

8. We look with concern upon proposals for the integration of religion into the public school program. The Joint Advisory Committee on Religion and the Public Schools¹ of the Synagogue Council of America and the NCRAC is directed to continue the study of all programs and proposals in this regard.

9. All matters dealt with in this statement shall come within the purview of the Joint Advisory Committee. The Committee shall make available to local Jewish communities such guidance and direction as they may request, and local Jewish communities are urged to consult with the Joint Advisory Committee about such problems. It is realized that the methods of coping with such problems in a local community must take into consideration the local situation.

10. The Joint Advisory Committee shall include in its program a continuing examination into the problems of religion in publicly supported institutions of higher education.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE AID

By Maurice R. Davie

THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW—May 1, 1947 through June 30, 1948—was marked by an increasing number of immigrant arrivals, including refugees and displaced persons, by a great expansion of the program of refugee service, and by the enactment of legislation for the admission of displaced persons.

The number of immigrants admitted to the United States, by fiscal years [ending June 30], rose from 38,119 in 1945 to 108,721 in 1946 to 147,292 in 1947. Although the number of quota immigrants admitted in 1947 was the highest since

¹ The Joint Advisory Committee on Religion and the Public Schools had been created in 1946 by the Synagogue Council and the NCRAC "in order to make available to Jewish communities such guidance and direction as they may request . . . and . . . to continuously study the problem . . . and . . . keep the communities advised of its findings."

1930, only 46 per cent of the permissible quota was utilized. This was because immigration was relatively slight from the countries of Northern and Western Europe to which the major portion of the total quota is assigned. The following countries exhausted their quotas: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. The quotas of Latvia and Lithuania were completely filled by displaced persons, as was most of that of Poland.

ARRIVAL OF DISPLACED PERSONS

Under President Truman's directive of December 22, 1945, displaced persons are given priority within the quota. The first ship carrying displaced persons arrived on May 20, 1946. By November 30, 1947, a total of 28,789 had been admitted, nearly two-fifths of them sponsored by approved welfare agencies. Ninety-three per cent of them came as quota immigrants; 5 per cent as nonquota immigrants, chiefly wives of United States citizens; and 2 per cent as non-immigrants, mainly resident aliens returning to this country, and students. Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Russia, and Austria were the main countries of origin; indeed, they were the only countries sending more than a thousand each. The total number of DPs admitted up to June 30, 1948 was 36,479.

It is significant to note that since the war's end, Palestine and Great Britain have accepted more displaced persons than has the United States, and Belgium almost as many. During the period under review, Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Canada exceeded the United States in the number of displaced persons admitted.

Of the displaced persons admitted during the last half of 1947, according to a special tabulation made by the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 10 per cent were professional or semi-professional workers, 2.2 per cent farmers, 6.7 per cent proprietors and managers, 8.1 per cent clerical and kindred workers, 9.3 per cent skilled craftsmen, 11.4 per cent semi-skilled operatives, 4.6 per cent servants

and laborers, and 47.3 per cent persons with no occupation. As compared with other immigrants arriving during the same period, the displaced persons showed higher percentages of professional and semi-professional workers, proprietors and managers, skilled craftsmen, and semi-skilled operatives.

The newcomers who are the concern of the welfare agencies are not only displaced persons entering the United States under the President's directive but also refugees from all parts of the world who have been admitted on immigrant or non-immigrant (permanent or temporary) visas. It was estimated that since the arrival of the *S. S. Marine Flasher* on May 20, 1946, a total of about 38,000 Jews had come to the United States by November, 1947 and that by June 30, 1948 the number had reached approximately 46,000. Roughly half of this number came during the period covered by this article. Some of these Jews arrived as quota immigrants under the Truman directive, others as visitors, as students, or as transients on their way to countries of final destination, but most of them required service of some sort from the welfare agencies.

As compared with the pre-war refugees, most of the newcomers are survivors of concentration camps and slave labor, and are Eastern European rather than German and Austrian in origin. The great majority are destitute and few have American relatives who can assist in their support and adjustment. In general, they suffered greater hardships and deprivations than the earlier refugee group and may need assistance for a longer period of time. Few, especially among the younger members, have had vocational experience, and all need guidance in developing a sense of freedom and personal responsibility. The median age is lower than that of the pre-war refugees, but there are proportionately fewer children under 18. (The median age of all displaced persons admitted to the United States up to November 1947 is 31.9 years.) Their numbers are about equally divided between the sexes. Emotionally, these post-war refugees manifest bewilderment, anxiety, and shock, mixed with gratitude and a great desire to shake off the past and build a new life here.

