

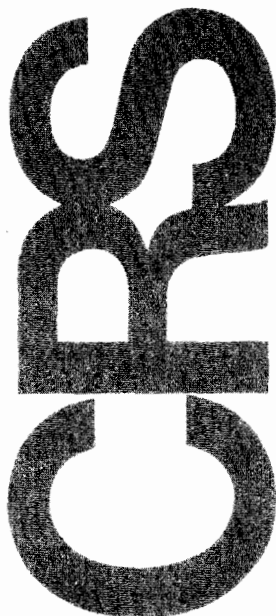
A BRIEF HISTORY OF U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY

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COMPLIMENTS OF
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ABSTRACT

U.S. immigration policy has been shaped not only by the perceived needs of this country, but by the needs and aspirations of the immigrants themselves. This paper reviews the major streams of immigration to the United States in the context of the country's changing views of immigration.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

U.S. immigration policy has been shaped not only by the perceived needs of this country, but by the needs and aspirations of the immigrants themselves. This paper reviews the major streams of immigration to the United States in the context of the country's changing views of immigration.

During the initial immigration of settlers and pioneers to the first European colonies on the North American continent, the objectives of the immigrants and their sending colonial powers were dominant--a complex blend of religious, political, and economic motives which eventually produced the new American society.

Following the establishment of the United States at the end of the 18th century, a wave of mass migration flowed from the European continent to the new nation throughout the 19th century. ^{1/} For the immigrants, economic, religious, and political motives continued to be dominant. The United States' goals in receiving them included the need for new citizens who would participate in national economic and political growth, as well as the humanitarian desire to provide a refuge for the oppressed of other lands. During this period, there were few restrictions on the entering immigrants; our national purposes coincided with essentially unlimited immigration.

^{1/} A table prepared by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service entitled "Immigration by Country for Decades, 1820-1978" appears as Appendix A. The table categorizes immigrants by country of last permanent residence, rather than by country of birth.

As the nation entered the 20th century, cultural conflicts resulting from the changing ethnic character of the immigrant population from Northern and Western Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe, and economic strains in the nation began to generate domestic political opposition to unrestricted immigration. Following World War I, this political opposition led to restrictive legislation focusing predominantly on the ethnic origins of the new immigrants, and also on the size of the immigrant flow. By the 1930s this legislation in combination with the economic disincentive of the Great Depression had resulted in a massive reduction in the inflow of immigrants.

Following World War II and continuing through the 1950s the pattern of immigration as we know it today began to emerge, consisting of immigrants, refugees, and temporary and/or undocumented workers. Refugees came by the hundreds of thousands, fleeing the ravages of World War II and the spread of Communism. Immigrants continued to come primarily under the terms of the national origins quota system, which was extended with minor revisions in 1952 and continued in effect until 1965. Agricultural workers came from Mexico, some legally as Braceros and others illegally as wetbacks, the historical predecessors of today's undocumented aliens.

The distinction between refugees and immigrants became firmly established during the period following World War II, and has continued until the present time. Defined broadly, refugees flee, generally in large groups, from political or religious persecution; immigrants come voluntarily, generally on an individual basis and in an orderly fashion. A third group, illegal or undocumented aliens, come outside the law, generally for economic reasons.

In the case of immigrants, the purposes and goals of the United States are dominant in deciding who comes, a process embodied in the Federal immigration law. The admission of refugees is also subject to Federal legislation, but its

enactment and/or administration has tended to be in reaction to events beyond the control of either the receiving society or the refugees themselves.

The distinction between refugees and immigrants was unheard of during the mass migrations of the 19th century; no difference was perceived between the Irish fleeing the potato famine and the German "forty-eighters" fleeing political persecution. It developed in the wake of World War II, primarily as a means of reconciling our traditional ideal of asylum with restrictions in the immigration law.

Since the 1940s, the goals and purposes of our immigration policy have diverged regarding the admission of refugees and immigrants. In the case of refugees, humanitarian concerns and foreign policy considerations have been dominant. Domestic, as opposed to foreign, policy considerations have been paramount in the admission of immigrants. The United States' desire in the 1920s to protect and preserve what was then seen as its national ethnic heritage led to the adoption of the national origins quota system. This system was repealed in the context of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, rather than on the predominantly foreign policy grounds for change advanced in the 1950s by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the flow of refugees from political turmoil in other nations continued. The equal treatment of all nations and family reunification emerged as the primary goals of our policy for admitting immigrants. The flow of illegal or undocumented aliens, particularly from other countries in the Western Hemisphere, resulted in political pressure for more effective measures to restrict illegal immigration, which have not yet been forthcoming. Now, at the beginning of the 1980s, the nation is attempting to articulate a workable policy towards those who would immigrate here for whatever reasons, accommodating both our past tradition of asylum as well as the economic and political realities of the present.

EARLY IMMIGRATION

Technically speaking, U.S. immigration began with the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which accorded the United States recognition as a nation. Official immigration statistics began to be kept in 1820. However, the settlers and pioneers who colonized North America before the founding of the United States were also immigrants. These early immigrants came from a variety of nations and for a variety of reasons to a new land which placed few constraints on their coming. They provided the people needed to explore and settle the continent, and to develop a new society.

The early colonists were primarily of European stock, representing the nations which laid claim to the new land. Colonists came from Great Britain, France and the Netherlands to settle the Eastern seaboard of the continent. In the Southeast, France sent colonists to settle Louisiana. In the South and West, Spanish colonists settled in Florida, in the areas which are now Texas and New Mexico and in California. Along with these settlers came involuntary immigrants, black men brought as slaves from the African continent. These colonists came for a variety of reasons--to serve as soldiers and civilian representatives of the colonizing power; to obtain religious and political freedom; to convert others to their religious views; to improve their economic status and pursue economic gain; to seek adventure; and involuntarily as slaves to provide labor for colonial agriculture and industry.

A brief listing of some of the colonial settlers suggests the diversity of motives which inspired the early immigrants as well as the kaleidoscope of nations from which they came. A combination of religious, political and economic motives brought settlers from Great Britain to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Quaker settlement in Pennsylvania, the Catholic settlement in Baltimore, and the colony of Georgia. Spanish settlers came to California, Florida, and

Mexico to search for gold and to trade with and bring Christianity to the Indians, and to expand the Spanish Empire. French settlers came to Louisiana and Canada to seek land and business opportunities, convert the natives, and protect French trading interests. French Huguenots fled religious persecution after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

German Pietist sects, including the Mennonites and Moravians, also fled persecution in search of religious freedom, many in response to the sympathetic Quaker teachings of William Penn. A later German group, the Hessians, came to fight as mercenaries with the British in the American Revolution, and 5,000 stayed to become immigrants. Dutch and Swedes came for political freedom and economic opportunity, and the Scotch-Irish came throughout the 18th century for economic, religious, and political motives.

The first black slaves were brought to the English colonies in 1619 on a Dutch ship. The term "slave" initially was applied loosely to both white and black servants, and both were treated as indentured servants. However, conditions worsened as the slave trade became more profitable. Slaves were brought to the English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch colonies throughout the 18th century. The numbers are not known, although they have been estimated in the millions. Slave importation was prohibited in 1808, but an illicit slave trade continued until the Civil War.

When the first census was taken in 1790, the total population was recorded at 3,227,000. English, Scots, and Scotch-Irish accounted for 75 percent; Germans made up 8 percent; other nationalities with substantial numbers included the Dutch, French, Swedes and Spanish. The 1790 census showed a black population of approximately 750,000. By the census of 1810, the white population had increased to approximately 6 million, and the black population to approximately 1,378,000.

A new society was effectively established here by the end of the 18th century, taking its language, the basis for its law, and many of its customs from England, with major contributions from other European countries. The country's libertarian principles included a belief in the mission of America to provide asylum for the oppressed, and in the corollary right of the oppressed to seek freedom and opportunity in America. As will be seen, these ideals were remarkably appropriate to the needs of the United States and Europe during the 19th century.

At the same time, there were indications as early as the 18th century of a more negative view of immigration which was to emerge as the dominant one in the 1920s. Perhaps the best known expression of this view was Benjamin Franklin's warning in 1753 about the Germans in Pennsylvania:

. . . those who came hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation, and as ignorance is often attended with great credulity, when knavery would mislead it, and with suspicion when honesty would set it right; and, few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the press or pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any prejudices they may entertain. . . . Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make modest use of it. 2/

Franklin feared that the Germans would eventually outnumber the English, "and even our government will become precarious."

