

Intergovernmental Committee
on Political Refugees
Corres. : 1947 - 1954

1947

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

In the first six months of 1947 the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees concluded agreements for the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons with a number of Latin American countries, notably Brazil, the Argentine, Venezuela, Peru, Chile and Bolivia, and also undertook by arrangements with the concerned countries the protection of displaced persons transferred to Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and France. To facilitate the movement of displaced persons overseas the Committee undertook the operation of three ships chartered from the United States War Department, the first of which left Bremerhaven on May 3 carrying 862 displaced persons to Brazil. Earlier the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees had assisted the transfer of 2,300 Mennonite refugees from Germany to Paraguay.

The staff of the Committee in Germany, Austria and Italy was increased during this period to render assistance to the increasing number of official immigration commissions working in Central Europe to select immigrants for resettlement. On May 15, 1947, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees signed agreements with the Italian Government and with the Allied Forces Headquarters in Italy resulting in the transfer to its care of some 11,000 displaced persons formerly under the care of the Allied military in Italy. It established a joint committee with the Italian Government to provide protection for an additional 100,000 refugees and displaced persons living in the communities of Italy.

Following the first session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization which met at Geneva in February, 1947, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees loaned members of its staff to the Commission and in other ways cooperated with it to arrange an orderly transfer of its functions and activities to the Commission by July 1, 1947. At the meeting of the second part of the first session, the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization in Lausanne in May, 1947, voted to assume the functions, assets and responsibilities of UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees on July 1, 1947. In consequence of this action the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees at its plenary meeting in London on May 30, 1947, took appropriate action to transfer its functions, assets and personnel to the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization.

George L. Warren
June 4 1947

The Mayflower

Washington, D. C.

District 3000

The Jews have no right to
invade Palestine. No
authority has ever been
granted to be inserted

re papers in Dept
on actual capacity
and developmental
possibilities of
Palestine.

Who will finance the
Jewish state?

PROBLEM OF THE
NEAR EAST

1. Maintenance of Independent Status
for the Lebanon. T Document 62. Secret
2. Map: Religious Groups of Syria and the
Lebanon. Syria-Lebanon Series 1.
3. Table: To accompany Syria-Lebanon Series,
Map 1 - Religions in Syria as of December 31,
1938, by Administrative Districts and
Subdivisions.
4. Table: To accompany Syria-Lebanon Series,
Map 1 - Religions in Lebanon as of January 31,
1932, by Administrative Districts.
5. Map: Jewish Landholdings. Palestine Series 1.
6. Near Eastern Peoples Without a National
Future - The Assyrians (Nestorian Christians).
T Document 297 Secret
7. Near Eastern Peoples Without a National
Future: The Kurds (with sketch map).
T Document 298 Secret
8. The Future of Cyprus. T Document 299 Secret
9. Palestine: Agricultural Land Ownership and
Crops. T Document 278 Secret
10. Palestine: Industrial Potentialities and
Limitations. T Document 279 Secret
11. Palestine: Land, Water, Population.
T Document 280 Secret
12. Palestine: Industrial Labor. T Document 281 Secret
13. Palestine: Industry T Document 282 Secret
14. Syria and the Lebanon: British Interests and
Commitments. T Document 306 Secret

15. Syria and the Lebanon: French Interests and Commitments. T Document 307 Secret
16. Syria and the Lebanon: Interests and Position of the United States. T Document 308 Secret
17. Basic Factors in the Palestine Problem. T. Document 309 Secret
18. Palestine: Proposed and Possible Settlements. T Document 313 Secret
19. Palestine: The Proposed Solution. T Document 330 Secret
20. Syria and the Lebanon: Degree of Unification. T Document 331 Secret
21. Syria and the Lebanon: Degree of Independence. T Document 332 Secret
22. Palestine: Jewish Communal Government. T Document 333 Secret
23. Draft Charter for the International Territory of Palestine. T Document 334 Secret
24. Future of the Jews in Europe With Special Relation to Palestine. T Document 340 Secret
25. Syria and the Lebanon: Economic Foundations: Agriculture. T Document 335

Note
Furnished
per G. J. Barmwald -
June 47.

June 5, 1947.

When Germany collapsed there were about 8 million United Nations displaced persons within the territory of Germany. About 7 million had been repatriated during the last two years, most of them within a few months after liberation. There remained, however, a hard core of over 800,000 displaced persons who, for a variety of reasons do not want to be repatriated. As of February 28, 1947, UNRRA cared for 719,351 displaced persons. These were distributed as follows:

Germany	American zone	570,090	
	British zone	223,107	
	French zone	<u>56,066</u>	629,263
Austria			34,362
Italy			25,642
Middle East			<u>30,084</u>
	Total		719,351

The largest group among the 719,351 displaced persons are Poles, numbering 365,117, followed by nationals of the former Baltic states - Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, numbering 172,655 and Jews numbering 170,250. The total number of displaced Jews is substantially higher as considerable numbers of them live outside the camps and assembly centers, and do not receive UNRRA assistance.

Jewish Displaced Persons

Germany	170,000
Austria	35,000
Italy	26,000
Shanghai	<u>12,500</u>
Total	243,500

These estimates are derived from our latest reports. It should be noted, however, that the figures for displaced persons are highly fluid, and are subject to continuous changes.

Of the 170,000 displaced Jews in Germany, 146,000 are in the U.S. zone, 22,500 in the British zone with the remainder in the French zone. It should be added that there are in Germany now approximately 18,000 German Jews who, although not in the category of displaced persons, live for the most part

under difficult conditions, a vast majority of whom receive assistance from the Joint Distribution Committee. (W. J. J. J.)

In addition, there are some 23,000 Jews in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France and Holland - refugees from Eastern Europe, who although actually displaced do not possess the status of displaced persons. Finally, there are also about 16,000 Jews who on their way to Palestine have been interned on the island of Cyprus, and who should really be included within the category of displaced persons.

Approximately 75% of the displaced Jews are of Polish origin, and the remainder distributed among Hungarian, Rumanian and other nationalities. Over 70% of the displaced Jews in Germany and Italy belong to the age groups between 16 to 45. The number of displaced Jewish children up to 18 years of age was estimated for Germany at over 52,000 in April 1947, and Italy about 3,500 in March 1947.

The situation of the displaced Jews is deplorable. The basic sustenance is provided by military authorities; many services are provided by the UNRRA and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee provides supplementary assistance in the form of special fortifying food, clothing, medical services, educational and recreational facilities, and of late some employment opportunities.

While their physical needs are being met, the problems confronting the displaced Jews are complex and multiple. They do not, of course, want to remain in Germany; and virtually all of them are looking forward to resettlement in new lands, and in a more favorable political climate. All evidence points to the fact that the majority of displaced Jews desire to proceed to Palestine. Pending however, a favorable solution of the Palestinian question, the most urgent problem facing the organizations interested in the fate of the displaced persons, is to provide them with an opportunity for productive work. This is important not merely as a means of raising their material welfare, but also as a measure of restoring and sustaining their morale which has been sorely tested in the recent years of suffering, idleness and frustration. In cooperation with the military authorities and UNRRA, the Joint Distribution Committee has now embarked upon a comprehensive project involving the establishment of workshops which, it is hoped, eventually

will give productive employment to about 80,000 people. A number of projects are already in operation.

This is, of course, an interim measure. The eventual solution lies in emigration, with Palestine as the desired goal by the majority of the displaced Jews. There are widely differing opinions regarding the absorptive capacity of Palestine. Walter C. Lowdermilk, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in his recent book, "Palestine, the Land of Promise", estimates that Palestine could ultimately absorb 4 million immigrants; J. Fohs, Texas geologist and oil expert, and well-known authority on Palestine's natural resources recently stated that with the full development of Palestine's resources, as many as 5 million additional immigrants could be absorbed. A more conservative and perhaps more reliable estimate was made recently by Robert Nathan and associates in their book "Palestine: Problem and Promise", who on the basis of a rather thorough investigation of conditions in Palestine, concluded that the country could absorb a minimum of 615,000 and a maximum of 1,125,000 over a period of 10 years. All authorities, however, stress that this large-scale immigration is conditional upon the influx of considerable amounts of capital.

In the light of these estimates, it is reasonable to conclude that Palestine could absorb from 4,000 to 5,000 persons monthly or 48,000 to 60,000 annually, without in any way endangering the living standards of the present population.

Robert Pell

PELL AND ABBOTT, LTD.
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS
1719 K STREET
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Ddar Mr. Ambassador:

Doubtless Mr. Fitch has drawn your attention to the review which I mentioned to him yesterday and the article which it contains beginning on page 14. On page 15, last column, several names are mentioned. Last night I discussed the article with the gentleman whose name comes in second place.

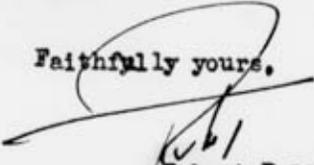
This gentleman tells me that the article was inspired by the gentleman whose name heads the list and himself. The first mentioned, who was one of your collaborators I believe, holds the two hundred volumes which constitute the study. My informant holds the summaries in his office here. Just as in my case their work was shut down over night; the Government refuses to acknowledge that it was an official project and will not receive the material. Several attempts have been made to bring its existence to the attention of the distinguished gentleman to whom you have been drafting a letter, but in every instance the offerers have drawn a blank. Moreover the same sort of petty persæution seems to dog those who worked on the project.

It occurred to me that if the matter is to be presented in high places a combination of forces might take place, particularly as the head of the project ~~was~~ was closely associated with you.

I shall be in New York Monday and probably Tuesday and shall be delighted to discuss this matter with you at your time, with the exception of Monday morning and lunch Monday which I am obliged to give over to the Library in Paris.

Parthenetically my "consultation" here has concluded, and I have no further obligation. By the way my application for return to duty with the Department was refused for the reasons 1) there is no vacancy; 2) my wife is a foreign subject; 3) my "Left" affiliations (my work for the Jews and the New York Post were cited). So that is that.

Faithfully yours,


Robert Pell

United Nations World
385 Mad. Ave

John Carter

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M. Place, Frieds #

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Rebuzas

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE-18, MARYLAND

June 23, 1947

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dear Myron:

When you spoke to me at the Board meeting last Wednesday about my report to the President, dated May 22, 1943, I was not at all sure of the reference to Palestine. I now have the letter before me and I see that both it and the report deal exclusively with the President's immediate problem which was to dispose of the question raised by Winston Churchill with respect to European refugees. Churchill had proposed that the refugees that might be drawn out of the Balkans and those actually in Spain should be transported to North Africa and settled in a dozen places.

I pointed out that the political reactions throughout the Arab world would be violently adverse. The number that could be accommodated immediately would be small. The limits to any move of this sort should be announced and I pointed out that this would imply though it would not say "that there are limits to further immigration in Palestine." Wishing to join the different parts of the Jewish question I say further, "My advice is to keep the Palestine question or the Libyan settlement in abeyance, so far as possible, until the end of the war. If we must make promises, promise both Arabs and Jews that there will be deliberate consultation on the questions involved after the war."

There was discussion between the President and myself about Palestine in which I pointed out not merely the limits of settlement but the unwise propaganda statements being made in full-page advertising at that time in which much more than Palestine was discussed. It was pointed out that with a Jewish state in existence, Jewish culture would then be strengthened in the countries where Jews were already established. The President was shocked when I showed him a broadside of two or three days before in which assertions of this kind were made. I told him that I would "let them holler," because extravagance of this sort would in time defeat its own ends.

specifically

I might add that the President spoke most appreciatively to me one day of the value of the report to him and that he was going to follow my advice, indeed that he had already done so (meaning in his talk with Churchill).

In your letter to the President you might wish to refer to a very striking paper by E. C. Willatts in the latest issue of The Geographical Journal (publishedⁿ London, April, 1947). It is entitled

The Honorable Myron C. Taylor -- 2.

6-23-47.

Lowdermilk/

on the other hand

"Some Geographical Factors in the Palestine Problem." ~~At~~ The American Geographical Society at Broadway at 156th Street, New York City (telephone AUdubon 3-4620) you would find a copy of the Journal. It is the best thing of its kind yet published. On pp. 167 et seq. he very properly tilts at W. C. Lowdermilk. In the U.S. Soil Conservation Service he holds or held a position of some importance and several decades ago did good experimental work in southern California. Through this he qualifies as a scientist. But when he got to Palestine and faced the political controversy he made his science suit the popular Zionist program. His book, Palestine: Land of Promise, was published in 1944 and much of it is special pleading, not science at all. But it is clothed in the language of science and the Zionists swear by it. He is an emotional person who displays considerable forensic skill. Willatts is a first-class scholar and investigator.

I hope that all this has arrived in time to be of some value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Isaiah Bowman

The Honorable Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

*You will be interested
in this!*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

JULY 2, 1947
No. 543

STATEMENT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JERRY M. SAGE, UNITED STATES ARMY, HEADQUARTERS OF EUROPEAN COMMAND, FRANKFURT, GERMANY, BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

I am a Lieutenant-Colonel in the United States Army and have been called here from my station, the Headquarters of European Command in Frankfurt, Germany, where I work with displaced persons as Chief of the Field Contact Section. In that capacity, I have been in most of the 300 DP Assembly Center groups which contain nearly 500 installations in the United States zone of Germany. During the past fifteen months I have worked and talked with every variety of DP there. I was selected for my job on the basis of qualifications obtained through wartime experiences as an operational officer for the OSS, as a prisoner of war, and as a worker with various underground resistance groups, both before and after several escapes from the Nazis and their prisons.

Prior to our entry in this war I had had very little contact with Europeans. I lived in Spokane, Washington, and married a girl from Tacoma, Washington. After graduation from the State College of Washington in 1938, I worked as a salesman and sales supervisor for Procter & Gamble on the Pacific Coast. I held a reserve commission in the Infantry and was accepted for active duty in the Army at the Presidio of San Francisco a few weeks before Pearl Harbor.

To my surprise, in April 1942, I was called to Washington by telegram to work with General Donovan of the OSS. At that time a handful of officers had been picked on the basis of both scholastic and physical qualifications to aid by sabotage and intelligence in undermining the activities of the Axis powers, particularly in occupied countries. We were trained to infiltrate by parachute or submarine, to demolish objectives with high explosives, and to bring back needed information. The first Eastern Europeans with whom I came in contact were OSS students who were destined to become part of the resistance movements. In 1942 I worked very closely with a group of Yugoslavs who were especially trained in sabotage and in strategic and tactical intelligence. I also met my first Czechs and Poles at this time.

I operated

I operated from England in this type of work in the summer of 1942 and later in the year was in command of a unit which went to North Africa. Activities there behind the German lines resulted in my being shot up and captured early in 1943. Then as a prisoner of the Germans I had my first actual contacts with what we now call displaced persons. Although British and American officers were kept carefully segregated from other groups, we often saw labor being driven like cattle outside the barbed wire of our camps. I remember very vividly the feeling of frustration and impotence engendered by standing behind double rows of barbed wire and machine guns and helplessly watching SS guards whipping Polish women who were being forced to work in the fields for the Nazis. In order to get out of German hands on various escape attempts, I tried to learn as much as possible of the Eastern languages, including Polish, Russian, Czech, Hungarian and Yugoslav.

I made my first actual contacts with the forced labor in Germany on escape attempts in 1943. I well recall the assistance that a little Ukrainian laborer gave me when I was trying to walk from near Berlin to the Czech border, two days before the Gestapo caught me, on one of three abortive attempts. When my final escape was actually successful, I was greatly assisted by Poles and developed considerable admiration for that country's underground resistance.

In October 1945, I was sent to Columbia University for three or four months for a refresher course on the over-all European situation. I returned to Germany in March 1946, and was assigned to my present job with displaced persons.

My job in Frankfurt includes not only a certain amount of staff work at the policy level in the headquarters of General McNarney and General Clay, but also a great deal of personal investigations and inspections of displaced persons and displaced persons installations. In the latter capacity, I found it extremely helpful to be able to speak a few words with the people in their own languages or in the rather basic German which nearly all prisoners or forced laborers acquired during the war.

On my return to Europe in 1946, I learned that of the about 8,000,000 displaced persons that the German armies had forced into Germany from other countries of Europe which they had occupied, approximately 7,000,000 had returned, with the aid of the Western Allied Armies, to the areas in which they formerly lived. In the zones of the Western Allies in Germany, Austria, and Italy, there were at the first of this year slightly over a million displaced persons in the hands of the Western Allied Armies. Between 80 and 90% of these had been forced into German territory by the Nazi armies before the end of hostilities. The balance were persecutees, for the most part the Jewish people who fled into our zones in Austria and Germany, almost entirely from Poland, in 1946. This movement was greatly accelerated by the murder of forty Jews at Kielce on July 4, 1946. At this point I should like to clarify a misapprehension which has arisen in previous discussions of this bill.

It has been erroneously stated that 80% of the DPs entered the occupied zones after the end of hostilities. As I have indicated above, the true situation is exactly the reverse. I do not know how this misapprehension came about. It may possibly stem from the fact that millions of Germans and persons of German ethnic origin ("Volksdeutsch") have fled or been transferred into the Western zones of Germany from Eastern Germany

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or from Eastern European countries where they formerly resided. It is not with these people that we are concerned as they are Germans and have become a part of the German economy.

Of the million displaced persons remaining, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Jews, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians and stateless persons, of whom we are talking here now, the United States has control of about 600,000 in Germany, Austria and Italy. Of this number, I have been vitally concerned with those residing in the U.S. zone of Germany, a total of over 500,000. When I left Germany a month ago, there were 354,000 of these displaced persons in Assembly Centers in our zone and about 150,000 living outside centers, either in labor units working for the U.S. Army or working in the German economy.

The United States Army has been charged with the responsibility for this group of half a million people. We have endeavored, with the assistance of UNRRA workers, to feed, clothe, and rehabilitate these people to the best of our ability and resources.

But we are continually asked one question and it is one we continually ask ourselves: What is to become of these people -- the ones our Army took under its control and still has under its control?

The four alternative solutions presented by General Hildring are not new. They have been discussed, considered, and elaborated on, around our conference tables in Germany for many months. But the United States Army in Germany, although charged with the responsibility for displaced persons within American zones, cannot make the decision as to what we are to do with these people in the future. That decision, we are fully aware, must be made by the United States Government -- by the Congress -- the ultimate governmental authority over them.

There are four possible alternatives:

1. Forcible repatriation.
2. Closing the camps and telling the displaced persons to become Germans and fend for themselves as best they can in Germany.
3. Continuing to maintain them separate from the political and economic organization in Europe, indefinitely, in the little communities which they form in the Assembly Centers.
4. Endeavoring to secure their resettlement in countries where they can rebuild their lives and strike new roots.

All I am here for is to give you briefly such of my observations of these people as you might feel to be useful to you in reaching your decision as to which of these alternative courses is to be pursued.

I shall endeavor to answer any questions which occur to you and to develop more fully any aspect that you may desire.

REPATRIATION

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REPATRIATION

The alternative of repatriation must, at this point, be definitely termed "forcible repatriation". As has just been pointed out, a tremendous job has been done in returning 7,000,000 persons to their homelands. Over the past two years every opportunity has been afforded to those now remaining in our zones to return. From my observation, those whom we still have on our hands are essentially a hard core of nonrepatriables who will not return to their place of origin because the map of the area where they formerly lived has been redrawn and a government alien to them is in power. They fear a lack of political freedom, and have a real dread of persecution. I can certainly testify as to the presence of those fears. It is not unusual in the United States zone of Germany, when a movement of displaced persons is contemplated from one installation to another for better accommodations or to meet a military exigency, that rumors immediately begin to circulate about the camp and the fear is developed that transportation is coming to repatriate the displaced persons against their will. On several occasions it has been part of my job to visit such installations to quiet the panic among the people by giving them the true facts about the movement and reiterating that it has not been and is not the policy of the United States Government to force displaced persons to return to the area from which they came. There are still a few people who are accepting our continuing offer to aid those who are willing to go. They receive, when they reach their destination, a two months ration to insure their subsistence until they get their feet on the ground and become reestablished. Those who have gone during the last year and those who may still be willing to go are mainly Poles who came from that part of Poland which is still Poland. But the vast majority of displaced persons now in our hands have convinced me that they will not go back. I cannot number the occasions on which I have asked every variety of DP, "Why don't you go home -- to the piece of ground you know, the members of your family and old friends, to the place where you can use your native tongue?"

These are the answers I receive, and I receive them every day from people of nearly every walk of life. The Baltic peoples -- the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians -- have said to me, "I would rather die than return to my home -- it is no longer mine. It is in the hands of the same people who took away every right I had in 1940 and 1941, and who took away friends and relatives of mine whom I never saw again."

Many of the Poles and Ukrainians who formerly lived in Poland east of the Curzon Line, now Poland no longer, say, "I will not return to land now held by the USSR."

The Jews in our camps tell me: "The Nazi teachings were far-reaching. I am still attacked in Eastern Europe, as well as in Germany. Let me go to Palestine."

I recall a remark by a Yugoslav DP who was in the same prison camp with me in 1943. "Should I go home to a political regime I hate and fear -- to be tried by Tito, who accuses me of being a collaborator during the time I was spending two years and fifty pounds of flesh in German prison camps? The only one with whom I could have collaborated was God!"

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Such observations, multiplied hundreds of times, are heard not only by me, but by every person who works with displaced persons in our zone. It does not do any good to say to these people that 7,000,000 displaced persons have gone back to where they came from, why don't you? The answer is too simple and too clear. Naturally, the millions of French and other Western Europeans went back home. Naturally, the millions of Russians who believed in the Russian economic and governmental system went back. Naturally, also, anyone who believed in, or was indifferent about, the new systems of government in other Eastern areas went back. The ones who have gone were the ones who were willing to go. Their experience is no guide for those who are now unwilling to go. Is it reasonable to expect the DP Balts, for example, who are bitterly hostile to the political and economic system which they experienced in 1940 and 1941 and which now rigidly controls their countries, to feel that it is safe for them to go back, carrying their hostility with them, to work against Communism? The very fact that they go back unwillingly is enough to endanger them. Or are we to expect and demand of them that because their native countries have changed hands, they must therefore change their beliefs and accept Communism as their way of life? We believe that these persons unwilling to go back would have to be rounded up by the U.S. Constabulary or German Police and forced into repatriation trains with gun and bayonet.

