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Flight Into Egypt

Woodcut by Edmund Bartłomiejczyk

JUST AS THE Holy Family sought refuge in Egypt to escape persecutions, so today thousands of Displaced Persons seek a place on this earth where they might find deliverance from their tormented existence.

MAY THE SPIRIT of Christmas kindle in our hearts the flame of Christian love for all these unfortunates. May America become for them a haven of Freedom and Justice.

THE DISPLACED PERSONS ACT - UNFINISHED BUSINESS

by H. ALEXANDER SMITH, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

H. Alexander Smith, who will be senior Senator from New Jersey in the 81st Congress, was first elected to the United States Senate in 1944, to fill an unexpired term, and reelected in 1946. Although he had never held public office before, he had long been a leader in Republican party circles as treasurer and then chairman of the Republican State Committee in New Jersey between 1934 and 1943, and as a member of the Republican National Committee in 1942-43. In this latter capacity he took part in the party's Mackinac Island Conference of September, 1943, where a liberal Republican foreign policy was shaped for the postwar era.

In the 80th Congress Senator Smith was a leader in the movement for adequate legislation on behalf of Displaced Persons, as well as in the enactment of the European Recovery Program. His background in foreign affairs includes service with the War Food Administration during the World War I, and with Herbert Hoover's postwar relief organizations after the Armistice. In the Senate he is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a director of the Foreign Policy Association.

THE MANY BILLS introduced into the last Congress on behalf of Displaced Persons showed that we as a Nation were aware of a tremendous and tragic human problem, created by the war and its aftermath of political upheaval. This year there remained in D.P. camps in Germany and Italy over 800,000 human beings whose peaceful lives were disrupted by Nazi tyranny and whose native countries have now been transformed into police states by a Soviet tyranny no less brutal. It was our feeling in Congress that the United States, by its membership in the International Refugee Organization and by its position of world leadership, had an obligation to provide new homes for a fair share of these oppressed and uprooted people of Eastern Europe.

This is the well-known background of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which became law with the President's signature on June 25. It had passed through Congress in the final hectic days before adjournment. The scars and patches of compromise on it made it a great deal less than many of us had hoped and worked for. At the same time it was an effective start on a very urgent problem, undertaken after many months of careful study, and I was glad to vote for it as such.

This Act authorized the admission, into the United States for permanent residence, of up to 202,000 Displaced Persons during a two-year period. It set up a three-man Displaced Persons Commission, of which former Immigration Commissioner Ugo Carusi is now Chairman, to supervise the program. And it wisely provided that every D.P. admitted into the United States must be assured in advance of a job and a decent place to live. Thus Congress sought to prevent any repetition of the overcrowded and substandard living and of the disillusioned hopes which have too often been the lot of new arrivals at our shores.

Since the Displaced Persons Commission began its work in August, the actual number of arrivals in the United States has been very small — only about 1,600 at this writing. In view of the fact that about this many D.P.s were entering the country every month before the Act was passed, when a Presidential directive gave them priority under the regular immigration laws, some critics are understandably impatient with the slowness of the Commission's labors.

Actually this small success to date results from inevitable delays in organizing the program under the new law. I understand that the Commission is going to increase its rate of admissions very sharply in the immediate future, and has every hope of reaching the authorized limit of 202,000 before the deadline of June 30, 1950.

Yet the very success of the Displaced Persons Commission in developing its operations is bound to throw into sharp relief the grave imperfections of the Act. A number of restrictive provisions were written into the bill in the Senate committee and during the conference between the Senate and the House of Representatives. Several of these restrictions, however sincere the motives behind them, were certainly unwise in my judgment, and I joined in vigorous efforts by Senators of both parties to liberalize the bill. We did succeed in increasing the authorized number of D.P.s to be admitted from 100,000 to 200,000 (not counting the special provision for 2,000 Czech refugees). Otherwise, the flaws remain in the law. Here are the provisions which I believe must be changed and which I shall make every effort to have changed when Congress convenes in January:

1. The law requires that for every D.P. admitted, the regular immigration quota of his country of origin be reduced by one for that year, or for the next succeeding year in which a quota number is available; but that not more than half of any annual quota be used for this purpose. This is the so-called "mortgaging of quotas" provision, which I believe is both wrong in principle and disastrous in practice. The problem of displaced persons is a special emergency problem arising out of the war. It ought to be dealt with entirely apart from matters of normal immigration, and the displaced persons, as a matter of principle, ought to be admitted over and above established quotas. When we examine the practical effect of it, the importance of removing this "mortgaging" requirement becomes even clearer. It means that the regular immigration quotas of all countries concerned will be reduced by half for many years to come: that of Poland for 13 years, that of Latvia for 166 years, that of Rumania for 20 years, and so on. From the point of view

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ARTHUR BLISS LANE
2442 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 8, D. C.

December 9, 1948

Sir:

I have been greatly distressed to learn that because of lack of unified action among the Polish American community, full advantage is not being taken of the benefits open to Polish nationals under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Under that Act 205,000 displaced persons may enter the United States and according to official estimates up to 90,000 Polish nationals may qualify for admission.

The Act requires that certain guarantees and assurances concerning employment and housing be given by American citizens to the Displaced Persons Commission in order that those displaced persons eligible for admission may enter the United States permanently. It is up to the Polish American community, therefore, whether the 90,000 of their kinsfolk — homeless victims of Nazi and Communist persecution — may reach the safe haven of the four freedoms of America. Should they fail in this responsibility to their blood brothers, other nationalities will fill the quota prescribed by the Act.

Since my return from Poland in 1947, I have urged on countless occasions that Polish nationals abroad, as well as American citizens of Polish descent, should forget political, organizational and other differences, and unite against Communism. Here we have a specific way in which the various Polish American organizations, and private citizens too, can show their unity and humanitarian spirit, by furnishing the required guarantees so that all of the 90,000 Polish displaced persons who may qualify under the law can reach the United States.

Yours very truly,

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ARTHUR BLISS LANE

The Editor
The Polish Review
516 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, N. Y.

DISPLACED PERSONS LEGISLATION

By William S. Bernard

At present Secretary of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons; on leave from his position of Executive Director of the National Committee on Immigration Policy; formerly a professor of sociology at Yale University and the University of Colorado; a specialist and expert on ethnic, racial and minority problems; has published much in these fields and lectured widely throughout the United States.

THE RECENT ARRIVAL of the USAT General Black in New York Harbor with the first transport of displaced persons admitted under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 has again focused the attention of Americans to the serious problem of Europe's uprooted peoples.

In extending a warm welcome to these new arrivals, LIFE, FORTUNE, leading newspaper editorials and radio commentators throughout the country took the opportunity to emphasize the over-all aspect of the problem, particularly the inequities in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

It is indeed a sad commentary that three and a half years after the war there are still close to a million displaced persons living in a state of suspension in Germany, Austria and Italy. Congress, in recognition of this problem, passed legislation in June 1948 to alleviate the situation. The DP Act, however, contains many gross discriminations and unworkable features. As so frequently happens the people were ahead of Congress in their concept and understanding of this human issue.