Similar fears, although not about the Germans, led to the adoption of the national origins quota system 168 years later. However, one of the largest mass migrations in recorded history preceded this step. During the century between the fall of Napoleon and World War I, from 30 to 35 million immigrants came to the United States.

2/ Quoted by Franklin D. Scott, *The People of America: Perspectives on Immigration*. Washington, American Historical Assoc., AHA pamphlets 241, 1972, p. 15.

19TH CENTURY IMMIGRATION

The mass migration of the 19th century was the result of a near perfect match between the needs of a new country and overcrowded Europe. Europe at this time was undergoing drastic social change and economic reorganization, severely compounded by overpopulation. An extraordinary increase in population coincided with the breakup of the old agricultural order which had been in place since medieval times throughout much of Europe. Commonly held lands were broken up into individually owned farms, resulting in landless status for peasants from Ireland to Russia. At approximately the same time, the industrial revolution was underway, moving from Great Britain to Western Europe, and then to Southern and Eastern Europe. For Germany, Sweden, Russia, and Japan, the highest points of emigration coincided with the beginnings of industrialization and the ensuing general disruption of employment patterns. The artisans joined the peasants evicted from their land as immigrants to the United States. Population pressure and related economic problems, sometimes in the extreme form of famine, are generally cited as being the major causes of the mass migration of this long period, followed by religious persecution and the desire for political freedom.

America, on the other hand, had a boundless need for people to push back the frontier, to build the railways, to defend unstable boundaries, and to populate new States. The belief in America as a land of asylum for the oppressed was reinforced by the commitment to the philosophy of manifest destiny. Immigration was required for settlement, defense, and economic well-being.

The coincidence of European and American interests in mass migration during this period is well illustrated by two quotations, one from the European and one from the American point of view. The first is from a letter written home by a Frenchman, J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur, in 1792:

There is no wonder that this country has so many charms,
and presents to Europeans so many temptations to remain

in it. A traveller in Europe becomes a stranger as soon as he quits his own kingdom; but it is otherwise here. We know, properly speaking, no strangers; this is every person's country; the variety of our soils, situations, climates, governments, and produce, hath something which must please everybody. . . .

He does not find, as in Europe, a crowded society, where every place is over-stocked; he does not feel that perpetual collision of parties, that difficulty of beginning, that contention which oversets so many. There is room for everybody in America; has he any particular talent, or industry? he exerts it in order to procure a livelihood, and it succeeds. ^{3/}

The second quotation is from the Republican party platform in 1864, which Abraham Lincoln participated in writing: "Foreign immigration which in the past has added so much to the wealth, resources, and increase of power to this nation--the asylum of the oppressed of all nations--should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy." ^{4/} The United States throughout the 19th century was in the happy position of doing well by doing good, of adding to its "wealth, resources, and increase of power" by serving as "the asylum of the oppressed of all nations."

Official, albeit imperfect, immigration statistics were recorded beginning in 1820 by the Department of State, which continued to perform this task until 1870. The immigration data collection function was subsequently transferred to the Treasury Department's Bureau of Statistics, and from there to the Bureau of Immigration, housed first in the Department of Labor and subsequently in the Department of Justice.

Data collection began in 1819 in response to a Federal law requiring ship captains arriving from abroad to submit a manifest to the customs collector

^{3/} Crevecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer. Reprinted in Immigration and the American Tradition, ed. Moses Rischin, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1976, pp. 29-30.

^{4/} Quoted by William S. Bernard, American Immigration Policy, New York, Harper & Bros., 1950, p. 6.

showing the sex, occupation, age, and country of all passengers aboard. Initially, data was recorded only on vessels arriving at Eastern ports; Western ports were included beginning in 1850. During the Civil War, data was available only from ports under Federal control. Immigration over land borders was recorded haphazardly until around 1910.

1820-1880

The generally accepted estimate of the number of immigrants entering between the end of the Revolutionary War and 1819 is 250,000. In 1820, 8,385 entries were recorded; by 1840 annual immigration had increased tenfold, to 84,066. Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland accounted for 70 percent of the 750,949 entries between 1820-1840. Emigration from Ireland and England was primarily in response to economic problems. In Germany, economic problems were aggravated by liberal discontent with political developments following the Napoleonic Wars.

Immigration increased almost 600 percent, to 4,311,465, during the subsequent 20-year period, 1841-1860. Ireland, Germany, and Great Britain accounted for 87.5 percent of the total. This was the period of the potato famine, which hit hardest in Ireland but affected other parts of Europe as well.

Even with high rates of out-migration, Ireland's population had almost doubled from 1800-1840, increasing from 4.5 million to over 8 million. The increasingly impoverished peasants had become almost wholly dependent on the potato for sustenance. When the entire potato crop was wiped out in 1846 and 1847, half a million people died, 3 million lived on charity, and hundreds of thousands fled to America. Just under 1.7 million came from Ireland between 1841-1860. Emigration from Ireland reduced rather than simply slowed population

growth, and in the second half of the century significant amounts of money flowed back into the country in the form of remittances from America.

Germany sent almost 1.4 million immigrants to America during 1841-1860. Germany suffered a severe economic crisis during the 1840s, as well as political unrest culminating in the revolution of 1848. The "forty-eighters" joined those fleeing to America from the potato famine, high prices, and widespread unemployment. An additional 700,000 came from Great Britain.

By 1860, the population of the United States had increased to 31 million, from 7 million in 1810. More than 5 million immigrants had added to this increase. About half of them were from Great Britain and Ireland, followed by more than 1.5 million Germans and 50,000 Scandinavians.

Immigration to the United States was widely, although not universally, encouraged during the mid-19th century; pull factors were operative in addition to the push factors discussed above. Of major importance was the so-called "American letter". These were letters to relatives at home encouraging others to follow, and sometimes including one-way steamship tickets. Another important factor was the active recruitment of passengers by steamship companies and railroad workers by the railroads.

Following the Civil War, the development of the Union Pacific and other railways required the western movement of immigrants. The migration west of immigrants was also encouraged by western States by brochures and agents sent to New York and abroad, and by reducing the residence period required to vote. The Homestead Act of 1862 made western lands available to immigrants as well as the native-born. The Contract Labor Law passed in 1864 was intended to encourage immigration by advancing money for passage. However, it was repealed in 1868, under pressure from U.S. labor groups.

Anti-immigration, or nativist, feeling was also strong during the mid-19th century. The nativist movement of this period was inspired by a combination of

anti-Catholicism, fear for American labor, the linking of immigration with crime and poverty, and concern about the political impact of immigrants. The nativist Know Nothing party showed considerable strength in the 1850s, but it ebbed by 1860.

Immigration increased to 5,127,015 during the 20-year period 1861-1880, a figure approximately equal to total previous immigration since the country had gained its independence. Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland continued to account for the largest numbers. Additionally, there were significant numbers from Sweden, Norway, and China. The high level of immigration during this period reflected, in part, the growing improvements in international communication and transportation, which resulted in widespread circulation of stories about the new land, as well as a less arduous sea voyage.

In Sweden, the winter of 1867-1868 brought a monetary crisis, followed by a crop failure and local famine. These developments, in combination with precarious agricultural conditions, the displacement of artisans by industrial development, and ideological and religious differences, resulted in mass Swedish emigration in the late 1860s. A similar pattern was repeated in Norway and throughout other countries as agrarian difficulties beset Europe during the 1880s. Eventually, the pressure was eased by the growth of industrial employment in both rural areas and the towns and a slowing population growth. Immigration from the Scandinavian countries eased off in the second decade of the 20th century.

THE 1880s THROUGH WORLD WAR I

The last two decades of the 19th century were particularly significant for immigration. The volume of immigration continued to increase, the principal sources shifted from Northern and Western Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe, and the Federal government assumed an increasingly active role.