SHALL WE CLOSE THE CAMPS

The second alternative is to close the camps and tell the displaced persons that they should become Germans and get such work or relief as the Germans might provide. From my contacts with these people I have observed several aspects of this alternative which you gentlemen may wish to consider in determining what course to choose. The first is that the great body of these people would regard it as a return to imprisonment to be turned back to the Germans whose armies brought them into Germany for forced labor or into prisoner-of-war or concentration camps. It has been equally apparent from my contacts that the Germans do not want the displaced persons in their midst. The Germans have not forgotten the Nazi indoctrination which looked on the non-German as an inferior person to be exploited by the "Master Race". This feeling appears as one of our difficulties in finding employment for displaced persons. Too often, the German administrator of a labor office discriminates against the displaced person applicant, at least by passive, if not active means. These ingrained antagonisms would be a perpetual source of conflict. They would prolong and make more burdensome our task in the occupation of Germany.

In addition to these deep rooted antagonisms, there are factors in the economy of the Western Zone of Germany, as we over there observe it, which also have a definite bearing on the practicability of this second alternative. There are slightly over 500,000 displaced persons in the U.S. zone of Germany alone. Can we expect the economy of the zone to absorb this half million? Before the war, this area contained about fourteen million people. In addition to that population we have had to accept one and one-half million expellees (ethnic Germans) from eastern countries such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Another million people have been added to the German economy in our zone under the classification of German refugees -- Germans displaced from their homes in either the Russian zone or in the area presently under Polish administration. Thus, excluding the displaced persons, the total population of our zone has now been brought to about sixteen and a half million. When one considers that at least 30% of
the

the housing in the U.S. zone has been destroyed and its industries for the most part destroyed or collapsed; that even before the war, under the extreme food production efforts of the Nazis, this area had to import 20% of its food requirements for a normal population of fourteen million; that two and a half million Germans have been added to the area, and that it is also supposed to feed a million persons in the U.S. sector of Berlin. The reason why American taxpayers have the alternative of contributing heavily to the support of this surplus German population or letting it starve is apparent. Merely to close the camps and add these half-million non-Germans to the already surplus Germans in our area would give us only an apparent but no real relief from the situation we created when we conquered Germany and took these victims of Germany into our hands.

INDEFINITE MAINTENANCE

The third alternative is to continue to keep these displaced persons alive by maintaining them indefinitely in Assembly Centers, in the hostile environment of Germany. This obviously is no solution. It merely perpetuates a heavy charge on the American taxpayer. It keeps these victims of the Germans in a situation where they cannot help themselves, without plan or hope of building new lives for themselves or their children. These people, as I have lived among them, are fundamentally not so different from you or me. You can picture without any aid from me what that situation would mean to us if we were in it and determine whether this is the alternative you propose to adopt.

RESETTLEMENT

To aid in your consideration of the fourth alternative to the solution of the DP problem, I shall endeavor to answer for you, from my personal experiences, the following questions, plus any additional questions that you may wish to ask.

How are we sheltering and feeding the displaced persons under our care in Germany this summer of 1947?

What kind of people are they?

What are their basic political and religious beliefs, their attitudes toward employment, the state of law and order in their communities, their occupational skills, their health and morals?

And in addition, what are other countries doing about these displaced persons?

The shelter is the best we can provide in view of the destruction during the war of 30% of the housing in our zone and the great increase over the prewar population. It varies with each locality of the nearly 500 different installations. We try to do the best we can with what we have and perhaps get accustomed to it, but I don't believe that you would like the looks of some of our necessarily overcrowded conditions. Our largest Assembly Center at Wildflecken, Germany, houses about 15,000 Poles and Polish Ukrainians in a cluster of huge barracks and apartment buildings. Some larger rooms have to accommodate a number of families -- from twenty to thirty persons. Other installations are composed of groups of long, low, wooden barracks built for the German armed

forces.

forces. Still others
tation camps.
F. O. W. "homes" I have
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women and children in one
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do better.

I have seen, in my present tour of duty, the same prisoners and forced laborers of the Nazis who had been with me in Germany in '43 and '44, still residing in the depressing atmosphere of the abnormal camp-type life described above, and have been amazed at their ability to make the best of their situations by studying, working, and striving to improve themselves.

In order to further the rehabilitation of the DPs, to respond to their urgent desire for something constructive to do, and to save the expense of our own personnel, we have turned most of the administration of the Assembly Centers over to the DPs themselves.

In order to give you a clear picture of the DP, I shall describe as accurately as possible a typical Assembly Center, and what goes on there.

This cluster of buildings was probably built for the German Army and has a wall or fence around it. At the main gate, you will find a man wearing an arm-band or an old GI helmet liner hat, with the inscription "DP Police" on it. These police are trained by military personnel operating directly under my office. Their functions are much the same as those of policemen in a rural town. They preserve internal order in the camps, keep out personnel who try to enter for illegitimate business, and assist our military law enforcement agencies in apprehending wrong-doers.

And here, I'd like to give some observations on the state of law and order among DPs. DPs have always been a good source of news. An incident involving DPs which is handled by our military agencies, attracts much more attention than a similar incident involving Germans, which is handled by German Police. Consequently, I have run into some exaggerated reports of DP misbehavior. My office happens to have a direct responsibility for supervising law and order among DPs, and maintaining records of incidents involving them. Of course, there are law violators among DPs. I have personally assisted in arrests of them and in prosecutions resulting in court sentences from several months to several years. However, the numbers of those jailed or cited for offenses in the U. S. Zone, taken from statistics of the German Bureau of Criminal Identification and Statistics, indicate that non-Germans have not committed more than a proportionate share of the total crimes in the first few months of this year. In fact, the last figures I have available on offenses against German criminal law, show that non-Germans have committed proportionately less than the Germans. From the standpoint of immigration into the United States, the records we have, covering a period of two years, would give an unusually good opportunity to screen out the law-breakers.

Continuing with the DP policeman on your way to the administrative office in our sample camp, you will notice that there is considerable evidence of repairs and reconstruction of the buildings. The majority of our Assembly Centers are in areas in which countless bombs of the Allied Air Forces dropped. After liberation the DPs who were gathered together in a partially demolished installation went to work on it. Some of the buildings in a camp you visit will have been almost entirely rebuilt from salvaged bricks and odd pieces of steel, glass and lumber. In an effort to brighten the surroundings, the inhabitants usually make a neat and ornamental design of white-washed stones and a few flowers near the entrance to the camp.

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In a nearby building labeled "Administration", you get a good general picture of the political and social views of the people. Since soon after liberation, it has been our policy to allow the inhabitants of each Assembly Center to elect their own leaders and camp committees. The precise form of the elections has not been proscribed, but a survey of a few months ago showed that the typical camp election followed a pattern of nomination of candidates by petition and voting by secret ballot. Some camps have direct election of the leader, and other elect the camp council, the members of which choose the camp leader from among their number. These people have in the past served as advisers and executive intermediaries for the official camp administrator, and generally have proved so responsible that they have been constantly given additional authority.

While we are thinking about this community, which elects its leaders in much the same way as a small town in this country, you may be interested in my observations on DP "isms". If I were asked to point out the community which I considered the least susceptible to, and the most thoroughly indoctrinated against Nazism, Fascism, and Communism, I would not take you to the isolated "100% American" small town in the Middle West. I would take you to a DP center in our zone of Germany. The vast majority of the people of the United States definitely dislike these "isms" but have not had a great deal of intimate contact with them. The DP who describes his being rounded-up at night, torn from his family and brought to Germany to labor; the DP who shows you the tattooed concentration camp number on his arm, are certainly actively indoctrinated against any form of Nazism or Fascism.

As for Communism, the very fact that they are ready to accept any fate rather than be sent back to Communist dominated countries shows their attitude toward that "ism". Further, if I may say so, I have had a wide opportunity to be among them and I know their attitude. These DPs do not take democracy for granted. They have seen these "isms", can recognize them, and violently oppose them.

To return to our visit to the administration building, we find that the keeping of records, all stenographic work, maintenance work, in fact all phases of the operation of the camp are actually conducted by the displaced persons themselves.

In some camps one of the DP committeemen is the labor representative for his community. The strides that have been made by the DP's themselves in finding employment have been considerable, although they have been faced with two or three serious handicaps.

We

*I do not see that the number of jobs among the displaced persons is increasing - 7
MCT*

We have been forced to place DPs in whatever housing is available. We do not have the material to build special laborers' housing near works projects, and in Germany, transportation is almost non-existent, with the result that many DPs cannot get to the jobs they would otherwise jump at. A prime example is our largest camp in Germany, Wildflecken, which I mentioned previously. Wildflecken is a large unit providing much needed space for 15,000 people, but it is distant from any projects which could furnish employment. The agricultural fields nearby are already producing full-time for the local economy. Wood cutting is about the one opportunity for out-of-camp work, and many are kept busy at this work.

Representatives of DPs, welfare agencies, and the Army, who have exhaustively studied the possibilities of numerous manufacturing projects that would utilize the vast quantity of skills available in the DP population, have run into the terrific handicap of having no raw material with which to work. There has also been a reluctance on the part of many DPs to work for a German or the German economy, after having been forced to do so under oppressive conditions for several years. They are eager to work for the Allied occupying authorities, however. Despite these handicaps, the majority of employable residing in DP centers from 16 to 65 years of age are at work.

Of those residing outside the camps, the United States Army has 40,000 DP employees organized in labor service companies. These companies can be broken down into the following categories: watchmen, engineer construction, engineer maintenance, engineer dump truck, ordnance depot, quartermaster depot, quartermaster truck. Of this group, all of the engineer and quartermaster construction and trucking companies contain 90% skilled labor.

Those displaced persons not under direct care in Assembly Centers or in labor service companies are working and eking out an existence in the German economy. But it must be pointed out that these people are also displaced persons and should not be lost sight of in the determination of the solution of the problem.

As our armies advanced into Germany, General Eisenhower appealed to the displaced persons to remain where they were, if they had a roof over their heads and a place to work, rather than to further congest the badly overcrowded DP centers. I have handled countless petitions from these displaced persons residing outside of centers who say that they will remain where they are, where they have shelter near a job rather than to come into a center, but who make urgent appeals for documents showing them to be displaced persons and not Germans. With the return of the German prisoners of war and with the influx of the German expellees, many thousands of these out-of-camp displaced persons lost their outside jobs and shelter to the Germans in 1946 and had to enter our Assembly Centers. This movement was stopped, however, in the U.S. zone of Germany by the closing of Assembly Centers to new entrants on the first of June, 1947.

In our average camp, you can learn from the displaced persons representative the various skills available there. These are listed in a card in a card index so that a prospective employer can readily find a person with the skill he

requires.

requires. An overall survey
366,553 employable displaced
Germany, Austria, and Italy was
Another survey covering
zone of Germany covering a month
departure from Frankfurt a month
The following figures show
employables surveyed last year
classification of occupational
in just the U.S. zone of
same percentages.
A list
sent

requires. An overall survey of the occupational skills of 366,553 employable displaced persons in Assembly Centers in Germany, Austria, and Italy was made in the summer of 1946. Another survey covering 237,727 employable DPs, in the U.S. zone of Germany only, was completed just prior to my departure from Frankfurt a month ago.

The following figures show the percentage of the employables surveyed last year, 366,553, in each general classification of occupational skill. The more recent survey in just the U.S. zone of Germany indicates approximately the same percentages.

A list of the approximately 140 specific skills represented under the 17 occupational categories presented below is attached to this statement.

<u>General Classification</u>	<u>Percent of Total Surveyed</u>
Construction and Maintenance	6.7
Administrative, Clerical, Commercial	11.3
Agriculture, Forestry, Dairy, Food Processing	24.5
Health and Sanitation	3.2
Miscellaneous Services	9.1
Tailors and Seamstresses	6.2
Domestic and Related Commercial Services	10.0
Communication, Transportation, Supply	7.6
Artists	1.5
Professionals	6.4
Recreational Workers	0.2
Metal Trades	2.1
Mining, Chemical and Processing	0.4
Miscellaneous Processing	4.5
Laborers	2.4
Inexperienced Persons	2.3
Students	2.1

Excellent vocational training courses are continually supplementing these skills available among DPs. In our zone alone, there are over 16,000 displaced persons receiving vocational training. There is at least one training course in each Assembly Center; however, the majority have a minimum of five different courses. In addition to the Assembly Center schools there are seven formal vocational training installations in the U.S. zone of Germany, offering a total of 24 different courses, lasting approximately two months each, and attended by 1,000 displaced persons.

If you leave the administration building of the typical camp with which we are concerned, you will probably see a long low warehouse building or former shop of some kind which has been refitted as a vocational school. There you will see DPs working at a forge and anvil pounding out the tools, the bolts, the locks, and practically all the metal equipment which is needed in the camp and perhaps for a neighboring camp which does not have a blacksmith shop. Adjacent you can see the carpenter shop where various items of furniture are made and where apprentices learn to aid in the maintenance and reconstruction of parts of the camp.

The supply of fuel presents a terrific problem in Germany today. One of the prime projects in the summer and fall is to see that sufficient trees are cut from the forests and chopped and stored in the camps for the winter. The DPs do this work themselves.

The

The next building in our DP camp may be a hospital which is operated by displaced persons. The DP Head Doctor will proudly show you his health charts and the cleanliness of the institution. We have found excellent nurses among the DP women, and others have been trained to hospital service. The majority of the doctors are DPs who make regular checks on the health of each member of the center population. There are 10,500 hospital beds available for long-term illnesses, and four special tuberculosis sanitariums located at strategic points in the United States zone. Both mass radiographic surveys and hospitalization checks agree on the following figures on tuberculosis in the United States zone: active TB 0.4%; inactive TB 2.5%.

The over-all health condition of DPs is considerably better than that of the Germans. No serious outbreak of any disease has occurred from the beginning of the DP operations, probably as a result of using the same immunization procedures that are used in the U.S. Army. Medical supplies for all purposes are drawn from the U.S. Army medical stocks.

There is a slow increase of weight in DPs from month to month and almost no incidence of edema despite the preponderance of starchy foods in their diet. The weight of displaced persons averages about 2% over the normal, based on U.S. Army standards.

The center doctor may point with pride to the fact that the incidence of venereal disease is negligible among his patients. A contributing factor may be found in the devotion of DPs in general to a family life. The birth and death rates of DPs are comparable to those in the United States. The young children are the healthiest that I have seen anywhere.

Near the hospital, you will probably find the building which houses both the grade school and high school. In our zone nearly 70,000 children attend these schools, taught by DP instructors. In addition to the usual basic courses, one or two other languages, nearly always including English, are taught.

Another prominent place in the camp is the church. Each group worships under its indigenous religious leader. It is amazing to walk into that church in a former bombed-out building and see the beauty that has been wrought from bits of cloth woven into tapestries and altar cloths, from scraps of tin for chandeliers or candle-holders, and the beautiful carvings in wood.

When you visit the rooms of DPs themselves, you will find today in addition to the minimum equipment furnished them, which I described earlier, samples of the work of their hands and imagination. Woven from worn out stockings and other salvaged articles of clothing, are tiny rugs, tapestries or sweaters for the children.

I recall one small Ukrainian center where 70 women were working in one large room, all knitting gloves and mufflers which were distributed not only to inhabitants of their camp but to others in the vicinity. We have several such self-aid work projects in the zone, again handicapped by the lack of raw material.

-13-
In twelve Assembly Centers DP
Army stocks, converting them into
children's overalls, baby dresses, baby
otheralls, overcoats, sleeping bags, baby
suits of displaced persons. Equipment
from the U.S. Army or DP hands, brought
and brought into Germany.
The average DP
is a person who has
skills, person who
in a new ingenui-
may feel
Assembly
pick

The Belgian Government has contracted to take 20,000 workers with their families, a probable total of from 60 to 70,000 DPs, in the next few months. I worked very closely with the Belgian representative in charge of this operation and visited him in Belgium about a month ago. He reported that the first 3,000 workers were already producing in the economy and that the Belgian employers are completely satisfied with the arrangement. In DP camps, I have picked up letters from these DPs to their families in Germany who will soon join them in Belgium. The letters, which I have here with me, indicate the great happiness of the DP immigrants to be at work again, to be producing, to be able to take the money that they had earned from their pockets and put it on a shop counter for food and clothing, rather than have it doled out to them.

Holland is very much interested in taking skilled nurses. Small groups have already entered the Dutch city hospitals as nurses aides, paid by the city. Holland may also take 8,500 single men and women, artisans and industrial workers.

The French apparently like the caliber of our DPs since members of the French Army have proselyted 300 woodworkers plus 180 family members from Augsburg in our zone and persuaded them to enter the adjoining French zone of occupation for work under the French Army. This is done on an informal basis but indicates the acceptability of DPs to those who know them.

Sweden and several South American countries are negotiating for DPs to augment their labor pool. Shiploads of DPs have gone to Brazil and Paraguay. One is on the way to Venezuela. But all the efforts and agreements now in sight will not solve the problem. They are hopeful indications of what might be accomplished if we joined in. Representatives of other governments definitely indicate that they are waiting to see if we are going to do so.

In attending international conferences, we are constantly met with this question: "What is the United States going to do about these people?"

The Belgian representative said to me, "My country has a population density eight or ten times as great as your country's, yet we can handle some DPs, why don't you?" To this question we had no answer.

It does seem clear, however, that the fourth alternative, to finally liquidate the DP problem by a wide resettlement program, can succeed only in the event that the United States aids in it by admitting a substantial number.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to give you my observations which bear on your choice of the various alternatives as outlined by General Hilldring. I fully appreciate that this is a matter for the Congress and not the soldiers to decide. The American Occupation Forces have 600,000 DPs under their control. It is for the Congress to determine by its action whether or not the Army is to be directed to turn back these people who were victims of the Germans to the Germans. It is for the Congress to determine whether or not the Army should be directed to round them up and send them back against their will to the areas of Eastern Europe. It is for the Congress to determine, by action or inaction, whether or not they shall continue indefinitely to be maintained in the present camps with such support as the United States taxpayers and those of other countries may contribute. It is for the Congress to determine whether or not resettlement in friendly countries, where they can strike new roots, is a desirable solution, and whether or not it will take steps to participate in that resettlement in a way to make this solution possible.

ATTACHMENT

ATTACHMENT:

Summary of Occupational Skills of 366,553 Employable Displaced Persons Surveyed in Assembly Centers in Germany, Austria and Italy Showing the Percentage Which Each Skill Classification Comprises of the Total

Total of Employable Displaced Persons Surveyed . . .	<u>.366,553</u>
<u>General Classification</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
Construction & Maintenance	6.7
(Architects, bricklayers, carpenters, construction machine operators, furnacemen, dredgemen, draftsmen, electricians, enginemen, glaziers, masons, blasters, painters, plumbers, riggers, riveters, sawmill operators, steel workers, surveyors)	
Administrative, Clerical, Commercial	11.3
(Auditors, bookkeepers, business executives, office clerks, sales clerks, office machine operators, office managers, stenographers, interpreters, typists)	
Agriculture, Forestry, Dairy, and Food Processing	24.5
(Farmers-all types-, lumbermen, hunters, fishermen, millers. N.B.: This does not include agronomists, who are listed under "Professionals")	
Health and Sanitation	3.2
(Dentistry, dieticians, hospital attendants, midwives, nurses - all types, optometrists, ophthalmologists, pediatricians, physical therapists, physicians, surgeons, pharmacists, sanitary engineers, veterinarians, X-ray technicians)	
Miscellaneous Services	9.1
(Barbers, blacksmiths, bookbinders, butchers, firefighters, jewellers, laundrymen, linotypists, locksmiths, opticians, photographers, piano tuners, policemen, pressmen, printers, projectionists, shoe and harness makers, undertakers, upholsterers, watch repairers)	
Tailors and Seamstresses	6.2
Domestic and Related Commercial Services	10.0
(Workers in this category are domestics, waiters, kitchen help, gardeners, bakers, cooks)	
Communications, transportation, supply	7.6
(Airplane mechanics, airplane pilots, auto mechanics, auto body repairmen, drivers, craters, telephone and telegraph repairmen, linesmen, radio operators, radio repairmen, railway workers, seamen, teamsters, telegraph operators, telephone operators, teletypists, tire rebuilders, warehousemen)	

Artists

<u>General Classification</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
Artists (Writers, artists, sculptors, musicians, professional entertainers)	1.5
Professionals (Agronomists, clergymen, chemists, child care workers; engineers, civil, electrical, indus- trial, mechanical, mining; lawyers, librarians, social workers; teachers, academic, vocational, technical; occupational advisers)	6.4
Recreational Workers (Athletic instructors, recreation leaders)	0.2
Metal Trades (Electroplaters, foundrymen, forgemen, heat treaters, machine operators, machinists, metalsmiths, millwrights, welders, toolmakers)	2.1
Mining, Chemicals, and Processing (Ceramic workers, glass blowers, miners, petroleum workers, steel mill workers, quarrymen)	0.4
Miscellaneous Processing (Clothing machine operators, coopers, leather workers, paper workers, rubber workers, power plant installers, textile workers, woodworkers)	4.5
Laborers	2.4
Inexperienced Persons	2.3
Students	2.1

* * *

6650 Barnaby Street, N.W.,
Washington 15, D. C.

July 7, 1947.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I have read your folder of papers from various standpoints, particularly with the realization that your letter to the President is in the drafting stage and as yet incomplete as to the cost of industrial development in Palestine and other related factors, and with calculation as to the impression you want to make on the President.

On the draft letter dated June 27, 1947, I have the following general thought. First, that beginning on the top of page 2 you need to show why you take the next nine pages to present the background development concerning refugees in the period 1938 to 1944. This can be managed, most helpfully, by indicating as you start your story of the background that the historical efforts in which you took so prominent a part constitute the essential background of the present problem as it is now before the President for action. Secondly, that on pages 11 and 12, it is desirable to show as specifically as you can find figures to demonstrate, just what was done with all the money placed at the disposal of the Inter-Governmental Committee. As it now stands, the picture is not a sharp one and does not leave as clear an impression as you want to make. Thirdly, that on pages 14 and 15, the draft does not show, as clearly as your oral words to me, exactly what your main argument is. I have tried by notes on page 15 to reflect my memory of your exact thought. I am not sure I have done it well, but the notes will indicate the line of my suggestion here. Fourthly, in the course of the notes on that letter, I have taken the liberty of suggesting that you identify at least three annexes, "A", "B", and "C".

I have a further suggestion on the memorandum as a whole that runs along the same line, namely that you make the letter of June 27 (you will want to up-date that letter) the first paper in your memorandum, and then make all other materials annexes of it.

This is the thought: Your letter of June 27 is the big point. It accordingly should come first. Your letter divides into four parts.

Part

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
71 Broadway,
New York, New York.

Part one, which is the first page, poses the general situation and the need of action. Your covering memorandum of June 30, 1947 could be made a part of your letter of June 27 or be a foreword in the folder.

