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# The Image of the Slav in U.S. History and in Immigration Policy

By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

BY A SERIES OF discriminatory immigration laws, culminating in the Quota Act of 1924, the Slav was assigned to the category of "inferior" nations and "races." How did this attitude come about? It was the result of a rather strange combination of forces produced by labor, industrialists, farmers, exuberant nationalists, racists, and intellectuals (like historians and sociologists). These influences converged to produce both the ideology out of which the legislation was fabricated and the pressure that brought about its enactment.<sup>1</sup>

That immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, particularly from the Balkans, were inherently inferior was one racist assumption. That they could not be assimilated was another. The goal of those who held these ideas was, of course, to effect a decrease in the total number of immigrants entering the United States. But it was not only that. They sought also to set up a formula which would favor the entry of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe while keeping the number of the unfavored groups to a minimum. Both racial assumptions and the ideology of Anglo-Saxon conformity have been built-in features of this policy, even though Americans claimed generally to be opposed to racism abroad (Hitlerism especially) or at home—racial segregation in the schools and economic and social discrimination against the Negro and other minority groups notwithstanding.

## The Historical Roots of Ignorance About the Slavs

THIS ANTAGONISTIC ATTITUDE toward the Slavs cannot be isolated from the misconceptions and misapprehension, in general, of the role played by Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe in world history. The general framework for the attitude can be found in the background, training, and attitudes of the dominant American and English historians who, before World War II, had treated this area as a sort of *terra incognita*. In America, from one

<sup>1</sup> For a good account of the events leading to the 1924 law, see Barbara Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1295* (New York: Atheneum, 1963); Thomas E. Gossett, *Race, the History of an Idea in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963) (see also "Notes," pp. 460-500); Edward N. Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965) (cf. "List of References," pp. 225-38), and references cited hereafter.

point of view, this was due to the traditions in historical scholarship. Most of the founders of the graduate history departments in American universities either received their training in Germany or came eventually under the spell of the German historical schools.<sup>2</sup> The influence of Ranke was, in this respect, quite important. His insistence on the study of the past "as it actually and peculiarly was" did much to establish the later differentiation between history as an ideographic specialty concerned with "facts of succession" and historical sociology as a monothetic specialty analyzing "facts of repetition." But of importance to us is that Ranke maintained in his earliest writings that the Germanic and Romance nations alone form a cultural unit having a common history to be identified with the history of Europe. And owing to the influence of German scholarship, stresses Halecki, "the whole part of Europe east of Germany herself, including of course Poland, used to be disregarded even in French or English studies of universal history."<sup>3</sup>

We must also note that to Americans generally, the Germans, in comparison to the Slavs, were "old" immigrants, while the Slavs, coming mostly in large numbers after the 1880's, had little chance, if any, of placing their sons in leading positions in American institutions of higher learning, especially since most of those who came over between the 1880s and World War I had little education or even desire for it.<sup>4</sup> Hence the historical contributions by the descendants of American Slavs, and the courses in this field, sprang up only after World War I, and mostly only during and after World War II.<sup>5</sup>

Inseparable from this general trend in historical thinking was the dominant American passion for promoting the study of "Western Civilization." For a long time American historians thought of Western Civilization as

<sup>2</sup> For details, see Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965).

<sup>3</sup> Oscar Halecki, "Problems of Polish Historiography," *The Slavonic Review*, Vol. 21 (March, 1943), p. 223. See also J. L. Brown, "Deutschtum and America," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, Vol. 2 (October, 1943), pp. 117-35; Herbst, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> For the history of Slav immigration, see the chapters on Russian Americans, Ukrainian Americans, Czechoslovak Americans, Yugoslav Americans, and Bulgarians, in Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, eds., *One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), pp. 127-84, and respective bibliographies; Joseph S. Roucek, *The Czechs and Slavs in America* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications, 1967); and Joseph S. Roucek, *American Slavs: A Bibliography* (New York: Bureau for Intercultural Education, April, 1944).

<sup>5</sup> See: R. F. Byrnes, ed., *Bibliography of American Publications on East Central Europe, 1945-57*; Albert C. Todd and Stephen Viederman, eds., *The American Bibliography of Russian and East European Studies for 1961*; A. C. Todd and Stephen Viermans, eds., *The American Bibliography of Russian and East European Studies for 1962*; all published by Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1958, 1963, 1964.

being, somehow, identical with universal history. In fact, prior to World War I, it seemed altogether plausible to think of a single world order based on the concept of Western Civilization; it was a sort of dominant bias based upon an attitude of cultural superiority which, over a long period, tended to become chronic.

The props under it were provided by innumerable textbooks on "The Development of Western Civilization," with most American youths graduating from the institutions of higher learning with the idea that all that is "civilized" and worthwhile has its roots in Western Europe (Germany included, of course). Since a few lines or pages only were devoted to the Central-Eastern-Balkan area, the inevitable result was that these citizens knew next to nothing about this region and—what was even worse—they came away with a definite impression that all important history was made by the large nations of Western Europe.

This situation, in turn, led to the further neglect of the area. The specialists in this field, unable to get an appointment in it, eventually had to turn their attention and interest to the more "popular" areas. Since there were hardly any textbooks systematizing the available knowledge about the region for the average history teacher, very few courses were offered.

The culminating point of these general tendencies reached its climax when an English politician summarized rather characteristically this "climate of opinion": "How terrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas-masks here because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing."<sup>6</sup>

#### Who Are the Slavs, After All?

TYPICAL OF THE STATE of mind of many Americans and Englishmen in 1938 was Chamberlain's declaration of ignorance of who the Czechoslovaks and all other Slavs were. Not many Americans were able in those days to distinguish between the Czechs, Slovaks, "Slavish peoples," Slovenians, "Bohunks," "Hunkies," "Russniaks," "Russians," "Ukrainians," and so on.

