

At - At

Atholl

BRITISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

Chairman :
DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, D.B.E., Hon. D.C.L.

Vice-Chairman :
DEAN OF CHICHESTER, D.D.

66 ELIZABETH STREET

LONDON, S.W.1

Tel. SLOAN 9926-7

24th August, 1946.

Dear madam,

The Duchess of Atholl is in Scotland, so I am writing on her behalf to thank you very much both for sending on the League's Memorandum to Mr. George Warren, and for sending us copies of his reply.

Yours faithfully,

Francis Blackett

Hon. Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt,
29, Washington Square West,
New York City,
N.Y., U.S.A.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

copy sent
Atholl

State Dept
July 9, 1946

In reply refer to
A-C/R501.BD-Refugees/6-1946

July 9, 1946

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mr. Acheson has referred to me your letter of June 19, 1946, to which were attached a letter from the Duchess of Atholl and two memoranda prepared by the British League for European Freedom concerning recent actions by the Council of UNRRA and the United Nations Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons. The letter from the Duchess and the memoranda are returned herewith.

The Council of UNRRA meeting in Atlantic City in March 1946 and the United Nations Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons were fully aware of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 12, 1946, and I believe that the actions of both bodies were consistent with the spirit and language of the resolution of the General Assembly.

Resolution 92 of the Fourth Session of the UNRRA Council was adopted unanimously. Paragraph 3 of this resolution recommended the elimination from the assembly centers of liaison officers not properly nominated by recognized governments. This proved necessary in order to clarify the status of certain Polish liaison officers originally nominated by the Polish Government in Exile in London, who had never been confirmed in their official capacity by the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in Warsaw. Persons lacking the confidence of the Polish Government could not reasonably expect to retain an official representative status in the assembly centers.

The memorandum

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Apartment 15-A,
29 Washington Square, West,
New York 11, New York

The memorandum of the British League for European Freedom on this subject argues that this recommendation goes further than the proposal of the Soviet representative which was defeated in the General Assembly to the effect that the personnel of the assembly centers should be comprised of representatives of the countries of origin of the displaced persons. This conclusion, which is erroneous, results from a misunderstanding of the separate and distinct functions of liaison officers and of administrators of the camps. Liaison officers nominated by their governments and accredited to the military authorities have the sole function of accepting for repatriation those nationals of their countries who desire to be repatriated. The administration of the camps is at present the responsibility of UNRRA and presumably will later be the responsibility of the proposed International Refugee Organization. The Soviet proposal if adopted would have substituted for UNRRA or International Refugee Organization administration of the camps representatives of the governments of origin of the displaced persons.

The following comments or suggestions may prove helpful to you with respect to the items covered in the memorandum on the Report of the Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons.

With respect to the question raised as to who is to be judge of the reasonableness of valid objections under section C 1 (a)(1) of the Definition of Refugees and Displaced Persons, attention is called to paragraph 2 of the General Principles preceding the Definition which provides "To ensure the impartial and equitable application of the above principles and of the terms of the definition which follows, some special system of semi-judicial machinery should be created, with appropriate constitution, procedure, and terms of reference". It was the intention of the Special Committee that such decisions should be made by a semi-judicial body to be established by the International Refugee Organization.

It is suggested in the memorandum that section C paragraph 1(b) refers only to information emanating from the governments of the countries of origin. This sub-paragraph (b) should be read in the light of preceding paragraph 1 of section C which includes the following language: "or if they have definitely, in complete freedom, and after

receiving

receiving full knowledge of the facts, including adequate information from the governments of their countries of nationality or former habitual residence, expressed valid objections to returning to those countries:". Clearly the supply of information from sources other than the governments of the countries of origin was envisaged by the Special Committee.

Concern is expressed in the memorandum that under Part II paragraph 2 of the Definition the onus of proof that any assistance given to the enemy was not given voluntarily is placed upon the displaced person. The proposal of the Special Committee to set up semi-judicial machinery referred to above appears to be reassuring on this point.

Concern is also expressed in the memorandum that under Part II paragraph 6(b) the right of freedom of speech is jeopardized and that those who merely pass on information concerning conditions in their countries of origin may be excluded from the benefits of the International Refugee Organization. I believe that a careful reading of the Report of the Special Committee, which includes an extended discussion of this point, will dissipate such concern. It was the clear intention of the Special Committee that only those persons who devote their energies completely to the leadership of movements hostile to the governments of their countries of origin or to the discouragement of repatriation are to be excluded from the benefits of the International Refugee Organization.