As early as 1946, public spirited citizens and organizations of all kinds joined together in the United States to support a move spearheaded by the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons to persuade the United States to accept a fair share of the DPs of Europe. All felt that if this were done other nations would soon follow suit and the problem of the DPs could be solved in relatively short order.

To this end a bill was introduced in Congress in 1947 by Congressman William G. Stratton of Illinois which proposed to admit 400,000 DPs to the United States over a four-year period on a non-quota basis. Despite the remarkable support that this bill had, it was never reported out of the House Sub-Committee on Immigration.

The following year the proponents of equitable DP legislation returned to the attack. As a result, the Ferguson Bill was introduced in the Senate, but this bill too died a pallid death within the confines of the Senate Sub-Committee on Immigration. In its stead, the Wiley Bill was introduced and passed. This bill was framed by former Senator Revercomb, noted for his hostile attitude towards the displaced persons. Many Senators from both parties made valiant efforts to amend the bill and remove its many discriminatory features, but to no avail. The chief obstacle was, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, a little group of willful men who were in key power positions and were able to block any remedial moves.

The House, in the meantime, passed its own new bill which was introduced by Congressman Fellows. With the exception of the so-called mortgaging provision, which will be discussed later, the Fellows Bill was far superior to the

Wiley Bill. Its provisions, however, were not to prevail.

In the course of the regular legislative process the Wiley and Fellows Bills came together in Conference Committee drawn from both houses of Congress for compromise and adjustment. Unfortunately, certain Senate members of the Committee were able to impose the Revercomb point of view by virtually saying: take this or nothing. The result was the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 which has most of the provisions of the Wiley Bill and the worst feature of the Fellows Bill.

Here are some of the most flagrantly discriminatory provisions of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 which need correction:

1. The Act defines a displaced person as one who was in DP camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy on or before December 22, 1945. This date eliminates Poles, Czechs, almost all the Jews and others who fled into the camps during 1946 and 1947 and is, therefore, grossly discriminatory. The date should be advanced to at least April 21, 1947, the date General Clay ordered all camps closed to further admissions. On this subject President Truman has said:

"... by this device, more than 90 per cent of the remaining Jewish displaced persons are definitely excluded. Even the eligible 10 per cent are beset by numerous additional restrictions... Many anti-Communist refugees of Catholic faith fled into the American zones after December 22, 1945, in order to escape persecution in countries dominated by a Communist form of government... It is inexplicable, except upon the abhorrent ground of intolerance, that this date should have been chosen..."

2. Another feature that needs correction is the 40 per cent preference given to those DPs whose countries of origin or nationality have been "de facto annexed by a foreign power." This provision substantially favors the Baltic DPs. Certainly the Balts are fine and outstanding people, but there is no reason for any one group to be singled out and given preferential treatment over others. Democracy dictates that all groups have an equal opportunity.

3. One provision in the Act states that 30 per cent of the visas should be issued to DPs with an agricultural background. This preference to agriculture seems unrealistic when we know what other occupations are in equal need of the skills and helping hands of the DPs. This preference too, should be abolished or broadened to include other deserving occupations.

4. The present Act requires that jobs and housing be assured for DPs before their arrival in this country. This is not done with ordinary immigrants. Why then the extra hurdle for the DPs? Certainly we will continue to require

that no immigrant or DP be admitted who is likely to become a public charge, and individuals and organizations will continue to guarantee the DP in this respect. But to match jobs and housing with DPs 3,000 miles away, sight unseen, is another administrative complexity that should be modified, if not entirely removed.

5. The Act asks for the admission of 205,000 displaced persons during a two-year period. Due to the enormity of the problem and the size and richness of our country, it would be more equitable to admit 400,000 over a four-year period.

6. Another serious defect in the bill, with far-reaching effects on all future immigration, is the mortgaging clause in the Act. Under this clause, visas given to DPs are charged to each country's future quotas up to 50 per cent each year, until the total number of visas issued to DPs is made up by the quotas of their native lands. Thus we are mortgaging the chances of future, even unborn immigrants, and this despite the fact that since 1930 we have only used up 22 per cent of the total visas permitted under law.

FORTUNE magazine in its December 1948 issue comments on the mortgaging provision in these words: "In effect this makes even more restrictive our present restrictive immigration policy." Obviously, the mortgaging provision should be stricken from the Act. Displaced Persons should be permitted to enter on a non-quota basis. If the borrowing principle is to remain, then the DPs should be allowed to enter the United States in a given number compensating for past unused quotas, since during the 1940-1945 period close to a million quotas remained unused.

7. Another feature in the Act which has brought about a storm of protest is the so-called "Volksdeutsche" rider, which states that at least 50 per cent of the regular German and Austrian quotas are to be filled by persons of "German ethnic origin." Many of the Volksdeutsche are of course good and deserving people. But many of them were the so-called "Aryan" Germans, living in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, whom Hitler always considered faithful to the Nazi Fatherland. People interested in equitable DP legislation are first and foremost eager to help the victims of Nazism, namely the displaced persons.

Men and women of good-will, citizens of all walks of life, business, labor unions and churches of all denominations agree that the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 must be amended during the coming session of Congress. The AFL and the CIO passed resolutions to that effect during their November 1948 national conventions. And there is indeed good reason to believe that the 81st Congress will meet the challenge and end the bias in the DP Act.

One cause for optimism is that Democratic National Chairman McGrath (D., R.I.) may be named Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Immigration of the Senate Judiciary Committee. And Senator McGrath publicly announced that he will introduce several amendments to liberalize the DP

Act. In the House, Representative Celler (D. Brooklyn) is considered a likely Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. His interest in DPs goes back over many years and it seems almost certain he will also head the Sub-Committee concerned with the problem.

Further cause for optimism is the generally favorable attitude of the 81st Congress towards reforming the DP law. Senator Saltonstall (R., Mass.) announced that he would introduce several amendments to change the present Act. Many other Senators and Representatives made similar declarations. According to the December 2, 1948 issue of the *New York Post* which took a 48 state telegraphic survey, "Strong sentiment... has developed among members of the new Democratic-ruled Congress for the enactment of a liberal Displaced Persons bill to replace the notorious Wiley-Revercomb law. The feelings against the Wiley-Revercomb law and for improved legislation were not confined to any one section of the country. Congressmen from Florida, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, California, Kentucky, Wyoming, Iowa, New Jersey and New York were among the first to take definite stand. Nor were sentiments for liberalizing the DP law limited to Democrats." According to this newspaper's poll, the following new members of Congress expressed opposition to the DP Act of 1948 and pledged to change the discriminatory features of the law:

SENATORS-ELECT: Douglas (D., Ill.); Gillette (D., Ia.); Smith (R., Maine); Humphrey (D., Minn.); Broughton (D., N.C.); Hendrickson (R., N.J.); Neely (D., W. Va.). In addition at least 40 members of the 80th Congress who were re-elected are in favor of changing the DP Act.