This difficulty was officially and formally proclaimed in the influential report of the U.S. Senate's Immigration Commission:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Neville Chamberlain, *The Struggle for Peace* (New York: Putnam, 1939), p. 275. See also Joseph S. Roucek, "Preface," pp. vii-ix, in J. S. Roucek, ed., *Central-Eastern Europe: Crucible of World Wars* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1946).

<sup>7</sup> Senate, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Document, N 1.747; Report of the Immigration Commission, *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission*, presented by Mr. Dillingham, December 5, 1910 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), Vol. 1, pp. 274-79.

*Slav* (*Sclave*), *Slavic*, or *Slavonic*; sometimes wrongly called in the United States "Hun" (see *Magyar*). To be defined as that Aryan "race" or linguistic group which occupies the greater part of Russia and the Balkans. The Russians and the Polish (see) are its leading tongues. The Slavic, the Teutonic, and the Italian or Latin are the three great stocks that furnish the most of the population of Europe as well as of our annual flood of immigrants. Of these three, the Slavic and the Italic have been rapidly replacing the Teutonic in American immigration, and the Slavic is perhaps the most significant for the future because of its great population. (See also *Caucasian* and *Aryan* and *cf.* Slovenian.)

Physically, and perhaps temperamentally, the Slavs approach the Asiatic, or particularly the Tartar, more closely than do the peoples of Western Europe. In languages they are as truly Aryan as ourselves. There is some truth in the old saying, "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar," especially if he comes from southern Russia, where once lived the Mongol conquerors of the Russians. . . . If the Slav be still backward in western ideas, appliances, and form of government, it is nevertheless conceivable that the time is not far distant when he will stand in the lead. The race is still young. Its history is shorter than that of any other important people in Europe. . . .<sup>8</sup>

This and the rest of the characterization of the Slav makes fascinating reading today. And what is quite important is the fact that this report was one of the most important factors leading to the Immigration Quota Act of 1924.

#### The Heritage of Impressions Before 1880

UNTIL THE 1880s the Slavs had been welcomed in America, or at least they were not opposed as a group, except when some individuals got involved in political schemes, usually classified as "socialist" or "anarchist." In fact, several Slavs who came to America during that period were imbued with socialist ideas. This fact certainly helped to produce a rather unfavorable image because socialism was not popular and because the activities of the socialist and "radical" movements in America eventually became one of the elements which assigned the Slavs to the category of undesirable "racial" elements.<sup>9</sup> (In fact, American socialists became the founders of the American Communist movement in 1919 and the membership was made up mostly of Russians, Ukrainians, South Slavs, Poles—and of Letts, Lithuanians, and Hungarians, often classified as "Slavs.").

<sup>8</sup> For the "revisionist" point of view regarding the available information on the history and all other aspects of the Slav, see Joseph S. Roucek, ed., *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949).

<sup>9</sup> Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961), p. 13.

Although the Haymarket Affair dealt anarchism a knockout blow from which it never recovered, the socialist and anarchist currents among Slav immigrants, culminating in the Railroad Strike of 1885 and the Haymarket Affair, caused very serious repercussions, particularly the subsequent reevaluation of the American Slav immigrant as "the New Immigrant." The rise of nativistic organizations was another result, and the "Melting Pot" ideal was seriously questioned and constantly debated thereafter.<sup>10</sup>

In general, the major argument was, on the ideological level, that America would have to close its doors to more immigrants because recent arrivals were impervious to its ideals. The "new" immigrant tended to become, in fact, the scapegoat for every political, economic, and social grievance. Political corruption, labor conflicts, vice and crime were thus strictly foreign products, disseminated through the land it was thought, by corrupt "invaders."<sup>11</sup> "Degenerate actions were the result of decadent blood." The inferior races "drag down the strong" American "stock," in danger of "physical degeneration" through cross-breeding.<sup>12</sup> The "persistent clannish spirit" was frequently found among these foreigners, thus disturbing national unity.<sup>13</sup> "Anarchists, ultra-socialists, and dynamiters" had found in America "a safe place in which to preach their doctrine of hate, revenge, murder and plunder." With "such success" had the revolutionaries "carried on their proselytizing schemes . . . that for a time they seemed to threaten the very foundations of social order."<sup>14</sup>

In addition, the depression of 1873 contributed to the initial wave of discontent with the Slav immigrant. Labor was achieving a militant growth; a large percentage of its membership came from Central-Southern Europe. And many of the members congregated in the cities and dominated leftist centers like New York and Chicago. Obviously, "American institutions had failed, not because they were faulty, but because an alien element had undermined them."<sup>15</sup>

All the forces contributing to the pessimism of the '80s increased in magnitude in the next decades. Strikes were bigger, more frequent, and more violent. The Panic of 1893 was more ruinous. Cities were growing bigger, and the "wrong kind" of immigrants was pouring in. Social

<sup>10</sup> For details, see Higham, *op. cit.*, 54-55, 56, 62 111, 138.

<sup>11</sup> T. T. Munger, "Immigration by Passport," *Century*, 35 (March, 1888), pp. 791-99.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 793.

<sup>13</sup> "City Immigration Population," *Chautauquan* 12 (January, 1891), p. 522.

<sup>14</sup> E. A. Hempstead, "Shall Immigration Be Restricted?" *Ibid.* 8 (July, 1888), pp. 610-12.

<sup>15</sup> F. C. Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1964), p. 47.

hostility resulting from social and economic difficulties became directed against groups that could be classified as "un-American," more specifically the socialists, members of unions and immigrants. The "Melting Pot" ideal continued to be bitterly argued.

After 1893 even the most respectable groups frowned on the "new" immigrants. Public school battles induced many Americans to fear that the new immigrants would swell the ranks of Catholics and assure their control over urban education and government. Ingenious experts forecast race suicide if the canons of evolution continued to be violated by inferior "hordes" diluting the native stock.

