ) would divide the principal functions of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs into (a) an office dealing with the administration of immigration laws, and (b) an administrative unit charged with security functions at State Department. The bill would also carry out recommendations of the President regarding participation by the U.S. in various existing programs of assistance to certain migrants and refugees.

Senator Fulbright feels very strongly that this bill should be referred to Foreign Relations Committee while Senator Eastland wants it to go to Judiciary.

Here is the background to this squabble. Last year the House passed HR 8291 which complied with the President's requests to continue U.S. participation in certain refugee programs. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee broadened the bill (attached) by providing for indirect aid to refugees in the form of assistance in finding housing, job training, or travel to places of settlement.

Congressman Walter refused to accept the major Senate amendments; the Senate insisted on its amendments and appointed conferees (you are one of the conferees), but the House has refused to appoint conferees.

Walter has now gotten this new bill, containing the refugee features the President wants, through the House and wants it to go to Jim Eastland's Committee where he feels he'll get a bill more to his liking than he will in Foreign Relations Committee. Eastland wants to get along with Walter while Fulbright is just as determined to see that his Committee is not circumvented.

It will take a Solomon to get this one ironed out.



87TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

## [Report No. 1369]

## FEBRUARY 5, 1962

FEBRUARY 20, 1962

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in *italic*]

1   diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, except those  
2   powers, duties, and functions conferred upon the consular  
3   officers relating to the granting or refusal of visas; and (2)  
4   the determination of nationality of a person not in the United  
5   States. He shall establish such regulations; prescribe such  
6   forms of reports, entries, and other papers; issue such in-  
7   structions; and perform such other acts as he deems nec-  
8   essary for carrying out such provisions. He is authorized to  
9   confer or impose upon any employee of the United States,  
10   with the consent of the head of the department or independ-  
11   ent establishment under whose jurisdiction the employee is  
12   serving, any of the powers, function, or duties conferred or  
13   imposed by this Act or regulations issued thereunder upon  
14   officers or employees of the Department of State or of the  
15   American Foreign Service.

16       “(b) There is established in the Department of State  
17   an Office which shall be entitled as designated by the Presi-  
18   dent, which Office shall be filled by appointment by the  
19   President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,  
20   with rank and compensation equal to that of an Assistant  
21   Secretary of State. The incumbent of such Office shall be a  
22   citizen of the United States qualified by knowledge of the  
23   nationality laws, immigration laws, and international mi-  
24   gration affairs. He shall maintain close liaison with the  
25   Immigration and Naturalization Service in order that there

AMENDING SECTION 104 OF THE IMMIGRATION AND  
NATIONALITY ACT, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

FEBRUARY 20, 1962.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the  
State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. MOORE, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the  
following

R E P O R T

[To accompany H.R. 10079]

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 10079) to amend section 104 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 10, line 13, strike out the word "Act," and substitute in lieu thereof the word "title,".

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is—

1. To abolish the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs of the Department of State as originally established pursuant to section 104 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 175; 8 U.S.C. 1104), and to divide its present principal functions into (a) a specialized office headed by an officer with the rank of Assistant Secretary of State, appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and (b) an administrative unit charged with security functions such as investigation and supervision of personnel of the Department of State pertaining to suitability and loyalty to the United States, security of the Department of State and its establishments abroad, and physical security;

2. To define the functions of the office specified under (a) above, by placing in it the responsibilities for—

(A) The administration of passport laws;

(B) The determination of nationality of a person outside of the United States;

(C) The administration of the immigration laws relating to issuance of visas;

(D) The participation of the United States in international migration organizations and the effectuation of their purposes; and

(E) Such other related matters affecting consular affairs as may be assigned to the office by the Secretary of State;

3. To reenact three provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, authorizing the operation or the participation by the United States in defined programs of assistance to certain migrants and refugees; and to authorize the appropriation of funds for such programs;

4. To authorize the appropriation of funds to assist certain refugees from Western Hemisphere countries who fled to the United States in fear of persecution (such assistance having been hitherto rendered by using the President's contingency funds for the benefit of refugees from Cuba).

The administration of the three assistance programs authorized under section 202 (a), (b) (1) and (2) of title II is to be a part of the functions and responsibilities of the office created pursuant to section 101 of title I of this legislation. The bill makes no provision for a change in the assignment of responsibilities and functions regarding the administration of the fourth program, authorized in section 202(b) (3) through (6) of title II as such functions and responsibilities have been placed by the President within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The purpose of the amendment is to correct an error in drafting.

#### EXECUTIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

The Department of State submitted a report on title I of this legislation referring to the predecessor bill, H.R. 9904.

The Department's report reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, January 31, 1962.

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In confirmation of the meeting of the committee this morning in executive session with the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, Roger W. Jones, the Department will not report on H.R. 8014 but in lieu thereof submits this report on H.R. 9904, the bill under discussion in the executive session.

H.R. 9904, a bill to amend section 104 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes, contains two titles. The first title has to do with the administrative organization and operation of the Department of State, and the second title is referred to in section 201 as the "Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962." Title II is designed to carry out recommendations sent to the Congress last year by President Kennedy regarding the participation by the United States in various existing programs of assistance to certain

Calendar No. 972

87TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 8291

[Report No. 989]

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 7, 1961

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

SEPTEMBER 12, 1961

Reported by Mr. FULBRIGHT, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

## AN ACT

To enable the United States to participate in the assistance rendered to certain migrants and refugees.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Migration and Refugee  
4 Assistance Act of 1961".

5 SEC. 2. (a) The President is hereby authorized to con-  
6 tinue membership for the United States in the Intergovern-  
7 mental Committee for European Migration in accordance  
8 with its constitution approved in Venice, Italy, on October  
9 19, 1953. For the purpose of assisting in the movement of  
10 refugees and migrants and to enhance the economic progress  
11 of the developing countries by providing for a coordinated



1 supply of selected manpower, there are hereby authorized to  
2 be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary from time  
3 to time for the payment by the United States of its con-  
4 tributions to the Committee and all necessary salaries and  
5 expenses incident to United States participation in the Com-  
6 mittee; *Committee.*

7 (b) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated  
8 such amounts as may be necessary from time to time—

9 (1) for contributions to the activities of the United  
10 Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for assistance  
11 to refugees under his mandate or in behalf of whom he  
12 is exercising his good offices;

13 (2) *for assistance to or in behalf of escapees, ref-*  
14 *ugees and similar selected persons from any Communist-*  
15 *dominated or Communist-occupied countries or areas,*  
16 *and any other countries or areas designated by the*  
17 *President, either to form such persons into elements of*  
18 *the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty*  
19 *Organization or in furtherance of the objectives of the*  
20 *foreign policy of the United States when the President de-*  
21 *termines that such assistance will contribute to the defense*  
22 *of the North Atlantic area, to the security of the United*  
23 *States, or to the foreign policy interests of the United*  
24 *States;*

87TH CONGRESS }  
1st Session }

SENATE

{REPORT  
No. 989

MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE  
ACT OF 1961

---

REPORT  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
ON  
H.R. 8291



SEPTEMBER 12, 1961.—Ordered to be printed

---

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1961

REPORT  
OF THE

SENATE

87TH CONGRESS  
1st Session

MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE  
ACT OF 1961

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

J. W. FULBRIGHT, Arkansas, *Chairman*

JOHN SPARKMAN, Alabama  
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Minnesota  
MIKE MANSFIELD, Montana  
WAYNE MORSE, Oregon  
RUSSELL B. LONG, Louisiana  
ALBERT GORE, Tennessee  
FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Ohio  
FRANK CHURCH, Idaho  
STUART SYMINGTON, Missouri  
THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut

ALEXANDER WILEY, Wisconsin  
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa  
GEORGE D. AIKEN, Vermont  
HOMER E. CAPEHART, Indiana  
FRANK CARLSON, Kansas  
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Delaware

CARL MARCY, *Chief of Staff*  
DARRELL ST. CLAIRE, *Clerk*

II



PRINTED AT THE SENATE PRINTING OFFICE

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1961

FOOT

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.  
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.  
MIKE MANSFIELD, MONT.  
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.  
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.  
ALBERT GORE, TENN.  
FRANK J. LAUSCHE, OHIO  
FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.  
THOMAS J. DODD, CONN.

ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.  
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA  
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.  
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.  
FRANK CARLSON, KANS.  
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF  
DARRELL ST. CLAIRE, CLERK

### MEMORANDUM

*Jack Hyman*  
*Norris*  
*Report on Immigrant Refugee Legislation*  
*This has OK of*  
*Francis Walter.*

TO: Senators Sparkman, Humphrey, Wiley, and  
Hickenlooper, conferees on H. R. 8291

FROM: Senator Fulbright

SUBJECT: Proposed conference report

As passed by the Senate on September 15, 1961,  
with amendments, H.R. 8291, the proposed "Migration  
and Refugee Assistance Act of 1961," would:

1. Lift out of the foreign aid legislation and establish in a separate statute authority for the President to participate in three programs: (a) Contributions to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM), (b) contributions to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and (c) the U.S. escapee program (USEP).
2. Establish specific authority to assist Cuban refugees who have come to the United States. Heretofore this assistance has been carried out through contingency authority and funds under the foreign aid program.
3. Provide the President with authority to meet unexpected refugee, escapee, and migration problems by using not to exceed \$10 million in any fiscal year out of his foreign aid contingency fund.

In addition, the bill contains authority for the President to delegate his responsibilities under it to appropriate officers of the U.S. Government, to allocate funds to such officers to operate the programs, and to expend funds for necessary operating and administrative purposes.

The bill in no way changes the law pertaining to admission of aliens to the United States.

On September 21, 1961, the House agreed to certain of the Senate amendments and disagreed to others. The Senate insisted on its amendments and requested a conference. The House did not appoint conferees and the first session of the 87th Congress adjourned shortly thereafter.

Between September 21, 1961, and June 19, 1962, there was controversy between the House and the Senate over the procedures for considering and enacting refugee legislation. Questions of jurisdiction of committees were involved. In March 1962 the House passed a new bill, H.R. 10079, title II of which was substantially the same as the House version of H.R. 8291. This bill has been held at the Senate desk pending resolution of a dispute over whether it should be referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee or the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On June 7, the Senate passed S. 2996, the foreign aid bill, which contained as Part V a proposed Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 in the form substantially similar to the Senate version of H.R. 8291. While this impasse over new authorizing legislation for the refugee and migration programs has existed the programs have been carried out under temporary authority in the foreign aid legislation using funds from the President's foreign aid contingency fund.

I believe that the controversy is now resolved. I have been in touch with Representative Walter. I proposed to him that there be a conference on H.R. 8291. The House appointed conferees on June 19. He proposed that such a conference agree, without having a formal meeting, to the text of a bill which he sent to me. This text is substantially identical to Part V of S. 2996 as the Senate passed it with the addition of the provision requiring Senate confirmation of the head of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs in the Department of State which was a part of the Senate version of H.R. 8291. If the Senate and House conferees can agree on this bill which Representative Walter has proposed and which is acceptable to me, the understanding would be that H. R. 10079 would be left at the Senate



desk and die with the end of the present session. Part V of S. 2996 would be eliminated in the conference on the foreign aid bill. The Executive Branch fully approves this course of action.

In my opinion the objectives of the Senate would be fully achieved by agreeing to the version of the refugee and migration bill proposed by Representative Walter. I recommend that each Senate conferee sign the conference report when it is presented to you by the staff of the Committee. A copy of the draft conference report is attached.

In view of the parliamentary situation regarding H.R. 8291 (the Senate having numbered its amendments and the House having agreed to some of these amendments) a rather complicated conference report has been prepared in order that the conference bill should take the form agreed upon by Representative Walter and myself. The conference report has been worked out with care by the staff of the Committee on Foreign Relations and by the staff of the House Judiciary Committee. It is technically subject to points of order because it has been necessary to go beyond the numbered amendments to arrive at the agreed version of the bill. Representative Walter expects no point of order to be raised in the House. I expect no point of order to be raised in the Senate. If you have any questions about the conference report please call George Denney of the Committee staff.

June 22, 1962

# CE NITE MONO—1

[CONFIDENTIAL COMMITTEE PRINT]

87TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT  
2d Session } { No. —

## MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1962

—Ordered to be printed

Mr. WALTER, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

### CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 8291]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8291) to enable the United States to participate in the assistance rendered to certain migrants and refugees having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 3, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 17, and agree to the same.

#### Amendment numbered 2:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

(2) *for assistance to or in behalf of refugees designated by the President (by class, group, or designation of their respective countries of origin or areas of residence) when the President determines that such assistance will contribute to the defense, or to the security, or to the foreign policy interests of the United States;*

; and on page 1, line 4 of the House engrossed bill, strike out "1961" and insert in lieu thereof "1962";

; and on page 2, lines 19 and 20 of the House engrossed bill, in lieu of the matter inserted by the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, insert the following: *a nation or area of the Western Hemisphere*

And the Senate agree to the same.

#### Amendment numbered 11:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

Restore the matter proposed to be stricken out by the Senate amendment, strike out the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment and on page 3 of the House engrossed bill strike out lines 16 to 23, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

## CE NITE MONO—2

(c) Whenever the President determines it to be important to the national interest, not exceeding \$10,000,000 in any fiscal year of the funds made available for use under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, may be transferred to, and consolidated with, funds made available for this Act in order to meet unexpected urgent refugee and migration needs.; and on page 4 of the House engrossed bill strike out lines 3 to 10, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(c) Unexpended balances of funds made available under authority of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and allocated or transferred for the purposes of sections 405(a), 405(c), 405(d) and 451(c) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, are hereby authorized to be continued available for the purposes of this section and may be consolidated with appropriations authorized by this section. Funds appropriated for the purposes of this section shall remain available until expended.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: is authorized to redelegate to any of his subordinates any functions authorized to be performed by him under this subsection, except the function of exercising the waiver authority specified in section 3(b) of this Act.

; and on page 5 of the House engrossed bill strike out the words "in the executive branch" in lines 8 and 9 and insert in lieu thereof the words "of the United States Government", and strike out the words "Any individual so designated by the President under this subsection" in lines 12 and 13 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "If the President shall so specify, any individual so designated under this subsection"

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 18:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

Strike out the matter proposed to be stricken out by the amendment of the Senate and on page 7 of the House engrossed bill beginning with the word "contained" in line 9 strike out all through line 11, and insert in lieu thereof the following: repealed by this Act shall continue in full force and effect until modified, revoked, or superseded under the authority of this Act.

Sec. 6. Subsections (a), (c) and (d) of section 405 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, subsection (c) of section 451 of the said Act, and the last sentence of section 2(a) of the Act of July 14, 1960 (74 Stat. 504), are hereby repealed.

## CE NITE MONO-3

*SEC. 7. Until the enactment of legislation appropriating funds for activities under this Act, such activities may be conducted with funds made available under section 451(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.*

And the Senate agree to the same.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,  
MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN,  
FRANK CHELF,  
RICHARD H. ROFF,  
ARCH A. MOORE, JR.,  
*Managers on the Part of the House.*

J. W. FULBRIGHT,  
JOHN J. SPARKMAN,  
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
ALEXANDER WILEY,  
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER,  
*Managers on the Part of the Senate.*

### STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8291) to enable the United States to participate in the assistance rendered to certain migrants and refugees, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report.

The legislation as agreed to in conference does not differ from the bill H.R. 10079, as amended and passed by the House of March 13, 1962, except that the proposed reorganization of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs of the Department of State is limited at this time to the requirement that the Administrator of the said Bureau be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This provision of the instant bill will take effect 30 days after the date of enactment (sec. 4(a)(2)).

For reference purposes the complete bill is printed below:

### H.R. 8291

**AN ACT** To enable the United States to participate in the assistance rendered to certain migrants and refugees.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962".*

SEC. 2. (a) The President is hereby authorized to continue membership for the United States in the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in accordance with its constitution approved in Venice, Italy, on October 19, 1953. For the purpose of assisting in the movement of refugees and migrants and to enhance the economic progress of the developing countries by providing for a coordinated supply of selected manpower, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary from time to time for the payment by the United States of its contributions to the Committee and all necessary salaries and expenses incident to United States participation in the Committee.

(b) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary from time to time—

(1) for contributions to the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for assistance to refugees under his mandate or in behalf of whom he is exercising his good offices;



## CE NITE MONO-4

(2) for assistance to or in behalf of refugees designated by the President (by class, group, or designation of their respective countries of origin or areas of residence) when the President determines that such assistance will contribute to the defense, or to the security, or to the foreign policy interests of the United States;

(3) for assistance to or in behalf of refugees in the United States whenever the President shall determine that such assistance would be in the interest of the United States: *Provided*, That the term "refugees" as herein used means aliens who (A) because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion, fled from a nation or area of the Western Hemisphere; (B) cannot return thereto because of fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion; and (C) are in urgent need of assistance for the essentials of life;

(4) for assistance to State or local public agencies providing services for substantial numbers of individuals who meet the requirements of subparagraph (3) (other than clause (C) thereof) for (A) health services and educational services to such individuals, and (B) special training for employment and services related thereto;

(5) for transportation to, and resettlement in, other areas of the United States of individuals who meet the requirements of subparagraph (3) (other than clause (C) thereof) and who, having regard for their income and other resources, need assistance in obtaining such services; and

(6) for establishment and maintenance of projects for employment or refresher professional training of individuals who meet the requirements of subparagraph (3) (other than clause (C) thereof) and, who, having regard for their income and resources, need such employment or need assistance in obtaining such retraining.