REPRESENTATIVES-ELECT: McKinnon (D., Cal.); Ribicoff (D., Conn.); Herlong (D., Fla.); Mack (D., Ill.); O'Hara (D., Ill.); Chesney (D., Ill.); Crook (D., Ind.); Walsh (D., Ind.); Kruse (D., Ind.); Underwood (D., Ky.); McCarthy (D., Minn.); Moulder (D., Mo.); Bolling (D., Mo.); O'Sullivan (D., Nebr.); Burdick (R., N. D.); Howell (D., N.J.); Andonizio (D., N. J.); Davies (D., N. Y.); McSweeney (D., Ohio); Burke (D., Ohio); Young (D., Ohio); Chudoff (D., Pa.); Davenport (D., Pa.); Flood (D., Pa.); Rhodes (D., Pa.); Cofley (D., Pa.); Lovre (R., S.D.); Bosone (D., Utah); Mitchell (D., Wash.); Bailey (D., W. Va.); Ramsey (D., W. Va.); Zablocki (D., Wisc.). Among those Congressmen who were re-elected for another House term, there are at least 219 who are in favor of a liberal DP Act.

Our optimism is thus justified, but our work is not finished. Each and every citizen must inform his Representative and Senator that he wants a liberal and just DP Act, with no tinge of discrimination. If this is done, our national conscience will be clear, a fair number of displaced persons will be helped and they will bring their skills and love of freedom to serve us as wisely and as well as our immigrant forebears have always done.

THE CATHOLIC PROGRAM FOR THE RESETTLEMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS

By Rev. Aloysius J. Wycislo
ASS'T EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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RECTOR, N. C. W. C.

The Reverend Aloysius J. Wycislo is the Assistant Executive Director of War Relief Services - N.C.W.C. and the National Catholic Resettlement Council. Father Wycislo joined War Relief Services - N.C.W.C. in August 1943, just two months after its inception. During the first three years with the organization, he acted as Field Director for the Polish Projects, having set up 252 Welfare Centers in 23 countries of Europe and the Near East. He, also, set up the relief program and initiated the immigration program for Displaced Persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Prior to joining War Relief Services - N.C.W.C., Father Wycislo was the Assistant Archdiocesan Supervisor of Catholic Charities in Chicago.

The D.P. Act of 1948

IN OCTOBER AND November of this year, two ships brought 1,615 Displaced Persons to the United States. It is expected that during December another 1,600 persons, torn from their homes by the last war and its political aftermath, will find a welcome in America. With the arrival of these victims of war began the implementation of Public Law 774, or the Displaced Persons' Act of 1948.

This new legislation, enacted in the closing sessions of the 80th Congress, is the result of a compromise between the more liberal bill, sponsored in the House by Congressman Fellows; and the restrictive measure of the Senate, sponsored by Senator Wiley. The D.P. Act of 1948 provides for the admission of 202,000 Displaced Persons to the United States during the two-year period, beginning on July 1, 1948, and ending June 30, 1950. It also provides, under a special category, for 3,000 orphan children. It revises the German and Austrian quotas, providing for the entrance of 26,000 persons of German ethnic origin. The law itself, though imperfect, is, to say the least, a step forward, and the result of efforts made in the past two years by many individuals and groups who were conversant with the real issues involved and who felt that some special form of legislation in the United States for the D.P. was absolutely necessary.

All who are sincerely interested in the Displaced Persons will find that the D.P. Act of 1948 provides an opportunity for study and action: it will provide experience that can bring about not only desirable and necessary changes in the Act itself by the new Congress, but teach us many lessons in the rehabilitation of our fellow-man and his absorption in a free America, through a new kind of immigration.

The National Origins Provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924, which became operative on July 1, 1929, and still remain in effect, provide for the admission of 153,714 immigrants annually into the United States. Under the provisions of this Act, the number admitted from any country depends upon the ration of that country's origin group in the total population of the United States.

The very limited immigration to the United States since 1924 has been due, in the first place, to the quota system. It has been due, secondly, to the weighing of the quotas in favor of certain countries, like Great Britain, Germany and Ireland, that have never used their quota to any large de-

gree. Finally, it has been due to the great rigidity with which the quota system has been administered.

The legislation in Public Law 774 is not to be construed as a basic change in our immigration laws, but rather as a temporary and emergency provision to resettle some 205,000 Displaced Persons in the United States. This new program is looked upon not as regular immigration, but rather as planned and supervised resettlement of families and individuals in parts of the United States where there are specific home and employment opportunities for them.

This distinction between the National Origins Act of 1924 and the D.P. Act of 1948 calls for a new and more effective effort on the part of government and interested groups in what may be regarded as a mass movement of outside peoples into this country. It calls for a change in the mentality of the governmental organizations charged with the administration of the new law, and presents a great challenge to the voluntary and Church organizations, lest there be applied the experience of a limited immigration to this mass movement.

The Bishops of the United States and the Displaced Persons

From the very beginning, the Catholic Bishops of the United States, through their officially established agency for foreign relief, War Relief Services-National Catholic Welfare Conference, have interested themselves in the problem of the Displaced Persons. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, representatives were sent into Germany, Austria and Italy to visit the camps and establish a supply program that has brought 5,503,047 lbs. of food, clothing, medicines and morale supplies to the Displaced Persons.

In addition to its relief program for the DP's, War Relief Services-N.C.W.C., in cooperation with the Vatican Migration Bureau and the Catholic Committee for Refugees, has played a very important part in the resettlement of a considerable number of people from the camps to various parts of the world. In early 1946, War Relief Services - N.C.W.C. pioneered in the opening of resettlement offices in five South American countries and maintained a close working relationship with Catholic Resettlement groups in

Canada, Australia and New Zealand. When the President's Executive Order of December 22, 1945, took effect in March 1946, War Relief Services -N.C.W.C. developed a special program to assist the Displaced Persons in Germany, Austria and Italy in securing visas for their admission to the United States. The restrictive measures of the quota system hampered the best efforts of the organization. It was decided that a new program had to be initiated, leading to the enactment of proper legislation for the admission of Displaced Persons to the United States.

The representatives of War Relief Services - N.C.W.C. appeared before the Committee of the House of Representatives, holding hearings on the Stratton Bill, and published a number of pamphlets as part of the educational program for the admission of Displaced Persons into this country. A survey was made throughout the 119 Catholic dioceses of the United States on the availability of homes and employment opportunities for Displaced Persons and a long series of regional meetings were conducted to promote interest in these homeless people. Toward the end of 1947, a close working relationship was established by War Relief Services-N.C.W.C. with Protestant and Jewish groups interested in new legislation, and many conferences were held with leaders of the Senate and House. It was during this period that certain basic principles were established to secure the passage of adequate legislation for the admission of DP's into the United States. Some of these principles were written into the final bill and are now basic requirements to the successful conclusion of the program.