Federal legislation barring the entry of convicts and prostitutes was enacted on March 3, 1875. The Act of August 3, 1882 is considered the first general immigration statute. It was enacted in response to a combination of factors, including the increasing number of immigrants; the fear that criminals, paupers, and mental and physical defectives were being systematically sent to the United States; and an 1875 Supreme Court ruling that State laws regulating immigration infringed on Congress' exclusive power over foreign commerce and were unconstitutional. This latter development led to lobbying by private welfare organizations in Eastern cities for the establishment of Federal controls.

The Immigration Act of 1882 gave the Secretary of the Treasury authority over immigration, basing this jurisdiction on a newly established head tax of 50 cents per immigrant. The law also continued the bar against undesirables, including convicts, mental defectives, and paupers. This legislation marked the beginning of an active Federal role in immigration. It was enacted primarily in response to problems associated with what the Immigration Commission was to characterize in its 1911 report as the "old" immigration, from Northern and Western Europe; the "new" immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe was just getting underway.

The year 1882 also saw the enactment of the first legislation basing eligibility--or ineligibility--for entry on national origin. This was the Chinese Exclusion Act of May 6, 1882, which remained in effect until its repeal in 1943. Contract labor laws, prohibiting the importation under contract of foreign labor, were also enacted in the 1880s, following the depression, strikes, and efforts of the Knights of Labor during mid-years of the decade. The three elements contained in this early legislation--individual qualifications, national origin, and protection of U.S. labor--formed the basis for the restrictive policy which supplanted the policy of asylum, or essentially free

immigration, after World War I. Chief in importance among these was national origins.

Immigration reached a high of 5,246,613 in 1881-1890, followed by 3,687,564 in the last decade in the 19th century. Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland accounted for almost half of the immigration during this period, although their numbers all declined significantly in the 1890s. Immigration from these countries continued a steady and sharp decline into the first two decades of the 20th century. This was due largely to improved economic conditions, resulting from the leveling off of population growth and the increase in industrialization which absorbed increasing numbers of workers.

In contrast, immigration from Italy and Austria-Hungary increased rapidly in the 1880s and 1890s, as it did from other countries in Southern and Eastern Europe. More than 2 million entered during the first decade of the 20th century from both Italy and Austria-Hungary, and more than 1.5 million came from Russia.

The push factors behind this migration resembled those underlying the earlier mass migration from Northern and Western Europe. Economic difficulties beset Italy, Poland, and Greece following the collapse of the old agrarian order and the disruptive early stages in industrialization, aggravated by severe overpopulation. In Italy, the cholera epidemic of 1887 was an added impetus for migration. Again, America provided an alternative to poverty and sometimes starvation for landless peasants and unemployed artisans. Others fled because of religious and ethnic persecution. These included the Russian Jews, Russo-German Mennonites, and Armenians. Others left for predominantly political reasons, including Poles and Russians.

While the United States remained willing and able to absorb the mass migration from Southern and Eastern Europe during the end of the 19th and the

beginning of the 20th centuries, the country's needs had changed. The closing of the frontier, officially announced in the 1890 census, coincided with the development of a booming industrial economy which required manpower just as settlement and the opening of the West had in a previous period. The "new" immigrants, as they were characterized by the Dillingham Commission, fueled the industrialization and urbanization of America. Quoting from the Commission's 1911 report:

A large proportion of the southern and eastern European immigrants of the past 25 years have entered the manufacturing and mining industries of the eastern and middle western States, mostly in the capacity of unskilled laborers. There is no basic industry in which they are not largely represented and in many cases they compose more than 50 percent of the total number of persons employed in such industries. Coincident with the advent of these millions of unskilled laborers there has been an unprecedented expansion of the industries in which they have been employed. Whether this great immigration movement was caused by the industrial development or whether the fact that a practically unlimited and available supply of cheap labor existed in Europe was taken advantage of for the purpose of expanding the industries, cannot well be demonstrated. Whatever may be the truth in this regard it is certain that southern and eastern European immigrants have almost completely monopolized unskilled labor activities in many of the most important industries. 5/

The growing ambivalence toward immigration during the early 20th century is apparent in this description. Immigrants were believed by many to adversely affect the wages and working conditions of U.S. workers. They were also associated with the city by a country which was predominantly rural in its attitudes. As early as 1890, 62 percent of the foreign-born lived in urban places, compared to 26 percent of native whites born of native parents. The urban immigrant was blamed for the real and imagined evils of the city, including crime and poverty.

5/ U.S. Immigration Commission. Abstracts of Reports. Senate Doc. 747, 61st Congress, 3d session, 1910-1911, pp. 37-38.

Immigration in the first decade of the 20th century reached 8,795,386, the highest number in the country's history to date, followed by the second highest number, 5,735,811, in 1911-1920. More than 1 million immigrants entered the United States in 1905, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913, and 1914. By the end of World War I, the era of mass migration was brought to a close by the enactment of increasingly restrictive legislation.

Legislation enacted during World War I, the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, codified existing restrictions on immigration and added new ones. Enacted over President Wilson's veto, the 1917 Act established the Asiatic Barred Zone, which further restricted the entry of Orientals. It also prohibited the entry of aliens over 16 who were unable to read in any language, a measure specifically intended to curtail immigration from southeastern Europe. Literacy provisions had been passed previously in 1896, 1913, and 1915, and vetoed successively by Presidents Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson.

In his 1915 veto message, President Wilson charged that the literacy test marked a sharp departure from the traditional American belief in "the right of political asylum" which had heretofore characterized American immigration policy. Quoting from his message:

Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and impose tests which exclude and restrict; for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection. 6/

6/ Woodrow Wilson. Not tests of quality but of opportunity. Reprinted in *Immigration and the American Tradition*, ed. Moses Rischin. Indianapolis, Bobbs Merrill Co., Inc., 1976, pp. 285-286.

President Wilson went on to note, "If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so." However, he did not believe this to be the case.

Two years later, a wartime Congress overrode a subsequent veto by President Wilson, and the literacy requirement became law. Under the combined pressure of wartime nationalism and post-war isolationism, the economics of increasing urbanization, and a concern about the large numbers of immigrants entering from southeastern Europe, the American public, as reflected by the Congress, opted to reverse the policy of providing political asylum for one of comparative restriction. Numerical limitations followed in 1921 and, in varying forms have remained in effect ever since.

THE 1920s: NUMERICAL RESTRICTIONS

Until the 1920s, legal restrictions on immigration had essentially remained qualitative rather than quantitative. That is, there were no restrictions on the number of aliens who could enter, provided that they met the criteria set forth in the law. During the 1920s numerical restrictions were placed on immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere. Western Hemisphere immigration remained numerically unrestricted until 1968.

The temporary Quota Act of May 19, 1921, was followed by the permanent Immigration Act of May 26, 1924 which remained in force until 1952. Under the national origins quota formula which went into effect on July 1, 1929, the annual quota of any nationality was "a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in the United States in 1920 having that national origin bears to the number of white inhabitants of the United States

in 1920, with a minimum quota of 100 for each nationality." ^{7/} Natives of countries in the "barred zone," encompassing most oriental countries, were generally inadmissible as immigrants with certain exceptions.

The movement toward numerical limitations initially reflected a genuine fear of being engulfed by the refugees of war-ravaged Europe, together with the growing nationalism of the United States as an emerging world power and the isolationism which characterized the country following World War I. As the 1920s progressed, the arguments in favor of numerical restrictions were buttressed and shaped by popular biological theories of the period alleging the superiority of certain races. Two statements by Dr. Harry N. Laughlin, a eugenics consultant to the House Judiciary Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in the early 1920s indicate the important role these theories played in the direction taken by immigration policy immediately after World War I:

We in this country have been so imbued with the idea of democracy, or the equality of all men, that we have left out of consideration the matter of blood or natural born hereditary mental and moral differences. No man who breeds pedigreed plants and animals can afford to neglect this thing. . . .

The National Origins provisions of the immigration control law of 1924 marked the actual turning point from immigration control based on the asylum idea . . . definitely in favor of the biological basis. . . . ^{8/}

THE 1930s AND 1940s: REFUGEES AND BRACEROS

The history of U.S. immigration policy from the 1930s to the present time has been characterized by a tension resulting from the attempt to accommodate our traditional ideal of providing asylum from oppression within the framework

^{7/} H. Rept. 1365, 82nd Congress, 2d session, February 14, 1952, p. 37.

