

## Immigration and the Legacy of Harry S. Truman

Immigration and the Legacy of Harry S. Truman  
The Truman Legacy Series, Volume 6

Based on the Sixth Truman Legacy Symposium  
The Immigration Legacy of Harry S. Truman  
May 2008  
Key West, Florida

Edited by  
Roger Daniels

# IMMIGRATION

and the LEGACY of  
HARRY S. TRUMAN

Edited by  
Roger Daniels



Volume 6  
Truman State University Press

Copyright © 2010 Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri 63501  
All rights reserved  
tsup.truman.edu

Cover photo: President Truman signs Philippine Immigration Bill, July 2, 1946  
(59-1215)

Cover design: Katie Best  
Type: Adobe Garamond Pro, copyright Adobe Systems Inc.; Bauer Text Initials,  
copyright Phil's Fonts  
Printed by: Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan USA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data  
Truman Legacy Symposium (6th : 2008 : Key West, Fla.)  
Immigration and the legacy of Harry S. Truman / edited by Roger Daniels.  
p. cm. — (Truman legacy series ; v. 6)  
“Based on the sixth Truman Legacy Symposium, The Immigration Legacy of Harry  
S. Truman, May, 2008, Key West, Florida”  
Includes bibliographical references and index.  
ISBN 978-1-931112-99-4 (pbk. : alk. paper)  
1. Truman, Harry S., 1884–1972—Political and social views—Congresses. 2. Truman,  
Harry S., 1884–1972—Influence—Congresses. 3. United States—Emigration and  
immigration—Government policy—History—20th century—Congresses. I. Daniels,  
Roger. II. Title.  
E814.T85 2008a  
304.80973—dc22

2009039070

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any format by any means  
without written permission from the publisher.

The paper in this publication meets or exceeds the minimum requirements of the  
American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for  
Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1992.

# CONTENTS

Editor's Preface .....	xi
HARRY TRUMAN'S QUEST FOR PEACE .....	1
<i>Richard S. Kirkendall</i>	
HARRY S. TRUMAN AND IMMIGRATION	
An Appraisal .....	13
<i>Roger Daniels</i>	
TRUMAN, HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS, AND PALESTINE .....	24
<i>Leonard Dinnerstein</i>	
A COMMON MAN'S PERSPECTIVE .....	50
<i>Ken Hechler</i>	
HARRY S. TRUMAN AND IMMIGRATION	
A Graphic Essay Based on the Holdings of the Harry S. Truman Library .....	67
<i>Raymond H. Geselbracht</i>	
STRATEGIC CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION FROM THE PHILIPPINES .....	96
<i>Barbara M. Posadas and Roland L. Guyotte</i>	
RACE AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION IN THE McCARRAN- WALTER ACT .....	120
<i>Margo Anderson</i>	
RENEWED AFRICAN IMMIGRATION .....	151
<i>David M. Reimers</i>	
BECOMING AMERICAN	
Immigration and Naturalization Records in the National Archives .....	172
<i>Mary Evelyn Tomlin</i>	
ORIGINS OF THE SUN BELT	
Florida and the Truman Years, 1945–1953 .....	187
<i>Gary R. Mormino</i>	

Contributors .....	205
Index .....	207

# ILLUSTRATIONS & TABLES

## GRAPHIC ESSAY

All images courtesy of Harry S. Truman Library and Museum.

Harry Truman to Bess Wallace, June 22, 1911 (excerpt) . . . . .	68
Harry Truman to Bess Wallace, October 16, 1911 (excerpt) . . . . .	69
Report of Earl G. Harrison, August 1945 (final page) . . . . .	70
Harry S. Truman to Dwight D. Eisenhower, August 31, 1945 . . . . .	71
Draft statement (first page), issued as part of “Statement and Directive by the President on Immigration to the United States of Certain Displaced Persons and Refugees in Europe,” December 22, 1945 . . . . .	73
John Lesinski to Harry S. Truman, January 30, 1946 . . . . .	74
David D. Lloyd, Memorandum for the President, April 12, 1952, “Last Displaced Person Ceremony” . . . . .	75
Personal writing of Harry S. Truman, April 15, 1952 (excerpt) . . . . .	77
Emanuel Celler to Harry S. Truman, June 7, 1945 . . . . .	78
Harry S. Truman signing H.R. 3517, July 2, 1946. . . . .	79
Migrant workers waiting to enter the Migratory Labor Center, Harlingen, Texas . . . . .	80
“Special Message to Congress on Aid for Escapees and Other Refugees,” Key West draft #3, ca. March 12, 1952 (first page). Speech delivered on March 24, 1952 . . . . .	81
“Special Migration Act of 1952,” draft legislation, March 20, 1952 (first page) . . . . .	82
Averell Harriman to Harry S. Truman, June 21, 1952. . . . .	83
Miss Bacon to Mr. Allison (assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs), June 20, 1952 . . . . .	85
S.2549, January 29, 1952 (excerpt). . . . .	86
Dean Acheson, Charles Sawyer, and Payton Ford to Harry S. Truman, July 15, 1949. . . . .	87
Draft speech announcing President Truman’s veto of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (first page) . . . . .	89
Democratic National Committee release, “The Gates Must Be Left Open,” September 1952 (first page) . . . . .	90