The National Catholic Resettlement Council

The American Catholic Bishops had anticipated the passage of Public Law 774 by many, many months. At their annual meeting in November 1947, the Catholic Hierarchy authorized the establishment of the National Catholic Resettlement Council, with the Executive Director of War Relief Services - N.C.W.C. as its administrator. This Council is composed of representatives of all leading national Catholic welfare organizations, including the National Catholic Welfare Conference, eleven nationality groups, the major organizations of Catholic laymen and laywomen, and several eminently qualified members at large.

Every Catholic Bishop has been asked to appoint a Diocesan Resettlement Director and, to date, these Directors have established 117 Diocesan Resettlement Committees throughout the United States. Regional meetings of these Directors have been held in practically every part of the country and regular monthly meetings have been conducted by the Chairman of the National Catholic Resettlement Council in ten key cities since December 1947.

With the passage of the D.P. Act of 1948, steps have been taken by War Relief Services - N.C.W.C., which is

charged with the overall responsibility for this Catholic Resettlement Program, to perfect the organization implementing the new law. A new office, employing 58 highly qualified personnel, was opened in New York City. Detailed information and procedural instructions have been put into the hands of each Diocesan Resettlement Director, who is charged with the basic responsibility for the actual work of resettlement. A constant appeal is made for home and employment opportunities throughout the Catholic Diocese of the United States. At this writing, approximately 15,000 certified home and job assurances that include provisions for 34,500 Displaced Persons have been received at the New York headquarters. Over 5,000 of these assurances are in the hands of the European Director of War Relief Services - N.C.W.C., awaiting clearance from the Coordinator in Europe of the Federal Displaced Persons' Commission and visas from the American Consuls.

The European staff of War Relief Services - N.C.W.C. in Germany and Austria alone has been augmented to 82 persons. A close liaison is maintained with the International Refugee Organization at its Geneva headquarters and throughout its zone and district offices. As the Federal Displaced Persons' Commission in Europe extends its facilities, War Relief Services - N.C.W.C. will move in its own representatives who are charged with providing the Commission with every assistance in the selection and processing of Displaced Persons to fit the home and employment opportunities provided for them in the United States.

Resettlement of Displaced Persons is a Great Challenge

The continued development of a program for the reception and resettlement of Displaced Persons in Washington and throughout the United States presents a great challenge to the people of this country. The educational aspects of this challenge are just beginning, and, whereas it took two years for the United States to open its doors to the Displaced Persons of Europe, there is now a change in attitude toward these homeless people that augurs well the changes which must be made in the new law if America is to measure up to its responsibility.

The National Catholic Resettlement Council, in justice and in charity to all those victims of the last war and its political aftermath, is on record for fundamental changes in the D.P. Act of 1948. It has supported the eligibility date of April 21, 1947, in preference to the present restriction of December 22, 1945. It will continue its efforts for giving a fair distribution of the visas to all groups and elements in proportion to the total of their number among the Displaced Persons, and press for a change in the unfair and restrictive percentage measures in the new law. It decries the mortgaging of country quota numbers and will press for an ade-

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FACING THE D. P. PROBLEM

By Ignatius Nurkiewicz

Mr. Ignatius Nurkiewicz is national Vice-President of the Polish American Congress, member of the Board of Directors of American Relief for Poland, Inc., and is active in many Polish American societies. In recent years Mr. Nurkiewicz has been actively concerned with the problem of Polish displaced persons. In 1946, he visited D.P. camps in several European countries.

IN THE DEBATES which have been going on for the last two years one aspect of the Displaced Persons problem seems to have been neglected. It simply has gotten lost in the maze of technicalities and statistics.

I have in mind the political origin of the problem and its implications for the many concepts of the solution of the problem.

As matters stand today, we know fairly well why and how this problem came into being. We know that the displaced person is a direct product of the Yalta decisions — to be explicit, of agreements which instituted a Russian sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. At the time only a few people had a foreboding that such a sphere and subsequently the imposition of “friendly governments” would necessarily mean a vast communistic protectorate over the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe. This is exactly what happened.

Those uprooted men and women who refused to recognize governments forcibly imposed upon their countries had to give up their homes and their families. They are as much displaced as they are political refugees. Thus, we are actually faced with a political problem which calls for a political approach and for a political solution as well.

A striking illustration of the political aspect of the Displaced Persons problem is Poland. First to resist Hitler's conquests, first to become *the* victim of the Berlin-Moscow axis, in 1939, Poland mobilized her political and military strength abroad, maintaining the constitutional continuity of her government as did, under different circumstances, Norway, Belgium and The Netherlands. The Polish army ranked third in size among the democratic Allies.

The costly contribution of the Polish army in the common struggle against Hitlerism and for the triumph of freedom and human rights is still vivid in the minds of many people. Of course, the appease-Russia-policy, notably in the unhappy period of 1943-1946, succeeded with its anti-Polish propaganda. It was easy to cause to be forgotten the Polish sacrifices in the Battle of Britain, at Narvik and Tobruk, at Monte Cassino and Ancona, at La Falaise and Arnhem, in the air and on the high seas. Perhaps the day will come when memories of these heroic deeds will again be revitalized.

To the Poles abroad Yalta opened two ways: they could either accept the imposed communist regime and become exposed to the vengeance of Poland's actual rulers or suffer the uncertain fate of political refugees continuing their fight for an independent Poland.

Over half a million Poles abroad refused to bend their knees. They are now displaced persons scattered all over

the world.

There is no doubt in my mind that they are not merely stranded people but political refugees produced by the wartime policies of the democratic Western Powers.

Some 140,000 of these Poles have been absorbed by Great Britain. Many thousands have found their way into France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia (an impressive resettlement program) and other countries. But almost a quarter of a million are still crowded in displaced persons camps in Germany and in Austria, perhaps pondering over the real meaning of the “Four Freedoms” so brilliantly displayed during the common struggle.

Many noble minds in this country saw clearly the true aspect of the problem of the European political refugee. In 1947, discussions concerning the future of displaced persons became really animated. Two dozen legislative bills were introduced in the Congress of the United States. They varied in many details and sought different solutions. But they all strove to establish some measure of American co-responsibility for the European displaced person. They sought to determine what should be the “fair share” of the United States in the over-all resettlement of the displaced persons.

What (after almost two years of discussions) came out of the movement is known as the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

I can remember the first half of 1948 when bill S. 2242 (the so-called Wiley-Revercomb bill) was under consideration by the Senate Judiciary Committee. The authors of this bill can not complain that they were not forewarned that the machinery of the proposed law would not and could not function. In a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, Senator Alexander Wiley, on March 31, 1948, I summed up the deficiencies of the bill in the following words:

“It is my opinion that this bill —

(a) is so narrow in scope as not to be a contribution to the solution of the Displaced Persons problem,

(b) is not workable and, therefore, constitutes an obstacle for admission of displaced persons to the United States,

(c) is politically anything but a factor increasing the prestige of the United States abroad.