Two arguments are adduced in the memorandum in opposition to the recommendation of the Special Committee that the International Refugee Organization be a specialized agency rather than a constituent part of the United Nations. The first argument is that the organization could be brought into existence more rapidly if made an integral part of the United Nations. This point was thoroughly discussed by the Special Committee in London which concluded that no delay in the coming into existence of the International Refugee Organization would result from the adoption of the form of a specialized agency. It is also argued that a specialized agency might lack the authority and funds to carry out large-scale settlement. It has always been the position of this Government that contributions by governments to large-scale settlement projects will result more readily from special consideration of such projects by

appropriating

appropriating bodies than from an obligation to contribute imposed by vote of the General Assembly upon members of the United Nations.

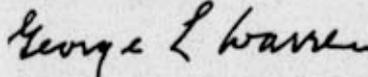
The memorandum also expresses objection to traveling commissions to visit camps where displaced persons are housed. The representatives of this Government in cooperation with the representatives of the United Kingdom consistently opposed the creation of such traveling commissions and succeeded in deleting this provision from the draft constitution at the meeting of the Economic and Social Council.

With respect to the original United Kingdom proposal that only those governments which had contributed to the operational expenses of the organization in the previous year should be eligible to membership on the Executive Committee of the International Refugee Organization, attention is called to the fact that the United Kingdom did not press this amendment to the draft constitution at the meeting of the Economic and Social Council in New York.

The suggestion is also made in the memorandum that displaced persons should be employed on the staff of the International Refugee Organization. In this connection attention is called to Article VIII paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Constitution. These paragraphs on the subject of staff were taken verbatim from similar provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. They do not in any way preclude the employment of displaced persons on the staff of the new body.

I hope that you may find these detailed comments and suggestions helpful in replying to the letter of the Duchess. There are being sent to you under separate cover copies of E/REF/75 and E/81, constituting the reports of the Special Committee in London and of the Economic and Social Council in New York on the subject.

Sincerely yours,



George L. Warren
Adviser on Refugees and
Displaced Persons

Enclosures:

1. Letter from the Duchess of Atholl, June 14, 1946.
2. Two memoranda.

Department of State

OFFICE }
DIVISION }

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

Mrs. Roosevelt

BRITISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

Chairman:
DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, D.B.E., M.A., O.C.L.

Vice-Chairman:
DEAN OF CHICHESTER, D.D.

66 ELIZABETH STREET

LONDON, S.W.1

TEL. SLOAN 9926-7

June 14. 1946.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt.

Knowing how much
your efforts contributed to the pass-
ing of that resolution in the
VNO Assembly which gave freedom
of choice in regard to repatriation
to the Displaced Persons, I venture
to send you herewith a copy of a
Memorandum on the same has sent
this week to the members of
the Economic & Social Council in regard

to certain findings of the Special
Committee which has been sitting
here, which we feel would rob
the resolution of much of its
value. We hope you may be
able to find time to read it.

Then I also take this chance
to send you the resolution of the
Plenary Council of VNRRRA to which
I referred in a cable I sent you some
weeks ago. The official at Polish
Headquarters here to whom the Polish
liaison officers in the camps report,
was so miserable when he heard of
this resolution, & it seemed to me to
show an infraction of the VMO

BRITISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

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LONDON, S.W.1
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Assembly's resolution - a rather
decision - on this matter, that I
felt I must ask you to do what
you could - I fear the resolution
of the Plenary Council must have
been carried by the votes of some
of the representatives of countries
whose governments want to set the
D.P.'s back at any cost. This
attitude has been very evident
on the Special Committee - hence
the Memorandum Enclosure.

Forgive my troubling you, but
this is such a big & urgent business for
-blem-

Yours sincerely
Katherine Atwell

ARE THE DISPLACED PERSONS TO BE CONTROLLED BY THE
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF
THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN?