By the mid-1890s even the business community was committed to immigration restrictions. Labor also rejected the new immigrants, the unions looking upon the immigrant with increased disfavor in job competition, for helping to break strikes, and for being intractable when attempts were made to unionize them.

#### Racism and the Concept of "New" and "Old" Immigration

ONE OF THE MOST interesting aspects pertaining to the evaluation of the Slav immigrant as a sort of "backward," "inferior," and "undesirable" element in America, legalized until the recent revision of the immigration laws, was the influence exerted by the concepts of racialism, violently denounced by all American modern anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists, and yet in full operation in the immigration and naturalization system of the United States until the law signed by President Johnson on October 3, 1965, which became effective December 1, 1965. The new law provided for the elimination of the national origins system effective July 1, 1968, with a phase-out during the interim period.<sup>16</sup>

In the background was the changing composition of immigration in

<sup>16</sup> See the articles surveying the various aspects of this problem in B. M. Ziegler, ed., *Immigration: An American Dilemma* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1953), and especially the reprinted articles: H. P. Fairchild, "The Melting Pot Mistake," pp. 19-24; "Conditions in America as Affected by Immigration," pp. 34-49; E. A. Ross, "Immigrant in Politics; The Political Consequences of Immigration," pp. 71-76; F. L. Auerback, "Who Are Our New Immigrants?" pp. 92-95; "The Walter-McCarran Immigration Bill," pp. 96-97; "President Truman's Message to the House on the Veto of Immigration Bill," pp. 97-103; "Speech of Senator McCarran," pp. 104-108; "Excerpts from Report by President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, 'Whom We Shall Welcome,'" pp. 109-12; "Statement by Senator McCarran Regarding the Report by the President's Commission," p. 112. See also M. T. Bennett, *American Immigration Policies, A History* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963), ch. III, "The Selective Period of Federal Restrictions, 1880-1920," pp. 15-29; ch. IV, "The New Immigration, 1880-1920," pp. 30-39; ch. V, "Numerical Restrictions—The Quota Act of 1921," pp. 40-46; ch. VI, "The National Origins Restricting Plan and the Immigration Act of May 26, 1924," pp. 47-58 ff.

the last quarter of the nineteenth century. From about 1820 to 1880 there was a constant flow of immigrants from Europe. They joined the older colonists of predominantly English ancestry. These latter, now classified as "Old Immigrants," were primarily Northern Europeans; they tended to be Protestant in religion and to resemble in other cultural aspects the dominant national pattern. They included German, Irish, Scotch, Swedish, Dutch, as well as English immigrants. They came during the epoch of an expanding western frontier and most of them spread rapidly over the country; many went to the West. A few of them, however, formed cultural enclaves throughout the country. Settlements of German, Swedish, and Dutch descendants can still be found in the midwest. Most of the "old" immigrants were soon "acculturated" to the dominant English-American culture pattern which was then taking form and were eventually "assimilated."

But in the last decades of the nineteenth century a change occurred in the type of immigration. As the frontier was gradually populated, and as industry began to develop in the cities in the northeastern region of the country, a great demand for cheap labor developed. A wave of "new" immigrants came after 1880, mostly from Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. These mostly did not settle in the rural zones, but crowded into the cities. They were mostly Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians, (or Uniates), and Jews, and spoke languages quite strange to the ears of the "old" immigrants who were then overwhelmingly English-speaking. These new arrivals were also less skilled mechanically and often illiterate. They were relegated to certain low-paid occupations and small business enterprises and took over the low-paying jobs in industry, living in relative poverty mostly in "Little Italies," "Hunkie Towns," and similar isolated districts in big northern cities, where they could use their own language.

#### Heritage of Racism

BECAUSE OF THEIR linguistic and cultural differences and as a result of the competition for better jobs, these "new" immigrants encountered considerable prejudice. Eventually they were believed to be "racially inferior" by the northern Anglo-Saxon. They were also accused of being more inclined to crime, of being unable to adjust to America's culture, and of wishing to overthrow American institutions in favor of European powers and systems.

In fact, in spite of the insistence of the dominant ideology of Americanism that the United States has already been opposed to racism in all



forms, actually "in the hundred and eighty years of their independence as a nation, astonishingly few (Americans) have rejected racial exclusiveness or championed the view that all men are brothers entitled to the same rights and privileges regardless of the color of the skin, shape of the head, or any other physical characteristics. Not a single one of the great popular heroes of democracy—neither Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, nor Woodrow Wilson—rose much above the common prejudice."<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, it is seldom noted that America's type of racism has remained on the statute books of the present immigration laws until very recently, and has ever found respectable academic proponents in terms of Puritanism, Anglo-Saxonism, Teutonism, Social Darwinism, Eugenics, and "Super-Racism."<sup>18</sup>

Even some of America's outstanding sociologists, such as E. A. Ross, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Franklin H. Giddings, and others were quite outspoken, especially in their early writings, against the "new" immigrants on the basis of race.<sup>19</sup> In fact, Professor J. W. Jenks of New York University was one of the most influential persons in achieving passage of the 1924 immigration law as one of the members of the Senate Immigration Commission.

In general, before World War I, racism had spread through the North as well as the South. Its main attacks were leveled against the Negro people, but it took in its sweep the Slavs as being the most numerous of the "new" immigrants and, to a lesser degree, the Germans (especially during World War I—although these immigrants were previously not included among the "new" immigrants), the Irish, and always to a considerable degree the Jews and Orientals.

