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United States
of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Address Delivered by Senator Humphrey at the International Rescue Committee Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 31, 1958

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address I delivered last evening at Miami Beach, Fla., on the occasion of the annual dinner of the Florida chapter of the International Rescue Committee. The meeting was held at the Hotel Fontainebleau in Miami Beach, Fla. As many Members of the Senate know, the International Rescue Committee illustrates the noble work that is being done in the field of aiding refugees from Communist tyranny. In my address I reviewed the work of the International Committee, and outlined a program of action for its future consideration.

Its present program includes the resettlement of the victims of Communist tyranny in free lands where opportunity is available to them.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE MEETING, HOTEL FONTAINEBLEAU, MIAMI, FLA., JANUARY 30, 1958

Mr. Duke, ladies and gentlemen, I am particularly pleased to be here tonight because whenever I can, I wish to honor the role of individual private voluntary efforts to help meet today's total challenge from the Kremlin. America's private citizens with their public conscience have brought our country to its present greatness. We must not lose our faith in voluntary efforts or in the institutions which embody them.

Tonight I wish to pay tribute to the special role that one private group, the International Rescue Committee, has played over the past quarter century. In the first half of its life, the IRC provided help and haven to victims from Nazi tyranny.

Since then, it has been entirely concerned with helping the refugees from communism, from behind both the Iron and the Bamboo Curtains. Operation Brotherhood in Vietnam, the combating of Soviet General Nikolai Mihalov's redefection drive in Europe, and finally, the excellent job done by the IRC following the tragically abortive Hungarian revolution in October of 1956—all of these are examples of the work a private group can

do, unhampered by Government redtape, in reacting quickly to further our national objectives.

Of particular interest now is the reaction to the Hungarian Revolution of 15 months ago. Then, in the wake of the Red Army's ruthless suppression of this anti-Soviet revolt, there was a surge of interest and sympathy among the American people for the fate of the thousands of Hungarian refugees who had fled to freedom across the swampy border into Austria.

The work of the International Rescue Committee during this emergency has already become legendary. Food, clothing, medicine, shelter were made available almost overnight. Plans for resettlement in other countries were carried forward as rapidly as possible. The American people opened their hearts and their homes to those refugees who were lucky enough to come to the United States.

Today Hungarian refugees are no longer in the headlines. But this noble rescue work is far from finished. The IRC deserves a tribute for its determination to follow through with aid and counseling for refugees resettled in the United States.

I am also extremely pleased that you intend to continue supporting your excellent projects for the refugees left in Austria.

The plight of the Hungarian refugees was dramatically told, although now, as the months pass, the story dims. It is all the more important, therefore, that we remember those even more forgotten men—the refugees from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Communist-dominated countries who poured into free Europe after World War II. Many of them have waited in dismal camps or temporary shelters for years for the opportunity which they thought the free world would give them to rebuild their lives. No words can describe the bleakness of their lives, or the agony of waiting year after year, apparently unwanted. Some, disappointed and broken in spirit, have returned to their Communist-dominated homelands. Others have lost the will to live.

The Zellerbach Commission recently asked that the United States assume the leadership in a program to help settle these 200,000 remaining refugees. As most of you know, this Commission has been studying the refugee situation under the auspices of the IRC. I agree wholeheartedly with the Commission that if the United States took the lead in such a move, we would be grasping one major opportunity for a humanitarian countermove to Soviet scientific achievements.

My good friend, Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, the former American Ambassador to Denmark and a distinguished citizen of my home State of Minnesota, has said: "If the United States will take the lead in seeking to implement NATO support in the refugee field, we can prove to Western Europe that we are prepared to lead the way in humanitarianism." Her concept is that NATO can play a role in waging peace as well as war.

Mrs. Anderson is troubled, as I am, and as I know you are, by matters of conscience. I mean the collective American conscience which concerns itself with the discrepancy

between what we preach and what we do. When it comes to preaching, we Americans have held ourselves forth as the leaders of the free world. We have urged those behind the curtain to throw off their shackles. Moreover, we have indicated a degree of support for such action. We have sent balloons behind the curtain bearing the words on cards, "We can't help you unless you help yourselves."

Some among us once preached liberation. Yet, when it comes to action in helping those who have boldly and unsuccessfully raised their hands against the heavy brutality of communism, we find ourselves no longer so much in the lead.

