Beyond the Quota:

U.S. Policy Towards Jewish Immigrants and Refugees Throughout WWII

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Paper

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At a time when conflict had reached an international peak, and countries were concerned with their own interests, The United States had to make difficult decisions regarding their involvement in the world. With an immigration and refugee crisis pouring out of Nazi-occupied territories, the U.S. faced a need to compromise on their response to those seeking a new life in America. During a time of unprecedented and complicated conflict throughout the globe, Nazi Germany had an agenda to eliminate European Jews by any means necessary. The isolationist status of the United States towards Europe and rising Nazi Germany created a political, economic, and social conflict over the treatment of Jewish immigrants and refugees from Europe, which led to a reevaluation of the United States’ immigration and refugee policies.

The Effects of Isolationism on Immigration Policy (1900-1924)

To understand the United States policy on immigration during World War II, it is important to consider the trends in immigration throughout the early 20th century. In the early twentieth century, immigrants were pouring into the United States from eastern and southern Europe, which was a different ethnic and religious region compared to the Anglo-Saxon based immigrants of previous waves. The mass immigration of these Europeans was first studied in the United States Immigration Commission from 1907 to 1910. The study confirmed the increase in immigrants from unprecedented parts of Europe, and it was used as a basis for many political stances on immigration.¹

An early indication of where policy on immigration was moving was the 1911 United States Immigration Commission report, which sought to place restrictions on the influx of new

immigrants, eastern and southern European groups which included the Jews. As a result of this sentiment, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1917, and new ideas were proposed such as immigration quotas based on the population of various national and ethnic groups that were already in the United States. This idea of a quota system would eventually become a part of future immigration policy reforms.

After World War I, the U.S. turned towards a policy of isolationism due to both a refocusing on domestic affairs, as well as an increase in xenophobia against a new wave of eastern European immigrants, many of whom were Jewish. The climax of the isolationist movements surrounding WWI was the passing of the Immigration Act of 1924 which set laws that would influence immigration restriction throughout WWII. The key to the new immigration act was the introduction of a quota system for immigrants which stated:

Sec. 11. (a) The annual quota of any nationality shall be 2 per centum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States census of 1890

Because this quota system was based on the 1890 census, which occurred before the mass immigration of southern and eastern Europeans, the system strongly favored those of western European nationality and disproportionately awarded visas to those of Anglo-Saxon background.

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2 Ibid.
This was done intentionally as the United States wanted to maintain its ethnic balance from before the most recent wave of immigrants. Discussion over the flexibility of quotas according to the 1924 Act would play a critical role in deciding the fate of mass groups of Jewish immigrants applying for visas to the U.S., and it would extend the conflict of the debate to include a legislative backing.

**Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany and WWII**

As Nazism dominated Germany beginning in the 1930s, conditions for Jews in Europe became increasingly dangerous, and two major events highlighted the treatment and social tension of the time. First, the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 made it incredibly difficult to live as a Jew in Nazi territory as regulations were put in place to prevent interactions between Jews and German society. A second turning point, Kristallnacht, or the “Night of Broken Glass” unfolded on November 9-10 of 1938. It was a night full of the destruction of Jewish stores and Synagogues, arrests of Jewish men, and a new movement in Nazism. These two major events, along with countless other displays of widespread anti-semitism, caused European Jews to want to immigrate to the United States.

As conflict stirred in Europe between multiple powers, the United States maintained a policy of isolationism and neutrality. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) wanted to focus on internal economic recovery from the Great Depression, and strong public views considered an

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6 Daniels, 51.
10 Shattered storefront of a Jewish-owned shop destroyed during Kristallnacht (the "Night of Broken Glass"). Berlin, Germany, November 10, 1938. *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, Washington D.C.
influx of immigrants to create unnecessary competition for jobs and government resources. In his inaugural address, as well as his many radio talks, Roosevelt stressed a position of neutrality and a prevention of U.S. involvement in any unnecessary conflict.\textsuperscript{1112} This isolationist policy led to the Neutrality Act of 1935 which, although eventually disregarded, showed that the U.S. wanted to have little to do with causing more international conflict.\textsuperscript{13} When the U.S. began its involvement in WWII, it was less willing to put forth military efforts, but instead wanted to supply allies with financial and material support.\textsuperscript{14} As the U.S. progressed with the war, there was an understanding that involvement should remain minimal, and further aggravation of Germany needed to be avoided at all costs, even if it meant turning away refugees that were being persecuted.

