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August 28, 1945.

Miss Florence Hodel;
Assistant Executive Director;
War Refugee Board;
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Hodel:

Thank you very much for returnning my

copy of the summary of my report to the President and I appreciate also the extra copies.

Cordially yours,

Carey Haiman
REPORT OF

EARL G. HARRISON

Mission to Europe to inquire into the condition and needs of those among the displaced persons in the liberated countries of Western Europe and in the SHAPE area of Germany — with particular reference to the Jewish refugees who may possibly be stateless or non-repatriable.

Prepared at
The American Embassy
London, England
August, 1945.
The President,
The White House,
Washington,

My dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to your letter of June 22, 1945, I have the honor to present to you a partial report upon my recent mission to Europe to inquire into (1) the conditions under which displaced persons and particularly those who may be stateless or non-repatriable are at present living, especially in Germany and Austria, (2) the needs of such persons, (3) how these needs are being met at present by the military authorities, the governments of residence and international and private relief bodies, and (4) the views of the possibly non-repatriable persons as to their future destinations.

My instructions were to give particular attention to the problems, needs and views of the Jewish refugees among the displaced people, especially in Germany and Austria. The report, particularly this partial report, accordingly deals in the main with that group.

On numerous occasions appreciation was expressed by the victims of Nazi persecution for the interest of the United States Government in them. As my report shows they are in need of attention and help. Up to this point they have been "liberated" more in a military sense than actually. For reasons explained in the report, their particular problems, to this time, have not been given attention to any appreciable extent; consequently they feel that they, who were in so many ways the first and worst victims of Nazism, are being neglected by their liberators.

Upon my request, the Department of State authorized Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz to join me in the mission. Dr. Schwartz, European Director of the American Joint Distribution Committee, was granted a leave of

London, England
absence from that organization for the purpose of accompanying me. His long and varied experience in refugee problems as well as his familiarity with the Continent and the people made Dr. Schwartz a most valuable associate; this report represents our joint views, conclusions and recommendations.

During various portions of the trip I had, also, the assistance of Mr. Patrick W. Malin, Vice Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and Mr. Herbert Katsuki of the War Refugees Board. These gentlemen, likewise, have had considerable experience in refugee matters. Their assistance and cooperation were most helpful in the course of the survey.

I

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Conditions

(1) Generally speaking, three months after V-E Day and even longer after the liberation of individual groups, many Jewish displaced persons and other possibly non-repatriables are living under guard behind barbed-wire fences, in camps of several descriptions, (built by the Germans for slave-laborers and Jews) including some of the most notorious of the concentration camps, amidst crowded, frequently unsanitary and generally grim conditions, in complete idleness, with no opportunity, except surreptitiously, to communicate with the outside world, waiting, hoping for some word of encouragement and action in their behalf.

(2) While there has been marked improvement in the health of survivors of the Nazi starvation and persecution program, there are many pathetic malnutrition cases both among the hospitalized and in the general population of the camps. The death rate has been high since liberation, as was to be expected. One Army Chaplain, a Rabbi, personally attended, since liberation, 23,000 burials (90% Jews) at Bergen Belsen alone, one of the largest and most vicious of the concentration
camps, where, incidentally, despite persistent reports to the contrary, fourteen thousand displaced persons are still living, including over seven thousand Jews. At many of the camps and centers, including those where serious starvation cases are, there is a marked and serious lack of needed medical supplies.

(3) Although some Camp Commandants have managed, in spite of the many obvious difficulties, to find clothing of one kind or another for their charges, many of the Jewish displaced persons, late in July, had no clothing other than their concentration camp garb — a rather hideous striped pajama effect — while others, to their chagrin, were obliged to wear German S.S. uniforms. It is questionable which clothing they hate the more.

(4) With a few notable exceptions, nothing in the way of a program of activity or organized effort toward rehabilitation has been inaugurated and the internees, for they are literally such, have little to do except to dwell upon their plight, the uncertainty of their future and, what is more unfortunate, to draw comparisons between their treatment "under the Germans" and "in liberation". Beyond knowing that they are no longer in danger of the gas chambers, torture, and other forms of violent death, they see — and there is — little change. The morale of those who are either stateless or who do not wish to return to their countries of nationality is very low. They have witnessed great activity and efficiency in returning people to their homes but they hear or see nothing in the way of plans for them and consequently they wonder and frequently ask what "liberation" means. This situation is considerably accentuated where, as in so many cases, they are able to look from their crowded and bare quarters and see the German civilian population, particularly in the rural areas, to all appearances living normal lives in their own homes.

(5) The most absorbing worry of these Nazi and war victims concerns relatives — wives, husbands, parents, children. Most of them
have been separated for three, four or five years and they cannot understand why the liberators should not have undertaken immediately the organized effort to re-unite family groups. Most of the very little which has been done in this direction has been informal action by the displaced persons themselves with the aid of devoted Army Chaplains, frequently Rabbis, and the American Joint Distribution Committee. Broadcasts of names and locations by the Psychological Warfare Division at Luxembourg have been helpful, although the lack of receiving sets has handicapped the effectiveness of the program. Even where, as has been happening, information has been received as to relatives living in other camps in Germany, it depends on the personal attitude and disposition of the Camp Commandant whether permission can be obtained or assistance received to follow up on the information. Some Camp Commandants are quite rigid in this particular, while others lend every effort to join family groups.

(6) It is difficult to evaluate the food situation fairly because one must be mindful of the fact that quite generally food is scarce and is likely to be worse during the winter ahead. On the other hand, in presenting the factual situation, one must raise the question as to how much longer any of these people, particularly those who have suffered such a long period of persecution and near starvation, can survive on a diet composed principally of bread and coffee, irrespective of the caloric content. In many camps, the 2,000 calories included 1,250 calories of a black, wet and extremely unappetizing bread. I received the distinct impression and considerable substantiating information that large numbers of the German population — again principally in the rural areas — have a more varied and palatable diet than in the case with the displaced persons. The Camp Commandants put in their requisitions with the German burgomaster and many seemed to accept whatever he turned over as being the best that was available.

(7) Many of the buildings in which displaced persons are housed are clearly unfit for winter use and everywhere there is great concern about the prospect of a complete lack of fuel. There is every likelihood that close to a million displaced persons will be Germany and Austria when winter sets in. The outlook in many areas as far as shelter, food and fuel are concerned is anything but bright.
II

NEEDS OF THE JEWS

While it is impossible to state accurately the number of Jews now in that part of German not under Russian occupation, all indications point to the fact that the number is small, with one hundred thousand probably the top figure; some informed persons contend the number is considerably smaller. The principal nationality groups are Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Germans and Austrians.

The first and plainest need of these people is a recognition of their actual status and by this I mean their status as Jews. Most of them have spent years in the worst of the concentration camps. In many cases, although the full extent is not yet known, they are the sole survivors of their families and many have been through the agony of witnessing the destruction of their loved ones. Understandably, therefore, their present condition, physical and mental, is far worse than that of other groups.

While SHAEF (now Combined Displaced Persons Executive) policy directives have recognized formerly persecuted persons, including enemy and ex-enemy nationals, as one of the special categories of displaced persons, the general practice thus far has been to follow only nationality lines. While admittedly it is not normally desirable to set aside particular racial or religious groups from their nationality categories, the plain truth is that this was done for so long by the Nazis that a group has been created which has special needs. Jews as Jews, (not as members of their nationality groups) have been more severely victimized than the non-Jewish members of the same or other nationalities.

When they are now considered only as members of nationality groups, the result is that special attention cannot be given to their admittedly greater needs because, it is contended, doing so would constitute preferential treatment and lead to trouble with the non-Jewish portion of the particular nationality group.
Thus there is a distinctly unrealistic approach to the problem.
Refusal to recognize the Jews as such has the effect, in this situation,
of closing one's eyes to their former and more barbaric persecution, which
has already made them a separate group with greater needs.

Their second great need can be presented only by discussing what I
found to be their

WISHES AS TO FUTURE DESTINATIONS

(1) For reasons that are obvious and need not be labored, most Jews
want to leave Germany and Austria as soon as possible. That is their first
and great expressed wish and while this report necessarily deals with other
needs present in the situation, many of the people themselves fear other sugges-
tions or plans for their benefit because of the possibility that attention
might thereby be diverted from the all-important matter of evacuation from
Germany. Their desire to leave Germany is an urgent one. The life which
they have led for the past ten years, a life of fear and wandering and physi-
ical torture, has made them impatient of delay. They want to be evacuated
to Palestine now, just as other national groups are being repatriated to
their homes. They do not look kindly on the idea of waiting around in idleness
and in discomfort in a German camp for many months until a leisurely
solution is found for them.

(2) Some wish to return to their countries of nationality but as
to this there is considerable nationality variation. Very few Polish or
Baltic Jews wish to return to their countries; higher percentages of the
Hungarian and Romanian groups want to return although some hasten to add that
it may be only temporarily in order to look for relatives. Some of the Ger-
man Jews, especially those who have intermarried, prefer to stay in Germany.

(3) With respect to possible places of resettlement for those who
may be stateless or who do not wish to return to their homes, Palestine is
definitely and pre-eminent the first choice. Many now have relatives there,
while others, having experienced intolerance and persecution in their home-
lands for years, feel that only in Palestine will they be welcomed and find
peace and quiet and be given an opportunity to live and work. In the case
of the Polish and the Baltic Jews, the desire to go to Palestine is based in
a great majority of the cases on a love for the country and a devotion to the
'Zionist ideal. It is also true, however, that there are many who wish to go.
Palestine because they realize that their opportunity to be admitted into the United States or into other countries in the Western hemisphere is limited, if not impossible. Whatever the motive which causes them to turn to Palestine, it is undoubtedly true that the great majority of the Jews now in Germany do not wish to return to those countries from which they came.

(4) Palestine, while clearly the choice of most, is not the only named place of possible emigration. Some, but the number is not large, wish to emigrate to the United States where they have relatives, others to England, the British Dominions, or to South America.

Thus the second great need is the prompt development of a plan to get out of Germany and Austria as many as possible of those who wish it.

Otherwise the needs and wishes of the Jewish groups among the displaced persons can be simply stated: Among their physical needs are clothing and shoes (most sorely needed), more varied and palatable diet, medicines, beds and mattresses, reading materials. The clothing for the camps too is requisitioned from the German population, and whether there is not sufficient quantity to be had or the German population has not been willing or has not been compelled to give up sufficient quantity, the internees feel particularly bitter about the state of their clothing when they see how well the German population is still dressed. The German population today is still the best dressed population in all of Europe.

III

MANNER IN WHICH NEEDS ARE BEING MET

Aside from having brought relief from the fear of extermination, hospitalization for the serious starvation cases and some general improvement in conditions under which the remaining displaced persons are compelled to live, relatively little beyond the planning stage has been done, during the period of mass repatriation, to meet the special needs of the formerly persecuted groups.

UNRRA, being neither sufficiently organized or equipped nor authorized to operate displaced persons camps or centers on any large scale, has not been in position to make any substantial contribution to the situation. Regrettably there has been a disinclination on the part of many Camp Commandants to utilize UNRRA personnel even to the extent available, though it must be admitted that in many situations this re-
resulted from unfortunate experiences Army officers had with UNRRA personal who were unqualified and inadequate for the responsibility involved. Then, too, in the American and British zones, it too frequently occurred that UNRRA personnel did not include English-speaking members and this hampered proper working relationships.

Under these circumstances, UNRRA, to which has been assigned the responsibility for co-ordinating activities of private social welfare agencies, has been in awkward position when it came to considering and acting upon proposals of one kind or another submitted by well qualified agencies which would aid and supplement military and UNRRA responsibilities. The result has been that, up to this point, very few private social agencies are working with displaced persons, including the Jews, although the situation cries out for their services in many different ways.

It must be said, too, that because of their preoccupation with mass repatriation and because of housing, personnel and transport difficulties, the military authorities have shown considerable resistance to the entrance of voluntary agency representatives, no matter how qualified they might be to help meet existing needs of displaced persons.

IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Now that the worst of the pressure of mass repatriation is over, it is not unreasonable to suggest that in the next and perhaps more difficult period those who have suffered most and longest be given first and not last attention.

Specifically, in the days immediately ahead, the Jews in Germany and Austria should have the first claim upon the conscience of the people of the United States and Great Britain and the military and other personnel who represent them in work being done in Germany and Austria.