Now, six months after the passage of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, this rather severe criticism has been fully vindicated. The machinery of the Act is not working, and for many good reasons. There is nothing wrong with the

work of the Displaced Persons Commissions, all the evils are in the Act which the Commission is called upon to administer. No one knows better how and why the work of the Commission is handicapped than the Commission itself. The Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Ugo Caruso, stressing, in an interview, the successes of other countries in recruiting displaced persons said not without a touch of melancholy: they have the displaced persons and we have — regulations.

As a matter of fact, the immigration of displaced persons during the first half year (out of a total of four half years set by the law) can hardly exceed 6 per cent of the *pro rata* admissions. Instead of about 50,000 for a half year period the figure of actual admissions will be around 3,500 displaced persons. A great part of this striking deficit is, of course, ascribable to the initial difficulties and handicaps posed by the newness of the venture. But, in substance, this deficit is an obvious consequence of the complex, restrictive and discriminatory provisions of the Displaced Persons Act. The big question is whether such an enormous deficit can ever be made up. If it cannot, as I presume the unused quota, as per July 1950, will be declared lost under the law. The figure of 205,000 admissions during two years (which is wholly disproportionate with any concept of a “fair share” of the United States in a program of resettling the displaced persons) would, in this way, be tremendously reduced.

Fortunately, both parties in the Congress of the United States are pledged to a revision of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

President Truman signed the Act, on June 25, 1948, not without a scathing and severe criticism of its restrictive and discriminatory provisions. During his campaign President Truman called for a truly democratic and broad-minded approach to the problem of resettling displaced persons. Senator Howard J. McGrath is said to be preparing amendments or an entirely new bill. Senator McGrath, together with Senator John S. Cooper, voiced in their minority reports strong criticism of the provisions of the Wiley-Revercomb bill.

On the other hand, it was the sponsor of the bill, Senator Alexander Wiley, who in a letter to Mr. Ugo Carusi, on August 12, 1948, expressed assurance that the Act would be changed if found unworkable. He wrote, in part:

“... this displaced persons question will be coming up in the Eighty-first Congress. By that time we will have the experience of around one-half year of the operation of the law. Whatever flaws may exist in it may have shown up.”

Beyond the shadow of a doubt the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 is unworkable. Moreover, it proved to be a virtual barrier to the admission of displaced persons. In anticipation of just such a development I wrote, on May 7, 1948, in a letter addressed to the members of the Joint House-Senate Committee Conference:

“... I am anxious to call your most careful consideration to the incongruity existing between the façade and the true intent of this bill. Outwardly, the proposed law seems to favor ‘the admission into the United States of certain European displaced persons for permanent residence, and for other purposes.’ Yet, numerous complex restrictions and qualifications, mostly beyond any control of prospective eligibles, tell an entirely opposite story. Heaped upon each other and interconnected with numerous secondary reservations they create a forbidding barrier to the immigration of displaced persons... This law, if enacted, will be looked upon as a manifestation of escapism and equivocation which will cause a great deal of unnecessary resentment.”

It seems paradoxical to point out that without benefit of the special legislation for the admission of displaced persons not fewer but more of these immigrants have been admitted to this country on the basis of the Presidential Order of December 22, 1945. In the two years up to July, 1948, the monthly average of admissions was about 1,400 or more than 8,000 for a half year period as compared with about 3,500 expected admissions under the new law. This fact hardly proves that the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 is a real contribution to the solution of the problem as pledged by the Government and the Congress of the United States.

Thus, we may look forward to a new legislative campaign for a new and better law. Some of the forces exceedingly inimical to a United States contribution to the resettlement of displaced persons will be no more. On the other hand, the sad experience with the operation of an unworkable law will serve as a strong stimulus for the elimination of provisions which are bound to obliterate the high purposes of the law.

The most severe restriction is the required assurance that eligible displaced persons will have safe and sanitary housing. Published reports show that there are plenty of job opportunities for displaced persons in agriculture, manufacturing, construction industries and sundry services. But these opportunities cannot be conveyed to the displaced persons since only seldom are jobs that are offered connected with housing accommodations. It has been the experience of the voluntary agencies that it is much easier to provide

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AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR RESETTLEMENT OF POLISH D. P's.

THE POLISH AMERICAN Congress has sought legislation early to admit displaced persons to America. In this connection, in the summer of 1946 it has sent a delegation on an inspection tour of Polish displaced persons camps in Western Europe and presented its findings to Secretary of State James F. Byrnes in Paris, on September 11, 1946. This eyewitness account was later published in a booklet form and sent to all members of the United States Congress.

In June of 1947, Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress testified before Congressional committees which then were considering legislation in favor of displaced persons. Much of his testimony was based on the afore mentioned factual report.

The Polish American Congress has placed a priority on the problem of displaced persons from the moment the war ended in Europe. It had a DP committee as early as the fall of 1945. Today, it carries on work for the Polish DP's through its own sponsored American Committee for Resettlement of Polish DP's operating from 1520 W. Division St., Chicago 22, Ill. Thirty Polish American Congress state divisions in 26 states cooperate fully with this committee.

The American Committee for Resettlement of Polish D.P.'s has made surveys in the larger cities to determine existing job and housing opportunities for the incoming Polish displaced persons. In Chicago alone, the committee received over 4,000 job offers and almost an equal number of quart-

ers to house individuals and families. Farmers in states from Wisconsin to Texas have also declared willingness to hire Polish DP's. Similar large scale surveys have been undertaken by cooperating committees from Maine to California.

Beside job and home opportunities, the committee is obtaining thousands of sponsorship assurances which are equally important in bringing Polish DP's to America. The leading Polish American fraternal organizations and the Polish language press are rendering splendid cooperation in this particular activity.

Considering the U.S. Displaced Persons Act of 1948 inadequate, the Polish American Congress will seek amendments when the 81st Congress is in session to provide entry into the United States of a greater number of displaced persons, including refugees now in other countries and the loyal allies, the Polish soldiers stranded in England.

The American Committee for Resettlement of Polish DP's accredited by the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission is composed of the following leading Americans:

Co-Chairmen: Ignatius Nurkiewicz, Blair F. Gunther; Secretary Treasurer: Edward E. Plusdrak; Directors: Miss Adela Lagodzinska, Rev. Walerian Karcz, John A. Stanek, Joseph Pawloski, Stanislaw E. Czaster, Mrs. Frances Dymek, Thaddeus V. Adesko; Advisory Commission: Hon Howard J. McGrath (U. S. Senator - R.I.), Hon. John W. McCormack (Congressman-Mass.), Hon. James M. Curley (Mayor, Boston, Mass.); Washington, D. C. Representative: Charles Burke.

THE DISPLACED PERSONS ACT -- UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Continued from Page Three

of our long-range immigration policy and of our future relations with Eastern Europe, such a reduction is ungenerous and unwise.