#### The Fear of "Slavic Peril"

BEFORE World War I, by a combination of circumstances, the interna-

<sup>17</sup> E. M. Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957), pp. 209–10; William Peterson, "The 'Scientific' Basis of our Immigration Policy," pp. 197–205, in William Peterson and David Matza, eds., *Social Controversy* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1963); Nathaniel Weyl and Stefan T. Possony, *The Geography of Intellect* (Chicago: Regnery, 1963), especially pp. 13 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Gossett, *op. cit.*; Solomon, *op. cit.*; Higham, *op. cit.*; John R. Dos Passos, *The Anglo-Saxon Century* (New York: Putnam, 1903); Saveth, *op. cit.*; Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), ch. 9, "Racism and Imperialism," pp. 170–200, and bibliography, pp. 205–16; Pierre L. van den Berghe, *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective* (New York: John Wiley, 1967), ch. IV, "The United States," pp. 77–95; Ronald Segal, *The Race War* (New York: Viking Press, 1966), ch. 4, "The White World of the United States," pp. 180–284; Ashley Montague, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1964), p. 32 and *passim*; etc.

<sup>19</sup> Higham, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–10, 117, 147, 272, 267, 273–327.

tional situation was also influencing the predominant American attitude toward the "new" immigrants. Russian-American relations were deteriorating at precisely the same time as Slavic immigrants were inundating the Northeastern Seaboard and the Middle West. The Russian threat appeared grave in the context of fears that these "inferior hordes" (the "wild motley throng" that was passing through America's "unguarded Gates," as Thomas Bailey Aldrich, the genteel editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, expressed it) would destroy the American way of life. Czarist absolutism, Russia's "insatiable ambition," and the Slavic threat to Anglo-Saxon supremacy made Russia the national foe of England and the United States.<sup>20</sup> Several well-known American observers anxiously awaited the "final grapple" that would determine whether "the future of civilization" lay with "the English-speaking people of the world or the Russian Empire."<sup>21</sup>

#### The Impact of World War I on Immigrant Issues

WORLD WAR I raised several antagonistic undercurrents against "foreigners." Extreme dislocation of every kind—combined with initial unemployment before the war started plus a housing shortage—created arguments against continued immigration. An uneasy feeling that war was coming also existed, and in spite of President Wilson's reassurances that there would be no war, voices began to be heard asking for national unity.<sup>22</sup>

While the wars fought by the United States in the nineteenth century had diverted nationalism from nativist channels, the situation became different in World War I. Then a conflict developed between the United States and Germany. Germany had been sending to this country large and cohesive masses of immigration. Millions of the descendants of these immigrants had—or were presumed by hate-mongers to have—certain nostalgic feelings for the country of their forefathers. Eventually all kinds of charges of disloyalty arose, not only against the Germans, but against all kinds of suspected "foreigners."

It is little known that one of the most important influences in inducing

<sup>20</sup> B. O. Elewer, "The Proposed Federation of the Anglo-Saxon Nations," *Arena*, Vol. 20 (August, 1898), p. 232.

<sup>21</sup> A. H. Ford, "The Warfare of Railroads in Asia," *Century*, Vol. 59 (March, 1900), p. 794; F. A. Ogg, "Saxon and Slav: The Lion and the Bear in the Far East," *Chautauquan*, Vol. 37 (March, 1903), pp. 14-15; Charles A. Conant, "The United States as a World Power," *The Forum*, Vol. 29 (July, 1900), p. 289.

<sup>22</sup> See an excellent study, "War and Revolution," in Higham, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-233 (ch. 8), and ch. 9, "Crusade for Americanization," pp. 234-63; William Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), especially chapters 3-7, and bibliography, pp. 279-86.

the United States to join the Allies against the Central Powers was the work of Captain Emanuel Voska, a Czech immigrant. His target was Dr. Heinrich E. Albert, Commercial Attaché of the German Embassy. Voska stole Albert's portfolio containing some very damaging documents relating to German sabotage and transmitted them, through British agents, to the American authorities.<sup>23</sup>

American periodicals had a field day with the reports of espionage and sabotage, and the insistence on national solidarity and the awareness that nationality groups in America were divided in their loyalties to the United States and the native countries of the immigrants was growing rapidly. While the attacks were first directed against the Germans, eventually all "hyphenated Americans" came under suspicion.<sup>24</sup>

The Slavs especially presented a real problem to Washington. The census showed that in 1917 the American population included about 4,662,000 people born within the borders of the Central Powers, half of them Germans and the other half a queer conglomeration of nationalities from Austria-Hungary. Altogether about one-third of America's foreign born came from the enemy territory—and this included all the Slavs (except those from Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution). An overwhelming majority had not become citizens—and thus, technically, they became enemy aliens when the U.S. declared war on Austria-Hungary in December, 1917.

Furthermore, these Slavic nationalities (including the Magyar immigrants, since many had come from Slovakia which at that time was under Austria-Hungary) dominated the eastern coal fields and formed perhaps two-thirds of the labor forces in the iron and steel industries. An equal proportion worked in the slaughterhouses and in most of the munition factories.<sup>25</sup> Thus, Higham remarks, "the Slovaks, Slovenes, Magyars, Bohemians, and all the rest of the great mass from Eastern Europe were

<sup>23</sup> For details, see Emanuel Victor Voska and Will Irwin, *Spy and Counterspy* (New York: Doubleday, 1946). For other anti-Austro-Hungarian propaganda carried on by American Czechs, see Charles Pergler, *America in the Struggle for Czechoslovak Independence* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1926); Victor Mamatey, *The United States and East-Central Europe, 1914-1918: A Study in Wilsonian Diplomacy and Propaganda* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957); Mamatey, "The Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenians," pp. 223-49, and Otakar Odložilík, "The Czechs," pp. 204-23, in Joseph P. O'Grady, ed., *The Immigrants' Influence on Wilson's Peace Policies* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1967).

<sup>24</sup> George Creel, "The Hope of the Hyphenated," *Century Magazine*, Vol. 16 (1916), pp. 250-62.