(Undertakings and Opinions)

At all stages through which the Resolution on Refugees and Displaced Persons went before being definitely passed (the Drafting Committee, Economic and Social Council, General Assembly), the Soviet delegate, backed by the representatives of Eastern European countries, moved the amendment that:

"The personnel of refugee and displaced persons camps should, first of all, be comprised of representatives of States concerned, whose citizens are the refugees."

Speaking at the Assembly, in the discussion on the amendment, Mrs. Roosevelt called it "restrictive of human rights and human freedom."

In the same discussion, Mr. McNeil said:

"... in Western European thought and in Anglo-Saxon thought we have always based ourselves on this axiom that you cannot both be accuser and judge of the one offence or the one person. What is the purpose behind suggesting that the supervisor might be of the same nationality as the displaced person? I hope I am completely wrong, but it seems to me that there is a grave risk that you tax the zeal of the supervisor and you perhaps expect from the displaced person a courage and resolution and ability to withstand which he or she is not likely to display after three or four or five years perhaps trekking across half the Continent of Europe."

Finally, Mr. Fraser, in a speech against the amendment, said:

"The conception that refugees who are opposed to the government of their country should be put under the subjection of those to whom they are opposed does not bear a moment's examination. No men who believe in freedom could possibly agree to that. I agree that we should give the right to the government of the country of origin to go into the camp to tell the people that they are wrong, that they will be safe in their own country, and happy and successful in their own country. That should be done But, when it comes to setting their opponents over them and placing them at the mercy of those who opposed them, the United Nations surely cannot stand for that."

When the vote on the amendment was taken, the results were :
29 votes against, 8 in favour, 5 abstentions and 9 delegations absent.

On 28th March, the Plenary Session of UNRRA Council unanimously passed a resolution, which, in paragraph 4, says:

"It is understood that all of the Members of the Council accept the principles announced in the Resolution by the United Nations Assembly on February 12th, 1946".

At the same time, the paragraph 3 of the Resolution resolves:

"That the Council recommends to the occupying authorities, the military authorities, and the governments concerned that only those persons who have been properly nominated by presently recognised governments shall be accredited to the occupying authorities and military authorities, and permitted to serve as liaison officers. The Council further recommends that existing liaison officers who are not so nominated and accredited shall not be given access to Assembly Centres."

It should be pointed out that the above recommendation goes even further than the Soviet amendment to the Resolution of the United Nations.

The Soviet amendment reads:

a) The personnel of the camps should, first of all, be comprised of representatives of States concerned, whose citizens are the refugees; while UNRRA Council's recommendation stipulates that only those persons who have been properly nominated by presently recognised governments shall be permitted to serve as liaison officers.

b) The Soviet amendment does not exclude persons who are not representatives of the States concerned, while UNRRA Council does expressly exclude liaison officers not nominated by the recognised governments.

In Part II, para 6(b) the phrase "Leaders of movements hostile to the government of their country of origin" should, we feel, be qualified by a statement recognizing the right of the Displaced Persons to freedom of speech, including criticism of such governments. Our information is that in the vast majority of cases, refusal of repatriation is due to political conditions in the country of origin - more especially to lack of security from arbitrary arrest and from deportation to forced labour in another country. Why should men who deplore and criticise these conditions be deprived of the help of the proposed international organisation, so long as they do not incite others to violence? Are these not indeed the very men whose courage and initiative should make them valuable citizens in countries needing development?

Again, the second half of para. 6(b) seems to us likely to cause misunderstanding and grave hardship, inasmuch as persons who merely gave the information to their companions about conditions in their country of origin, to which we hold they are entitled, might be accused of discouraging repatriation and so less the benefit of the help of the proposed organisation.

These persons are those who would be most opposed to repatriation, and to leave them destitute, wandering and perhaps hiding in Central Europe, might create grave social and political problems for the future.

Finally, we venture to express our regret that the Report recommends that the proposed international organisation should be a specialised agency, rather than a constituent part of the United Nations. We do so for the following reasons:-

(1) The need for speed in setting up the organisation.

It seems obvious that it could be brought into existence much more rapidly if set up by the United Nations than if its genesis depended on negotiations between individual governments or organisations.

The need for speed is urgent. It is known in the camps that UNHRA's responsibility will end in December of this year; certain camps, it has been stated, will close even earlier; and in consequence there is acute anxiety among the Displaced Persons as to their future. If a new organisation should not be in existence by the end of December, or when certain camps close, we strongly urge that UNHRA be continued until it can hand over to the new body, and that this should be made known as soon as possible in the camps.