Part two, page 2 to page 11, covers the background. In this part I would make all material having background characteristics into an annex. That would include all the papers that precede the letter in the memorandum as now organized. These letters are those of April 26, 1938 to you from the President; your reply of April 30, 1938; your unidentified report to the President, March 11, 1939; the President's letter to you, July 7, 1943; your letter to him, July 13; his reply to you, July 14, 1943; the President's letter to you, June 28, 1943; Msgr. Cicognani's letter to you, March 11, 1944; your letter to Mr. Hull, March 14, 1944; and your letter to the President, June 5, 1944. I would add to these the memorandum of conversation with Wohltat, July 28, 1939, with the memorandum (that I think is dated 1939) on emigration of Jews, which is the last paper in the folder. That would put the material of the period 1938 through 1944 in one place, and it could be clearly read as background, which it is. You could put a tab on it to that effect.

Part three of your letter of June 27, 1947, concerns the present situation, and is found on pages 11 and 12. This has at present no annexes, and no papers particularly pertain to it. You could just omit an annex for it.

Part four of the letter is your principal concern, and it contains the points you want to drive home to the President. It has some natural annexes, which include (a) the memorandum (at present unidentified) which carries the date June 3, 1947, (b) the material which follows it in the present memorandum entitled "United Jewish Appeal, Inc.--Net Pledges (1939-1946)" (unless you want to put this material into the background annex), (c) the paper at present simply called "A" which is an annex at the point marked by my notes, (d) the memorandum from Mr. Warren, June 4, 1947, (e) the New York Times articles of May and June, 1947, and (f) the letters exchanged by Wohltat and Pell in May and June of this year.

To help you in clarifying the suggested new arrangement and to see better why I suggest it, I am appending an outline of the presentation of materials as they now stand. The matter chiefly arises from the difficulty of handling chronological materials while you consider future policy. I hope this may be of help to you in solving that difficulty.

You are certainly right in your thought in the whole matter and I hope Mr. Bowman can give you his expert knowledge to enhance still further

the

the strength of the argument you advance.

If you would like me to try to do anything further on the paper, please let me know. Good luck!

With warmest regard,

Sincerely,

Harley

P.S. I am somewhat apprehensive of publication, and if there is risk of it I think you must protect yourself, and His Holiness, in the places I have marked for your special attention.

H.

Present Outline

Memo to present readers by MCT June 30, 1947.

T Letter of April 26, 1938 from FR.

Reply April 30, 1938.

A Unidentified report to FR March 11, 1939.

FR to MCT July 7, 1943.

MCT to FR July 13, 1943.

MCT to FR July 14, 1943.

FR to MCT July 28, 1943.

M. Cicognani to MCT March 11, 1944.

MCT to C. Hull March 14, 1944.

MCT to FR June 5, 1944.

New letter MCT to H.T. June 27, 1947.

June 3, 1947, memo.

Net pledges 1939-1946.

Distrib. of Jews.

(Annex) "A".

I.C.R. June 4, 1947.

N.Y. Times June 1947.

" " " May 1947.

Wohltat to Pell May 8, 1947.

Pell to Wohltat June 24, 1947.

M.C. Taylor talk July 28, 1939 with a following memo on Emigration of Jews.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE-18, MARYLAND

July 7, 1947

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dear Myron:

I have read the interesting memorandum which Miss Bushwaller brought, as well as the introductory correspondence. There are only a few observations which are worth sending you.

On p. 2 you refer to over-population as a contributing factor in the subsequent war in Europe and in the period of fear that preceded it. If I were submitting a memorandum on this subject I would mention over-population only as a background fact. The immediate cause was fear of Hitler. The movement began in 1933 and gained in volume rapidly as Hitler's anti-Semitic policies were put into effect and as more and more opposition Catholics and Protestants were put into concentration camps. There is another reason why I would hesitate to use the word "over-population" in this context. "Over-population" is a term that has to be defined and few definitions agree. Cotton Mather thought eastern Massachusetts was over-populated and he and the men of his times encouraged the movement of settlers westward to the Connecticut Valley. The Nazi geopolitics made a good deal of lebensraum but the argument was for political consumption. I would either take out the word "over-population" or enlarge a bit on the general theme to which it is related.

On p. 4, in the fifth and sixth lines, you name the chairman and vice-chairman of a small committee but do not name the representatives of Brazil, France and The Netherlands. If your statement were to receive any subsequent publicity the representatives of these three countries might not like the omission of their names.

On p. 7 I have made minor changes at the bottom of the page.

On p. 8 you speak of a thousand settlers at Sosua in the Dominican Republic. I have not looked up the figure recently but I think that two or three hundred constituted the first settlement. A telephone call to Mr. Charles J. Liebman, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, who is president of the Refugee Economic Corporation, would give you the correct figure or indicate where it might be found.

On p. 13 I would remove the word "infiltration" which has evil connotations.

I was much interested to see the memorandum from Paul Baerwald. On p. 3 of his memorandum, after referring to Lowdermilk and Fohs, he quotes a more conservative and in my opinion a more accurate figure given in Robert Nathan's book.

The Honorable Myron C. Taylor -- 2.

7-7-47.

With respect to the overall character of your memorandum, I am afraid I can make no useful comment for the text seems adequate for the purpose and very clearly written. In an earlier letter I referred to an article in The Geographical Journal (London) which you may want to see if you are going into the question of Palestine's capacity to absorb population. I judge, however, that you are avoiding an argument on this point since it would take a considerable memorandum in itself to make the matter clear.

I am sending your memorandum together with some material on Palestine from the Territorial Committee by express, prepaid and insured for \$1,000. There is no hurry about returning my material but when you have finished with it, it may be well to return it by Railway Express.

Sincerely yours,

Isaiah Bowman

The Honorable Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRESIDENT

REGARDING REFUGEES

- - - - -

1938 - 1947

July 30 1947

Dear Mr. President:

One year ago, on May 15, 1946, I wrote you from my post in Rome some comments on the Palestine situation and its relationship to a possible Arab, or Moslem, Confederation. In the intervening year no tangible solution of the Palestine problem has been found; rather the situation of that mandated country has deteriorated internally and in an international sense, and the Moslem world is more aroused and nearer union than at any time since the Crusades began -- a thousand years.

A plague of words and emotions has swept over the globe, the pros and cons of the Palestine debate, and violence is increasing day by day. On the constructive side the United Nations has taken formal cognizance of the problem and appointed a Committee for Investigation which is now in the Holy Land. It will render a report in due course, and world debate, with probably a decision, on a solution will develop in the General Assembly in September. We shall be directly engaged in making that decision, and will share the effects. The problem of the unsettled Jews of Europe and the kindred problem of Palestine is many degrees more acute than it was a year ago.

The solution, to my mind, is not concentration of this unhappy people, -- concentration anywhere, -- but broad dispersion and an ordered migration from Europe with the full control of such migration vested in the International

Refugee Organization (United Nations).

My interest in this problem lies deep in my experience with the human crisis, and in the effort with which the most enlightened Western nations responded, in behalf of the refugees from Nazi persecution. That same background is essential to the consideration of this problem as now before the world. I therefore set it forth briefly below, and I am providing in Annex "A" some of the main papers involved.

By appointment of President Roosevelt, I served for seven years as Chairman of the American Delegation to the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees. Acting on the instructions of the President, my associates and I set up that Committee in July, 1938, as you know, at the Conference of Evian, France. You will also recall that by the late winter of 1938 the danger of war was a haunting reality, and that one of the contributing factors was the economic and social pressure on and persecution of minorities, notably the Jewish minority, in Germany and Austria. This was only in part validly due to over-population in central Europe; it was inseparable from historic conditions and states of mind toward culturally different groups in all that area, shrewdly inflamed by Hitler. Waves of fear-struck people whom we now call "displaced persons" were rolling out of the center of Europe, beating on borders of the neighboring countries where they could only be given

temporary succor, leaving disorder in the wake of their flight, heightening antagonisms wherever they went, and serving the nerve war of the Nazi-hate mongers. In a word, the migrants, who are an accepted and orderly phenomenon in normal times, became a horde. Millions were on the move during that time of economic and political uncertainty and constituted one of the threats to world peace.

President Roosevelt appreciated this fact. He believed that this situation might be susceptible of scientific treatment if the nations most affected, in fact all the nations, would work on the problem in common. This was the genesis of the President's appeal to the nations of refuge and settlement, on March 23, 1938, to meet in international conference and set up machinery for a systematic solution of this problem. This was the kernel of my instructions upon my appointment as Ambassador to take charge of the negotiations, which led, despite severe opposition, to the creation of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees by agreement dated July 14, 1938. The plan was ratified by thirty-two governments.

The Intergovernmental Committee thus set up had as its aim the solution, by negotiation between the member governments, of the problem by population dispersal in order to relieve the pressure at certain explosive points. In the beginning it was a negotiating body only, with Mr. George Rublee, (American), nominated as Director and my Political Adviser at Evian, and Mr. Robert Pell of the Department

of State as Acting Vice Director. Only later, under the Directorship of Sir Herbert Emerson (British High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations), did it acquire operational attributes.

As international machinery which was successful in fact may be of some interest to you, I should like to describe briefly the Committee's method of operation. Policy was proposed by a small informal council consisting of Lord Winterton, the British delegate who at my instance became Chairman, and four Vice Chairmen representing the United States of America, Brazil, France and the Netherlands. (I was the American Vice Chairman). Policy was approved by the plenary sessions of the Committee consisting of the representatives of the thirty-two original signatories, usually their Ambassadors or other diplomatic representatives in London where the office of the Committee was situated. Representatives of additional nations joined in as the number of signatories increased. Policy was carried out in negotiation by the Director, or by the Vice Director, and consisted of two parts: negotiations with the "country of origin" of the displaced persons, i.e., Germany; and negotiations with the countries of refuge and settlement.

Negotiations with Germany were conducted with the designated representatives of the Reich, first with Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, then with Dr. Helmuth

Wohlthat of the Economics Ministry. After weeks of the most complex negotiation a basis of agreement was reached and set down in the form of a letter from Mr. Rublee to Mr. Wohlthat which was initialed by the representative of the German Government. The object of this agreement was to introduce order into the migration of the minorities from Central Europe under the control of the Reich, the use of a heavy percentage of the property of the displaced people for this purpose, the acceptance of the migrants in quotas in countries of refuge and their final establishment in countries of settlement. A concomitant was the establishment of a central organization outside of Germany which would coordinate the migration and administer funds for the purpose. The nucleus of this organization I set up in the form of the Coordinating Foundation, which was in its origin Anglo-American but which was open to the representatives of other participating countries. Among the original directors were Mr. Paul Baerwald, the Rt. Hon. the Viscount Bearsted, the Earl of Bessborough, the Honorable Harold Butler, Mr. Lionel L. Cohen, the Hon. John W. Davis, Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Sir Simon Marks, the Hon. Nathan L. Miller, the Hon. Dave Hennen Morris, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, Mr. Lionel de Rothschild, the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Rumboldt, Sir John Hope Simpson, Mr. (now Rear Admiral) Lewis L. Strauss, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and the Hon. Owen

D. Young. Former Prime Minister Van Zeeland of Belgium was named Executive Director and it was understood that the Germans would name a parallel official to direct the orderly migration and to administer funds set aside for that purpose.

Parallel negotiations with the governments of the countries of refuge and settlement were conducted meanwhile by the Director's office, notably with the Dominican Government which had taken the lead at Evian with a generous offer to accept 100,000 Jewish migrants. Negotiations were also undertaken with the Government of the Philippines, with the British and French and Dutch Governments for entry to their colonies, and with the Dominions of Australia and Canada. Commissions of inquiry were despatched to several points, including the Dominican Republic, Mindanao (Philippine Islands) and British Guiana (South America) to explore the possibilities of settlement. The question of funds to finance the various projects was studied, and the possibilities around the world of dispersal to receptive countries and absorption through the normal processes of immigration were charted.

In a word, by mid-August, 1939, the groundwork had been laid both with the Germans and with the countries outside Germany for a scientific plan of dispersed migration of the multitudes being "displaced" from the center of Europe.

At this point war broke out in Europe and systematic migration clearly became an impossibility. The European

governments were inclined to terminate the Intergovernmental Committee, and there was considerable support for this course in some Governmental circles here. But President Roosevelt thought otherwise. At our suggestion he summoned the officers of the Committee to Washington and in an address to them on October 17, 1939, stressed that the work of the Committee should go on in the sense that permanent homes should be found for the displaced persons then in countries of refuge and who constituted an additional burden to countries engaged in war. Moreover that a long-range program should be formulated for handling the problem, which, the President forecast, would assume gigantic proportions at the war's end; and in particular that the engineering and colonizing aspects of the settlement projects should be developed. In brief, the Committee's work should not be curtailed or suspended; it should be broadened and extended. Secretary Hull addressed the opening meeting at the Department of State in similar vein.

Carrying out the President's mandate, the Director's office decided to develop the project which at that time was most mature, -- to create in other words a field experiment where experience might be gained for use in subsequent settlements. This was the project for settlement in the Dominican Republic. Mr. Pell proceeded to Ciudad Trujillo, where he negotiated agreement with the Dominican Government, specifically with Generalissimo Trujillo, who made fertile and excellent lands available. Mr. James Rosenberg, a public-

spirited New York attorney, undertook to organize a settlement corporation with funds provided largely by the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The Coordinating Foundation gave the project its blessing. Dr. Paul Rosen of the General Electric Corporation took charge of the project, and in March 1940 the first settlers were located at Sosua.

On January 30, 1941, a meeting was held at Ciudad Trujillo and presided over by the President of the Dominican Republic, Dr. Manuel Troncoso de la Concha. A fresh wave of enthusiasm was engendered, as attending representatives of the many governments were shown the advantages of settlement. By June 30, 1941 the settlers at Sosua numbered 352. A hundred and twenty more were located there during the next year. These settlers were mostly in the young age categories and hand picked from among displaced persons in England, the Low Countries and France. Of the 600 settled, 350 remain today.

As the war expanded in new countries and as we became involved in 1941, our Government discontinued any active part in the planned settlement of refugees until, three years later, it was revived in a different form.

The first effort to revive the Intergovernmental Committee, or something approximating it (I do not include my successful interventions with the Italian Government and the Vatican to alleviate the conditions of displaced persons and native Jews

in Italy), came in 1943 when representatives of the American and British Governments met at Bermuda in April. They concluded (1) to expand the membership of the Committee to all members of the United Nations and Sweden, Switzerland and Eire; (2) to include in the Committee's mandate all persons in Europe who might have to leave their countries of origin because of the danger to their lives or liberties on account of their race, religion or political beliefs; (3) to go into the functional field and "preserve, maintain and transport such persons", drawing on public and private funds. Sir Herbert Emerson was maintained as Director and Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin, formerly Director of the International Migration Service, was, at my suggestion, nominated as the American Vice Director.

The history of the Committee from 1943 until the present, when it is being liquidated (passing at the present time into the hands of a liquidation commission which will transfer its assets and obligations to the International Refugee Organization), may be divided into two parts: (1) the war period; (2) the post-war period.

The main step in the war period concerned the creation by President Roosevelt of the War Refugee Board, its members being the Secretaries of State, Treasury and War. At my request Sir Herbert Emerson, Director of the Intergovernmental Committee, came to Washington (April 1944) and a series of meetings was held in which the activities and relations of

the Intergovernmental Committee and the U. S. War Refugee Board were coordinated. I proposed that a credit of \$5,000,000 each by the United States and by Great Britain be granted for the use of the Intergovernmental Committee in the new tasks to be undertaken, and I negotiated this arrangement with Lord Halifax and the Committee of American Secretaries. These funds were made available and until the war ended agents of the Committee sought, in cooperation with the War Refugee Board of the American Government, to rescue and preserve the lives of threatened persons in German-occupied Europe. Moreover the Committee assisted, with maintenance and rehabilitation grants, suffering persons in countries where UNRRA was not operating. The Committee, too, provided legal counsel to displaced persons and financial assistance to small refugee groups and later, in a very general sense, during the past year and a half, participated in the work of the United Nations through Committee Three of the General Assembly and the Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons of the Economic and Social Council.

Upon the active resumption of my mission as Personal Representative of the President of the United States to His Holiness the Pope after the liberation of Rome (June 1944), I resigned as Vice President and American Representative on the Intergovernmental Committee. In the following autumn Mr. Earl G. Harrison of Philadelphia was appointed to these posi

tions.

In the meantime, highly important preparations for post-war policy as regards Palestine, but also of the broad problem of refugees and resettlement, were undertaken. The most thorough studies were those made by the Advisory Committee on Post-War Foreign Policy, which under the Chairmanship of Secretary of State Cordell Hull was intensely engaged beginning in February 1942 in formulating recommendations of policy as to all our foreseeable foreign problems, and especially by its Subcommittee on Territorial Problems. This Subcommittee, under the leadership of Dr. Isaiah Bowman, and composed of selected members (of whom I am happy to have been one) assisted by a most highly qualified staff, carefully examined every aspect of these problems. After 1944 its preparations were brought abreast of developments by additional studies by the staff remaining in the Department of State. The recommendations agreed upon are on record in the Department. It was on the basis of the views thus developed that Dr. Bowman was enabled, when consulted by President Roosevelt in 1943 and 1944, to offer the penetrating comments and suggestions which the President so greatly valued on the so-called "M" program in regard to Palestine, which had been devised by another small group secretly asked by the President also to examine the problem.

I am informed that the post-war position may be summarized as follows:

With an administrative budget for 1946 of \$200,000, an operational budget of \$10,000,000 (towards which the United States contributed \$4,000,000), assets from the liquidation of German property in neutral countries amounting to around \$25,000,000, and also with an undetermined amount from looted property and heirless funds, the Intergovernmental Committee in the immediate post-war period helped the stateless wherever found to new homes wherever they could be made available. It worked with headquarters in London and offices in the United States, and with subsidiary agencies under Resident Representatives in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Egypt and China, also the Western zones of Germany and Austria. Negotiations were again resumed in this period with the governments of Latin America and others, and some progress has been made toward finding minor outlets for the mass of displaced persons still seeking homes away from Central Europe. (See Annex "C") The International Refugee Organization is taking over this work, and it may be hoped that with this United Nations' stimulus progress may be made in solving finally this problem which, though less in degree, remains substantially the same in essence as when the plan for inter-governmental action was inaugurated by President Roosevelt in 1938.

Drawing upon this background and my personal experience in this field I am obliged to conclude that the refugee problem resolves itself inevitably into categories of action:

(1) The relocation of Jewish migrants; (2) the resettlement of non-Jewish displaced persons.

With regard to the latter group, I do not believe that there is any insurmountable obstacle. All resettlement is costly and complex and fraught with many difficulties, but a majority of the non-Jewish displaced persons are either agricultural workers or have skills of value or are the raw material which recommends them to settlement countries. In a word, the absorption of this group is merely a matter of patience and time. Our own immigration laws control our participation as recipients of such immigrants. Other laws involving admission of 400,000 displaced persons are before the Congress now.

The problem of the Jewish migrants is otherwise. For the most part this migrant is a town dweller and an intellectual or a merchant. His skills are competitive. His religious orthodoxy with its racial connotations sets him apart in any community where he is located. Moreover a large percentage of prospective Jewish migrants are imbued with the deep religious fervor of Zionism and for them Palestine is the only goal fixed in their minds.

From my close scrutiny of the Jewish tragedy during the years I participated in the Intergovernmental Committee, I am convinced that a way out must be found through (1) a common effort on the part of all governments of good will;

(2) a broad international program providing many solid alternatives to Palestine, chiefly by admission of immigration and for the rest, settlement; (3) a deflation of the common Jewish attitude that Palestine is the sole destination for the Jews leaving Eastern Europe; and (4) a truce period during which every effort should be made to allow the aroused nationalism of the Arab world to subside.

Day by day, Mr. President, my conviction grows stronger that the conflict over Palestine has implanted in it the seeds of wider conflagration. The overriding compulsion on all our national decisions is the safety and well-being of our country in these days of tightening crisis. The Eastern Mediterranean, in the strategy and circumstances as they have come to exist, directly and vitally involves the safety and well-being of ourselves and the other nations of the West. Passions in the whole Near Eastern Area are being exploited and used to serve designs in power politics which may lead to fatal collision. We cannot argue uncomfortable or disturbing facts away: The idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine is a fact; Arab nationalism is a fact. But we can place Palestine in the wider context of the Jewish migrant as a whole for which no one place can offer a solution.

The dimensions of Palestine would preclude it from providing the solution by itself; the size of the problem requires a wider scope of action. Before the war, in 1938, there were

approximately fifteen and a half million persons of the Jewish faith and race scattered around the world, four and a half million in the Americas, nine million odd in Europe, one-half million plus in Asia and a similar number in Africa, and about 27,000 in Australia (See Annex "B"). Today the figure has risen substantially in the Americas and somewhat in Africa and Asia and very little in Australia. In Europe no exact estimate is possible at this time, but the Jewish population was not only decimated but uprooted. Estimates are that about five million Jews lost their lives in Europe during and since the war. Untold numbers of the survivors, -- near a million counting only those who must, -- seek safe homes elsewhere. Their efforts to leave Europe, according to Jewish leaders and Army Reports I have seen, have not subsided, nor likely will.

A number of basic observations result from these experiences and facts, which I set before you in my hope that they may prove of some help to you in the far-reaching decisions you are called upon to make in coming months.

It is clear that the effort can be made, and must be made, to introduce order into this migratory movement. The exodus from Europe must be directed in systematic fashion into permanent places, -- I put heavy emphasis on the plural, places, -- where settlement will offer reasonable living conditions and congenial homes. Dispersion provides the only possibility of a full solution. We should continue to support emigration to a democratic Palestine but for only a reasonable

number of convinced Zionists -- a number that conforms to the limited resources of Palestine as they now exist and as they are gradually developed hereafter.

We should insist in our policy that Palestine is only part of the problem; that in itself Palestine physically can not, and will never be able to constitute a final settlement for the Jewish migrants as a whole. It could not do so if it were clear of all Arabs and were larger than it is and better endowed with resources than nature blessed it. The stark principal fact as to both Jewish and non-Jewish refugees and displaced persons today is that even if the Palestine Problem were peaceably settled by an adjustment satisfactory to Jew and Arab alike, the Jewish problem of Europe would not have been solved, and the problem of the remaining displaced peoples of Europe still would remain unsolved. This is a sobering fact which world opinion, especially our own public opinion, is largely overlooking. But it is the greatest challenge in this tragedy.

Constructive imagination, and practical organization on an international scale is required, with courageous world leadership provided at this critical juncture of events in 1947 by you, Mr. President, as it was by President Roosevelt in the beginning of these world troubles.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) MYRON C. TAYLOR.