2. Evacuation from Germany should be the emphasized theme, policy and practice.
(a) Recognising that repatriation is most desirable from the stand-
point of all concerned, the Jews who wish to return to their own countries
should be aided to do so without further delay. Whatever special action is
needed to accomplish this with respect to countries of reception or consent of
military or other authorities should be undertaken with energy and determi-
nation. Unless this and other action, about to be suggested, is taken, sub-
stantial unofficial and unauthorized movements of people must be expected, and
these will require considerable force to prevent, for the patience of many of
the persons involved is, and in my opinion with justification, nearing the
breaking point. It cannot be overemphasised that many of these people are
now desperate, that they have become accustomed under German rule to employ
every possible means to reach their end, and that the fear of death does not
restrain them.

(b) With respect to those who do not, for good reasons, wish to re-
turn to their homes, prompt planning should likewise be undertaken. In this
connection, the issue of Palestine must be faced. How that such large num-
bers are no longer involved and if there is any genuine sympathy for what
these survivors have endured, some reasonable extension or modification of
the British White Paper of 1939 ought to be possible without too serious re-
percussions. For some of the European Jews, there is no acceptable or even
decent solution for their future other than Palestine. This is said on a pure-
ly humanitarian basis with no reference to ideological or political consider-
ations, so far as Palestine is concerned.

It is my understanding, based upon reliable information, that cer-

tificates for immigration to Palestine will be practically exhausted by the
end of the current month (August 1945). What is the future to be? To any-
one who has visited the concentration camps and who has talked with the de-
spiring survivors, it is nothing short of calamitous to contemplate that
the gates of Palestine should be soon closed.

The Jewish Agency of Palestine has submitted to the British Govern-
ment a petition that one hundred thousand additional immigration certificates
be made available. A memorandum accompanying the petition makes a persuasive
showing with respect to the immediate absorptive
capacity of Palestine and the current, actual man-power shortages there.

While there may be room for difference of opinion as to the precise number of such certificates which might under the circumstances be considered reasonable, there is no question but that the request thus made would, if granted, contribute much to the sound solution for the future of Jews still in Germany and Austria and even other displaced Jews, who do not wish either to remain there or to return to their countries of nationality.

No other single matter is, therefore, so important from the viewpoint of Jews in Germany and Austria and those elsewhere who have known the horrors of the concentration camps as is the disposition of the Palestine question.

Dr. Hugh Dalton, a prominent member of the new British Government, is reported as having said at the Labour Party Conference in May 1945:

"This Party has laid it down and repeated it so recently as last April ....... that this time, having regard to the unspeakable horrors that have been perpetrated upon the Jews of Germany and other occupied countries in Europe, it is morally wrong and politically indefensible to impose obstacles to the entry into Palestine now of any Jews who desire to go there ....... We are sometimes told that not all Jews desire to go to Palestine. Well, it is for them to make up their minds as to whether or not they desire to go. That we have declared at this stage however, in that if they desire to go to Palestine we should not stand in their way, but, on the contrary, we should facilitate their going by the provision of various kinds of economic assistance in various forms for the development of the Land of Promise and Hope in a world which, for the Jews, has been blackened to an extent which none of us who are not Jews can begin to appreciate or to understand.

"... We consider Jewish immigration into Palestine should be permitted without the present limitations which obstruct it, and we
also have stated clearly that this is not a matter which should be regarded as one for which the British Government alone should take responsibility, but as it comes, as do many others, in the international field, it is indispensable that there should be close agreement and cooperation among the British, American and Soviet Governments, particularly if we are going to get a sure settlement in Palestine and the surrounding countries. If we are to get an agreed settlement, if it is to stand firm and unshaken by changes from year to year, it is indispensable that it should be backed and supported by the American and Soviet Governments, as well as by the British Government, and in my view steps should be taken in consultation with those two Governments to see whether we cannot get that common support for a policy which will give us a happy, a free and prosperous Jewish State in Palestine.

If this can be said to represent the viewpoint of the new Government in Great Britain, it certainly would not be inappropriate for the United States Government to express its interest in and support of some equitable solution of the question which would make it possible for some reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews, now homeless under any fair view, to resettle in Palestine. That is their wish and it is rendered desirable by the generally-accepted policy of permitting family groups to unite or reunite.

(c) The United States should, under existing immigration laws, permit reasonable numbers of such persons to come here, again particularly those who have family ties in this country. As indicated earlier, the number who desire emigration to the United States is not large.

If Great Britain and the United States were to take the actions recited, it might the more readily be that other countries would likewise be willing to keep their doors reasonably open for such humanitarian considerations and to demonstrate in a practical manner their disapproval of Nazi policy which unfortunately has poisoned so much of Europe.
2. To the extent that such emigration from Germany and Austria is delayed, some immediate temporary solution must be found. In any event there will be a substantial number of the persecuted persons who are not physically fit or otherwise presently prepared for emigration.

Here I feel strongly that greater and more extensive efforts should be made to get them out of camps for they are sick of living in camps. In the first place, there is a real need for such specialized places as (a) tuberculosis sanitariums and (b) rest homes for those who are mentally ill or who need a period of readjustment before living again in the world at large—anywhere. Some will require at least short periods of training or retraining before they can be really useful citizens.

But speaking more broadly, there is an opportunity here to give some real meaning to the policy agreed upon at Potsdam. If it be true, as seems to be widely conceded, that the German people at large do not have any sense of guilt with respect to the war and its causes and results, and if the policy is to be "To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves," then it is difficult to understand why so many displaced persons, particularly those who have so long been persecuted and whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed, should be compelled to live in crude, overcrowded camps while the German people, in rural areas, continue undisturbed in their homes.

As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of SS troops, and is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy.

It seems much more equitable and as it should be to witness the very few places where fearless and uncompromising military officers have
either requisitioned an entire village for the benefit of displaced persons, compelling the German population to find housing where they can, or have required the local population to billet a reasonable number of them. Thus the displaced persons, including the persecuted, live more like normal people and less like prisoners or criminals or herded sheep. They are in Germany, most of them and certainly the Jews, through no fault or wish of their own. This fact is in this fashion being brought home to the German people but it is being done on too small a scale.

At many places, however, the military government officers manifest the utmost reluctance or indisposition, if not timidity, about inconveniencing the German population. They even say that their job is to get communities working properly and soundly again, that they must "live with the Germans while the dps (displaced persons) are a more temporary problem". Thus (and I am ready to cite the example) if a group of Jews are ordered to vacate their temporary quarters, needed for military purposes, and there are two possible sites, one a block of flats (modest apartments) with conveniences and the other a series of shabby buildings with outside toilet and washing facilities, the burgomaster readily succeeds in persuading the Town Major to allot the latter to the displaced persons and to save the former for returning German civilians.

This tendency reflects itself in other ways, namely in the employment of German civilians in the offices of military government officers when equally qualified personnel could easily be found among the displaced persons whose repatriation is not imminent. Actually there have been situations where displaced persons, especially Jews, have found it difficult to obtain audiences with military government authorities because they have been obliged to go through German employees who have not facilitated matters.

Quite generally, insufficient use is made of the services of displaced persons. Many of them are able and eager to work but ap-
parently they are not considered in this regard. While appreciating that language difficulties are sometimes involved, I am convinced that, both within and outside camps, greater use could be made of the personal services of those displaced persons who in all likelihood will be on hand for some time. Happily in some camps every effort is made to utilise the services of the displaced persons and these are apt to be the best camps in all respects.

4. To the extent that (a) evacuation from Germany and Austria is not immediately possible and (b) the formerly persecuted groups cannot be housed in villages or billeted with the German population, I recommend urgently that separate camps be set up for Jews or at least for those who wish, in the absence of a better solution, to be in such camps. There are several reasons for this: (1) a great majority want it; (2) it is the only way in which administratively their special needs and problems can be met without charges of preferential treatment or (oddly enough) charges of "discrimination" with respect to Jewish agencies now prepared and ready to give them assistance.

In this connection, I wish to emphasize that it is not a case of singling out a particular group for special privileges. It is a matter of raising to a more normal level the position of a group which has been depressed to the lowest depths conceivable by years of organized and inhuman oppression. The measures necessary for their restitution do not come within any reasonable interpretation of privileged treatment and are required by considerations of justice and humanity.

There has been some tendency at spots in the direction of separate camps for those who might be found to be stateless or non-repatriable or whose repatriation is likely to be deferred some time. Actually, too, this was announced some time ago as SHARP policy but in practice it has not been taken to mean much for there is (understandably if not carried too far) a refusal to contemplate possible statelessness and an insistence, in the interests of the large repatriation program, to consider all as repatriable. This results in a resistance to anything in the way
of special planning for the "hard core", although all admit it is there and will inevitably appear. While speaking of camps, this should be pointed out: While it may be that conditions in Germany and Austria are still such that certain control measures are required, there seems little justification for the continuance of barbed-wire fences, armed guards, and prohibition against leaving the camp except by passes, which at some places are illiberally granted. Prevention of looting is given as the reason for these stern measures but it is interesting that in portions of the Seventh Army area where greater liberty of movement in and out of camps is given there is actually much less plundering than in other areas where people, wishing to leave camp temporarily, must do so by stealth.

2. As quickly as possible, the actual operation of such camps should be turned over to a civilian agency - UNRRA. That organization is aware of weaknesses in its present structure and is pressing to remedy them. In that connection, it is believed that greater assistance could be given by the military authorities, upon when any civilian agency in Germany and Austria today is necessarily dependent so far as housing, transport and other items are concerned. While it is true the military have been urging UNRRA to get ready to assume responsibility, it is also the fact that insufficient cooperation of an active nature has been given to accomplish the desired end.

3. Since, in any event, the military authorities must necessarily continue to participate in the program for all displaced persons, especially with respect to housing, transport, security, and certain supplies, it is recommended that there be a review of the military personnel selected for Camp Commandant positions. Some serving at present, while perhaps adequate for the mass repatriation job, are manifestly unsuited for the longer-term job of working in a camp composed of people whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed. Officers who have had some background or experience in social welfare work are to be preferred and it is believed there are some who are available. It is
most important that the officers selected be sympathetic with the program and that they be temperamentally able to work and to co-operate with UNRRA and other relief and welfare agencies.

7. Pending the assumption of responsibility for operations by UNRRA, it would be desirable if a more extensive plan of field visitation by appropriate Army Group Headquarters be instituted. It is believed that many of the conditions now existing in the camps would not be tolerated if more intimately known by supervisory officers through inspection tours.

8. It is urgently recommended that plans for trading services, now under consideration, be accelerated to the fullest extent possible and that, in this same direction, communication services, if on open postal cards only, be made available to displaced persons within Germany and Austria as soon as possible. The difficulties are appreciated but it is believed that if the anxiety of the people, so long abused and harassed, were fully understood, ways and means could be found within the near future to make such communication and tracing of relatives possible. I believe also that some of the private agencies could be helpful in this direction if given an opportunity to function.

V

OTHER REMARKS

while I was instructed to report conditions as I found them, the following should be added to make the picture complete:

(1) A gigantic task confronted the occupying armies in Germany and Austria in getting back to their homes as many as possible of the more than six million displaced persons found in those countries. Less than three months after V-E day, more than four million of such persons have been repatriated — a phenomenal performance. One's first impression, in surveying the situation, is that of complete admiration for what has been accomplished by the military authorities in so materially reducing the time as predicted to be required for this stupendous task. Praise of the highest order is due all military units with re-
aspect to this phase of the post-fighting job. In directing attention to existing conditions which unquestionably require remedying, there is no intention or wish to detract one particle from the preceding statements.

(2) While I did not actually see conditions as they existed immediately after liberation I had then described in detail sufficiently to make entirely clear that there has been, during the intervening period, some improvement in the conditions under which most of the remaining displaced persons are living. Reports which have come out of Germany informally from refugees themselves and from persons interested in refugee groups indicate something of a tendency not to take into account the full scope of the overwhelming task and responsibilities facing the military authorities. While it is understandable that those who have been persecuted and otherwise mistreated over such a long period should be impatient at what appears to them to be undue delay in meeting their special needs, fairness dictates that, in evaluating the progress made, the entire problem and all of its ramifications be kept in mind. My effort has been, therefore, to weigh quite carefully the many complaints made to me in the course of my survey, both by displaced persons themselves and in their behalf, in the light of the many responsibilities which confronted the military authorities.