Draft executive order establishing the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, September 1952 (first page) . . . . .	91
President Truman receives from Philip Perlman the report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, titled <i>Whom We Shall Welcome</i> . . . . .	92
<i>Whom We Shall Welcome</i> , January 1, 1953 (cover) . . . . .	93
Harry S. Truman and Pat McCarran at a Democratic Party rally in California, 1951. . . . .	94
Press release, statement of Philip B. Perlman, January 4, 1953 (first page) . . . . .	95

## RACE AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION IN THE MCCARRAN-WALTER ACT

Table 1: List of races or peoples from 1911 <i>Dictionary of Races and Peoples</i> . . . . .	127
Table 2: 1949 List of races or peoples, alphabetical . . . . .	128
Table 3: Lists of groups for ethnic classification, 1952 . . . . .	131
Table 4: March 1953 ethnic classification . . . . .	137
Table 5: Comparison of ethnic classification lists, 1949 and 1952 . . . . .	142
Table 6: Comparison of ethnic classification lists, 1952 and 1953 . . . . .	143

## RENEWED AFRICAN IMMIGRATION

Table 1: African immigration. . . . .	153
Table 2: Percent of places reserved for preferences in the Immigration Act of 1965 as amended in 1978 . . . . .	155
Table 3: African refugees . . . . .	159

## BECOMING AMERICAN

All images courtesy of National Archives–Southeast Region, Atlanta, Georgia.

Figure 1. List or manifest of alien passengers for the United States, September 1912 . . . . .	174
Figure 2. An account of fifteen African slaves sold on the 19th of April, 1825. . . . .	175
Figure 3. Page from list of aliens admitted to citizenship, 1790–1860. . . . .	177
Figure 4. Petition for naturalization for Anton Wehrmann, September 14, 1843 . . . . .	178



Figure 5. Declaration of intention for Benjamin Berriett, September 1861 . . . . .	179
Figure 6. Declaration of intention for Hans Albert Einstein, December 21, 1938 . . . . .	181
Figure 7. Declaration of intention for George Gideon Menke, August 29, 1936 . . . . .	181
Figure 8. Certificate of arrival for Alfred Heinz Kissinger, June 19, 1934. . . . .	182
Figure 9. Petition for naturalization for Heinz Alfred Kissenger, September 23, 1941. . . . .	182
Figure 10. Petition for naturalization for Wernher von Braun, 1955 . . . . .	183
Figure 11. Petition for naturalization for Arthur Rudolph, 1954. . . . .	183
Figure 12. Petition for naturalization for Roberto Crispulo Goizueta, September 23, 1969 . . . . .	184

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

Most of the essays in this collection were presented at the annual Truman Legacy Symposium at Key West in May 2008. The broad purpose of this symposium series is to provide a better understanding of Harry Truman, his presidency, and his era, including the ongoing impact of his presidency.

To set the tone, the keynote by Richard Kirkendall, a founding scholar of Truman studies, explores the moral forces that guided Truman's decisions. In addition, he provides non-specialist readers with an up-to-date guide to the essential literature about Truman and his presidency. My own remarks focus on Truman's major actions affecting immigration, including those that stretched beyond his presidency and try to claim him as an immigration president. Many of the matters on which I touch briefly are more fully examined in subsequent essays.

Leonard Dinnerstein, a leading scholar of modern American Jewish history, provides a detailed narrative and analysis of Truman's beliefs and activities affecting the surviving Jews of Europe, including their immigration to the United States and his recognition of the State of Israel.

Ken Hechler, a former member of Truman's White House staff and the only contributor who actually knew the president, combines his personal experience and his research to describe how Truman overcame some of the prejudices of his family and regional background.

Ray Geselbracht, a senior member of the Truman Library staff, has used his deep knowledge of the library's vast pictorial resources to craft a vivid graphic essay including some of the more striking documents and photographs relating to Truman and immigration.

Barbara Posadas and Roland Guyotte have written widely and well about Filipino immigration to the United States based on research done on both sides of the Pacific. Here they provide a micro-transnational portrait of aspects of that migration to Chicago. Margo Anderson, the leading historian of the U.S. Census, dissects the all-but-comic effects of competing bureaucratic efforts to reconcile the racial prejudices of American legislators with the findings of mid-twentieth-century social science.