(c) Whenever the President determines it to be important to the national interest, not exceeding \$10,000,000 in any fiscal year of the funds made available for use under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, may be transferred to, and consolidated with, funds made available for this Act in order to meet unexpected urgent refugee and migration needs.

(d) The President shall keep the appropriate committees of Congress currently informed of the use of funds and the exercise of functions authorized in this Act;

(e) Unexpended balances of funds made available under authority of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and allocated or transferred for the purposes of sections 405(a), 405(c), 405(d) and 451(c) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, are hereby authorized to be continued available for the purposes of this section and may be consolidated with appropriations authorized by this section. Funds appropriated for the purposes of this section shall remain available until expended.

SEC. 3. (a) In carrying out the purpose of this Act, the President is authorized—



## CE NITE MONO—5

(1) to make loans, advances, and grants to, make and perform agreements and contracts with, or enter into other transactions with, any individual, corporation, or other body of persons, government or government agency, whether within or without the United States, and international and intergovernmental organizations;

(2) to accept and use money, funds, property, and services of any kind made available by gift, devise, bequest, grant, or otherwise for such purposes.

(b) Whenever the President determines it to be in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, the functions authorized under this Act may be performed without regard to such provisions of law (other than the Renegotiation Act of 1951 (65 Stat. 7)), as amended, regulating the making, performance, amendment, or modification of contracts and the expenditure of funds of the United States Government as the President may specify.

SEC. 4. (a)(1) The President is authorized to designate the head of any department or agency of the United States Government, or any official thereof who is required to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to perform any functions conferred upon the President by this Act. If the President shall so specify, any individual so designated under this subsection is authorized to redelegate to any of his subordinates any functions authorized to be performed by him under this subsection, except the function of exercising the waiver authority specified in section 3(b) of this Act.

(2) Section 104(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1104(b)), is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following: "He shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate". This subparagraph (a)(2) shall be effective thirty days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) The President may allocate or transfer to any agency of the United States Government any part of any funds available for carrying out the purposes of this Act. Such funds shall be available for obligation and expenditure for the purposes for which authorized in accordance with authority granted in this Act or under authority governing the activities of the agencies of the United States Government to which such funds are allocated or transferred. Funds allocated or transferred pursuant to this subsection to any such agency may be established in separate appropriation accounts on the books of the Treasury.

SEC. 5. (a) Funds made available for the purposes of this Act shall be available for—

(1) compensation, allowances, and travel of personnel, including Foreign Service personnel whose services are utilized primarily for the purpose of this Act, and without regard to the provisions of any other law, for printing and binding, and for expenditures outside the United States for the procurement of supplies and services and for other administrative and operating purposes (other than compensation of personnel) without regard to such laws and regulations governing the obligation and expenditure of Government funds as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Act;

(2) employment or assignment of Foreign Service Reserve officers for the duration of operations under this Act;

## CE NITE MONO—6

(3) exchange of funds without regard to section 3651 of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 543), and loss by exchanges;

(4) expenses authorized by the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (22 U.S.C. 801 et seq.), not otherwise provided for;

(5) expenses authorized by the Act of August 1, 1956 (70 Stat. 890-892), as amended; and

(6) all other expenses determined by the President to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(b) Except as may be expressly provided to the contrary in this Act, all determinations, authorizations, regulations, orders, contracts, agreements and other actions issued, undertaken, or entered into under authority of any provision of law repealed by this Act shall continue in full force and effect until modified, revoked, or superseded under the authority of this Act.

SEC. 6. Subsections (a), (c) and (d) of section 405 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, subsection (c) of section 451 of the said Act, and the last sentence of section 2(a) of the Act of July 14, 1960 (74 Stat. 504), are hereby repealed.

SEC. 7. Until the enactment of legislation appropriating funds for activities under this Act, such activities may be conducted with funds made available under section 451(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,  
MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN,  
FRANK CHELF,  
RICHARD H. POFF,  
ARCH A. MOORE, JR.,

*Managers on the Part of the House.*





**LIBERALIZE  
OUR  
IMMIGRATION  
LAWS**

**COMMUNITY  
CAMPAIGN  
KIT**



**WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**

**LIBERALIZE OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS**





# *The* WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

אַרבעטער רינג

*National Office*

175 EAST BROADWAY, NEW YORK 2, N. Y.

PHONE OREGON 4-3400

December 3, 1962

Dear Friends:

The Workmen's Circle has always been interested in liberalization of our U.S. immigration laws, as it has been interested in all other steps leading to social progress and greater democracy.

Today, as we are host to the United Nations, and as we play a leadership role among the family of nations, the temper of our country is such that now is the time to achieve the goal of a more equitable and democratic immigration policy.

The National Executive Committee of the W.C. therefore takes the initiative to urge a vigorous community effort to persuade the 88th Congress to adopt the liberalization revisions. We believe that the bill proposed by Senator Hart (Mich.) represents a gratifying step in this direction, and we recommend it as worthy of our full support.

The Branches of the W.C. have an opportunity to lead in this community effort, as we have done in other instances. To help our Branches in this, we have prepared this kit of directives, sample letters and speeches, and information materials. We are also happy to offer it to other organizations which want to make use of it.

We trust that you will apply yourselves to this task in the spirit of participating in a historic endeavor leading to fulfillment of the American ideal of friendship towards all the peoples of the earth.

Fraternally yours,

Jacob T. Zukerman, President

Nathan Chanin, General Secretary

oeiu-153

What Your Branch Can Do  
About This Campaign

---

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE IMMIGRATION PROJECT

1. Adopt the project as a primary activity of the Branch and set up a special committee for it. This needs those who have the ideas and energy to put zest into the project and those who have the community contacts.
2. Pick a proper date and place and call a conference of community groups whose support you think you can get. Follow up letters with calls to get responses and interest.
3. Set up a committee to visit the editors of your local newspapers (including Anglo-Jewish) and ask for their support.
4. Suggest to clergymen in your area (by letter or personal approach) that they preach sermons on this theme.
5. Sponsor an essay contest on the subject of immigration for students at your local high school. Offer a \$25 bond as a prize. Invite other groups to add to prizes.
6. Organize a letter-writing campaign to your Senators and Representatives. (Check the analysis of the Hart bill in the kit to see if your Senators are among the sponsors. If they are they may be helpful to you in a number of ways. Get in touch with them.)
7. Write letters (to editors) to your local newspapers.
8. Send speakers (to use some of the materials in this kit) around to meetings of other community groups.
9. Try to arrange a large meeting in your local public school auditorium with prominent speakers (including your Congressman).
10. If you think it is feasible, circulate a petition. The petition should make it plain that we consider a liberalized immigration law a useful action in the cold war with communism.
11. Try to arrange a short talk or discussion on your local radio or TV station.
12. Make this project sing, as we did in many places with Books from America and National Indignation Week, since this too will strike a chord of interest and enthusiasm among many in the community.

NOTE: Should you need additional material, write the W.C. office and we will try to provide it.



Suggested Talk (15 minutes)  
To Community Gathering

---

WHY LIBERALIZE OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS?

I'd like to spend a few minutes this evening talking with you about our immigration laws and the need for changing them.

Your first response may be: "Immigration"? Why should that concern us?"

It's true that most of us were born here, and that very few of us have relatives abroad. Yet immigration, and the way we manage it, concerns all of us in a very real and important way.

Senator Hubert Humphrey said some years ago that "immigration laws crystallize and express a society's basic human values, for they deal with our relationship to people other than our immediate neighbors. In a sense, Senator Humphrey said, "they codify our prejudices or our freedom from prejudices. They reveal how our actual practices correspond with our professed ideals."

They do one thing more. As clearly as any other act of national policy, they announce to the people of other lands exactly what we think of them. In the present sensitive state of world opinion, this has an obvious bearing on our position in the world. It influences, for better or worse, the opinions of people with whom we seek friendships and alliances.

You may say to yourself: "As long as we keep shoveling out foreign aid in the billions, our immigration policy can't have much effect." But let's take a homey example, one we can all judge for ourselves. Suppose you were to say to a needy neighbor: "I'll give you money for bread. But on no account do I want you in my house."

Would you be making a friend? I think not. Yet that is exactly what we are doing, as a nation, to the people of Asia, Africa and Eastern and Mediterranean Europe. Our immigration law is based on what is called the national origins quota system. It imposes quotas on each country out of the Western Hemisphere on the basis of the proportion of our white population in 1920 attributable to that country. For Asian and African countries, there is a maximum quota of one hundred.

How does it work? Out of a total annual quota of 156,000, Great Britain gets more than 40 percent, of which it uses less than half. Germany is entitled to 25,814, which is more than eight times the quota for France, and considerably more than the total for all of our wartime allies excepting Great Britain. Little Ireland has a larger quota than all of Asia, and we take more people from Switzerland than we do from the whole African continent.

There are all kinds of inequities in our present law. Rumania, an "iron curtain" country, has a quota of 289, which is little enough, but this is nearly a third more than our quota for India and the Philippines combined. What's more, a person of one-half Asian ancestry, regardless of his place of birth, is assigned to the quota of the country from which his Asian country comes. In other words, a child born in London to an English father and an Indian mother would have to wait his turn under India's annual quota of 100.

- 2 -  
Immigration Laws

Our present law clearly discriminates, not only against Asians and Africans, but against Eastern European and Mediterranean countries. The combined quotas for Greece, Turkey and Spain, for instance, come to 783, which is roughly one third of the quota we allot to Norway. Yet our national policy depends very much on the friendship and cooperation of all of these countries. In fact, we have missile bases in Turkey and Spain, which makes them vital factors in NATO, our North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Senator Philip Hart, of Michigan, has pointed out that our leadership in the free world is not enhanced by an "immigration policy which implies that some nationalities and some races are less desirable members of the family of man than others."

Adlai Stevenson has said: "The existence of such quota discriminations has created ill will throughout the world. Without conferring any benefit upon our country, the national origins system has worked against us in many ways."

The fact is that no national purpose is served by our present immigration law. On the contrary, it is often an embarrassment, as it was during the Hungarian uprising of 1956, when emergency measures had to be enacted so that we could admit those brave people who had risked their lives in an effort to liberate their country from communist tyranny.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, then president, said: "Our position of world leadership demands that, in partnership with the other nations of the free world, we be in a position to grant asylum."

Then he went further, and said that our experience with the law, which is called the Immigration and Nationality Act, had "demonstrated certain provisions which operate inequitably and others which are outmoded in the world of today."

"Prompt action by the Congress," he said, is needed for "revision and improvement of that law."

That was in a message to Congress, on the subject of immigration, in 1957. Yet now, five years later, we are still waiting for those revisions and improvements.

I think it will interest you to know that nearly every American who deserves to be called distinguished has come out in favor of drastic revisions in our present immigration law. Let me emphasize that, while this is a proposal supported by the liberal community in America, it is distinctly not a liberal proposal.

The late John Foster Dulles, as Secretary of State, was among its strongest advocates. He said: "Our quota restrictions should not discriminate among persons merely on the basis of their national origin, nor should the restrictions discriminate unfairly against any of the friendly nations which have an interest in common with us in the defense of the free world. The present system," said Dulles, "is offensive on both counts."

It is worth noting, I think, that revision of our present immigration law has been urged in both the Democratic and Republican national platforms. It has been urged by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, by the National Lutheran Council, by the Synagogue Council of America and by many other religious groups.

- 3 -  
Immigration Laws

President Kennedy, while he was still a Senator said: "The national origins quota system . . . permits immigration to this country by those who do not wish to do so while it denies the right to those who have both the need and the desire."

"The system," he said, "is in direct conflict with the Declaration of Independence, the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States and our traditional standards of decency and justice."

This is still President Kennedy's view, we know. It is our view in the Workmen's Circle. We hope to persuade you that it deserves your support.

Immigration, in our country, is no longer a Jewish problem. There is no longer any substantial number of Jewish immigrants clamoring for admission here. But as immigrants, and as the descendants of immigrants, we feel that we have a special obligation in this matter. We feel this, not only as the descendants of immigrants but as Jews with a tradition of brotherhood and compassion born of our special history as a people. We feel that we have an obligation to keep open for others the doorway to freedom and opportunity for which our country, for more than a hundred years, has been the symbol.

"All this is fine," you may say. "But what do we do about it?" A good question. And, as it happens, there's a good answer. There is now before the Senate Bill S. 3043. It was submitted by Senator Hart, of Michigan, and it is being co-sponsored by 24 other Senators representing 17 states. The Hart bill, if enacted, would go a long way toward removing the worst features of our present law. Specifically, it would eliminate the national origins provisions, which so crudely insult so many people we want as friends and allies. Secondly, it would raise the total annual immigration quota from the approximately 156,000 it is now to around 250,000. There would be other improvements.

Senator Hart's bill is regarded as having a better-than-even chance, but this chance depends very much on the kind of support we can muster for it on the community level.

The opposition to immigration reform, the available evidence indicates, is a minority opposition. But it is vocal and insistent. It comes from those people who tend to hate all foreigners. This may be a most peculiar emotion in America, but it is a very real thing. And we must overcome it if we are to get the kind of immigration laws consistent with our democratic traditions and with our position as spokesman for the free world.

We are therefore, in our modest way, trying to be helpful. Our branches all over the country have been asked to take the lead in starting community campaigns. I emphasize the word starting. We don't want them to be our campaigns. We seek no monopoly. We'd simply like to help in getting them under way, and do what we can to make them a success. The techniques useful in such a campaign are so well known that I won't bore you by elaborating on them here. I do hope that your organization, and you as individuals, will find this project worthy of your support. We hope, in fact, that you will agree with us that it deserves a major effort.

As Senator Hart told our recent convention, "We who are the descendants of immigrants should particularly prize our heritage of freedom and democracy." One way of doing this is working for a better immigration law.

Thank you very much.

(The plaque below the Statue of Liberty  
is inscribed with this poem.)

THE NEW COLLOSSUS

by Emma Lazarus (1849-1887)

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,  
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;  
Here at our seawashed, sunset gates shall stand  
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame  
Is imprisoned lightning, and her name  
Mother of Exiles. From beacon-hand  
Glow world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command  
The air-bridged harbour that twin cities frame.  
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she  
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to be free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"



Is it really a national blight?

# How Bad Is Our Immigration Law?

by

Charles Williams

IT is difficult to think of anything more illogical, perverse and discriminatory than this country's immigration policy during the past 50 years. The McCarran-Walter Law of 1952, though often condemned as the source of this policy, in effect simply extended one that had been in effect since the anti-alien hysteria following World War I.

One cannot sensibly argue with a policy aimed at limiting immigration. The old ideal of "free passage" of peoples is still a valid goal, but the United States, now struggling with the complex problems of urban growth, could hardly afford to throw open its doors to all who wished to enter, as it did, with some exceptions, in an earlier period. But there is a wide and dramatic gap between a policy aimed at assuring orderly and manageable immigration, on which most people would agree, and the present policy which is blatantly discriminatory and even racist.

For example, under our present immigration law, little Ireland has a larger quota than all of Asia; and we accept more people from Switzerland than from all of Africa. Senator Philip A. Hart, of Michigan, remarked a while back that America's role of leadership in the free world is not enhanced by an "immigration policy which implies that some nationalities and some races are less desirable members of the family of man than others . . ."

But it is not simply that we discriminate against Asians and Africans, insupportable though that is. The national origins quota system, which is the heart of the present law, imposes quotas on each country out of the Western Hemisphere on the basis of the proportion of our white population in 1920 attributable to that country. There is a total quota of around 156,000. Great Britain, for example, is entitled to more than 40 percent of this total, of which it uses less than half. Germany is entitled to 25,814, which is more than eight times the quota for France, and vastly more than the total for all of our wartime allies excepting Great Britain.

These are only the most glaring inequities; there are many others which not only conflict with national policy but defy common sense. Rumania, an "iron curtain" country, has a quota of 289, nearly a third more than our quotas for India and the Philippines combined. Moreover, a person of one-half Asian ancestry, regardless of his place of birth, is assigned to the quota of the Asian country from which his Asian parent comes. In other words, a child born in London of an English father and an Indian mother would have to wait his turn under India's annual quota of 100.

Within Europe, the law clearly discriminates against Eastern European and Mediterranean countries. The combined quotas for Greece, Turkey and Spain come to 783, which is roughly a third of the quota allotted to Norway. Yet our national policy depends very much on

the friendship and close cooperation of all of these countries.

The fact is that no definable national purpose is served by our present immigration law. On the contrary, it is often an embarrassment, as it was during the Hungarian uprising of 1956, when emergency measures had to be enacted so that we could admit the brave men and women who had risked their lives in an effort to liberate their country from Soviet tyranny. However, it isn't only the discriminatory national quotas that are objectionable in the present law. It is the niggardliness of the total quota. A country as vast as ours can certainly absorb, in the opinion of most experts, a larger number of immigrants annually than the 156,000 now permitted under the law.

Revising the law until recently had seemed, in the words of Herbert H. Lehman, "a lonely and almost hopeless" task, but "these are times when one can begin to feel the long-absent surge of the national spirit of action," he told a HIAS meeting last year. "The beat of the national pulse has begun to quicken, and an air of excitement, emanating from Washington, has begun to spread throughout the land." It is his hope that this new spirit may encourage liberalizing and humanizing amendments to the McCarran-Walter Act. One gathers that it is a hope widely shared. Early this year, Senator Hart, joined by 24 of his associates representing 17 states, submitted a bill (S.3043) that would, if enacted, go a long way toward removing the worst features of the present law. Specifically, it would eliminate the national origins provisions and raise the quota authorized to 250,000 a year. There would be other improvements. Because both candidates in the 1960 campaign promised action along these lines, and because President Kennedy, as a member of the House and the Senate, consistently favored such legislation, Senator Hart's bill is thought to have a better-than-even chance. If so, it will bring to an end a policy clearly at odds with the American tradition and one that clearly impedes us in our role as spokesman for the free world. But it will take lots of pressure from below to get the bill passed.