<sup>25</sup> Higham, *op. cit.*, p. 213; see also Franklin H. Martin, *Digest of the Proceedings of the Council of National Defense During the World War*, 73rd Congress, 2nd Sess., Senate Document No. 193 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), p. 346.

not Teutonic, to be sure, nor did American opinion ever view them in quite that light. . . . Nevertheless the thought that the adversary had at least a technical claim on the sympathies of millions in the industrial heart of America was deeply disquieting."<sup>26</sup> These "new" immigrants lived "on the other side of the tracks," and hence little was known about their culture patterns and sympathies. Then there was the suspicion that many of the aliens, although legally enemies, could control elections in certain districts (especially in such states as Indiana, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, where aliens could vote on the mere declaration of intention to become citizens).<sup>27</sup>

There was also the question of drafting aliens for military services. The Selective Service Act of May, 1917, exempted enemy aliens and all others who had not declared their intention to become citizens. The results showed when the growing number of drafted citizens left many aliens behind on "the home front." And there were also some aliens who sought exemption from being drafted on the basis of the treaties that the United States had with their homelands.

Fortunately, most of the Slavs from Central-Eastern Europe and the Balkans—although not all of them—were sympathetic to the Allied cause. Especially so were the minorities from Austria-Hungary; they sponsored movements which more or less coincided with the principle of "self-determination of small nations" proclaimed by President Wilson. Their nationality group activities hence were also geared to the American war aims—although many of them were, technically, enemy aliens. On that account the non-German immigrants from Central-Balkan Europe were treated differently than the American Germans, and President Wilson refused to apply to them the enemy alien regulations which were used against all German aliens.<sup>28</sup>

Of importance also was the fact that, by the end of the war, the "self-determination" movements of the Slavs were headed by such world-famous figures as the Polish pianist Ignace Paderewski and the great Czech philosopher and sociologist, Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, who succeeded in gaining access to another "professor," Woodrow Wilson, and possibly, to a degree, influenced his "self-determination" program.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Higham, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

<sup>27</sup> L. E. Aylsworth, "The Passing of Alien Suffrage," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 25 (1931), pp. 114-16. Three states amended their constitutions in that respect in 1918, and the rest followed right after World War I.

<sup>28</sup> The sympathies of President Wilson were not, however, always with the Slavs; for details, see O'Grady, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Thomas G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State: Memories and Observations, 1914-1918* (New York: Stokes, 1926), and especially pp. 218-23, 235-62. For the Polish

As far as the other Slavs were concerned, the Bolshevik Revolution, which scared the life out of most Americans, weakened American enthusiasm for the ambitions of the American Russians and Ukrainians. The American Bulgarians, thanks to the smallness of their number in the United States, produced no particular reactions at all.<sup>30</sup>

Yet racism had its proponents during World War I, although any type of xenophobia, not directly related to the war effort, was discouraged; anti-Catholicism was subdued, and racial nativism was not too popular since the United States was aligned with Italy and Japan against Germany. Nevertheless, racism was by no means dead, and Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) noted, casually, that the war was another deplorable example of an old suicidal bloodletting among the Nordics. What promoted the undercurrents of racial chauvinism, and especially in the immediate postwar years, was the realization of the radical political activities of some Slavic and other Central-Eastern-Balkan European immigrants. They also produced left-wing spokesmen who denounced the war as a capitalistic blood bath. The resulting hatred of radicalism was turned especially against the Industrial Workers of the World, the tiny anarchist groups, and the fading Socialist Party. The provisions of the Espionage Act which banned disloyal literature from the mails was used mostly against left-wing publications, and some western states passed criminal syndicalism laws. But, in general, the attacks on radicalism became thoroughly interwoven with the anti-German hysteria.<sup>31</sup>

The general anti-alien feelings and the fear of radicalism were intensi-

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claims, see J. V. Swastek, "Polish Americans," pp. 143-57, in Brown and Roucek, eds., *One America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952); L. L. Gerson, "The Poles," pp. 272-86, in O'Grady, *op. cit.*; for the participation of Yugoslavs, see Joseph S. Roucek, "Yugoslav Americans," pp. 168-76, in *One America, ibid.*, and Gerald Gilbert Govorchin, *Americans from Yugoslavia: A Survey of Yugoslav Immigrants in the United States* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1961); G. J. Prpic, "The South Slavs," pp. 173-203, in O'Grady, *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> For a suggestive treatment, see L. L. Gerson, *The Hyphenate in Recent American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1964), especially ch. V, "Woodrow Wilson and Self-Determination," pp. 73-95, and Ch. X, "Soviet Russia and the Slavic-American," pp. 162-77; unfortunately the author's treatment is uneven, incomplete, and obviously ignorant of many available sources; Bulgarians, for instance, are disposed of only on one page, 135; Pergler and Voska are not listed in the index, and the difficulties of the American-Yugoslavs only receive scant notice here and there. Basically, O'Grady's recent study has definitely replaced Gerson's book.

<sup>31</sup> Preston, *op. cit.*, ch. II, "The I.W.W. Challenge, 1905-1915," pp. 35-62 and *passim*; P. F. Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1957); Charles Madison, *Critics and Crusaders: A Century of American Protest* (New York: Ungar, 1959); Max Nomad, *Political Heretics: From Plato to Mao Tse-Tung* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: 1963), pp. 176-78.

fied by European events. The Bolsheviks seized control in Russia in November, 1917, and made a separate peace with Germany the following March—and they boldly raised the banner of world communism. The intoxicating quality of the trend of events led the American extremists to the point of action. In April, 1919, a bomb was found in the mail of Mayor Ole Hansen, a Seattle editor and a conspicuous Red-baiter. A day later the maid of Senator Thomas R. Hardwick of Georgia, an advocate of immigration restrictions, had her hands blown off when she opened a mysterious package addressed to her employer. Other similar incidents followed. The most sensational took place in New York on September 16, 1920, when a terrific noonday blast in crowded Wall Street caused the death of 38 persons, injury to hundreds of others, damage to the extent of \$2 million, and untold harm to the cause of liberalism, tolerance, and pro-alien sentiments.