David Reimers, a leading scholar of American immigration, explores and analyzes recent immigration from Africa, a post-Truman era phenom-

enon influenced and made possible by the statutory liberalizations begun in the Truman era, and by the Johnson era reforms the Missourian helped to inspire.

Mary Evelyn Tomlin, a public programs specialist at the National Archives–Southeast Region in Atlanta, has scoured the holdings of her institution to provide and explicate a series of documents and images that give us revealing insights into the human drama involved in immigration.

Gary Mormino, the author of studies of Italian immigrants and the modern history of Florida, here shows how emergence of the modern Sun Belt in the Truman era and beyond had ethnic implications that are all too often ignored in discussions of that phenomenon.

In addition to thanking all of the contributors whose efforts I have summarized above, I wish also to thank the cadre of individuals and institutions whose support was vital to the finished product. Michael Devine, director of the Truman Library, commissioned the project and gave it unfailing support. In Key West, Robert Wolz, director of the Harry S. Truman Little White House, along with Paul Hilson and other staff members; the Harry S. Truman Little White House Foundation and its president, Ed Swift; Chris Belland (CEO), Piper Smith-Belland, and Monica Munoz of Historic Tours of America; the Spottswood Companies, Inc.; and the Monroe County Tourist Development Council each provided some kind of administrative, operational, financial, logistic, and/or moral support without which a successful two-day conference would not have been possible. At Truman State University Press, director Nancy Rediger and editor Barbara Mandell-Smith skillfully transformed a manuscript into the present volume. And last but by no means least, I thank Ray Geselbracht for his judicious counsel and efforts on every aspect of this project from day one. In addition, I must recognize the editorial efforts of Judith Daniels, my live-in editor, who, by the time this volume appears, will have improved my efforts for a half century.

## CONTRIBUTORS

MARGO ANDERSON is professor of history and urban studies at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. With Victor Greene, she has recently published an edited collection, *Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past* (2009), and is working on a revised edition of the *Encyclopedia of the U.S. Census* to appear after the 2010 Census.

ROGER DANIELS is the Charles Phelps Taft Professor Emeritus at the University of Cincinnati. He has written widely on Asian American and immigration history and is currently writing a biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN is professor emeritus at the University of Arizona. He is author of *The Leo Frank Case, America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*, and *Anti-Semitism in America*, which won the National Jewish Book award in history in 1994.

RAYMOND H. GESELBRACHT is special assistant to the director at the Harry S. Truman Library. His recent publications include a series of articles about personal aspects of Truman's life, and an article about the history of the Truman Library. He is the editor of *The Civil Rights Legacy of Harry S. Truman* (2007).

ROLAND L. GUYOTTE is Morse Alumni University Distinguished Teaching Professor of History at the University of Minnesota–Morris. He has published articles on the history of Filipino Americans.

KEN HECHLER was a special assistant to President Truman from 1949 to 1953. He served nine terms in Congress (1959–1977) as a representative from West Virginia, and he served as West Virginia's secretary of state from 1985 to 2001. He has also had an academic career (political scientist) and has written six books, including the bestselling *The Bridge at Remagen*.

RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL is the Scott and Dorothy Bullitt Professor Emeritus at the University of Washington. A long-time student of Truman and his presidency, his latest contributions to that literature are “Harry’s Farewell Address and the Historical Significance of the Truman Presidency” in *Harry’s Farewell: Interpreting and Teaching the Truman Presidency* (2004) and “Faith and Foreign Policy: An Exploration into the Mind of Harry Truman,” *Missouri Historical Review* 102 (July 2008).

GARY R. MORMINO holds the Frank E. Duckwall professorship and directs the Florida Studies Program at the University of South Florida–St. Petersburg. His most recent book is *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (2005).

BARBARA M. POSADAS is professor of history at Northern Illinois University and president of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society. Her publications on Filipino Americans include *The Filipino Americans* (1999) on post-1965 immigrants and numerous articles on early twentieth-century Filipino migration to Chicago.

DAVID M. REIMERS is professor emeritus at New York University. He has written widely about immigration, especially in the twentieth century. He is currently writing a history of immigration to the United States from World War II to the present to be published by Oxford University Press.

MARY EVELYN TOMLIN is public programs specialist at the National Archives–Southeast Region in Atlanta. She lectures frequently on the holdings of the National Archives.

# INDEX

References to images are in *italic*.