# Project of the Year

by Jacob T. Zukerman

*"WE who are descendants of immigrants should particularly prize our heritage of freedom and democracy. We can do much to demonstrate the vitality of our democracy by restoring fairness and dignity to our immigration laws—by removing the bars of national origins quotas which directly and indirectly discriminate against some people because of their race, religion or nationality. Twenty-four Senators have joined me in a bill to eliminate the discriminations in our present immigration law and to provide a new life for those who have suffered from persecution. It is my hope that with the support of organizations such as yours this bill will become the new law of the land—a law worthy of the greatest democratic nation on earth."*

FROM SENATOR PHILIP A. HART'S MESSAGE  
TO RECENT WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CONVENTION

With the approval of our National Executive Committee, we will soon embark on a new experiment in community leadership for the Workmen's Circle. In a sense it is a logical extension of the continuing success of our Books-From-America campaign which has produced magnificent results and won for us a new standing in dozens of communities throughout the country.

We call our experiment, "Project of the Year." It involves accepting Workmen's Circle responsibility for mobilizing community support behind some worthwhile cause. The cause this year is liberalization of the McCarran-Walter immigration

law. During the coming year, we want our branches to make a local campaign for such revision one of their major interests.

Our national office is now preparing a kit which will soon be sent out to the branches. This kit will contain a fact sheet on the present law, an analysis of a bill now before Congress, sample speeches, sample press releases and all the other materials you will need to make a success of this campaign in your own community.

We plan to cooperate with Hias and other agencies in this effort, but in the process of co-operating, we don't intend to shrug off our independent responsibility in this area. As Senator Hart reminded us, in his eloquent message to our Atlantic City convention, "We who are the descendants of immigrants should particularly prize our heritage of freedom and democracy."

It is a heritage that imposes special obligations. I, for one, find it also an exciting challenge. After all, it is this kind of thing that has always given our organization its special character and distinction in the American community.

I have been pleased to note that some Anglo-Jewish newspapers have been calling attention to a new and more vital Workmen's Circle. I hope that, as your newly elected president, I can make some contribution along these lines. But it is a job for all of us to do together. Our "Project of the Year" is a good way to begin.

Thanks for your help.

---

## N. E. C. on Immigration

We are reaching an important milestone in Jewish immigration to America—the 80th anniversary of the beginning of the great wave of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe. Those who have made up this wave of immigrants have uniquely and creatively contributed to the development of the economic, industrial, social, political, and cultural life of the United States.

These Jewish immigrants, together with those of other nationalities, have helped significantly to make America the abundant, dynamic, diverse and

forward-looking land it is today. We are therefore concerned that our present federal immigration policies are so restrictive as to largely preclude the possibility of fruitful immigration into this country from the various lands of Europe and elsewhere.

We feel that our immigration laws urgently need liberalization in keeping with our democratic spirit and our respect for the various elements that make up our human family. We have particular reference to the need to eliminate from our laws the discriminatory feature known as the na-

tional origins quota principle.

We undertake to conduct a vigorous campaign throughout the American community to arouse it to call upon Congress during the forthcoming session to broaden and equalize the immigration opportunities of all peoples into this country.

The National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle resolves to issue information and action directives to our various district committees and branches to help them to work effectively in their respective communities towards this objective.

# A NEW IMMIGRATION PROPOSAL

(Hart bill)

A Fact Sheet on S. 3043 introduced

in the United States Senate on March 21, 1962

## BACKGROUND

Since the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 was proposed, there have been numerous organizations that have been concerned with the need for changes. Bills with this objective have been introduced in every session of Congress. Most of them have been long and complicated, proposing revision in a host of details, both important and minor.

On March 21, 1962 a bill (S. 3043) dealing with only two major aspects of the law was introduced by Senator Philip A. Hart\* (D., Mich.) and cosponsored by the following 25 Senators representing seventeen states:

### Democrats

\*Philip A. Hart (Mich.)  
Hubert Humphrey (Minn.)  
Patrick V. McNamara (Mich.)  
\*Edward V. Long (Mo.)  
Maurine B. Neuberger (Ore.)  
Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)  
William Proxmire (Wis.)  
Oren E. Long (Hawaii)  
Paul H. Douglas (Ill.)  
Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (N.J.)  
\*Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)  
Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.)  
John O. Pastore (R.I.)  
Benjamin A. Smith II (Mass.)  
Stephen M. Young (Ohio)  
Frank E. Moss (Utah)  
Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)  
Clair Engle (Cal.)  
Wayne L. Morse (Ore.)  
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)

### Republicans

\*Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.)  
Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)  
\*Hugh Scott (Pa.)  
Prescott Bush (Conn.)  
Clifford P. Case (N.J.)  
\*Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)

The bill was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Six members of the Judiciary Committee are among the bill's sponsors (note asterisks above).

## S. 3043

S. 3043 does two things —

(1) It substitutes for the national origins quota system a new method of quota allocation.

(2) It makes permanent provision in the law for the admission of refugees. Under present law, refugee needs have been met only by emergency measures, with all the difficulties entailed in initiating and implementing such measures.

## NATIONAL ORIGINS QUOTA SYSTEM

The national origins quota system is the system under which each country outside of the Western Hemisphere can only have a specific number — a quota — of immigrants admitted to the United States each year. (There is no numerical limitation on admission of persons born in the Western Hemisphere\*, except for those from colonies.) The present total annual quota is approximately 156,000. This is allocated so that each country gets as its quota a proportion of the total equal to the proportion of the white population in the United States in 1920 whose national origin could be attributed to that particular country.

Under present law, the minimum quota for any country is 100. Moreover, persons of one-half Asian ancestry, unlike all others, regardless of place of birth are chargeable to the quota assigned to the Asian area from which they are originally derived by their Asian ancestry.

Great Britain, for instance, gets 65,361 of the total quota of roughly 156,000 (of which it usually uses only about 40%); Poland, on the other hand, gets 6,488; Italy 5,666; Hungary 865 and Greece 308 (all of which have heavily oversubscribed quotas).

It is to be borne in mind that any person admitted to the United States has to meet rigorous health, morals and security standards. S. 3043 in no way changes these requirements.

## CHANGES MADE BY S. 3043

The bill S. 3043 abolishes the national origins system of quota allocation and substitutes the following new method:

1. 250,000 quota visas are authorized per year.
2. One-fifth of this number, or 50,000, are reserved for refugees, for whom there has been no annual allocation in the basic law before — all the refugees have come in under special laws, such as Hungarian "parolees", and they needed a special law to stay.
3. Of the remaining 200,000, 80,000 will be distributed to the countries of the world other than Western Hemisphere countries, in the proportion that the size of their population bears to the world population, but no one country can be allotted more than 3,000 quota visas of the 80,000 total.
4. The other 120,000 quota visas will be allocated to countries in the same proportion as their non-quota and quota immigration to the U. S. over the last 15 years bears to the total quota and non-quota immigration from all countries over the same period.
5. No quota area will get less than it got under the old law, except that the maximum is 25,000. The minimum quota is increased to 200.
6. Quota visas may be allocated to applicants either on the basis of the country of birth, as under the present law, or on the basis of the country of citizenship, provided they have lived for ten years or more in the country in which they acquired citizenship.

\* In 1961 112,836 natives of the Western Hemisphere and their spouses and children were admitted to the United States non-quota.

7. All unused quota numbers at the end of the year (upto 100,000) are pooled and reallocated among countries (quota areas) having a backlog of applicants waiting for immigrant visas. No quota area shall get from this pool a number of visas greater than its regular annual quota.
8. Quotas under this proposal will be revised every five years based on latest population and immigration data. Within the quotas 60% are to be made available to "blood relatives of a citizen of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence through the third degree of consanguinity, their spouses and children." First preference in this category is given to the child, spouse or parent of aliens admitted to the United States for permanent residence. 40% is allocated to new seed immigrants.
9. Persons born in independent Western Hemisphere countries retain the right to non-quota status.
10. The present non-quota status for wife and child of U. S. citizen is expanded to include the parents of a U. S. citizen. Also persons with special skills (including their spouse and children), who now come in under the quotas but with first preference, are made non-quota.
11. The Asia Pacific triangle provisions are eliminated. In other words, persons with as much as one-half Asian ancestry are now treated as all other persons, that is, they come under the quota of their country of birth.
12. The sub-quotas of 100 for each colonial area known as "colonial sub-quotas" are eliminated and persons from these areas come under the quota of their mother country.

#### **WHY SENATOR HART PROPOSES THESE CHANGES**

In introducing S. 3043 Senator Hart quoted both the Democratic and Republican party platforms of 1960 as giving "eloquent expression" to criticism of the basic immigration law and added "The strictures in the present quota system have made the reunion of families difficult and sometimes impossible. In the conduct of our international relations, the Act's discriminatory provisions on national origins quotas and the Asia-Pacific Triangle increasingly come in conflict with our position in world affairs.

"The present national origins system has not worked. Congress has . . . repeatedly enacted special short-term immigration and refugee legislation . . .

"America's role of leadership in the free world is one of great sensitivity and our position is not enhanced by an immigration policy which implies that some nationalities and some races are less desirable members of the family of man than are others . . .

"Until those provisions of our immigration laws which discriminate against certain national and racial groups are eliminated, our laws needlessly provide grist for the propaganda mills of Moscow and Peiping . . .

"The bill is responsive to demonstrated immigration requirements . . . It is . . . an equitable and completely practicable approach to an immigration policy and practice."

# **Comparative Table of Existing Quotas and Quotas Proposed under 1962 Bill** **Principal Countries Contributing to Recent Immigration\***

	<i>Present Quota</i>	<i>Proposed Quota</i>		<i>Present Quota</i>	<i>Proposed Quota</i>
<b>EUROPE</b>			<b>ASIA</b>		
Austria .....	1,405	2,595	China .....	205	5,335
Belgium .....	1,297	1,710	India .....	100	3,233
Czechoslovakia .....	2,859	3,357	Indonesia .....	100	3,789
Denmark .....	1,175	1,293	Iran .....	100	1,586
Finland .....	566	792	Iraq .....	100	458
France .....	3,069	6,172	Israel .....	100	810
Germany .....	25,814	25,000	Japan .....	185	5,378
Greece .....	308	3,458	Jordan .....	100	507
Hungary .....	865	4,556	Korea .....	100	2,616
Ireland .....	17,756	17,756	Lebanon .....	100	365
Italy .....	5,666	15,648	Philippines .....	100	2,913
Latvia .....	235	2,292			
Lithuania .....	384	1,841	<b>AFRICA</b>		
Netherlands .....	3,136	3,902	Morocco .....	100	964
Norway .....	2,364	2,364	Tunisia .....	100	259
Poland .....	6,488	13,848	U. of So. Africa.....	100	1,243
Portugal .....	438	1,892	U.A.R. ....	100	1,670
Rumania .....	289	2,441			
Spain .....	250	2,614	<b>OCEANIA</b>		
Sweden .....	3,295	3,295	Australia .....	100	1,344
Switzerland .....	1,698	1,698	New Zealand .....	100	397
Turkey .....	225	2,367			
United Kingdom .....	65,361	25,000			
U.S.S.R. ....	2,697	6,487			
Yugoslavia .....	942	5,295			

\* Presented by Senator Hart in introducing the bill.

*This fact sheet has been prepared by the*

**AMERICAN IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP CONFERENCE**



Suggested Letters to Newspapers

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE IMMIGRATION PROJECT

1)

I should like to call the attention of your readers to a campaign now under way in our community to muster support for a bill now in Congress to eliminate the national origins quota system from our immigration law. This bill is being sponsored by 25 Senators from 17 states. Its underlying principles have been endorsed by President Kennedy, former President Eisenhower, late John Foster Dulles and our U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson.

The national origins quota system, which discriminates against the people of Asia, Africa, and Eastern European and Mediterranean countries, is in obvious violation of our democratic tradition, and it alienates people we want as friends and allies in the cold war with communism. In effect, it says to these people: "We may send you guns and bread, but we don't think you're good enough to live in our country."

The bill now in Congress is known as the Hart bill (after Senator Philip Hart, of Michigan.) In addition to eliminating the national origins quota system, it would raise the annual total of immigrants allowed into this country from the present 156,000 to 250,000, a modest and quite manageable number, but one that would allow us to come closer to our traditional role as a home for the persecuted and oppressed of all lands.

You can help in the campaign for the Hart bill in a very simple and effective way. Just write letters to Congressman \_\_\_\_\_ and to Senators \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ telling them how you feel about the national origins quota system.

Incidentally, the effort to eliminate the national origins quota system is bipartisan. It has been endorsed in both the Democratic and Republican national platforms, and the sponsors of the Hart bill include leading members of both parties in the Senate.

---

2)

There is now before Congress a bill which, in my judgment, deserves the support of every member of this community.

Introduced by Senator Philip Hart, of Michigan, and co-sponsored by 24 Senators, Democratic and Republican, from 17 states, the bill would eliminate from our immigration law a provision that violates our country's democratic traditions, and is openly offensive to the people of many countries we want as friends and allies.

The objectionable provision is the national origins quota system which discriminates very harshly against would-be immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Eastern European and Mediterranean countries. Most people will agree that we must limit the number of immigrants coming here, and that we should exclude criminals and other undesirables. But it is shameful to proclaim, as we do in the national origins quota system, that we consider the people of certain nations unfit to live among us.

Letters to Newspapers . . . 2

May I point out that the elimination of this national origin quota system has been urged by President Kennedy, former President Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles, and U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. It has also been recommended in both the Democratic and Republican national platforms.

What is needed now is support at the grass roots, and everyone can help by writing letters to our Senators and Representatives in Congress urging support for the Hart bill.

## OPENING A CONFERENCE

We've invited you to this conference in the hope that we might initiate a community-wide campaign in support of Senator Hart's bill to liberalize our present immigration law.

Senator Hart, as you probably know, is from Michigan. Twenty-four other Senators have joined him in sponsoring this bill. Included among them is Senator \_\_\_\_\_, from our own state.

Each one of you will be given an analysis of our present immigration law and of the changes Senator Hart wishes to make in it.

There are just a few preliminary remarks I wish to make before inviting your questions and your comments.

The first is that we have called this conference as part of a nation-wide campaign being run by our own organization, the Workmen's Circle. However, we wish to make it plain that this is not a campaign we wish to run or in any way dominate in this community. We hope to play our part in it, of course, as part of the community. But what we want is a genuine community effort under leadership truly representative of the community -- or the part of it that shares our views in this matter.

We will have some proposals to make, which you can accept or reject, but that is another matter.

The second comment I wish to make is that, while the Jewish community has traditionally favored a more liberal immigration policy, this is by no stretch of the imagination, a Jewish matter only. There is no longer any real problem of immigration to this country as far as Jews are concerned.

But as Jews, as the descendants of immigrants, we feel a special responsibility in this matter. We'd like to see the doors of our country kept open to those who would come here to live, and raise their families, in the atmosphere of freedom.

There is another point. Senator Hart said a while ago that America's role of leadership in the free world is damaged by "an immigration policy which implies that some nationalities and some races are less desirable members of the family of man than others."

We agree with Senator Hart completely. In our own minds, there is no question that our present immigration law, with its national quota system, is creating enemies for America and for our ideals of a free society. And this is especially true in Asia and Africa where we most need friends, where our ability to make friends may decide the whole future of our free society.

At present, little Ireland has a larger immigration quota than all of Asia. We accept more people from Switzerland than from all of Africa. The inequity of this, so painfully obvious, is not lost on the educated groups in Asia and Africa. Nor are they unaware of the slur we thus cast on their characters.

SUGGESTED NEWS RELEASE

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE IMMIGRATION PROJECT

A community-wide conference to organize support for a liberalized national immigration law has been called by the \_\_\_\_\_ (place) branches of the Workmen's Circle, national Jewish fraternal and cultural order.

\_\_\_\_\_ (name), Workmen's Circle spokesman here, said that he hopes community groups will get behind the bill sponsored by 25 Senators from 17 states "to eliminate from our immigration law the national origins quota system which proclaims to the world that we consider the people of certain races and nations unfit to live among us."

\_\_\_\_\_ (name) said that the elimination of the national origins quota system has been favored by President Kennedy, former President Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles and U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, and that such action has been urged in both the Democratic and Republican national platforms.

The conference, scheduled for \_\_\_\_\_ (time) at \_\_\_\_\_ (place), is part of a nationwide campaign initiated by the Workmen's Circle last month "as a positive contribution to the cause of democracy in the cold war with communism."

\_\_\_\_\_ (name) said that it is "absurd for us to tell the people of Asia, Africa, and Eastern European and Mediterranean countries that we want them as friends and allies, but that we consider them less desirable than the people of other countries. Obviously, we must limit immigration, but this should not be done on a discriminatory basis.

The bill now being sponsored by 25 Senators was introduced by Senator Philip Hart, of Michigan. In addition to eliminating the national origins quota system, it would raise the total number of immigrants allowed into this country annually from the present 156,000 to around 250,000.



