

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM  
REGARDING REFUGEES  
BY MYRON C. TAYLOR

1938 - 1947

**BEST AVAILABLE COPY**



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,  
President of the United States of America.

To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:

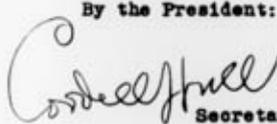
KNOW YE, That reposing special trust and confidence in the Integrity and Ability of Myron C. Taylor, of New York, I do appoint him the Representative of the United States on the International Committee on Political Refugees, with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of this commission with all the powers and privileges thereunto of right appertaining.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this  
fourteenth day of June in the  
year of our Lord one thousand  
nine hundred and thirty-eight,  
and of the Independence of the  
United States of America the  
one hundred and sixty-second.



By the President:



Secretary of State.

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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 cognisance 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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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 <sup>an</sup> agreement with the Dominican Government, specifically with Generalissimo Trujillo, who made fertile and excellent lands available. Mr. James Rosenberg, a public-

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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

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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 Organisation), 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

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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-

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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:

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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:

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(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;

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(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

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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

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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 over-looking. 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.

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DETAILS OF THE "M" PROJECT

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

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

JUNE 1947

By LADISLAS FARAGO

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

*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.

## 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-

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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*

**I**n 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*

**E**QUALLY 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*

**T**HE 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*

**T**HE 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.

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ANNEX "A"

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

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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.

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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

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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
Ecuador	United Kingdom
France	United States of America
Guatemala	Uruguay
Haiti	Venezuela

For the purpose of information, I submitted to the first, second, third, and fourth, a copy of the Italian situation report, a copy of a memorandum which had been prepared by the Jewish leaders in London and Paris; third, a copy of Sir Herbert Morrison's memorandum regarding wartime projects; and fourth, minutes of the Intergovernmental

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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 world-wide 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.

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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.

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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.

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~~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 followings:

(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.

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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

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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 Government  
of the State of New York  
71 Broadway  
New York, N.Y.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington

July 13 1943

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.

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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.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington

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.

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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

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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

I think you have every reason to be gratified with the results which have been achieved, not the least of which was the brilliant and successful organization of the League of Nations for the purpose of dealing with the world situation. Many people have testified to the faithfulness of your work in this field and I am very sure that the excellent interest which you generously provide will have a lasting effect.

I hope that I will continue to have the benefit of your help in other matters, and especially I shall have the opportunity to talk with you from time to time.

With very regards, I am

Sincerely,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

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

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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

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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.

The background of the conversations conducted by Mr. Rublee and myself with you in London during the months of January and February 1919, was the following:

1) By the late winter of 1919 the matter of the United States and a currency stability and work of its stabilizing system was the central problem in England, France and Belgium.

2) President Woodrow Wilson's appreciation of this issue and his belief that this was might be susceptible of some of the solutions which naturally in fact all the nations, would work as the problem in London.

3) On March 27, 1919, President Woodrow Wilson appealed to all the nations of refuge that in temporary relief such as England and the other countries of Western Europe, the most important to consider this problem together with the nations of stability.

4) On March 27, 1919, President Woodrow Wilson appealed to all the nations of refuge that in temporary relief such as England and the other countries of Western Europe, the most important to consider this problem together with the nations of stability.

5) In May the President appointed the Honorable Bryan as Secretary of the Treasury to see the American delegation to the conference which was to meet at Genoa, Italy, 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 at Political Affairs.

6) After preliminary conversations in London and Paris

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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 Intergovernmental 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.

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ANNEX "B"

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

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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>

TOTAL OF JEWS IN WORLD

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

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TOTAL OF JEWS IN EUROPE

CENTRAL EUROPE

Austria.....	191,408
Czechoslovakia.....	356,830
Dansig.....	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 Goso.....	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
Uzbekistan.....	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.....	<u>2,000</u>
	<u>774,069</u>

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      3. 1947

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

Spain	21,722
Italy	23,542
British Isles	20,232
Total	719,321

The largest group would be the 719,321 displaced persons are being numbered 212,127, followed by refugees of the former Soviet states - Rumania, Latvia and Lithuania, numbering 172,000 and Jews numbering 170,230. The total number of displaced Jews is substantially higher as some considerable numbers of them live outside the camps and, possibly, retired, and do not receive official assistance.