(3) While for the sake of brevity this report necessarily consisted largely of general statements, it should be recognized that exceptions exist with respect to practically all of such generalizations. One high ranking military authority predicted, in advance of my trip through Germany and Austria, that I would find, with respect to camps containing displaced persons, "some that are quite good, some that are very bad, with the average something under satisfactory." By subsequent trip confirmed that prediction in all respects.

In order to file this report promptly so that possibly some remedial steps might be considered at as early a date as possible, I
have not taken time to analyze all of the notes made in the course of the
trip or to comment on the situation in France, Belgium, Holland or Switzer-
land, also visited. Accordingly, I respectfully request that this report
be considered as partial in nature. The problems present in Germany and
Austria are much more serious and difficult than in any of the other countries
named and this fact, too, seemed to make desirable the filing of a partial
report immediately upon completion of the mission.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the main solution, in many
ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of
all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine.
In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency
of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to con-ti-ue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The
evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the
problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem from the
military authorities who have had to deal with it. The army's ability to
move millions of people quickly and efficiently has been amply demonstrated.
The evacuation of a relatively small number of Jews from Germany and Austria
will present no great problem to the military. With the end of the Japanese
war, the shipping situation should also become sufficiently improved to make
such a move feasible. The civilized world owes it to this handful of survi-
vors to provide them with a home where they can again settle down and be-
gin to live as human beings.

Respectfully,

Earl G. Harrison.
REPORT OF

EARL G. HARRISON

Mission to Europe to inquire into the condition and needs of possible non-repatriables and stateless among the displaced persons in the liberated countries of Western Europe and in the SHAPE area of Germany -- with particular reference to the Jewish refugees including those who may be stateless.

June 28, 1945 -- August 4, 1946

The American Embassy

London, England

August 4, 1946.
The President,
The White House,
Washington.

My dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to your letter of June 22, 1945, I have the honor to report upon my recent mission to Europe to inquire into (1) the conditions under which displaced persons and particularly those who may be stateless or non-repatriable are at present living, especially in Germany and Austria, (2) the needs of such persons, (3) how those needs are being met at present by the military authorities, the governments of residence and international and private relief bodies, and (4) the views of the possibly non-repatriable persons as to their future destinations.

My instructions were to give particular attention to the problems, needs and views of the Jewish refugees among the displaced people, especially in Germany and Austria. The report accordingly deals in the main with that group.

On numerous occasions appreciation was expressed by the victims of Nazi persecution for the interest of the United States Government in them. As my report shows they are in need of attention and help. Up to this point they have been "liberated" more in a military sense than actually. For reasons explained in the report, their particular problems have not been given careful attention to any appreciable extent; consequently they feel that they, who were in so many ways the first and worst victims of Nazism, are being neglected by their liberators.

Upon my request, the Department of State authorized Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz to join me in the mission. Dr. Schwartz, European Director of the American Jewish Joint Distribution
Committee, was granted a leave of absence from that organiza-
tion for the purpose of accompanying me. His long and varied
experience in refugee problems as well as his familiarity with
the Continent and the people made Dr. Schwartz a most valuable
associate; this report represents our joint views, conclusions
and recommendations.

During various portions of the trip I had, also, the
assistance of Mr. Patrick M. Malin, Vice-Director of the Inter-
governmental Committee on Refugees and Mr. Herbert Katsuki
of the War Refugee Board. These gentlemen likewise have had
considerable experience in refugee matters. Their assistance
and cooperation were most helpful in the course of the sur-
vey. Statements in this report concerning the organizations
with which Dr. Schwartz and Mr. Malin are connected represent
exclusively my observations and conclusions.

I
Preliminary Statement

At all points in the reading of this report the follow-
ing matters should be kept constantly in mind:

(1) A gigantic task confronted the occupying armies in
Germany and Austria in getting back to their homes as many as
possible of the more than six million displaced persons found
in those countries. Less than three months after VE-Day,
more than four million of such persons have been repatriated --
a phenomenal performance. It is small wonder that, to achieve
this incredible record, other phases of the problem should
have been, through sheer necessity, deferred. One's first
impression, in surveying the situation, is that of complete
admiration for what has been accomplished by the military
authorities in so materially reducing the time as predicted
to be required for this stupendous task. Praise of the highest order is due all military units with respect to this phase of the post-fighting job. In directing attention to existing conditions which unquestionably require remediating, there is no intention or wish to detract one particle from the preceding statements. Three months devoted almost exclusively to the mass movement job is, under all the circumstances, by no means unreasonable.

(2) The remaining two million plus persons (the ultimate number may prove to be substantially larger) are housed in thousands of camps and centers. In the time available, it was possible for me to visit only a small fraction of these concentrations of displaced persons, although care was taken to make the places visited as representative as possible of all conditions.

(3) While I did not actually see conditions as they existed immediately after liberation I had them described in detail sufficient to make entirely clear that there has been, during the intervening period, great improvement in the conditions under which the remaining displaced persons are living. Reports which have come out of Germany informally from refugees themselves and from persons interested in refugee groups indicate a general tendency not to take into account the full scope of the overwhelming task and responsibilities facing the military authorities. While it is understandable that those who have been persecuted and otherwise mistreated over such a long period should be impatient at what appears to them to be undue delay in meeting their special needs, fairness dictates that, in evaluating the pro-
grew, made, the entire problem and all of its ramifications be kept in mind. My effort has been, therefore, to weigh quite carefully the many complaints made to me in the course of my survey, both by displaced persons themselves and in their behalf, in the light of the many responsibilities which confronted the military authorities.

(4) While for the sake of brevity this report must necessarily consist largely of general statements, it should be recognized that exceptions exist with respect to practically all of such generalizations. One high ranking military authority predicted, in advance of my trip through Germany and Austria, that I would find, with respect to camps containing displaced persons, "some that are quite good, some that are very bad, with the average something under satisfactory." My subsequent trip confirmed that prediction in all respects.

II

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Conditions

(1) Generally speaking, three months after VE-Day and even longer after the liberation of individual groups, many Jewish displaced persons and other possibly non-repatriables are living under guard, in camps of several descriptions, including some of the most notorious of the concentration camps, amidst crowded, unsanitary and generally grim conditions, in complete idleness, with no opportunity, except surreptitiously, to communicate with the outside world, waiting, hoping for some word of encouragement and action in their behalf.

(2) There has been marked improvement in the health of survivors of the Nazi starvation and persecution program although there are still, of course, many pathetic malnutrition
cases among the hospitalized. The death rate has been high since liberation, as was to be expected. One Army Chaplain, a Rabbi, personally attended, since liberation, 25,000 burials at Belsen alone, one of the largest and most vicious of the concentration camps, where, incidentally, despite persistent reports to the contrary, fourteen thousand displaced persons are still living, including over seven thousand Jews. At many of the camps and centers there is a marked and serious lack of needed medical supplies.

(3) Although some Camp Commandants have managed, in spite of the many obvious difficulties, to find clothing of one kind or another for their charges, many of the Jewish displaced persons, late in July, had no clothing other than their concentration camp garb -- a rather hideous striped pajama effect -- while others, to their chagrin, were obliged to wear German S.S. uniforms. It is questionable which clothing they hate the more.

(4) With a few notable exceptions, nothing in the way of a program of activity or organized effort toward rehabilitation has been inaugurated and the internees, for they are literally such, have little to do except to dwell upon their plight, the uncertainty of their future and, what is more unfortunate, to draw comparisons between their treatment "under the Germans" and "in liberation". Beyond knowing that they are no longer in danger of the gas chambers, torture, and other forms of violent death, they see little change. While it may be that conditions in Germany and Austria are still such that certain control measures are required, there seems little justification for the continuance of barbed-wire fences, armed guards, and prohibition against leaving the camp.
except by passes, which at some places are illiberally granted.
Prevention of looting is given as the reason for these stern
measures but it is interesting that in portions of the Seventh
Army area where greater liberty of movement in and out of
amps is given there is actually much less plundering than in
other areas where people, wishing to leave camp temporarily,
must do so by stealth. The morale of those who are either
stateless or who do not wish to return to their countries
of nationality is very low. They have witnessed great ac-
tivity and efficiency in returning people to their homes but
they hear or see nothing in the way of plans for them and con-
sequently they wonder and frequently ask what "liberation"
means. This situation is considerably accentuated where, as
in so many cases, they are able to look from their crowded
and bare quarters and see the German civilian population,
particularly in the rural areas, to all appearances living
normal lives in their own homes.

(8) The most absorbing worry of these war and Nazi
victims concerns relatives -- wives, and husbands, parents,
children. Most of them have been separated for three, four
or five years and they cannot understand why the liberators
should not have undertaken immediately an organized effort
to re-unite family groups. Most of the very little which
has been done in this direction has been informal action by
the displaced persons themselves with the aid of devoted
Army Chaplains, frequently Rabbis, and the American Joint
Distribution Committee. Broadcasts of names and locations by
the Psychological Warfare Division at Luxembourg have been
helpful, although the lack of receiving sets has handicapped
the effectiveness of the program. Even where, as has been
happening, information has been received as to relatives living in other camps in Germany, it depends on the personal disposition of the Camp Commandant whether permission can be obtained or assistance received to follow up on the information. Some Camp Commandants are quite rigid in this particular, while others lend every effort to join family groups.

(6) It is difficult to evaluate the food situation fairly because one must be mindful of the fact that quite generally food is scarce and is likely to be more so during the winter ahead. On the other hand, in presenting the factual situation, one must raise the question as to how much longer some of these people, particularly those who have felt persecution and near starvation so long, can survive on a diet composed principally of bread and coffee, irrespective of the caloric content. I received the distinct impression and considerable substantiating information that large numbers of the German population -- again principally in the rural areas -- have a more varied and palatable diet than is the case with many of the displaced persons.

(7) Many of the buildings in which displaced persons are housed will clearly be unfit for winter use and everywhere there is great concern about the prospect of complete lack of fuel. There is every likelihood that close to a million displaced persons will be in Germany and Austria when winter sets in. The outlook in many areas so far as shelter, food and fuel are concerned is anything but bright.

III

NEED OF THE JEWS

While it is impossible to state accurately the number of Jews now in Germany and Austria, all indications point to
the fact that the number is small, with one hundred thousand probably the top figure; some informed persons contend the number is considerably smaller. The principal nationality groups are Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Germans and Austrians.

The first and plainest need of these people is recognition of their actual status and by this I mean their status as Jews. Most of them have spent years in the worst of the concentration camps. In many cases, although the full extent is not yet known, they are the sole survivors of their families and many have been through the agony of witnessing the destruction of their loved ones. Understandably, therefore, their present condition, physical and mental, is far worse than that of other groups.

While SHAPE (now Combined Displaced Persons Executive) policy directives have recognized formerly persecuted persons, including enemy and ex-enemy nationals, as one of the special categories of displaced persons, the general practice thus far has been to follow only nationality lines. While admittedly it is not normally desirable to set aside particular racial or religious groups from their nationality categories, the plain truth is that this was done for so long by the Nazis that a group has been created which has special needs. Jews as Jews have been more severely victimized and not as members of their nationality groups.

When they are now considered only as members of nationality groups, the result is that special attention cannot be given to their admittedly greater needs because, it is contended, doing so would constitute preferential treatment and lead to trouble with the non-Jewish portion of the particular nationality group.
Thus there is a distinctly unrealistic approach to the problem which results in a vicious circle again to the disadvantage of the Jewish groups. Refusal to recognize the Jews as such has the effect, in this situation, of closing one's eyes to their former and more barbaric persecution, which has in reality made them a group having greater needs than most of the other displaced persons.

Their second great need can be presented by discussing what I found to be their

WISHES AS TO FUTURE DESTINATIONS

(1) For reasons that are obvious and need not be labored, most Jews want to leave Germany and Austria as soon as possible. That is their first and great wish and while this report necessarily deals with other needs present in the situation, many of the people themselves fear other programs or plans for their benefit because of the possibility that attention might thereby be diverted from the all-important matter of evacuation from Germany. If, as suggested above, the Jews were recognized as a separate category of displaced persons, what has just been said about evacuation would be more clearly understood, because German soil is more hateful to the Jewish groups than to others, whose repatriation has already been accomplished or is more imminent.