These and other incidents were more an index of the unusual strain of the times than of the real strength or intensity of the revolutionary movement, especially among immigrants. Actually all radical ranks were divided and confused by the turn of events.<sup>32</sup>

Of importance to us is that the foreign-born workers and radicals played a very prominent part in the social upheavals of the time. As a keen student reports:

In addition to the anarchist, the great majority of American communists had a recent immigrant background. The bulk of Russian peasants in the United States seemed sympathetic to the Bolshevik regime. Also some of the biggest strikes occurred in basic industries manned largely by the new immigrants. . . . The great majority of the strikers were recent immigrants, and in some places such as Lawrence, Massachusetts, the English-speaking employees remained at work while the foreigners were out. In the autumn, at the height of the Red Scare, the great steel strike drew together 376,000 workers, largely from the unorganized masses of Southern and Eastern Europe, despite the companies' best efforts to exploit nationality cleavages.<sup>33</sup>

#### The Trends After World War

THE RADICALISM OF THE Slavic immigrants was not forgotten after World

<sup>32</sup> James R. Mock and Evangeline Thurber, *Report on Demobilization* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944). The excesses associated with the Red scare are well described in Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941); Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York: Viking, 1957).

<sup>33</sup> Higham, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–26. Higham bases his generalizations on James Oneal and G. A. Werner, *American Communism: A Critical Analysis of its Origin, Development and Programs* (New York: Rand Book, 1947), pp. 43–45, 52–53; Jerome Davis, *The Russian Immigrant* (New York, Macmillan, 1922), p. 173; see also Theodore Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (New York: Viking 1960), pp. 189–90.

War I—or even ever since.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the disastrous consequences of aggressive nationalism in Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe after World War I added fuel to the anti-immigrant tendencies, although to some Americans the question was no longer so much one of loyalty (until the post-World War II rise of the influence of Communism—and of Fascism and Nazism—among the foreign-born, as well as among some native Americans), but one of growing doubt as to whether mass immigration could be assimilated, as it had been, to a degree, in the nineteenth century.

One basic premise underpinning the immigration legislation of 1917–1924 and which also animated the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was the assumption that the national origin of an immigrant was a reliable indication of his capacity for Americanization. It was claimed, and science presumably was called upon to show, that some people, because of their racial and national background, were more capable of becoming Americans than others. It was concluded that the “old” immigrants, who had come to the United States before 1880, were drawn from the “superior stock” of Northern and Western Europe, while those coming afterward were drawn from “inferior hordes” of Southern-Eastern Balkan Europe. The proponents of the restrictive legislation favored the elimination of the “new” while perpetuating the “old” immigrants. This was the logic of the literacy test, passed over President Wilson’s veto in 1917. Then came the passage of the Johnson Act of 1921 which pushed the base quota year from 1910 to 1890 and consolidated the theory of national origins motivated by the idea of the inferiority of the “new” immigrants. Congressman Vestal, arguing in favor of the measure, expressed this clearly. The Southern and Eastern immigrants from Europe, he said, “have not been of the kind that are readily assimilated or absorbed by our American life.”<sup>35</sup>

The argument was reinforced by the then enormously popular book by Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*.<sup>36</sup> According to Grant, a distinguished “anthropologist” of the American Museum of

<sup>34</sup> Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961), especially ch. II, “Foreign-Born Workers and the Party in the Twenties,” pp. 38–89, and Ch. IV, “Jews and Middle-Class Groups and the Party,” pp. 139–68; Joseph S. Roucek and Arthur D. Wright, “Political Activities of Minority Groups,” ch. 16, pp. 426–48, in Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, eds., *One America, op. cit.* For the more recent attitudes toward American communism see Allen Guttman and Benjamin Munn Ziegler, eds., *Communism, The Courts and the Constitution* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1964).

<sup>35</sup> Quoted by Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1957), p. 76.

<sup>36</sup> Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York: Scribners’, 1916).

Natural History, the "new" immigration contained a large and increasing number of the weak, the broken, and the mentally crippled of all races drawn from the lowest stratum of the Mediterranean Basin and the Balkans, together with hordes of the wretched, submerged populations of the Polish ghettos. America's jails, insane asylums, and almshouses are filled with this human flotsam, he maintained; the whole tone of American life, social, moral, and political, he insisted had been lowered and vulgarized by them.

These and related racial theories influenced the reports of two government investigations. The first was the detailed study by the Immigration Commission under the chairmanship of Senator Dillingham. The second was a report by Dr. Harry H. Laughlin of the Carnegie Institution, "the expert eugenics agent" of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. He testified, from time to time, on what he held to be the bad breeding stock that was entering this country, spoiling its inborn national qualities. (His most publicized report to the commission presented "statistics" on the inmates of American mental institutions, jails, and poorhouses, purporting to show that the "new immigration" contained a disproportionate percentage of "inborn socially inadequate qualities."<sup>37</sup>)

These reports influenced directly subsequent legislation, for they supported theoretical opinions privately held with what appeared to be official and presumably scientific proof. The Commission, appointed in 1907, presented its conclusions in 1910 in 42 volumes. Widely quoted, the report figured prominently in the deliberations that produced the Johnson Act in 1921; and the Laughlin Report, presented in 1922 and printed in 1923, laid the groundwork for the restrictive legislation of 1924.<sup>38</sup>

Looking over the Dillingham report, one is amazed at how unscientific it was—and yet how influential. Handlin, for instance, points out that "the commission followed the procedure of presenting the introduction and conclusion of each individual report, together with its own interpretative comments, which supplied the judgment on the inferiority of the

<sup>37</sup> *Hearings: Biological Aspects of Immigration*, House Committee on Immigration, 77th Congress, 2nd Sess., Washington, 1921; *Hearings: Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot*, House Committee on Immigration, 67th Congress, 3rd Sess., Washington, 1923; *Hearings: Europe as an Immigrant-Exporting Continent and the United States as an Immigrant-Receiving Nation*, House Committee on Immigration, 68th Congress, 1st Sess., Washington, 1924.