**FDR’s Administration and the Jewish Immigration Crisis**

A common statement could be used to interpret President Roosevelt’s actions towards aiding Jewish immigrants and refugees: too little too late. Roosevelt was aware of the conditions in Germany all throughout his presidency, but personal beliefs aside, compromising over whether or not to alter immigration quotas would become a mute point in his administration.\textsuperscript{15} Roosevelt was faced with multiple visa consuls, all of which had inconsistent tendencies in

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  \item \textsuperscript{15} Daniels, 73.
\end{itemize}
admitting immigrants, and Roosevelt felt that it was beyond his reach to change the existing quota system. In a letter to Herbert Lehman, governor of New York, Roosevelt stated: “With regard to your request that the quota for German Jews be increased...there is no immigration quota fixed for persons in the class described.” As Roosevelt continued to grant power to the visa consuls, biases in immigration persisted regardless of his views.

As news continued to leak and inform America of the humanitarian crisis in Europe, many sides were taken by the general public including both traditional nativism and a moral urge to help. Newspapers reported increases in Nativist rallies surrounding the U.S. involvement in WWII, many of which argued that helping the Jews was a wasteful cause. On a more logistical side, some argued that the U.S. would only be able to save a small amount of Jews, and it was going to cause more harm than help. As newspapers continued to pour out story after story about the crisis, the voyage of the St. Louis, a ship carrying 937 majority Jewish passengers seeking asylum, made broad media coverage. The passengers, many of whom had gone through the process of obtaining visas, were turned down by Cuba and then again by the United States, and the eventual fate of many of the refugees was death at the hands of the Nazis.

The unwillingness and unpreparedness of the United States to receive refugees was a significant problem facing the Roosevelt administration. A few weak attempts were made at organizing a system of accepting refugees such as the Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, and an Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees based in London, but the war

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16 Daniels, 76.
17 Roosevelt, Franklin D. Letter, FDR to New York Governor Herbert Lehman, November 13, 1935.
20 Daniels, 79.
21 Ibid.
conditions made the meager actions of these groups useless. An attempt to admit Jewish refugee children was made with the Wagner/Nourse Rogers Bill in 1939, but it was shut down by Congress due to inflexibility in quotas. Roosevelt tried to work within the limits of current policy by loosening the application process for visas, and this allowed more Jews to enter the U.S. than would have been possible with stricter rules, but it did not provide any permanent decision to expand quotas. At the time, the U.S. had never dealt with such a massive amount of people seeking refugee status, and the outline for what a refugee was would not be developed until after WWII.

**Henry Morgenthau Jr. and the Push Towards Aid**

As the nation became aware of the horrors of the Holocaust, a new and aggressive effort was made to bring over Jewish refugees. This effort in the Roosevelt administration was led behind the scenes by Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr., a close friend of FDR and a known Jew. Morgenthau was seen as the administration’s link to the Jewish community, and after meeting with Rabbi Stephen Wise in 1942, he was exposed to the gory details of the Nazi agenda. This sparked Morgenthau to look deeper into what the U.S. knew about the Nazi mass murder, and what the government was doing in response. What he found astonished him as he exposed the State Department’s blocking of efforts to save European Jews, and preventing information about the Holocaust from reaching the press. In response and in anger,

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22 Daniels. 76,77.
26 Moreira, 219.
Morgenthau wrote a “Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of This Government in the Murder of the Jews,” which showed what was going on within the State Department and threatened to expose the scandal to the American public.\textsuperscript{27} The report used passionate and frustrated language and opened with the statement, "One of the greatest crimes in history, the slaughter of the Jewish people in Europe, is continuing unabated," which drew more attention to the cause than any set of numbers previously had.\textsuperscript{28}

Through his efforts, Morgenthau influenced Roosevelt’s administration to take its biggest step to help Jewish refugees in 1944; the establishment of the War Refugee Board. Although it was far too late to provide aid to Jews in many European countries, it went on to help Jews in countries that were still in the earlier stages of the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{29} Although this movement towards giving aid to Jewish refugees occurred at the end of the Roosevelt administration, it paved the way for the next administration to view immigration and refugee reform through a more personal and open-minded perspective.