(2) The need for stability in such an organisation, and for adequate funds.

We agree strongly with the United Kingdom delegate in his minority report that large-scale settlements will undoubtedly be necessary. This work must be both slow and costly. A specialised agency, not an integral part of the United Nations, might well lack the authority and the funds to carry these through, and failure to do so may result in not only a few, but many, homeless wanderers in Europe, a misery to themselves and a menace to others.

(3) We also agree with the United Kingdom delegate that travelling commissions appointed by the organisation would be out of place in areas under military control.

(4) Finally, we agree with the United Kingdom delegate that the presence on the governing body of the new international organisation of representatives of governments not contributing

MEMORANDUM on the REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

submitted by the

BRITISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

to the delegates of

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

Sir/Madam,

As representatives of a League which, among other aims, endeavours to secure that due regard be had to the status and well-being of persons who, owing to political conditions, are unable to return to their own countries, we are necessarily deeply interested in the refugees and Displaced Persons in the camps on the European Continent, and have received much information in regard to them for nearly a year past. We therefore venture to submit to you a few comments on the Report of the Special Committee recently in session on this subject, whose proceedings we have followed with close attention.

In regard to Chapter III (DEFINITION OF DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES), we note that in Section C para I (a) (i), if persecution, or fear, is to be regarded as a valid objection to repatriation, this must be based on reasonable grounds, but it is not stated who is to judge of the reasonableness in a particular case. We venture to suggest that in no case should it be a representative of the government of the country of origin, as that would be to make a party to a case the judge of it. The arbiter should in our opinion, if possible, be someone of legal or judicial experience in possession of full information as to conditions in the country of origin of the Displaced Person.

Para I (b) (in regard to "ADEQUATE INFORMATION"). We note that the information mentioned as "adequate" refers only to information emanating from the governments of the countries of origin. But the resolution passed by the Assembly of the United Nations on February 12th, 1946 (para (c) (ii)), requires the Displaced Persons to make their decision as to repatriation "after receiving full knowledge of the facts including adequate information from the governments of their countries of origin." It seems clear to us that this wording not only entitles but requires the Displaced Persons to receive information from sources other than governmental ones, and we urge that the paragraph may be amended in such a way as to entitle the Displaced Persons to receive information from all possible sources. We suggest in particular that all regulations restricting press and printing facilities to the exposition only of particular views, should be rescinded, and freedom of the press within clearly cut and reasonable limits permitted.

In regard to Chapter III, Part II, para 2, we note that the onus is put on the Displaced Persons to prove that any assistance given by them to the enemy in the late war was not given voluntarily. This seems to us contrary to the principle established in this and other countries, that an accused person is considered innocent until he be proved guilty, and we feel that this principle should above all be maintained in the case of persons who are far from friends who might testify in their favour, or from any papers, personal or official, which might establish their innocence. We urge that each such case should be investigated individually and should be heard by a person or persons of judicial experience, not by any representative of the countries of origin.

In Part II, para 6(b) the phrase "Leaders of movements hostile to the government of their country of origin" should, we feel, be qualified by a statement recognizing the right of the Displaced Persons to freedom of speech, including criticism of such governments. Our information is that in the vast majority of cases, refusal of repatriation is due to political conditions in the country of origin - more especially to lack of security from arbitrary arrest and from deportation to forced labour in another country. Why should men who deplore and criticise these conditions be deprived of the help of the proposed international organisation, so long as they do not incite others to violence? Are these not indeed the very men whose courage and initiative should make them valuable citizens in countries needing development?

Again, the second half of para. 6(b) seems to us likely to cause misunderstanding and grave hardship, inasmuch as persons who merely gave the information to their companions about conditions in their country of origin, to which we hold they are entitled, might be accused of discouraging repatriation and so lose the benefit of the help of the proposed organisation. These persons are those who would be most opposed to repatriation, and to leave them destitute, wandering and perhaps hiding in Central Europe, might create grave social and political problems for the future.

Finally, we venture to express our regret that the Report recommends that the proposed international organisation should be a specialised agency, rather than a constituent part of the United Nations. We do so for the following reasons:-

(1) The need for speed in setting up the organisation.