<sup>38</sup> For details on the events leading to the passing of the 1924 legislation, see Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life*, *op. cit.*, ch. v, "Old Immigrants and New," pp. 74–110; Higham, *op. cit.*, ch. 11, "Closing the Gates," pp. 300–30.



"new" immigrants. These comments sprang from its own a priori assumptions, not from any evidence—whatever that was worth; sometimes, indeed, they ran altogether against such evidence."<sup>39</sup> All the racial identifications were confused by the evident desire of the commission to show that the old immigration was different in racial type from the new. "Thus Jewish immigrants, though in language and physical characteristics akin to the Germans, were reckoned among the Slavs or eastern Europeans."<sup>40</sup>

Throughout this document's text and its summary were sprinkled, in scattered phrases and sentences, reflections upon the lesser capacity of the new immigrants to be Americanized. The English and Irish came to the United States "imbued with sympathy for our ideals and our democratic institutions." The "Norse" make "ideal farmers and are often said to Americanize more rapidly than do the other peoples who have a new language to learn. . . ." For "the German is too well known in America to necessitate further discussion." By contrast, the Serbo-Croatians have "savage manners." Although the "Poles verge toward the 'northern' races of Europe," being lighter in color than the Russians, "they are more highstrung," "resembling the Hungarians" in that respect.<sup>41</sup>

#### The Varied Reactions to Slavs During World War II

WITH THE PASSING of the 1924 Restrictive Act, the racist and nativistic anti-immigration agitation died out somewhat, although not entirely. In general, the academic world came fully under the spell of the conclusions of the anthropologists and social workers who insisted that there was no racial inequality and that the difficulties of the immigrant were due to the poor environmental conditions rather than to their backgrounds. Yet, in spite of all the criticism carried on systematically against the act by the influential Jewish and immigrant organizations, Congress passed the Walter McCarran Immigration Bill, carrying the numerical limitations and the annual quota based upon national origins. This passed—in spite of President Truman's veto (and his message) of June 25, 1952—by a vote of 278 to 113. In fact, the quota system was made in some respects even more rigid and restrictive by this 1952 Act (which codified the existing legislation). It used the national origins of the population of 1920, not of 1950, and excluded from consideration Negroes, American Indians, and other non-white people. It thus failed to take into account the national origins of

<sup>39</sup> Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

the current population. And when defending the act, Senator McCarran did not hesitate to use the concept of "race" again: "... the national origins quota system allocates quota numbers on the basis of the ratio of each racial group in the United States to the aggregate population."<sup>42</sup>

But, at the same time, the politicians began to be aware also of the growing political power of the Slavs, and especially of their descendants. Representative Adolph J. Sabath, of Czech backgrounds, was chairman of the Western Division, Nationalities Groups, of the Democratic National Committee. During the Presidential campaign, Roosevelt was bargained with ethnic communications. In fact, in preparation for the 1938 Presidential campaign, the Foreign Language Citizens Committee of the Democratic National Committee set up twenty-six nationality divisions to attract the ethnic vote for the Democrats. (Of interest is that the representative of the Croatian-American community was John D. Butkovich, who was to become a prime mover behind the American Slav Congress, a Communist-dominated organization.)<sup>43</sup>

In fact, during the 1940 campaign, both parties made overt appeals to Americans of foreign origin. To the benefit of the Czech, Slovak, and Slav cause was a series of direct attempts by Nazi and Fascist organizations to interfere in American politics. But these ceased after December 7, 1941, although "political parties continued to boil the ethnic waters in the interest of party victories."<sup>44</sup>

In the background was the impact of American local politics controlled by several outstanding Americans of foreign backgrounds.<sup>45</sup> In the case of the Czechs, the earliest of the "new" immigrants, these political influences were symbolized in the election of Antonín J. Cermák as Mayor in Chicago in 1930; his organization laid the foundation for making formerly Republican Illinois a Democratic stronghold.<sup>46</sup> He represented (like Christopher of San Francisco)<sup>47</sup> recent immigrant groups whose personal triumphs became symbols for their minority votes. Both were enterprising businessmen who knew how to use their ethnic origins as

<sup>42</sup> Senator McCarran, in *Congressional Record—Senate*, June 27, 1952, pp. 84–61–8463, reprinted in Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–08.

<sup>43</sup> Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, *Report on the American Slav Congress and Associated Organizations* (Washington, D.C., June 26, 1949), pp. 99, 101, 105.

<sup>44</sup> For details see Gerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 131.

<sup>45</sup> Feliks Gross, "Political Emigration from Iron Curtain Countries," pp. 175–216, in Joseph S. Roucek, ed., "Moscow's European Satellites," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 271 (September, 1950).

<sup>46</sup> Alex Gottfried, *Boss Cermak of Chicago* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1962).

<sup>47</sup> George Dorsey, *Christopher of San Francisco* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).

springboards for power. The lonely crowd of minorities had a pride, grounded in their cultural heritage, which was the source of their political success. The deprivations of an economically depressed and culturally isolated childhood furnished the spur to unsparing physical and psychological drives for their ego fulfillment.

These two immigrant descendants, one a Republican and the other a Democrat, epitomized the forces which brought John F. Kennedy to the White House. Neither Čermák nor Christopher waited two generations as the Kennedys had done to exert their political skills. But other ethnic groups had to wait until World War II to solidify their power. In the decade after 1945, Joseph Mruc became the first American-Polish Mayor of Buffalo. Abraham A. Ribicoff was the first Jewish Governor of Connecticut. John Pastore of Rhode Island was the first U.S. Senator of Italian origin. (The Italian-Americans, besides capturing the highest offices in Rhode Island, also elected mayors in numerous New Jersey cities, and in 1947 displaced the Irish in the chieftainship of Tammany Hall.) Recently the Czechs could even boast of one of their descendants in the U.S. Senate: Senator Roman Hruska of Nebraska.