(2) Some wish to return to their countries of nationality but as to this there is considerable nationality variation. Very few Polish Jews wish to return to Poland; much higher percentages of the Hungarian, Rumanian, Yugoslavian and Baltic groups want to return although some hasten to add that it is the desire to look for relatives that causes the preference and that, depending upon circumstances, they might wish thereafter to emigrate.
(3) With respect to possible places of resettlement for those who may be stateless or who do not wish to return to their homes, Palestine is definitely and pre-eminently the first choice. Many now have relatives there, while others, having experienced intolerance and persecution in their homelands for years, feel that only in Palestine will they be welcomed and find peace and quiet and be given an opportunity to live and work.

(4) Palestine, while clearly the choice of most, is not the only named place of possible emigration. Some, but the number is not large, wish to emigrate to the United States where they have relatives, others to England, the British Dominions, or to South America. As indicated before, many prefer to return to their own countries.

Thus the second great need is the prompt development of a plan to get out of Germany and Austria as many as possible of those who wish it. Otherwise the needs and wishes of the Jewish groups among the displaced persons can be simply stated; among their physical needs are clothing, more varied and palatable diet, medicines, beds and mattresses, reading materials. Other important needs are discussed under the heading of Conclusions and Recommendations.

IV.

MANNER IN WHICH NEEDS ARE BEING MET

Aside from having brought relief from the fear of extermination, hospitalization for the serious starvation cases and some general improvement in conditions under which displaced persons in general are compelled to live, relatively little has been done, during the period of mass repatriation, beyond the planning stage to meet the special needs of the formerly persecuted groups.
UNRRA, being neither sufficiently organized or equipped nor authorized to operate displaced persons camps or centers on any large scale, has not been in position to make any substantial contribution to the situation. Regrettably there has been a disinclination on the part of many Camp Commandants to utilize UNRRA personnel even to the extent available, though it must be admitted this resulted in some instances from unfortunate experiences Army officers had with UNRRA personnel who were unqualified and inadequate for the responsibility involved. Then, too, in the American and British zones, it too frequently occurred that UNRRA personnel did not include English-speaking members and this hampered proper working relationships.

Under these circumstances, UNRRA, to which has been assigned the responsibility for co-ordinating activities of private social welfare agencies, has been in awkward position when it came to considering and acting upon proposals of one kind or another submitted by well qualified agencies which would aid and supplement military and UNRRA responsibilities. The result has been that, up to this point, very few private social agencies are working with displaced persons, including the Jews, although the situation cries out for their services in many different ways.

It must be said, too, that because of their pre-occupation with mass repatriation and because of housing, personnel and transport difficulties, the military authorities have shown considerable resistance to the entrance of voluntary agency representatives, no matter how qualified they might be to help meet existing needs of displaced persons.
V.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Now that the worst of the pressure of mass repatriation is over, it is not unreasonable to suggest that in the next and perhaps more difficult period those who have suffered most and longest be given first and not last attention. Specifically, in the days immediately ahead, the Jews in Germany and Austria should have the first claim upon the conscience of the people of the United States and Great Britain and those who represent them in work being done in Germany and Austria.

2. Evacuation from Germany should be the emphasized theme, policy and practice.

(a) Recognizing that repatriation is most desirable from the standpoint of all concerned, the Jews who wish to return to their own countries should be aided to do so without further delay. Whatever special action is needed to accomplish this with respect to countries of reception or military zones through which they must pass or with respect to consent of military or other authorities should be undertaken with energy and determination. Unless this and other action, about to be suggested, is taken, substantial unofficial and unauthorized movements of people must be expected, and these will require considerable force to prevent, for the patience of many of the persons involved is nearing the breaking point.

(b) With respect to those who do not, for good reasons, wish to return to their homes, prompt planning should likewise be undertaken. In this connection, the issue of Palestine must be faced. Now that such large numbers are no longer involved and if there is any genuine sympathy for what these
survivors have endured, some reasonable extension or modification of the British White Paper of 1939 ought to be possible without too serious repercussions. For some of the European Jews, there is no acceptable or even decent solution for their future other than Palestine. This is said on a purely humanitarian basis with no reference to ideological or political considerations so far as Palestine is concerned.

It is my understanding, based upon reliable information, that certificates for immigration to Palestine will be practically exhausted by the end of the current month (August, 1948). What is the future to be? To anyone who has visited the concentration camps and who has talked with the despairing survivors, it is nothing short of calamitous to contemplate that the gates of Palestine should be soon closed.

The Jewish Agency of Palestine has submitted to the British Government a petition that one hundred thousand additional immigration certificates be made available. An accompanying memorandum makes a persuasive showing with respect to the immediate absorptive capacity of Palestine and the current, actual man-power shortages there.

While there may be room for difference of opinion as to the precise number of such certificates which might under the circumstances be considered reasonable (certainly there are those who contend that one hundred thousand is inadequate to take care of all needs), there is no question but that the request thus made would, if granted, contribute much to the sound solution for the future of Jews still in Germany and Austria, who do not wish either to remain there or to return to their countries of nationality.

For whatever it may be worth, I should report the opinion expressed by several persons in Germany that if forty
thousand Palestinian certificates were made available for Jews now in Germany it would be quite adequate to take care of all who want to go and who would probably qualify for the life there under any reasonable selective process.

No other single matter is, therefore, so important from the viewpoint of the Jewish refugees in Germany and Austria as is the future of the Palestine question.

Dr. High Dalton, a prominent member of the new British Government, is reported as having said at the Labor Party Conference in May 1948:

"This Party has laid it down and repeated it so recently as last April . . . . that this time, having regard to the un-speakable horrors that have been perpetrated upon the Jews of Germany and other occupied countries in Europe, it is morally wrong and politically indefensible to impose obstacles to the entry into Palestine now of any Jews who desire to go there . . . . We are sometimes told that not all Jews desire to go to Palestine. Well, it is for them to make up their minds as to whether or not they desire to go. What we have declared at this stage, however, is that if they desire to go to Palestine we should not stand in their way, but, on the contrary, we should facilitate their going by the provision of various kinds of economic assistance in various forms for the development of the Land of Promise and Hope in a world which, for the Jews, has been blackened to an extent which none of us who are not Jews can begin to appreciate or to understand.

". . . We consider Jewish immigration into Palestine should be permitted without the present limitations which obstruct it, and we also have stated clearly that this is not a matter which should be regarded as one for which the British
Government alone should take responsibility; but as it comes, as do many others, in the international field, it is indispensable that there should be close agreement and co-operation among the British, American and Soviet Governments, particularly if we are going to get a sure settlement in Palestine and the surrounding countries. ..... If we are to get an agreed settlement, if it is to stand firm and unshaken by changes from year to year, it is indispensable that it should be backed and supported by the American and Soviet Governments, as well as by the British Government, and in my view steps should be taken in consultation with those two Governments to see whether we cannot get that common support for a policy which will give us a happy, a free and a prosperous Jewish State in Palestine .......

If this can be said to represent the viewpoint of the new Government in Great Britain, it might not be inappropriate for the United States Government to express its interest in and support of some equitable solution of the question which would make it possible for some reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews, now homeless under any fair view, to resettle there. That is their wish and it is rendered desirable by the generally-accepted policy of permitting family groups to unite or reunite.

(c) Similarly, it would be hoped that the United States should, under existing immigration laws, permit reasonable numbers of such persons to come here, again particularly those who have family ties in this country. As indicated earlier, the numbers who desire emigration to the United States are not overwhelming and if the migration were properly planned there should be no difficulty in absorbing them.
If Great Britain and the United States were to take the actions recited, it might the more readily be that other countries would likewise be willing to keep their doors reasonably open for such humanitarian considerations and to demonstrate in a practical manner their disapproval of Nazi policy which unfortunately has poisoned so much of Europe.

3. To the extent that such emigration from Germany and Austria is delayed, some immediate temporary solution must be found. In any event there will be a substantial number who are not physically fit or otherwise presently prepared for emigration.

Here I feel strongly that greater and more extensive efforts should be made to get them out of camps for they are sick of living in camps. In the first place, there is real need for such specialized places as tuberculosis sanatoria and rest homes for those who are mentally ill or who need a period of readjustment before living again in the world at large — anywhere. Some will require at least short periods of training or retraining before they can be really useful citizens.

But speaking more broadly, there is an opportunity here to give some real meaning to the policy agreed upon at Potsdam. If it be true, as seems to be widely conceded, that the German people at large do not have any sense of guilt with respect to the war and its causes and results, and if the policy is to be "to convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves," then it is difficult to understand why so many displaced persons,
particularly those whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed, should be compelled to live in overcrowded camps while the German people continue undisturbed in their homes.

As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of S.S. troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy.

It seems much more equitable and as it should be to witness the very few places where fearless and uncompromising military officers have either requisitioned an entire village for the benefit of the remaining displaced persons, compelling the German population to find housing where they can, or have required the local population to billet a reasonable number of them. Thus they live more like normal people and less like prisoners or criminals or herded sheep. They are in Germany, most of them, through no fault or wish of their own and, in this fashion, this fact is being brought home to the German people but it is being done on too small a scale.

At many places, however, the military government officers manifest the utmost reluctance or indisposition, if not timidity, about inconveniencing the German population. They even say that their job is to get communities working properly and soundly again, that they must "live with the Germans while the dp's (displaced persons) are a more temporary problem." Thus if a group of Jews must vacate their temporary quarters, needed for military purposes, and there are two possible sites, one a block of quite adequate flats with conveniences and the
other a series of shabby buildings with outside toilet and washing facilities, the burgomeister readily succeeds in persuading the Town Major to allot the latter to the displaced persons and to save the former for returning German civilians.

This tendency reflects itself in other ways, namely in the employment of German civilians in the offices of military government officers when equally qualified personnel could easily be found among the displaced persons whose repatriation does not seem to be imminent. Actually there have been situations where displaced persons, especially Jews, have found it difficult to obtain audiences with military government authorities because they have been obliged to go through German employees who have not facilitated matters.

Quite generally, insufficient use is made of the services of displaced persons. Many of them are able and eager to work but apparently they are not thought of in this regard. While appreciating that language difficulties are sometimes involved, I am convinced that, both within and outside camps, greater use could be made of the personal services of those displaced persons who in all likelihood will be on hand for some time. Happily in some camps every effort is made to utilize the services of the displaced persons and these are apt to be the best camps in all respects.

4. To the extent that (a) evacuation from Germany and Austria is not immediately possible and (b) the formerly persecuted groups cannot be housed in villages or billeted with the German population, I recommend urgently that separate camps be set up for Jews or at least those who wish in the absence of a better solution to be in such camps. There are several reasons for this: (1) a great majority want it; (2) it is
the only way in which administratively their special needs and problems can be met without charges of preferential treatment or (oddly enough) of discrimination by Jewish agencies now prepared and ready to give them assistance.

In this connection, I wish to emphasize that it is not a case of singling out a particular group for special privileges but raising to a more normal level the position of a group which has been depressed to the lowest depths conceivable by years of organized and inhuman oppression. The measures necessary for their restitution do not come within any reasonable interpretation of privileged treatment and are required by considerations of justice and humanity.

There has been some tendency at spots in the direction of separate camps for those who might be found to be stateless or non-repatriable or whose repatriation is likely to be deferred some time. Actually, too, this was announced some time ago as SHAIF policy but in practice it has not been taken to mean much for there is (understandably if not carried too far) a refusal to contemplate possible statelessness and an insistence, in the interests of the large repatriation program, to consider all as repatriable. This results in a resistance to anything in the way of special planning for the "hard core", although all admit it is inevitable.

6. As quickly as possible, the actual operation of such camps should be turned over to a civilian agency - UNRRA. That organization is aware of weaknesses in the present structure and is pressing to remedy them. In that connection, it is believed that greater assistance could be given by the military authorities, upon whom any civilian agency in Germany and Austria today is necessarily dependent so far as housing,
transport and other items are concerned. While it is true
the military have been urging UNRRA to get ready to assume
responsibility, it may also be true that insufficient coopera-
tion of an active nature has been given to accomplish the de-
sired end.