It seems obvious that it could be brought into existence much more rapidly if set up by the United Nations than if its genesis depended on negotiations between individual governments or organisations.

The need for speed is urgent. It is known in the camps that UNRRA's responsibility will end in December of this year; certain camps, it has been stated, will close even earlier; and in consequence there is acute anxiety among the Displaced Persons as to their future. If a new organisation should not be in existence by the end of December, or when certain camps close, we strongly urge that UNRRA be continued until it can hand over to the new body, and that this should be made known as soon as possible in the camps.

(2) The need for stability in such an organisation, and for adequate funds.

We agree strongly with the United Kingdom delegate in his minority report that large-scale settlements will undoubtedly be necessary. This work must be both slow and costly. A specialised agency, not an integral part of the United Nations, might well lack the authority and the funds to carry these through, and failure to do so may result in not only a few, but many, homeless wanderers wandering in Europe, a misery to themselves and a menace to others.

(3) We also agree with the United Kingdom delegate that travelling commissions appointed by the organisation would be out of place in areas under military control.

(4) Finally, we agree with the United Kingdom delegate that the presence on the governing body of the new international organisation of representatives of governments not contributing

to operational funds is inappropriate. But we would venture to go further and record our opinion that the presence either on the governing or the executive body of such representatives, whether their governments are contributing adequately or not, can hardly be expected to contribute to smooth working. As we have pointed out, deep-seated political differences are the main cause of refusal of repatriation, and that being so, we can hardly expect from either side the co-operation necessary to the creation of an efficient machine. In the case of at least one country, its exiles are in process of being deprived of their citizenship. How can its governmental representative and its exiles be expected to work together?

For the same reason, we are strongly of the opinion that representatives of the countries of origin should not be employed in administrative or liaison posts in the proposed organisation, and we feel obliged to record our surprise that the Plenary Council of UNRRA on the 28th March unanimously passed a resolution that only persons nominated by presently-recognised governments should be permitted to serve as liaison officers. A less drastic resolution of this kind had been defeated in the Assembly in February.

We would, on the contrary, strongly recommend that as many as possible of the camp inmates should be used in this capacity. Lack of occupation is one of the greatest drawbacks of life in these camps, and their inmates are not only exiles from much-loved home-lands, but in many cases exiles whose nearest and dearest are unable to join them, and who have had to endure exile harassed by uncertainty as to their future, and terrified of enforced repatriation. Many for this reason fear to remain in the camps, preferring a hand-to-mouth life outside them. Others, actually faced with enforced repatriation, have preferred suicide. The presence in the camps of any representatives of the governments referred to would be bound to cause acute anxiety, probably indeed, panic and consequent disturbance. The camps include many men of good education and professional experience, well qualified to help the future organisation to administer its great task with sympathy and knowledge.

We feel further, that it would be advisable to give some representation to Displaced Persons, in a consultative capacity, on the executive body of the future organisation.

Atholl

June 19, 1946

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a letter and memorandum I just received. This has troubled me all along.

Very sincerely,

Duchess of Atholl
British League for European Freedom
66 Elizabeth Street
London, S.W.1, England

*My dear father
outside H. T. The Duchess
of Atholl*

June 19, 1946

Dear Dutchess Atholl:

I have received your letter of June 14th. I have written to the President and Mr. Byrnes and spoken to Mr. John Finant but I feel hopeless about accomplishing much.

Very sincerely yours,

June 19, 1948

Dear Dutchess Athol,

I am sorry your
address was mislaid and I was unable
to send you the answer I received
with reference to your telegram.

Very sincerely yours,

COPY

UNITED NATIONS
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

1344 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 25, D.C.

28 May 1946 .

Mr. Trygve Lie
Secretary-General
United Nations
Hunter College
Bronx 63, New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Lie:

Thank you for your letter of 14 May, passing on the text of a telegram received by Mrs. Roosevelt from the Duchess of Atholl, containing a statement that the UNRRA Council at Atlantic City in March agreed to give the control of displaced persons camps to representatives of countries of origin.

