



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.
Series A: World War II/Displaced Persons Camps, 1944-1990.
Subseries 1: Documents, 1944-1990.

Box
1

Folder
1

Displaced persons camps. 1944-1950, undated.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

H
Adviser on Jewish Affairs

APC 757 c/o P.M., N.Y.
21 January 1948

Dear Rabbi,

Don't laugh. If Arik Hatter can be Minister of Foreign Affairs, for my money, you can serve as "Ambassador" to any country.

Rabbi Finkelstein is slightly in error in his covering letter. The suggestion to send the petitions to you did not originate with me. He asked me whether I would forward the petitions to you, and contrary to what appeared in Weekend, I find it difficult to say "No." In brief, Rabbi Finkelstein complains that although he has a position in the States as a Rabbi, he is not permitted by the Consul in Stuttgart to go as a non-quota immigrant, because in a prior application he indicated that he was a bookkeeper. The whole problem is set forth in copies of several letters included in the file that I wrote to the Consul in Stuttgart. Unless you have definite feelings on the matter I would say that you could, without involving yourself, forward the three petitions to the persons for whom they are intended.

Rachel Adiv was in this morning. She was quite dejected. She reported that the recruiting for the 1000 is very disappointing. The only real ray of hope comes from the organized youth groups. Rachel's feeling is that within recent months the people have become set more than ever in Germany; are finding their new "economic" opportunities here more attractive; and are almost brutally pragmatic in weighing the material advantages of remaining here as against the hazards of living in Palestine. However, in spite of this general under-current she is certain that the quota will be met. It is the lack of enthusiasm with which the call for volunteers was greeted that has disturbed her, and many others.

In Austria the following has developed:-

- a. New Palestine has been formally placed on the block ostensibly to make room for US Dependents. What a joke!
- b. All Jewish DPs must register for work.
- c. Jewish DPs must now pay for their food and shelter at the rate of 45 shillings per month per person - subject to the proviso that no family, regardless of size, is required to pay more than 90 shillings per month, and that in no event is anyone required to pay more than $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of his monthly earnings. Thus, if a person is unemployed, he will have to pay nothing. However, if he is offered employment and refuses it he will be denied all care! Obviously, the critical question is what sort of work are the Austrians going to offer the DPs? Unless the authorities are brazen enough to suggest that Jews rebuild the Austrian ruins, my feeling is that nothing will come of the whole business. The Unions and other organizations can be

THAT PORTION CONTRIBUTED BY THE AUSTRIAN ECONOMY, IT IS BELIEVED.

depended upon to deny to Jews decent type of employment. On the other hand, if it is work on rubble, or other work of a demeaning nature, then I need not write tones to convince you that all Jewry will have something to talk about, and for the first time the familiar melody "air vollen kempfen" will have some real meaning.

Incidentally, all of these developments took place without anyone ever consulting us. Immediately after the Judge left I asked for travel orders to go to Austria. This request was turned down by our headquarters on the ground that I was needed here. I got this information quite by accident when I called to get some dope on the preemptory expulsion of a JAPP worker from Austria.

I talked to Dennis last week. Apparently, I made more progress with him the first time I spoke with him than I thought I had. Dennis has no present intention of marrying the girl. He has heard from his father and now realizes that his rejection by his family, in the event he returns with a "fraulein" wife, will mean that he cannot succeed to his father's business. He admitted to me that he cannot afford to return to a family in which he would find himself virtually disinherited. I, therefore, think it is safe to assume there is no immediate prospect that he will go through with the marriage. I also think I have convinced him that his moral obligation to his child and to his friend is one that he can discharge from the States. Blumenthal has assured me that he will call me in the event that Dennis asks his permission to marry the girl. I have not as yet explored the possibilities of having Dennis return to the States. This I will do shortly. In the meantime you may assure the family that the problem is for the time being under control.

I thought that you had heard about Mike's marriage. Mike married a little girl called Rachel (pronounced in a way that would leave a person acquainted only with Anglo-Saxon dialects, frustrated). Mike found this little "jewel" in one of the DP Camps in Berlin. She is 19 years old and speaks many languages including Hebrew. Mike is deligiously in love with this best of all possible creatures. He thinks she is a Goddess and goes about the world telling everyone he meets and who has patience to listen, "I love her. Gee, but I love her." And, that, with gestures! I have tried to imitate him but have given up. It simply takes too much energy to do the job.