When it comes to financial support for refugees from behind the curtain, we Americans have contributed more than any other country. But in the way of providing the traditional American welcome and haven, we have lagged miserably. In fact, my friends, the United States ranks 13th on the basis of population among the countries of the world in accepting Hungarian refugees. To be specific, Switzerland, Canada, Israel, Sweden, Australia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Belgium, West Germany, and France, in that order, rank ahead of the United States.

This is startling enough. Unfortunately on the basis of comparative overall welcome to refugees from behind the curtain since World War II, the United States ranking is equally low. Again, on the basis of population, the United States stands 13th among the countries of the world in admitting refugees from communism. Israel, Germany, Australia, Austria, Canada, Italy, France, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Belgium, and Venezuela, rank ahead of the United States in that order.

A far cry, isn't it, from what we preach?

Now, what can we do to carry out our obligation as the leader of the free world? First, empty these refugee camps. Give the victims of Communist tyranny a new life in areas of freedom.

Secondly, we must adjust the status of the thirty-thousand-some refugees from Hungary brought here as so-called "parolees" by presidential fiat. These unfortunate people have been left to an uncertain future by the administration, which so far has failed to make any determined effort to obtain appropriate legislation.

According to the American Immigration Conference, this one point is the major stumbling block to successful integration in the United States of the refugees. It has woven a thread of uncertainty into the whole area of refugee resettlement. As a guest of the Government, one who is physically in our country, but who has not been legally admitted for permanent residence, the parolee's rights and responsibilities are at best tenuous and uncertain.

A parolee may not be employed by the Government or in defense industries. He cannot even join the Army. The parolees, themselves, are unquestionably apprehensive that they will be forced to move on to another country unless status is accorded them soon.

This apprehension gives rise to all manner of fears that deter a refugee from adjusting to a new way of life.

Thirdly, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 must be completely revised along the lines recommended by the commission appointed by President Truman, in 1948, and as embodied in bills introduced by Senator Lehman and others of us in successive sessions of the Congress. Even the adoption of all of President Eisenhower's recommendations on immigration last year, would have been a longer step in the right direction than the one we took.

This broad new program of immigration laws and policies should include the elimination of the national origins quota system of admission. This system of nationality quotas on a 1920 immigration pattern, is not only outdated but ineffectual and artificial as far as present needs are concerned. It is discriminatory in its very nature, an affront to the decent sensitivities of men everywhere.

A revised immigration program should also eliminate current provisions imposing unnecessary discriminations on naturalized citizens, as well as the provisions giving two agencies of the Federal Government—the State and Justice Departments—overlapping jurisdiction over applications for admissions to the United States for temporary or permanent residence.

The events of the past year have continued to demonstrate that the problem is not easily solved by makeshift policies of immigration. We must adopt longer range policies toward those who want to break away from Communist rule and flee to freedom. Of course, consideration must also be given to those from other parts of the world who want to migrate to the United States.

We all know that Public Law 316 was signed by President Eisenhower in September. As a cosponsor of this measure in the Senate, I have no delusions about it. Several worthwhile but relatively unimportant changes in existing laws were included in it—such as the admission of orphans, unification of families, and the lifting of mortgages on visa quotas. We all know in our hearts that this is a piecemeal and inadequate approach. What we really need is an overhaul of our entire immigration policy.

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Unhappily, the general attitude throughout the country, as well as in Congress, has been and still is one of caution on this issue. On occasion, however, Congress has risen above its caution to move with boldness and generosity in this field. The passage of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act in 1953 is evidence of that fact.

The response of our people during the Hungarian emergency gives further ground for belief that Americans generally are not blindly set against all change. If all those who sincerely wish to improve our immigration laws and practices—including most specifically you of the International Rescue Committee—will work together for those improvements which are within the realm of the possible and thus, little by little, whittle away at the injustices in the present laws, I think we can succeed.

Friends, you and I know that basically this is a challenge to Americans to return to their better selves, to restore the image of the compassionate, friendly, humanitarian America devoted to works of peace, not merely the words of peace.

The works of peace are the very heart and core of our tradition and philosophy. Health care for the sick, food for the hungry, jobs for the unemployed, homes and shelter for the needy, opportunity for youth—these are the concrete works of peace we must execute and help toward fulfillment in the have-not nations of the world. This great promise of the good life, with liberty and the pursuit of happiness, is one we can fulfill, and we should move ahead vigorously to do it.