In making this statement, the Duchess of Atholl is under a misapprehension. The Resolution adopted by the UNRRA Council at Atlantic City did provide that UNRRA, in carrying out its Displaced Persons operations, should keep in touch with the governments concerned with a view toward reaching agreement regarding such operations; however, it said nothing about turning over to the governments the administration of the camps. I am attaching to this letter a copy of the full text of the Resolution in question, of which paragraph 4 contains the provision to which I have just referred.

You will see from the above that the Duchess of Atholl's fears are groundless. Indeed, the same Resolution of the UNRRA Council specifically endorsed the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 14, 1946.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ F. LaGuardia

F. LAGUARDIA
Director General.

RESOLUTION NO. 92

A Resolution Relating to Displaced
Persons Operations

WHEREAS

It is necessary that the authority of the Administration with respect to displaced persons under Resolution No. 71 be reviewed by the Council at this time and clarified with respect to future operations; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That paragraph 3 of Resolution No. 71 shall be revised to read as follows:

"That the authority of the Administration provided in the foregoing paragraphs with respect to operations in any area shall be continued and again reviewed by the Council at its next regular sessions."

2. That the Council wishes to emphasize that, in carrying out its operations under the authority of Resolution No. 71, it should be the constant concern of the Administration to do all within its power, in consultation with and by representations to the occupying authorities, military authorities and the governments concerned, to bring about the removal of conditions which may interfere with the repatriation of the displaced persons concerned at the earliest possible moment. To this end the Administration is directed:

- (a) To remove any handicaps in the assembly centers to the prompt repatriation of displaced persons wishing to be repatriated, as may fall within its authority and to recommend to the occupying authorities, military authorities, and the governments concerned, as well as the Central Committee of UNRRA, measures for the removal of any other handicaps;
- (b) To make available to the maximum extent the facilities and personnel of the Administration for the facilitation of the repatriation of displaced persons;
- (c) To make available the required personnel and to proceed at once, in cooperation with the occupying authorities or military authorities which maintain assembly centers for displaced persons, to complete the registration of all displaced persons in assembly centers and to compile data concerning their skills, previous experience and other qualifications for employment and to make

such data available in summary form without specification as to particular individuals, or in such other form as may be authorized by the Central Committee, to the Central Committee of UNRRA, to intergovernmental organizations and to governments of origin or former residence requesting such data;

- (d) To make reports every two months to the Central Committee concerning the problems and progress of repatriation, as well as the status of the program of the occupying authorities or military authorities, which maintain assembly centers, for the elimination of those persons receiving UNRRA assistance who are ineligible for such assistance.
- (e) To ascertain which of the displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance wish to be repatriated or returned to their countries of origin or former residence.

3. That the Council recommends to the occupying authorities, the military authorities and the governments concerned that only those persons who have been properly nominated by presently recognized governments shall be accredited to the occupying authorities and military authorities, and permitted to serve as liaison officers. The Council further recommends that existing liaison officers who are not so nominated and accredited shall not be given access to assembly centers.

4. In carrying out operations with respect to displaced persons under Resolution 71 the Administration shall keep in touch with the governments concerned with a view toward reaching agreement regarding such operations. In case of disagreement between the Administration and a government concerned, while such operations of the Administration may continue, such matters of disagreement may be referred by either party to the Central Committee for its consideration. It is understood that all of the members of the Council accept the principles announced in the resolution adopted by The United Nations Assembly on February 2, 1946.

5. That paragraph 2(a) of Resolution No. 71 shall be revised to read as follows:

"That in cooperation with the occupying authorities, the military authorities, and the governments concerned, the Administration will take immediate measures to withdraw its assistance from those displaced persons who have been determined by the military authorities to have collaborated with the enemy or to have committed crimes against the interests or nationals of the United Nations, whether or not such persons are detained in custody."

6. That in carrying out its operations under Resolution 71, the Administration, in cooperation with the occupying authorities, the military authorities and the governments concerned shall facilitate all necessary arrangements so that displaced persons may receive full

information from the governments of their countries of origin or former residence.

7. That in view of the temporary nature of the assistance that can be given by the Administration with respect to all of the remaining displaced persons in all areas in which the Administration is authorized to operate, it is the recommendation of the Council that its members shall seek to do all in their power to expedite the early creation of a United Nations body capable of dealing in an effective manner with the problem, such as is contemplated under the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of The United Nations on February 12, 1946, and, prior to the establishment of The United Nations body for this purpose and provided this does not delay its creation, to secure consideration of this matter by other intergovernmental agencies, and that efforts shall be made to devise ways and means to facilitate resettlement and otherwise to provide a solution to the problems which will confront the remaining displaced persons when the Administration's assistance comes to an end.