The basis for issuing visas to displaced persons in the occupied zones in Europe (and since April 1947 to displaced persons in Shanghai) who do not have American relatives or friends to guarantee that they will not become a public charge is the corporate affidavit or sponsorship by an approved welfare agency. Of the 28,789 displaced persons admitted by November 30, 1947, 36 per cent were sponsored by agencies and 64 per cent by individuals, as follows:

Agency Sponsorship	Number	Per cent
Catholic Committee for Refugees	1,096	4
Church World Service, Inc.	971	3
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society	1,823	6
International Rescue and Relief Committee.	301	1
United Service for New Americans	5,039	18
United States Committee for the Care of European Children	1,150	4
Vaad Hatzala Rehabilitation Committee.	26	...
Individually sponsored	18,383	64
Total	28,789	100

The American Federation of International Institutes was approved as a corporate affidavit agency in July 1947, but so far has not made use of its mandate.

Pursuant to the requirements of the corporate affidavit, the agency submits periodically to the Government a detailed report for each person under its sponsorship. If the report shows that the person is steadily employed, is self-supporting, has had no serious illness, and has not become a public charge, no action is taken on the report and the agency is automatically released from further responsibility 60 days after receipt of the report by the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. In its *Monthly Review* for February 1948, the Service states: "The reports from the agencies holding corporate affidavits indicate that most of the displaced persons sponsored by the agencies have found employment and become self-supporting, so that the agency is released from responsibility."

EXPANSION OF THE REFUGEE-SERVICE AGENCIES

A key factor in the rapid adjustment of the newcomers was the widespread support of refugee-aid programs in communities throughout the country. The leading agency in this field was the United Service for New Americans, whose program was based upon popular support through the United Jewish Appeal. Next to the American Red Cross, it was the largest voluntary social service agency in the country. Its program was the greatest ever provided in the United States for the immigration, reception, resettlement and adjustment of the foreign born. Since its establishment in August, 1946, it expanded greatly as refugee immigration increased, until by April, 1948 it had over 10,000 unduplicated cases under care, in addition to rendering numerous other services, such as assisting 5,518 individual cases in migration problems. The cases under care included 2,476 in family service, 3,288 in vocational services, 1,078 in national reception and settlement, 877 in business and loan services, 1,086 religious functionaries, and 1,231 children under its affiliate, the European-Jewish Children's Aid, Inc. The USNA budget, which was \$9,153,500 in 1947, was increased to \$13,644,673 for 1948. Approximately 85 per cent of its expenditures were for relief and relief services—food, clothing, shelter, health care, minimum household furnishings, and other essentials. The balance was for migration, vocational adjustment, and other non-relief services and for administration.

USNA provided the necessary assistance to the Jewish refugee or displaced person from the time when he first planned to immigrate to the United States until he became firmly established in an American community. It co-operated with the Joint Distribution Committee, which conducted the overseas services for the migrants, issued the corporate affidavit on behalf of USNA when required, and advanced the fare and expenses for travel. Through its Migration Department, USNA handled the domestic end of travel arrangements, advised American relatives and friends in preparing affidavits

and other documents, represented them in dealing with governmental departments on migration matters and furnished up-to-date information on immigration laws and regulations. The new arrivals were met and assisted in New York by representatives of the Port and Dock Division, at other seaports by the local sections of the National Council of Jewish Women and other local co-operating organizations.

Those who landed in New York without money, friends or relatives in the United States, and had no plans and no place to go were cared for by the Reception Shelter Division of USNA in the Hotel Marseilles. This Shelter, which operated twenty-four hours a day, cared for an average of 500 people monthly, at an estimated cost in 1948 of \$4.25 per day per client. It provided rooms, meals, essential clothing, emergency medical care and other necessities. Among the special events at the Shelter during the period under review were a Seder held in April, 1947, in which distinguished guests joined with the newcomers in celebrating their first Passover in America, and a Thanksgiving Day celebration with addresses by Secretary of Commerce Harriman and former Governor Lehman and performances by Raymond Massey, Lawrence Tibbett and other stars, all of which was widely publicized in the press and on the radio.