Jews Registered in Germany

Germany	170,000
France	22,000
Italy	10,000
Switzerland	10,000
Total	212,000

These statistics 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, 126,000 are in the U. S. zone, 22,000 in the British zone with the remainder in the French zone. It should be noted that there

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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 - 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.

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.

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.

It has been estimated by reliable sources that approximately 80% of the funds raised throughout the United States for Jewish refugees during the war were contributed through the United Jewish Appeal, 1944.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee derives its major total collections in the extent of contributions between 25 and 30%.

The other contributors are the United Palestine Appeal and the United Service for New American Jewish National Refugee Service.

\* Present Campaign raises \$100,000,000.

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REFUGEE ECONOMIC CORPORATION  
370 Lexington Avenue  
New York 17, N. Y.  
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.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) David W. Berman,  
Assistant Secretary.

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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.

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ANNEX "C"

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

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

"INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES"

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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 UNPRA 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.



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—6-28-47  
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	51,776	28,781	23,725	28,581	38,119	108,721	17,115	7,363	5,187	5,647	7,462	18,143
Europe	26,541	11,153	4,929	4,589	5,041	52,852	3,326	1,891	1,719	2,666	1,997	18,508
Albania	2											
Belgium	1,816	346	129	126	71	1,718	14	3		1	29	411
Bulgaria	134	15	3	6	3	248	3					
Czechoslovakia	314	127	102	136	64	287	11					97
Denmark	244	84	106	61	41	194	20	105				209
Estonia	41	14		16	9							
Finland	244	44	49	29	29	29	36		17	13	8	27
France	4,801	4,426	1,201	267	201	5,705	78	31	9	11	242	1,192
Germany	4,029	2,160	248	228	172	2,598	1,759					57
Great Britain:												
England	7,368	838	901	1,310	2,764	30,922	372	632	1,405	2,199	2,709	3,259
Scotland	295	51	71	96	192	1,586	99	54	47	116	296	437
Wales	51	176		15	53	1,044	6	2	10	8	17	37
Greece	268	174	229	228	178	367						
Hungary	330	186	75	87	54	49	18	9				11
Ireland (Eire)	211	70	132	49	125	526	52	18	10	11	38	308
Italy	420	103	49	120	415	2,638	108	31	3	8	34	334
Latvia	97	27	21	24	16	29						
Lithuania	242	52	43	37	14							
Netherlands	825	139	77	71	50	355	17	4	2		15	459
Northern Ireland	61	13	33	44	202	1,290	10	3	2	7	22	65
Norway	266	72	71	127	61	248	2					
Poland	451	343	394	292	195	335	4					24
Portugal	1,101	437	295	431	370	378	185	56	100	145	191	601
Romania	271	67	45	76	77							
Spain	300	234	254	271	156	227	300	50	25	29	78	240
Sweden	1,518	803	58	56	45	643	44	29	24	33	79	526
Switzerland	1,375	265	123	53	29	766	36	11	23	2	73	364
Union of Soviet Republics	41	60	32	41	18	72	138	17	23	19	73	675
Yugoslavia	142	73	29	93	88	65	6	2		5	8	63
Other Europe	301	160	49	53	110	841	16	6	16	40	130	265
Asia	1,881	848	334	227	643	1,433	2,818	817	12	85	328	1,152
China	1,003	179	65	50	71	252	816	135	4	44	176	785
Japan	299	44	20	4	13	14	1,823	618				29
Palestine	268	181	107	43	133	683	14	7		10	43	363
Siam	14	24	9	8	19	90						31
Other Asia	227	167	133	120	219	794	185	37	4	37	107	194
Canada	11,288	18,458	9,571	9,821	11,979	20,414	835	945	439	451	567	748
Newfoundland	193	149	198	222	451	918	46	14	9	9	28	122
Mexico	2,824	2,378	4,172	4,888	6,782	7,144	4,392	2,888	2,498	1,732	1,178	1,868
West Indies	4,847	1,999	2,312	1,988	3,482	5,898	1,438	778	35	58	123	1,384
Central America	1,239	885	1,218	1,885	3,559	2,338	637	266	123	238	246	327
South America	2,214	989	883	1,168	1,499	2,433	1,352	737	214	198	366	818
Africa	544	473	141	112	486	1,316	98	47	26	78	124	314
Australia	137	196	97	64	1,361	5,111	186	16	15	121	138	248
New Zealand	87	28	23	118	164	898	56	3	12	21	67	87
Other Countries	237	101	54	42	1,881	7,372	2,925	89	7	15	341	1,118