Yet the course of World War II brought on some bitter criticism regarding the disloyalty of the Americans Slavs because some of them supported, possibly unwittingly, the Communist-dominated All-Slav Congress. This front group, during the Presidential election of 1940, joined the American Communist Party in an open attack on President Roosevelt, charging him with violation of the "traditional" principle of isolationism.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, American public opinion became quite confused with the bitter fights between the Czech-Americans and Slovak-Americans, between the arguments of the Bulgaro-Americans and the Serb-Americans, and the bitterness of the Macedonians against the Bulgarians and the Serbs, while the Catholic Serbs scorned the Orthodox Serbs, with Ukrainian-Americans being both anti-Polish and anti-Communist.<sup>48</sup>

It has been seldom noted, however, that this fraternal series of inter-necine fights has been due more to the revival of traditional historical antagonisms among these "new" immigrants by political refugees rather than to the continuing concern of the descendants of the new immigrants in fighting for political interests of their native lands.

At the same time, the consequences of World War II helped to inform the American and the academic world about the importance of Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe, with Soviet Russia fighting on the side

<sup>48</sup> Gross, *op. cit.*

of the Western Allies and American troops meeting eventually with the Russian soldiers on the Elbe, after General Patton's army had reached the suburbs of Prague and then returned to Pilsen (Czechoslovakia).<sup>49</sup>

Suddenly, following the establishment of the U.S. Army's area training and especially language courses designed to acquaint the American invading armies with the Central-Eastern-Balkan area, there sprang up a series of "area" courses in the leading as well as the less-known American academic institutions, each trying to "cash in" on the awareness that this region also had to be included more fully in the curricula. At the beginning, naturally, these offerings were not always of high quality since there was a tendency to appoint, in a hurry, instructors whose only qualification was that they had visited this area, however briefly.<sup>50</sup> But the situation has been gradually improving with the rising number of more thoroughly trained products of the graduate departments of Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, Notre Dame, University of California, Yale, and other institutions, and the introduction or rejuvenation of periodicals specializing in this field (such as *The American Slavic and East European Review*, *The Journal of Central European Affairs*, etc.). At the same time, the Slavic and other immigrant groups from the Central-Eastern-Balkan area have been sponsoring a growing number of publications and periodicals, aiming to provide more accurate information for the American public about the background of their countries and the contributions made by the descendants (and now also the refugees) from the Slavic areas.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Why the United States armies stopped and let the Russians capture Berlin and Prague has been gradually "discovered" only in recent years; see "Six Weeks That Shaped History," *U.S. News & World Report*, Vol. 37, No. 24, December 10, 1954, pp. 28-31; Toni Lazzarino, "The Final Guns: Did Stalin Betray Us in the Battle of the Bulge," *The American Legion Magazine*, Vol. 84, No. 1, January, 1968, pp. 6-48. Although Patton's enforced retreat from the suburbs of Prague to Pilsen was one of the most important factors leading to the erection of the "Iron Curtain," strangely enough the biographers of General Patton seldom, if ever, mention this incident; see Harry H. Semmes, *Portrait of Patton* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955); Charles M. Codman, *Drive* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957).

<sup>50</sup> Joseph S. Roucek, "Russlandkunder in den USA," in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (Munich), Vol. 4, No. 1, 1956, pp. 64-71; *Beware! Tourists Reporting on Russia*, An Analysis of Tourist Testimony on Soviet Russia, Prepared for the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 86th Congress 2nd Sess., February 6, 1960 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960).

<sup>51</sup> See such periodicals as International Peasant Union, *Bulletin*, 285 Central Park West, New York, N.Y. 10024; *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, 302 West 13th Street, New York, N.Y. 10014; the publications of Józef Pilsudski Institute of America, 381 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016; the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, Inc., 50 East 66th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021; the Kosciusko Foundation, 15 East 65th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021, etc.; the publications of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America, Inc., 381 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016, and of the Dominican House of Studies (for Croatian Culture), 1125 East 50th Street, Chicago, etc.

### The Future

LEGALLY, IN 1965, the new Immigration Law abolished the 41-year-old national origins quota system as of June 30, 1968, providing meanwhile that the quota numbers not used will be put in a "pool" and be available to immigrants in excess of individual quotas. Thus ended the racial ban on immigration (while retaining the quota system based on national origins.)

But the social and political considerations remain in a state of flux. Even the question of the survival of the war-cultivated interest in "Slavdom" has a questionable future in two respects. In the first place, we must remember that much of the interest in this area is due more to the communist experiments than to the "Slavic" aspects and much of this so-called "interest" has been promoted more by political refugees from the communist-dominated areas, rather than by any deep-seated involvement, emotionally and culturally, of the American-born descendants of the Slav immigrants. Political emigrés from behind the "Iron Curtain" received some indirect support from Washington ("Radio Free Europe" being a good example). And it is only natural that political immigrants have been trying to secure political and financial support from the remains of the immigrants' settlements in this country.

But this agitation is facing a bleak future for several reasons. The "old" immigrants are dying off; continual political and personal differences divide the recent refugees; and within the immigrant settlements bitter struggles are waged for leadership and over political orientation. Thus, today, the "Czechoslovaks" are bitterly fought by the "Slovak autonomists." There are also differences between the Slovak Protestants and Catholics, between the Czech leaders, especially the "old" group hoping to take on the mantle of Masaryk and Beneš in their hoped-for return to Prague, and between the "new" rising younger elements aspiring to the leadership.

A similar situation exists in all other Slavic groups in the United States.

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