6. Since, in any event, the military authorities must
necessarily continue to participate in the program for all
displaced persons, especially with respect to housing, cer-
tain supplies, transport and security, it is recommended that
there be a review of the military personnel selected for Camp
Commandant positions. Some serving at present, while perhaps
adequate for the mass repatriation job, are manifestly unsuited
for the longer-term job of working in a camp composed of people
whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed.
Officers who have had some background or experience in social
welfare work are to be preferred and it is believed there are
some who are available. It is most important that the officers
selected be sympathetic with the program and temperamentally
able to work and to co-operate with UNRRA and other relief
and welfare agencies.

7. Pending the assumption of responsibility for opera-
tions by UNRRA, it would be desirable if a more extensive
plan of field visitation by appropriate Army Group Headquarters
be instituted. It is believed that many of the conditions now
existing in the camps would not be tolerated if more intimately
known by supervisory officers through inspection tours.

8. It is urgently recommended that plans for tracing
services, now under consideration, be accelerated to the fullest
extent possible and that, in this same direction, communication
services, if on open postal cards only, be made available to
displaced persons within Germany and Austria as soon as possible. The difficulties are appreciated but it is believed that if the anxiety of the people, so long abused and harassed, were fully understood, ways and means could be found within the near future to make such communication and tracing of relatives possible. I believe also that some of the private agencies could be helpful in this direction if given an opportunity to function.

In order to file this report promptly so that possibly some remedial steps might be considered at an early date as possible, I have not taken time to analyze all of the notes made in the course of the trip or to comment on the situation in France, Belgium, Holland or Switzerland, also visited by either Dr. Schwartz or myself. Accordingly, I respectfully request that this report be considered as partial in nature even as to Germany and Austria although with respect to these countries it is believed the main points have been covered. The problems present in these two countries are much more serious and difficult than in any of the other countries named and this fact, too, seemed to make desirable the filing of a partial report immediately upon completion of the mission.

Respectfully,

Earl O. Harrison
My dear Mr. Secretary:

Because of your own deep interest in the Earl Harrison mission, I thought you would like to see the enclosed copies of the report he has just cabled from Switzerland and of the letter Mr. Vinson sent to State and War on the matter. We have also sent a copy of the Harrison report to Harold Glasser for discussion with the appropriate UNRRA officials in London. We shall, of course, follow the matter and continue to press for action as long as we can.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Florence Hobel

Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Jr.,
2029 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure.

FHtd 8/3/46
My dear Mr. Secretary:

I want to bring to your attention, without delay, the attached copy of a cable addressed to me, from Mr. Earl G. Harrison, who as you know, is presently on a mission for this Government concerning displaced persons problems in Europe.

Mr. Harrison reports the following: In general he found complete confirmation of the disturbing reports concerning the treatment of Jews in the British and American zones of Germany. Most military authorities refuse to recognize Jews as a separate category in spite of their greater suffering and equally refuse to recognize the Jews as stateless, insisting upon treating all groups by nationality alone. While most of the Jews desire prompt evacuation from Germany, preferably to Palestine, Harrison recommends that, if this is not possible in the near future, greater and special attention be given to their billeting while they remain in Germany. Unfortunately, because military government personnel are reluctant to inconvenience the German civilian population through requisitioning of German housing, displaced persons have been ordered to live with the German population. Harrison urges that a program for separate camps for Jews be pushed vigorously.

Harrison also urges that UNRRA take over the management of displaced persons camps, especially those for non-repatriables, at the earliest possible date. He points out, however, that UNRRA needs real help from the army in such matters as headquarters, transport, etc., in order to do a really effective job.
I am sure you will agree that prompt steps should be taken to remedy the distressing situation which Harrison has reported and I should like to be advised as to what action is taken.

I am also sending a copy of Harrison's cable to the War Department.

Sincerely yours,

15) Fred D. Vinson

Honorole Joseph C. Grew,
Acting Secretary of State.

Enclosure.
PLOTH
ZURICH
Dated July 28, 1946

Secretary of State,
Washington.

123, Twenty-eighth
FOR SECRETARY TREASURY FROM EARL G. HARRISON

In general found complete confirmation of disturbing reports concerning Jews in SHAEF Zone of Germany. Impossible to get accurate approximation of number involved but indications are may be nearer 60,000 than 100,000. Most military authorities refuse recognize Jews as separate category in spite of admitted greater suffering and equally refuse recognize statelessness. Short of absolute compulsion policy seems to be to treat all groups by nationality alone and to force repatriation by unpleasantness of surroundings and conditions. While high percentage Jews, especially Poles, wish prompt evacuation from Germany, preferably to Palestine, if this not possible within reasonable future, definitely greater and special attention should be given their billeting. While city housing obviously scarce from destruction, many villages and rural areas intact presenting opportunities for more prospects like Kaulitz British Zone where 600 Jews share homes with German agricultural workers. Unfortunately military government personnel seem reluctant to inconvenience German civilian population for benefit displaced persons either through requisitioning buildflats or portions of houses saying they must "live with German population" while displaced persons stay probably temporary. This policy needs drastic change from top. It as likely this would not meet entire requirements strongly urge that program of separate camps for Jews be pushed more vigorously. Jews themselves want it as second way to evacuation and in no other way can special needs of those who have suffered most and longest be met without repercussions and charges of preferential treatment. One completely Jewish
camp at Feldafing with over 6,000 is working beautifully. Concept of special camps for non-repatriables accepted by SHAEF now CEFAX but is not being pushed hard enough and is resisted at many points in the field where repatriation continues to be only interest. Many present quarters unsuitable for winter occupancy. Highly desirable my opinion UNRRA take over management camps especially non-repatriables earliest possible date but big organization and weeding out job still needed. My impression is that military authorities while professing eagerness have UNRRA assume responsibility are not giving Bhakian adequate assistance in such matters as headquarters, transport, at etcera. UNRRA assumption operations important inter alia because great need for supplemental services of private agencies and action upon proposals terribly slow under present arrangements. Finally matters of communications and tracing of relatives should be pushed as aggressively as possible to prevent complete breakdown of morale among Jewish families separated for years. Sporadic efforts by chaplains and Joint (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) have helped but official recognition and assistance sorely needed. These are only few highlights sent now in hope actions can be taken to indicate to relatively small number of survivors that they have in fact been liberated as well as saved.

Woods

JH
Refugee Camps Vary—
Widely in Treatment

But U. S. Forces
Everywhere Are Trying
To Be Humane

This is the last of three articles by a staff correspondent on the present situation of Jews and displaced persons in Germany.

By Victor H. Bernstein
Correspondent, The New York Times

12TH ARMY GROUP
HEADQUARTERS
Weilheim, Germany
July 30—I have visited
many displaced persons camps
and one thing I can say with certainty is that American detach-
ments running the camps are trying to be as fair and humane as possible.

Nevertheless, as in the case of treatment of German nationals, outside the camps, the condition of displaced persons also varies from place to place. In Landsberg, for instance, housing and food are good. Yet here, as in all camps in the 3d Army area, inmates are kept behind barbed wire, and only a small percentage are given passes to get out daily.

Food Varies

Third Army officials say it is necessary to avoid looting and disorders, yet 7th Army officials, who have not ordered the wiring of displaced persons camps in their area, insist their policy has not resulted in an undue amount of looting.

And if at Landsberg, Dansha, and other camps food is excellent, at Hershausen, 1929 calories of a prescribed 2000-calorie diet come in the form of bread, while in other camps, the food meets no
stated standards quantitatively. But often it is rotten and inedible.

In most camps, the food is furnished by German civilian officials, under American direction; it's up to us to see that the Germans fulfill their responsibilities properly. It is only until the plan for taking over the camps by the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency) comes into operation.

All-Jewish Camps

It has been decided at the highest level that there should also be 100 per cent Jewish camps for all who do not want to identify them-

selves with any nationality. I have talked to many inmates of various camps and, among Jews especially, I found concern over three things:

Why has no adequate means of communication been set up?

What will the future bring?

These are questions difficult to answer. Communications are lack-
ing, because we knocked hell out of the German system and it hasn't been restored. The Army has provided camp inmates with postcards of the "closet" type, on which the sender checks off any or all of these simple statements, such as "I am well," etc. But no additional information may be written on the cards.

Attempts are being made to remedy the communications situa-
tion, and the whole innocent prob-

—Whispers of bringing together families scattered over the face of the con-

lAlled.

Officials of what is known as the Combined Displaced Persons Ex-
change at Frankfurt, representing the highest U. S., French and Brit-
ish officials, are gathering all avail-
able data and records on concentra-
tion camps and on forced labor dispersion in general. At the same

time, according to Lt. Col. Schott-
land, chief of the processing cen-
ter at the exchange, attempts are being made to get the International Red Cross to set up a message service which would enable Nazi victims here to get in touch with relatives abroad.

I have found Col. Schottland

and his group fully appreciative of the enormity and importance of the whole problem, and their approach is humane. Yet the fact remains that scores of thousands of people who have spent years behind Nazi barbed wire are still here, though, under the Allies, I do not believe those conditions will exist because of malice or ill will.

In my part, I think they flow from a lack of a uniform policy and lack of manpower and determination to enforce a uniform policy every-

where.
Pro-London Poles Block Repatriation

Liaison Men

Are Appointees of Exile Regime

This is the second of three articles by a staff correspondent in Germany on the present situation of Germany's Jews and displaced persons.

By VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN

Staff Correspondent

12TH ARMY GROUP

H.Q., Wiesbaden, Germany, July 28, The problem of German Jewry is only a fraction of the Jewish problem here, and the Jewish problem itself is only a fraction of the human and political problem of staggering dimensions presented by the visions of Nazism.

We have moved 4,000,000 displaced persons out of Germany since the war's end—possibly the greatest migration of civilians in all history—but there still are 2,000,000 to be moved.

Most of these Poles and among them are non-Jews from 25,000 to 30,000, and Jews (of all nationalities, but Polish passports) and, in most instances, have nothing to go back to Poland. It is our policy not to repatriate any displaced persons (Soviet citizens excepted) against their will, and what is going to happen to Poles and Polish Jewry in this category is still one of those involved mysteries of the peace.

It would be unfair to say that we have helped create this problem for ourselves, but it is perfectly fair to say that we have done nothing to hinder its growth, particularly with reference to hundreds of thousands of non-Jewish Poles who now say they don't want to go back to Poland ruled by the Warsaw Government.

The amazing fact is that, even today, Polish repatriation officers and members of the displaced persons bureau are able to drive away from the offices of the Polish Government in Warsaw with any story, if not all, the stories that they are told by the displaced persons and with few exceptions are bitterly hostile to the Warsaw Government.

A small file of these Polish repatriation liaison men is kept to serve as an example for the members of Polish citizens to make themselves as soon as possible. It is common knowledge that the Polish liaison officers have been doing the exact opposite.

This situation is the fault of the Army or of the displaced persons bureau of the Military Government, when the State Dept. decided to continue to recognize the group of London Poles as a Government, this recognition had performance to extend all the way up and down the military as well as the civilian line, and promptly after we recognized the Warsaw Government, the Army communicated with Warsaw and asked for instructions with regard to these liaison officers, and I understand changes may occur in the next few weeks on a rather broad scale.

But, meanwhile, the damage has been done. Our whole theory in handling displaced persons has been changed.

At Auschwitz or Belsen the displaced persons are Poles and not Jews, and many have been to Nazi concentration camps.

A German mother and her child sleep in the rail yards at Bamberg, Germany, while awaiting transportation to their home in the Saar.

A Jew, who has been to Auschwitz, is seen here. The SS has gotten them back home and will not go back to Poland. It is our policy not to repatriate any displaced persons (Soviet citizens excepted) against their will, and what is going to happen to Poles and Polish Jewry in this category is still one of those involved mysteries of the peace.

In telling this story, I have been skipping from the situation of the non-Jewish Poles to the situation of displaced persons in general. This is because the story is at once a single story and a series of separate stories. It is a single story in the fundamental sense that it deals with the situation today of Hitler's civilian victims on German soil, and whether they are Jew or non-Jew in the Nazi concentration camps, the non-Jewish Poles, whether they are Jew or non-Jew in the Nazi concentration camps, and I think that it is a fact which must be faced whether we like it or not.