SUGGESTED LETTERS TO CONGRESSMEN

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE IMMIGRATION PROJECT

---

1)

I am writing, as one of your constituents, to urge passage of Senator Philip Hart's bill to eliminate the national origins quota system from our immigration law. I believe that this national origins quota system, which discriminates against certain races and nationalities, is unfair, and that it hurts our country in its dealings with people we want as friends and allies.

I hope most earnestly that you will support the effort to make our immigration law a more realistic instrument in today's world, and more in keeping with our democratic traditions.

---

2)

I write to inform you that I am one of many people in your district who are offended by our country's present immigration law. I think that it is extremely niggardly in the number of people it allows into the country each year, and that it violates our democratic traditions, as well as good sense, by discriminating against certain races and nationalities.

As I understand it, both President Kennedy and former President Eisenhower favor revisions in our immigration law such as those contained in the bill introduced by Senator Philip Hart, of Michigan.

I should like to know your stand on it.

---

3)

The other day, at a club meeting in this community, I heard an analysis of our immigration law and its national origins quota system. Frankly, it shocked me. It seems incredible to me that, at this point in world history, my country is discriminating against people on the basis of their race or where they were born. Can't something be done about this situation?

I was told that President Kennedy and former President Eisenhower favor changes in our immigration law, and that a bill to end the national origins quota system has been introduced by Senator Philip Hart, of Michigan, and 24 other Senators.

As one of your constituents, I wonder about your position. I earnestly hope it is favorable to the Hart bill.

---

4)

As a resident of your district, I want to register my support for Senator Hart's bill to take the discriminatory national origins quota system out of our immigration law. I think it's a dreadful violation of nearly everything we stand for in world affairs, and I can't see that it serves any useful national purpose.

---

5)

I hope you will support Senator Philip Hart's bill to liberalize our country's immigration law. I'm sure you will agree that the national origins quota system, which discriminates against the people of Asia, Africa and Eastern European and Mediterranean countries, is not a very sensible thing in today's world.

I have been told that both the Democratic and Republican parties have endorsed the basic principles in Senator Hart's bill.

---

WHAT THEY SAY  
ABOUT OUR PRESENT IMMIGRATION LAW

President Dwight D. Eisenhower  
In Message to Congress, January 31, 1959

"Thousands of men, women and children (under) Communist oppression .... seek asylum in countries that are free. Their opposition to Communist tyranny is evidence of a growing resistance throughout the world. Our position of world leadership demands that, in partnership with the other nations of the free world, we be in a position to grant that asylum ....

"Since the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the practical application of that law has demonstrated certain provisions which operate inequitably and others which are outmoded in the world of today.

"Prompt action by the Congress is needed looking toward the revision and improvement of that law."

John Foster Dulles, while Secretary of State in 1956

"My primary concern as Secretary of State is that whatever overall quota is adopted by the Congress be apportioned equitably. Our quota restrictions should not discriminate among persons merely on the basis of their national origin, nor should the restrictions discriminate unfairly against any of the friendly nations which have an interest in common with us in the defense of the free world. The present system of determining quotas is offensive on both counts."

Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture

"In these days of the cold war it is especially important for all American policies to forward the theme of human dignity and equality. As to the question of immigration, our heritage demands that respect for the individual be placed first. Such things as quota systems or petty discrimination because of color or national origin must be placed far down the line."

President John F. Kennedy

"The national origins quota system .... permits immigration to this country by those who do not wish to do so while it denies that right to those who have both the need and the desire.

"The system is in direct conflict with the Declaration of Independence, the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States and our traditional standards of decency and justice."

UN Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson

"The existence of such quota discriminations has created ill will throughout the world. Without conferring any benefit upon our country, the national origins system has worked against us in many ways .... Of course, immigration to this country can no longer be unlimited, but whatever annual maximum is determined by or under the authority of Congress should be distributed in a way best suited to our needs and to world conditions.

"We are all familiar with the damage we have suffered from delays and refusals to issue visas to visiting scientists. World organizations are shunning the United States and holding their conventions and congresses elsewhere to avoid such unfortunate experiences. Of course, everyone is in favor of every reasonable precaution to insure the security of our people, our property, and institutions, but an excessive zeal that bars from our shores the best minds of other nations is inconsistent with our position of liberalizing international communication."

Harry S. Truman in Presidential Message  
Vetoing the McCarran-Walter Bill, June 25, 1952

"The idea behind this discriminatory quota policy was, to put it baldly, that Americans with English or Irish names were better people and better citizens than Americans with Italian or Greek or Polish names. It was thought that people of West European origin made better citizens than Rumanians or Yugoslav or Ukrainians or Hungarians or Balts or Austrians. Such a concept is utterly unworthy of our traditions and our ideals. It violates the great political doctrine of the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are created equal'. It denies the humanitarian creed inscribed beneath the State of Liberty proclaiming to all nations, 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.'

"It repudiates our basic religious concepts, our belief in the brotherhood of man."

Democratic Party Platform - 1956

"The Democratic party favors prompt revision of the immigration and nationality laws to eliminate unfair provisions under which admissions to this country depend upon quotas based upon the accident of national origin. Proper safeguards against subversive elements should be provided. Our procedures must reflect the principles of our Bill of Rights."

Republican Party Platform - 1956

"The Republican Party supports an immigration policy which is in keeping with the traditions of America in providing a haven for oppressed peoples, and which is based on equality of treatment, freedom from implications of discriminations between racial, nationality and religious groups, and flexible enough to conform to changing needs and conditions."



speech insert on minorities  
By Ralph G. Martin

[1964]

Jul Immigration

I don't know if you folks read about a speech made in Pennsylvania last week by the temporary leader of the Republican Party -- and let me say right now that I think he's getting more and more temporary every day.

Well, it looks like the temporary Republican leader not only put his foot in his mouth again, but this time he seemed to be chewing on his shoe.

What the temporary leader sneeringly said was that minority groups are running this country and that Americans are getting sick and tired of it. And he referred to these minority groups as hyphenated Americans.

Well, I have news for the temporary Republican leader -- his ancestors and mine were both immigrants to this country. In fact that applies to everybody in this country except the Indians. As the beloved comedian Will Rogers once put it, "My ancestors didn't come over on the Mayflower, but they were here to meet the boat." Will Rogers was proud of his Cherokee Indian blood.

And we should be proud of whatever we are and wherever we came from because the United States is the richer for it. Our ancestors came from the minority groups of the world. They picked this country and they helped make this country. They plowed the plains and built our cities and made our laws and they fought and died for our freedom.

more

take two minorities

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt summed it up well when he addressed a convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution and opened his speech with the greeting, "Fellow Immigrants."

All of us are descended from immigrants.

All of us came from minority groups.

And let us never forget that, never never forget that.

There are no hyphenated Americans.

And let me add this, too -- there are no 200 percent Americans *either*.

Waving a white sheet and burning crosses doesn't make anybody a 200 percent American.

Calling President Eisenhower and Chief Justice Earl Warren ~~traitors~~ traitors doesn't make anybody a 200 percent American.

And standing on a platform and denouncing minority groups as hyphenated Americans doesn't make anybody a 200 percent American.

We are all Americans, regardless of our race, color, religion or national origin. And if Barry Goldwater doesn't believe that, I suggest he visit the military grayeyards and read the names of the men who found and died for this country.

Barry Goldwater ought to be ashamed of himself.

How low can a political candidate get?

Is this the man you want to put into the White House?

Is this the man you want to represent the United States to the world?

Is this the man you want to give the power to press the atomic button that might destroy our civilization?

NO!

The man you want as President of the United States is a man who sees the American people as one people -- without any hyphens.

The man you want as President is a man who believes in pulling people together -- not tearing them apart.

*more*

take three minorities

The man you want as President of the United States is the man  
who IS your president, Lyndon B. Johnson.

In your heart, you know that Barry Goldwater is wrong.

###

[Aug. 28, 1964]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE  
Welfare Administration  
Cuban Refugee Program

SPANISH-SPEAKING PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES\*

by

John F. Thomas  
Director, Cuban Refugee Program

The Bible says: "I was a stranger and you took me in .... ." When I was a little boy there was a man of German descent who moved into the next block. He wore a mustache that turned up at each end in the Kaiser Wilhelm style. It was following World War I, and I used to cross the street when I saw him coming. I was afraid of him for he was a stranger and it was the day of "Kill the Kaiser." Many years later I became good friends with his son who often spoke objectively of the mark this ostracism had left on his father and, to some extent, on himself. Although we are a land of immigrants we have been very harsh on the newcomer. We have kept him in a state of hyphenation. He is never an American but an Italian, or an Irishman, or a Pole. When we are generous we hyphenate the term: an Italian-American, Irish-American, or Polish-American but more often than not we have stereotyped him.

When I was asked to speak on the subject of the Spanish-American in the United States I could not help but feel that once again we were creating a hyphenated group. The very use of the term made me freeze. Of course one could address himself towards cultural patterns: the influence of Mexican architecture in California, the contribution of Latin American music to the American scene; or to economics in terms of the effect of the introduction of the

---

\*At the Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York, August 28, 1964



Cuban cigar industry on Florida production. There are many aspects of the subject which might be dwelt upon. But in my mind I always came back to people and to the adjustment of migrants of Spanish tongue and culture to American environment. So today I would like to confine my remarks to the sociological aspect of the subject.

Until well after the close of World War II, Australia had pretty much of a closed door attitude towards immigration. A Britisher was always acceptable as long as he did not make too many remarks about coming down to the colonies but other nationalities were not welcomed openly. World War II taught the Australians a lesson. If they were to survive as a nation, they would have to populate more rapidly. If Britons would not come in the numbers required, then other nationalities would be acceptable from Europe. Thus, under a well-planned operation Germans, Austrians, Greeks, Spaniards, Danes, Finns, -- all were urged to immigrate to Australia. Now this pattern did not set well with all Australians and the first non-British immigrants were met very often with antagonism. To combat this attitude the Australian government coined a phrase, "New Australians," and went studiously about the task of establishing in every community a good neighbor committee. With a favorable press and a bi-partisan approach to the problem, the image of "New Australians" soon caught the public's fancy. Although we do have such fine organizations as the American Council for Nationalities Service and the excellent International Institutes affiliated with it, along with the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, we in the United States more or less regard the newcomer with suspicion and disdain.

Let us dwell for a few moments on the numerical extent of the problem under review. The term "Spanish American" is a loose term that includes a great variety of people. However, it is about the best title we can give to this category of people. I recall the difficulties we had in Europe in dealing with Spain on immigration matters. The Spanish authorities did not like the term "Latin Americans" but preferred to use the phrase "Hispano-Americans." The Census Bureau gathers its statistics on this group by including all persons who have a Spanish surname. It is obvious that one has to allow for error in such a computation. It is also important to note that the Bureau's statistics cover only persons of the first and second generations. Thus the late President Kennedy would not have been counted as an Irish American or included in those classified as having an Irish surname. Lyle Saunders in his, "The Spanish-Speaking Populations of Texas" says:

"The Spanish-speaking group is not an easy one to delimit or define. The group is not homogeneous, as is popularly supposed, but is made up of persons with a wide range of physical and cultural characteristics. Many have blond or red hair, blue eyes, and fair skin. Many are quite dark, with black hair and black or brown eyes. Most are somewhere between these extremes. Some of them belong to families that have been in the Southwest two hundred years or more; some of them crossed the border from Mexico just yesterday. Some are unskilled migrant workers, owning nothing, living in the deepest poverty. Some are highly trained technicians and professionals whose homes are indistinguishable from those of their Anglo colleagues and fellow workers. Some speak only Spanish; some know no Spanish and speak only English."

I recall a visit I made to the port of La Coruña in Northwest Spain to inspect the embarkation procedures being used to process some Spaniards whom my agency was assisting to migrate to South America. I was amazed to see the number of blond and red-headed, blue-eyed people who were descendants of Scottish mariners who had settled many, many years ago in that area.

The principal Spanish-American groups in the United States are: Mexican Americans, Hispanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. The number of immigrants from Spain is small but there are a number of persons who came from other countries in the Caribbean, and from Central and South America.

What numbers of people are we talking about? The following are the best estimates available:

Texas	1,500,000
California	1,400,000
New York	900,000
New Mexico	380,000
Florida	270,000
Arizona	260,000
Other States	700,000

In Texas the Spanish speaker represents one-sixth of the State population and in many counties along the border he comprises seventy-five percent of the population.

There are a few things that we must keep in mind as we study this group of people. For the most part they are immigrants. The majority of them came to this country as poor people. Many have been able to pull themselves up the

economic ladder, but again the vast majority have remained only a little better off economically than they were on entrance to this country. Like most immigrants they have clung to the port of entry or its immediate environs. True, some Mexican Americans have wandered to all parts of this country, many as migrant laborers. When I was in the social work field in Minnesota back in the early 40's, I was amazed to learn how many Mexicans had been brought up to work in the sugar beet fields of the State and had remained on drifting into the worst of the slum areas in the Twin Cities. Some Puerto Ricans have moved as far west as California and sizeable groups can be found in many of the large cities in the Middle West, but, by and large, the masses have remained close to where they first entered the United States: New York and New Jersey. We are all aware of the problem created in Miami by the desire of most of the Cuban refugees to stay in that city.

I would like to pause at this point to inject some statements about the other side of the coin. I do not wish to leave you with the impression that everything about this group of people compounds the problem. We could spend all of our time speaking about the contributions being made in the cultural field by Spanish Americans. We could dwell on the work of Diego Rivera or of Pablo Picasso or of José Clemente Orozco, whose murals I recently saw at Dartmouth College. We could mention Judge Harold Medina who presided over the trials of the accused Communists in the 1950's or of Teodoro Moscoso who contributed so much to the implementation of the Alliance for Progress. Let it be clearly understood that the contributions of our Spanish-American brothers to the cultural patterns of our country have been great and everlasting. But we also



must understand that the gap between the socially accepted and the economically independent Spanish American and the man-on-the-street is wide. It is the latter element that we are concerned with today.

Turning back to our theme, let us now examine the three major groups. I have spoken yesterday at length on the Cuban group, but most of my remarks were confined to the refugee element. The Spanish settled in Florida and along the gulf in the 16th Century, therefore, it is not odd that immigrants from Cuba continued to settle in those areas. Because of the existence of a large Spanish-speaking community and because of its awareness as to the potentials of being the "Gateway to Latin America" Dade County residents were prepared to accept the invasion of some 180,000 Cuban refugees. However, outside of Miami and Tampa no large Cuban communities existed in the United States. Undoubtedly even with the overthrow of Castro, many of these refugees will remain in the United States, and the sizeable Cuban communities which have grown in New York, New Jersey, Louisiana, Texas, and California will be with us in the future.

Many books have been written on the Puerto Ricans in the United States, particularly on those who have remained in the New York area. The story of the Puerto Rican migration into the United States has suffered generally from the lack of factual knowledge on the part of the majority of American people. For example, not too many people realize that for the past decade almost as many Puerto Ricans return to their home country as come out of it. The Puerto Rican suffers greatly from "high visibility" and has inherited a large number of handicaps usually reserved for the American Negro. In his home country of Puerto Rico, the color of skin meant very little, while in the United States

it can mean an automatic ticket to the ghetto. He, like his colored brethren, finds himself to be the "last hired" and the "first fired."

There are more than one million Puerto Ricans living in the United States, the largest group being centered in metropolitan New York. Chicago has over 50,000, Philadelphia another 50,000, New Jersey 50,000, with smaller groups in Connecticut, Michigan, Louisiana, and California.

The Puerto Rican is a good worker and he has helped supply the country with the extra workers it needs. The Harvard New York Metropolitan Region study announced that:

"The rate of Puerto Rican migration to New York is one of the factors that determine how long and how successfully the New York metropolitan region will retain industries which are under competitive pressure from other areas.

To the extent that some of these industries have hung on in the area, they have depended on recently arrived Puerto Rican workers, who have entered the job market of the New York area at the rate of about 13,000 each year. But the New York area is beginning to lose its unique position as the first stopping-off place for Puerto Rican immigrants; this stream of migration is now spreading to other mainland areas as well, and the spread promises to accelerate."

One source put it more bluntly by saying that if the needle trade left New York, the population would diminish by 3 million people. The backbone of the needle industry is the Puerto Rican worker.

In 1910 the United States Census reported Puerto Ricans living in 39 States plus Hawaii. Since 1920 all States have reported having Puerto Ricans. In the early days employers imported Puerto Ricans to far-off Hawaii as sugar cane workers. Arizona took them on as cotton field workers. Many stayed in Hawaii or moved from Arizona and Hawaii to California.

One cannot pass through <sup>the</sup> Southwestern United States without being aware of the extensive effect the Spanish-Mexican-Indian combination has made on the countryside and the people. Yet the Mexican American who has played such a role in this development is still considered as a second-class American in this area. At the recent National Conference of Social Work in Los Angeles, I listened to a Mexican American relating to a seminar of social workers the plight of his people. I closed my eyes and imagined the speaker to be a Negro telling of the plight of the Negro in the South. The same charges -- low wages, poor housing, inadequate schooling, disenfranchisement -- all similar to the charges made by the American Negro.