The Atlanta Journal

"THE JOURNAL COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

50,000 WATTS



"The Voice of the South"

Lehner

Atlanta 2, Ga. September 21, 1946.

Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt,
Hyde Park, N.Y.

Thompson

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Many who heard a broadcast I made the other night have suggested that I send you a copy of the script. One dear old lady extorted a promise that I do so. I am keeping the promise.

With kindest regards,

Yours, faithfully:

Edwin Camp

Atlanta 2, Ga.

Mr. Pegler and Franklin D. Roosevelt

A radio talk by Edwin Camp on The Atlanta Journal's "Views of the News" broadcast from Radio Station WSB, September 17, 1946.

Good evening. From day to day and from week to week a columnist named Westbrook Pegler, in articles which enjoy national syndication, assails Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has been dead and buried these many months.

That, perhaps, is Mr. Pegler's right. When Mr. Roosevelt entered public life and became first an assistant secretary of the navy, and then a candidate for vice president, and then governor of New York and finally president of the United States by four elections, he sacrificed that immunity to journalistic criticism which is the prerogative of the private citizen.

I do not think Mr. Pegler shows either fairness or human decency in the manner in which he pursues a man beyond the grave, but that is only my personal opinion—only an expression of personal taste. I will not argue against his right and his privilege to hound a man who perhaps already has faced a tribunal more knowing and more understanding and more just than Mr. Pegler.

But on reading today Mr. Pegler's latest vilification, the thought came back to me that there was a time when Mr. Pegler thanked God for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In April, 1942, Mr. Pegler wrote and published in nearly 100 newspapers these words which I quote verbatim:

"I still think Roosevelt is the strongest man among us; the fittest and, on all counts, the most logical man in the United States to carry on the work of war president, and a great doer and achiever on his war record up to now.

"He saw war coming, and made us prepare to meet the attack. Our preparations were insufficient, but they were far more advanced, thanks to the President's powerful persistence against the indifference and opposition of our people, than they would have been under the rule of a less energetic and determined man.

"I insist," Mr. Pegler went on, "that the progress which the President has made has been a much greater achievement than most of us know. I believe President Roosevelt has brought us, or dragged us, far ahead of the military and industrial war-state which the enemy had set for us as of this time.

"Credit for this accomplishment is due

Why this strange reversal of Mr. Pegler's opinion of Mr. Roosevelt?

I will tell you why. It was not that Mr. Roosevelt had changed, nor that Mr. Pegler had changed.

It was the state of the nation that had changed.

We were in desperate peril.

Look at the situation that existed on the day Mr. Pegler's gratitude for a Roosevelt was so eloquent.

In the Pacific there had been Pearl Harbor and Singapore. Bataan had fallen on April 9, a few days before Pegler wrote, and Corregidor was on verge of an inevitable surrender. The Philippines were gone and Wake Island, Borneo, Malaya, Java, the Celebes and Burma were overrun by the Japanese who occupied all of New Guinea except our precarious and tiny toehold at Port Moresby. It seemed likely that Australia would be lost.

We were so beaten in the Pacific that only a miracle of leadership and of construction in the making of an army and a fleet, could save the situation.

In the Atlantic no tanker dared venture to carry oil or gasoline up our coast. The U-boats were destroying an unbearable proportion of our merchant ships which endeavored to steam toward Europe or South America.

Poland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France were under the German heel and it was a less than even chance that England could withstand another week of bombing.

Mr. Pegler is an astute, shrewd, calculating man. Despite the shrill notes of our plaintive whistling in the dark to keep our courage up, Pegler could see, as many others of us then could see, our situation was desperate.

If we were to be saved, it could be only by great leadership and the grace of God. We had to have at the head of the nation a man of vision, a man of resolution, a man of courage which did not falter nor fail.

And so, in April, 1942, Pegler turned to the man to whom the nation had turned in the domestic catastrophe of 1933—to the man who then had shown vision, resolution, and dauntless courage.