For instance, one difference between a German Communist or Social Democrat who was arrested from Dachau and a German Jew released from Theresienstadt is that in all likelihood the former has a wife and family to come home to, while the bens of the latter family may be lying in a cemetery in Auschwitz or buried in a mass grave in Belsen, and the difference between the Polish Jew at Landsberg concentration camp for instance and the non-Jewish Pole at the same camp, is that latter came here as a civilian worker with perhaps two bags crammed with perfectly legitimate clothing, food, while the former came there directly from a concentration camp with nothing but the clothes he was on his back. These are obvious physical differences; there are also obviously certain psychological factors which set the Jews apart. Many Polish Jews simply do not believe that the Warsaw Government could so far have
How Reich's Jews Fare Post-Hitler

Treatment in U. S. Zones Varies

With AMG Officials

This is the first of a series of articles by a staff correspondent in Germany on the present situation of Germany's Jews and displaced persons.

By Victor H. Bennett

HEADQUARTERS 12TH ARMY GROUP, WIESBADEN, GERMANY, JULY 24—No one knows how many are left of pre-Hitler Germany's 600,000 Jews. I have estimated ranging from 10,000 to 25,000.

These estimates are based on spotty reports from some of Germany's larger cities. For instance, Berlin may still have as many as 2000 to 5000 Jews. Frankfurt, which had 31,000 in 1933 and 10,000 in 1939, today has about 5000, including 500 who have returned to the city in the last few months from Theresienstadt camp. Munich has today about 600 of an original Jewish population about 14,000 (the current figure also includes recent returns from Theresienstadt).

On the other hand, the town of Bad Nauheim had 105 old German Jewish families. There was not one Jew left when the Americans entered the town, and none has returned since. This is the situation for thousands of smaller Jewish communities.

Two Approaches

Even the scattered figures I have presented here are not accurate. Many of these Jews are not Jews at all except in the eyes of Hitler. They are half Jews converted to one Christian sect or another. Perhaps 65 per cent of full professing Jews of German nationality now on German soil have come out of concentration camps.

Technically, all German Jews are in American eyes, first of all, German, which makes them an enemy which must be treated as all other enemy people. That is the technical approach.

A human approach, is represented by a directive issued by SHAEF on April 15. It provides that enemy and ex-enemy nationals persecuted because of their race, religion or anti-Nazi activities shall be given the same assistance granted to displaced persons, provided Military Government authorities approve.

Treatment Varies

This is a perfectly sound directive, it recognizes that Germany put into concentration camps for racial or political reasons—with some exceptions—are as much entitled to assistance, and therefore as much our Allies, as French, Czech, or Polish Jews. And it is only in the statistical sense that Jews are the chief beneficiaries of the directive, likewise as Jews comprise the bulk of German nationals who were released from concentration camps.

The actual treatment given German Jews and others who have come out of concentration camps a mixture of the technical and human approaches, with the former perhaps predominating. I hesitate to make blanket statements, precisely because the situation varies enormously from city to city and even within single communities.

The directive is closely permissive rather than mandatory and gives individual Military Government officials complete discretion as to whether or not they want to treat German concentration camp inmates as Germans or as Germany's victims.

For instance, in Frankfurt a start has been made in the direction of recognizing the special rights of such victims. A committee has been established specifically to protect the interest of German Jews in matters such as housing and clothing. But in the most important matter of all—food—nothing has been done whatsoever and all Germans in Frankfurt, whether they were Nazis or victims of Nazism, are getting the same ration.

Indeed a spokesman at the Frankfurt Military Government Food Office said that the German mayor started giving extra rations to Jews when they returned from Theresienstadt, but that the Military Government stopped the practice as being "against directives." The Food Office spokesman added that "if these Germans want to come into displaced persons camps, they are entitled to do so, and get the extra rations which all inmates of these camps now get. But unless they are willing to go into camps, we must treat them as Germans."

I am assured at a high Army level, however, that the Food Office at Frankfurt or anywhere else may, if it chooses, issue supplementary rations to German victims of Nazi persecution whether they are in camps or not. Under the directive I quoted above, these Germans are entitled to 2500 calories daily instead of the average 1150 calories constituting the regular German civilian ration.

In Munich, where a committee has been set up in behalf of "victims of the Nuremberg laws," the city government has provided a special welfare fund for Jews and is granting them extra rations in many cases.
TO: Secretary of State, Washington

DATE: July 21, 1946

NUMBER: 197

The following message from Earl G. Harrison for the information of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State is transmitted.

A tour of United States zones in Austria and Germany having been finished, a situation so serious was found in Austria that an interim report is believed to be essential to urge action from a high level at once. The feeling locally is strong that Austria, because of the smaller numbers involved, has not received as complete attention; repatriation has not occurred at the same swift pace as from Germany, and the movement has now slowed down to a considerable extent. The entire area is overpopulated to a serious degree especially with Hungarians and Germans and there is not in prospect any approval of evacuations. In Salzburg and Abersonau the population of the people actually displaced is approximately equal to the number of the normal population in those two places without taking into account military personnel. By the presence of a disproportionate number of foreigners, programs and planning of the Military Government are impeded at every turn.

Here the shortage of food seems to be even more acute than it is in Germany and camps which are reasonably adequate are more scarce obviously. Although there has been some action in Germany with reference to fuel for the winter nothing is happening about fuel for Austria and nothing is known about it and unless the population congestion around Salzburg and Linz and the fuel and food shortages are relieved military leaders are afraid of epidemics. From these conditions more rigid military control results including compulsion to enter into poor camps and to remain there strictly in order to reduce plundering and consumption of food.

Persons displaced and especially groups subject my mission at the present time to even more unpleasant conditions and circumstances than exist in most of the United States zone in Germany. Unless remedial measures are taken at once the more imminent approach of severe winter weather along with inadequate local resources indicate real danger and
suffering ahead. A great many hotels and buildings occupied at the present by Army personnel are not intended for use in the winter so that there is an understandable tendency to take over better centers of displaced persons. In addition, there is less indication here than in Germany of UMRRA action and planning.

It is especially essential that prompt action be taken for: (1) the evacuation of 70,000 Hungarians; (2) the transfer of a substantial number of Germans, 127,000; (3) drastic assistance regarding supplies of fuel and food.

Similar problems are being experienced by the Twelfth Corps, Third Army area, Regensburg, Passau -- overpopulation, Hungarians, Germans belonging elsewhere -- so that this area is not able to give relief toward the situation in Austria. If consent of the Russians can be secured there are boats available for taking Hungarians down the Danube.

With regard to the departure of Warren for the UMRRA Council Meeting in London, it is absolutely necessary that not later than August 21 see him there.

MURPHY

DC/LGW: NEW
(Initialed) LGW
7/23/45
Mr. Orvis Schmidt

J. W. Pehle

Attached hereto is a copy of a memorandum dated June 26, which was transmitted to the State and War Departments, on the displaced persons problem.

Also attached is a copy of a memorandum dated July 5, received from the War Department, commenting on the suggestions made. You will note that paragraph 4 contains the statement:

"The War Department would appreciate advice whether the Treasury Department representatives on this Committee will now support the War Department in its efforts to reopen limited postal communications."

It will be appreciated if you will have this matter given prompt consideration.

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

Attachments
July 10, 1945

Dear Ted,

I am attaching hereto a copy of a memorandum, dated July 6, 1945, from Secretary McCloy's office, on the displaced persons problem.

I would appreciate it if you would see that a copy of this memorandum is placed in the hands of Mr. Earl Harrison, United States Representative on the Intergovernmental Committee, who will be in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

[J. W. Pehle]

Mr. Theodore Ball
U. S. Treasury Representative
c/o American Embassy
Paris, France

Attachment

JWP:1hh 7-10-45
July 10, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WARREN:

Attached for your information is a copy of a memorandum, dated July 6, 1945, received from Mr. McCloy's office, on the displaced persons problem.

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle

Attachment

JWP:1hh 7-10-45
6 July 1945

Mr. J. W. Pehle
Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

In Mr. McCloy's absence, I have been asked to reply to your memorandum of 26 June 1945 containing suggestions as to steps which should be taken now by military authorities to bring about mental and physical rehabilitation of approximately 100,000 Jews located in the SHAEF zone of Germany. Mr. McCloy recognizes the importance of this problem and agrees with all four of your suggestions. For your information, I should like to summarize the steps which the military authorities have already taken with respect to each of these suggestions.

1. Removal to Displaced Persons Centers. It has been SHAEF's policy to remove liberated internees as rapidly as possible from concentration camps to displaced persons centers. According to the latest information, approximately 600 displaced persons centers are now being operated in the SHAEF area. Early in May, SHAEF issued instructions to Army Groups that the conditions of living of displaced persons should be raised to a standard as high as resources allow without consideration of any adverse effect on the living conditions of the German people. It was stated that, if necessary, arrangements for alternative accommodation should be made at the earliest possible moment by transferring Germans from the neighboring villages to the concentration camps. Unfortunately, severe typhus epidemics have often necessitated temporary quarantining of liberated internees in concentration camp areas, but efforts have always been made to improve living conditions. No restriction has been placed upon persons who are able and willing to resume life in Germany but the number of these is very small.

2. Importation of Food Supplies. A target ration of 2,000 calories per day has been set for displaced persons uncovered by Allied armies in Germany. As far as possible, the food necessary to supply this target is obtained from indigenous resources, supplemented to the extent necessary by imports by military authorities. In March and April, when large stocks of German food were
being captured, SHARP was able to meet the target ration by adding only approximately 285 tons in March and 9,631 tons in April. It was recognized, however, that German stocks would soon dwindle and accordingly plans were made to import necessary supplementary supplies for displaced persons through Combined Civil Affairs channels. During May 114,761 tons of food were imported for displaced persons in Germany, 258,176 tons have been called forward for issue in June and 242,285 tons in July. About 80% of these imports consist of wheat and flour, the balance being canned meat, fats, dried or skimmed milk, coffee, dehydrated soup, vitaminized chocolate, pulses, biscuits, dried eggs, canned fish, sugar and salt. The Army has also frequently flown into camps special emergency supplies such as drugs, hospital equipment and protein hydrolysate for intravenous feeding, as well as medical, public health and nutrition experts.

Upon dissolution of SHARP, the U.S. Army will continue to import sufficient food to feed displaced persons still remaining in the U.S. zone of occupation, to the extent that German resources are unable to carry the burden of feeding them. During the past few weeks, arrangements have been discussed with UNRRA whereby UNRRA would assume the obligation of providing these supplies in the near future.

3. Removal of Children to Other Countries. It is understood that England and France have each offered to accept 1,000 war orphans, Switzerland 2,000 and Sweden an indeterminate number. SHARP has been actively cooperating in making necessary arrangements. For example, in May the SHARP Mission (France) made arrangements with the French Government for care of orphan children in France including housing, medical examination and general welfare. The first group of children brought to France came from the Buchenwald camp.