^{8/} Quoted by Abba Schwartz. The Open Society. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1968, pp. 105-106.

of a comparatively restrictive immigration law. This tension appears to stem in part from the fact that the fortunate congruence in the 19th century between our economic needs and our humanitarian desire to offer refuge to the oppressed no longer exists. We no longer have the manpower requirements which characterized the settling of the wilderness followed by the industrialization of the nation.

Immigration in the 1930s totaled 528,431, down from 4,107,209 in the 1920s, and accompanied by substantial emigration. Restrictive immigration laws combined with the Depression to slow the immigrant flow to the lowest point since the 1830s. Without question, Hitler was a major "push" factor of the period; Germany led the sending countries, and many more would have come if they had been permitted.

In a campaign speech in October 1932, Herbert Hoover said, "With the growth of democracy in foreign countries political persecution has largely ceased. There is no longer a necessity for the United States to provide an asylum for those persecuted because of conscience." 9/ Hitler came to power shortly thereafter, and proved him tragically wrong. The flight of refugees from Germany began in 1933 and continued for the rest of the decade, to be followed by an even greater exodus of displaced persons throughout Europe after World War II.

The United States accepted an estimated 250,000 refugees from Nazi persecution prior to our entry into the war in 1941. 10/ The country was undergoing the worst depression in its history, and efforts to liberalize the immigration law were unsuccessful.

9/ Quoted by Robert Divine. American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957, p. 92.

10/ Ibid., p. 104.

U.S. motives in the admission of refugees from the 1930s until the present time have combined humanitarian concerns with foreign policy considerations. We have, in effect, traded the wilderness for the world. Our sense of our role as the leader of the Western alliance was a major factor in the passage of special legislation allowing for the admission of displaced persons and refugees in the wake of World War II.

The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was the first refugee legislation enacted in the nation's history. Together with its subsequent amendments, it provided for the admission of more than 400,000 displaced persons through the end of 1951, by mortgaging future immigration quotas. Poles accounted for one-third of the admissions, followed by German ethnics. 11/

Total immigrant admissions doubled during the 1940s compared to the 1930s going from 528,431 to 1,035,039. This was still the lowest 10-year figure since the 1830s, exclusive of the preceding decade. Of this number, 354,804 entered from the Western Hemisphere.

The total number of permanent entries from the Western Hemisphere during the 1940s and 1950s was far exceeded by the number of admissions for temporary employment from the Western Hemisphere countries, led overwhelmingly by Mexico. The Mexican bracero program lasted from 1942 until 1964, and authorized the entry of between 4 and 5 million temporary agricultural workers. Significant, although much smaller numbers also entered from the Bahamas, Jamaica, Barbados, British Honduras, Canada and Newfoundland.

THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT OF 1952

The Immigration and Nationality Act enacted on June 27, 1952 was a major recodification and revision of existing immigration and nationality law. It

11/ An INS table showing refugees admitted by country or region of battle, 1946-1977, appears as Appendix B.

codified and carried forward, with modifications, the essential elements of both the 1917 and 1924 Acts discussed above, as well as those provisions of the Internal Security Act of September 23, 1950, relating to the exclusion of Communists.

The 1952 legislation reflected the cold war atmosphere and anti-communism of the period, following World War II and at the onset of the Korean War. The law was, Robert Divine asserted, "in essence an act of conservatism rather than of intolerance" 12/ The difference between the climate of opinion in the 1920s and the early 1950s is apparent in the following statement in the 1950 report of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "Without giving credence to any theory of Nordic superiority, the subcommittee believes that the adoption of the national origins quota formula was a rational and logical method of numerically restricting immigration in such a manner as to best preserve the sociological and cultural balance of the United States." 13/ In contrast to the 1920s, the case for the national origins quota system in the 1950s was not generally argued on the grounds of racial superiority, but on sociological theories of the time relating to cultural assimilation. The provisions effectively prohibiting entry from most Asian countries were also slightly relaxed by the 1952 Act.

However, the legislation was characterized by supporters and opponents alike as a restrictionist measure, and was a severe disappointment to those who had hoped for a liberalization of the immigration law. In particular, the continuation of the national origins quota system was viewed by critics of the legislation as being inappropriate to the needs of U.S. foreign policy. Foremost among these critics was President Truman, whose veto was overridden

12/ Divine, p. 190.

13/ S. Rept. 1515, 81st Congress, 2d session, p. 455.

by a vote of 278 to 113 in the House, and 57 to 26 in the Senate. Quoting from his veto message:

Today, we are "protecting" ourselves as we were in 1924, against being flooded by immigrants from Eastern Europe. This is fantastic. The countries of Eastern Europe have fallen under the Communist yoke--they are silenced, fenced off by barbed wire and minefields--no one passes their borders but at the risk of his life. We do not need to be protected against immigrants from these countries--on the contrary we want to stretch out a helping hand, to save those who have managed to flee into Western Europe, to succor those who are brave enough to escape from barbarism, to welcome and restore them against the day when their countries will, as we hope, be free again. . . . These are only a few examples of the absurdity, the cruelty of carrying over into this year of 1952 the isolationist limitations of our 1924 law.

In no other realm of our national life are we so hampered and stultified by the dead hand of the past, as we are in this field of immigration. 14/

In addition to continuing the national origins quota system for the Eastern Hemisphere, the 1952 Act also established a four-category selection system. Fifty percent of each national quota was allocated for first preference distribution to aliens with high education or exceptional abilities, and the remaining three preference categories were divided among specified relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens. This four-point selection system was the antecedent of our current preference system, which places higher priority on family reunification than on needed skills. However, under the 1952 law national origins remained the determining factor in immigrant admissions, and Northern and Western Europe were heavily favored. As in the past, the Western Hemisphere was not subject to numerical limitations.

Immigration during the decade 1951-1960 totaled 2,515,479, the highest since the 1920s. This was not surprising, since the two intervening decades

14/ House Doc. 520, 82nd Congress, 2d session, June 25, 1952, p. 5.

included the depression of the 1930s, and World War II. The gap between Eastern and Western Hemisphere immigration also narrowed: of the 2.5 million entries, almost a million entered from the Western Hemisphere.

Less than half of the immigrants who entered during the 1950s were admitted under the quota system. While many came under special temporary laws enacted to permit the admission of refugees and family members outside the quotas, many others entered as nonquota immigrants (e.g. from the Western Hemisphere) under the basic law. The gradual recognition that the national origins quota system was not functioning effectively as a means of regulating immigration was an important factor leading to the major policy revision which came in 1965.

REFUGEE ADMISSIONS IN THE 1950s AND 1960s

Major refugee admissions occurred outside the national origins quota system during the 1950s. The Refugee Relief Act of August 7, 1953 and the August 31, 1954 amendments authorized the admission of 214,000 refugees from wartorn Europe and escapees from Communist-dominated countries. Thirty percent of the admissions during the life of the Act were Italians, followed by Germans, Yugoslavs, and Greeks.

The Refugee Relief Act originated as an administration bill, and combined humanitarian concern for the refugees and escapees with "international political considerations." Quoting from President Eisenhower's letter which accompanied the draft legislation:

These refugees, escapees, and distressed peoples now constitute an economic and political threat of constantly growing magnitude. They look to traditional American humanitarian concern for the oppressed. International political considerations are also factors which are involved. We should take reasonable steps to help these

people to the extent that we share the obligation of the free world. 15/

In particular, the inclusion of the category of "escapees" from Communist domination in this and subsequent refugee legislation reflected the preoccupations of this Cold War period. This concern was also a major factor in the admission of refugees from the unsuccessful Hungarian revolution of October 1956. A total of 38,000 Hungarian refugees were eventually admitted to the United States, 6,130 with Refugee Relief Act visas and the remainder under the parole provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The Act of September 11, 1957, sometimes referred to as the "Refugee-Escapee Act," provided for the admission of certain aliens who were eligible under the terms of the Refugee Relief Act, as well as "refugee-escapees," defined as persons fleeing persecution in Communist countries or countries in the Middle East. This was the basis for the definition of "refugee" incorporated in the Immigration and Nationality Act from 1965 until 1980. A total of 29,000 entered under the temporary 1957 refugee provisions, led by Hungarians, Koreans, Yugoslavs, and Chinese. Many entered with visas authorized by but unused under the expired Refugee Relief Act. In addition, the 1957 legislation repealed the quota deductions required by the mortgages incurred under the Displaced Persons Act.