The newcomers who needed training or retraining and assistance in finding employment were aided by the Vocational Adjustment Department of USNA, which greatly expanded its program. In 1947 it launched a National Immigrant Vocational Training Program in co-operation with B'nai B'rith, and secured the assistance of the Women's ORT Federation in soliciting jobs. The Physicians and Dentists Unit assisted in securing internships and hospital placements. The Business and Loan Services Division in 1947 granted loans totaling \$113,645 to families and individuals to help them set up or purchase small businesses, enter professional practice, continue study, learn new trades, purchase tools, or, in co-operation with the Jewish Agricultural Society, settle on farms.

The resettlement program, which was effective in pro-

moting the adjustment of the pre-war refugees, was resumed, with main centers of activity in New York and San Francisco. By the end of 1947 about 200 newcomers were being moved out of New York each month and nearly 150 out of San Francisco. The estimate for 1948 was that an average of 400 would be resettled monthly. In addition to these assisted cases, a larger number of newcomers resettled themselves in communities throughout the country. Aided by the Community Relations Department, which in addition to its public information program rendered field service to local communities in resettlement and other immigrant-aid matters, numerous communities throughout the country actively participated in the national program of refugee aid and rendered great service, despite such obstacles as the acute housing shortage. Studies made by the Government as well as by USNA indicated that the postwar refugees were following the same pattern of ready adjustment that had been established by those who came before the war. It was reported to be common practice for the newcomers to file declarations of intention to become citizens within a few days or weeks after arrival.

Typical of the evidence from local communities regarding the adjustment of these latest arrivals was the following statement by the executive director of the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, a city which since January, 1946 has received approximately a thousand families consisting of about 3,000 persons:

We had been led to believe that the DPs were beaten and broken people who would need a relatively long period of time for their rehabilitation. Much to our amazement, however, we have found the vast majority to possess a great resiliency in being able to spring back to normal living, to put down roots in the community, to become self-supporting, responsible citizens. This quality emerges not only from a basic impulse to live again, but also from a deep appreciation of being in a great country which, above all others, offers security and opportunity for those who wish to avail themselves of so great a gift.

Space limitations will not permit a discussion of all the various types of services rendered refugees and displaced persons, but three additional activities should be mentioned.

In the latter part of 1947 a new Religious Functionary Division was organized in USNA to handle both the casework and the community relations aspects of the Yeshivah and rabbinical groups whose particular cultural, educational and professional background required highly specialized treatment in orienting them to American life. The great majority were here on temporary visas requiring regular study at specific Yeshivahs and barring them from gainful employment. The Division maintained about 250 of these orthodox rabbis, teachers and students in three congregated Yeshivah groups and about 1,000 individually, most of them in Brooklyn. The JDC indicated that about 1,000 religious functionaries and members of Yeshivah groups would come to the United States in 1948.

The work of the European-Jewish Children's Aid underwent a change after the war. The average age of the children under care was seventeen. "Chronologically most EJCA clients are young adults. Emotionally they are young children. They need to be given security and assurance, so that they may learn, in turn, to love and trust other people and to get along with them." These were children who had never had a childhood. Their formative years were spent in concentration camps or in hiding. They were not so easy to place as younger children and remained for a longer period in the Reception Center. This Shelter was operated by the United States Committee for the Care of European Children of all faiths. The cost of care for Jewish children was paid by USNA on a pro-rata basis. During the period under review about 1,200 children were under the supervision of EJCA; approximately eighty unaccompanied children per month are expected to arrive in 1948.

In July, 1947 a National Reception Unit, representing an expansion of the work of the San Francisco Committee for Service to Emigres and financed by USNA, was set up in San Francisco to provide reception, relief and resettlement

services to the several hundred Jewish refugees arriving monthly from Shanghai. This movement, which had begun a year earlier, increased after April, 1947, when the corporate affidavit of USNA was extended to include refugees from Shanghai. Many of these arrivals were in transit to other countries, some were en route to relatives or affiants in various communities in the United States, while others required resettlement. In the co-ordinated program that was developed in San Francisco, the Section of the National Conference of Jewish Women provided port and dock service and made housing arrangements; the Committee for Service to Emigres handled resettlement and, pending it, provided extended welfare service; HIAS co-operated in immigration matters; and the Jewish Council of 1933, a former refugee group, provided volunteers as receptionists, interpreters, case aides, and transportation clerks and escorts. This comprehensive program operated with extraordinary effectiveness.