Indeed as I look at the world situation at the moment, I think we have an opportunity to face up to three basic challenges:

The first challenge, the immediate one, is to recover from our delays and mismanagement in the field of military rocketry and missiles. There is no doubt that Congress will respond with increased appropriations for these programs, probably more than the President has asked.

The second challenge is to provide the basic defense in depth which these defense programs need with a new and lively rediscovery of the importance of education, trained minds, basic research, not only in the sciences, but in the humanities too.

There are signs that people are belatedly awakening to the full dimensions of this challenge, too.

The third challenge is the major one for the long haul. Today we have only a sobering and disturbing awareness that our current struggle to regain military parity ultimately will lead nowhere but to increased world problems. We are only vaguely aware that the long-term challenge lies in the competition for men's minds, hearts, and enthusiasms.

It is a political challenge to evoke a new appreciation of the worth and value of democratic institutions as the last best hope of earth. It is a social challenge to cut out the cant of inequality, to uproot the ugly weeds of racism, to quit acting as though we still have doubts that each man is his brother's keeper. It is an economic challenge—to harness the energies of people in a cooperative effort to create healthy and productive societies, giving and utilizing economic aid, technical assistance, our stores of food and fiber.

It is also, of course, a cultural challenge—to take up the gauntlet which Khrushchev, among others, has thrown down to us in such fields as people-to-people exchange.

But America, of all nations, ought to be the one best equipped to meet this total challenge. We are a Nation, which, throughout most of her history, identified herself with mankind. It is that kind of America which we must recapture. Woodrow Wilson was talking about it when he said:

"There have been other nations as rich as we. There have been other nations as powerful. There have been other nations as spirited. But I hope we shall never forget that we created this nation, not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind."

And it was the same America, devoted to international rescue, which Emma Lazarus immortalized in her words inscribed on the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, words that are familiar to all of you:

"Give me your tired, your poor,

Your huddled masses, learning to breathe free,

The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,

Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,

I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Leo Cherne - Chairman
Honorable ~~Angus~~ Biddle Duke, President,

Speech by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
for

International Rescue Committee Meeting
Hotel Fountainbleau, Miami, Florida
January 30, 1958

Illustrious
Board of
Directors

Genl William J. Donovan
Chr, National Comm. Hc
Comm. Kermit Roosevelt (Seal)

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But Today Hungarian refugees are no longer in the headlines.

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I am also extremely pleased that you intend to continue supporting your excellent projects for the refugees left in Austria.

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in seeking to implement NATO support in the refugee field, we

can prove to Western Europe that we are prepared to lead the

way in humanitarianism." Her concept is that NATO can play

a role in waging peace as well as war.

I agree - NATO must be expanded!

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by matters of conscience. I mean the collective American

conscience which concerns itself with the discrepancy between

what we preach and what we do. When it comes to preaching, we

Americans have held ourselves forth as the leaders of the free

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NATO -
Information
Economic
Social Problems
Science
Education

even in high places

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Financial support

When it comes to financial support for refugees from behind the Curtain, we Americans have contributed more than any other country. But in the way of providing the traditional American welcome and haven, we have lagged miserably. In fact, my friends, the United States ranks 13th on the basis of population among the countries of the world in accepting Hungarian refugees. To be specific, Switzerland, Canada, Israel, Sweden, Australia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Belgium, West Germany, and France, in that order, rank ahead of the United States.

~~(Appendix A)~~

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(Appendix B)

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Now, what can we do to carry out our obligation as the leader of the Free World?

First - Empty the Camps!

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Mr. Duke - never stop your work until the Camps are empty. These Camps are the ugly scar of totalitarian tyranny and free world indifference.

Wm Mc
13th

EMPTY THE
CAMPS

Parolees

legislation. *Congress, likewise, has not acted.*

According to the American Immigration Conference, this one point is the major stumbling block to successful integration in the United States of the refugees. It has woven a thread of uncertainty into the whole area of refugee resettlement.

As a ~~parolee who is a~~ "guest" of the government, one who is physically in our country, but who has not been legally admitted for permanent residence, the ^{parolee's} rights and responsibilities ~~of the parolee~~ are at best tenuous and uncertain.