During the 1960s, refugees from persecution in Communist dominated countries in the Eastern Hemisphere and from countries in the Middle East continued to be admitted, first under the Fair Share Law, enacted July 14, 1960, and subsequently under the Immigration and Nationality Act. Approximately 19,700 refugees entered under the 1960 legislation. Its primary purpose was

15/ Final Report of the Administrator of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, As Amended, Senate Committee Print, 85th Congress, 1st session, November 15, 1957, p. 1.

to enable the United States to participate in an international effort to close the refugee camps which had been in operation in Europe since the end of World War II. U.S. participation was limited to one-fourth of the total number resettled.

Cuban refugees began entering the United States with the fall of the Batista government in 1959 and continued throughout the 1960s and, in smaller numbers, the 1970s. Approximately 700,000 Cuban refugees had entered the United States prior to new influx which began in April 1980. In the past, the United States has accepted the Cubans as refugees from Communism through a variety of legal means.

THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1965 AND THEIR AFTERMATH

The 1965 amendments to the 1952 Act repealed the national origins quota system and, according to one authority, "represented the most far-reaching revision of immigration policy in the United States since the First Quota Act of 1921. ^{16/} In place of nationality and ethnic considerations, the 1965 Act substituted a system based primarily on reunification of families and needed skills.

The circumstances which led to this major shift in policy in 1965 were a complex combination of changing public perceptions and values, politics, and legislative compromise. Public support for the repeal of the national origins quota system reflected genuine changes in public attitudes toward race and national origins. It can be argued that the 1965 immigration legislation was as much a product of the mid-1960s and the heavily Democratic 89th Congress which also produced major civil rights legislation, as the 1952 Act had been a product of the Cold War period of the early 1950s.

^{16/} Harper, Elizabeth J. Immigration Laws of the United States, 3rd ed. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1975, p. 38.

The 1965 amendments replaced the national origins quota system as the primary control of Eastern Hemisphere immigration with an annual ceiling on Eastern Hemisphere immigration of 170,000 and a 20,000 per country limit. Within these restrictions, immigrant visas were distributed according to a seven-category preference system placing priority, in order, on family reunification attracting needed skills, and refugees. The 1965 law also provided that effective July 1, 1968, Western Hemisphere immigration would be limited by an annual ceiling of 120,000, without per-country limits or a preference system.

The Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1976 (P.L. 94-571; 90 Stat. 2703) extended the 20,000 per-country limit and a slightly modified version of the seven-category preference system equally to the Western Hemisphere. The preference system and the per-country limits were applied to the two hemispheres under the separate ceilings of 170,000 for the Eastern Hemisphere, and 120,000 for the Western Hemisphere. Legislation enacted in 1978 (P.L. 95-412; 92 Stat. 907) combined the separate ceilings into a single worldwide ceiling of 290,000 with a single preference system. The Refugee Act of 1980 (P.L. 96-212; 94 Stat. 102) eliminated refugees as a category of the preference system, and set the worldwide ceiling of 270,000, exclusive of refugees.

The major source of immigration to the United States has shifted since 1965 from Europe to Latin America and Asia, as shown in table 1, which compares immigration during the 10-year periods 1956-1965 and 1967-1976. During the latter decade, North and Central America, including Mexico, Cuba, and the West Indies, led all other regions with 1,507,434. While this number was augmented by the flow of Cuban refugees, Mexico accounted for one-third of the total, with 550,964, in what appears to be a continuing trend. The total figure for North and Central America immigration represented an increase of 43.4 percent over the previous decade.

This is dwarfed by the increase of 369.2 percent in Asian immigration, from 224,342 during 1956-1965 to 1,052,688 during 1967-1976. However, the Asian increase clearly reflects the liberalization of the immigration law regarding Asia. Western Hemisphere immigration, in contrast, has increased in spite of the adoption of the annual numerical ceiling of 120,000 on this hemisphere as of July 1, 1968. European immigration fell 27 percent in 1967-1976 compared to the previous 10-year period, and was exceeded by both North America and Asia, reversing the trend of almost two centuries of immigration to the United States.

TABLE 1
IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH
FISCAL YEARS 1956-1965 AND 1967-1976

Country of Origin	1956-1965	1967-1976	Percent Change	Country of Origin	1956-1965	1967-1976	Percent Change
TOTAL	2,878,153	3,883,219	+34.9	AFRICA	22,924	63,978	+179.1
EUROPE	1,400,051	1,016,110	-27.4	Egypt	6,986	25,966	+271.7
Austria	23,227	6,915	-70.2	Nigeria	677	4,787	+607.1
Czechoslovakia	22,587	17,804	-21.2	Rhodesia	500	602	+20.4
Denmark	14,155	6,337	-55.2	South Africa	3,171	5,536	+74.6
France	41,110	21,631	-47.4	Uganda	82	2,283	+2,684.1
Germany	309,762	89,211	-71.2	Other Africa	11,508	24,804	+115.3
Greece	46,696	129,076	+176.4	OCEANIA	11,916	30,207	+153.5
Hungary	57,878	15,546	-73.1	Australia	6,270	13,733	+119.0
Ireland	71,023	18,601	-73.8	Other Oceania	5,646	16,474	+191.8
Italy	197,261	200,279	+1.5	NORTH AMERICA	1,050,983	1,507,434	+43.4
Netherlands	48,853	12,994	-73.4	Canada	321,682	138,945	-56.8
Poland	86,809	43,968	-49.4	Mexico	419,770	550,964	+31.3
Portugal	28,977	122,306	+322.1	Barbados	3,506	16,413	+368.1
Romania	13,530	16,980	+25.5	Cuba	132,267	302,638	+128.8
Spain	17,191	37,773	+119.7	Dominican Republic	40,047	121,818	+204.2
Sweden	20,850	8,262	-60.4	Haiti	13,154	56,387	+328.7
Switzerland	18,254	9,253	-49.3	Jamaica	14,853	130,404	+778.0
U.S.S.R.	26,428	21,356	-19.2	Trinidad & Tobago	3,646	59,728	+1,538.2
United Kingdom	248,650	147,135	-40.8	Costa Rica	12,868	11,778	-8.5
Yugoslavia	40,238	61,833	+53.7	El Salvador	11,156	19,006	+70.4
Other Europe	66,572	28,850	-56.7	Guatemala	9,003	19,098	+112.1
ASIA	224,342	1,052,688	+369.2	Honduras	11,685	13,316	+14.0
China and Taiwan	43,445	166,480	+283.2	Nicaragua	12,841	7,129	-44.5
Hong Kong	5,965	45,608	+664.6	Panama	17,688	16,500	-6.7
India	5,416	115,800	+2,038.1	Other North America	26,817	43,310	+61.5
Indonesia	18,425	5,723	-68.9	SOUTH AMERICA	167,772	212,778	+26.8
Iran	5,161	21,984	+326.0	Argentina	35,269	25,699	-27.1
Iraq	2,756	16,291	+491.1	Brazil	16,444	14,770	-10.2
Israel	13,070	20,350	+55.8	Chile	10,191	10,107	-0.8
Japan	48,931	44,068	-9.9	Colombia	46,955	60,665	+29.2
Jordan and Palestine	7,088	24,849	+250.6	Ecuador	22,620	43,361	+91.7
Korea	16,361	166,422	+917.2	Guyana	2,135	23,029	+978.6
Lebanon	4,308	18,003	+317.9	Peru	16,825	16,265	-3.3
Philippines	27,621	270,078	+877.8	Uruguay	2,023	6,159	+204.4
Syria	2,194	9,795	+346.4	Venezuela	8,218	5,677	-30.9
Thailand	1,098	32,184	+2,831.1	Other South America	7,092	7,046	-0.6
Turkey	9,345	18,866	+101.9	OTHER COUNTRIES	165	24	-85.5
Vietnam	986	22,811	+2,213.5				
Other Asia	12,172	53,367	+338.4				

Source: U.S. Interagency Task Force on Immigration Policy, Staff Report, March 1979, p. 124.