The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), with headquarters in New York City, carried on activities in behalf of Jewish immigrants not only in the United States but in numerous other countries as well. During the first three months of 1948 it helped 5,175 Jews to emigrate from European countries. The United States absorbed 1,305 of these emigrants. From its headquarters and from its branch offices in Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, Seattle and San Francisco its workers met ships, trains and planes and gave assistance to the Jewish arrivals. HIAS also provided meals and shelter to immigrants and assisted in the preparation of documents for immigration and naturalization. In 1948 it was seeking \$4,520,000 with which to carry on its work throughout the world.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY

Three years have now elapsed since the end of the war, and the problem of displaced persons remains unsolved. This neglect of moral obligation on the part of the United Nations,

and especially of the United States, is one of the most incredible and disgraceful phenomena of the postwar period.

Displaced persons for whom some international solution will be required number about one million, over half of whom are under United States jurisdiction in Germany and Austria. They fall into three main groups: (1) the liberated forced-labor group who were brought into Germany from Poland, Yugoslavia, and the Ukraine, (2) the Baltic group, who fled before the occupation armies of Russia in 1944, and (3) the Jewish group, some of whom were liberated from concentration camps but the majority of whom fled in 1946 from anti-Semitism in Poland. The Jewish DPs are variously estimated at from 18 to 22 per cent of the total group.

The special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, which visited DP camps during September and October 1947, stated in its published report that "most of these people, given an adequate approach to the solution of their problems, will be an asset and not a liability to the Western world," and it urged "the early admission by the United States of significant numbers of displaced persons." President Truman in his message to Congress on Jan. 7, 1948 again stressed the responsibility of the United States in finding a solution of the DP problem, and stated: "I believe that the admission of these persons will add to the strength and energy of the Nation." A campaign, spearheaded by the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, to obtain legislation which would admit a fair share of the DPs to the United States, received the support of leading government officials, every major newspaper, and hundreds of national business, labor, civic, veteran, and religious groups. The 80th Congress, which ended its first Session in December 1947 and its second Session in June 1948, took the following action:

Hearings on the Stratton Bill, H. R. 2910, which would admit 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years, began on June 4, 1947 and continued until the first session of Congress adjourned. The testimony, published in a 693-page document by the House Subcommittee on Immigration and

Naturalization, was overwhelmingly in favor of the bill; yet it was never reported out of committee.

The Ferguson Bill, S. 1563, sponsored by nine Senators and calling for the admission of "a fair share" of displaced persons to the United States, but without specifying the number, was introduced on July 2, 1947. No hearings were held, and it was never reported out of committee.

The Wiley-Revercomb Bill, S. 2242, was introduced on February 2, 1948. After repeated delay, it was reported, without a single public hearing, during the closing days of the session. Though it was most inadequate and discriminatory, it was passed by the Senate on June 2, 1948. This bill provided for the admission of 50,000 DPs a year for 2 years, with no carry-over of any unmet yearly quota to the following year and it contained the following limitations which appear, in actuality, to be tortuous and devious methods of closing rather than opening the doors to DPs. It required that 50 per cent of the DPs admitted must be agricultural workers, although farmers comprise only one-eighth to one-quarter of the total group of DPs. If the DPs thus admitted were to bring an average of just one dependent each, they would consume the total visas allowed. It provided that 50 per cent of those admitted must be persons coming from territories "annexed by a foreign power," presumably Russia. This refers to the Baltic group from Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland east of the Curzon Line, who constitute only about 25 per cent of the DPs but who include most of the Protestants. It would in effect recognize the Soviet annexation of these territories, contrary to our established foreign policy. It limited eligibility to DPs who entered Germany, Austria, or Italy prior to December 22, 1945, thus excluding the majority of the Jews (estimated to number from 100,000 to 150,000) who fled Poland and Rumania in 1946 and 1947 and a number of anti-Communist Catholics coming from Yugoslavia and other Soviet-dominated countries since 1945. It restricted entrance to persons who already have assurance of suitable employment and housing. In addition to being discriminatory on grounds of religion, nationality, and oc-

cupation, the scheme was administratively unworkable. The bill was passed by the Senate with an amendment which increased the total number admissible to 200,000, and with a rider that permitted Volksdeutsche from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia (many of whom are suspected of close association with the Nazis) to come under the German or Austrian quota.