In April, 1942, Harry Hopkins and Sidney Hillman and Harold Ickes and Frances Perkins, and the bogies of communism and the dominance of labor, and Mrs. Roosevelt's travels and Great Grandfather Delano's

OF US KNOW. I believe President Roosevelt has brought us, or dragged us, far ahead of the military and industrial war-state which the enemy had set for us as of this time.

"Credit for this accomplishment is due the chief who risks the blame of failure, and he is Mr. Roosevelt."

I don't know what views Mr. Pegler held about Mr. Roosevelt back in 1933. In those days he was only a sports reporter for the Chicago Tribune and a writer with a fine gift of satire and a spectacular cynicism. It was a few years later that he became a syndicated columnist whose first nationally-published article was a glorification of lynching on the ground that it saved time and the heavy costs which maintenance of courts impose on the taxpayer.

Possessing the gifts he did, it was not long before Mr. Pegler's articles were bringing him a fabulous income, greater than the sum we pay the President, and on this income Mr. Pegler's has to pay taxes which have been distressing to his frugal soul.

From the start of that fabulous income, Mr. Pegler became a virulent critic of Franklin D. Roosevelt, his policies, his official colleagues and his family. For ten years, day in and day out, week in and week out, year in and year out, he has written against the man, living and then dead, with great ingenuity and technical skill.

In view of all that, how may one explain his writing, in April, 1942, the impressive tribute which I have quoted, which was so strong, so dignified and, I take it, so sincere?

The Roosevelt was the same Roosevelt of 1933 and '36 and '40; the same Roosevelt who died at Warm Springs that melancholy afternoon in April of 1945. He had the same wife, and had had for nearly 40 years. He had the same sons and daughter. There was in his family tree the same great grandfather Delano who once traded in the China Sea. Mr. Ickes and Madame Perkins still were in the cabinet which they had entered in 1933. Mr. Roosevelt's views concerning organized labor were the same as they had been for a decade. Sidney Hillman was sharing with William S. Knudson the top production job of the war effort. Labor had, here and there in its manifold and widespread organizations, the same few convicted crooks or shady characters about whom Mr. Pegler had been worrying for years.

Yet, in April, 1942, as Mr. Pegler saw him, Franklin D. Roosevelt was the strongest man among us; the fittest and, on all counts, the most logical man to carry on the task of President.

Hillman and Harold Ickes and Frances Perkins, and the bogies of communism and the dominance of labor, and Mrs. Roosevelt's travels and Great Grandfather Delano's trading in the China markets were too trivial to bother about. Something more important was at stake, and Mr. Pegler was afraid.

It was the survival of our nation as a free people, against which stood the possibility, maybe the probability, of eventual slavery under the Fuehrer of the Reich.

In such emergency, Mr. Pegler turned to the man who, he said, was a doer, an achiever.

Now, Pegler and many others believe, the emergency is over. We won the war or, it should better be said, the war was won. That done, Pegler thinks, he once again is free to indulge in the luxury of abusing Franklin Roosevelt and his family, his policies and his acts.

In the canonization of saints in the Roman Catholic church, there is held a ceremony of awing significance. The devil's advocate is called to testify and argue against the admission of the nominee into sainthood.

It is the function of the devil's advocate to point to the feet of clay, to the frailties and the faults, to the errors and the sins of which the nominee, at one time or another, might have been guilty.

In the adjudication of the place Franklin D. Roosevelt is to occupy finally in the judgment of the people of these United States and of the world, if it were left to me, I would summons Westbrook Pegler and would have him recite the hundreds of thousands of words he has written in denunciation and depreciation.

I would have him reiterate in detail all he has ever been able to say of innuendo and intimation and exaggeration and slander.

I would have him sneer and gibe and manifest his bile.

I would have him indict the man now dead as miserly and mean; as cunning and unscrupulous; as avaricious and untrustworthy; as a cad and a smirking hypocrite.

And when Westbrook Pegler should finish his recitation in his role as the devil's advocate, I then would summons Westbrook Pegler again to take the stand and I would ask one question:

"To whom, Westbrook Pegler, did you turn, when it looked as though all were lost, and you were afraid, and you felt the need of an arm that was strong and a heart in which there was no fear?"

When Pegler replied, I would rest my case.