DETAILS OF THE "M" PROJECT

Refugees: THE SOLUTION AS F. D. R. SAW IT

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

JUNE 1947

By LADISLAS FARAGO

Revealed here for the first time is President Roosevelt's momentous M-Project which would have started 20 million people on the road to a new and better life. Working under the President's direct supervision, a small group of top scientists prepared 600 documents dealing with every aspect of the global problem of Displaced Persons. An "International Settlement Authority" with an annual budget of \$1,000,000,000 was envisaged as necessary to solve humanity's most persistent international problem—once and for all. Many a lesson contained in the M-Project may be of great value to the UN and IRO in their urgent quest of a solution.

WHAT the few top-ranking scientists who know about Franklin D. Roosevelt's mysterious M-Project regard as a definitive answer to the problem of displaced persons is buried in some 600 documents—now filed and forgotten with the mass of the late President's official papers. These documents, holding the key to one of the world's most persistent international issues, were the product of four years' intensive research by a small staff of population experts under the President's supervision.

They represent an unprecedented geopolitical *tour de force*, typical of Roosevelt's practical approach to perennial problems and the depth of his humanitarian concern for the misery among the restive peoples of the world.

Roosevelt died on the eve of the completion of the documentary work on the M-Project. Shortly after his death, despite efforts to save it, the Project was allowed to fade out of existence. Even today, as the International Refugee Organization prepares to tackle the problem, the crucial findings of the M-Project remain concealed behind a smokescreen of official secrecy.

It is hoped that the revelation of these studies will attract international attention for the forgotten Project and its finished products. If so, and if the documents were placed at the disposal of the UN, the IRO would be saved much preliminary work. The over-all problem, now tackled only in its most immediate aspects, would be brought closer to a comprehensive and final solution, thus making a contribution to lasting peace as envisaged by F.D.R.

The Birth of the M-Project

WHAT was the M-Project? And what was the top-secret mission that Roosevelt assigned to it?

The letter "M" stands for the word *Migration*—signifying both the scope and the contents of the Project. Its mission was, first, to investigate the complex problem in its most minute details without regard for national or international prejudices, sensibilities and jealousies; and second, to suggest ways and means whereby the problem could be solved once and for all—even if it takes from 20 to 50 years to solve it. It was top-secret because of the manifold political implications inherent in the investigations, but chiefly because a premature revelation of its findings would have alerted the perennial opponents of all migration studies against the Project.

The M-Project had its spiritual birth in Roosevelt's effervescent mind long before it was brought into existence with financing from the President's unvouchered emergency funds. Despite the scope of the studies, the Project required only a relatively small financial outlay. A total of \$180,000 was spent on the M-Project over a period of four years between 1942 and 1945.

It was in the late spring of 1940 that Roosevelt first brought up the idea during a conference with one of his confidential White House aides. "When this war comes to an end," he said, "there will be thousands or perhaps millions of people uprooted in Europe and Asia with no place to go. Somebody will have to do something—in a big way—to solve their problem.

And we better start thinking right now about just what to do if we want to be ready in time."

Roosevelt's Conception of the D. P.

IN the light of today's inadequate definitions, Roosevelt's conception of the D. P. appears unorthodox and revolutionary. He regarded the victims of the war as representing but one of the three groups. In the second group were the *surplus populations* of certain European and Asiatic countries, while the third group was made up of so-called "geopolitical problem children," *minorities* whose presence in certain countries is traditionally exploited for power-political purposes.

Roosevelt believed that the postwar necessity of a large-scale resettlement of refugees would enable him to solve the interdependent problems of all three groups simultaneously.

The idea was hatching in the President's mind for almost three years when, in November 1942, he decided to tackle the problem in a practical way. He enlisted the aid of his good friend and adviser Dr. Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University and one of the world's foremost geographers. John Franklin Carter, a diplomat and publicist, serving as the President's confidential aide, was named liaison officer, while Dr. Henry Field, a noted archaeologist and anthropologist, was placed in immediate charge of the newly born M-Project. Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe, of the University of Pennsylvania, was invited to act as the director of the Project, supervising a small staff of eminent experts and consultants.

The group was called upon to provide the President with comprehensive answers to four questions:

1. *Who are the people in need of resettlement?*
2. *Where are they?*
3. *Where could they go?*
4. *What is required to make their resettlement a permanent success?*

They were to approach the problem *comprehensively*, in a way never be-

fore attempted, studying all aspects of the resettlement problem, and not merely the isolated Jewish problem; also the geographical, climatological, demographic and ecologic questions, and not merely its political, social and economic aspects.

The M-Project Under Way

In just three unmarked cubby-holes in the Annex of the Congressional Library, the staff of the M-Project went to work to provide the answers to Roosevelt's questions.

They studied and appraised *all* the previous resettlement projects of history.

They studied and appraised the immigration laws and regulations of all countries.

They "discovered" actual and potential resettlement areas capable of absorbing thousands of immigrants, and appraised them from political, economic, social, geographic, ecologic, demographic and geopolitical angles.

They studied surplus population areas, the character of the surplus populations, and their particular needs as immigrants.

They investigated the financial preconditions and economic requirements of eventual resettlement. It was a Gargantuan enterprise, but by the middle of 1944 the M-Project was ready with its preliminary findings.

By then the investigators established that there were a total of 20,000,000 people at large in the world in need of immediate or eventual resettlement, of whom 5,000,000 persons or about 1,000,000 families were expected to represent an immediate problem at the end of hostilities, an estimate that proved uncannily accurate. They found large groups of potential resettles in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Italy, Bulgaria, Greece, Japan, Korea and Manchuria, and established the following areas available for resettlement: The United States, including Alaska; Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Northern Australia, Canada and Manchuria.

They found that certain countries, as for example, the Dominican Republic, were unsuited for resettlement despite their apparent willingness to absorb immigrants. On the other hand, they established that the Negeb in Southern Palestine was suited for resettlement, despite British and Arab protestations to the contrary.

A \$25,000,000,000 Project

EQUALLY significant were the economic discoveries of the group. The ultimate success of resettlement was found to depend almost solely on adequate financial aid to provide environmental conditions to which the resettles were previously accustomed. The failure of former resettlement projects was attributed to the usual disregard for this essential precondition. In the light of this discovery, the M-Project estimated that the resettlement of a single family would involve the expenditure of \$25,000 on the average. On this basis it was calculated that the successful resettlement of 1,000,000 families would require an expenditure of \$25 billions.

This huge figure reflected the comprehensive and final character of the plan drawn up in the M-Project. It went far beyond the expenditure of transportation and preliminary rehabilitation. It took into consideration the development of the projected resettlement areas, their deforestation or reforestation, irrigation and fertilization, the building of roads, problems of hygiene, disease prevention, and even the building of schools, libraries, theaters and motion picture houses. The price of agricultural machinery and industrial tools needed by the immigrants was also included in the calculated sum.

Aside from the demographic, ecologic and economic factors, the M-Project also investigated the political problems of the migration question, since they were recognized as possible impediments to future negotiations with "resettlement countries" which President Roosevelt hoped to be able to conduct and conclude personally. All possible objections were anticipated and countered with valid arguments.

FDR's International Settlement Authority

THE major recommendation of the M-Project was the establishment of an International Settlement Authority, as a specialized agency of UN, to be in over-all charge of all national and international resettlement projects. The annual budget needs of the ISA were estimated to be in the neighborhood of one billion dollars, to be subscribed by the interested governments which were most likely to benefit from the program.

It now appears on the surface that

the International Refugee Organization of UN will at least in part satisfy the needs for which President Roosevelt's "International Settlement Authority" was to be created. There are, however, several fundamental differences between Roosevelt's envisaged agency and the one now being established by UN. An enumeration of these differences will reveal at once why it is a major tragedy that the death of President Roosevelt deprived the world of a definitive solution of the D.P. problem.

Differences Between ISA and IRO

THE major differences between Roosevelt's ISA and the UN's IRO are these:

The IRO is not comprehensive: first, it fails to take into consideration the resettlement of minorities and surplus populations; and second, it makes no provisions for a comprehensive permanent study of the whole resettlement question.

The IRO lacks sufficient funds: in its first-year budget only \$5,000,000 is earmarked for resettlement purposes, out of a total of some \$150,000,000.

The IRO is limited in space and time: moreover it has but limited authority to satisfy its needs and enforce its decisions.

Persons who have been close to the M-Project believe that its work would not be completely wasted were its activity and personnel incorporated in the new IRO. Above all it is regarded as imperative that the 600-odd documents now gathering dust in confidential libraries and archives be placed at the immediate disposal of the UN and that Dr. Bowman be invited to acquaint IRO with the work, accomplishments and findings of the M-Project, probably even to aid in its re-establishment within IRO on a permanent basis.

President Roosevelt was prophetic in anticipating the problem which today confronts the world in displaced persons; in the minorities which, for example, prevent a rapprochement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary; in the surplus populations which are bound to lure countries like Japan once more into the quagmire of expansionism. His M-Project was but one of the instruments he planned to build as a means of ensuring lasting peace. And it is not the only one of Roosevelt's projects that today rests in the limbo of forgotten plans.

ANNEX "A"

Papers concerning the Experience of
The Intergovernmental Committee on
Refugees, including Views of
President Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

April 26 1938

My dear Mr. Taylor,

As you know, I have requested certain other governments to cooperate with this Government in the constitution of an International Committee for the purpose of facilitating the immigration of political refugees from Germany and Austria.

I have hoped that prompt and effective action by this Committee might relieve the distressing situation which has arisen as the result of the persecution of so many thousands of individuals in those two countries. I am glad to say that all of the American republics and Great Britain, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Holland, and Switzerland, have cordially agreed to cooperate in this endeavor.

As I see the problem, the task of the International Committee would be primarily to meet the emergency which has arisen, through the coordination of efforts on the part of the several governments involved in the humanitarian endeavor, and through the expenditure of funds received from private sources within the respective nations represented on the Committee to expedite and facilitate the immigration of refugees to those countries willing to receive them within the provisions of their existing legislation. The proper objectives of the International Committee would be to undertake the formulation of long range plans for the solution in years to come of the problem represented in those European countries where there exists excess populations.

I have designated an American Committee to cooperate with the International Committee, and this American Committee, I hope, will act as the intermediary between the International Committee and the many private organizations and individuals within the United States who are willing to extend effective assistance to these political refugees. I presume that many of the other countries represented on the International Committee will take similar action.

It has seemed to me that you could represent this Government admirably as the American member of the International Committee, and I hope very much that you will be willing to serve as the official representative of the United States on that body.

The representative of this Government will have the honorary rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and, in view of the fact that this Government has taken the initiative in suggesting the creation of the International Committee, it is probable that the other members of the Committee will select the United States representative as the chairman of that body. I can further assure you that the Government will give you the technical assistance that you may find necessary.

I feel that your acceptance of this position would do much to insure the successful achievement of the objectives which I had in mind when I sanctioned the creation of the International Committee, and in the furtherance of which believe public opinion in this country is deeply interested.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

16 East Seventieth Street.

New York
April 30 1938

My dear Mr. President,

Acknowledging the receipt of your letter of April 26th and the matter discussed in our interview yesterday, being the appointment tendered me of honorary Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to represent our Government in cooperating with the International Committee created for the purpose of facilitating the emigration of political refugees from Germany and Austria, I have the honor to say that I conferred with Mr. Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, after leaving you, and have this morning informed a number of my associates of your offer.

I am pleased to accept the appointment, and trust that I may acquit myself to your satisfaction.

With much appreciation of the honor which you have done me, I am Sir,

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) MYRON C. TAYLOR.

To the President.

SIGNATORIES OF THE AGREEMENT
ESTABLISHING AT EVIAN
THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

- - - - -

Argentine Republic	Honduras
Australia	Ireland
Belgium	Mexico
Bolivia	Netherlands
Brazil	New Zealand
Canada	Nicaragua
Chile	Norway
Colombia	Panama
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Cuba	Peru
Denmark	Sweden
Dominican Republic	Switzerland
Ecudor	United Kingdom
France	United States of America
Guatemala	Uruguay
Haiti	Venezuela

MESSAGE FROM MYRON C. TAYLOR TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Paris Mar 11 1939

The Intergovernmental meeting concluded its sessions on February 13 1939. Thereafter I brought to the attention of the Jewish societies and to a group of leaders, including Anthony Rothschild, Lord Bearstead and others, the importance of promptly acting, first, on the suggestion of the third trustee for the internal German Trust, and second, the formation of a plan to create an outside corporation or foundation to carry out in both instances the terms of the German uni-lateral proposals first proposed by Schacht, later modified by Wohlthat. I believe it best for many reasons to characterize as German proposals the memorandum which, while it contains many of the points that the committee had evolved at and since Evian, is not, of course, an Inter-Governmental Committee proposal. Embarrassment might ultimately flow from it if it were so styled.

On arrival in Paris on February 16th, I conferred with Ambassador Bullitt and gave him in detail all events and memoranda affecting refugees, so that he would be able intelligently to discuss the matter when and as occasion required. I then left for Florence.

From Florence I telephoned Ambassador Phillips that I would come to Rome Thursday, February 23d, to discuss the refugee situation with him, and suggested that if he thought well of it, it might be advisable first to visit Mussolini together and to acquaint him with preliminaries of the present German situation, and, if the opportunity occurred, to express to him the hope that in view of the progress made with Germany, he might find it possible to postpone the date of exodus in Italy from March 12th for a period of six months or a year, giving those affected a better opportunity to locate elsewhere and the avoiding of a revival of a general world discussion on the subject, with its possible injurious effect on the German refugee situation, which, in its present early stages under the memorandum, might be seriously impaired if the subject were renewed in a worldwide sense.

For his further information, I submitted to him, first, a copy of Sir Andrew MacFadden's report on the Italian situation; second, a copy of a memorandum which had been prepared by the Jewish leaders in London and Paris; third, a copy of Sir Herbert Emerson's memorandum regarding settlement projects; and fourth, minutes of the Intergovernmental

Committee which contained the German memorandum, of which memorandum he kept a copy. This will be helpful to him in the discussions which may take place with Italian officials.

Mussolini was not in Rome when I was there, but was understood to be in the Italian Alps on vacation. Ciano left Rome about the time I arrived. The Ambassador had inquired if I should be received by Mussolini a week later when he returned. The answer was, I believe, that it was not then convenient. My Italian friends in London and Paris had suggested contact with Mussolini and not Ciano, who was reported as violently anti-Jewish and not fully friendly toward America. I suggested to the Ambassador that I should not create an issue over the question of a visit to Mussolini.

I returned to Florence the following day, February 24th. The Ambassador to Rome, has, I believe, asked your instructions whether he should proceed through the usual channel, Ciano, to discuss the subject along the lines indicated. I am not aware of your reply.

I left Florence for Monte Carlo on Saturday last, to visit a few friends who were there ill. It is likely that Mr. Bullitt will in another telegram recite other incidents which may be of interest.

Paris, July 28, 1939

Memorandum of a conversation of the Honorable Myron C. Taylor with Mr. Wohlthat, London, July 21, 1939.
Mr. Pell was present.

The meeting, which was requested by Mr. Taylor, took place in Mr. Wohlthat's apartment at the Hotel Victoria. Mr. Wohlthat had originally agreed to come to Mr. Taylor's rooms, but in view of the fact that appointments had been arranged for him with Sir Horace Wilson and other British officials, he asked Mr. Taylor to do him the kindness of coming to him.

Mr. Taylor, after the customary courtesies, said that he felt it to be a duty to say to Mr. Wohlthat at the outset what an unfortunate impression had been created in the United States by the reception accorded by Chancellor Hitler to President Roosevelt's letter during the March crisis. The tendency to scoff at this letter had alienated many Americans who had a feeling of sympathy for the German people, and the insult to the Presidential office had done great harm. Mr. Taylor felt that it should be appreciated in Germany that American patience was running short. Untold danger would be done by a repetition of the insulting tactics of February.

Mr. Wohlthat said that he was in thorough agreement with Mr. Taylor's views.

Mr. Taylor continued that in the present state of world economy every nation was faced with approximately the same problem and no nation and no leader would be able to survive a general collapse. Without a doubt this collapse would come if expenditure continued at the present pace. A time must come when further expenditure on war preparations would not be possible. The adjustment of national economies which would ensue would raise many problems, not the least of which would be the problem of progressive unemployment. Of course, if war came, it would mean ruin for all Europe, including Germany.

Mr. Wohlthat said he agreed with Mr. Taylor, but observed that the beginning of a solution lay in a political and economic agreement with England.

Mr. Taylor then spoke of Marshal Goering; said that he was sorry that he had missed meeting him on the Riviera last winter, and observed that the Marshal was more respected in America than any other member of the National Socialist Party.

Mr. Wohlthat said that he was pleased to hear this.

Mr. Taylor next mentioned the persecution of the Jews in Germany. He said that the despoliation of these people had filled the Western World with horror and had created difficulties for other countries which were almost insurmountable at a time when unemployment and anti-Semitism were rising. It was a breach of courtesy on the part of a nation to try to throw its undesirables on its neighbors after depriving them of their fortunes and their property. The remedy was to work with the Intergovernmental Committee in introducing orderly emigration and meanwhile to treat those who were obliged to remain behind humanely. Time would bring a cure. To impose pressure would be to assure failure.

Mr. Wohlthat's comment was that he was working out the details of the arrangement with Sir Herbert Emerson and he was hopeful that the plans inside and outside Germany would mature in the immediate future.

~~SECRET~~ CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM: THE EMIGRATION
OF JEWS FROM GERMANY.
FEBRUARY 1939

It has been ascertained that Germany is disposed to adopt a policy which will in every way facilitate and encourage the organized emigration of Jews. A program along the lines hereinafter outlined will be put into effect when Germany is satisfied that countries of immigration are disposed to receive currently Jews from Germany in conformity with this program. If the program is put into effect - and its implementation will be greatly facilitated by an improvement in the international atmosphere - the emigration will take place in a uniform and orderly manner.

I.

Organization of Emigration

ONE. This program relates exclusively to Jews of German nationality or stateless Jews in Germany. The term "Jew" where used in this memorandum as provided by the Nuremberg laws means the following:

(1) A Jew is a person who has three or four Jewish grandparents. A grandparent is deemed to be a Jew if he or she embraced the Jewish faith;

(2) A person is also deemed to be a Jew who has two Jewish grandparents and who on September 16, 1935, was of the Jewish faith or thereafter embraced the Jewish faith, or who has two Jewish grandparents and on September 16, 1935, was married to a Jew or thereafter married a Jew.

TWO. There are approximately 600,000 Jews remaining in Germany, including Austria and the Sudetenland, at the present time. Of this number, 150,000 are classed as wage earners; the remainder are primarily the old and infirm who for that reason are not included in this program of emigration.

THREE. The wage earner category shall consist of all men and single women between the ages of 15 and 45, who are individually capable of earning a living and are otherwise fit for emigration.

FOUR. The dependent category shall consist of the immediate families of the wage earners, excluding the old (persons over 45 years of age) and the unfit.

FIVE. The wage earner category shall emigrate first, in annual contingents over a period of three years not to exceed a maximum of five years.

SIX. All persons from the wage earner category as defined above shall be admitted by the receiving governments in accordance with their established immigration laws and practices.

SEVEN. The practical work of organizing emigration shall be carried out with the participation of Bureaus representing the Jewish organizations of Germany under the control of a Commissioner designated by the German Government.

EIGHT. The Bureaus organizing the work of emigration may be assisted by foreign experts representing outside private organizations concerned with immigration and enjoying the confidence of receiving governments, on condition that these experts are agreeable to the German Government.

NINE. Passports shall be furnished to persons emigrating from Germany under this arrangement. Stateless persons in Germany shall be furnished suitable papers for emigration.

TEN. Conditions which have led to the retention of Jews, other than persons detained for reasons of public safety, in camps should automatically disappear if a program of organized emigration is put into effect.

ELEVEN. Facilities shall be granted for the retraining of wage earners for emigration, notably in agricultural retraining centers but also in artisan schools. Retraining shall be encouraged.

TWELVE. Emigration of persons in the dependent category shall take place when the wage earners are established and able to receive them.

II

Position of Persons Remaining Permanently in Germany and of Those Awaiting Emigration.

THIRTEEN. A definite method has not as yet been found for caring for old persons and persons unfit for emigration, who are not included in this program and who will be allowed to finish their days in Germany. It is the intention on Germany's part to assure that these persons and persons awaiting emigration may live tranquilly, unless some extraordinary circumstance should occur. There is no intention to segregate the Jews. They may circulate freely. Persons fit for work shall be given the opportunity of employment so as to earn their living; Jews employed in the same establishment as Aryans will, however, be separated from Aryan workers. Generally, in order to provide for adequate administration of

the program, centralization of control over Jewish affairs is contemplated.

FOURTEEN. The support and maintenance of the persons referred to in paragraph thirteen above, who are not able to earn their own living, will be financed in the first instance from Jewish property in Germany apart from that portion thereof to be set aside in the trust fund (hereinafter described), and from the income from this trust fund. If the above resources do not suffice, there will be provided for these persons decent conditions of existence from the material standpoint in accordance with prevailing practices relating to the public relief of destitute persons generally. There will be no recourse to sources outside Germany for the support and maintenance of these persons.

III

Financing of Emigration

FIFTEEN. In order to finance the emigration contemplated by the program, a trust fund shall be established in a specific amount to be ascertained but at all events in an amount not less than 25% of the existing Jewish wealth in Germany, which, if transfer possibilities are found, will represent a material increase over the present rates of transfer. At the present time the remaining Jewish wealth in Germany is in the hands of its individual owners; it has not yet been decided how the requisite amount thereof will be set aside in the trust fund.

SIXTEEN. The trust properties shall be held by a corporation administered by three trustees. Two of the trustees shall be of German nationality. The third trustee shall be of foreign nationality and recognized standing.

SEVENTEEN. The principal of the trust fund may be used to purchase equipment for emigrants of the wage earner category and (subject to cartel agreements) capital goods for the development of settlement projects and for travelling and freight expenses of the emigrants in Germany and on German boats, all in connection with this program of emigration. It is contemplated that an outside purchasing agency will be established to effect all purchases out of the fund, to maintain contact with the German authorities and generally to handle all problems arising outside of Germany in connection with the transfer of the fund. The types of goods which, in accordance with prevailing practice in Germany, are computed to contain no imported raw material or a relatively small percentage thereof; or, alternatively, no restrictions will be imposed if arrangements can be made to pay to Germany

in foreign exchange a portion of the aggregate price of goods purchased which represents the computed value (on an over-all percentage basis to be agreed upon) of the imported raw material content of such goods. Arrangements shall be made to secure the exemption of goods purchased out of the fund from the scope of clearing, compensation and payments agreements in force between Germany and the respective countries into which such goods are imported. Assurances shall be required of the purchasing agency that the goods purchased will not be disposed of otherwise than for the purpose of equipping emigrants or for the development of settlement projects. It is the intention to facilitate the purchase out of the fund of such goods of the requisite types and in adequate volume to meet the current emigration needs. The prices to be paid shall not be in excess of inland prices for goods or services of a similar character and quality.