## A

- Acheson, Dean G., 55, 63, 87–88, 132, 136  
Acierto, Alfredo, 103, 104, 115n37  
Acierto, Maria Guillen, 103–4  
Adler, Sydney, 192–93  
African immigration  
    growth of, 153–55, 153, 156–59,  
    163–65, 166n11, 166n32, 166n36  
    Immigration Reform and Control Act  
    and, 160, 161–63  
    post-9/11: 156–57, 163  
    refugees and, 155, 157–59, 159, 160,  
    164, 166n25  
    slave trade and, 151–52, 164  
Aguila, Sabino Jose, 109  
Akaka, Daniel, 111, 116n63  
Alien Registration Act of 1940, 101  
Alpert, Harry, 130  
American Council for Judaism, 27  
American Jewish Committee, 27, 31  
Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry  
    (AACOI), 27–31, 41, 58  
Arab League, 27–28  
Asian immigrants  
    exclusion and, 51, 68, 78, 79, 98, 152  
    legislation affecting, 113n15, 124, 125,  
    178  
    naturalization and citizenship for, 20,  
    78, 79, 98–99  
Attlee, Clement, 27, 28–29, 53–54, 56, 58,  
    62  
Austin, Warren R., 36, 37–38, 41

## B

- Balfour Declaration, 33, 51–52, 53, 62  
Belohlavek, Karol, 195  
Ben Gurion, David, 38, 41  
Benson, Michael, 25, 59–60, 60–61  
Berriett, Benjamin, Declaration of  
    Intention for, 178  
Bevin, Ernest, 27, 28, 33, 53, 58, 62  
“boat people,” 17–18

- British White Paper (1939), 51–53, 55, 56  
Bryan, William Jennings, 187  
Buck, Pearl S., 99  
Buff, Rachel Ida, 21n1, 97  
Bush, George H. W., 199  
Bush, George W., 158–59, 163, 167n59, 199  
Bush, Jeb, 199  
Bush, Prescott, 199  
Byrnes, James F., 5, 27–28, 56

## C

- Campbell, William J., 96  
Carbonell, Roman and Violet, 100–101,  
    102  
Carusi, Ugo, 109  
Celler, Emanuel, 38, 78, 132, 133, 146,  
    156  
Chamberlain, Neville, 51–52, 53  
Chicago, Filipino immigration to, 96–97,  
    99–107, 113n16, 114n31  
*Chicago Daily Tribune*, 96, 102  
*Chicago Times*, 52  
Chinese American Citizens League, 115n51  
Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, 178  
Choy, Catherine Ceniza, 106  
Churchill, Winston, 53  
Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,  
    19  
Clark, Mark W., 7  
Clark, Tom C., 18–19, 109  
Clayton, William, 32  
Clifford, Clark, 33, 39, 42, 59, 61  
Clinton, Bill, 155, 158  
Cohen, Michael, 34  
Cold War  
    and immigration policy, 62, 97, 110,  
    124, 125, 126, 146, 157–58  
    and Truman foreign policy, 59, 89  
Coleman, Arch, 100  
communism, 5–8, 76, 82, 94, 108  
containment policy, 5–6  
Crossman, Richard, 30  
Crum, Bartley C., 27

## D

- Dalton, Hugh, 58  
 Daniels, Roger, 109, 152  
 Davis, David Brion, 151–52  
 de Abaya, Juan, 96, 99  
 Democratic National Committee, 3, 90  
 Dewey, Thomas E., 31–32  
*Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, 127–29, 135  
 displaced persons  
   and immigration quotas, 19, 75–76  
   legislation, 42–43, 61–62, 75–76, 77, 125, 135, 146  
   and Lesinski letter to Truman, 74  
   and Lloyd memo to Truman, 75–76  
   and Truman Directive, 16–17, 43, 73, 74  
   and Truman letter to Eisenhower, 71  
   U.S. policy toward, 15, 16–20, 32–34  
   World War II and, 24, 27–28, 42–43, 77, 125  
 Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 42–43, 62, 75–76, 125, 146  
 Displaced Persons Act of 1950, 62, 77, 135  
 displaced persons camps, 17, 24, 26–28, 34, 55–57  
 Diversity Visa (DV), 159–60  
 Domantay, Emilio J., 105–6  
 Donovan, Robert J., 9, 97  
 Dubinsky, David, 35  
 Du Bois, W.E.B., 195

## E

- Eckerson, Helen, 130, 137  
 80th Congress, 61–62  
 Einstein, Hans Albert, Declaration of Intention for, 180  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 26–27, 56, 63, 71, 71–72, 103, 140–41  
 Else, George M., 59  
 ethnic classification. *See* race and ethnicity  
 ethnicity, defining, 120, 146  
 Ewing, Oscar, 36–37, 40  
 Exchange Visitor Program (EVP), 98, 106–8, 112  
 extended voluntary departure (EVD)  
   status, 159

## F

- Farley, Reynolds, 151  
 Federal Reports Act of 1942, 129, 141  
 Feinberg, Abe, 32–33  
 Ferrell, Robert H., 8–9, 25, 38  
 Filipino American Council of Chicago