NATIONAL ORIGIN ANNUAL IMMIGRATION ALIEN QUOTAS (Not available for persons who are eligible to citizenship)

Country or Area	Quota	Country or Area	Quota	Country or Area	Quota	Country or Area	Quota
Afghanistan	100	Ethiopia	100	Luxemburg	100	Saudi Arabia	100
Albania	100	Finland	289	Monaco	100	Siam	150
Andorra	100	France	3,048	Morocco	100	So. Africa, Un.	100
Arab. Pestin	100	Germany	25,937	Muscat (Oman)	100	So. West Africa	100
Australia	100	Gr. Brit. & No. Ir.	63,721	Nauru*	100	Spain	252
Austria	1,413	Greece	307	Nepal	100	Sweden	3,314
Bulgaria	1,394	Hungary	869	Netherlands	2,153	Switzerland	1,707
British	100	Iceland	100	New Guinea	100	Syria, Lebanon**	123
Bulgaria	100	India	100	New Zealand	100	Tanganyika*	100
Cameroon*	100	Iran	100	Norway	2,237	Tanzania**	100
Canada**	100	Iraq	100	Pakistan	100	Turkey	229
China	209	Ireland (Eire)	17,853	Philippine Is.	60	U.S.S.R.	2,712
Cuba	105	Italy	2,802	Poland	6,524	Yugoslavia	180
Czechoslovakia	2,874	Japan	100	Portugal	440	Yap, Jap. Mand.	100
Denmark	100	Latvia	236	Russia, and Uru.	100	Yugoslavia	945
Egypt	1,181	Lithuania	100	Rumania	100	Total	153,879
Estonia	116	Lithuania	100	San Marino	100		

\*British mandate. \*\*French mandate. German quota includes Austria of 1,413.

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1820	8,585	1875	227,498	1894	285,631	1913	1,197,890
1830	23,327	1876	109,996	1895	258,536	1914	1,218,450
1840	84,066	1877	141,837	1896	243,267	1915	3,267,708
1850	269,090	1878	38,469	1897	239,837	1916	208,826
1860	1,53,640	1879	177,826	1898	229,299	1917	293,403
1861	91,918	1880	45,257	1899	311,715	1918	110,618
1862	91,985	1881	669,431	1900	446,672	1919	141,132
1863	174,292	1882	788,982	1901	487,818	1920	430,001
1864	193,418	1883	603,322	1902	648,743	1921	605,228
1865	248,121	1884	518,562	1903	537,048	1922	309,556
1866	318,568	1885	393,346	1904	812,870	1923	322,019
1867	313,722	1886	233,265	1905	1,026,496	1924	466,406
1868	158,842	1887	498,106	1906	1,100,733	1925	794,214
1869	352,768	1888	248,839	1907	1,285,329	1926	535,178
1870	287,263	1889	444,427	1908	782,870	1927	304,488
1871	321,350	1890	453,300	1909	751,786	1928	307,255
1872	404,806	1891	260,119	1910	1,041,570	1929	279,678
1873	435,923	1892	479,683	1911	776,587	1930	241,700
1874	313,336	1923	439,730	1912	608,172	1931	979,139
							Total
							38,578,116

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