EIGHTEEN. The Haavarah method of transfer shall be permitted to operate within its traditional sphere. The Haavarah purchases are to be paid for out of the trust fund.

NINETEEN. The principal of the trust fund, except to the extent that it is used for the purposes above referred to, shall be eligible for transfer whenever a change in conditions may render transfer possible or whenever arrangements to that end can be made, whether by way of agreed schemes for additional exports or otherwise.

TWENTY. Goods purchased out of the trust fund may be exported free of all taxes or other payments, and emigrants may take with them, free of all taxes, levies, contributions or similar exactions, their personal effects (with the exception of jewelry, precious metals, objets d'art and with the exception of goods of special value recently acquired with a view to emigration), household goods, tools and equipment for use in their trades or professions, owned or which may be acquired by them in a reasonable amount for personal use.

TWENTY-ONE. No flight tax or exaction of a similar nature shall be levied against Jews emigrating in accordance with this program.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

July 7 1943

My dear Myron,

You started the work of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees at Evian in 1938 and have been my principal reliance in all of its activities since. It is about to enter a more active phase in connection with the refugee problem created by the enemy powers. I know you are heavily engaged in the postwar studies and other duties here and to an extent which might justify your desire to withdraw from the work of the Intergovernmental Committee, but your long experience with it and understanding of its problems constitute the predicate of my real desire that you continue that work.

You need not necessarily devote your personal time and energy to attending meetings. You could designate an alternate and could in fact name the Vice Director of Operations under the revised plan. This person could report to you through the State Department so that you could be generally advised of the movements and developments of the work carried out by the Executive Committee, and I am sure that your continuing identity with the work would be particularly welcome to the groups directly interested in it and would likewise assist greatly in the successful completion of its labors.

So I am asking you to dismiss any thoughts in conflict with this and to continue to give it the benefit of your active service and guidance.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
71 Broadway,
New York, N.Y.

July 13 1943

My dear Mr. President,

Responding to your favor of July 7th in respect to the work of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees, I would like to make my position a bit more clear to you than it perhaps now is.

My first concern at this time is to assist definitely as your personal representative to His Holiness Pope Pius XII in the accomplishment of a wise and constructive result of our long labors in achieving peace with Italy.

My second desire is to contribute in a concrete way to the development of the principal U.S.A. post-war policies to aid you in guiding the ultimate negotiations for peace in this war-disturbed world.

Now in regard to the Intergovernmental Committee. I have not been in harmony with much that has taken place, particularly in the recent past, but, even so, I have endeavored through the Secretary, and more particularly through Mr. Breckinridge Long and to some extent with Mr. Welles, to bring to your attention the essentials that must be agreed upon between Mr. Churchill and yourself, lacking which neither conferences nor any sort of successful action could or can be undertaken.

I believe there is before you at this moment a telegram which, if it contains the essential principles of the recent program (copy attached) which I submitted to the Secretary and Mr. Long and later to Lord Halifax, will enable the Director's Office of the Intergovernmental Committee in London to be reinforced and authorized, as well as financed, to do something definite to help those unfortunate refugees who are scattered along the Mediterranean, so that they may be taken to some place of temporary refuge and later be able to return to their homes or transported to agreed places of permanent residence. I would like to see the completed telegram, however, before it is sent.

Your wish as expressed in your letter in regard to my further activities will of course be heeded to the fullest extent of my ability.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) MYRON C. TAYLOR.

To the President.

July 14 1943

Dear Mr. President,

Referring to the letter regarding the Intergovernmental Committee, I think that it would greatly forward the work if I did in fact designate Mr. Robert Pell, who has been associated with me in this work from the beginning, as my alternate.

We are casting about for a suitable Vice Director of Operations in London under the revised plan with which you are familiar. I hope shortly to have a name that will appeal to your judgment. This plan will enable both the Department and myself through Mr. Pell, who is a departmental official, to keep in touch with the details of the situation without too great difficulty.

I believe it would be of first importance if you would write me a letter approving the appointment of Mr. Pell as my alternate and send a copy of that letter to the State Department in order to make perfectly clear Mr. Pell's relationship and authority.

With these steps taken I see no reason why the work cannot go forward if the revised plan in its other aspects is authorized by yourself.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) MYRON C. TAYLOR.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

July 28 1943

My dear Myron,

I have your letters of July 13 and 14. I am happy to have your acceptance of the request conveyed by my letter of July 7 that you continue to give the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees the benefit of your active service and guidance.

I am glad to give my approval of your designation of Mr. Robert Pell of the Department of State to act as your alternate here in your work on the Intergovernmental Committee.

I am sending this letter to you through the Department of State so that that Department may be informed, as you request, that Mr. Pell is to act as your alternate as indicated above.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
Care of the Department of State.

APOSTOLIC DELEGATION
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

3339 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

No. 111/44

March 11, 1944

His Excellency,
Mr. Myron C. Taylor,
Ambassador to the Holy See,
71 Broadway,
New York City, N. Y.

Your Excellency:

His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, has just sent to me a communication with reference to the proposed postwar foundation of a Pan-Arabic Confederation, about which there is much discussion and planning even at the present time. Basing its preoccupations on the experience of the past, the Holy See has serious misgivings for the future of Christian communities in the Near East if such a Confederation is actually established according to the form which it will naturally take if left to itself. These Christian communities will become insignificant minorities in the midst of a compact bloc of non-Christians, which will be hostile because of its national and religious prejudices and which will base its legislation on the prescriptions of the Koran, without regard to the Christians who may be obliged to live under such legislation.

In the light of these considerations, His Eminence concludes, it is evidently of the utmost importance that the laws of the future Confederation should guarantee clearly and unequivocally religious freedom for all non-Mohammedans, with consequent free exercise of religious worship and equal rights as citizens with the Mussulmans.

Since it is hardly to be expected that the Moslem leaders will take the initiative themselves in such a matter, or even view it with equanimity if suggested, there would appear to be no efficacious means of safeguarding the essential rights of Christian communities in the Near East without the concrete intervention of those Powers, whose agreement and cooperation would be indispensable for the establishment of the proposed Pan-Arabic Confederation.

In view of these reflections of the Cardinal Secretary, I take the liberty of bringing this matter to the attention of Your Excellency, in the hope that in your contacts with various officials of the government, there may be a possibility of presenting this problem and of discussing any observations or suggestions which may appear pertinent to

such an important question for the future of Christian centers in the Near East. The avowed interest of the United States Government in securing and safeguarding full liberty for all peoples would appear to provide a foundation for hoping that this matter will receive the sympathetic consideration of authoritative circles and will thus augment the great prestige which the government enjoys in Christian circles and in the whole of the civilized world.

I would be grateful for any suggestions which Your Excellency might think it well to proffer in connection with this project, and I shall be pleased to discuss it with Your Excellency whenever there are at hand elements sufficient to serve as a basis for such consideration.

With sentiments of esteem and with every best wish I remain

Sincerely yours,

(Sd) A. G. Cicognani
Archbishop of Laodicea
Apostolic Delegate

March 14, 1944

The Honorable
Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

The accompanying communication dated March 11th has been received by me from His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, with the request that I bring it to the attention of the proper authorities.

In connection with the subject matter of this communication, may I be permitted to say that in the meetings of the committees of which I have been a member in the past two years I have repeatedly expressed the view that no encouragement should be given to a "postwar foundation of a Pan-Arabic Confederation." There is grave doubt in my mind whether a great racial and religious bloc such as this should be encouraged to consolidate, and whether by so doing internal or external controversies might not be put in motion, of such magnitude that further ability to control or influence or deal with problems that affect any segment of the confederation might prove abortive because of their combined strength.

On the other hand, I see no advantage to the world to be gained by such a confederation, nor would the cause of peace be promoted by it.

The Germans in times past have endeavored to bring the strength and influence of the Moslem world to their support, both before and during the first World War and similarly with respect to the present War. The British likewise have undertaken, so far successfully, to persuade the Arab world to support their position in the Near East.

It appears to me that this problem is not as narrow as one of race -- that is, Arab; it is also one of the religion of the Moslems, who are not confined to the Near East but are spread throughout the East -- their chief rival, as you know, being the Buddhists. It seems to me that the whole plan to encourage a consolidation of the Arab world is filled with dangers of many sorts, and I feel that we in this country know all too little about it, to lend our support. The British on the other hand have lived with it and know more about it. I doubt very much if they would encourage such a project.

Perhaps one thing the world has to fear in the future is that strong aggregations of people bound by ties of blood and religion, especially those who are almost fanatical, now

separated into groups and tribes and states, may join themselves together to oppose their aggregate numbers against the relatively smaller numbers of the Anglo-Saxon world. In conception the international organization for peace serves to protect individual states and their citizens in the pursuit of the preservation of life, property and liberty, and in my opinion it is to these ends that we should first devote our full attention, and not be engaged in promoting group enterprises of states, races or religions which might be a peril to the success of the international organization or its objective.

Will you be good enough to give the letter of the Apostolic Delegate such attention as its importance requires?

Sincerely yours,

(Sd) MYRON C. TAYLOR

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

June 5 1944

My dear Myron,

I have your letter of May 25 and note with especial regret that you ask that it be taken as your resignation as Representative of the United States on the Inter-governmental Committee on Political Refugees from Germany and Austria, and also the resignation of Robert T. Pell as your alternate. In view of your wish, I must release you, though I do so with great reluctance.

I think you have every reason to be gratified with the results which have been achieved, not the least of which was the bringing into existence of an organization of thirty nations for the purpose of dealing with this tragic situation. Many people have testified to the faithfulness of your work in this field and I am very sure that the continued interest which you generously promise will have continuing results.

I know that I shall continue to have the benefit of your help on other matters, and consequently I shall have the opportunity to take your counsel from time to time.

With warm regards, I am

Cordially,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Copy of a letter from Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat
Received June 20 1947

Dusseldorf-Heerd, May 8 1947
Rheinallee 10

Dear Mr. Pell:

I have returned to Germany after six years in the Far East. On my arrival I had to wait several weeks in the repatriation center, and now as a free man I have to face the German authorities. As crazy as it sounds, it is a situation full of risks, particularly as I cannot return to Berlin, and anyway everything that I owned, including all my papers and records, has been destroyed.

I have a special reason to write you. Back in Japan in 1945 I was questioned by your CI officers about my negotiations in Berlin in 1939 with Mr. Rublee and yourself. This questioning has continued since my return to Germany along the lines of "did Mr. Pell and Mr. Rublee represent the central Jewish power" and in my mind was that "connected with the Soviets?"

I have replied according to my understanding at the time that the authorities in many countries, and especially the Jews attached great hopes to the plan which we negotiated to remove the emigration of Jews from the sphere of heated political discussion by a constructive plan of orderly procedure and orderly immigration into those countries which were willing to receive the refugees. I have said that I understood at that time that the central Jewish organizations followed our conversations with intense interest, and, so far as Germany was concerned, they put their faith in me. They believed that I would be able to carry out what the German side promised to do, as I had gained a reputation abroad in connection with international economic negotiations, which had been implemented in accordance with the stipulated conditions.

The CI authorities are particularly curious about the meeting which took place in your house in London which they seem to feel was a connecting link between the Bolsheviks working through the Jews and the German authorities which concluded in the German agreement with the Soviet Union. I have replied that this meeting was the natural culmination of the negotiations which Mr. Rublee began in Berlin and which you continued and which resulted in the first phase, in the exchange of letters between Mr. Rublee and myself and an accompanying memorandum, and in the second phase, where I

met certain American and English bankers in the presence of Lord Winterton and Sir Herbert Emerson in your house in London. In these talks in London we were well on the way to establish an organization which, had not war broken out, might have solved the problem which confronted us, and I feel sure that you and Mr. Rublee felt that I acted in good faith and to the best of my ability.

I hope you are in the position to confirm what I have said and to help me, because your CI officers seem to feel that I played some part at that time which was farthest from the fact. If Mr. Rublee still is enjoying his New Hampshire country place for which he had such a strong liking, please convey to him my best regards. I am not troubling him because he was present at such a small part of the negotiations and was not present in London.

I trust that this letter will find you in good health,
etc.

June 24 1947

Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat
Rheinallee 10
Dusseldorf-Haerdt

Dear Dr. Wohlthat:

I have received your letter of May 8, 1947, through the courtesy of the Department of State. Your letter reached me at my temporary office in Washington, but if you have any further correspondence please address me care of my brother John Pell, John H. G. Pell and Co., One Wall Street, New York, N. Y.

I no longer have any connection with the Government and since my return from Europe a year ago, have been operating a private agency which I am about to close. Parenthetically, Mr. Rublee is in good health and is at his country place in New Hampshire. I have written him that I have had word from you.

The background of the conversations conducted by Mr. Rublee and myself with you in Berlin during the months of January and February 1939, was the following:

- 1) By the late winter of 1938 the danger of war in Europe was a haunting reality and one of the contributing factors was the Jewish problem in Central Europe and Eastern Europe.
- 2) President Roosevelt appreciated this fact and believed that this ill might be susceptible of cure if the nations most affected, in fact all the nations, would work on the problem in common.
- 3) On March 23, 1938, President Roosevelt appealed to all the nations of refuge (that is temporary refuge such as France and the other countries of Western Europe) to meet in conference to consider this problem together with the nations of settlement.
- 4) In May the President appointed the Honorable Myron C. Taylor as Ambassador to Head the American delegation to the conference which was to meet at Evian. I, and at that time I was Assistant Chief of the European Division of the Department of State, was directed to accompany Ambassador Taylor to the Conference as Political Adviser.
- 5) After preliminary conversations in London and Paris

the Evian Conference took place and on July 14, 1938, an agreement was initialled by the representatives of 32 governments setting up machinery for dealing with the problem. A permanent organization, the Intergovernmental Committee was set up with a Council and Assembly and Lord Winterton, who led the British delegation at Evian, was named Chairman. The agreement specifically provided that a negotiating body should be established with a Director and Vice Director and a suitable staff which would carry on negotiations with the "country of origin," i.e. Germany, and the countries of refuge and settlement looking to a scientific blueprint for dispersed migration of the Jewish population of Central and Eastern Europe.

6) In August the first meeting of the Committee took place in London and at that time President Roosevelt nominated Mr. George Rublee as Director of the Committee. I was loaned by the Department of State to serve as Vice Director.

7) The Director and Vice Director were instructed to seek a contact with the "country of origin," that is Germany, and if possible to reach an agreement with the German Government regarding the orderly migration of Jews from the territory in control of the Reich. The American, British and French Ambassadors in Berlin were instructed to assist the Director.

8) Just after the New Year, 1939, conversations were begun in Berlin with Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. These conversations were continued through January and February with you. Agreement was finally reached in the form of a letter from Mr. Rublee to you which you approved in a return letter. I should like to say at this point that it was the impression of both Mr. Rublee and myself that you conducted these conversations with great fairness and I might say considerable courage because you were under constant pressure from Herr Himmler and others to break them off.

9) The letter agreement of February 2, 1939, provided in a brief word for orderly migration of Jews from those territories under the control of the German Reich. It provided for migration with a certain amount of property. It provided further that the remainder of the property should be set up in trust inside Germany, this fund to be used for the financing of migration and the support of destitute Jews remaining behind. On the other side the Governments of the countries of refuge and settlement were to blueprint a plan for receiving quotas of Jewish migrants and settling them in selected places. Finally an organization was to be set up on the outside to coordinate the details of the migration and to raise funds for financing it.

10) Parallel negotiations were conducted with the Governments of refuge and settlement. Mr. Taylor set up the Coordinating Foundation as the central organization on the outside, with former Prime Minister Van Zeeland of Belgium as the Executive Director. By the Spring of 1939, in short, the groundwork was laid and it was decided that the strategic moment had come to implement the plan.

11) With this you were invited to London by the Director of the Integovernmental Committee, by that time Sir Herbert Emerson, for the purpose of meeting at my house a selected group of directors of the Coordinating Foundation in the presence of the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, Lord Winterton, at that time Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the British Cabinet. You attended this meeting and returned to Germany with the intention of putting the plan in operation. The outbreak of war intervened.

I should like in conclusion to repeat that Mr. Rublee and I had every reason to believe that you acted in good faith in these negotiations, that you displayed considerable personal courage and fortitude in conducting them and that the agreement reached with you, had peace been preserved, would have gone a long way to solving the problem of displaced Jewish persons in Central Europe.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT PELL.

ANNEX "B"

Papers on Numbers of Jewish
Migrants and absorptive
capacity of Palestine.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWS IN THE WORLD
1938
(SUMMARY)

TOTAL JEWS IN AMERICA

North America and West Indies.....	4,415,009	
South and Central America.....	<u>324,760</u>	
TOTAL.....		4,739,769

TOTAL JEWS IN EUROPE

Central Europe.....	5,264,907	
Western and Southern Europe.....	1,433,852	
Northern Europe.....	<u>2,538,555</u>	
TOTAL.....		9,237,314

TOTAL JEWS IN ASIA

Palestine and Neighboring Countries.....	503,185	
Asia Minor, Central and Northern Asia....	222,920	
Eastern and Southern Asia.....	<u>47,944</u>	
TOTAL.....		774,049

TOTAL JEWS IN AFRICA

Northern Part.....	444,497	
Southern Part.....	<u>149,239</u>	
TOTAL.....		593,736

TOTAL JEWS IN AUSTRALIA

TOTAL.....	<u>26,954</u>	
		<u>15,371,822</u>

DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWS IN THE WORLD

TOTAL JEWS IN AMERICA

NORTH AMERICA and WEST INDIES

United States (Continental).....	4,228,029
Alaska.....	500
Canada.....	155,614
Mexico.....	20,000
Cuba.....	7,800
Curaco.....	566
Dominican Republic.....	55
Haiti.....	150
Jamaica.....	2,000
Puerto Rico.....	200
Virgin Islands.....	70
Panama Canal Zone.....	25

SOUTH and CENTRAL AMERICA

Argentina.....	260,000
Brazil.....	40,000
Chile.....	3,697
Colombia.....	2,045
Guiana.....	1,786
Panama.....	850
Paraguay.....	1,200
Peru.....	1,500
Surinam.....	800
Uruguay.....	12,000
Venezuela.....	882

4,739,789

TOTAL OF JEWS IN EUROPE

CENTRAL EUROPE

Austria.....	191,408
Czechoslovakia.....	356,830
Danzig.....	10,448
Hungary.....	444,567
Latvia.....	93,479
Lithuania.....	155,125
Poland.....	3,028,837
Roumania.....	<u>984,213</u>
	<u>5,264,907</u>

WESTERN and SOUTHERN EUROPE

Albania.....	204
Belgium.....	60,000
Bulgaria.....	46,431
Cyprus.....	75
Denmark.....	5,690
France.....	240,000
Germany.....	350,000
Gibraltar.....	886
Great Britain and N. Ireland.....	300,000
Greece.....	72,791
Irish Free State.....	3,686
Italy.....	47,825
Luxembourg.....	2,242
Malta and Gozo	35
Netherlands.....	156,817
Portugal.....	1,200
Yugoslavia.....	68,405
Spain.....	4,000
Switzerland.....	17,973
Turkey (Europe).....	<u>55,592</u>
	<u>1,433,852</u>

NORTHERN EUROPE

Esthonia.....	4,302
Finland.....	1,772
Norway.....	1,359
Russia.....	2,524,469
Sweden.....	<u>6,653</u>
	<u>2,538,555</u>

9,237,314

TOTAL OF JEWS IN ASIA

PALESTINE and NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

Palestine.....	375,000
Transjordan.....	200
Syria, Lebanon, etc.....	26,051
Irak.....	72,783
Arabia.....	25,000
Aden and Perim.....	4,151

ASIA MINOR, CENTRAL and NORTHERN ASIA

Afghanistan.....	5,000
Persia.....	40,000
Transcaucasian Republic.....	62,194
Turkmenistan.....	2,041
Turkey.....	26,280
Uzbekistam.....	37,834
Russia.....	49,571

EASTERN and SOUTHERN ASIA

British Malaya.....	703
China.....	19,850
Hongkong.....	250
India.....	24,141
Indo China.....	1,000
Empire of Japan.....	2,000

774,049

TOTAL OF JEWS IN AFRICA

NORTHERN PART

Algeria.....	110,127
Egypt.....	72,550
Libya.....	24,342
Morocco French.....	161,312
Morocco Spanish.....	12,918
Tanger Zone.....	7,000
Tunis.....	56,248

SOUTHERN PART

Abyssinia.....	51,000
Congo (Belgian).....	177
Kenya.....	305
Northern Rhodesia.....	426
Port Ug. East Africa.....	100
Southern Rhodesia.....	2,021
South West Africa.....	200
Tanganyika.....	10
Union of South Africa.....	<u>95,000</u>
	<u>593,736</u>

TOTAL OF JEWS IN AUSTRALIA

Australia	23,553
Hawaii.....	310
New Zealand.....	2,591
Philippine Islands.....	<u>500</u>
	<u>26,954</u>

June 3, 1947

When Germany collapsed there were about 8 million United Nations displaced persons within the territory of Germany. About 7 million had been repatriated during the last two years, most of them within a few months after liberation. There remained, however, a hard core of over 800,000 displaced persons who, for a variety of reasons do not want to be repatriated. As of February 28, 1947, UNRRA cared for 719,351 displaced persons. These were distributed as follows:

Germany	American zone	370,090	
	British zone	223,107	
	French zone	<u>36,066</u>	629,263
Austria			34,362
Italy			25,642
Middle East			<u>30,084</u>
	Total		719,351

The largest group among the 719,351 displaced persons are Poles, numbering 335,117, followed by nationals of the former Baltic states - Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, numbering 172,655 and Jews numbering 170,250. The total number of displaced Jews is substantially higher as considerable numbers of them live outside the camps and assembly centers, and do not receive UNRRA assistance.

Jewish Displaced Persons

Germany	170,000
Austria	35,000
Italy	26,000
Shanghai	<u>12,500</u>
Total	243,500

These estimates are derived from our latest reports. It should be noted, however, that the figures for displaced persons are highly fluid, and are subject to continuous changes.

Of the 170,000 displaced Jews in Germany, 146,000 are in the U. S. zone, 22,500 in the British zone with the remainder in the French zone. It should be added that there

are in Germany now approximately 18,000 German Jews who, although not in the category of displaced persons, live for the most part under difficult conditions, a vast majority of whom receive assistance from the Joint Distribution Committee.

In addition, there are some 23,000 Jews in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France and Holland - refugees from Eastern Europe, who although actually displaced do not possess the status of displaced persons. Finally, there are also about 16,000 Jews who on their way to Palestine have been interned on the island of Cyprus, and who should really be included within the category of displaced persons.