THE 1970s AND 1980: UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS, REFUGEES, AND SELECT COMMISSION

The patterns of immigration and the policy considerations relating to it in the 1970s resembled in some respects those of the 1950s after the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act. In both decades, the entry of aliens outside the qualitative and quantitative restrictions of the basic law--both illegally as undocumented aliens, and legally as refugees--were increasingly the dominant pattern in immigration and the basis for the major issues confronting the Congress.

After 10 years of relatively low apprehension figures, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service began reporting rising numbers of apprehended deportable aliens in fiscal year 1965, increasing to 1,057,977 by fiscal year 1978. This is just under the all-time high of 1,089,583 apprehensions in fiscal year 1954.

In 1971, Congress again began struggling with the problem of how best to reduce the numbers and presumably adverse impact of illegal or undocumented aliens. To date, it has not yet arrived at an agreement on how to remedy the problem. Legislation relating to the issue has received only limited action since the passage by wide margins of remedial legislation by the House of Representatives in the 92d and 93d Congresses.

The number of illegal or undocumented aliens in the United States is not known; estimates currently range from 3 to 6 million. The problem is generally agreed to be primarily an economic one, both in its causes and its effects. The primary, though not the only, effects of illegal immigration are believed to occur in the labor market. There has been increasing disagreement about the nature and extent of these effects in such areas as the displacement of U.S. workers, and the impact on wages and working conditions.

The major impetus behind the illegal migration to this country is generally seen to be the economic imbalance between the United States and the countries from which the aliens come. They come here primarily to obtain employment as a means of escaping poverty for themselves and their families, and in response to apparent employment needs in this country. In addition to concern over economic implications, increasing attention is being focused on foreign policy implications, particularly in respect to Mexico.

Admission and resettlement of refugees emerged again as a major immigration issue in the mid-1970s, and remains one today. Since the fall of Vietnam and Cambodia in the spring of 1975, approximately 400,000 Indochinese refugees have entered the United States, and 14,000 are entering monthly.

By the end of the 1970s, a consensus had been reached that a more coherent and equitable approach to refugee admission and resettlement was needed. The result was the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act contained in the Refugee Act of 1980, enacted on March 17, 1980 (P.L. 96-212; 94 Stat. 102). The legislation repealed the ideological and geographic limitations which had previously favored refugees fleeing Communism or from countries in the Middle East and redefined "refugee" to conform with the definition used in the United Nations Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The term "refugee" is now defined by the Immigration and Nationality Act as a person who is unwilling or unable to return to his country of nationality or habitual residence because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

The 1980 amendments made provision for both a regular flow and the emergency admission of refugees, following legislatively prescribed consultation with the Congress. In addition, the law authorizes Federal assistance for the resettlement of refugees.

Shortly after the enactment of the Refugee Act of 1980, large numbers of Cubans entered the United States through Southern Florida, totalling an estimated 125,000, along with continuing smaller numbers of Haitians. The Carter Administration was unwilling to classify either group as refugees, which would have the effect of making them eligible for the Federal resettlement benefits authorized by the 1980 legislation. Instead, the Administration sought special legislation to meet the needs of these groups. No action was taken on this legislation during the 96th Congress, and the status of the entrants remains unsettled.

The entire area of immigration and refugee policy is currently under review by the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, created for this purpose by P.L. 95-412. The 16-member Commission consists of four members each of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, four Cabinet members, and four members appointed by the President, including its Chairman, the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh. The Commission is to report to the President and the Congress on its administrative and legislative recommendations by March 1, 1981.

The Select Commission's report may well be followed by a full-scale review of U.S. immigration law and policy, including the problems of undocumented workers and refugees. Quoting from a Washington Post editorial on September 29, 1980:

It is already clear that the 1980s are going to be a period when Americans grapple more closely than they have in 60 years with all the separate aspects of immigration: refugees, legal immigrants, illegal immigrants--the works. A sense is growing that although it is murderously difficult to deal with all the parts at the same time, that is the only way in which the competing values and interests can be fairly balanced off.

APPENDIX A

TABLE 13.
IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRY, FOR DECADES
1820-1978 1/

1/ From 1820-1867, figures represent alien passengers arrived; from 1868-1891 and 1895-1897, immigrant aliens arrived; from 1892-1894 and 1898 to the present time, immigrant aliens admitted. Data for years prior to 1906 relates to country whence the alien came; thereafter, to country of last permanent residence. Because of changes in boundaries and changes in lists of countries, data for certain countries is not comparable throughout.

Countries	1820	1821-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880
All countries	8,385	143,439	599,125	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,314,824	2,812,191
Europe	7,690	98,797	495,681	1,597,442	2,452,577	2,065,141	2,271,925
Austria-Hungary 2/ 5/	-	-	-	-	-	7,800	72,969
Belgium	1	27	22	5,074	4,738	6,734	7,221
Denmark	20	169	1,063	539	3,749	17,094	31,771
France	371	8,497	45,575	77,262	76,358	35,986	72,206
Germany 2/ 5/	968	6,761	152,454	434,626	951,667	787,468	718,182
Great Britain: England	1,782	14,055	7,611	32,092	247,123	222,277	437,706
Scotland	268	2,912	2,667	3,712	38,331	38,769	87,564
Wales	-	170	185	1,261	6,319	4,313	6,631
Not specified 3/ ..	360	7,942	65,347	229,979	132,199	341,537	16,142
Greece	-	20	49	16	31	72	210
Ireland	3,614	50,724	207,381	780,719	914,119	435,778	436,871
Italy	30	409	2,253	1,870	9,231	11,725	55,759
Netherlands	49	1,078	1,412	8,251	10,789	9,102	16,541
Norway) 4/	3	91	1,201	13,903	20,931	(71,631	(95,323
Sweden) 4/	-	-	-	-	-	(37,667	(115,922
Poland 5/	5	16	369	105	1,164	2,027	12,970
Portugal	35	143	829	550	1,053	2,658	14,082
Romania 12/	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Spain	139	2,477	2,125	2,209	9,298	6,697	5,266
Switzerland	31	3,226	4,821	4,644	25,011	23,286	28,293
U.S.S.R. 5/ 5/	14	75	277	551	457	2,512	39,284
Other Europe	-	3	40	79	5	8	1,001
Asia	6	30	55	141	41,538	64,759	124,160
China	1	2	8	35	41,397	64,301	123,201
India	1	8	39	36	43	69	163
Japan 7/	-	-	-	-	-	186	149
Turkey	1	20	7	59	83	131	404
Other Asia	3	-	1	11	15	72	243
America	387	11,564	33,424	62,469	74,720	166,607	404,044
Canada & Newfoundland 8/	209	2,277	13,624	41,723	59,309	153,878	383,640
Mexico 9/	1	4,817	6,599	3,271	3,078	2,191	5,162
West Indies	164	3,834	12,301	13,528	10,660	9,046	13,957
Central America	2	105	44	368	449	95	157
South America	11	531	856	3,579	1,224	1,397	1,128
Africa	1	16	54	55	210	312	358
Australia & New Zealand	-	-	-	-	-	36	9,886
Pacific Islands (U.S. adm.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,028
Not specified	301	33,032	69,911	53,144	29,169	17,969	790

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 13.
IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRY, FOR DECADES (Contd.)
1820-1978 1/

2.