In 1954 John Burma wrote in his "Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States,"

"The prejudice and discrimination which most Mexicans meet in the Southwest and West is of long standing. The earliest impressions of Anglos in contact with Mexicans after the Mexican War annexations were that they were wretchedly poor, idle, and given to drinking, thieving, and gambling. These attitudes formed the first basis for the prejudiced stereotype of the Mexican which often exists today ..... Social discrimination manifests itself in a variety of ways: refusing service in barbershops, soda fountains, cafes, drive-ins, beauty parlors, hotels, bars, and

recreation centers; segregation in housing, movies, and public toilets; reluctant service in hospitals, colleges, social welfare offices, and courts; and even refusing to permit Mexican-American hostesses in USO's."

A problem that is very much with the people of the United States concerns the treatment of the migrant laborer. The Mexican American has played a large part in making up this group of labor. The "bracero" program has been a legislative subject before recent Congresses. It is hoped that an intelligent approach will be forth-coming to give respite to the inequities that exist for these very needed laborers. Writing in the "Progressive," August 1964 issue, Max Awner has this to say:

".... A farm laborer today is to become, in the cruelest, most debasing and humiliating sense of the term, a second-class citizen. The average annual earnings of a domestic farm laborer, as determined by the U.S. Department of Labor in 1963 are \$1,054 -- a sum less than that received by many individuals on public relief. Compound with this the marginal other disabilities, discriminations, and degradations built into the worker's daily life, and the result is a picture that would shock a Peace Corps member working in an "underdeveloped" country."

One of the biggest handicaps of the Spanish-American groups in the United States is their failure to achieve unity among themselves. We have witnessed this with the Cuban refugees in Miami. At one time there were over 400 different organizations among the refugees -- each vying with the others for the right to serve as spokesman for the entire group. Yet within the Spanish-language-speaking population there exist several factors which would appear to lead



towards unification. A common language, for example, a high degree of religiosity, similar cultural backgrounds. In this latter respect the country of Spain looms large. However, Mexico was under the thumb of the Spanish for three centuries and this fact is ever-present. There is the story of the Mexican who had volunteered to fight for the Loyalists during the Spanish revolution of 1936. He was captured and immediately offered to change sides. "But why did you join the Loyalists in the first place?", he was asked. "Because of my ideals," he replied. This surprised his interrogators. "And now you wish to change sides -- what are your ideals?", they queried. "To kill Spaniards," was his answer. This little story illustrates the general attitude of the Mexican towards his former governors.

It should be interesting to note that the Mexican American does possess a marked degree of religiosity. It may not be as formal, or as organized as among the Anglo American, but it is a strong characteristic of the group as a whole. I would like to stipulate at this point, a word of warning about making generalizations concerning any group of people. I recall reading a few years ago the results of a research project instituted by a leading French periodical. A group of reporters for this journal had toured the United States in search of "a typical American." Their findings were that a "typical American" was married, had three children, two cars, three television sets, three radios, and possessed a number of identifiable characteristics. But the significant part of the article, as far as I was concerned, came when the editor was asked if his magazine would be searching for "a typical Frenchman." "There is no such animal as a typical Frenchman," was his caustic reply.

The Spanish Americans are no more homogeneous than any other ethnic group. Individual characteristics in any group of people differ greatly. There can be no greater disservice paid to a minority group than to generalize about it. Yet people do this constantly. One of the tragedies on the American scene today is the tendency to treat all Latin American countries as being homogeneous. In fact each of those countries differs from the other in countless ways and within each country there exists a myriad of differences amongst its people.

However, there are statistical studies that lead us to categorize certain tendencies about the Spanish American. Let us look at some of these.

1. Economic. Generally in the United States, the Spanish American finds himself near the bottom of our economic scale. He is the unskilled worker in the restaurant field like the Puerto Rican, or the migrant laborer like so many Mexicans. All tend to be the products of a rural society and thus have a difficult time breaking into the big city society of the Anglos.
2. Education. Again generally, with the exception of the Cuban refugees, he tends to suffer from the lack of education.

I cannot refrain from commenting on certain developments taking place in this country in the educational field which should go a long way in helping on this matter of language differences. In one of the schools in Miami, 360 students in the first through the third grades are being taught by native speakers of both English and Spanish. Half of the pupils are Cuban and half are Americans. In subsequent

years this experiment will be extended to all grades up to the sixth. Students have been doing well in both languages and their achievement in study areas is better than average for the whole system.

The Ford Foundation is supporting a three-year project to develop new readers to teach first-grade students English as a second language. Experiments are being carried on in the 25 Cuban-laden schools in Miami, as well as in schools dealing extensively with children of migrant workers. Some 40 other groups including Mexican-American children in California, Colorado, and Texas will be using these newly developed teaching materials.

3. Social. The Spanish-American family is generally a closely knit one with the male head in a dominant position. The wife serves the husband and the daughters are closely supervised. In Miami, we found few Cuban young ladies who had ever experienced seeing a potential boy friend without being in the company of a chaperone. There is also the tendency to spread close family ties to include sixteenth cousins and innumerable God-parents.

Under this general heading of "Social" we must pay some attention to the significance of "class" among the Spanish Americans. The roots of this "class consciousness" may be found in the structure of the old society. One was either rich or poor; one was either a patron or a peon. Color of skin generally was not a factor in determining the strata of an individual. Family background was of major importance. Thus one witnesses the intense loyalty that can be found

generally amongst these people. And almost as a paradox one finds a great amount of dignity and incomparable pride as standout characteristics of the Spanish-speaking population in the United States. It is easily understood how these factors cause the Spanish American to be in conflict on reaching and projecting into the American scene.

4. Work habits. It would be trite to say that the Spanish American believes in "mañana" as a philosophy of work. Most Anglos believe this to be true. It may be said, however, that a general attitude, born of a tropical climate, weaned on the Catholic approach, schooled in a Spanish-Indian background has become ingrained in the character of the Spanish American. Surely he does not understand the hard-driving, material-minded, money-saving attitude of the Anglo. But he is not alone in this predicament. Certainly the Spanish American works, but he places work in the category of a necessity in order to accomplish the true end of life -- a period of leisure.

We could go on in this vein, but I believe that I have given you enough of a background. The question is what can we do and what should we do to help? We are living in an age in which people must learn to live with one another if this world of ours is to survive. I think about the American whom I met in Geneva a few years ago who spouted with joy over the Belgians being put out of the Congo but spoke a different tune when I asked if he would rent me his house in Washington, D.C. I say this only to illustrate that the majority group must practice what it preaches. It must seek out the leadership within the minority group and if leadership does not exist, we must develop it. Once that leadership



is identified, we must instill it with the ideals of American democratic principles -- not in words but in deeds. Then we must go hand in hand with this leadership as it reaches down into the masses. In doing this we must be patient, sympathetic, and understanding. We must be prepared for setbacks and disappointments, for we have a long way to go to pull so many out of the ghettos and the way of life into which we have forced these masses. As we do this we shall hear the cry of the bigoted that "these people want to move too fast" and we shall hear the protests of our proteges that we are not moving them fast enough.

Several weeks ago, my 13 year old daughter and some of her friends were watching television and the program was on the Statue of Liberty. Passing through the room, I glanced at the picture, observed with some relief that it was not on the Beatles, and then became fascinated with the showing. I was particularly intrigued, as I always am, by pictures of immigrants of yester-years -- pictures of immigrants from Europe coming through Ellis Island. These were the huddled masses of Emily Lazurus' poem engraved at the foot of the Statue. These "huddled masses" of yester-years have found their places in the United States. They have passed through the adjustment period and stand in judgment of the "new" immigrant. The immigrants that we speak of today are not, in the main, of European background, but they face, and have faced the same resentments, the same misunderstandings that our European forebears did.

I recall a sociology professor startling his class by reading an item from a newspaper of 1910 and then comparing it with an item on the same subject from a newspaper of 1935. The earlier clipping contained such names as Kelly, Donovan, O'Sullivan, Leary. The second had names like Krakow, Silensky, Brado-

vich. Both were the listings of the names of players on the Notre Dame football team. What had happened to the Irish between 1910 and 1935!

Dr. William Bernard makes a plea for the philosophy of integration as opposed to assimilation in dealing with the newcomer to the United States. Assimilation tends to denote "making similar or alike" -- "to be absorbed." Integration means "the gradual process by which new residents become active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural, and spiritual affairs of a new homeland. It is a dynamic process in which values are enriched through mutual acquaintance, accommodation, and understanding. It is a process in which both the migrants and their new compatriots find an opportunity to make their own distinctive contributions."

In his "Short Story of America," Harry Golden writes the following:

"The immigrant needed to accelerate the process of integration, of proving his individual worth, of achieving self-esteem as quickly as possible. It was reflected after each of the great waves of immigration. Right after the Irish came, you had an era of Irish 'excellence' -- in sports, on the stage, in many of the creative arts.

"In those days no one heard of a Jewish baseball or football player. Those days belonged to the John L. Sullivans, and the Jim Corbetts, and the George M. Cohans, the John McCormacks, the Chauncey Olcotts, and the Victor Herberts. Then after the Irish came the Jews, and the same process was in full swing. The days of the settlement house and the introduction of basketball as a major American sport by Jewish immigrants.

Those were the days of Benny Leonard, and Marshall Goldberg, and Benny Friedman, and Barney Ross, and Benny Bass, and Irving Berlin, and Fanny Brice, and George Gershwin. They in turn were followed by the Italians responding to the same 'need' -- to the same environment and to the same rewards. It was the day of DiMaggio, and Perry Como, and Yogi Berra, and Frank Sinatra, and Carmine DeSapio; and now we are entering upon the Negro era, responding to the same need, the same ideas and ideals. Your Irishmen on the playing field, and your Jews and Italians in the prize ring and on the concert stage are now making room for the Jackie Robinsons, the Willie Mayses, the Harry Belafontes, and the Pearl Baileys; and as sure as this land endures, the day will one day belong to this new wave of poverty-stricken immigrants, the Puerto Ricans.

"In their day they will have judges, artists, ballplayers, prize fighters, and political leaders."

The time is here -- their day is here. "I was a stranger and you took me in." Those of us who are dedicated to the Christian way of life have the opportunity of sharing our joys with those who come to us as strangers. The United States is a great and powerful country -- it is so because of the fact that the great majority of its people have faith in the democratic process. We have come to see that Huxley was right when he said that "a man's worst difficulties begin when he is able to do as he likes." Walter Lippman pointed this out in an editorial of August 4, 1964 when he said, with reference to Huxley's statement: "Freedom does not begin with the passing of a Constitution. Freedom is a way of life which requires authority, discipline, and government

of its own kind." Senator Hubert H. Humphrey implied these thoughts as he addressed the Minnesota delegation to the March on Washington. He warned that freedom for the Negro would not be gained merely in the passage of the Civil Rights Act, for freedom is a way of life.

Let us resolve to make an aggressive effort to understand, and through understanding, to help the strangers who seek to share liberty and freedom within the confines of our great democracy.

. . . . .



[Aug 27, 1964]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE  
Welfare Administration  
Cuban Refugee Program

*John St*  
*Good Speech*  
*material -*  
*immigration*

A NATION OF FIRST ASYLUM -- THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROGRAM\*

by  
John F. Thomas  
Director, Cuban Refugee Program

*my old friend*

It is with great pleasure that I have this opportunity of meeting with the participants of this impressive Chautauqua development. I am scheduled to discuss two subjects. This morning I shall review the Cuban Refugee Program as it has been developed by the Federal Government and cooperating agencies, and tomorrow I shall address you on the subject of Spanish Americans in the United States.

What I would like to do, if you will bear with me, is to touch on some of the broader aspects of these changing times in which we live, and then to look at the refugee problems which are before us.

The Changing Times We Live In

At the turn of the century, Henry Adams wrote about the demands which would be placed on Americans who would be born in the 20th Century. I quote: "The new American would be a child of incalculable coal power, chemical power, electric power, and radiating energy as well as new forces yet undetermined." I repeat for emphasis the last words of the quotation: "as well as new forces yet undetermined."

---

\*At the Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York, August 27, 1964.

Henry Adams had written this in 1904. He had sensed that man would move forward in the field of science at a rapid pace, but that man would not keep up the pace on the social side. When one contemplates the development of nuclear power, carrying with it the threat of complete destruction of the world known to man, one realizes how right Henry Adams was in his writings of 1904.

So this is one aspect of the times in which we live. There exist today two forces, each holding the power to destroy the other, with the knowledge that in such "victory" they destroy themselves. The United States has nuclear power enough to wipe out each Russian citizen 1,500 times over and Russia has the power to destroy each American citizen 1,500 times over. It is no longer possible to meet force by developing more force. More than enough nuclear power exists in the world than is needed to destroy mankind.

The child born today or the youth growing into his teens will face a set of circumstances different from those which you and I had to face. The question we must ask ourselves is will the "social mind" develop fast enough to meet the challenges of the scientific developments? Are we of the adult world making the necessary adjustments in our thinking? Are we capable of making these adjustments? Will we be able to inspire our children to face up to the changing world? Or will we desperately try to cling to the past.

Let us turn for a moment to the political field. When the San Francisco meeting was held in April 1946 to discuss the possibility of setting up a United Nations, there were three African countries among the 46 nations represented. Today there are 37 African countries. For 12 years before returning to the United States in 1963, I lived in Geneva, Switzerland, where I personally

witnessed the increase of the number of African delegates to the meetings at the European Headquarters of the United Nations. This was a visible experience of the changes occurring in the political field.

In this century, we have seen whole colonial empires representing substantial power structures being whittled down to a series of individual states. India has gained her independence. Indonesia, Algeria, and many other states have evolved in our time and taken their place around the table of nations. And, behind all of this looms the big question mark of the future, Communist China.

We might now cast a glance into the field of social science. Man is gradually becoming aware of the tools at his command to attack the causes of social disorders. By this statement I do not mean the professional man who has long understood the theoretical methodology. I mean the man on the street who is questioning why more things are not being done for him and with him.

A friend of mine who had worked very closely with President Franklin Roosevelt told me that the President used to sit at Warm Springs, Georgia, in the midst of a model plant for the treatment of polio and be very self-critical for being able to do so much for the cure but so little towards rooting out the cause.

Today, while there is still much needed to fill the gaps, man on the whole is demanding that the race to the moon be at least equalled by a race towards greater social welfare and understanding. On the surface it might appear that I have overstated this latter point but I believe that, while man may not realize fully what he is doing, and by that I mean realize fully through

complete pre-planning, he is slowly but surely being moved by circumstances towards committing himself to act aggressively in the fight against the cause rather than the cure of a long list of social evils.

As we examine the times in which we live, we could devote much more of our attention to those aspects which I have lightly touched upon.

We might speak of the effect on our lives of the fact that jet propulsion has brought London to be only 6 flying time hours away. We have just read that a leading American air company has agreed to purchase in the not too distant future a supersonic plane being developed by a British-French company. This plane will carry 100 passengers at the rate of speed of Mach 2 or 1,320 miles per hour. We might discuss automation which has removed the need for physical labor from the field of ditchdigging up to the field of specialized accounting. We might look more closely at a variety of new developments which are greatly effecting the times in which we live.

Yes, we might speak of many happenings in the scientific field that are breathtaking but we must bear in mind that man has not moved forward as rapidly in his search for peace. We have not found the formula that will prevent world destruction from the use of nuclear weapons. We have a world that produces more food than at any time in the history of man but there remain millions of people who are hungry. In this world of plenty, 10,000 persons die each day from hunger. Here in the United States we are surrounded with plenty but there are 3 million aged persons, or senior citizens as we now call them, who have an income of \$580 per year. And yet we cannot reach out to help these people meet their medical needs in a manner already prevailing in the majority of European countries. We might venture into other fields but time will not permit us to do so.



### The Century of the Homeless Man

I should like to turn to the field which I have been working in for the past 18 years and that is the field of refugees. Dr. Elfan Rees of the World Council of Churches has called the 20th Century to be "the Century of the Homeless Man." Social, economic and political happenings have caused millions upon millions of persons to be turned from normal peaceful nationals into men and women without a country. All about us are problems confronting peoples who have been displaced through no fault of their own, but who need help and understanding so that they may once more wear the dignity that is the robe of all free men.

On the whole, the Western world has been full of compassion for these people and has been helpful and sympathetic. The refugee has been patient and appreciative of this help and sympathy.

"I was a stranger and you took me in." We have followed this precept -- a great principle of our religious and cultural heritage -- in our response to refugees.

In this century of the homeless man, the people of the United States have welcomed hundreds of thousands of refugees into their homes. It is true that there have been difficulties, for we are not without the narrowminded and shortsighted.

But, by and large, the experience has been a fruitful one. The Nation has gained immeasurably in many respects. The work with the refugees has been a real test of the democratic process in action.

We all know that migration is as old as the history of man. We in the United States owe our very existence to migration. In the 19th century some 56 million persons migrated from Europe. We are all aware of the large-scale

pogroms in Russia in 1881 and 1882 that forced hundreds of thousands of Jewish persons to flee. I mention this because a number of people believe that such movements were spontaneous and do not realize that in those days voluntary committees were on the borders of European Russia and were assisting these people to reach their end destinations. People do not realize that it was during these periods that organizations such as the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society were born out of necessity.

As we look back at the history of the 1930's we can assess the disaster that was caused by two factors:

One: The grave world economic crisis that began in 1929 removed practically all of the possibilities for the movement of people caught in the web woven by their persecutors -- Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin. The great depression aroused a wave of protectionism that closed the doors of many countries and thus made for untold human suffering and death in the late '30's.

Two: There existed no effective international, intergovernmental machinery such as the International Refugee Organization or the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

I hope and pray that the world will never again be without an organization of this type which can be geared into meeting any refugee crisis if the international world so decrees.