- (FACC), 104, 115n40  
 Filipino American Youth Club of Chicago, 104  
 Filipino Federation of America, 115n51  
 Filipinos  
   and Alien Registration Act, 101  
   and Exchange Visitor Program, 98, 106–8, 112  
   and G.I. Fiancées Act, 98, 102–3, 111–12  
   postal office employment for, 96, 99–102  
   and Pullman Company, 96, 100, 105, 115n41  
   and Rescission Act, 109–10  
   strategic citizenship for, 97, 108–12  
   and Tydings-McDuffie Act, 98, 101, 102, 104, 109, 112n10, 113n14  
   and War Brides Act, 98, 102–3, 111–12, 113n15  
 Filner, Robert, 111  
 Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., 35  
 First Baptist Church (Washington, DC), 4, 7  
 Fisher, Adrian, 136, 137  
 Fitzpatrick, Paul, 36  
 Flagler, Henry M., 186  
 Florida, map of, 191  
 Florida  
   1948 presidential election in, 197–98  
   2000 presidential election in, 198–99  
   *See also* Sun Belt migration  
 Florida in the Truman years, 186–99  
 Flynn, Edward G., 36  
 Ford, Payton, 87–88  
 Forrestal, James V., 59  
 Fortich, Dionisio, 107  
 Frankfurter, Felix, 35  
 Friedman, Martin, 51

## G

- G.I. Fiancées Act of 1946, 98, 102–3, 111–12, 113n15  
*G.I. Jews*, 190  
 Genographic Project, 184n1  
 George, Walter, 56–57  
 Goizueta, Roberto, Petition for Naturalization for, 183–84, 183  
 Gore, Al, 198–99  
 Grady, Henry, 30  
 Grandview (MO), 1  
 Great Depression, 14, 187, 190  
 Green, Theodore, 35  
 Grew, Joseph C., 26, 54

## H

- H.R. 3517: 79  
 Halter, Marilyn, 152, 166n11  
 Hamby, Alonzo, 8–9, 10, 33, 97  
 Hannegan, Robert, 3, 32  
 Harlow, William, 130  
 Harney, Robert F., 195  
 Harriman, W. Averell, 83–84, 83–84, 85  
 Harrison, Earl G., 15, 16, 26, 55, 70  
 Harrison Report, 16, 26–27, 55–56, 70, 71–72  
 Hart-Celler Act. *See* Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965  
 Hartmann, Susan, 36  
 Henderson, Loy, 34, 42  
 Higham, John, 14  
 historiography, Truman, 8–12, 43, 97  
 Hoffman, Roy, 184  
 Holliday, Judy, 51  
 Holly, William H., 96  
 Holocaust, 24, 51, 59  
 Holocaust survivors  
   and DP camps, 16, 24, 26–28, 55–57  
   and Harrison Report, 70–71  
   and Palestine issue, 25, 26–27, 51–52  
   Truman's desire to help, 51, 54, 59  
   and U.S. immigration, 2, 25, 27–28  
 Hoover, Herbert C., 100  
 House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 74

## I

- Ibn Saud, 54, 62  
 Ickes, Harold L., 99  
 Immigration Act of 1882, 178  
 Immigration Act of 1917, 113n14  
 Immigration Act of 1924, 13, 20, 113n14, 124, 125–26, 146  
 Immigration Act of 1940, 112n1  
 Immigration Act of 1990, 110–11, 159, 160, 167n54  
 Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. *See* McCarran-Walter Act of 1952  
 Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, 14–15, 95, 109, 155, 155, 156, 160  
 Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, Association of, 63–64  
 Immigration and Naturalization, Bureau of, 178–79  
 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)  
   African immigration and, 151, 162, 166n16

- Filipinos and, 102, 109–10, 116n59, 114n31  
 Mexican immigration and, 80  
 and race and ethnicity classification, 126–27, 129–30, 137, 139–41, 150  
 immigration and statistical accounting, 120–23  
 Immigration Commission, 127  
 immigration quota system. *See* national-origins quota system  
 Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), 160, 161–63  
 Independence (MO), 1  
 Inouye, Daniel K., 111  
*INS v. Pangilinan*, 110  
 International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 35  
 International Refugee Organization (IRO), 17, 18  
 International Relief Organization, 125  
 Irish immigration, 159–60  
 Irish Immigration Reform League, 160  
 Israel, U.S. recognition of, 39–41

## J

- Jackson County (MO), 1, 2–3  
 Jacobson, Eddie, 2, 50, 51  
 Japanese American Citizens League, 115n51  
 Japanese Americans, 17, 110, 115  
 Jeter, Helen, 133–37, 139–40  
 Jewish Agency (in Palestine), 32, 36, 38, 55  
 Jewish Agency (in Washington), 30, 39  
 Jewish Americans  
   and influence on Truman, 26–27  
   and Sun Belt migration, 189–94  
 Jewish immigration  
   to Palestine, 16, 27, 32, 51–54, 57–59, 70  
   to U.S., 2, 25, 27–28  
 Johnson, Lyndon, 14–15, 155  
 Jones, Joseph M., 63