A "parolee" may not be employed by the government or in defense industries. He cannot even join the Army. The parolees, themselves, are unquestionably apprehensive that they will be forced to move on to another country unless status is accorded them soon. This apprehension gives rise to all ~~manner~~ manner of fears that deter a refugee from adjusting to a new way of life.

What else to do! *Then Again,* Secondly, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 must be completely revised along the lines recommended by the commission

Revising Immigration Laws

appointed by President Truman, in 1948, and as embodied in bills introduced by Senator Lehman and others of us in successive sessions of the Congress. Even the adoption of all of President Eisenhower's recommendations on immigration last year, would have been a longer step in the right direction than the one we took.

This broad new program of immigration laws and policies should include the elimination of the national origins quota system of admission. This system of nationality quotas on a 1920 immigration pattern, is not only outdated, ineffectual, and artificial as far as present needs are concerned. It is discriminatory in its very nature, an affront to the decent sensitivities of men everywhere. A revised immigration program should also eliminate current provisions imposing unnecessary discriminations on naturalized citizen, as well as the provisions giving two agencies of the Federal government -- the State and Justice Departments -- overlapping jurisdiction over applications for admissions to the United States for temporary or permanent residence.

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What we really need is an overhaul of our entire immigration policy.

Such a step would greatly strengthen our position of leadership in the world community. Today the Immigration laws are an "Achilles Heel" in our foreign policy.

Unhappily, the general attitude throughout the country,
as well as in Congress, has been and still is one of caution on
this issue. On occasion, however, Congress has risen above its
caution to move with boldness and generosity in this field.

The passage of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948 and the Refugee
Relief Act in 1953 is evidence of that fact.

The response of our people during the Hungarian emergency
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Friends, you and I know that basically this is a challenge
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Revise
Immig.
Laws

Volunteer
for this
worthy
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The inauguration of medicare program by the IRC represents the works of peace on the people-to-people level. Good work!

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The second challenge is to provide the basic defense
in depth which these defense programs need with a new and
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awakening to the full dimensions of this challenge, too.

The third challenge is the major one for the long
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Woodrow Wilson was talking about it when he said:

"There have been other nations as rich as we.

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we shall never forget that we created this nation,

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And it was the same America, devoted to international rescue,

which Emma Lazarus immortalized in her words inscribed on the

Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, words that are familiar

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"Give me your tired, your poor,

Your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free,

The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.

Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me,

I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

^{1/28/58} Is it any wonder that the Great Lincoln
~~said~~ characterized our land —
as "the last best hope on Earth"

APPENDIX A

(ICEM figures as of November 12, 1957)

Appendix A

Country	Total Hungarian Refugees	Refugees per 100,000 Population
Australia	12,137	129.1
Belgium	5,528	62.1
Canada	34,438	216.6
Denmark	1,156	26.3
France	10,043	23.2
Germany (West)	15,050	30.1
Israel	2,078	109.4
Netherlands	3,525	32.6
Norway	1,462	41.8
Sweden	6,531	89.5
Switzerland	11,427	228.5
United Kingdom	15,662	30.6
United States	36,623	21.8

APPENDIX B

Appendix B

Receiving Country	Population	Refugee Intake (1) (incl. Hungarians)	Percentage
Israel	1,813,000	148,333	8.18
Germany	50,595,000	3,102,257 (2)	6.13
Australia	9,428,000	218,301	2.31
Austria	6,974,000	136,469	1.95
Canada	15,899,000	185,561	1.16
Italy	48,178,000	418,844	0.86
France	43,600,000	370,583	0.84
Sweden	7,316,000	46,000	0.62
United Kingdom	51,218,000	281,493	0.54
Switzerland	5,023,000	22,632	0.45
Belgium	8,868,000	35,580	0.40
Venezuela	5,949,000	18,948	0.31
U. S.	168,091,000	487,243	0.29
New Zealand	2,174,000	6,000	0.27
Netherlands	10,880,000	17,583	0.16
Argentina	19,470,000	34,790	0.10
Brazil	59,846,000	38,552	0.06

1/ Figures for overseas countries are based on IRO and ICEM statistics.

Figures for Europe are based on official estimates.

2/ Incl. Soviet-zone refugees, not incl. German ethnic expellees.



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