We should be reminded that in the field of migration the United States has played a strong role. Not only at the conference tables where theories are developed but also in the practical field where an open-door policy can be effected. In spite of the criticism of our immigration laws, my experience

has been that the United States has been in the forefront in accepting refugee migrants. True, it has taken special legislation to enable us to do this, but, regardless of the method, we can point with pride to our record in this field. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948, the Refugee Relief Act of 1952, the admittance of Hungarian refugees in 1956 and 1957, and the continued acceptance of refugees under the present policy can make the American citizen proud of our performance. That we could have done more is a possibility, but that we did well is a fact.

The end of World War II found millions of foreign workers in Germany, Austria, Italy, and the occupied territories. Germans had been settled into these occupied territories and had to be moved out. Balts had moved into many areas in the advance of the Russian army. Jews who had been fortunate enough to have escaped the gas chambers had been transported to various areas. There were some 9 million displaced persons in Europe at the close of World War II. UNRRA repatriated 7 million of these. The International Refugee Organization, established in 1947, resettled another 1.5 million.

In these patterns of resettling displaced persons and refugees, the United States has done a yeoman's job. The Displaced Persons Act witnessed something like 340,000 immigrants reaching our shores. The Refugee Relief Act assisted another 180,000 to come to this country. Over 39,000 Hungarians were admitted to the United States as the result of the crisis of 1956. And today we are paroling in refugees under the fair-share-formula policy adopted by Congress. The point that I wish to make -- and having been on the European end of all of these programs, I feel competent to pass judgment -- is that the United States has a record to be proud of in the refugee resettlement field.

And I remind you that we were taking broad categories of people while one immigration country was having its selection-mission staff weigh applicants to determine whether they were strong enough to meet the labor requirements and another leading immigration country was rejecting refugees whose skin coloring might lead to certain misunderstandings in the home country!

Altogether, the United States has accepted over 3,500,000 immigrants since 1945. Canada has permitted more than two million people to come to that country, and Australia has given homes and work to another 1,700,000 immigrants. I need not bore you with more figures, but we should note that there are many refugee problems throughout the world and to most of them the main solution is resettlement.

I firmly believe that the right to emigrate is a fundamental human right and that the soundness of a nation can be measured by its emigration and immigration policies.

What is the refugee situation in the world today? We have only to read the newspapers to see the new situations that arise. The million Chinese refugees in Hong Kong; over 70,000 Tibetan refugees; more than 4,000,000 who have been refugees from East Germany; a million Arab refugees -- the list could go on much longer. Throughout the world, there are 8,000,000 identifiable refugees.

I give you this background in leading up to the subject of my talk for today -- a subject that concerns less than 1½ % of the world's refugees, but one that is close to home -- so that we begin to see these refugees as individuals, rather than as figures on a map of the world, and to understand their problems and their feelings.



### The Cuban Refugees

The coming into power of Fidel Castro on New Year's Day of 1959 and his subsequent shift towards communism placed the United States in a new role as far as refugees are concerned. For the first time we found ourselves in the position of being a country of first asylum. While the United States has had many experiences with admitting refugees for ultimate permanent resettlement, I want to emphasize that the influx of Cuban refugees marks our first experience as a country of first asylum.

Refugees began fleeing from Cuba as soon as the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship became imminent. Batista himself fled to the Dominican Republic which was then under the control of Generalissimo Trujillo. Others closely associated with the Batista regime fled to the United States. These included political leaders, high government officials, military and police officers, and businessmen who had had important political connections. The numbers were not large, however -- only about 3,000 persons.

After the initial flow of Batistianes, the refugee stream immediately began to widen until it included persons of all social and occupational levels. This occurred as the actions of the Castro regime began to affect more and more people in Cuba. An Agrarian Reform Law was enacted in May 1959 and was followed by seizures of land, cattle, and farm equipment. This was followed in 1960 by the seizure of hotels, oil refineries, banks, and other businesses. By the end of 1960, all Cuban banks and industrial enterprises had been nationalized. By then, some 50,000 Cubans had fled to the United States; over 37,000 of them were in Florida, mostly in Miami and the surrounding area of Dade County.

The United States broke diplomatic relations with Cuba in January 1961. In April, the failure of Cuban exiles in the Bay of Pigs operation led more Cubans to decide to leave their homeland. And in June, the nationalization of the schools led many others to make the same decision. Castro's announcement in May 1961 that Cuba was a socialist nation and his announcement seven months later, in December, that he was a Marxist-Leninist similarly helped to increase the flow of refugees.

These are among the major developments which resulted in a refugee movement that has included people from every social, economic, and occupational group in Cuba.

As in so many refugee situations, the international implications were not clear when the out-movement began. The great majority of the Cubans coming out in 1959 and 1960 had every hope that their stay in the United States would be short. Latin-American revolutions have a habit of recurring, and it was felt throughout the refugee population that it would be only a matter of a short period of time before they would be on their way home.

The residents of Miami and the surrounding area of Dade County reacted in a magnificent fashion. The community opened its doors and its heart to the refugees. But as time moved on, it became apparent that these guests of ours would not soon be leaving our shores, and as large numbers of refugees continued to flow into the area, the economic and social pressures began to tell on the Florida community.

Another factor was the increasing restrictions that Castro was putting on the refugees. Many of the early refugees had brought funds out of Cuba or had previously deposited funds in U.S. and other foreign banks in anticipation

of a political upheaval. But as the refugee flight continued, the Cuban government imposed increasingly stringent restrictions on those requesting permission to leave. All real and personal property belonging to refugees was confiscated. A person was allowed to bring out of Cuba only one suit, a few changes of underwear, and a maximum of five pesos, which were worth about fifty cents in U.S. currency. Later, the five pesos were eliminated.

Many persons have commented on the pictures of well-dressed refugees disembarking from airplanes at the Miami airport -- contrasting these with the photographs of so many other refugees that have become familiar to us in the past twenty-five years. With permission to bring only the one suit they wore, the Cubans of course wore the best that they had. This situation has now changed, as the only new refugees who arrive directly from Cuba are those who escape in small boats at the peril of their lives, with many enduring hardships that are difficult to imagine.

Toward the end of 1960, when some 37,000 Cubans were concentrated in the Miami area, it had become evident that the large number of destitute refugees had exceeded the capacity of local public and voluntary agencies to provide emergency assistance, and the capacity of the local labor market to provide opportunities for gainful employment.

#### The Federal Government Steps In

In December 1960, following an investigation of the refugee situation by a representative of President Eisenhower, a Cuban Refugee Emergency Center was established in Miami with an initial allocation of \$1 million from the President's contingency fund under the Mutual Security Act. Two months later, President

Kennedy formally established the Cuban Refugee Program and placed the responsibility for it in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In doing so, the late President told the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare: "I want you to make concrete my concern and sympathy for those who have been forced from their homes in Cuba. . . . I want to re-emphasize most strongly the tradition of the United States as a humanitarian sanctuary, and the many times it has extended its hand and material help to those who are 'exiles for conscience's sake.' In the presently troubled world, we cannot be peacemaker if we are not also the protector of those individuals as well as nations who cast with us their personal liberty and hopes for the future."

The President directed that a nine-point program be undertaken to aid the refugees. It includes:

1. Providing all possible assistance to voluntary relief agencies in providing daily necessities for needy refugees, for resettling as many refugees as possible, and for securing jobs for them.
2. Obtaining the assistance of both private and governmental agencies to provide useful employment opportunities for displaced Cubans, consistent with the over-all employment situation in Florida.
3. Providing funds for the resettlement of refugees to other areas.
4. Furnishing financial assistance to meet basic maintenance requirements of needy Cuban refugees in the Miami area and as required in communities of resettlement.
5. Providing for essential health services for the refugees.
6. Furnishing Federal assistance for local public school operating costs in the Miami area.

7. Initiating measures to augment training and educational opportunities for Cuban refugees.
8. Providing financial aid for the care and protection of unaccompanied children -- the most defenseless and troubled group among the refugee population.
9. Undertaking surplus food distribution to needy refugees.

To carry the program through June 30, 1961, a \$4-million allocation was made from the Contingency Fund under the Mutual Security Act to supplement the original allocation of \$1 million.

"I hope these measures will be understood," the President said, "as an immediate expression of the firm desire of the people of the United States to be of tangible assistance to the refugees until such time as better circumstances enable them to return to their permanent homes in health, in confidence, and with unimpaired pride."

#### Developing the Program

Two fundamental concerns have dominated the program: one has been to provide the necessary assistance and services to destitute refugees in the Miami area; the other has been to help the refugees to become self-supporting through resettlement to other areas. As you can appreciate, these measures are designed not only to help the refugees, but also to lessen the impact on Miami.

When the program was established, not only were there 37,000 refugees already in Miami, but as many as 1,800 new refugees were arriving each week. The picture was one of urgency and confusion. In this emergency situation,



the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare naturally turned to existing public and voluntary agencies to carry out various aspects of the refugee program. In fact, several voluntary agencies were already active in Miami.

On the Federal side, the Department called upon several of its own units: the Children's Bureau, in connection with Cuban children who were arriving without parents or relatives; the Bureau of Family Services, with respect to financial assistance; the Public Health Service, for formulation of a program of medical services; and the Office of Education, in relation to the education of both children and adults. We looked to the Department of Labor for aid in job placement of refugees in other localities, and to the Department of Agriculture for surplus commodities.

In Florida, at the State and local level, the involvement of a number of public agencies was sought: the Florida Department of Public Welfare, the Dade County public school system, and the Dade County Health Department.

Four national voluntary agencies agreed to carry out the resettlement program, under contract with the Federal Government. They are: Catholic Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Church World Service of the National Council of Churches, a Protestant organization; the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, which has been concerned with the relatively small number of Jewish persons among the refugees; and, finally, the non-sectarian International Rescue Committee. All four of these agencies have behind them a great deal of experience in the international resettlement of refugees.

### The Refugee Center

In Miami, the Cuban Refugee Center is the focal point for registration and resettlement operations. Refugees register at the Center and are interviewed to determine job skills, family composition, and other characteristics relevant to planning for services and resettlement. Each refugee receives a thorough medical examination, including a chest X-ray and any inoculations prescribed by the attending physician. The Red Cross distributes Spanish-English dictionaries and kits containing such essentials as toothbrushes, hairpins, and razors. Each refugee also registers with the resettlement agency of his choice. If a person is without funds or resources, he is referred to the Cuban Refugee Assistance Unit of the Florida State Department of Public Welfare, where his eligibility for financial assistance and surplus foods is determined.

It should be noted that a refugee is not required to register at the Refugee Center. The vast majority have registered because they have found themselves in need of assistance. However, some refugees have always been self-supporting during their stay in the United States and have not found it necessary to register. Each week, a number of these exhaust their resources and register for the first time for welfare and resettlement services.

### Miami

Now, what have the refugees found in Miami?

Arriving there a refugee found himself in a beautiful area, with palm trees and tropical plants, and a climate much like that of his homeland. He also found that a gooddeal of vacant housing was available. If you are familiar Miami, you know something of the economic cycles that this resort area has

gone through. It was a fortuitous circumstance that at the time the refugees began arriving, there was housing available. From the viewpoint of Miami landlords, the coming of the refugees was a highly fortunate circumstance: they found tenants for houses and apartments that they had given up practically all hope of renting.

These were the plus factors in the refugee movement. The minus factors were much more important: Few job opportunities existed in Miami in relation to the number of applicants. Even those refugees fortunate enough to find jobs were usually unable to put their best skills to use. An engineer working as a dishwasher and a veterinarian working as a parking-lot attendant have been typical examples. A couple of years ago, a former judge in Cuba's supreme court was found working as a waiter in a Miami Beach hotel. This was hardly a good use of his skills -- though by all accounts he was an excellent waiter.

#### Public Assistance

The lack of jobs made public assistance an absolute necessity. This assistance, financed entirely by the Federal Government and administered by the Florida State Department of Public Welfare by special agreement, is provided on the basis of the same standards of need applied to other residents of Florida. The maximum amount which needy refugees may receive is \$100 a month for a family and \$60 a month for a needy single person who is not part of a family unit.

The difficulties which the refugees have faced in Miami are highlighted by the fact that during October 1962 -- the highest point in the program -- nearly two-thirds of the refugees in Miami, over 68,000 persons, were receiving Federal assistance in order to meet the minimum essential needs of living.

### Health and Medical Services

Federally financed health services for needy Cuban refugees have also been a necessity. They are furnished through a medical and dental clinic located in the Refugee Center and through accredited local hospitals. These services include: Outpatient clinic services; dental, maternal, child, and school health services; hospitalization of up to 30 days for acute conditions; and hospitalization beyond the 30-day limit for serious chronic conditions such as active tuberculosis or psychosis.

### Education and Vocational Training

The area of education and vocational training has been a most important one for the refugees. Nearly 20,000 Cuban refugee children were enrolled in the Dade County public schools at the height of the refugee situation, during the 1962-63 school year. The figure is expected to be about 16,000 this fall, with the decrease resulting from our continued resettlements of refugees to other areas.

The Federal Government has followed the pattern of assistance given to schools in federally impacted areas by reimbursing the Dade County public schools for 50 percent of the cost of educating these children. This actually amounts to about 60 percent if expressed in terms of the cost of educating American children in Dade County, with the higher cost of educating the Cuban children resulting primarily from the necessity for instruction in the English language.

Federally financed English instruction and vocational training courses have been provided for several thousand adult refugees through the adult education program in Dade County. A program of Government loans for needy Cuban

college students in the United States -- similar to the loans available to American college students under the National Defense Education Act -- was established and has benefited some 3,000 refugee students enrolled in well over 200 colleges and universities throughout the United States. Refresher courses for certain professional groups have also been provided. These have included courses for physicians, lawyers, and teachers. All of the educational programs for adult refugees are designed to increase their potential for resettlement and for becoming self-supporting.

I shall return to some of our special educational projects in a moment, in order to illustrate some of the ways in which the refugees are proving a real asset in the United States.

#### Financing

I have touched on two points, which I should like to explain briefly here.

One is the financing of the program. During 1961 and 1962, funds were made available by the President from his contingency funds under the Mutual Security and Foreign Assistance Acts. Then, in June of 1962, Congress passed the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act, and funds have since been appropriated by Congress under the authority of that act.

The total expenditures over the three-and-a-half years of the program to date have been about \$144 million. The peak year was fiscal 1963 when \$56 million was required. This declined to \$46 million in the fiscal year just ended, and a further decline is expected during the coming year.



### Flights Stop

The second point helps to explain the decreasing funds required. The Cuban refugee situation has fallen into two major phases. The dividing point is October 22, 1962. On that date, at the height of the confrontation regarding missiles in Cuba, all commercial air flights between Cuba and the United States were suspended by the Castro government, and they have not been resumed. The effect of this was to cut off the major means of transportation by which refugees had fled to the United States. Prior to that date, some 1,800 refugees a week were reaching Miami. Since then, only about 100 to 150 a week on the average have been able to seek refuge in this country -- escaping by small boats or via other countries, such as Spain and Mexico, to which air service from Cuba is available.

During the 22 months since Cuba-U.S. flights stopped, we have resettled more refugees away from Miami than have arrived there, with a resulting decline in the need for Federal assistance.

### The Children

In looking at the refugees, let me turn first to the children.

There have been two major groups of children among the Cubans: first, those who have arrived in more-or-less the normal setting in which one expects to find children -- that is, with their parents or close relatives; and second, those who are here in more dramatic circumstances -- unaccompanied by a parent or other adult responsible for their care.

These unaccompanied children were sent out of Cuba by their parents in order to avoid Communist indoctrination in the schools -- in some cases, to avoid actually being transported to Russia for such indoctrination. Only a

good deal of fear and a great deal of courage could lead a parent to place time and space and the uncertainty of eventual reunion between himself and his child. And it is a mark of the faith of these parents in the warm heart of the United States that they sent their children alone to this country without resources or relatives.

Perhaps the first unaccompanied child came to the attention of the Director of the Catholic Welfare Bureau of Miami, Msgr. Bryan Walsh, in the fall of 1960. This was a 15-year-old boy who had been in Miami for a month and had been spending each day with a different Cuban refugee family, none of whom could keep him. About this same time, Msgr. Walsh began to hear stories of Cuban children in Miami who had been placed in the care of refugee strangers at the Havana airport when the parents had been refused permission to leave Cuba. Father Walsh felt that there might well be a flood of child-care problems as such haphazard parental placements broke down. He therefore called a meeting of the Family and Children's Division of the Miami Welfare Planning Council, as a result of which three Miami child-placing agencies suggested a Government-sponsored foster-care program and offered their services.

The first "official" unaccompanied children -- 10 teen-age boys -- arrived in December 1960 and others soon followed. Altogether, it is estimated that some 13,000 unaccompanied children have reached the United States. About 5,000 of these have been cared for by friends or private agencies without any participation by the Federal Government. For the remaining nearly 8,000, the Government has found it necessary to finance foster care for varying periods of time.

The administration of this program is carried out by the Child Welfare Division of the Florida Department of Public Welfare, under contract with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Florida Department, in turn, has subcontracts with Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish child-care agencies.

Altogether, 7,700 children have been cared for under the Government-financed program. Nine out of every ten have been Catholic and have been cared for by the Catholic agency. In Miami, the Catholic Welfare Bureau converted several facilities into group-care homes for the children. It also made arrangements with Catholic child-care agencies and institutions in 36 States for group and foster-home care of the Cuban children. The Protestant and Jewish agencies similarly arranged for care in other areas.