2. The law states that a displaced person, to be eligible, must have entered Italy or Western Germany on or before December 22, 1945. This provision automatically excludes some 180,000 refugees, mostly Jews who fled from Eastern Europe, especially Poland, between that date and April 21, 1947, when our D.P. camps were finally closed to further admissions. These people had suffered greatly at the hands of anti-Semitic prejudice which Hitler had officially fostered. Millions of their fellows had been exterminated by the Nazis.

Simple justice demands that these people be made eligible on an equal basis with all other D.P.s. I therefore favor changing the date of eligibility to April 21, 1947. It would also be wise to insert a provision that D.P.s of each religious or ethnic group be admitted in numbers proportionate to the size of that group in the whole number of D.P.s. This would prevent discrimination, intentional or unintentional, against any nationality or religious group.

4. The limit on the number of visas to be issued under the Act is placed at 202,000, including 2,000 specially reserved for Czechoslovak refugees who entered Germany after the Communist coup of February, 1948.

Even if all other restrictive provisions are removed, this limit obviously fixes the extent of the law's effectiveness. It is not enough. The Act should be amended to raise the limit to 400,000, to be admitted over a four-year period, as earlier contemplated in the Stratton bill. The United States could easily absorb this larger number; and after careful study, I am convinced that we must do so if the Displaced Persons problem is to be liquidated within a reasonable time. Other nations, members of the International Refugee Organization, can be counted on to do their part - but there is no real likelihood of emptying the D.P. camps unless the United States assumes a share more nearly in proportion to its tremendous capacity.

Such are the major changes which I hope that the 81st Congress will see fit to make in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Strong support has been shown for these changes among both Republicans and Democrats and in both Houses of Congress, and the prospects for liberalization are therefore good.

Throughout this discussion I have stressed the emergency nature of the Displaced Persons problem, and its urgency from a purely humanitarian standpoint. That is the light in which I prefer to view it. The tragedy of the second World War has thrust this moral responsibility on all of us Americans, and it is primarily as a profoundly moral people that we must rise to the occasion.

Yet fortunately national self-interest as well as na-

Refugees From Communist Dictatorship

By DAVID MARTIN

David Martin is the Secretary of the Refugees Defense Committee which, over the past few years, has played so distinguished a role in defending the displaced persons against the many pressures and abuses to which they have been subjected. A journalist by profession, Mr. Martin served as a pilot with the Royal Canadian Air Force on the Burma front. He is the author of Ally Betrayed, the Uncensored Story of Tito and Mihailovich, which has recently been re-issued under the title Tito, the History of a Fraud. Mr. Martin was also organizer and secretary of the Committee for a Fair Trial for Mihailovich. He has written many articles on the subject of the DP's.

THE TRAGIC PROBLEM of Europe's Displaced Persons is at last moving — slowly and grudgingly — towards a solution. That it should have taken so long to accomplish even so partial a solution, and that the DP's should have been subjected to so many indignities and abuses while awaiting a solution, is due in large measure to an unfortunate error in semantics.

Although the force of usage compels us to employ the term "Displaced Person," intrinsically it is completely inaccurate, and morally it is dishonest to the extent that it represents an attempt to assuage the sensitivities of the Communist delegates at the United Nations. If a person is merely *displaced*, the obvious solution to his problem would be to *replace* him — to *repatriate* him. But the DP's of Europe have no desire to be repatriated under the present regimes that exist in their homeland. They are, in short not DP's but *refugees from communist dictatorship*. Had they been described in these terms, the American public would have had an altogether different understanding of their problem — and those who were encharged with their administration might have displayed a little less enthusiasm for the solution of repatriation.

The era of repatriation pressures and of UNRRA's ill-starred "Operation Carrot" has come to an end. But there are still forces at work which are endeavoring to confuse democratic opinion on the question of the "DP's" in order to prevent any solution of their problem. The stand of the Union and its satellites powers has from the beginning been that displaced persons belong to their country of origin — and those who refuse to return must, *ipso facto*, be fascists

and collaborators. This Soviet myth has been given renewed currency by a series of articles in the New York Post. "Why," asks the Post correspondent, "should DP's fear returning to their homelands unless they have been guilty of collaboration or some other crime?" There is of course, a very simple answer to this question: the 15 million slave-laborers in the death camps of Siberia.

It is high time that the lie was laid that only collaborators are persecuted in communist countries. The fact is that the communists have had no scruples about recruiting into their ranks the most notorious fascists and collaborators. Those who have the most to fear from communism are not the fascists, but the consistent democrats who have refused to compromise with any form of totalitarianism. Those who have the next most to fear are the mass of little people, workers and peasants, who must provide the fodder for the camps of Siberia. Those who have the least to fear are the outright collaborators.

Here and there in the camps there are unquestionably some undesirable elements — for that matter, where could one possibly find a body of people which does not contain some undesirable elements — for that matter, where could America need not apologize for them. The record is there to prove that the DP's have a far lower rate of criminality than the population at large. The record is also there to prove that the DP camps contain the best of the surviving democratic cadres. However, the future of Europe may develop, none of good will can doubt that the DP's have an important contribution to make to America.

THE CATHOLIC PROGRAM FOR THE RESETTLEMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS

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quate and effective administration of a realistic D.P. program.

In the months that will follow, it is hoped that new and larger groups of Displaced Persons will come to the United States, until the full quota has been admitted. These people will come to till the lands, enter our industries, rear their

children and worship God. The contribution that they can make is precious beyond measure, as the very history and complexion of our country already demonstrates.

The National Catholic Resettlement Council is asking the Catholics of America to receive these newcomers with sympathy. Many of them may stumble over English and become confused by the customs and outlooks of their adopted land. But all of them can become good citizens, good neighbors, if we help them.

On The Road To The 17th Soviet Republic

COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST MERGER ON DECEMBER 8

The Central Committee of the Polish Workers (Communist) Party (PPR) and the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) held a joint conference on November 3rd. A communique issued after the conference announced that the Congress of Unity, at which the merger of both parties will be accomplished, will begin on December 8th in Warsaw. Boleslaw Bierut is scheduled to become secretary general of the united party, while Premier J. Cyrankiewicz and Gen. Alexander Zawadzki are chosen for the posts of deputy secretaries. Zawadzki already relinquished the governorship of the Silesia-Dombrowa province.