## K

- Kayle, Milton, 51  
 Kellner, Sam J., 192  
 Kirk, Dudley, 130, 132, 133  
 Kissinger, Alfred Heinz (Henry Alfred)  
   Certificate of Arrival for, 181  
   Petition for Naturalization for, 181  
 Klein, Arthur G., 35  
 Koch, Edward I., 161  
 Korean National Association, 115n51  
 Korean War, 6–8, 11



## L

- Lansky, Meyer, 192  
 Lasker, Albert, 37  
 Lautenberg Amendment, 158  
 League of Nations, 3–4, 24–25, 40, 51  
 legal permanent residents (LPR), 153, 159, 161  
 Lesinski, John, 74  
 Lieberman, Joseph, 198  
 Llapitan, Carmelito and Angeles (Anne), 104  
 Lloyd, David D., 75–76  
 Lovitt, Robert, 10, 35, 40, 41, 62  
 Lowenthal, Max, 37, 39, 42  
 Luce-Celler Act of 1946, 112n1  
 Lueder, Arthur, 113n16

## M

- MacArthur, Douglas, 7, 111  
 Madden, Martin, 113n16  
 Mailman, Abraham, 191  
 Marshall, George C., 18–19, 36, 37–38, 40–41, 55  
 Marshall Plan, 5  
 McCarran, Patrick A., 94, 94–95  
 McCarran-Walter Act of 1952  
   discrimination in, 94, 95  
   immigration quota system in, 83–84, 85, 86, 89, 95, 124, 155  
   race and ethnic classification in, 123, 124–26, 129–30, 133–35, 137, 140, 146  
   and strategic citizenship, 99, 108–9, 111–12, 115n51  
   Truman's veto of, 15, 20, 83–85, 89, 89, 108  
 McCullough, David, 8, 10, 50, 54, 60, 97  
 McDonald, James G., 31  
 McGrath, J. Howard, 35  
 McLeod, Scott, 140  
 Mendelson, Milton M., 192  
 Menke, George Gideon, Declaration of Intention for, 180  
 Merrick, George, 186–87  
 Mexican immigration, 20, 80, 116n61, 160–61, 162, 163  
 Meyer, L.A., 101  
*Miami Herald*, 193, 196  
 Migratory Labor, Commission on, 20, 80  
 Migratory Labor Center (Harlingen, TX), 80  
 Miller, Leonard, 192  
 Montagu, Ashley, 136–37  
 Moore, Deborah Dash, 190

- Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., 26  
 Morrison-Grady Plan, 30–31, 32, 41  
 Morrison, Lord Herbert, 29  
 Moscatel, Ricardo, 106–7  
 Mullan, Fitzhugh, 157  
 Murphy, Charles S., 61  
 Murphy, Frank, 35

## N

- national-origins quota system  
   and McCarran-Walter Act, 20–21, 83–84, 85, 86, 89, 95, 108–9, 155  
   and 1924 National Origins Act, 124, 125–26, 146  
   “preferences” in, 124–25  
   and President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, 91–93  
   and Soviet Union, 87–88  
   and Special Migration Act of 1952, 82  
 Nationality Act of 1940, 112n1  
 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), 171–72  
 Ellis Island passenger list in, 173–74, 173  
 and immigration before 1820, 172–73  
 and naturalization after 1790, 175, 176, 177, 177, 178  
 and naturalization after 1890, 178–84, 180, 181, 182, 183  
 and slavery, 174–75, 174  
 National Origins Act (1924). *See*  
   Immigration Act of 1924  
 naturalization, process for, 175–84  
 Naturalization Act of 1790, 19–20, 175  
 Naturalization Act of 1870, 152  
 Naturalization Act of 1906, 178–79  
 naturalization and citizenship  
   for Asians, 51, 78, 79, 85, 98–99, 113n15, 124, 125, 130, 152, 166n10  
   defined, 172  
   for Filipinos, 79, 96–112, 112n1, 112n2, 114n31, 125, 116n61  
   for Filipino veterans, 110–11, 114n29, 116n57, 116n58, 116n60, 116n63  
   legislation regarding, 19–20, 110–12, 124–25  
   for natives of India, 78, 125  
   for veterans, 179–80  
 Neelly, Marcus T., 96  
 Neustadt, Richard, 50  
 New York City mayoral election, 27, 41  
 New York State Civil Service Commission, 114n28