4. Communications to and from Liberated Internes. This problem has been actively under consideration in the War Department since the beginning of May. At a recent meeting of the Communications Ad hoc Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. DeWolfe of the State Department, the War Department urged immediate reopening of communications in order to alleviate the concern of many people in the United States and at the same time to raise the morale of the liberated internes. However, some objections have been raised, particularly on the basis that reestablishment of communications might impede foreign funds control operations. The War Department would appreciate advice whether the Treasury Department representatives on this Committee will now support the War Department in its efforts to reopen limited postal communications.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

DAVIDSON WOOGERS
Major, Air Corps
Asst. Exec to Asst Sec
HONORABLE HENRY MORGENTHAU JR
SECY TO THE TREASY

IN FURTHER REFERENCE MY LETTER JUNE FOURTEENTH IN WHICH I
POINTED OUT ADVISABILITY OF AN ASSOCIATE FOR MR HARRISON
THEROUGHLY STEEPED IN JEWISH SITUATION I MET WITH MR HARRISON
SATURDAY HE TOO RECOGNIZED ADVISABILITY SUCH AN AIDE STOP ON
REVIEWING PERSONS AVAILABLE WE AGREED THAT MOST CAPABLE PERSON
FOR SUCH MISSION IS DR JOSEPH SCHWARTZ WHO HAS HAD LONG
EXPERIENCE IN FIELD I SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED MATTER WITH
LEADERS OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE AND THE AMERICAN
JEWISH CONFERENCE THE TWO MOST REPRESENTATIVE BODIES DEALING
WITH WORLD JEWISH PROBLEMS AND PALESTINE I HAVE BEEN ASKED BY
THESE LEADERS TO CONVEY TO YOU THE URGENT REQUEST THAT YOU
DESIGNATE DR SCHWARTZ AS AN ASSOCIATE FOR MR HARRISON IN THE
MISSION ENTRUSTED HIM ABROAD I HAVE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION WITH
DR SCHWARTZ WHO ADVISES ME THAT HE IS PREPARED TO MAKE HIMSELF
AVAILABLE FOR THE PURPOSE STOP IT IS AGREED AMONG ALL OF US
THAT TO PERFORM THIS TASK EFFECTIVELY DR SCHWARTZ WOULD
DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FOR THE TIME REQUIRED FROM HIS PRESENT
WORK WITH THE JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE WE HOPE THAT A
DECISION CAN BE MADE PROMPTLY TO INSURE SOONEST POSSIBLE
REPORT AND SUBSEQUENT ACTION WITH SINCERE THANKS
MEYER W WEISGAL.
MEMORANDUM

The interested American public is becoming gravely concerned over the plight of approximately 100,000 Jews located in the SHAEF zone of Germany. While from all reports the Army has done a very creditable job on the repatriation of displaced persons, these Jews are for the most part non-repatriables. Apparently, most of them are still living in the concentration camps where they were found by the Allied Armies.

These human beings are the survivors of those who suffered most and longest from the systematic German persecutions. Because of their long sufferings and unknown futures they are necessarily on the verge of mental as well as physical collapse. While it is clear that it will take some time to solve the problem of their ultimate resettlement, steps should be taken now to bring about their mental and physical rehabilitation.

The following suggestions are made toward this end:

(1) Those who desire to be cared for by the Allied military authorities, should be removed as soon as possible from the concentration camps, the scenes of their great misery and torture where relatives and friends were killed before their eyes, to Displaced Persons Centers which can be established in other areas from which the German population can be evacuated. It is understood that this system was used with considerable success in Italy where whole towns were evacuated for refugees. Persons who are able and willing to take their chances with the rest of the population should be free to leave these centers at will.

(2) Adequate food supplies should be made available. The long period of starvation which these people survived has left them in a debatable physical condition. Their rehabilitation to normal living requires adequate and good food at once.
Since, according to most estimates, German surpluses of food will not last long, the food supplies for displaced persons remaining in the centers should be supplemented by food brought from outside Germany by the military authorities.

(3) The children of this group, many of whom cannot remember any life outside Nazi concentration camps and who need immediate and special care, should be removed from these camps as soon as possible to temporary refuge in nearby countries ready and willing to receive them. Switzerland, Sweden, France and England are said to have offered to accept several thousand of these war orphans.

(4) A system of communication should be established as soon as possible to permit these people to send and receive personal messages. The complete segregation of these people from families and friends for so many years makes the availability of communication facilities a vital morale factor in their rehabilitation. Until these persons can write to their friends and relatives it will be difficult to convince them that they have been liberated and are no longer enslaved.

J. W. Pehle
Assistant to the Secretary
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J. W. Pehle
Assistant to the Secretary
Office Memorandum

TO: WAR REFUGEE BOARD, Miss Hodel
FROM: George L. Warren

DATE: June 25, 1945

SUBJECT:

Attached are copies of the memorandum to the White House in respect to Mr. Harrison’s trip and draft of the letter to Mr. Harrison for the President’s signature. This material went to the White House on Thursday, June 21, 1945. We have had no word whether the White House sent the memorandum and letter on to the President on the West Coast.

George L. Warren

WR16115WarrensloJ
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

June 21, 1945

SUBJECT: Mr. Earl G. Harrison's mission to Europe on refugee matters

Pursuant to a suggestion by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Department of State has directed Mr. Earl G. Harrison, this Government's representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, to proceed immediately to the liberated countries of Europe and to Germany to ascertain the needs of stateless and non-refugees, particularly Jews, among the displaced persons in Germany and to what extent these needs are being provided at present by military authorities, governments, international, national or private organizations. Mr. Harrison has also been directed to determine in general the views of the refugees with respect to their future destinations.

The majority of displaced persons possessing the nationality of a United Nations Government are being returned to their home countries rapidly by SHAPE. Pending such return they are represented by liaison officers of their respective governments attached to SHAPE.

The non-refugees consist primarily of the Jewish survivors of Nazi persecutions and of other groups such as Polish and Baltic nationals whose return to their countries is delayed for political reasons. They are without official representation at SHAPE, lack communication facilities with friends and families, and are without guidance as to their future. Private groups in this country interested in these refugees are pressing urgently for information concerning their present situation and plans for their care. Agencies of the Federal Government require this information in order to deal effectively with the problem through military channels and the international organizations in which this Government participates as a member.

Mr. Harrison's mission has been approved by SHAPE. An expression of your interest will facilitate the mission and reassure interested groups concerned with the future of the refugees that positive measures are being undertaken on their behalf. Attached is a letter from your signature addressed to Mr. Harrison expressing such interest, if this motion meets with your approval. I shall be glad to see that the letter is sent to Mr. Harrison in Europe.

Sincerely,

Joseph C. Grew
Acting Secretary

TO: Mr. Harrison

[Signature]
By dear Mr. Harrison:

I am advised by the Department of State that you are to proceed abroad to inquire into the needs of stateless and non-repatriable refugees among the displaced persons in Germany and to determine the extent to which those needs are now being met by military, governmental and private organizations. It is important to the early restoration of peace and order in Europe that plans be developed to meet the needs of those who for justifiable reasons cannot return to their countries of pre-war residence.

I wish you every success in your mission and will be interested to receive your report upon your return.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Carl G. Harrison
2301 Parkard Building,
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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The majority of displaced persons possessing the nationality of a United Nations Government are being returned to their home countries rapidly by SHAPE. Pending such return they are represented by liaison officers of their respective governments attached to SHAPE.

The non-repatriables consist primarily of the Jewish survivors of Nazi persecutions and of other groups such as Polish and Baltic nationals whose return to their countries is delayed for political reasons. They are without official representation at SHAPE, lack communication facilities with friends and families, and are without guidance as to their future. Private groups in this country interested in these refugees are pressing urgently for information concerning their present situation and plans for their care. Agencies of the Federal Government require this information in order to deal effectively with the problem through military channels and international organizations in which this Government participates as a member.

Mr. Harrison’s mission has been approved by SHAPE. An expression of your interest will facilitate the mission and reassure interested groups concerned with the future of the refugees that positive measures are being undertaken on their behalf. Attached is a letter for your signature addressed to Mr. Harrison expressing such interest, if this action meets with your approval. I shall be glad to see that the letter is sent to Mr. Harrison in Europe.

Enclosure:  
To Mr. Harrison

JOSEPH C. Grew  
Acting Secretary
My dear Mr. Harrison:

I am advised by the Department of State that you are to proceed abroad to inquire into the needs of stateless and non-repatriable refugees among the displaced persons in Germany and to determine the extent to which those needs are now being met by military, governmental and private organizations. It is important to the early restoration of peace and order in Europe that plans be developed to meet the needs of those who for justifiable reasons cannot return to their countries of pre-war residence.

I wish you every success in your mission and will be interested to receive your report upon your return.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Earl G. Harrison
2301 Packard Building
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania.
Please advise McClelland that under the circumstances, Mr. Harrison would like to have Katzki accompany him, and will get in touch with him when he arrives in Europe.
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement.

Secretary of State
Washington

US URGENT
3256, June 20, 4 p.m.

O'DOHER TRB FROM MCLELLAND.

DEPT'S 2076 TRB 535 June 19 and LEGT'S 3242 June 19.

Whereas I much appreciate suggestion that I accompany Mr. Earl Harrison American delegate to IGCR on survey trip in Europe and Board's approval thereof, I am afraid this will be practically impossible since I have a minimum of 4 weeks work ahead of me getting off refugee convoys, writing final TRB report and generally winding up Board affairs in Switzerland.

Provided it does not interfere with his TRB work in Switzerland, particularly dispatching those refugees, I warmly recommend Horbowi Katzki to accompany Mr. Harrison if this meets with Board's approval. H. K. is well acquainted with question of displaced persons in Europe and would be much interested in such a trip.

HARRISON
JMS
CONTROL COPY

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DEPARTMENT
OF STATE

OUTGOING

TELEGRAM

TELEGRAPH SECTION

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES

LB

June 10, 1945

4 p.m.

US URGENT

ARCHIVE

June 9

to

The following for McColland from O'Dwyer in WBU 635.

Clearance obtained for Mr. Earl Harrison, American Delegate to Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, to proceed in very near future to the liberated countries of Europe and to Germany to investigate certain facts regarding displaced persons, particularly Jews. He would be charged to ascertain needs of these people and to what extent these needs being provided by international, national, or private organizations.

It has been suggested that you accompany Harrison on this mission as Special Attaché of the American Legation in Bern. Board heartily approves. If agreeable with you, please advise at once. Harrison will proceed to Bern shortly and you will be advised when and where to meet him.

MICHAEL

GROUP

ACTING

DECRED

FILE

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-71

1972

9/19/40

1972

By R. H. Parka Date

DECLASSIFIED

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

UL

DEC 20
US URGENT

CABLE FOR ROGILAND, SWEDEN, FROM O'DOWDE, WAR REFUGEES BOARD

Clearance has been obtained for Mr. Mark Harrison, the American Delegate to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, to proceed in the very near future to the liberated countries of Europe and to Germany to investigate certain facts with regard to displaced persons, particularly Jews. He would be charged to ascertain the needs of these people and to what extent these needs are being provided by international, national, or private organizations.

It has been suggested that you accompany Harrison on this mission as Special Attaché of the American Legation in Bern. Board heartily approves. If agreeable with you, please advise at once. Harrison will proceed to Paris shortly and you will be advised when and where to meet him.

This is my Cable No. 527

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President

White House, Washington, D.C., April 16, 1945

P.S. --通信 by Dr. McComb, Radnor, Pa.

84 Wille, 6/18/45
US URGENT
3242, June 19, 9 p.m.
PERSONAL FOR O'DWYER OF WRB FROM MCCLELLAND

Dept's 1971, WRB's 5316 and Legation's 3064.

June 6.

Regret not having been able answer your 531 sooner but was absent from Switzerland visiting concentration camps in Germany from June 8 to 16.

Although I should like to comply with your desire that I come to Washington for consultation on termination of Board activities in Switzerland, such trip would be practically very difficult both for official and personal reasons. Please advise regarding its necessity.

Bearing any unforeseen delays or complications in setting off refugee group scheduled leave Switzerland for southern Italy toward end this month with possibly a second convoy of 700 certificate holders leaving mid July directly.

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 1 1972
June 19, 9 p.m. from Bern

July directly for Palestine, I should be able forward overall report and records to you by pouch between July 15 and 20.

Herbert Katzki's assistance in Switzerland will be necessary until departure these refugees. It may be possible send part of records back with him if and when returns to Washington.

As soon as books can be definitely closed on Board financial operations in Switzerland I will return unspent confidential funds along with proceeds sale WRB equipment as instructed.

HARRISON

JH
June 18, 1945

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: Paris
To: Secretary of State

The following telegram dated June 16 has been received from Mr. Murphy:

The visit of Mr. Earl Harrison and Mr. Roswald McClelland will be welcomed by SHAEF which approves of having the suggested survey made.

Paraphrased:

UFEWV (SA/WF)
MEMORANDUM

Mr. Earl Harrison and George Warren called on Mr. Pehle today concerning the problem of refugees in liberated Europe. Miss Hodel of the War Refugee Board was also present. The principal discussion of the meeting related to the proposed mission of Mr. Harrison to ascertain certain facts with regard to displaced persons in Europe, particularly Jews. Mr. Pehle explained the interest of the Secretary of the Treasury in the matter and informed Mr. Harrison and Mr. Warren of the pressure which had been received from various groups, particularly the political Zionists, for an investigation of this kind to be made. Mr. Pehle made it clear that Secretary Morgenthau was primarily concerned with the problem of the needs of these displaced people; that the Zionist groups are primarily interested in obtaining information concerning the desire of these people to emigrate from Europe.