Countries	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950
All countries	5,266,613	3,687,564	8,795,386	5,735,811	4,107,209	528,431	1,035,039
Europe	4,735,484	3,555,352	8,056,040	4,321,887	2,463,194	347,552	621,124
Albania <u>11/</u>	-	-	-	-	-	2,040	85
Austria)	-	-	-	(453,649	32,868	3,563	24,860
Hungary) <u>2/ 5/</u>	353,719	592,707	2,145,266	(442,693	30,680	7,861	3,469
Belgium	20,177	18,167	41,635	33,746	15,846	4,817	12,189
Bulgaria <u>10/</u>	-	160	39,280	22,533	2,945	938	375
Czechoslovakia <u>11/</u>	-	-	-	3,426	102,194	14,393	8,347
Denmark	88,132	50,231	65,285	41,983	32,430	2,559	5,393
Estonia	-	-	-	-	-	506	212
Finland <u>11/</u>	-	-	-	756	16,691	2,146	2,503
France	50,464	30,770	73,379	61,897	49,610	12,623	18,809
Germany <u>2/ 5/</u>	1,452,970	505,152	341,498	143,945	412,202	114,058	226,578
Great Britain: England	644,680	216,726	388,017	249,944	157,420	21,756	112,252
Scotland	149,869	44,188	120,469	78,357	159,781	6,887	16,131
Wales	12,640	10,557	17,464	13,107	13,012	735	3,209
Not specified <u>3/</u>	168	67	-	-	-	-	-
Greece	2,308	15,979	167,519	184,201	51,084	9,119	8,973
Ireland	655,482	388,416	339,065	146,181	220,591	13,167	26,967
Italy	307,309	651,893	2,045,877	1,109,524	455,315	68,028	57,661
Latvia <u>11/</u>	-	-	-	-	-	1,192	361
Lithuania <u>11/</u>	-	-	-	-	-	2,201	683
Luxembourg <u>15/</u>	-	-	-	-	-	565	820
Netherlands	53,701	26,758	48,262	43,718	26,948	7,150	14,860
Norway <u>4/</u>	176,586	95,015	190,505	66,395	68,531	4,740	10,100
Poland <u>5/</u>	51,806	96,720	-	4,813	227,734	17,026	7,571
Portugal	16,978	27,508	69,149	89,732	29,994	3,329	7,423
Romania <u>12/</u>	6,348	12,750	53,008	13,311	67,646	3,871	1,076
Spain	4,419	8,731	27,935	68,611	28,958	3,258	2,898
Sweden <u>4/</u>	391,776	226,266	249,534	95,074	97,249	3,960	10,665
Switzerland	81,988	31,179	34,922	23,091	29,676	5,512	10,547
U.S.S.R. <u>5/ 6/</u>	213,282	505,290	1,597,306	921,201	61,742	1,356	548
Yugoslavia <u>10/</u>	-	-	-	1,888	49,064	5,835	1,576
Other Europe	682	122	665	8,111	22,983	2,361	3,983
Asia	69,942	74,862	323,543	247,236	112,059	16,081	32,360
China	61,711	14,799	20,605	21,278	29,907	4,928	16,709
India	269	68	4,713	2,082	1,886	496	1,761
Japan <u>7/</u>	2,270	25,942	129,797	83,837	33,462	1,948	1,555
Turkey	3,782	30,425	157,369	134,066	33,824	1,065	798
Other Asia	1,910	3,628	11,059	5,973	12,980	7,644	11,537
America	426,967	38,972	361,888	1,143,671	1,516,716	160,037	354,804
Canada & Newfoundland <u>8/</u>	393,304	3,311	179,226	742,185	924,515	108,527	171,718
Mexico <u>9/</u>	1,913	971	49,642	219,004	459,287	22,319	60,589
West Indies	29,042	33,066	107,548	123,424	74,899	15,502	49,725
Central America	404	549	8,192	17,159	15,769	5,861	21,665
South America	2,304	1,075	17,280	41,899	42,215	7,803	21,831
Other America <u>13/</u>	-	-	-	-	31	25	29,276
Africa	857	350	7,368	8,443	6,286	1,750	7,367
Australia & New Zealand	7,017	2,740	11,975	12,348	8,299	2,231	13,805
Pacific Islands (U.S. adm.)	5,557	1,225	1,049	1,079	427	780	5,437
Not specified <u>14/</u>	789	14,063	33,523	1,147	228	-	142

See footnotes at end of table.

United States Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

TABLE 13.
DESIGNATION BY COUNTRY, FOR DECADES (Contd.)
1820-1978 1/

Countries-	1951-1960	1961-1970	1971-1975	1976	TQ 1976	1977	1978	Total 159 years 1820-1978
All countries	2,515,479	3,321,677	1,936,281	798,613	103,678	462,315	601,442	68,686,365
Europe	1,325,640	1,123,383	422,194	73,033	18,641	74,048	76,156	36,202,963
Albania 11/	59	98	156	25	1	51	41	2,556
Austria 2/ 3/	67,106	20,621	6,961	519)	127)	459)	306)	4,315,642
Hungary 2/ 3/	36,637	5,401	3,422	561)	119)	675)	626)	
Belgium	18,575	9,192	2,614	537	164	331	611	202,438
Bulgaria 10/	104	619	510	107	23	98	135	67,827
Czechoslovakia 11/	918	3,273	3,444	267	56	273	438	137,029
Denmark	10,984	9,201	2,230	400	125	403	399	364,160
Estonia 11/	183	163	43	10	-	1	6	1,128
Finland 12/	4,925	4,192	1,613	232	43	227	313	33,441
France	51,121	45,237	12,277	2,030	560	2,651	2,741	750,424
Germany 2/ 3/	477,765	190,796	37,070	6,642	1,960	7,414	7,367	6,977,743
Great Britain: England	156,171	174,452	52,506	11,444	2,981	12,579	14,982	3,178,558
Scotland	32,854	29,849	4,610	997	209	884	953	820,063
Wales	2,589	2,052	463	105	40	139	124	95,127
Not specified 3/	3,884	3,675	2,207	424	99	432	354	804,822
Greece	67,608	85,969	56,191	8,553	2,198	7,792	6,994	654,886
Ireland	37,332	37,661	6,559	962	265	967	923	4,723,544
Italy	185,491	214,111	93,506	7,993	2,032	7,369	7,032	5,294,418
Latvia 11/	352	510	90	20	6	11	16	2,555
Lithuania 11/	262	562	94	21	8	11	30	3,832
Luxembourg 13/	684	556	164	17	10	27	24	2,867
Netherlands	52,277	30,606	4,780	850	288	1,039	1,182	359,641
Norway 4/	22,935	15,484	1,963	287	78	344	428	856,474
Poland 5/	9,985	53,539	16,808	3,192	820	3,331	4,495	514,496
Portugal	19,588	76,065	52,016	11,031	2,693	9,977	10,517	445,134
Romania 12/	1,039	2,531	4,156	1,670	340	1,506	1,628	170,691
Spain	7,894	44,659	20,760	2,758	625	5,568	4,256	259,551
Sweden 4/	21,687	17,116	3,043	368	168	576	644	1,371,925
Switzerland	17,675	18,453	4,113	776	187	812	860	369,103
U.S.S.R. 5/ 6/	584	2,356	7,211	7,417	1,751	5,443	4,677	3,073,014
Yugoslavia 10/	8,225	20,381	19,139	2,310	589	2,315	2,227	113,549
Other Europe	3,153	4,203	2,071	310	76	340	437	55,605
Asia 16/	150,106	427,771	590,223	148,725	37,725	150,842	243,596	2,853,760
China 17/	9,657	34,764	44,500	9,925	3,031	12,513	1,275	315,750
India	1,973	27,189	66,650	16,130	4,128	16,849	19,145	163,698
Japan 7/	46,250	39,988	26,005	4,789	1,215	4,545	4,500	406,438
Turkey	2,818	10,142	6,429	956	262	991	1,022	385,353
Other Asia	88,707	315,688	446,439	114,925	29,089	115,944	216,651	1,382,519
America	996,364	1,716,374	878,027	169,180	44,272	223,174	266,470	4,050,000
Canada and Newfoundland 8/	377,932	413,310	79,621	11,439	3,591	18,003	23,493	4,104,857
Mexico 9/	299,811	433,937	319,359	58,354	16,095	44,646	92,661	2,123,727
West Indies	123,091	470,213	318,027	65,734	15,364	109,959	87,717	1,586,401
Central America	44,751	101,330	45,633	10,097	2,860	16,892	20,481	312,363
South America	91,628	257,954	114,641	23,355	6,362	33,671	2,080	712,024
Other America 12/	59,711	19,630	746	1	-	3	16	109,439
Africa	14,092	28,954	27,948	5,723	1,967	9,612	10,336	132,059
Australia and New Zealand	11,506	19,562	11,155	2,133	606	2,544	2,665	118,508
Pacific Islands (U.S. adm.) 16/	4,698	1,769	933	195	60	195	137	24,571
Not specified 14/	12,493	3,384	5,799	1,622	403	1,900	2,082	182,293

1/ Since July 1, 1868, the data is for fiscal years ending June 30. Prior to fiscal year 1869, the periods covered are as follows: from 1820-1831 and 1843-1849, the years ended on September 30-1843 covers 9 months; and from 1832-1842 and 1850-1867, the years ended on December 31-1832 and 1850 cover 15 months. For 1868, the period ended on June 30 and covers 6 months. The transition quarter (TQ) for 1976 covers the 3-month period, July-September 1976.