In the meantime both parties are being purged extensively of "nationalistic and rightist elements". It was officially announced that five thousand Socialists were removed from party ranks in the first two weeks of October. The true figures must be, however, considerable higher in the first two weeks of October. The true figures must be, however, considerable higher as in the Lublin province alone 1,422 Socialists have been purged in one week of October. The purge affected many hitherto pro-communist Socialists, who often occupied high positions in the state, province and county administration as well as twenty members of Parliament. In an article published in the October 15th issue of the Cominform biweekly, Cyrankiewicz revealed the existence of five opposition groups within the PPS: First is the "nationalist" group headed by Dr. Boleslaw Drobner, Wojciech Wojewoda, A. Bien and Wachowicz. The second group is formed by the adherents of the "third force" theory, who wanted the PPS to link eastern communism with western capitalism. Stanislaw Szwalbe and Edward Osobka Morawski are leaders of this group. The third group emphasized individual liberties in the socialist platform as opposed to the leninist ideas embodied in the communist program. Julian Hochfeld led this group. Then, there is the fourth group which opposed farm collectivization and the destruction of private ownership in commerce and industry, and, finally the old guard: the prewar and wartime leaders of the PPS who must be ruthlessly eliminated. As foreseen in the October 7 issue of this letter, the trial of Kazimierz Puzak and five other prominent Socialists opened before a military court in Warsaw on November 5. Puzak is the wartime speaker of the underground Parliament and one of the 16 leaders, whose arrest and trial in Moscow almost caused the breakup of the San Francisco conference. Puzak and his associates are accused of maintaining contacts with Gen. Wladyslaw Anders in London and Polish Socialists abroad. Despite an imprisonment period of almost two years Puzak challenged the court by contemptuously refusing to testify. What is even more surprising, the court was unable to produce any evidence given by Puzak during the imprisonment period. Apparently even the tortures of the security police did not break the iron will of this Polish patriot.

The PPR also released an official communique on October 21, stating that during October 880 "enemies of the people" were purged from party ranks. Among the victims are several administration officials.

In preparation for the merger joint communist-socialist political courses were organized all over Poland. Three batches of fusionists passed their final tests already. Thus, the stage is set for the Unity Congress.

PEASANT PARTIES FOLLOW SUIT

The Supreme Councils of the communist dominated Peasant Party (S L) of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), formerly led by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, held separate meetings on October 3rd in Warsaw. The SL dismissed its own chairman, Dr. Joseph Putek, former Postmaster General in the Warsaw regime, for contacts with "reactionary Catholic circles." Putek's successor is Wladyslaw Kowalski, the Speaker of the Parliament. Six other members of the Supreme Council were also purged, all of them members of Parliament.

In the PSL's Supreme Council Dr. Wladyslaw Kiernik was replaced in the chair by Czeslaw Wycech, despite a violent attack launched by Kiernik against the former chairman St. Mikolajczyk.

The speeches of various SL leaders indicated that a merger of the two peasant groups should be expected within a few months along the line set by the workers parties.

FOOD SHORTAGES AND WAR RUMORS

The government introduced three meatless days each week. During the remaining weekdays long queues are forming in front of butcher shops from 7 a.m. Butter and eggs are almost unobtainable on the market. At the end of September, canned meats and cotton disappeared from the stores. The Poles recall that even in 1945, when chaos and confusion reigned in the country, food was plentiful, though too expensive for the average citizen. People are now convinced that Russia takes away the food supplies in preparation for a war. The disappearance of cotton caused particularly a wave of rumors.

Soviet troop transports toward the West, when passing through key railroad cities, cause increased panic on the food market. Though Soviet garrisons have been greatly strengthened, the soldiers are kept in barracks and closed compounds and rarely seen on the streets in daylight. Poland, however, has all aspects of an occupied country due to the abundance of various militias, armed guards, regular and special security troops, who roam the streets, country roads, railroad stations and even private homes, stopping civilians and asking for identification papers. Freedom of movement has never been as restricted as it is now.

The Poles believe that Russia plans an attack against the West during the coming winter months, when long nights and weather conditions would neutralize the overwhelming western superiority in aircraft and mechanization.

("INSIDE POLAND")

LET US GIVE A HELPING HAND TO POLISH D. Ps.

BY JAN S. PARGIELLO

THE POLISH IMMIGRATION Committee of New York was the first institution in America to concentrate on giving assistance to Polish D.P.s.

The Polish D.P. problem is a distressing one.

It distresses above all, the D.P.s.

It distresses all those who worked for the passage of legislation permitting the arrival of D.P.s to the U.S.

The present act allows the entry of 205,000 D.P.s of all nationalities. This number should include about 90,000 Poles.

Will the Poles fill this quota?

Will all the homes and employment necessary be found for them?

Beyond any question the Polish-American community can easily absorb all the 350,000 Polish D.P.s who are at present in Germany.

According to the new immigration law, no D.P. can come from Europe to the U.S. unless he receives assurance that he will have a roof over his head and employment. Polish D.P.s can obtain such affidavits from Polish-American sources.

Other nationalities in the U.S. supplied their D.P.s with a substantial number of forms filled out and notarized. The Polish Immigration Committee of New York was organized at the beginning of 1947 with Rev. Felix F. Burant (Colonel U.S. Army) and Jan S. Pargiello (newspaperman) at its head. It set as its goal the bringing of assistance to Polish D.P.s in the same measure that organizations of other nationalities brought aid to their D.P.s.

The Polish Immigration Committee already has a large number of positions open and homes available. With the cooperation of newspapers and the radio, Polish-Americans are kept informed of the action that is being carried on for the benefit of homeless people now in Germany.

* * *

We remember the time when we travelled from distant Europe to America. Many of us had friends or relatives here, many others took the risk upon themselves.

All of us had a difficult time. We had left poverty behind us and we hoped for a better future in America.

Today's immigrants come to us from camps. Many of them are graduates of forced labor camps, many of them are wounded and crippled. All of them have passed through moral torture.

Today's immigrants know what it is to be homeless. They are exhausted physically, tired by life — to which they have the same right as we have.

They come — the very young and the old people of various professions and they see in the U.S. the last stage of their wandering.

Let us prepare to receive them properly. Let us do everything in our power to make their arrival a happy moment, and not a new, unexpected disappointment.

Let us treat them as well as we would like to be

treated ourselves.

The Polish Immigration Committee will help the Polish-American community to organize itself for receiving the D.P.s.

Each private person able to offer a vacant apartment or employment to an immigrant can notify the Polish Immigration Committee in New York directly.

Each association and organization can collect among its members guarantees of a home and employment.

The next session of the Congress of the U.S., which will start in January, probably will pass the new act proposed by President Truman, which will allow about 400,000 D.P.s to enter this country. If this happens, the Polish quota will be doubled. But law on the books is one thing, and the actual arrival of Polish D.P.s in the United States is another.

The Polish Immigration Committee will send the necessary information to all interested persons who will write to its office in New York. The Rev. F. F. Burant, Director of the Polish Immigration Committee, and his assistant have worked out a plan for use at the ports in which the D.P. transports will arrive.

FLASHES FROM THE ARRIVAL OF D.P. TRANSPORTS

As a result of the new immigration regulations governing D.P.s the first transport of 800 passengers from Germany arrived in New York at the end of October 1948. Two weeks later the next transport of 800 D.P.s arrived in Boston, Mass.

The moment of arrival was very moving and uplifting. The D.P.s were welcomed to this land of the free by Federal, State and City officials. Attorney General Tom Clark addressed them on behalf of President Truman. The greetings of New York City were conveyed by Mayor O'Dwyer. His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman greeted the D.P.s in the name of the Roman Catholic Church.