It was apparent from the conversation that Mr. Harrison would be willing to undertake the proposed mission. He also appeared to approve wholeheartedly the recommendation that Mr. McClelland assist him. It was suggested that Mr. Harrison undertake the mission not as the American Delegate to the Intergovernmental Committee but as a representative of the United States Government, possibly as an emissary of the President or at least of the Secretary of State with a personal letter from the President. Mr. Warren stated that he would get into the matter of arranging these details and would clear with Mr. Pehle before setting any formal request in motion.

Mr. Warren then gave a summary of the latest information available to him concerning the displaced peoples in Europe. He pointed out that the number of these people has not yet been ascertained and that there is considerable confusion resulting from preliminary reports. He explained the SHAEP method of handling displaced persons and pointed out that the most difficult problem at the moment arises from seriously inadequate food supplies.
Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am sending you a copy of the telegram which has already gone to Mr. Murphy and which I think covers the situation as you presented it to me this morning.

Sincerely yours,

s/ William Phillips

William Phillips

Enclosure:

Copy of telegram.

Mr. John W. Pehle
Room 3420, Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.
COPY

AMBASSADOR,

PARIS.

FOR MURPHY

It has been suggested that Mr. Earl Harrison, the American Delegate to the Inter-Government Committee on Refugees accompanied possibly by Mr. Roswald McClelland, Special Attaché in the American Legation, Bern, should proceed to the liberated countries of Europe and to Germany to ascertain certain facts with regard to displaced persons particularly Jews. Mr. Harrison would be charged to ascertain their needs and to what extent those needs are being provided by international, national or private organizations.

I feel that this is a matter which should have our wholehearted support and I should be grateful if you would take it up immediately with General Eisenhower with a view to securing his permission to the survey.

Acting,

SA/VP:MPhillips:thn 6/11/45
Draft of Memorandum to Under Secretary Swey from Secretary Morgenthau

From various sources, information has reached me that the situation of the displaced peoples of Europe, and particularly that of the approximately one million surviving Jews, is very serious. It has been pointed out that the position of the Jews is more difficult than that of any other element in the European community, that these Jews continue to be victims in many countries of racial hate engendered and intensified by the Nazis.

Many groups in this country feel that the United Nations did not act vigorously enough or were unable to take action that might have prevented the massacre of millions of European Jews. These groups also believe that, now that the war in Europe is over, the opportunity exists for immediately assisting the surviving Jews who as a people were the greatest victims of the Nazis.

In order to determine what the needs of these people are and what can be done for them that is not now being performed by intergovernmental, governmental and private agencies, I suggest that a special mission be sent at once to investigate the situation. To undertake such a mission, I suggest Earl Harrison, the United States representative on the Intergovernmental Committee, or Roswell McClelland, the representative of the War Refugee Board in Bern, Switzerland.
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DISPLACED PERSONS PRESS RELEASE

The gigantic task of locating, registering, housing, feeding and finally repatriating displaced persons is being rapidly cleared away in the Allied zone in Germany, and present prospects are that the problem will be substantially reduced within the next two months, it was announced today.

The announcement was made by Mr. John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War and Chairman of the Combined Civil Affairs Committee, Anglo-American Group charged by the Combined Chiefs of Staff with the military responsibility of handling civilian problems contingent with and occurring in the wake of battle.

The problem of displaced persons—including prisoners of war of Germany, political and racial prisoners and slave laborers—was one of the most complicated and urgent matters facing the Allies when they over-ran Germany and the Wehrmacht collapsed. Millions of persons of every nationality and every walk of life glutted the roads. Concentration camps were filled with helpless people. Many were starved and sick. All had but one goal— to get home.

The Allies uncovered almost 5,500,000 displaced persons. As of June 18, 3,076,726 of these had been repatriated to their home countries. Another 2,177,609 were being cared for in Allied displaced persons camps awaiting repatriation or clarification of their nationality status and another 168,200 were estimated to be living outside displaced persons camps.

All reports indicate steady improvement in the handling of displaced persons and SHAAP has estimated that the entire problem may
may resolve itself by September 1 into caring for the residual of non-repatriables and stateless persons.

As of mid-June, the number of persons repatriated, by nationalities, was as follows: French - 1,208,750, of whom 138,930 were returned to France by air; Russian - 1,287,530; Belgians - 242,309; of whom 11,555 were repatriated by air; Dutch - 167,000; Italian - 129,565; Czechoslovak - 32,709; Yugoslav - 1,692; Luxembourgeois - 6,000.

Of the 2,346,809 displaced persons still not repatriated, by far the largest group is Russian. The reason for this is that there was no feasible method of repatriating Russians until the German defeat and the Russians and Allies linked their fronts. Ratification on May 22 of the Leipzig agreement, through which the Russians and Allies agreed on a repatriation policy, is resulting in fast repatriation of Russians. Under this plan, a system of delivering displaced persons through Army lines at agreed reception-delivery points, ten on each side of the present USSR-SHAEF line, was set up. Effect of the agreement is illustrated by these figures. As of May 28, about 160,000 Russians had been turned over by the 21st and 12th Army Groups. By June 17 that figure had gone to 1,287,530.

A comparatively small number of Poles had been repatriated as of June 18 because of decisions pending on the Polish situation.

Persons of French nationality comprised one of the largest displaced group in Germany. The success of the DP program is illustrated by the fact that, of approximately 1,500,000 French uncovered in the SHAEF zone within Germany, only about 100,000 remained to be repatriated.

Behind
Behind the bare figures of the uncovering of 5,418,535 displaced persons and repatriating 5,075,726 as of mid-June lies a story full of drama.

Vast, ragged, hungry armies of people roamed the German countryside, and the Allies had to bring order out of chaos — channelling the movement of the people, controlling public safety, providing medicines, food and temporary housing, clothing and delousing them so as to prevent louse-borne diseases, determining the nationality status of DPs and initiating processes that would start them on their way home. There was also the matter of welfare and recreation, and in setting up displaced persons camps the Allies took these two factors into consideration by providing proper sanitation facilities, the best available domestic conveniences, sports, recreation, etc.

In German concentration camps were found starved, mentally numbed people in whom little life was left. Some had gone without food for so long that they would have died had they been allowed to eat normally. Facilities for intravenous feeding had to be supplied immediately. As an example of emergency steps taken in behalf of these people, a nutrition consultant and 100 British medical students were flown with top priority to the camp at Belsen to intravenously feed persons in stages of advanced malnutrition. Similar emergency steps were taken throughout the SHAEF area.

Following are examples of special steps taken in the Allied zone to provide care and comfort for displaced persons:

Special displaced persons hospitals were set up where ill DPs got the best medical care, food and facilities available.

Mobile
Mobile film units were circulated to DP camps so that the former prisoners of the Germans, who had denied them many of the bare necessities of life, let alone any relaxation, could be entertained with the latest available American and British motion pictures.

Special dusting apparatus was flown in to delouse displaced persons and prevent the spread of disease, including the dreaded typhus.

German medical supplies and German food stocks, both from civilian sources and captured enemy stocks, were earmarked for the alleviation of DP feeding problems.

Special truck convoys and trains were set up to bring Red Cross relief supplies, stockpiled in Switzerland, to Allied prisoners of war and displaced persons in Germany.

Displaced persons have received highly preferential treatment in Germany. Army Groups were instructed to raise living conditions of DPs to a standard as high as resources allow without consideration of any adverse effect on living conditions of the German people. A SHAAP directive ordered that Germans would be moved out of their homes and into former German concentration camps to provide shelter for displaced persons in German houses if such action was necessary.

A priority system for repatriation was established and it was accomplished in this order: first, United States and British prisoners of war; second, United Nations political deportees; third, United Nations prisoners of war; fourth, United Nations displaced persons; fifth, Italian displaced persons; sixth, other ex-enemy displaced persons.

By
By the end of summer, the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration, acting in behalf of and under agreement with military authorities, will have assumed virtually the entire manpower burden of handling displaced persons. The shift already has begun with UNRRA personnel now functioning in some 200 DP camps, 80 of them operated exclusively by UNRRA representatives. UNRRA is beginning to work its way into the problem by taking over on a camp-by-camp basis and key personnel are sitting alongside army officers so they can be absorbed in the present administrative set-up.

As of June 18, 280 UNRRA teams were deployed throughout the Allied zone in Germany, and about 4,729 persons, mostly Europeans, had been recruited by UNRRA for DP work.

The DP problem will soon have reduced itself largely to a matter of caring for stateless persons, non-repatriables and unaccompanied children, many born in concentration camps, whose parenthood or citizenship is not, and probably never will be, known.

UNRRA eventually will hand over to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, which will have the problem of finding places for stateless and non-repatriable persons — those people whom the Nazis and the war turned into men without countries. This problem must be worked out at inter-governmental levels and hence is beyond the province of either UNRRA or military authorities. These stateless persons, who comprise a small percent of the displaced persons in Europe, must wait in camps until decisions are reached concerning their status and disposition.

General Eisenhower, at a press conference in Washington on June 18,
June 18, said that the displaced persons problem which faced the Allies when they over-ran Germany was "terrible". After reviewing how the problem was met, the Supreme Allied Commander said:

"It was a terrible job to get the organization set up to take those people out. When you talk about persons in that number, their feeding and their housing for the night at way-stations, and so on, you have got a real task. The personnel in charge of Displaced Persons have done it beautifully, and the process of getting them out has been working most efficiently."
Dear Mr. Harrison:

In addition to your position as this Government's representative with the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, I want you to undertake a mission to the liberated countries of Europe and Germany as my personal representative with the rank of Minister.

On this mission, I want you to inquire into the needs of the displaced persons who have survived Nazism, particularly the Jews, in terms of their relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement; and what can or should be done for these people that is not now being performed by international, national, or private agencies.

I shall expect you to report to me the findings of your survey and such recommendations as you may feel free to make concerning the amelioration of conditions affecting these displaced persons who have suffered so much from persecution and the war in Europe.

Sincerely yours,
The Department of State announced today that Mr. Earl G. Harrison, former Commissioner of Immigration and at present representative of the United States Government on the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, has left for Europe to inquire into the needs of the stateless and non-repatriable refugees among the displaced persons in the liberated countries of Western Europe and the zones of occupation in Germany, and the means in which those needs are now being met by the military authorities, governments of residence, international and relief bodies, private refugee agencies. Mr. Harrison will also endeavor to determine in general the views of the non-repatriables as to their future destinations.

The military authorities have already repatriated over two million United Nations displaced persons from Germany whose return presented no obstacle based on nationality status. There remain, however, still unestimated numbers of displaced persons whose repatriation will be delayed or eventually proved to be impossible. Included in this latter group are many Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution. Their care during the period in which they are awaiting solution of their difficulties is a matter of interest and concern to the agencies of the federal government and to many private agencies interested in problems of refugees. The President has expressed interest in Mr. Harrison's mission and requested a comprehensive report upon its completion.
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

From information that has come to me from sources considered reliable, it is estimated that between four and five million Jews were killed during the Nazi regime. It is estimated that one and a half million may survive. Their position is more difficult than that of any other element in the European community. Deprived by the Nazi racial laws of home and possessions, these Jews continue to be victims in many cases of the racial hate engendered and intensified by the Nazis. Their position is so exceptional that action on their behalf on a humanitarian basis is urgent and imperative.

It is suggested that a competent person with experience should be sent on a special mission for the purpose of inquiring into two distinct questions:

(1) What are the needs of the Jews who have survived Nazism in terms of relief and rehabilitation? What should be done for them that is not now being performed by intergovernmental, governmental or private agencies?

(2) What is the state of mind of these Jews towards repatriation or emigration?

There is a feeling among many groups in this country that the United Nations did not act
vigorously enough, or were unable, to take action that might have prevented the massacre of millions of Jews. Now that the war in Europe is over, the belief is general that the opportunity exists for assisting the remnants of the people who, per capita, were the greatest victims of the Nazi regime.

To provide the answer to these questions, I would respectfully suggest that a mission be undertaken by Mr. James G. MacDonald for the purpose of preparing a comprehensive report which would constitute the basis for action, if any is warranted. I would further suggest the desirability of his being accompanied by Mr. Earl Harrison, who succeeded Mr. Myron Taylor as the United States representative on the Intergovernmental Committee.