New York State Democratic Committee, 30  
*New York Times*, 38, 151, 192  
 Ngai, Mae M., 114n28  
 Niles, David K., 19, 27, 29, 32–33, 35, 37,  
 42  
 9/11: 153, 156–57, 158, 163  
 1946 congressional elections, 31, 34, 36, 97  
 1948 presidential election, 31, 36–37, 39,  
 40–42, 58, 197–98  
 1952 presidential election, 90  
 Nover, Barnet, 52

## O

Offner, Arnold, 9  
 Olivera, Baldomero, 100  
 Ong, Aihwa, 97  
 Oswego (NY), 17, 28

## P

Palestine  
   Jewish immigration to, 16, 27, 51–54,  
   57–59, 70  
   Morrison-Grady Plan for, 30–31, 32, 41  
   Truman policy shift on, 37–39  
   UN vote to partition, 33–36, 58  
 Pasha, Assam, 28–29  
 Passel, Jeffrey S., 162  
 Pauley, Edwin, 3  
 Pelosi, Nancy, 111  
 Pendergast, Jim, 2  
 Pendergast, Tom, 2  
 Pepper, Claude, 35, 198  
 Perlman, Joel, 126–27  
 Perlman, Philip, 92, 95  
 Perlmeter, Irving, 51  
 Pilapil, Virgilio R., 107–8  
 Plant, Henry B., 186  
 Pope, Generoso, 195  
 population counting, 120–21  
   challenges in, 121–22  
   ethnic and racial classification in, 123,  
   141–42  
   methods of, 121  
 Potsdam Conference, 4, 53, 56  
 President's Commission on Immigration  
 and Naturalization, 15–16, 91, 92,  
 93, 94, 95, 133  
 Pullman Company, 96, 100, 105, 115n41

## Q

quota system. *See* national-origins quota  
 system

## R

race and ethnicity  
   classification for, 123, 126–27, 129–30,  
   132–37, 139–42, 146, 147n13  
   tables, 127–29, 131–32, 137–39, 142–45  
 Ratner, Lee, 191, 192  
 Refugee Act of 1980, 155, 158  
 religion and Truman, 1, 2, 4, 8, 42, 59, 60  
 Rescission Act of 1946, 109–10  
 Rice, Stuart, 140  
 Roberts, Sam, 151  
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 41  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D.  
   death of, 24, 59  
   and foreign policy, 3–4, 5, 10–11, 25,  
   43, 54, 62, 109  
   and immigration, 14, 16, 17  
 Roosevelt Jr., Franklin D., 36  
 Rosen, Arnold, 192  
 Rosen brothers, 191–92  
 Rosenman, Samuel I., 50  
 Rudolph, Arthur, Petition for  
   Naturalization for, 182, 183

## S

S.2549 bill. *See* McCarran-Walter Act of  
 1952  
 Sachar, Avram L., 35  
 Sawyer, Charles, 87–88  
 Scalia, Antonin, 110  
 Shryock, Henry, 130  
 Silver, Abba Hillel, 38, 57, 62  
 Simmons, Roscoe Conkling, 113n16  
 Simpson-Rodino Act. *See* Immigration  
 Reform and Control Act of 1986  
 (IRCA)  
 Singer, Isaac Bashevis, 190  
 Slave Trade Act of 1808, 174, 184n4  
 Smith, Marian, 126–27  
 Smithsonian Institution, 133, 141  
*Smith v. Albright*, 197  
 Snetsinger, John, 32, 35, 58, 59–60  
 Soviet Union  
   and displaced persons, 28, 29, 43  
   and Palestine partition, 29, 36, 37, 40,  
   43, 58, 62  
   Truman foreign policy and, 5–6, 7, 9,  
   10–11, 25, 63, 78  
   and U.S. immigration, 81, 87–88, 158,  
   182  
 “Special Message to Congress on Aid  
 for Escapees and Other Refugees”  
 (speech), 81

Special Migration Act of 1952, 82  
 Stalin, Joseph V., 5, 53, 54, 63  
 Stanley, Peter, 97  
 Starr, Kevin, 199n7  
 Stayton, E. M., 3  
 Steerage Act of 1819, 172  
 Stevenson, Adlai E., 21  
 Stimson, Henry L., 26  
 “strategic citizenship,” 97, 99, 108–12,  
 115n51  
 Stratton, William G., 34  
 Subcommittee on International Migration  
 Statistics, 129–30, 133  
 Sumner, Charles, 152  
 Sun Belt migration  
 demographics and, 188–89  
 ethnicity and, 194–97  
 Jewish Americans and, 189–94  
 racial politics and, 197–99  
 real estate boom in, 191–93  
 technological developments and, 187–88