On shipboard the news of the arrival of the Cardinal created a great stir. There was no end to the hurrahs. Long may he live! Long may he live! resounded happily and sincerely. . . And the Cardinal raised both hands to bless our long awaited guests. At his side, visibly moved, stood the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward Swanstrom, director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rev. F. F. Burant, director of the Polish Immigration Committee; Rev. Wladyslaw Sikora; Rev. Aloysius Wycislo of the N.C.W.C.; Rev. Ludwig Makulec; Managing editor of the Nowy Swiat Kazimierz Dambski; Karol Burke; T. Sztybel; Edward Kosowicz; Hon. Sylwin Strakacz and others.

After the lowering of the gangplank, the first immigrants were carried off the ship. . .

One of the D.P.s addressed a few words to the Americans awaiting them at the dock: "It seems to us that we have arisen from the dead. Not so long ago we were tortured in forced labor battalions. Only a short while ago we were living from day to day in the expectation of being

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LET US GIVE A HELPING HAND TO POLISH D.P.s

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burned alive in the Nazi stoves. Today, we begin a new life. How beautiful this is for us. Thank you America."

A new phase has begun for these new Americans. A life at first filled with many fears and hard work, but a life of free people, who are not threatened by prison and are not surrounded by hate. Henceforth, they will be surrounded by friendliness such as they saw upon their arrival in port.

THE KIND OF D.P.S ARRIVING

Among the D.P.s arriving from Germany, the majority are young people, capable of doing any kind of work. Single persons and young married couples and children form the bulk of the arrivals.

Most of the boys are from sentry companies, still wearing their navy blue uniforms. These are people fit for military duty who would make good soldiers. According to the latest statistics about 60% of the Sentry Companies arrived from Germany in the U.S. have voluntarily enlisted in the U. S. Army.

Contrary to the fears of all those who were opposed to the entry of D.P.s in the the U.S., the new immigrants are far from being a burden to American society, but BECOME

THE DISPLACED PERSONS ACT — UNFINISHED BUSINESS

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tional morality calls for a liberal solution. Close collaboration and friendship between the United States and Europe, never more urgently necessary than in this era of world tension, would be greatly strengthened by such a display of American helpfulness. History has increasingly taught us how closely our national destinies are bound up with those of Europe. Never before has their friendship been so important to us, or ours to them.

History also testifies eloquently to the enormous contribution to American life made by earlier migrants from the very countries represented in the D.P. camps of today — not the least of the Poland. Last year, during a trip to Europe, I took the occasion to visit some of these camps. I saw for myself what splendid and industrious people these were, and how highly adversity has taught them to value the liberty and opportunities for which America stands. Now, through no fault of their own, they are an unproductive burden on American taxpayers. We can serve our national self-interest no better than by adding these fine people to our productive resources.

One final word. The Displaced Persons Act, as it stands, depends for its execution on collaboration between the Government and private citizens and associations in this country. This is as it should be. The citizen's role consists in finding jobs and homes for Displaced Persons throughout the United States, and in financing their transportation from seaport to destination. This is a responsibility of the highest importance, and one particularly suited to Americans of Polish and other Eastern European origin, who have a special bond of understanding and sympathy

THE FIRST CITIZENS OF THEIR ADOPTED COUNTRY.

D.P.s who cannot enlist in the U.S. Army, accept all kinds of work and do it just as well as American citizens who have been living here all the time.

The ranks of the Polish D.P.s include farmers and professors, artisans and doctors, educated and capable individuals.

We should therefore help Polish D.P.s because they deserve our wholehearted support. We should add, that we must make haste. According to the accepted program, boatloads of D.P.s can leave every week from European ports if there are enough D.P.s ready to leave. Let us take advantage of these conditions. Let us fill the boats with Polish D.P.s.

COOPERATION WITH N.C.W.C.

The Polish Immigration Committee of New York is a member of the National Catholic Resettlement Council, War Relief Service — National Catholic Welfare Conference and works closely with this strongest American Catholic organization.

The Polish Immigration Committee is run by the Rev. F. F. Burant, Director and his assistant, Jan S. Pargiello. Its offices are at 25 St. Marks Place, New York 3, N. Y.

with the Displaced Persons. I cannot too strongly urge that the splendid work which they and other voluntary groups have undertaken in this field must be maintained and increased still further. Without this work, the United States cannot possibly fulfill the extraordinary responsibility which it has undertaken in behalf of the victims of tyranny in Europe.

DECEMBER 7, 1948

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FACING THE D. P. PROBLEM

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housing for people who are already in the country than to keep reservations for people who are not even processed for immigration. Here is an important psychological angle, at least from the viewpoint of the prospective landlords, which should not be ignored.

While the requirements of housing guarantees constitutes an obstacle of a technical nature, there are objections of a more fundamental character which are responsible for much of the resentment against the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

It may be remembered that supporters of special legislation on behalf of displaced persons have put forward the argument that the admission of a considerable number of displaced persons will only in a small part make up for the unfilled quotas in the past few years. As a matter of fact, the unused quotas for the 12 years from 1933 to 1944, amounted to approximately 1.1 million potential immigrants. It seemed logical to assume that the relief legislation which would admit certain numbers of displaced persons should not be charged against the future immigration quotas. Yet, it happened just the other way.

In the case of the Polish quota (which in the years 1933-1944 was filled only 40.2 per cent) this would mean a 50 per cent reduction in regular admissions for a least two dozen years to come. The case is still more complicated since the national structure and ethnic compositions of Poland's population have changed greatly as an aftermath of mass population movements. This means that for many

years to come the Polish quota will have to pay for the admission of non-Polish displaced persons. It would be preferable to discard the criterion of "country of birth" for the purpose of the displaced persons law. This proposition has been made by me in a letter to Senator McGrath, on 2, 1948. I was of the opinion that in order to preclude striking discriminations the distribution of admissions under the proposed law should be based upon the actual division of displaced persons according to ethnic groups. The experience of the first six months of the working of the law seems to favor just such an approach.

* * *

I am convinced that the time is ripe for a change in the basic concept of relief legislation. This is the main task awaiting all those who are looking for a democratic and humanitarian solution of the problem of displaced persons. The political climate now seems more favorable for such a change than ever before. What is needed is a coordinated and well planned action to help produce a new and just Displaced Persons Act of 1949.

To all Polish Americans

Best wishes for a

*MERRY CHRISTMAS and a HAPPY NEW YEAR
from the*

Polish National Alliance

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*The Polish Review deserves the appreciation
and gratitude of all those who cherish the ideal
of a Poland liberated from its fetters*

Adam B. Lyczak

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We Extend Our

HOLIDAY AND NEW YEAR WISHES

To all Men and Women members of the P.N.A., the Alliance Youth, the Polish Clergy, the Polish Fraternal Organizations, the Polish Merchants, Industrialists and Professional Men and Women, to all Americans of Polish descent and to our Brethren across the ocean and scattered the world over.

May our Country — the United States — in 1949 through its influence and leadership bring about a just and lasting peace, and may America help Poland — the Homeland of our fathers and ancestors — to regain her rightful boundaries, complete freedom and true independence.

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