**The Truman Administration and Post-War Refugee Policies**

As World War II came to a close, it was obvious that the lack of compromise in the Roosevelt administration resulted in no formal policy towards refugees or “Displaced Persons”. The immediate impact was utter chaos, but as President Truman began addressing the situation, it was clear that a new perspective on refugees would guide his policy. Truman openly claimed that the quotas established in 1924 were xenophobic and inherently racist, and he knew he wanted to help Jewish refugees in a way that had not been done previously.\textsuperscript{30} Truman issued a

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{28} Morgenthau, Henry Jr. “Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of This Government in the Murder of the Jews.” 13 January 1944, Address.  
\textsuperscript{29} Moreira, 220.  
\textsuperscript{30} Graham, 79.
statement on displaced persons in 1945 arguing that they should be given an easier path to immigration, and he followed this same idea in 1947 when he urged the government to put forth a bill that set new quotas for refugees. Eventually, Truman succeeded and passed the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 which allowed the admission of 100,000 displaced persons per year above the regular immigration quota. Although it had hidden restrictions within it that made it more difficult for Jewish refugees, overall the act allowed a long-term establishment of groups to aid refugees in the process of coming to America. The actions taken by the Truman administration to aid Jewish refugees set a precedent for America’s responsibility in case of a humanitarian-based immigration crisis, and the public’s exposure to the idea of a “Displaced Person” allowed for a definition and tone to the word refugee.

**Changes in Immigration and Refugee Status**

After World War II, The United States began to stray away from the nativist and closed-door policies that brought about the quota system. This idea gained initial support from President Kennedy, and the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965 abolished the quota system in favor of a less ethnically biased process of immigrant selection. The first act

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34 Daniels, 106,107.


36 Rowland, 56.
to establish a separate admissions system for refugees, inspired by the need to update the Displaced Persons Act, was the Refugee Act of 1980 which finally put a definition to a refugee as one who:

“is persecuted or who has a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.”

These acts were heavily influenced by the Jewish immigration crisis surrounding WWII, and although there had always been a lack of fine lines and clarity when it came to immigration, the processes that evolved since WWII have made it more obtainable to have a non-biased system. The impact of the defined refugee status is prominent in many immigrants that have since used it to come to America. Russian immigrant Alexander Ioffe used refugee status to help him escape prejudice and turmoil in the post-Soviet Union confusion. Ioffe went through a lengthy interviewing process, but through proof of his life being hardened due to his Jewish faith, his refugee status in his own words, “wasn’t political, it was religious” and gave him “some small, (but) no big advantage.”

A shockingly similar situation to the Jewish immigration and refugee crisis of WWII manifested itself in the Syrian refugee crisis surrounding the Syrian Civil War. As around eleven million Syrian refugees have fled their homes in an attempt to find safety from violence and persecution, much of the same backlash and xenophobia that Jewish refugees faced is present in the public’s opinions on how to solve the Syrian Refugee Crisis. Through current political and

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social responses towards Syria and other major global conflicts, the United States can be seen as entering a new adapted form of isolationism that emphasizes military intervention as the ultimate last resort and the acceptance of foreign refugees to be minimal. This isolationist view remains prominent amongst public opinion as the fear of foreigners being dangerous or having terrorist affiliations parallels the public sentiment towards “untrustworthy” Jews during WWII. The same question of how the United States should be involved in foreign humanitarian issues continues to be relevant and contentious, but today there is a clearer picture of what a refugee is and how America should handle their admission.

Conclusion

A moral and political debate followed WWII regarding whether or not the U.S. should have done more to help European Jews. The conflict over expanding immigration quotas during Nazi-occupied Europe was unable to be solved in a timely manner through compromise within the Roosevelt administration. The eventual compromise to aid displaced peoples after the war occurred in response to the immigration crisis instead of as a solution to the problem, which proves that stalemate policies and an inability to compromise can be just as detrimental as the conflict itself. Although there has been extensive amounts of reflection on how U.S. immigration policies impacted WWII, the pattern of complex and uncompromisable politics dominating immigration policy reform continues to be a concern for the future of America.
Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources


The Lend-Lease Act is an example of the United States breaking complete neutrality in favor of supporting the allied powers financially. This source contributed to the background information on how U.S. neutrality affected their willingness to accept immigrants.


The Neutrality Act was the original declaration of U.S. neutrality at the beginning of World War II. Although it was eventually cancelled when the U.S. joined the war, the act showed that the U.S. did not want to be the cause of any further conflict such as engaging with Germany over immigration.