Approximately 75% of the displaced Jews are of Polish origin, and the remainder distributed among Hungarian, Roumanian and other nationalities. Over 70% of the displaced Jews in Germany and Italy belong to the age groups between 18 to 45. The number of displaced Jewish children up to 18 years of age was estimated for Germany at over 32,000 in April 1947, and Italy about 3,500 in March 1947.

The situation of the displaced Jews is deplorable. The basic sustenance is provided by military authorities; many services are provided by the UNRRA and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee provides supplementary assistance in the form of special fortifying food, clothing, medical services, educational and recreational facilities, and of late some employment opportunities.

While their physical needs are being met, the problems confronting the displaced Jews are complex and multiple. They do not, of course, want to remain in Germany; and virtually all of them are looking forward to resettlement in new lands, and in a more favorable political climate. All evidence points to the fact that the majority of displaced Jews desire to proceed to Palestine. Pending however, a favorable solution of the Palestinian question, the most urgent problem facing the organizations interested in the fate of the displaced persons, is to provide them with an opportunity for productive work. This is important not merely as a means of raising their material welfare, but also as a measure of restoring and sustaining their morale which has been sorely tested in the recent years of suffering, idleness and frustration. In cooperation with the military authorities and UNRRA, the Joint Distribution Committee has now embarked upon a comprehensive project involving the establishment of workshops which, it is hoped, eventually will give productive employment to about 30,000 people. A number of projects are already in operation.

United Jewish Appeal, Inc. - Net Pledges 1939-46

<u>Year</u>	<u>Net Pledges</u>
1939	\$15,200,000
1940	12,970,000
1941	13,200,000
1942	13,700,000
1943	18,100,000
1944	27,000,000
1945	34,400,000
1946	99,880,000
*1947	234,450,000

It has been estimated by reliable sources that approximately 90% of the funds raised throughout the United States for Jewish overseas relief is contributed through the United Jewish Appeal, Inc.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee shares in these total collections to the extent of somewhere between 55 and 60%.

The other beneficiaries are the United Palestine Appeal and the United Service for New Americans (formerly National Refugee Service).

* Present Campaign seeks \$150,000,000.

REFUGEE ECONOMIC CORPORATION
570 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Telephone: PLaza 3-2651

July, 1947

Mr. Myron Taylor
71 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Taylor:

The Secretary of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association is away on vacation; unfortunately, she is the only one at their office who is well acquainted with the history of the settlement. However, from that Corporation's own reports and from a study made by the Brookings Institution in 1942, I gather the following information:

1. From 1940 to date, 600 persons settled in the colony at Sosua. In the course of the last seven years, 250 of these settlers emigrated to other countries, principally the United States. There are today about 350 settlers at the colony.

2. As to the numbers in the first group, the Brookings report states: "Six persons were established at Sosua in March and April (1940) and the first large group --27 men, 10 women, and 1 child--arrived there on May 10, 1940. The next substantial contingent (specific number not stated) did not arrive until the end of September."

3. On June 30, 1941, the population of the colony stood at 352. It appears that the additional settlers had arrived in small groups during the first year and three months of operations.

4. On June 30, 1942, the settler population at Sosua was 472. To my knowledge, that is the highest population the colony has yet had.

We trust this is the information you are seeking. As soon as the Secretary of DORSA returns--early next week-- we shall be glad to check into the matter again, if you would care to have us do so.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) EMERY H. KOMLOS,
Assistant Secretary.

ANNEX "C"

Papers on the transfer to the
International Refugee Organization,
reports on the present situation,
and views expressed earlier.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. GEORGE WARREN
PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF MR. MYRON TAYLOR
JUNE 1947

"INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES"

In the first six months of 1947 the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees concluded agreements for the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons with a number of Latin American countries, notably Brazil, the Argentine, Venezuela, Peru, Chile and Bolivia, and also undertook by arrangements with the concerned countries the protection of displaced persons transferred to Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and France. To facilitate the movement of displaced persons overseas the Committee undertook the operation of three ships chartered from the United States War Department, the first of which left Bremerhaven on May 3 carrying 862 displaced persons to Brazil. Earlier the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees had assisted the transfer of 2,300 Mennonite refugees from Germany to Paraguay.

The staff of the Committee in Germany, Austria and Italy was increased during this period to render assistance to the increasing number of official immigration commissions working in Central Europe to select immigrants for resettlement. On May 15, 1947 the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees signed agreements with the Italian Government and with the Allied Forces Headquarters in Italy resulting in the transfer to its care of some 11,000 displaced persons formerly under the care of the Allied military in Italy. It established a joint committee with the Italian Government to provide protection for an additional 100,000 refugees and displaced persons living in the communities of Italy.

Following the first session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization which met at Geneva in February 1947, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees loaned members of its staff to the Commission and in other ways cooperated with it to arrange an orderly transfer of its functions and activities to the Commission by July 1, 1947. At the meeting of the second part of the first session the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization in Lausanne in May 1947 voted to assume the functions, assets and responsibilities of UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees on July 1, 1947. In consequence of this action the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees at its plenary meeting in London on May 30, 1947 took appropriate action to transfer its functions, assets and personnel to the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

June 4 1947

My dear Mr. Taylor,

Enclosed is a brief statement of activities of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees which can be added to the statement which you already have.

If you have any questions concerning these recent developments, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) GEORGE L. WARREN

Adviser on Refugees and
Displaced Persons

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
71 Broadway,
New York, N.Y.

May 15 1946

My dear Mr. President,

May I recall, because of my Chairmanship of the Evian Conference relative the pre-war Jewish question in Germany, Austria and Italy, and until recent years American Representative and Vice Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, that the Territorial Post-War Committee of the Department of State, of which I was also a member, made extensive studies of Palestine - its religious and historical background, its agricultural capacity, including Transjordan - and reached alternative conclusions with adequate maps, apart from an emergency admission of a stated number of Jews. In my opinion these should be reviewed by the President, Acting Secretary and others, as should also a personal memorandum by Dr. Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins University to President Roosevelt on this subject. Dr. Bowman was chairman of the State Department Territorial Committee. Also please note memoranda by Richard Eldridge of the Department who was, I believe, born in Palestine and has been a student of this question for many years. It will be of interest also to refer to Ambassador Kirk's report of an interview with King Ibn Saud of Iraq, in 1944, and similar subsequent interviews by Colonel Hoskins, from which it appears that too much pressure on the Arabs will meet ultimate violent resistance.

In those days I called the attention of Secretary Hull, by memorandum, to the danger of unifying the Moslem world - to my mind a dangerous and unnecessary procedure. The entire Eastern Mediterranean might in future feel the adverse effects of Moslem supremacy - witness present Egyptian versus British domination. Regarding Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and other holy places, it appears that in all important western religions, except the Israelites, Jesus is accepted either as the human incarnation of God or as a prophet on whom honor and glory is bestowed. These holy places are therefore not justly the mecca of one race or religious sect but of the Christian, Jewish and Moslem worlds. I have always thought and laboured to persuade all countries to accept a reasonable number of Jewish migrants. For example, before the war there were sixteen million Jews in the world. Today it is alleged this number has been reduced by more than five million, America and Britain have at least half of those remaining. The immediate problem in Europe probably does not actually involve the migration of more than five hundred thousand - probably much less. I still believe Russia, Great Britain and her dominions, France, Brazil, Argentina, a few other countries and ourselves could underwrite the migration of the pressure members. Germany, Austria and Poland should not be depopulated of their Jewish population by a mass impulse of the Jewish nationals to

move to more prosperous lands. I realize most of these wish to enter the United States, but they are in no position to choose if their cases are extreme. Many will in the end return to Germany and Austria when more normal conditions prevail. In my opinion United Nations should now take over this problem promptly, disbanding the Intergovernmental Committee, and the President's Committee for Refugees, the Nansen Committee and the League of Nations Committee. It is not primarily an American question but a world question. Certainly it is a question for the Allies arising out of the war.

Having the best interests of the Jews at heart and without offending the Moslem World, I believe the solution is a broad dispersion - not a concentration anywhere. To create a purely racial state is contrary to American traditions and ideals. In my opinion time, patience and reasonable control of the Jewish people in Europe, with the acceptance of a reasonable number of present emergency cases now by Palestine and a large number by all other countries, is the best solution. United Nations should control the problem to the exclusion of all other agencies.

It will be recalled that both Wilhelm II and Hitler undertook to drive into and enlist the Arab world, then not consolidated, in order to gain strength for their campaigns, at least by engaging British forces and weakening British strength. Russia is in many places on the very threshold of the Arab world. No one can foretell whether under Russian leadership the dark skinned Eastern world would not meet the Western world, with a weakened and perhaps helpless Western Europe, with aggressive strength in days to come. My own firm conviction is that this presents with certainty the next war. There is only one uncertainty which is one of time. When will it come? It may be a generation - it may be longer - but it would be the height of folly to disregard it.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) MYRON C. TAYLOR.

WELCOME REFUGEES, AMBASSADOR URGES

The countries of the Western Hemisphere should contribute to the promotion of Western civilization by welcoming more refugees from Europe, Dr. Julio Ortega Frier, Ambassador of the Dominican Republic to the United States, declared yesterday.

Addressing several hundred members and guests of the Pan American Society at a luncheon given in his honor at the hotel Waldorf-Astoria, the visiting diplomat declared his own country is willing to provide refuge for 90,000 persons in addition to the 12,000 who came to that country during the war and afterward.

Increased opportunities for settlement have resulted, he explained, from recent industrial expansion in Santo Domingo and are now available for the homeless of Europe who have experience in the industrial field.

"We have in the Americas," Dr. Frier said, "people from every country in the world. They brought with them differing customs, differing cultures and differing ideologies. But now they are developing their individual inheritances into one patrimony, with the essen-

tial factor, the common denominator of democracy."

He added that the differences in political, social and intellectual traditions have led to the development of the "ideology of democracy" in different ways, so that among the Western nations there is not one, but several forms of democracy, with "each meeting the idiosyncracies of peoples living under varying conditions and confronted with varying problems."

Dr. Frier was presented to the meeting by Otto Schoenrich, attorney and chairman of the society's Dominican committee. Thomas W. Palmer, president of the organization, presided.

Secret Jewish Migration Hopes to Help 1,000,000

TIMES—5-28-47
By The Associated Press.

FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN, Germany, May 27—Directors of Jewish underground migration said today their aim was the transport of 1,000,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine.

Resettling more than 500,000 Jews from western Germany and Austria, they said, would be "only the beginning" in their post-war task of building a Jewish national state "which will give a sense of security to Jews everywhere in the world."

A former Jewish chaplain of an American combat unit said it costs up to \$500 per person to transport Jews from displaced persons camps in Germany to Palestine.

"The big expense is the boat in the Mediterranean," he explained. "If it is seized by the British on the first voyage, then the maximum cost is involved. If it makes several voyages, expenses are reduced to \$100 per passenger or less."

780 United States—Immigration, Emigration and Quotas

Immigrant Aliens Admitted; Emigrant Aliens Departed

Source: Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, June 30, 1941-1946

Countries	Immigrant						Emigrant					
	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
All countries	51,774	28,781	23,725	28,551	38,119	108,721	17,115	7,363	5,107	5,669	7,442	18,143
Europe	26,541	11,153	4,920	4,509	5,943	52,852	3,326	1,091	1,719	2,666	3,997	10,500
Albania					1	9						1
Belgium	1,816	346	129	126	71	1,718	14	3		1	29	41
Bulgaria	135	15	3	6	3	8					5	97
Czechoslovakia	314	137	102	136	64	267	11				3	27
Denmark	244	84	100	61	4	194	20	105			1	209
Estonia	41	14	14	26	16	9	3					1
Finland	244	44	49	29	29	29	36	5	17	13	8	27
France	4,801	4,430	1,201	387	201	5,798	78	31	9	11	242	1,192
Germany	4,028	2,150	248	238	172	2,598	1,758	2		2	2	57
Great Britain:												
England	7,368	838	901	1,210	2,784	30,922	372	632	1,405	2,199	2,709	3,239
Scotland	295	51	71	96	192	1,586	99	64	47	116	296	437
Wales	51	18	2	15	53	1,044	6	2	10	8	17	37
Greece	268	174	229	226	176	367	77	6	1			111
Hungary	330	186	75	87	54	49	18	9				6
Ireland (Eire)	211	70	132	68	125	526	52	18	10	11	38	308
Italy	450	103	49	120	213	2,636	104	21	3		8	34
Latvia	97	27	21	24	16	29	4					1
Lithuania	242	52	43	37	19	14						
Netherlands	823	139	77	71	50	355	17	4	2	9	13	459
Northern Ireland	61	13	33	44	302	1,290	10	5	3	7	22	65
Norway	369	72	71	127	61	248	5	1			17	983
Poland	451	343	304	292	195	333	4					24
Portugal	1,101	437	395	431	570	578	185	56	100	148	191	401
Rumania	122	67	45	70	77	19	19					1
Spain	300	234	254	271	156	227	200	50	25	29	78	240
Sweden	518	205	58	58	45	643	44	28	24	35	79	526
Switzerland	1,375	585	123	33	39	766	36	21	23	2	32	364
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	41	60	32	41	18	72	138	17	23	19	73	675
Yugoslavia	142	73	29	93	88	65	6	2				5
Other Europe	301	86	49	83	110	541	16	8	16	40	130	265
Central America	1,801	584	334	227	442	1,633	2,818	817	12	95	329	1,352
China	1,003	179	65	50	71	252	816	135	4	44	170	78
Japan	289	44	20	4	1	14	1,823	618		19	43	283
Palestine	268	150	107	45	133	483	14	7	1			3
Syria	14	24	9	8	18	90						
Other Asia	227	167	133	120	219	794	165	37	7	37	107	194
Canada	11,280	10,450	9,571	9,821	11,079	20,414	835	595	439	451	567	745
Newfoundland	193	149	198	322	451	910	46	14	6	9	38	122
West Indies	2,824	2,378	4,172	6,598	6,792	7,146	4,392	2,889	2,498	1,731	1,170	1,069
South America	1,219	805	1,218	1,985	3,359	2,338	637	264	35	238	244	327
Africa	564	473	141	112	406	1,516	98	67	24	196	144	915
Australia	137	100	87	481	1,261	5,111	106	18	15	121	158	248
New Zealand	87	28	23	114	364	898	50	12	3	12	23	57
Other Countries	237	101	54	42	1,051	7,372	2,025	89	7	15	341	1,110

NATIONAL ORIGIN ANNUAL IMMIGRATION ALIEN QUOTAS

(Note: Quotas are available only for persons who are eligible to enter and are admissible.)

Country or Area	Quota	Country or Area	Quota	Country or Area	Quota	Country or Area	Quota
Albania	100	Ethiopia	100	Luxemburg	100	Saudi Arabia	100
Andorra	100	Finland	569	Monaco	100	Sierra Leone	100
Arabia, Persian	100	France	3,086	Morocco	100	So. Africa, Un.	100
Australia	100	Germany	25,957	Muscat (Oman)	100	So.-West Africa	100
Austria	1,113	Great Brit. & No. Ir.	65,721	Nauru*	100	Spain	252
Belgium	1,304	Greece	307	Nepal	100	Sweden	3,314
Bhutan	100	Hungary	809	Netherlands	3,153	Switzerland	1,707
Bulgaria	100	Iceland	100	New Guinea	100	Syria, Lebanon**	123
Cameroon*	100	India	100	New Zealand	100	Tanganyika*	100
Cameroon**	100	Iran	100	Norway	2,377	Togo	100
China	100	Iraq	100	Palestine	100	Togoland**	226
Czechoslovakia	2,874	Ireland (Eire)	17,853	Philippine Isl.	50	Turkey	2,712
Danish	100	Italy	5,802	Poland	6,524	Soviet Republics	100
Denmark	1,181	Japan	100	Portugal	440	Yap, Jap. Mand.	100
Egypt	100	Latvia	236	Ruand. and Uru.	100	Yugoslavia	845
Estonia	116	Liechtenstein	100	Rumania	100		
		Lithuania	386	Samoa, West	100	Total	153,879
				San Marino	100		

*British mandate. **French mandate. German quota includes Austrian of 1,412.

ALIENS ADMITTED FROM ALL COUNTRIES: FISCAL YEARS

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1820	8,385	1875	227,498	1894	285,631	1913	1,197,892	1932	35,576
1830	23,322	1876	169,986	1895	258,536	1914	1,218,480	1933	23,068
1840	84,066	1877	141,857	1896	343,267	1915	3,267,806	1934	29,470
1850	165,940	1878	178,826	1897	230,829	1916	2,988,826	1935	34,956
1860	153,646	1879	177,826	1898	229,299	1917	295,403	1936	36,329
1861	91,918	1880	457,257	1899	311,715	1918	110,618	1937	50,244
1862	91,985	1881	669,431	1900	448,572	1919	141,132	1938	82,998
1863	176,282	1882	788,992	1901	457,918	1920	430,001	1939	124,314
1864	193,418	1883	683,322	1902	648,743	1921	805,228	1940	70,756
1865	248,120	1884	518,592	1903	857,046	1922	309,556	1941	51,776
1866	318,568	1885	395,346	1904	812,870	1923	522,919	1942	28,771
1867	315,722	1886	314,203	1905	1,026,486	1924	706,896	1943	23,725
1868	138,840	1887	490,166	1906	1,100,735	1925	594,314	1944	28,551
1869	352,768	1888	546,889	1907	1,285,359	1926	304,488	1945	38,119
1870	387,203	1889	444,427	1908	782,870	1927	335,178	1946	108,721
1871	321,350	1890	455,302	1909	751,786	1928	307,255		
1872	408,806	1891	593,319	1910	1,041,570	1929	279,678	Total	38,576,116
1873	459,803	1892	579,663	1911	878,587	1930	241,700		
1874	513,339	1893	439,730	1912	808,172	1931	974,129		

Immigration from the close of the Revolutionary War to 1820 is estimated at 250,000

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 6, 1947

Dear Mr. Fitch:

This is in acknowledgment of your letter of July thirtieth forwarding, by direction of Mr. Taylor, a copy of "Confidential Memorandum For The President Regarding Refugees, 1938-1947". This morning I received your note of August fourth and have substituted the page which you forwarded bearing Mr. Taylor's signature for the one in the copy of the confidential memorandum earlier received.

I have now brought to the attention of the President both this confidential memorandum on refugees as well as Mr. Taylor's study regarding treatment of Germany which he submitted to the Committee on Post-War Planning in the State Department.

Very sincerely yours,

William D. Hassett

WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

Mr. W. C. Fitch,
Secretary to Hon. Myron C. Taylor,
71 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

1948

12

Fitch.

Send copies to Mrs. Montini, the Apostolic Delegate and to President Truman in my name - also to Cardinal Spellman referring each to the other. Refer it to H.H. Advice British that John takes it up with appropriate authorities -

Hollycot,
Vale of Health,
London N.W.3.

7 Rem'd

February 10th, 1948.

Dear Mr. Myron-Taylor, You will, I hope, remember me from the days of the Evian Conference and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees. I have just returned from Jerusalem where I was for three months at the Hebrew University. Like all who are living in the city I am deeply concerned for the peace of Jerusalem. To-day the city is the centre of the guerilla struggle between Arab and Jew. Day and night there is sniping, both in the old walled city which contains the holy places, and in the new town which is spread over the hills. Houses and offices are blown up; the main roads which lead to Jaffa, Jericho and Bethlehem are frequently under fire; and the road to the Mount of Olives which leads to the principal hospital and the Hebrew University is impassable except to military cars.

In the plan of the United Nations Jerusalem has a special place. It is not to be in the Jewish state or in the Arab state but is to be an international trusteeship under the administration of the Trusteeship Council. The Governor of the city of Jerusalem, which includes Bethlehem, is to be appointed by the Council, and to be assisted in maintaining law and order by an international police force recruited outside of Palestine. The aims of the administration of Jerusalem are

(a) "to protect and preserve the unique spiritual and religious interests located in the city of the three great monotheistic faiths, and to ensure that order and peace, and especially religious peace, reign in Jerusalem;

(b) "to foster co-operation among all the inhabitants of the city in their own interest as well as to encourage and support the peaceful development of the mutual relations between the two Palestinian peoples throughout the Holy Land." The city of Jerusalem is to be demilitarised; its neutrality shall be declared and preserved, and no para-military formations, exercises or activities shall be permitted within its borders. Jerusalem is designed then to be a focus of peace for the Holy Land and also to give an example of a world city.

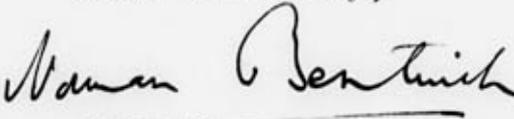
I am making bold to write you to ask for your counsel

M.C.T.
P.S. 3/2

about action by the religious bodies to secure the fulfilment of the decision of the United Nations, and to prevent Jerusalem from becoming a cockpit of war when the British Administration leaves in May. An effort is being made to get the heads of the Christian Churches to use their influence together to avert catastrophe. The local heads of the religious communities in Jerusalem, Christian, Moslem and Jewish, are not independent enough of political pressure to be able to act effectively, but it is believed that the supreme heads of the Christian Churches, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant, could intervene with spiritual authority. It may be wise not to appeal to the Moslem and Jewish heads because of the doubt whether Moslem religious dignitaries within the Arab countries would be free to act, and, failing them, it would be better not to invoke the Jewish religious dignitaries.

I am informed that the Papal Nuncio in Paris has been approached in the matter and may have already communicated with the Vatican. This is a purely personal ~~communication~~ letter; and I shall be very grateful for your counsel, which will, I know, be given with understanding and sympathy, as to what steps might be taken with the Vatican.

Yours sincerely,



NORMAN BENTWICH.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR A UNITED NATIONS GENOCIDE CONVENTION

(The purpose of this committee is to seek adoption of an international convention to prevent and punish Genocide)

SUITE 1501

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Murray Hill 9-4720

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of United Nations Associations
1 Avenue de la Paix
Geneva, Switzerland

U. N. Technical Advisor
RAYMOND S. RUBINOW

(Organizations listed for
identification only.)

General Secretary
WILLARD JOHNSON
National Conference of
Christians and Jews

December 27, 1948
165 Broadway, New York 6,

Hon. Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York 6, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

May I take the liberty of expressing my sense of personal appreciation because of your magnificent Inter-Faith gift to Cornell. I have during the past five years vainly urged several wealthy friends of mine to make some such endowment because I have strongly felt during the past ten years that inter-faith movements such as the one you are now so nobly endowing are of more importance in many ways in our world of today than infantile paralysis funds, etc. I therefore entertain great hopes for distinguished and constructive accomplishments for mankind out of this gift that you have made.