The Fellows Bill, H. R. 6396, was introduced in the House on April 7, 1948, and was passed on June 11, 1948. More generous and less discriminatory than the Senate bill, it was a compromise version of the old Stratton Bill. It provided for the admission of 100,000 DPs a year for two years, with a carry-over from the first to the second year. Visas were allotted to the various nationality groups in proportion to their ratio to the total number of DPs. These visas were charged against future immigration quotas at the rate of 50 per cent a year until the total number should be paid back. Nonquota status was given to war orphans who are unmarried minors. The cut-off date for eligibility was set at April 21, 1947. Provision was made for granting permanent status to 15,000 DPs who were already lawfully in this country on temporary visas. Priority was given to farm laborers, physicians, dentists, nurses, household and other workers, and technical experts; also to blood relatives of American citizens or lawfully admitted alien residents. The various states were to agree on the number of DPs they would receive. Preferences under the Truman directive were eliminated. This Bill was passed by the House with one amendment, admitting 2,000 of the recent refugees from the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia.

A House-Senate conference was held on the two widely differing proposals, and a compromise measure was adopted which was accepted by the House on June 18, 1948 and by the Senate on the following day, and sent to the President for his signature. It became law on June 25, 1948. This Displaced Persons Act of 1948, resulting from hasty, last-minute action, combined the worst features of both bills, with the Senate version (S. 2242) prevailing. It allows 200,000

“eligible” DPs to enter the United States in the two years from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1950, plus 3,000 homeless orphans under 16 years of age, and 2,000 Czechs who have fled their country since January 1, 1948. Except for the orphans, the law charges the DPs admitted under its provisions to future immigration quotas of their countries of origin, up to 50 per cent of the quota per year. Under this system, 50 per cent of some quotas will be mortgaged for generations. The cut-off date limits eligibility to those persons in DP camps on or before December 22, 1945, thus excluding a large majority of the Jewish DPs. Not less than 30 per cent of the DPs admitted shall have been farmers who intend to remain farmers in the United States. Not less than 40 per cent of them must be DPs “whose place of origin or country of nationality has been de facto annexed by a foreign power,” that is, Balts. Other restrictive requirements include prior assurances of suitable employment and of “safe and sanitary housing.” A maximum of 15,000 of the DPs in the United States on temporary visas before April 1, 1948 may gain permanent status, but only upon the approval of the Attorney General and concurrent resolution of Congress in the case of each individual applicant. Finally, Volksdeutsche or persons of German ethnic origin are allowed to compete with bona fide DPs for places under the regular quota allotment for Germany and Austria.

This compromise measure was a shock and a disappointment to all who had hoped that this country would assume world leadership in the solution of the DP problem. Four of the twelve House-Senate conferees, Senators Homer Ferguson of Michigan and Harley Kilgore of West Virginia, and Representatives J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware and Emanuel Celler of New York, refused to sign the bill, and two, Representatives Frank L. Chelf of Kentucky and Frank Fellows of Maine, signed reluctantly. President Truman denounced the bill as “flagrantly discriminatory” as he signed it “with very great reluctance,” and he stated that if the Congress were still in session he would return the bill without his approval and urge that a fairer, more humane bill be passed. He

termed it anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic and a mockery of "the American tradition of fair play." The only hope was that its injustices would be rectified by Congress in the special session which was to convene on July 26. [The special session took no action.]

PALESTINE IN THE UNITED NATIONS
AND THE UNITED STATES¹

By Louis Shub

THE UNITED NATIONS was concerned in the past year with a number of delicate international problems that taxed its members. None, however, proved as difficult as the Palestine problem which had been constantly on the UN agenda since April, 1947. The UN's decision on the partition of Palestine was hailed because it marked the first major agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union at a time when their relations were exacerbated in other areas. The problem of Palestine, however, also revealed the major weakness in the United Nations, i. e., the lack of the necessary force for the implementation of its decisions. Not only was Palestine the major concern of the UN, but it was likewise a major domestic problem in the United States. The American government was both roundly applauded and roundly condemned for its successive espousal and retreat from partition. The Jewish community in America was likewise preoccupied with the implications of partition as it affected the relationship between itself and the new Jewish state.

On September 16, 1947, the regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations began its deliberations regarding the report and recommendations on the question of Palestine made by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) on August 31, 1947. The United Nations had been continuously preoccupied with the problem

¹ See also article on Israel, p. 409 ff.