## T

Taft, Robert A., 57  
 Taylor, Charles, 158  
 Taylor, Myron, 6, 7  
 Taylor, Stan, 60–61  
 temporary protected status (TPS), 159  
 Tiernan, L. Curtis, 2  
*Toyota v. United States*, 114n29  
 Trinchitella, Amadeo “Trinchi,” 198–99  
 Truman, Elizabeth Wallace “Bess,” 4, 50,  
 51, 68, 69, 190  
 Truman, Harry S., 79, 92, 94  
 and civil rights, 6, 7, 9, 10, 19–20, 50,  
 59  
 Commission on Immigration and  
 Naturalization, 15–16, 91, 92, 133  
 and displaced persons, 19–20, 26–28,  
 31, 42–43, 56, 61–62, 70, 77  
 Farewell Address of, 7–8  
 and foreign policy, 5–8, 10–11, 21n1,  
 25, 54, 59, 60, 63, 78, 89  
 historiography, 8–12, 43, 97  
 immigration policy and, 13–21  
 Israel and, 39–41, 42, 43–44, 50, 55,  
 60–61  
 Korean War and, 6–8  
 letters to Bess, 50, 51, 68, 69, 190  
 and McCarran-Walter Act, 83–85, 89,  
 108  
*Memoirs*, 9, 15  
 and Morrison-Grady Plan, 30–31, 32

and 1948 election, 19, 31, 36–37, 39,  
 40–42, 58, 197–98  
 and Palestine issue, 24–44, 51–53,  
 57–58  
 as peacemaker, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8  
 political ascent of, 2–3  
 prejudices of, 50–51, 68  
 religion’s influence on, 1, 2, 4, 8, 42,  
 59, 60  
 war’s influence on, 1–2, 4–5, 8  
 and Zionists, 25–26, 30–35, 36,  
 37–39, 41–42, 43, 53–54, 57–58  
 Truman Directive, 27–28, 43, 73  
 Truman Doctrine, 5, 63  
 2000 presidential election, 198–99  
 Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, 98, 101,  
 102, 104, 109, 112n10, 113n14

## U

United Nations  
 and Palestine, 34–36, 58, 125  
 and Truman, 3–4, 5, 10, 29  
 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation  
 Organization, 125  
*United States v. Schooners Constitution,  
 Merino, Louisa, and 84 Slaves*, 174  
 UN Special Committee on Palestine  
 (UNSCOP), 34, 35  
 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 129  
 U.S. Census Bureau and ethnic  
 classification, 129, 130  
 U.S. Civil Service Commission, 98,  
 99–101, 102, 103, 114n28  
 U.S. Department of Homeland Security  
 (DHS), 151, 160, 163, 166n16  
 U.S. Information and Educational  
 Exchange Act of 1948, 106, 113n13  
 U.S. Office of Statistical Standards (OSS)  
 and ethnic classification, 123,  
 129–30, 133–37, 140–42, 146  
 U.S. Postal Service, 96, 99–101, 113n16  
 U.S. State Department  
 and McCarran-Walter Act, 85  
 and Palestine, 25, 27, 28, 32, 34, 36,  
 37–38, 39–41, 42, 54, 57, 58, 60  
 and race and ethnic classification, 127,  
 129, 130, 136–37, 139–42  
 temporary protected status granted by,  
 159

## V

von Braun, Wernher, Petition for  
 Naturalization for, 182–83, 182

## W

- Wagner, Robert F., 35  
 Wallace, Bess. *See* Truman, Elizabeth  
     Wallace  
 Wallace, Henry A., 3, 198  
 Wallace, Madge, 50  
 war's influence on Truman, 1–2, 4–5, 8  
 War Brides Act of 1945, 98, 102–3, 111–12,  
     113n15  
 War Relocation Authority, 17  
*Washington Post*, 52  
 Wehrmann, Anton, naturalization petition  
     for, 177  
 Weizmann, Chaim, 35, 37, 40  
 Westerfield, H.B., 60  
 Wherry, Kenneth, 35  
*Whom We Shall Welcome: Report of the  
 President's Commission on Immigration  
 and Naturalization*, 92–93, 93, 94, 95  
 Wilson, Evan, 60  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 2, 3  
 Wolfson, Mitchell, 190  
 Working Group on Ethnic Classification,  
     130–33

- World War I, 2, 3, 5, 50, 52, 98, 125, 179  
 World War II  
     displaced persons and, 24, 27–28, 42–43,  
       77, 125  
     “forced” migration after, 122, 123  
     and Filipino immigration, 103–5,  
       109–12, 116n58, 116n63  
     and immigration, 14, 20, 28, 42–43,  
       78, 81, 98, 108, 122  
     and influence on Truman, 3–4, 5  
     naturalization and citizenship after,  
       181–83, 180, 181, 182  
     naturalization and citizenship during,  
       124  
 World Zionist Organization, 37

## Y

- Yom Kippur Statement, 32–33, 62  
 Young, Will, 51

## Z

- Zionists, 25–26, 30–35, 36, 37–39, 41–42,  
     43, 53–54, 57–58