This is one of the first examples of isolationism and anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States, which connects to later U.S. Policy regarding immigration. This gave a broader understanding on America’s past relationship with foreigners.

“A ‘Nativist Racket’.” *The Daily Times (Davenport, Iowa)*, 23 May 1939, p.3.

This article outlines how the movement of minority hatred in Europe spread to the U.S. and created a revived Nativist Movement. This showed me the way that European anti-semitism eventually led to American anti-semitism, and it contributed to the broader context of Nativism’s connection to immigration restriction.
This commentary from the original Immigration Commission which showed immigration trends in the early 1900s showed the connection between anti-immigrant sentiment and the increase in non Anglo-Saxon immigrants. It helped build background for why Jewish Immigrants were not easily accepted into American society.

The Immigration Act of 1917 was the first piece of legislation to limit immigration by any form of category. It showed a shift from open immigration to the closed-door policies surrounding the World Wars which played a crucial role in blocking eastern European immigrants from entering the U.S.

The Immigration Act of 1924 created the quota system that determined the number of immigrants allowed to enter the U.S. before, during, and immediately after WWII. Rooted in Nativism, this Act remained relevant throughout the entire paper, and is the best example of closed-door immigration policy from the time period.

The Refugee Act of 1980 but a definition to what a refugee was, and it was strongly influenced by the United States experience with Displaced Persons after WWII and not having had a proper system built for refugees. This Act is an example of the long-term impact of the Jewish Immigrant Crisis.

DeWitt, MacKenzie. “Roosevelt’s Attitude Reverses Europe’s Retreat From Hitler.” The
This article argues that Roosevelt was deliberately trying not to aggravate Hitler, and by doing so he took a position of non involvement with the humanitarian issues in Europe. This shows that the general public did notice the lack of effort by Roosevelt, which contributed to the context portion of my paper.


The Displaced Persons Act displayed a new public and political sentiment towards providing relief for the humanitarian crisis after the war was over, and helped set a precedent for the U.S. giving aid to refugees. This built into the short-term impact of the paper.


The Nuremberg Laws were a major shift in the extremism of anti-semitism in Nazi Germany, and then directly led to an increase in Jewish immigrants wanting to come to the U.S. This provided background on immigration rushes as well as the humanitarian crisis during its earlier stages.


Alexander Ioffe is an immigrant and refugee from Russia who moved to America after the Soviet Union broke and caused confusion in eastern Europe. He faced harassment and prejudice because he was Jewish, which qualified him to be a refugee. Hearing his story and the massive difficulties of immigrating under refugee status helped me understand what becoming a refugee is like in reality even though immigration policy was developed before he immigrated (in 1994).


This article describes disapproval of Roosevelt’s attempts at helping Jewish immigrants which resulted in his inability to find a solid compromise for the immigration crisis. This provided further social context during Roosevelt's administration.

This newspaper article displays the public’s understanding that Jewish Immigrants filled the majority of the quotas for their countries, and were applying for visas at such a high rate, that the entire year’s quota was filled. This helped show that the increasing amount of Jews that wanted to immigrate to the United States at the beginning of WWII did not go unnoticed to the public.


President Kennedy took a new stance on immigration by calling for a complete change in the quota system of the U.S., which shows a direct impact of the WWII Jewish Immigration Crisis leading to changes being implemented in U.S. policy. This provided evidence for the short and long term impact portion of the paper.


This opinionated article argues that allowing more Jewish Immigrants than the quota system allots for would be discrimination, and it would not actually do anything to help the situation. By reading this argument from someone living in the time period where this was a political issue, I was able to see an opposition viewpoint not rooted in hatred, but rather practicality.


This newspaper editorial letter helped display

This newspaper letter discusses how America began losing its moral compass in the war by not looking at the humanitarian crisis going on in Europe. This displayed that some people were already looking ahead at how the war would be remembered, so it contributed to the short term impact and social context portion of the paper.

President Roosevelt’s new attitude toward eastern immigration was linked to his constantly evolving stance on immigration in general. This shows that the American public did not view Chinese Immigrants as a threat anymore, but they were still skeptical about Jewish Immigration.


This direct message from President Truman showed that after the war, attitudes towards helping Jewish Immigrants dramatically shifted into an agenda for aid for war refugees. This contributed to the short term impact as it exposed a blatant shift of public opinion from wanting to remain uninvolved, to trying to help solve the issue.