2/ Data for Austria-Hungary was not reported until 1861. Austria and Hungary have been recorded separately since 1905. From 1938-1945, Austria is included in Germany.

3/ Great Britain not specified. From 1901-1951, included in other Europe.

4/ From 1820-1868, the figures for Norway and Sweden are combined.

5/ Poland recorded as a separate country from 1820-1898 and since 1920. From 1899-1919, Poland is included with Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia.

6/ From 1931-1963, the U.S.S.R. is broken down into European U.S.S.R. and Asian U.S.S.R. Since 1964 total U.S.S.R. has been reported in Europe.

7/ No record of immigration from Japan until 1861.

8/ Prior to 1920, Canada and Newfoundland are recorded as British North America. From 1820-1898, the figures include all British North American possessions.

9/ No record of immigration from Mexico from 1826-1893.

10/ Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro were first reported in 1899. Bulgaria has been reported separately since 1920; also in 1920, a separate enumeration was made for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Since 1922, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes Kingdom has been recorded as Yugoslavia.

11/ Countries added to the list since the beginning of World War I are included with the countries to which they belonged. Figures available since 1920 for Czechoslovakia and Finland and, since 1924, for Albania, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

12/ No record of immigration from Romania until 1880.

13/ Included with countries not specified to 1925.

14/ The figure 33,523 in column headed 1901-1910 includes 32,897 persons returning in 1906 to their homes in the United States.

15/ Figures for Luxembourg are available since 1925.

16/ Beginning with the year 1952, Asia includes the Philippines. From 1934-1951, the Philippines are included in the Pacific Islands. Prior to 1934, the Philippines are recorded in separate tables as Insular Travel.

17/ Beginning with the year 1957, China includes Taiwan.

APPENDIX B

TABLE A4.
REFUGEES ADMITTED BY COUNTRY ON BASIS OF BIRTH
DURING PERIODS JULY 1949-JUNE 30, 1949-1976,
AND YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1977

COUNTRY OR REGION OF BIRTH	NUMBER ADMITTED	PRESIDENT'S DIRECTIVE NO. 25, 1949	DISPLACED PERSONS ADMITTED		REFUGEE RELIEF ACT OF 1953	ACT OF JULY 29, 1953 (REFUGES)	ACT OF SEP. 11, 1957 (SEC. 1, 2)	ACT OF JULY 29, 1958 (HUNGARIAN PARAGRAPHS)	ACT OF SEPT. 2, 1958 (LAWSON & METCALERS REFUGES)	ACT OF SEPT. 22, 1959 (SEC. 6)	ACT OF JULY 14, 1960 (REFUGEE-RESCAPES)	ACT OF OCT. 3, 1965 (CONDITIONAL ENTRANTS BY REFUGES)	ACT OF NOV. 2, 1966 (CUBAN REFUGES)
			PERSONS ADMITTED	PERSONS ADJUSTING UNDER SEC. 4									
ALL COUNTRIES ...	1,121,919	49,330	352,260	3,470	199,021	646	29,042	28,213	22,213	1,020	19,794	100,000	362,124
EUROPE	771,431	29,492	349,731	1,794	171,609	140	16,932	20,713	9,179	1,272	12,972	71,542	7,272
Austria	1,000	157	6,235	1	4,208	75	10,332	20,113	9,179	1	12,972	71,542	7,272
Belgium	1,000	157	6,235	1	4,208	75	10,332	20,113	9,179	1	12,972	71,542	7,272
Czechoslovakia	27,313	3,342	9,322	27	2,076	1	197	100	1	1	515	2,210	3
Denmark	114	11	35	1	67	1	10	1	1	1	6,075	1	3
Estonia	11,262	145	293	1	16	1	34	1	1	1	12	2	1
Finland	1,103	12	93	1	60	1	100	1	1	1	212	269	36
France	2,163	37	107	1	74	1	100	1	1	1	754	1,194	29
Germany	180,281	809	52,072	5	29,222	94	1,500	29	7	397	244	379	25
Greece	29,574	16,077	18,272	297	9,455	1	5,172	29,002	1	1	11,002	3,029	1
Hungary	69,552	7	12,026	2	6,416	1	1,000	2	2	993	168	446	65
Ireland	61	7	31	1	18	1	1	1	1	1	47	1	1
Latvia	42,816	194	2,737	12	37,026	4	1,000	2	2	2	47	1	39
Lithuania	25,150	194	2,737	12	37,026	4	1,000	2	2	2	47	1	39
Lithuania	27,350	194	2,737	12	37,026	4	1,000	2	2	2	47	1	39
Netherlands	17,428	116	1,076	2	11,507	1	1,076	1	1	1	21	27	1
Norway	116	5	5	1	11,076	1	1,076	1	1	1	21	27	1
Poland	164,478	51,668	126,569	341	11,912	1	1,139	16	2	2	773	9,205	461
Romania	2,316	15	15	1	34	1	125	1	1	1	13	1	10
Rumania	2,316	15	15	1	34	1	125	1	1	1	13	1	10
Spain	9,102	33	5,131	136	6,289	1	173	276	3	1	4,430	2,400	6,253
Sweden	448	10	347	1	12	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
Switzerland	373	44	331	1	38	1	59	1	1	1	6	1	7
Switzerland	373	44	331	1	38	1	59	1	1	1	6	1	7
United Kingdom	94,424	1,942	31,373	51	9,827	1	186	9	1	1	230	15,030	105
United Kingdom	94,424	1,942	31,373	51	9,827	1	186	9	1	1	230	15,030	105
Yugoslavia	64,064	754	17,618	196	17,618	1	3,012	194	3	1	6,443	25,029	10
Other Europe	6,090	154	904	4	2,164	2	415	6	2	1	162	2,050	136
ASIA	21,227	516	2,137	1,019	10,237	174	19,069	6	12,242	431	174	12,500	900
China & Taiwan	21,227	516	2,137	1,019	10,237	174	19,069	6	12,242	431	174	12,500	900
India	27,415	284	609	1,175	6,963	3	2,626	16	17	118	14,227	600	238
Indonesia	15,945	1	1	1	3,146	2	21	1	1	1	3	34	4
Japan	4,372	3	6	2	2,768	2	218	1	1	1	68	10	10
Korea	4,443	4	2	2	2,768	2	218	1	1	1	68	10	10
Korea	4,443	4	2	2	2,768	2	218	1	1	1	68	10	10
Philippines	1,009	4	46	46	607	1	3,793	1	1	269	2	13	5
Philippines	1,009	4	46	46	607	1	3,793	1	1	269	2	13	5
Other Asia	21,051	62	1,110	99	2,060	13	1,497	3	100	2	346	97	10
NORTH AMERICA	335,058	59	219	2	599	1	17	35	22	11	726	10,000	311
Canada	127	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mexico	127	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
West Indies	332,654	53	217	1	597	1	15	33	20	9	725	9,999	310
Cuba	332,654	53	217	1	597	1	15	33	20	9	725	9,999	310
Other West Indies	563	5	3	1	59	1	164	1	16	6	2	2	233
Central America	274	4	204	1	609	1	16	34	6	2	3	6	121
Other North America	662	36	204	1	609	1	16	34	6	2	3	6	121
SOUTH AMERICA	849	24	13	6	67	1	22	1	1	1	1	1	726
Africa	5,899	15	10	25	465	1	1,992	1	1	1	3,091	3,759	28
Other Countries	208	17	31	1	65	1	39	1	23	1	1	10	7

1/ INCLUDES 9,130 HUNGARIAN REFUGES.
2/ INCLUDES 27,616 ALIENS WHO CONDITIONALLY ENTERED THE UNITED STATES AND 13,472 REFUGES WHOSE STATUS WAS ADJUSTED TO PERMANENT RESIDENTS AFTER 2 YEARS' CONTINUOUS PHYSICAL PRESENCE IN THE UNITED STATES. THE 92,616 CONDITIONAL ENTRANTS INCLUDE THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN ACCORDED LAWFUL PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS.

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1977 Annual Report, p. 43.

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