All of this did not happen automatically, of course, and the situation was quite an urgent and hectic one during the many weeks that 100 to 200 unaccompanied children a week were arriving in Miami in need of immediate care.

The peak number of children under care at any one time was reached in September 1962 when 4,300 children were being cared for. This was about a month before the commercial air flights from Cuba were suspended. The termination of flights had two effects: first, the influx of unaccompanied children practically ceased; second, so did the arrival of the parents of the children who were already here.

Since then, only a relatively small number of parents have succeeded in reaching the United States, so that no mass reunion of children with parents has been possible. Some parents have, however, arrived. For example, during the first half of 1963, we were able to arrange for a group of parents to come

in on the return trips of the Red Cross ships that had taken medical supplies to Cuba in connection with the release of the Bay of Pigs prisoners. A few parents have made their way here through third countries.

Nonetheless, the number of children under care has diminished substantially -- from about 4,000 at the time the flights stopped down to 2,500 at the end of last June. A large part of the reduction has been due to the fact that children have reached the age of nineteen -- the upper age limit for care under the program.

Of the 2,500 children under care, one-third are located in the Miami area, and the remaining two-thirds were in 38 different States. Sixty percent are in group care, and forty percent in foster-family homes. Throughout the unaccompanied children's program, the majority of the children have been teenagers, and the majority, boys.

Unless there is some change in the international situation which will facilitate the travel to the United States of the parents who are still in Cuba, we shall have to look forward to longer-term care of these children than was originally anticipated. Planning for the children who reach their nineteenth birthday will continue to be of prime importance. Nearly 300 of the children will reach nineteen this year. The child-care agencies are attempting to develop a plan for each child well in advance of his nineteenth birthday -- plans for the completion of public schooling, or for employment, or for going on to college with aid in the form of Government loans plus additional assistance from a college's own resources. If an unaccompanied child should be in economic need after reaching nineteen, he would be eligible for Federally-financed public assistance, just as would a resettled refugee in need.

Now, what sort of adjustment have these children made? Naturally, the shock of leaving their homeland and their parents was great, and the prospect of a long time passing before they can be reunited with their families affects many children. The remarkable thing about these children as a whole is that they have made a good adjustment. As one social worker commented: "We expected all kinds of problems and they just didn't happen. These children just aren't like the deprived children we see in our regular foster-care program." Many social workers believe that the ability of the children to accept this separation from their parents with apparent calmness stems from the closeness of the Cuban family and the emotional strength which it generates.

If there is one problem which seems to have arisen fairly generally, it has derived from the fact that many of the youngsters have been waited on by servants all their lives in Cuba. They were shocked when asked to help their foster parents in doing chores such as making beds and carrying out the trash. With few exceptions, though, this adjustment has been made without undue trauma to either the children or the foster family.

Actually, the children have been one of the brightest spots in a situation which, though difficult, has many bright spots. We constantly receive good reports from teachers and in newspaper stories of the performance of the Cuban children. A number of them have won scholarships and other awards. One of the most impressive performances was by a refugee girl in the Midwest, about 12 years old. She spoke only Spanish when she arrived in the United States, and after a few months, she won her school's spelling contest -- in English!



### Resettlement

As I have indicated, resettlement is the major objective of the Cuban Refugee Program, as it has been in other refugee programs in the United States and throughout the world.

Resettlement is necessary to relieve the burden on Miami; to reduce Federal expenditures for assistance; to enable the refugees to become self-supporting, contributing members of our society during their exile; to enable them to retain their skills and, if possible, to further develop their skills; and to enable them to have the experience of participating in the mainstream of American life. Resettlement is considered to be the most immediate, effective, and economical means of achieving these objectives. As in other welfare programs, the fundamental concern is with the rehabilitation of the recipients. In the case of the Cuban refugees, rehabilitation must almost always take the form of resettlement.

Most resettlements are arranged through the four national voluntary agencies, which have offices in the Refugee Center. In general, the refugees choose a resettlement agency along religious lines. This accounts for the fact that most Cubans have registered with the Catholic agency.

Resettlements are made when local affiliates of these agencies undertake to sponsor a refugee or refugee family in their community. In most cases, these are church groups, since the majority of the resettlements have been made through the Catholic and Protestant agencies. A valuable though smaller role has been played by civic organizations, such as the International Institutes affiliated with the American Council for Nationalities Service and the Jaycees, Kiwanis, Lions, and Rotary Clubs. In some communities, civic and religious

organizations have participated jointly in the sponsorship of refugees. In several cities and States, resettlement has been given an overall impetus by mayors' and governors' committees.

Basically, the sponsor of a refugee is responsible for: locating a job or job opportunities; arranging for at least temporary housing, including household furnishings, the payment of a month's rent and utilities, and, usually, the provision of 2 or 3 weeks' supply of groceries; welcoming the refugee; helping the refugee and his family to become oriented to the new community, to enroll the children in school, to find the way to the supermarket, to locate English classes for adults if needed, and so on; and, finally, providing guidance and counseling on any problems that may arise.

The Federal Government pays the refugee's cost of transportation to the city of resettlement. To those who are receiving public assistance in Miami, it also provides a "transition allowance" to help the refugee get started in the new community. For a family, this allowance is \$100; for a single person, \$60. (The Government has also stated that it will pay the resettled refugees' transportation costs back to Miami at such time as it may become possible for them to return to Cuba.)

Federally financed assistance is also made available to a resettled refugee in the city of resettlement. Such assistance is based on the same standards of need applied to other residents of the State, except that no residency requirements apply. It is provided through State and local welfare departments, which are then reimbursed by the Federal Government.

This is indicative of one of the basic principles we have followed in the refugee program: that the assistance and services which are made available

to the refugees are at the same level as those available to American citizens in the same community. Special problems surrounding the refugees and the Miami area have of course called for special programs, of which resettlement is the prime example. But where a need is similar to that of American citizens, the program is also similar. This is true of financial assistance, health and medical services, loans for needy college students, aid to the Dade County schools, and so on.

Finally, in the resettlement program, the sponsor chooses the refugee or family he wishes to sponsor. After a sponsor sends information to the resettlement agency on the type of job opportunities available in his community, the size of the family he can sponsor, and other relevant points, the resettlement agency generally send him dossiers on two or more refugees who appear to meet the specific qualifications. The sponsor then makes his own selection.

In other words, what the Government has said to the resettlement agencies is this: "We will backstop your resettlement efforts. Find a sponsor who will locate housing and a job for a refugee family. The Government will provide transport costs for the family from Miami to the city of resettlement. The Government will guarantee return fare to Miami once Cuba is free. The Government will pay to those refugees who are receiving public assistance in Miami a transitional allowance of \$100 to a family and \$60 to a single person. Should a resettled refugee or his family become in need of public assistance in his city of resettlement, the Federal Government will reimburse the local authorities for the cost of such assistance so that the refugee will not become a burden to the local community."

### An American People's Program

As you can appreciate, the resettlement program is really an American people's program. It depends on the interest, understanding, and sympathy of church members and civic leaders and their willingness to undertake the sponsorship of refugee families in their community.

I am pleased to be able to say that the American people have responded magnificently to the challenge of the Cuban refugees. As a result of the splendid response and devoted efforts of thousands of Americans throughout our Nation, more than 80,000 Cubans have been resettled to opportunities for self-support. They have gone to every State of the Union, and to more than 1,800 communities.

The resettlements even include one young man who has gone to Alaska. He had been in the U.S. Army in Kentucky, where he spent a cold winter. He said he had survived temperatures there as low as 10° below zero and he couldn't see that it would be any different if it got to be 30° or 40° below in Alaska.

Two things have impressed me tremendously in the resettlement program, and have provided a constant source of renewed faith in the task in which we are engaged.

One is the refugees themselves. Wherever I have had the opportunity to talk with them, in various cities throughout the country, I have been impressed by their ability and their adaptability; by their adjustment to their new environment, to a new language, to cold weather in many places, to new neighbors and schools and ways of living; by their dedication to their work, even when their starting job is far below their best skills and experience; and by the determination and success of many in rising up the occupational ladder once

again. I have been impressed, too, by their warm appreciation of the opportunities they have received.

The second thing which I have found most impressive is the spirit of those who work with the refugees around the country -- those church members and civic leaders, public and voluntary agency staff members who, whatever their actual titles and other responsibilities, find themselves in the role of counselors and caseworkers and job-hunters and apartment-seekers in the resettlement program. I have been struck by their dedication, their ingenuity in resolving problems, their devotion to the well-being of their clients. In the final analysis, I think it is really the thousands upon thousands of hours spent at this grass-roots level that account in very great measure for the success of this program, the success of the refugees in their new communities, and, in fact, for the success of any program that is based on helping people help themselves.

The good work of the sponsors and the spirit of the refugees are clearly reflected in the relatively small number of resettled refugees who have found it necessary to seek Federal assistance: Only five percent have received such assistance and they have usually required it for only brief periods of time, because of temporary unemployment or medical needs beyond their means.

#### Factors Affecting Resettlement

Clearly, the resettlement program has been very successful. Clearly, too, resettlement is a complex operation. A successful resettlement requires bringing together a refugee, a sponsor, and a resettlement opportunity appropriate to the refugee's background and abilities. To carry out successfully a



continuing resettlement program requires systematic efforts to create and maintain the interest of sponsors and potential sponsors, orient refugees to the desirability and necessity of resettlement, and develop efficient procedures for matching the refugee with the requirements of the sponsor and the job opportunity.

In addition, there are two major factors which are independent of the control of the program: one is the economic conditions and the need for workers in communities throughout the nation; the second is the ability of the refugees to meet requirements that apply to certain types of positions in the United States.

Fortunately, the majority of the refugees are highly skilled and educated persons -- professional, technical, and managerial workers, office personnel, and skilled workers. Even in communities which may be suffering from unemployment of semiskilled or unskilled citizens, there is usually a demand for various types of skilled personnel which cannot be met by the local labor force.

Nevertheless, overall economic conditions do affect the resettlement program. The Federal Government itself does not send refugees anywhere on its own initiative. The relocation process is a voluntary activity initiated by a sponsoring citizen or organization, usually a church. The sponsor undertakes to assist the refugee breadwinner in finding living quarters and a job. In a few cases, the action is initiated by an employer who is unable to find local workers to fill a particular position, and arrangements are then made through one of the resettlement agencies for housing and the other aspects of sponsorship. In every case, the resettlement of a refugee is in response to an invitation from a group or individual in a local community.

A recent study of the geographic distribution of resettled refugees reveals how closely resettlement reflects economic conditions prevailing in various parts of the United States. Out of some 2,500 locales with economic problems which have been designated as redevelopment areas under the Area Redevelopment Act, refugees were found to have resettled in only 66! Two-thirds of these 66 areas had received four persons or less, and only 11 had received over 18 refugees.

#### Present Status and Future Prospects

Where do we stand now in the Cuban Refugee Program?

A few figures will help to give the answer. At our Center in Miami, we have registered a total of 173,000 refugees. Of these, 80,000 have been resettled.

We also know that a number of refugees have moved away from Miami on their own initiative, outside the regular resettlement channels. Current estimates place the Miami refugee population at about 80,000 -- down some 20,000 since the flights stopped 22 months ago.

I mentioned earlier that at the height of the program, there were 68,000 refugees receiving Federal assistance in Miami. That figure has now been reduced to less than 30,000, as refugees have continued to resettle, as some have moved on their own initiative, and as some have been successful in obtaining jobs in Miami. Resettlement has been, far and away, the major factor, with over 33,000 people having been resettled during the period since the flights stopped.

With the dramatic reductions that have occurred in the number of refugees requiring assistance in Miami, our task for the future has in a way become more complex. This is true of any refugee program and is so for several reasons:

First, refugees become more acclimated to their initial point of settlement -- in this case, Miami -- and more reluctant to pull up stakes and move again.

Second, when large numbers of new refugees were arriving, the desire of the newcomers to be united with relatives who had already been resettled constituted a strong pull to other communities; we have now resettled the vast majority of relatives who were so motivated.

Third, as the size of the remaining caseload decreases, the resettlement agencies inevitably find themselves left more and more with refugees who fall into the difficult-to-resettle category -- persons who can benefit from resettlement but who suffer from a broad range of occupational, medical, social, or other problems which require special attention if we are to be successful in helping them to become self-sufficient. We recently completed an analysis of most of the cases which are receiving financial assistance in Miami, and the result sheds some light on the magnitude of the problem: We found eight percent of the cases to be what we call "clear" cases -- where there is no obstacle to resettlement. The remaining 92 percent suffered from one or more problems calling for special counseling and arrangements.

Finally, as time goes on, increased efforts are required to continue to secure sponsorships throughout the country for the refugees. As in any refugee situation, there is a normal letdown in the spontaneous flow of new sponsorships after the period of initial enthusiasm. Another aspect is that we are now seek-

ing more specially-tailored sponsorships in order to help families where there is some particular problem, such as a child with a medical problem that will require special arrangements in the resettlement city.

Let me dwell a little longer on the cases where problems exist. Whenever mention is made of "difficult" cases among refugees, I find that people are carried away with thoughts of the types of cases which existed among European refugees. One begins to think of alcoholics and prostitutes, victims of active tuberculosis and serious mental breakdowns, persons dried up after eight or ten years of inactive refugee camp life. Thank God that we have few, if any, cases like these. When we speak today of "difficult" cases in our Miami caseload we are referring to the mother alone here with three children, or the couple with elderly parents, or the healthy young man who is illiterate but could do unskilled work in an industrial community. Every case is resettlable if we can match the refugee's situation with a tailor-made sponsorship. And I feel strongly that before we walk away from any refugee, before we commit a case to a long-term poverty situation on relief, we must make every effort to prepare a refugee to become self-sufficient, to find an appropriate sponsorship opportunity, and to counsel the refugee to accept it.

Let me give you one example of how we are approaching a particular problem: Among the refugees who are receiving financial assistance in Miami, we have about 800 single women who lack both knowledge of English and any occupational skill. Last month, we completed interviews with these women and began special English classes for them. In the fall, we hope to move them into vocational courses which will provide them with a useful industrial, service, or office skill for

which workers are needed, and by the end of the year we hope that most will be ready for resettlement. The response of the women to this opportunity has been enthusiastic.

This is the first project we have launched for a specific category of persons at the lower rung of the skill ladder, though many others have been helped on an individual basis through the English and vocational courses for adults which we have made available in Miami.

#### Contributions of the Refugees

I would like to spend a moment on the contributions which the refugees are making during their exile. The majority of the refugees have been well educated, experienced, and able persons -- professional, technical, and managerial personnel, office personnel, and skilled workers. They have included physicians, lawyers, teachers, veterinarians, engineers, accountants, chemists, architects, and many other professionals.

One of the problems that has confronted many of the professionals is State and local requirements for citizenship or for training in the United States. Thus, for example, practically no Cuban lawyer can qualify for practice here. In such cases, we have attempted to secure positions where a person could utilize at least some of his skills. Many of the lawyers had teaching experience and have been pleased to receive training enabling them to become Spanish teachers. Others have found positions in export-import businesses or in other organizations where they could make use of their legal skills within the organization.

Cuban teachers are proving most valuable. A year ago we sponsored a summer institute for 30 refugee teachers in cooperation with the State University of Iowa to enable them to qualify for positions as Spanish teachers in Iowa public



schools -- jobs for which qualified local candidates were not available. A year ago, they began teaching in 27 different communities throughout the State of Iowa, where reports indicate that they have established an excellent record.

This project proved so successful that similar ones -- with some including as much as a year of retraining -- have been initiated in Indiana, Kansas, Montana, Oregon, and Pennsylvania. These will also be most helpful in meeting part of the Nation's need for language teachers.

For the physicians, we have helped to make available professional retraining courses at the University of Miami to enable them to take the medical examination for foreign-trained doctors. As a result, some 1,000 Cuban doctors are now serving on the staffs of hospitals and clinics throughout the United States, helping to fill an urgent need.

Other projects have helped or will help optometrists, dentists, and social workers.

These are some of the ways in which, with the help of the American people, we have tried to help the refugees to help themselves, so that they, in turn, may help us during the difficult days of their exile. One measure of the success of the program, and one in which all Americans can take pride, is that 80% of the Cuban refugees are now self-supporting.

We have recognized that it is not enough to say to a man that we will feed him. Man cannot live by bread alone. We must inspire him not to lose courage. We must try to provide him with the opportunity to make a contribution to our society and encourage him to accept it. We must urge him to understand the ways of the American people so that he will not be discouraged by the action of the bigoted few. We must keep constantly before him the ideals of cooperation and togetherness, for no man is an island.

We know that the Cuban has much to offer to the American people during his period of exile. He has the culture of Latin America, he holds the key to a beautiful language, he has the heritage of old Spain, and he has in many instances the skills that we can use. On the other hand, the American people throughout the country have much to offer to the Cuban: an opportunity to share in the democratic process; a chance to join a community as it is on its way towards growth and greater strength; to unite in a demonstration of faith and goodwill to mankind.

Every refugee who has been forced into idleness by the lack of job opportunities in Miami, whose family lives on the meager income which public assistance provides, who yearns once again to put his skills to use, to make his personal contribution to democracy during his exile -- needs an invitation to come to a new community to find a new home and a job.

All over the Nation, Americans have been saying to the Cuban exiles, "Esta es su casa" -- "This is your home." "Come to our communities and become part of our communities." We seek your continued help for those who remain in Miami and for those who reach our shores daily after risking their lives in small boats to escape from the tyranny in their homeland.