I am writing you this letter on a letter-head which will indicate to you that my efforts in these recent years have been along precisely similar lines. I am working constantly with Dr. Everett R. Clinchy toward the same end and have been a member of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews for some fifteen years or more. I mention these facts not to inform you about myself but only to let you know why I rejoice so greatly at your gift.

This brings me to a suggestion which I am presuming to make to you. In this kind of work for the last ten years I have had frequent contact with Lisa Sergio. I think her one of the most brilliant and useful human beings I have ever met. It occurs to me that when the Inter-Faith Institute gets going, it might receive valuable aid from Miss Sergio as an in-

Hon. Myron C. Taylor

-2-

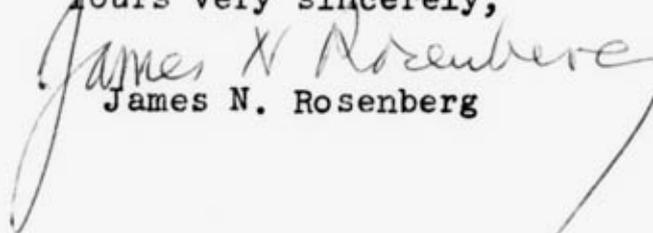
12/27/48

structor, visiting lecturer, or something of the sort. Particularly with the women and women's organizations of this country she has great prestige and influence, and I count very heavily on women's work to make the Inter-Faith Institute dynamic.

Let me, in closing, send you herewith copy of the report which I have just issued to the directors of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, Inc., which came into being as a result of the Evian Conference over which you presided.

With all best wishes for 1949 and many years to come, and with confident hopes that your splendid and useful life will always continue to reach out into new constructive efforts for mankind,

Yours very sincerely,


James N. Rosenberg

JN/rf
encl.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION, INC.

165 BROADWAY

NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 9-2287

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC OFFICES
SOSUA AND
EDIFICIO COPELLO, CIUDAD TRUJILLO

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ROBERT I. WISHNICK
HON. RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO
PRESIDENT OF THE
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

MRS. RUBY F. MOSES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

December 15, 1948

REPORT OF MR. JAMES N. ROSENBERG, HONORARY CHAIRMAN

TO MEMBERS. LOUIS CAPLAN
LEON FALK, JR.
MAURICE B. HEXTER
JOSEPH C. HYMAN
BERNHARD KAHN
LOUIS KENEDY

JOSEPH A. ROSEN
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NATHAN STRAUS III
ROBERT I. WISHNICK
HON. RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION, INC.

You will recall that in March of this year, much to our gratification, Dr. Maurice B. Hexter consented to succeed the undersigned as Chairman of this Association. It is therefore fitting that a summary now be furnished of what has been accomplished in the nine years which have passed since the Dominican Government at the instance of President Trujillo hospitably opened its doors to refugees.

The Sosua project was, as you will recollect, an outgrowth of the Evian (France) Conference, called by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1938, and presided over by Hon. Myron C. Taylor, to consider aid to refugees driven out of Germany by the Nazis. Of 32 nations represented at that meeting, one only, the Dominican Republic, then unreservedly offered asylum to refugees. The Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton of Great Britain, Chairman, and Stephanus Van Cortlandt Morris of the United States as Secretary, was formed.

Studies were thereupon made by the Refugee Economic Corporation of New York as to the feasibility of immigration to the Dominican Republic. The noted geographer, Dr. Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins University, supervised these studies. He selected experts as to soil, agricultural and economic possibilities, etc. for settlers. These experts were chosen from staffs of the Government of the United States. They proceeded to the Dominican Republic and made extensive surveys. Their reports were favorable. Though the

difficulties of bringing persons from war torn Europe to a totally new life in a sub-tropical climate were well recognized, their report encouraged a settlement effort.

In October, 1939, President Trujillo was in New York City on official business of his country. That noted organization, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), though confronted with overwhelming problems for Jewish aid in Europe, determined to avail itself of the opportunity for life saving offered by President Trujillo. It requested the undersigned, as head of the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (Agro-Joint), to meet President Trujillo. He received me at once. He was more than cooperative. He assured a welcome to refugees in his country. A plan was promptly formulated. On October 19, 1939, a definitive, generous, written proposal came to me from the Dominican Government. Thereupon, this Association (known generally as Dorsa) was formed.

President Trujillo invited a group of us to visit the Dominican Republic in order to conclude a formal agreement. A Commission was formed, composed of the following:

Stephanus Van Cortlandt Morris - Secretary of the
Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees
Harold F. Linder - for the Coordinating Foundation
Robert T. Pell - representing the U. S. State Department
James N. Rosenberg - representing JDC, Agro-Joint and Dorsa

Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, executive head of Agro-Joint, internationally celebrated agronomist, having completed his notable settlement work elsewhere, preceded our Commission to the Dominican Republic in order to select a suitable site for the beginning of our work. On arrival at Ciudad Trujillo, the members of our Commission were most hospitably received by the Dominican Government. Places of residence were provided for us. Every facility was accorded us.

After extensive travels throughout the Dominican Republic, Dr. Rosen had selected as the most advantageous place for a first settlement, the large property at Sosua. On the north shore of the Dominican Republic, with a frontage of some eight miles along the Atlantic Ocean, its climatic conditions were particularly favorable. President Trujillo informed us that this property was his, having been purchased by him from the United Fruit Company. Without waiting for our contract with the Dominican Government to be completed, President Trujillo, by letter dated January 20, 1940, offered the entire Sosua property as his free gift to our Association. His letter stated that this great property, with 24 dwellings, reservoirs and other installations, had represented to him an investment of not less than \$100,000. This magnificent gift assured us a place to begin work. The following is an extract from his letter:

"My country property located in Sosua, province of Puerto Plata, has, as you have informed me, been selected by Dr. Joseph A. Rosen as an appropriate place for settlement.

"This property of about 26,685 acres, contains twenty-four dwellings, reservoir and other installations for the accommodation of settlers. The property has 4,950 acres

of cultivated pasture, and large extent of virgin forest, with an abundance of valuable timber, which represents for me an actual investment of not less than \$100,000.

"I am deeply interested to cooperate in a practical way with the humanitarian plans of President Roosevelt. I hope the immigration of European refugees, to the Dominican Republic, will stimulate the progress of our country, and will intensify the development of our natural resources, as well as industries.

.....

"To repeat, I am deeply interested in the realization of this settlement enterprise, because I am convinced that we must all cooperate within our possibilities for the success of this humanitarian and noble effort. It is, therefore, my dear Mr. Rosenberg, my pleasure to offer to the Refugee Association, of which you are the esteemed President, my Sosua property, as my personal contribution for the establishment there, of the first refugee settlement in the Dominican Republic."

On January 30, 1940, at a ceremony presided over by President Trujillo, attended by leading Dominican men and women, and by official representatives of many nations, an agreement was signed by the accredited representatives of the Dominican Republic, and by the undersigned as President and Dr. Joseph A. Rosen as Vice-President of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, Inc. (Dorsa). The agreement was duly witnessed by Stephanus Van Cortlandt Morris for the Chairman, Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton, and the Director, Sir Herbert Emerson, of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees; by Harold P. Linder for the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Foundation.

Article I of this memorable document deserves to be quoted. It reads as follows:

"The Republic, in conformity with its Constitution and laws, hereby guarantees to the settlers and their descendants full opportunity to continue their lives and occupations free from molestation, discrimination or persecution, with full freedom of religion and religious ceremonies, with equality of opportunities and of civil, legal and economic rights, as well as all other rights inherent to human beings."

These words disclose the spirit of friendship which animated President Trujillo and the people of his country. Soon thereafter, the agreement was ratified at a special session of the legislature of the Dominican Republic.

At the time when the agreement was made, World War II was raging. Nazi submarines infested the Atlantic. To bring people from Europe to the Dominican Republic proved to involve incredibly difficult problems of transportation. It was also in nearly all cases impossible to procure exit visas to bring people out of the chaos of Europe.

While our effort was non-sectarian both in principle and purpose, the persons we mainly sought to help were the chief victims of the Nazis, namely, the German Jews. As to those who were still in that country, all efforts to obtain the consent of the Nazis to bringing them out were in vain. The Nazis were murdering the old people. The young, whom we particularly wanted as farmers, the Nazis herded in slave labor camps.

Partly because of these world conditions, also because it was recognized both by the Dominican Government and ourselves that only a modest experiment could at first be undertaken at Sosua, Article II of the agreement provided for the admission as a first step to the Dominican Republic of approximately 500 families of Jewish or non-Jewish settlers. Further developments were left to the future. Despite all our efforts, even so modest a number of families could not however be freed from Europe.

Solomon Trone, formerly an official of the General Electric Corporation, represented us in Europe. He and Mrs. Trone selected people who could become settlers and whom it might be possible to bring overseas. To do this, they travelled from country to country. Their devoted service deserves mention. Dr. Joseph A. Rosen was in the meantime hard at work preparing to receive the refugees at Sosua.

The first few settlers from Europe arrived at Sosua in May, 1940. But the war's early stages were gaining repeated victories for Nazis; then came Pearl Harbor. Our efforts were almost completely blocked.

Many lives were nevertheless saved. At present, a considerable number of refugees are in the Dominican Republic, partly as agriculturists in our Sosua colony; partly in Ciudad Trujillo and other cities of the Dominican Republic as artisans, etc. These latter have introduced new trades and industries. Many refugees were also enabled to come to the Dominican Republic and remain there until they were able to join their relatives in other lands. A significant life-saving action was also accomplished by the Dominican Government's issue of large numbers of visas to persons in Europe. After adoption of the 1940 agreement, the Dominican Republic issued many such visas to refugees in Europe, approved by Dorsa, who sought to come to the Dominican Republic. The mere possession of these visas served not infrequently to save lives of persons who were prevented from leaving Europe. Our analysis discloses that all in all the cooperative actions of the Dominican Republic and of our Association saved at least several thousand lives.

Our hopes to bring young families trained for agriculture being frustrated, perforce we took those whom we could rescue. There are now about 300 settlers at Sosua, of whom about 2/3 occupy 65 homestead units. An additional 28 homestead units are being established. With the

exception of those who have recently been placed on homesteads, the homesteaders today are practically self-supporting. Over and above this total of 93 homestead units, it is hoped that about 25 more families will be settled at Sosua.

Each homesteader receives 30 hectares (75 acres) of land, of which 28 hectares are pasture land, the rest cultivable land for home gardens, etc.; also 10 cows, an additional cow for the homesteader's wife, two additional cows for every child. Also, one horse, one mule, and a credit or loan for miscellaneous needs. Every homesteader also receives a house (consisting of 2 rooms, shower, kitchen and sanitary installations) one cow-barn, one shed, and various other equipment. So as not to pauperize these homesteaders, arrangements have been made for gradual repayment by them over a period of years. To date, repayments of homestead accounts are being made with reasonable promptness. In a few instances, homestead accounts are even being prepaid.

The homesteaders are chiefly engaged in cattle raising, milk production and agricultural products. Today, they own about 5,000 head of cattle - a substantial herd - and have improved the breed. They farm and till about 5,000 acres of land. The turnover from sales of butter, cheese and other milk products, as well as meat products, has in the last two and one half years amounted to about \$600,000., as summarized below. The homesteaders have developed their own cooperatives which are managed directly by them under guidance of Dorsia.

In 1946, the turnover of the dairy cooperative (Cileca) amounted in round figures to \$156,000., with a profit of \$10,000. (2,000,000 lbs. of milk); in 1947, to \$174,000., with a profit of \$14,000. (2,500,000 lbs. of milk); and about \$125,000. for the first six months of 1948, with a profit of about \$10,000.

In 1946, the first year of its existence, the meat cooperative (Ganadera) had a turnover of \$41,000., with a deficit of \$4,000.; in 1947, a turnover of \$62,000., with a profit of about \$1,000.; and about \$42,000. for the first six months of 1948, with a profit of about \$2,000.

In addition, in 1946, the general store cooperative (Colmado) had a turnover of \$100,000., with a profit of \$4,500.; in 1947, a turnover of \$135,000., with a profit of over \$4,000.

To furnish revolving credits to the homesteaders, a loan cooperative was formed in 1946. There, homesteaders can get credits of not more than \$300. per person, repayable in one year. The loan cooperative also has a branch for larger credits for the cooperatives. The following data, showing the growth of the loan cooperative, will indicate the development of the Settlement's economy.

In 1947, the loan cooperative issued loans for over \$28,000. to the homesteaders and cooperatives, received deposits from the homesteaders and cooperatives of about \$10,000., and made various short time accommodation loans of over \$82,000. During the first five months of 1948, the loan cooperative received new deposits amounting to \$37,000. while during the same period, \$32,000. were withdrawn. During the same five month period, the loan cooperative had a turnover of \$90,000. as against the \$82,000. during the entire year of 1947. The full report of the loan cooperative is available for inspection.

The gross income of the individual settler averages from \$2,500. to \$3,000. a year, according to the type of his farming and the development of the farms. Reports of Mr. David Stern, our Administrator at Sosua, are also available for examination. It was through the efforts of Dr. Hexter that Dorsa obtained the expert services of Mr. Stern, who has been in Sosua for the past few years and has done an outstanding piece of work there in building up the self-reliance and the economic independence of the settlers. His earlier experience as a leader in such work in Palestine has been of great value to us. (The factual data contained in this report are based partly on reports by Mr. David Stern, partly on reports by Mr. Jacques Salomon (formerly chief accountant of our organization at Sosua), and partly on reports of Messrs. Loeb & Troper, certified public accountants and auditors for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, who have made annual field audits of Dorsa's operations since its inception.)

Because the Settlement is limited in size, Dorsa is still obliged to subsidize it for maintenance of its communal institutions, such as the hospital, the school, sanitation and anti-malaria work. But the aim and the tendency are to transfer these institutions increasingly to the settlers themselves.

Under the terms of the agreement between the Dominican Republic and our Association, Dorsa is exonerated from customs duties for the materials imported to Sosua for its upbuilding, and also for certain materials, like gasoline, oil, lumber, etc., which it obtains in the Dominican Republic.

To date, Dorsa has expended over \$3,000,000. for the Sosua effort, of which a large proportion represents contractual amounts due from homesteaders for their homesteads and from cooperatives, as well as capital investments for establishing and developing the Settlement. A cumulative, comprehensive report of Loeb & Troper, through December 31, 1947, is on file at our office for inspection by the Board.

Nearly all of the funds which Dorsa has received have come from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. To that outstanding world relief organization, the settlers and other Jewish refugees of the Dominican Republic owe a life long debt. Without its support, Dorsa would have been helpless. Over and above the \$3,000,000. contributed by it thus far for the Dorsa enterprise, it has also contributed about \$500,000. for the Jewish refugees in the Dominican Republic other than in Sosua. Considering the immensity of JDC burdens to aid suffering Jews in every corner of the world, we again express our profound appreciation for its magnificent support of the Dorsa effort.

Of the relations between the Dominican Government and our Settlement, we cannot speak too highly. Not only President Trujillo, but also the governmental departments of the Dominican Republic have cooperated with us throughout. There have always been mutual understanding and a frank interchange of ideas. Dorsa on its part has always cooperated in every possible way with the Dominican Republic. Dorsa records with satisfaction that many Dominican neighbors derive their livelihood from Sosua. Dominican children attend our Sosua school. Many Dominicans have been and are being treated at our Sosua hospital.

Because of our intensive anti-malaria and other health work, Sosua is almost entirely free of malaria. There are, because of Dorsa's thorough prophylactic medical and veterinary care, no contagious diseases at Sosua. The health records are excellent.

It gives us special pleasure to report that Dr. Hexter will soon again visit the Dominican Republic in order to review the present situation in Sosua. Dr. Hexter, whose whole life has been devoted to social service and humanitarian causes, is not only an idealist but a keen, able, practical man of affairs. He has been a godsend to us these past five years. We hope that when he is in the Dominican Republic, he will have an opportunity to meet President Trujillo and personally to express to him again our deep sense of appreciation for his steadfast cooperation through these nine years.

Turning to the future, the creation of the State of Israel appears to mean that all, or most of the overseas young Jewish men and women, desirous of working on the soil, will wish to go to the State of Israel. Hence, we cannot foresee any large scale increase of Dorsa work. It may well be therefore that we should plan gradually to conclude this effort as one which came into being at a dark hour and which, by acting upon the humanitarianism of President Trujillo, has saved many lives. This is a matter which Dr. Hexter is studying closely. It seems fair to expect that those who were enabled by the action of the Dominican Republic and of Dorsa to escape from the horrors of Europe will, within a reasonably short period of time, with the continued cooperation of the Dominican authorities and of ourselves, become self-supporting men and women.

From the inception of this effort until last March, the undersigned served as Chairman of Dorsa. It is a cause for satisfaction that so able and devoted a public servant as Dr. Hexter now heads this organization.

To list all the men, women and organizations joining in this effort is impossible. It would, however, be remiss to conclude this report without renewed expression of appreciation to President Trujillo and the Government and people of the Dominican Republic. To the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation, their officers and staffs, the former and present directors of this Association, and its staff, including especially, Ruby Frisch Moses, Executive Secretary; to Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, who until his health failed him, was administrative head of the Sosua work, and without whom this life-saving effort could never have begun, we express renewed thanks.

Last but not least, we again gratefully record the fact that it was only through the humanitarian leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that this work could have come into being.

Very sincerely yours,

James H. Rosenberg,
Honorary Chairman
Dominican Republic Settlement Association, Inc.

M'DONALD IS NAMED AS ENVOY TO ISRAEL

NY TIMES 2/26/49

Truman Nominates Special
Representative—Elath Will
Serve Here for New State

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25—Dr. James G. McDonald, special representative of the United States in Israel, was nominated by President Truman today to serve as Ambassador to Israel.

At the same time the Government of Israel informed this Government that it had appointed Eliahu Elath, who has been special representative here of his Government, as first Israeli Ambassador to the United States.

Both appointments had been expected since the two Governments recently agreed to the establishment of embassies in their respective capitals.

Mr. Elath has been known here as Eliahu Epstein, a name of Yiddish origin, which he changed to one stemming from the Hebrew. Actually, it was said, he made the change last May and has used the new name since in correspondence with Tel Aviv. He decided not to make the change officially in his relations with the United States Government until his appointment as Ambassador was definite.

The name Elath was arbitrarily chosen. Many Zionists have similarly changed their names since the establishment of the new state. Elath is the name of a coastal strip on the Gulf of Aqaba, where the new Ambassador has done sociological work.

Mr. Elath was born in the Ukraine in 1904. After study at the University of Kiev he went to Palestine in 1925 as a pioneer. Two years later he entered the Hebrew University there to study Arab affairs, later living with Arabs in Trans-Jordan. In 1930 he received a Rockefeller fellowship at the American University in Beirut.

He returned to Palestine in 1934 and entered the Middle East division of the Jewish Agency. In 1945 he was sent to San Francisco as observer for the Jewish Agency at the United Nations conference and then came here as head of the Washington office of the Jewish Agency. He was appointed special representative of Israel when the state was formed.

Dr. McDonald is 62 years old. He was graduated from the University of Indiana and later pursued graduate studies at Harvard. During the course of his career he has served as chairman of the board of the Foreign Policy Association, and for two years was the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. President Truman appointed him in 1946 to be a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. He was made special representative of the United States in Israel on June 22, 1948, and has since been in Tel Aviv in that capacity.

NY TIMES 2/27/49
ENVOY TO ISRAEL

The Governments of the United States and of Israel have now completed their new relationship by designating their respective special representatives as Ambassadors. James Grover MacDonald will be our envoy to Tel Aviv if, as expected, his appointment is confirmed by the Senate. Mr. MacDonald has had a long and varied experience which has brought him closely in touch with international problems and with the situation in the Near East. This newspaper knows him especially well as a former member of its editorial staff who was valued for his clear and incisive thinking. He has been chairman of the board of the Foreign Policy Association, League of Nations Commissioner for Refugees and a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. He went to the Near East a year ago when the shooting was still going on. We believe he is in every way fitted for his new post.

At the same time Mr. Eliahu Elath, already well known in this country, will become the first Israeli Ambassador to the United States. Mr. Elath has spent nearly a quarter of a century in Palestine. His studies have familiarized him with conditions among the Arabs as well as among the Jews in Palestine. He will undoubtedly be welcome here in his new capacity. After all the doubt and turmoil, the relationship between our vast Republic and the vigorous little new state on the shores of the Mediterranean should proceed under happy auspices.

Ambassador McDonald,
NY TIMES 3/27/49

Tribute Recalls His Resignation From
League Post to Protest Inaction

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Reading the excellent editorial in THE TIMES of Feb. 27 on the appointment of James G. McDonald as first American Ambassador to the Republic of Israel, I feel it is appropriate to call attention to one of the most courageous and unselfish acts of his notable career.

I refer to Mr. McDonald's resignation from his post as High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations in December, 1935. Mr. McDonald sought by his resignation and by the vigorous, outspoken letter that accompanied it to call attention forcibly both to the failure of the League to take effective action to relieve the sufferings of those whom Hitler persecuted, and to the peril that Hitler's policies held for the civilized nations of the world.

For two years Mr. McDonald had sought in vain to have effective action taken to aid refugees from Nazi persecution, although he had been appointed to direct such work by the League. Those who resign high posts under protest are seldom popular, either in national or international politics. It is all the more revealing that this courageous man did what he regarded as his manifest duty, although it might have meant the end of his diplomatic career.

The letter that Mr. McDonald addressed to the League in Geneva at that time was cogent and, as the events proved, highly opportune warning to the civilized nations of the world that it was necessary to stop Hitler. How much easier it would have been to do so at that time, instead of waiting until the end of 1939. How much blood and suffering might have been avoided if this advice had been taken at that time. The world catastrophe that followed, and others that may yet overtake mankind as an aftermath of World War II might have been avoided.

Mr. McDonald has done many fine, brave things in his life, but his letter of resignation as the League's High Commissioner for Refugees symbolizes, as does nothing else, the realistic idealism that fits him eminently for his new post as Ambassador.

GEORGES COULON,
Former French Delegate to the
Intergovernmental Committee on
Refugees.

New York, Feb. 27, 1949.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Excerpts From Report on East Europe's Jews

NY TIMES 2/28/49

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Feb. 27

—Following are excerpts from a survey by the Jewish Labor Committee, released at its convention here, on the fate of the 650,000 Jews who survived the war of extermination in Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland:

RUMANIA

About 400,000 Jews out of a pre-war Jewish population of 750,000 to 800,000 survived the world cataclysm. Poverty, unemployment and homelessness became the economic fate of the Jews in Rumania.

In spite of the government's official opposition to anti-Semitism feelings among the population have not subsided. The Rumanian Government gave very little financial support to the suffering Jews, in spite of its numerous promises.

In 1947 and at the beginning of 1948 tens of thousands of Jews started an illegal trek out of Rumania through Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The Rumanian Government confiscated the possession of the illegal emigrants.