Morgenthau’s report was one of the most influential pieces of legislature to help push forward policies of aid for Jewish refugees towards the end of Roosevelt’s administration. The bold and passionate language used and the exposing of corruption within the government’s treatment of the humanitarian crisis added to the short term impact of the Jewish immigration crisis.

“Pledge Million To Aid Europe’s Racial Refugees.” Chicago Tribune, 6 Jan 1939, p.4.

This article displays an example of privatized aid that was attempted in the U.S. despite the lack of public support. This showed that some private groups were willing to aid immigrants and refugees, which contributed to the social context portion of the paper.


This article takes the position that the Jewish people should join forces to defeat Hitler instead of relying on others to protect them, and the article uses stereotypes as well as a condescending tone to describe the situation. This helped expose the blatant naivety of some of the American public towards the situation of the Jews in WWII.
In his first inaugural address, Roosevelt made his goal of remaining isolationist clear due to his need to focus on internal affairs. This provided background and context for why the U.S. did not want to cause any conflict with Nazi Germany.

This letter discusses the abuses of the quota system, and the inconsistency of immigration quota regulation. This letter also shows a more personal view of Roosevelt’s thoughts and guilt during the Immigration crisis, therefore contributing to both background and context within the paper.

As a part of Roosevelt’s frequent radio discussions, he brought up the policies within his New Deal. One of his predominant policies was remaining neutral and in peace during the time of national conflict. This provides evidence for why the U.S. refused to involve itself in the war effort at first, and why they tried to limit their interaction with Germany.

This image of the traumatic events that took place on Kristallnacht provided background for the rise of anti-semitism in Germany and the need to the Jews to immigrate to America.

"Support for or Opposition to Waves of Refugees Since World War II." Tribune Content Agency
This graph shows the statistics on American support or Opposition towards Jewish Immigrants before and during WWII, which provides statistical proof for U.S. views on immigrants coming into the country. This provided information for the social context of the paper.


This historical film shows the rise of Nativism within the United States, which was also linked to an increase in anti-semitism. Nativism was a major factor in the creation of the quota system, therefore, this contributed both background and context of the topic.


This statement made by Truman exemplifies a new stance on Jewish displaced persons, which helped define what a refugee is and how the U.S. had a responsibility to help them after the war. It also marked a shift away from closed-door policy. This contributed to the short term impact of the topic.


The Sedition Act was an example of the extent the government was willing to go to create a nationalistic and self-protecting society during a time of war, which is linked to an ideology of mistrusting immigrants. This helps contribute to the context and background of the paper.


This bill attempted to provide refuge to European Jewish children by allowing them special entry into the U.S. The fact that this bill did not pass shows the blatant
anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. during WWII, therefore providing context and background for the topic.


This article reviews a new book that was published at the time about Nativism in America, and it states that the new wave of anti-semitism of the time period was caused by Nativist arguments. This exposure to the analysis of nativism at a time when it was a present issue helped me draw the connection between anti-immigrant, anti-Jewish, and nativist arguments.

**Secondary Sources**


This book highlights various points of immigration policy in the U.S. and how public sentiment was linked to each of those time periods. This showed that there are many trends and waves of immigration as well as in public views on immigrants surrounding times of war, therefore giving me background and context on the Jewish immigration crisis.


In this book, times in U.S. history that were directly linked to a large immigration crisis, or wave of specific areas of immigrants are laid out in a way that draws connections between the circumstances of various immigrant groups. This provided background for the paper as well as a distinct section that discussed WWII immigration.


This book discusses Morgenthau’s influence over Roosevelt and his eventual ability to convince Roosevelt to provide further aid to the Jews at the end of WWII. This contributed to the context and short-term impact portion of the paper.

This book is a collection of various statistics and facts on immigration ranging from the first large waves of immigrants in the 1800’s to the current statistics on immigration. This provided direct statistical evidence for many of the arguments made about the topic.


This book showed the progression of various stages in immigration policy development as well as refugee statuses. It was helpful to see how policies stacked up one after the other to form a skeleton for a lot of what else was going on in the time period, and it provided references for each major policy change.


This website gave details about the situation surrounding the Syrian Refugee Crisis which draws many connections to the topic of the paper, and it provided long term impact of the topic.


This entire website provided many sections of information on Jewish refugees and immigrants, and it helped make connections between the United States response to the crisis and the people that were directly affected by U.S. policy. This provided contextual information for my entire paper as well as the impact of my topic.