"I was a stranger and you took me in" . . . . Surely the strength of any people can best be judged by the manner in which they deal with the stranger who has come to their doors, particularly if that stranger should desire to remain permanently amongst them. This country has stood this test to a considerable degree, as shown by its willingness to help this refugee

group. On the other hand we, as a whole people, have some area still to cover before we can boast a clean slate. The freedom of the movement of people is a price that democracy must pay if it is to achieve the ideal. We point with great pride to our willingness to share our board with the homeless refugee but we must adhere to this principle and make every effort to enhance it in our immigration laws.

. . . . .

DNC tape Sept 8, 1964

First of all, Congressman Miller has his facts wrong.

He states that if the President's immigration bill is passed, "the number of immigrants next ~~year~~ year will increase threefold."

The present law allows 155,500 persons to enter each year. The immigration bill increases this by only 14,500. Recently, about 100,000 persons a year have been immigrating; under the new law, the total could not even double much less triple.

But the important question is <sup>when</sup> ~~not~~ did Congressman Miller lose faith in America? We are a nation of immigrants. <sup>Not</sup> ~~in~~ 6 weeks ago Senator Dirksen offered in ~~that~~ nomination a man whom he described as "the grandson of a peddler--a proud, honorable and spirited man who left his ancestral home in Europe at an early age and came to this land a century ago."

~~America hasn't changed in 100 years. That stream of proud, honorable and spirited men and women has never stopped and should never do so.~~

~~But~~ it is ~~not~~ a fact that for the past 40 years our immigration law has in effect discriminated against some peoples because of race, creed or national origin. <sup>Sen Caldwell's grandfather</sup> This is ~~the one great~~ <sup>an</sup> area of discrimination in our national life that we have not yet brought into line with the rest of our laws. If Congressman Miller is against it, we are for it. The people can make their choice.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

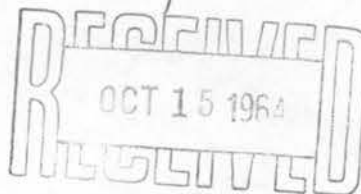
# Memorandum

*Full approval  
Amey phone  
John*

TO : Members of the Subcommittee on  
Intergovernmental Relations

DATE: October 14, 1964

FROM : Edmund S. Muskie, Chairman



SUBJECT: Ellis Island

On June 24, 1964, the Subcommittee received from the Department of the Interior a study report on Ellis Island prepared by the National Park Service in cooperation with the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. A copy of this report was sent to you on July 24th, along with a memorandum listing the various proposals which had been made for the utilization of the island, for your review and comment.

A follow-up poll of the Subcommittee members indicated that a majority favored the general recommendations contained in the Department's report. I requested the Subcommittee staff to prepare a draft report on Ellis Island, a copy of which is enclosed.

I would greatly appreciate receiving any suggested changes or your written indication of approval of this draft by October 19th. Please direct your reply to

Dr. David B. Walker, Staff Director  
Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations  
Room 357 Old Senate Office Building

If you feel you would like to discuss the subject with Dr. Walker please call him on extension 4718.





DISPOSAL OF ELLIS ISLAND

- - - - -

Report of the  
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
United States Senate

Made by its  
Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations

October *14*, 1964

## EFFORTS TO DISPOSE OF ELLIS ISLAND: MARCH 1955 - SEPTEMBER 1962

When Ellis Island was declared to be in excess of the needs of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in November of 1954, it was transferred to the General Services Administration for disposal, pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (63 Stat. 384, as amended, 40 U.S.C. 483) and related laws. Federal agencies were screened to determine if a need existed for its continued federal use. Since no affirmative responses were received, GSA declared the island to be surplus to the needs of the Federal Government on March 15, 1955.

During the subsequent 18 months, the door was left open to any proposals for the transfer of the property to a state or local governmental agency or a qualified non-profit institution for any specific public use pursuant to the above cited statute. Many and varied recommendations were advanced, but none was received from an eligible applicant. In September 1956 GSA advertised Ellis Island for private sale by sealed bid. Widespread public opposition to such private sale subsequently developed, which prompted GSA to again canvass the nation for acceptable proposals for public use of the island-- again without success. Between February 1958 and the fall of 1959, GSA made three attempts to sell the island by sealed bids but rejected the bids in all three instances as not being commensurate with the value of the property.

GSA thereupon suspended its efforts to sell the island in order to afford the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an opportunity to undertake a concentrated effort to dispose of this property for public health or educational purposes under Sec. 203(k) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended. Incident to such effort, a conference under the joint sponsorship of HEW and GSA was held on August 9, 1960, in New York City, attended by representatives of all groups, public and private, then known to have an interest in the non-commercial disposition of the island. HEW requirements for the disposal and utilization of surplus real property under Sec. 203(k) were outlined at this session, and an effort was made to encourage consolidation of resources of the interested parties. HEW thereafter received applications for use of the surplus property for health and educational purposes from the following: the Ellis Island for Higher Education, Inc.; The Training School at Vineland, New Jersey; the International University Foundation, whose proposal included a library and

museum devoted to the subject of American immigration from 1890 to 1950; and Theodore Granik, whose plan included programs for health, education, and housing for the elderly.

Following a comprehensive review, HEW rejected all applications, advised GSA, and announced publicly on March 7, 1961, that none of the proposals considered met the requirements for effecting a health or educational transfer of the property under the 1949 Act. Since that date, and in view of the prevailing facts and circumstances, including the pendency in the 87th Congress of S. 2596 (Ellis Island for Higher Education, Inc.); S. 2582 (The Training School at Vineland, New Jersey); and S. 867, S. 1118, and S. 1198, which included slightly different programs for health, education, and housing for the elderly; and in the 88th Congress of S. 1090 (The Training School of Vineland, New Jersey) and S. 1300 (Ellis Island for Higher Education, Inc.), GSA has deferred publicly advertising the property for sale. It has continued to discuss and explore the disposal with interested groups, however.

#### DISPOSAL EFFORTS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

After the creation of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations on July 12, 1962, the Committee on Government Operations referred to it for appropriate action the five bills introduced in the 87th Congress. In September 1962 the subcommittee held hearings to "gain a broader and more detailed understanding of the fundamental issues and questions involved." <sup>1/</sup>

Following these hearings, the Chairman of the parent committee requested that GSA withhold action on the final transfer of title to the island until the committee had concluded its review of the disposal problem.

Additional hearings on the question were held by the subcommittee in New York City on December 6 and 7, 1962. <sup>2/</sup> Numerous proposals were advanced, and since those hearings several additional recommendations for

---

<sup>1/</sup> "Disposal of Ellis Island (New York Harbor)", hearings before the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, Committee on Government Operations, U. S. Senate, 87th Cong., 2d Sess., pursuant to S. Res. 359, p. 2.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., p. 96 ff.

future utilization of the island have been received. Since no one proposal had sufficient widespread support or stood out as being more meritorious than the others, the subcommittee attempted to promote cooperation among the various sponsors, with a view toward the possible joint sponsorship of a multi-purpose proposal. Extensive communications and conferences failed to elicit such a multi-purpose plan.

On April 22, 1963, eleven major foundations were requested by the subcommittee chairman to assess and comment upon "the feasibility of the financing, public benefit, practicality, and probability of ultimate realization" of the various non-commercial plans. Some replies favored one or another of the proposals, but none indicated a willingness to support any one or a combination of the plans. The views of Adlai Stevenson, U. S. Representative to the United Nations, and Robert Moses of New York City were also solicited. In his response, Mr. Stevenson reported that the matter had been explored with members of the United Nations Secretariat and that no UN need for the property was found. Mr. Moses suggested conversion to a public recreation area under the jurisdiction of the City of New York, with a youth conservation project (like the CCC projects of the thirties) employed to clear the island.

On July 22, 1963, Senator Muskie wrote state officials and interested Congressional representatives of the States of New York and New Jersey, as well as the Mayors of New York City and Jersey City, requesting their assistance in the deliberations of the subcommittee on the question of the disposal of Ellis Island. The letter stated, in part:

Time is now running out, and we are at a point in our deliberations where, if a reasonable solution to the problem is not soon forthcoming, the Federal Government will probably be forced to dispose of the island by open competitive bidding to a commercial concern.

Senator Jacob Javits, in response to the letter, suggested that a time be set for a meeting of such officials in order "to arrive at a consensus as to what should be the disposition of Ellis Island." Senator Muskie agreed, and the meeting was held in Washington on September 4, 1963. In attendance were representatives of New York, New Jersey, New York City, and Jersey City; Federal departmental officials; and Chairman Muskie, accompanied by subcommittee staff members. <sup>3/</sup>

---

<sup>3/</sup> "Discussion on the Disposal of Ellis Island", before the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the Committee on Government Operations, U. S. Senate, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., pursuant to S. Res. 45, pp. 1, 2. (Committee Print)

In preparation for the meeting, the subcommittee sent to all who were invited a copy of its staff memorandum on the disposition of the island. The first part of that memorandum set forth three alternative courses of action available, as follows: <sup>4/</sup>

A. Permit surplus property disposal law to take its course

Currently Ellis Island is under the custody and jurisdiction of the General Services Administration for purposes of disposal, and, if the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations so directs, GSA will proceed to dispose of Ellis Island pursuant to existing statutory authority. In that case, unless the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare qualifies a project sponsor to receive Ellis Island to be used for health or education purposes, likelihood is that it will be sold to the highest bidder.

(1) At present Damon, Doudt Corp. offers to purchase Ellis Island for the sum of \$2,100,000 in cash on delivery of the deed, and it is believed they will use the island to construct a self-contained city designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.

(2) Sol G. Atlas Realty Investment Co. has offered the highest bid for the island on all three occasions when the GSA offered the Ellis Island property for sale. Their first bid was \$201,000; the second bid was \$675,000; and its last bid was \$1,025,000. They contemplate the construction of a resort motel; a combined marina and boatel; a middle-income, multi-family housing project; cultural facilities; a museum of immigration; and a variety of recreational facilities.

(3) Expressions of interest have been received from a group of British investors and a group of Greek investors, both contemplating residential and commercial development of the island.

B. Withhold decision pending further study

If it appears that insufficient time has elapsed for development of a worthwhile and workable plan capable of generating widespread support, the committee could withhold action for a specified period of time to permit further study by the public and private groups with new proposals to be submitted at a later date.

C. Recommend specific legislation

Several specific proposals requiring legislative action have been submitted, and the subcommittee could recommend to the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations that a specific legislative proposal be favorably reported to the U. S. Senate. Among the proposals submitted are the following:

(1) Federal Commission to Study Disposal of Ellis Island -- Representative John V. Lindsay introduced H. R. 7744, that would establish a nine-man federal commission on the disposal of Ellis Island.

(2) Housing for the elderly -- Senator Sparkman introduced S. 1876 in the 87th Congress authorizing a direct conveyance to Ellis Island Golden Age Center, Inc., a nonprofit corporation chartered under the laws of the State of New York-- a project promoted by Mr. Theodore Granik, a nationally prominent radio and television producer.

(3) Mental retardation diagnostic and training center -- Senator Case introduced S. 2852 in the 87th Congress and S. 1090 in the 88th, directing conveyance of Ellis Island to The Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, for the establishment of a medical center for diagnosis of children handicapped by mental retardation and for the training of professional workers in this field.

---

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., pp. 3, 4.



(4) Education -- (a) Private liberal arts college: Senator Harrison Williams introduced S. 2596 in the 87th Congress, directing conveyance of Ellis Island to Ellis Island for Higher Education, Inc., to convert the island and its improvements to a coeducational, liberal arts college, geared to accommodate approximately 1,000 resident students. In the 88th Congress companion measures have been introduced in the House by Mr. Celler (H.R. 5519); Mr. Farbstein (H.R. 4419); and Mr. Gallagher (H.R. 4343).

(b) Advanced school for international education: The Inter-National University Foundation submitted an application to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare seeking conveyance of the island and its improvements to the foundation to convert Ellis Island and its improvements to the physical requirements of an advanced training institution in the field of international study.

(5) Historical proposals -- (a) Re-creation of downtown lower Manhattan: It was proposed that the island be devoted to the re-creation of downtown Manhattan as it was when it was the nation's first Capital, to be developed as a historic resort comparable to Williamsburg, Virginia.

(b) Museum of Immigration: The plan envisions the establishment of a so-called living museum of immigration depicting accomplishments and developments of the various nationality groups that immigrated to the United States.

(6) Miscellaneous suggestions:

(a) Convert the island to a maritime center and nautical motivational high school;

(b) Establish a "symbol of America" with exhibits of religious, scientific, and industrial life, a museum, and dramatizing political concepts;

(c) Utilize the island as a veterans' convalescent home and rest camp;

(d) Establish a recreational area for the promotion of physical fitness;

(e) Establish a treatment center for narcotics addicts;

(f) Utilize the island as a Biblical center symbolizing the common background of all nations, contrasting the Western and Eastern attitudes toward life;

(g) Establish a "Boys Island of America"; and

(h) Establish an International Cathedral for Peace Prayers.

While it was not possible at that time to arrive at a firm decision concerning the specific course of future action, none of the officials present favored commercial development of the island. Chairman Muskie raised the question of whether the proposed redevelopment of the New Jersey shoreline "might enhance the possibilities of using the island for a national park, monument, or recreational purposes." <sup>5/</sup> He requested the Department of Interior's National Park Service to review the proposal in light of New Jersey's redevelopment proposal.

#### DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR REPORT

A study team was appointed on December 3, 1963, and Ronald F. Lee, Regional Director of the Northeast Region, National Park Service, was named chairman. After an initial meeting and field studies, including visits to the island and discussions with appropriate city and state officials and

---

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., page 37.

their staffs (both administrative and technical), representatives of the Park Service, the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development, and the Development Adviser of Jersey City met to discuss a draft report. In June 1964 representatives of the Park Service, the New York City Planning Commission, the New York City Department of City Planning, and the New York State Conservation Department met to coordinate the interests of both New York State and New York City.

On June 24, 1964, the Secretary of the Interior forwarded the National Park Service's report on Ellis Island to the Subcommittee.<sup>6/</sup> This report recommended:

(1) The conversion of Ellis Island to a national area for public visitation and its designation as a national historic site with possible secondary compatible uses; and

(2) The establishment of an Advisory Commission on Ellis Island to assist in the perfection of plans for converting the property to a National Historic Site and determining possible compatible uses and to develop a proposed solution to the jurisdictional question to be recommended to the Federal Government and the States of New York and New Jersey.

#### SUBCOMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

This Report has been reviewed by the subcommittee along with all the other proposals for the disposition and future utilization of Ellis Island. The following conclusions have been reached:

(1) Further prolonged study of the problem will do little to add new facts or provide significant additional substantive information concerning the future disposition of the island.

(2) Opposition to the sale of the island for commercial redevelopment is as strong now as it was in September 1956 when the GSA first advertised the property for sale by sealed bids.

(3) While to date numerous worthwhile public purpose proposals have been advanced by various civic-minded groups and individuals, no single proposal has mustered widespread public support or stands out as being necessarily superior to the others. Further, no group has submitted an application to HEW which has met the requirements for effecting a health or educational transfer of the island under Sec. 203(k) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 and related laws.

---

<sup>6/</sup> "A Study Report on Ellis Island" by the National Park Service in cooperation with the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, U. S. Department of the Interior, June 1964.

(4) The objectives of all the commercial proposals and all but one of the non-commercial plans provide no firm guarantee that Ellis Island will continue to serve as a major historical landmark for the American people.

In light of these findings, the committee interposes no objection to the alternative suggestion advanced in the Interior Department's report that the Secretary proceed under the act entitled "An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes," approved August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666-668; 16 U.S.C. 461-467), and designate Ellis Island as a national historic site. The provisions of this Act (popularly known as the Historic Sites Act of 1935) establish a sufficient basis for the Department to begin implementing the general recommendations contained in its Study Report. Under this legislation the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to:

- (1) Designate the National Park Service as the administering agency, pursuant to Sec. 2 of the above cited Act (16 U.S.C. 462);
- (2) Enter into "contracts and cooperative agreements with states, municipal cooperatives, associations, or individuals" where deemed advisable "to protect, preserve, maintain, or operate" such property; action of this kind is authorized under Sec. 2(e) of the above cited Act (16 U.S.C. 462(e));
- (3) "Restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain" the "buildings, objects, and properties" at such a national historic site, and, "where deemed advisable, establish and maintain" a museum "in connection therewith"; authority for this action is contained in Sec. 2(f) of the above cited Act (16 U.S.C. 462(f));
- (4) "Develop an educational program and service for the purpose of making available to the public facts and information" pertaining to such a site (Sec. 2(j) of such Act (16 U.S.C. 462(j))); and
- (5) Request the advice and recommended policies of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments pertaining to the "restoration, reconstruction, ... and general administration" of such a historic site; this 11-member Advisory Board was established under the authority of Sec. 3 of the above cited Act (16 U.S.C. 463).

Congress' continuing interest in the development of Ellis Island as a national historic site will be fully protected under this procedure in that "no contract or cooperative agreement shall be made or entered into which will obligate the general fund of the Treasury, unless or until Congress has appropriated money for such purpose" (Sec. 2(d) of such Act, 16 U.S.C. 462(d)), and further, to carry out the purposes of this Act, Congress is authorized to appropriate such sums as it may from time to time determine to be necessary (Sec. 6 of such Act, 16 U.S.C. 466).



# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)