The small minority of Communist among the Jews has at all times conducted an opposition against the Jewish communities and their leadership through a front organization called the "Jewish Democratic Committee." The first victim of the Communist attack was the social democratic Jewish labor movement. This was followed with a blast on the federation of Rumanian Jews. When, in February, 1948, the Communists took over the "Federation of Jewish Communities" the liquidation of Jewish civic, education and cultural life took place at a rapid pace.

The final upshot is that there are no more Jewish schools, Jewish cultural groups, Jewish communities, Jewish organizations. A small powerful Communist group reigns over the Jewish community in Rumania.

HUNGARY

In 1941 about three quarters of a million Jews lived in expanded Hungary. The number of surviving Hungarian Jews at the end of the war was estimated at be-

tween 150,000 and 180,000. A number of Hungarian Jews are to this day interned in camps of Russia. The economic situation of the Hungarian Jews has in the first years after the war been the worst in Europe.

Not less than 120,000 Jews had to obtain food from the American Joint Distribution Committee. The Jewish trading element was ruined because of inflation and deflation. Jewish possessions were not restored to the rightful owners in spite of the many promises by the Government. Anti-Semitism, which had strong roots before the war, became more intensified in the post-war years.

In spite of their bad economic plight, and the rampant anti-Semitism, the Hungarian Jews demonstrated herculean energy in rebuilding their Jewish cultural and social life in the land of their birth. In the years after World War II they established communal institutions, societies, organizations, and by the beginning of 1948 there were about twenty Jewish religious and secular schools in Budapest.

Officially the Government looked with favor upon Zionism. The leader of the Communist party, Mathyas Rakosy, stated that the Government will allow every Jew to emigrate to Israel with his possessions. This situation, however, changed subsequently, and by the end of 1947 two representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine were deported from Hungary. In an election for officers of the Jewish community of Budapest, one single "united" list of candidates was decreed by the Communists, with the result that complete control of the Jewish community was taken over by the Communists.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In 1938, before the Munich Pact, 380,000 Jews lived in Czechoslovakia. After the Germans were driven out, about 40,000 Jews survived.

The democratic government of Benes and Masaryk was friendly toward the Jews. Upon the return of many of them from the camps, they were given back their homes, and in 1945 a law was

passed nullifying all transactions which had been imposed upon the Jews after 1938. The newly established Jewish community received 5,000,000 kronen as part of the property which was found in the German camps. Laws were also passed for the restitution of all Jewish possessions.

After the Communist coup in February, 1948, anti-Semitism was given greater impetus in the country. Although Jewish Communists do not play a leading role in the Government, anti-Semites point a finger at Rudolf Slansky, general secretary of the Communist party, who happens to be a Jew. The names of Slansky and a few others add fuel to the anti-Semitic fire.

It is not true, as the representatives of the Czechoslovak Embassy in the United States stated on numerous occasions, that all possessions have been restored to the Jews in Czechoslovakia. Only 2,600 of the 16,000 applicants have to date recovered their property. The Communist deputy Kapun stated his party's attitude toward this problem in May, 1947: "The restitution of Jewish possessions is a difficult thing. Before the war the Jews had Germanized themselves, and after that they escaped because of racial reasons. We cannot trust their patriotism. The pot in which food was spoiled once, smells bad even though it has been thoroughly cleansed."

After the war the Jews have given a great deal of energy to the reconstruction of their civic and cultural life. By September, 1945, there were fifty-five Jewish communities in Czechoslovakia, and the ORT organization established fifteen vocational schools.

By the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, a so-called "Jewish action committee," led by Laura Simkova, a member of the Communist party, was organized. To this committee was given the task of purging Jewish life.

The Government's attitude toward Zionism then changed radically and the Czechoslovak borders were closed to the Jews fleeing from Poland and Hungary to the German and Austrian camps. During the latter part of 1948 a substantial illegal emigration of Czechoslovakian Jews was

under way to the American zone in Germany.

POLAND

Since the end of the war some 300,000 Jews passed through that country and today there are only between 60,000 and 80,000 living there. At the beginning of 1948 it looked as though Jewish life in Poland was being stabilized. A few months later, however, everything turned in the direction of Communist totalitarianism.

In the few years after the war the Jews of Poland displayed valiant efforts and inimitable creativeness. Schools, vocational classes, children's homes, camps, sports organizations, newspapers functioned with considerable success. Jewish books were published and several theatres came into existence. Choral and dramatic groups and Jewish radio programs gave regular performances.

As in the other countries, the Jewish Communists for a while were sympathetic to Israel. In the latter part of 1948 a statement on the Jewish question was published by the Communist party of Poland in which Jewish Communists were castigated "for considering the petty bourgeois utopian Jewish pioneers in Palestine as one of the factors which led to the birth of Israel. This has resulted in the under-estimation of the role of the deciding factor in the birth of Israel, namely, the people's democracies headed by the Soviet Union."

A thorough purge is going on in all phases of Jewish life in Poland. Through various means, politically conscious people are being forced to liquidate their past and confess to errors which they never committed. Those who are able, flee the country.

The conditions of Jews residing behind the "iron curtain" countries are fundamentally the same, though they may differ in some detail. On the one side we observed a spirited attempt of the Jews in the various countries to rebuild their culture and their institutions in the lands of their birth, and on the other side the success of the Communist regimes in destroying all independent thinking, and smashing Jewish life including their instruments of self-government and their very souls.

AUSTRIA WILL CUT HELP TO REFUGEES

NY TIMES—4/1/49

Will Stop Paying for Upkeep
of 97,000 in U. N. Agency
Camps After April 30

MOVE EMBARRASSES WEST

Russian in London Declares
Refugee Organization Deals
in 'Cheap Slave Labor'

By JOHN McCORMAC

Special to The New York Times

VIENNA, March 31—Yesterday's decision of the Austrian Cabinet to demand at the London treaty conference that Austria be relieved of the obligation to pay for the upkeep of displaced persons living here has created a potentially embarrassing situation for the Western occupation powers.

The situation was made even more embarrassing by a statement today by Minister of the Interior Oskar Helmer that the Government already had announced to the heads of the occupation powers its intention of discontinuing April 30 all payments for displaced persons in International Refugee Organization camps here.

The Austrian steps come at a time when the Soviet representatives in London are urging that relief should be denied to refugees unwilling "for hostile reasons" to return to their own countries. There is little doubt here that the Russians, for their own purposes, will champion Austria's plea with enthusiasm.

There is even less doubt that the Austrian political parties in this year of general elections will vie with each other in supporting it. The result may be to force a decision by the Western powers on a difficult problem with which they have been temporizing.

Say 500,000 Refugees Remain

The Austrians say there are still about 500,000 displaced persons here. It is believed the Austrians have received a discouraging reply from the British on requests for relief from the costs and that United States officials suggested they work out a solution with the International Refugee Organization.

The refugee organization will pay the Government \$2,500,000 this year for the care of the displaced persons. For this Austria is required to supply food and lodging for 97,000 refugees living in camps, pay the salaries of camp administrators and maintain the camp buildings. Austrian officials say the program will cost them this year 200,000,000 schillings, or \$20,000,000 at the official rate. In the black market this figure is about \$7,000,000.

As against this, United States authorities say that the displaced persons form 10 per cent of the Austrian labor force. They add that of the total of 500,000 reported by the Austrian Government more than 80 per cent are maintaining themselves out of the camps within the Austrian economy and are to a very large extent self-supporting.

The Austrian figures are be-

AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST PROTEST AGAINST MARSHALL PLAN



Crowd listening to speakers in the Vienna Town Hall Plaza. The placards denounce war and the Austrian armed forces.
The New York Times (Vienna Bureau)

lieved to contain charges for social security and pensions for the displaced persons while making no allowance for the taxes they pay.

Since the United States is providing 60 per cent of Austria's food, as well as giving substantial financial help in the shape of the Marshall Plan, the United States attitude is that Austria can continue for the present at least to care for the displaced persons.

Before the end of the year all Jewish displaced persons will have left the country, while the refugee organization expects that all but 30,000 of its 97,000 displaced persons will have been repatriated or resettled.

Russian Assails U. N. Agency

By BENJAMIN WELLES

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, March 31—Tempers drawn taut by seven weeks of prolonged and acrimonious negotiation of an Austrian peace treaty flared here today as Soviet Deputy Georgi N. Zarubin bitterly denounced the Western powers for allegedly blocking the repatriation of Soviet citizens from the Western zones of Austria.

Mr. Zarubin called the International Refugee Organization, which cares for refugees and displaced persons in Western Europe, an organization for supplying "cheap slave labor" to different countries. He ended a twenty-minute speech with a declaration that the Soviet Union would never agree to leave the fate of the refugees and displaced persons in Austria in the hands of the refugee organization.

The Russian assertions were quickly rejected by the three Western deputies.

United States deputy Samuel Reber said large numbers of the displaced persons and refugees in Austria "do not want" to return to Soviet-dominated countries. The United States Government, he said, has "no intention" of forcing them to return.

That views was quickly supported by British deputy James A. Marjoribanks, who termed Mr. Zarubin's assertions "wild accusations" that were "inaccurate and misdirected." Mr. Marjoribanks declared that in the last three

months the Soviet Repatriation Mission in the British zone of Austria had been "unable to find one single Soviet citizen who wanted to return to Russian territory."

COPY

April 5 1949

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Hon. William D. Hassett,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hassett:

As I indicated to you on the telephone, it is very difficult to keep account of expenditures when traveling, especially in foreign countries, as one is always paying out sums otherwise than by check -- so I have never undertaken to keep accounts of this sort.

Going back to 1938, and in respect to the organization of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees at the instance of President Roosevelt, in Evian, France, and subsequently setting up its office in London and participating actively in its affairs until 1944, I neither asked nor received any per diem compensation or for expenses, but paid my own travel and living costs.

My office however has made up a sort of resume from some of the paid bills which I had brought home, covering the two years 1938-9. The aggregate for those two years was \$20,014.07.

Similarly, a part of my outlay in 1940 to 1946 inclusive represents the sum of \$43,123.45.

For your personal and confidential inspection I am sending you the two computations referred to.

I have no corresponding calculation at this time for 1947-8, which however I would think could be estimated at about the same average.

The only years in which any per diem was paid to me -- and that was only after many in the Department had protested against free service as reflecting upon them -- were, as I recall, in 1945 and subsequently. At the outset of these activities in 1938 President Roosevelt stated to me that he wanted me to have the same compensation and allowances for expenses as were paid to an Ambassador -- he raised the question a number of times. I believe the opposition in the Department to any special missions was so strong that the subject was allowed to lapse until he brought it up again in 1944, as I recall. It was then that the per diem was fixed and an allowance for expenses was supposed to be made equal to that of an

Ambassador. It has never been a very satisfactory arrangement, which caused me to say to President Truman when we last talked about the matter that I did not want to be placed in a position of making claims against the Government, had never done so, and would not begin now; that in continuing this activity it should be placed upon an appropriate basis of understanding in the State Department, so that a system could be carried into effect and not be the subject of either correspondence or delay. I am giving you this information only because you asked for some details, and what I am giving you is not prepared for that purpose, but is the result of my accounts secretary apprising me of my extravagances at the dates indicated in his statements!

Will you kindly return these statements when you have examined them? I would like very much that you should not circulate them -- other than to the President, of course, if you think that to be desirable.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) MYRON C. TAYLOR.

1950

Behind the Headlines

MYRON TAYLOR—SECRET AGENT

For the first time the sensational story of how steel king Myron C. Taylor smuggled key scientists out of Hitler's Germany to help U.S. atom-bomb research is disclosed in this dispatch from "News Review's" correspondent in Italy. It explains Goering's "salted" funds, and reveals why he was able to beg Taylor to save him from the hangman's noose.

AFTER nine years as American Ambassador to the Vatican, Myron C. Taylor was last week packing his priceless art collection and preparing to return to the United States.

His resignation was received with jubilation by the more extreme American Protestants, never happy at the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. Though less vocal, high Vatican circles were equally pleased.

I am now able to reveal that after Mr. Taylor left his £33,000-a-year chairmanship of United States Steel Corporation, and in 1934 headed Roosevelt's delegation to the Evian Refugee Conference, he was in reality on a secret mission of the gravest importance.

Taylor's first appointment had, in fact, been inspired by Professor Albert Einstein's warning about Germany's atomic research. The task President Roosevelt assigned Taylor was to buy or smuggle out of Germany every atomic scientist he could.

Bribes for Goering

Backed by secret American funds and their chief's enormous wealth (about £4,000,000), Taylor's hand-picked assistants coaxed German key research workers out of Hitler's Reich and saved Jewish experts from concentration camps.

But Hermann Goering had to be appeased before the job succeeded. Myron Taylor was instructed to credit large sums in foreign banks to his private account. In September 1939, when the late H. R. Knickerbocker published details of the vast amounts Nazi leaders had salted away overseas, the plot nearly fell through.

Once Goering had been bribed, the work was easier. Working under cover of the Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee, Taylor's men travelled constantly during 1939 to Berlin and conferred with Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat, who had been openly appointed by Goering to "assist in the evacuation of Jews from Germany."

My information shows unmistakably that it was largely due to Goering's help that America got its formidable start in the international race for the atom bomb.

Taylor was not, however, allowed to forget that fact. While Goering was on trial at Nuremberg he sent a message to Taylor, reminding him of his past "collaboration." He begged Taylor to save him from "the shameful death of hanging."

Goering did not hang. The officials who investigated his suicide believed

he had the phial of potassium cyanide on him before his arrest.

Having succeeded in this tricky job, Myron Taylor accepted Roosevelt's invitation to become his personal representative at the Vatican, in spite of an uproar from America's militant Protestants.

Again, the job was mainly a cover: Roosevelt wanted an able observer inside the Axis camp.

Events proved how right he was; a large part of the negotiations with Italy for a separate peace was con-

ducted by Taylor, who kept closely in touch with the Italian Royal Family and Marshal Pietro Badoglio.

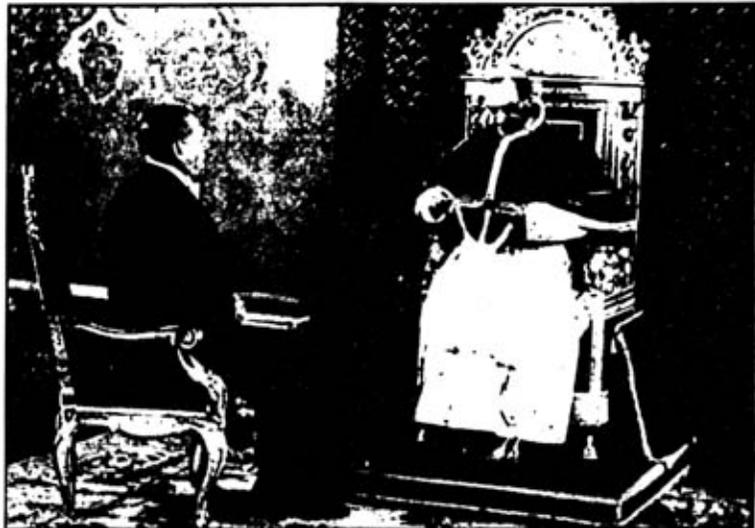
the crisis he told his doctors how he had been comforted by "the old Cardinal who held my hand."

Though he was assured that nobody but a nurse had been near him, he firmly believes he was visited by the spirit of the old Pope who once owned the villa.

In gratitude he presented Schifanoia and its treasures to an American order of Dominican nuns. Regina Bushwaller is expected to take the veil and become American Mother-Superior.

Despite American rumours, Taylor has not been converted to the Catholic Church. Though a passionate supporter of the Vatican's anti-Communist fight, he remains faithful to his Episcopalian faith.

But his hatred of Communism led to



Messages from Roosevelt were delivered to the Pope by Myron Taylor; but his Vatican mission was mainly a cover for more secret work

unrelenting efforts for the recognition of Franco's Spain. He outlined his plans at a luncheon attended by Premier Clement Attlee in 1947.

"I was amazed by Mr. Attlee's reaction," Taylor said afterwards. "He got up from the table and walked up and down the room, criticising the Franco régime very passionately for so mild and reasonable a man."

The Catholic hierarchy is as glad as the American Protestants to see the end of Myron Taylor's mission. They favour direct White House-Vatican negotiations. The man they have earmarked as Rome's representative is the energetic and politically minded Archbishop of New York, Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman.

Taylor lived in the beautiful Villa Schifanoia, in the flower-covered hills above Florence. It was there that he nearly died; after the night of

* But during the trial he tried to secrete the sharp-edged fragments of his headphones—evidence of death—among the mountains of Bash on his side.

Taylor Is Called Plotter to Bring A-Experts to U. S.

LONDON, Feb. 9 (CTPS)—The London Weekly News Review claimed to reveal for the first time today how the American steel king, Myron C. Taylor, acted as the late President Roosevelt's secret agent in getting key scientists out of Germany under the noses of the Nazis and transporting them to the United States to aid in atom bomb research.

The task, according to the news magazine's correspondent in Italy, was facilitated by the payment of heavy bribes to Reichmarshal Goering, Hitler's right hand man. "It was largely due to Goering's help that America got its formidable start in the international race for the atom bomb," the correspondent said.

Appointed in 1938

Taylor's appointment to the undercover mission goes back to 1938 when, after quitting the chairmanship of the U. S. Steel Corp., he headed Mr. Roosevelt's delegation to the Evian refugee conference.

Influenced by Prof. Albert Einstein's warning about Germany's atomic research, Roosevelt assigned Taylor to "buy or smuggle out of Germany every atomic scientist he could," the New Review reported.

"Backed by secret American funds and their chief's enormous wealth," the writer continued, "Taylor's hand-picked assistants coaxed Germany's key research workers out of Hitler's Reich and saved the Jewish experts from the concentration camps."

Tells of Bribe

Taylor was instructed to place large sums in foreign banks to Goering's private account in order to appease the bulky, free-spending reichmarshal. "Once Goering had been bribed," the report goes on, "the work was easier. Working under cover of the intergovernmental refugee committee, Taylor's men traveled constantly during 1939 to Berlin and conferred with Dr. Helmuth Wohltat who had been openly appointed by Goering to assist the evacuation of Jews from Germany."

During his war guilt trial in Nurnberg, Goering sent a message to Taylor reminding him of his past "collaboration" and pleading for help to save him from the "shameful death of hanging," the writer recalled.

"Goering did not hang," he added. "Officials who investigated his suicide believed he had a phial of potassium cyanide on his person before his arrest."

A footnote to the article casts doubts upon the officials' conclusions. "During the trial he (Goering) tried to secrete the sharp edged diaphragm of his head phones—scarcely the act of a man who already had the means of death hidden among the mountains of flesh on his body," said the footnote.

From smuggling scientists out of Germany, Taylor was appointed Roosevelt's personal representative at the Vatican. Again, according to the News Review, the job was mainly a cover.

Purging of Jews in Soviet Lands Charged in Plea for Action by U. N.

NY TIMES

2/17/51

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, Feb. 16—The national executive board of the Jewish Labor Committee called here tonight for a thorough inquiry by the United Nations of the cultural and spiritual destruction of Jewish life in Russia and other Soviet-dominated countries behind the Iron Curtain.

The action was taken by 250 members of the board at their annual conference here after they had heard a detailed report showing that no sign of "Jewish life" remains in the Soviet Union today and that the spiritual liquidation of the Jewish people in the satellite countries goes on at a rapid pace.

The board, representing half a million persons, adopted a resolution authorizing the administrative committee to the Jewish Labor Committee to present before the Commission of Human Rights of the United Nations all known facts concerning the situation.

Adolph Held, national chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee; Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, C. I. O., and David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, A. F. L., were appointed to present the matter to the United Nations.

The report on Jewish life behind the iron curtain and in western Europe, made by Nathan Chanin of the Labor Committee's administrative committee and educational director of the Workmen's Circle, contained the following findings:

Russia—No trace is left of Jew-

ish culture. All Jewish schools have been closed; Yiddish newspapers and periodicals silenced; Yiddish writers have been liquidated; Biro-Bidjan, proclaimed an autonomous Jewish republic in 1926, no longer exists in a true sense.

Rumania—The Rumanian Communist party is almost completely purged of its Jewish members—68,000 being expelled when the party was consolidated early in 1950. A stop has been put to the emigration of Jews to Israel. Anti-semitism has not died in Rumania, nor has the Communist government considered it necessary to conduct a fight against it. In the past two years all Jewish schools, synagogues and newspapers have been closed down.

Poland—There are no more than 50,000 Jews left in Poland. Emigration to Israel has been banned. Zionism is regarded as a crime and treason, and Israel is a hated country, regarded as ideologically bound with the United States and Great Britain. The Jewish community, its cultural institutions and its religious activities, have been placed under the supervision of Jewish communists.

Hungary and Czechoslovakia—Life is no better for the Jews in these countries than it is in Rumania or Poland.

In contrast, it was reported that the conditions of the Jews in western Europe were more secure and that there were great expectations that of all the western European Jewish communities, France would remain the largest. Nearly 250,000 Jews are now in France.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA
Milan, Italy
Thursday-Friday, March 2-3, 1950

GOERING HAD THE POISON FROM THE AMERICAN
MYRON TAYLOR?

Monaco, March 2, Morning.

Under the title "Secret Negotiations Between Goering and Myron Taylor", the Muenchner Abendzeitung publishes a sensational revelation about the ex-representative of Washington at the Vatican, and the mystery of the suicide of Goering. In basis this news which, according to the daily newspaper of Monaco, has been credited to the London weekly News Review, would have been that thanks to the intervention of Myron Taylor Goering was able to have at his disposal, in the cell at Nuremburg, the poison to kill himself.

Informed by Prof. Einstein concerning the state of the German wealth in the field of atomic energy, the American President sent to Europe, on a secret mission, his most trusted man, with the task of saving scientists of the Jewish race from the concentration camps, and at the same time, to induce German "atomic" technicians to work for the United States. Many millions of dollars were placed at the disposition of Myron Taylor for the development of his mission.

Thus it was that Myron Taylor happened to put himself in contact with Goering; without developing it in direct form, the collaboration of Goering had a decisive importance in the success of Myron Taylor's action: it should have been in fact thanks to the silence and the acquiescence of the man to whom Hitler had assigned the task of presiding over the re-arming of Germany, that the United States reached finally that state of assurance immediately preceding the war, a considerable advantage in the field of atomic studies. Goering was compensated with the payment of huge sums.

The day on which he was condemned to die at Nuremburg, Goering, who during all the trial was not allowed to speak a word on this affair, had a way of sending to Myron Taylor, through the medium of a colleague, the prayer to do all possible to save him from the shame of hanging.

Myron Taylor made it possible for him to attain the poison.