Let us come to Alice's rescue. Rachel is not half as beautiful as Alice. In fact, Rachel is far less attractive than Mike thinks she is, and is far more sensible and practical than a wife of Mike's has the right to be. The two of them are due in Frankfurt any day. For a number of reasons they were very unhappy in Austria, and when Leon Adler came, I arranged to have a switch made in positions. Mike is being assigned to the Frankfurt Military Post which will include all the camps in the Darmstadt and Frankfurt areas, and Adler will be stationed in Lins. Mike's plans, apparently, have not taken any final shape. Barring unforeseen circumstances, I feel that more than likely he and Rachel will leave permanently for Palestine after Mike has served in this area for about six months.

Since I last wrote you no other books arrived. I take it then that what has come constitutes the entire shipment. I finally concluded that the best place for these books is Zeilshelm. This morning I delivered the books to the camp where they were placed in a special bookcase bearing your Mother's name. The camp leaders were obviously pleased with the honor that your gift to them represents. Some of the books, as you know, are duplicated. It is my plan to deliver them to the camps that now have the least adequate libraries. After I have disposed of all of the books I will send you a complete report.

I was in Paris last weekend and talked with Joseph Schwartz. Thanks to yours and Levinthal's recommendations he made me a very attractive offer. It involves staying on with Heber as his assistant, and at the conclusion of the job settling in New York in some administrative post. As hard as I try I still find it difficult to see a career for myself in Jewish organizational life. However, I am postponing my decision until I have spoken with Heber.

Since it has become the pattern to conclude my letters with some reference to the AJDC, I want you to muse on this one-- I suggested to Sylvia Furst that her legal department might profitably look into the situation of the IPs now serving sentences in the German jails. In her report that I received today, reflecting the situation in one of the prisons, she says: "There are presently 20 Jewish prisoners in Eiegenheim, which covers Hesse. Mr. Robinson, (Deputy Chief, Legal Division, OMG Hesse,) believes there should be 27." This suggests a unique assignment. I am going out to Zeilshelm this afternoon and there prepare the ground-work for reaching the quota of 27.

I may be delinquent in paying my debts, but I am always prepared to acknowledge them. Will you please tell Sophie that I admit I owe her a letter and that I will write her much before I will advance on Alice's preferred list of suitors.

My best wishes to all of you.

Affectionately,

ABRAHAM S. HYMAN
Major JAGD

Incl: (1) File on Rabbi Finkelstein.

APC 757, c/o Postmaster
New York, New York

28 January 1947

Dear friends,

The last time I wrote was 18 November 1946. Since then I have been in Austria for a few weeks; have attended the World Zionist Congress in Switzerland; have worked on a special service program of movies, lectures, etc., to help make life in the camps a little less monotonous; and have helped in the formation of an employment program among the DPs. These are headline designations, covering the main spheres of activity. I should like to elaborate on each one, in more detail.

AUSTRIA

As you know, when the great push was on last summer and fall, and Jewish refugees were pouring in from Poland at the rate of 1000 per day, they were coming via Czechoslovakia and Austria to the US Zone Germany. Austria sent them into Germany as fast as they came, and each train was accompanied by a chaplain, as you remember.

There came a point, however, when Germany could not absorb them as fast as they were arriving, and so Austria was called upon to hold a backlog. By agreement, this backlog was set at 50,000. When the Jewish DP population of Austria rose above that figure, authorization was granted to send a shipment into Germany. When the population was below that figure, no shipments were authorized. By mid-November it became clear that the big push was slowing down, which meant that the Austrian population was stabilizing itself.

Rabbi Bernstein went there for a few days to inspect the situation, and upon his return to Frankfurt, asked me to spend a few weeks there, to help make some repairs. The camps in Austria had always been considered as transient points, where the people would stay a few hours or few days, at most. Now people began to realize that the 50,000 would have to remain there over the winter, if not longer, and the camps had to be adjusted to meet that new conception.

Several of the camps had to be condemned as unfit for permanent occupancy; others had to be radically improved by strenuous engineering

effort on the part of the army; still others had to be reorganized internally, since there had not been democratic elections of camp committees when everything was on a transient basis. So we went to work with the army, the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the local DP leaders - and together worked out many plans for improvement.

I travelled throughout the entire US Zone of Austria in a jeep, and saw almost every single Jewish installation in existence. Remind me, when I come home, to tell you the story of the Rothschild Hospital in Vienna. It will become one of the great sagas of Jewish history. At any rate, there are today some 15-18 Jewish camps, clustered mainly around the two cities of Linz and Salzburg. They are serviced by three chaplains in Austria, and are considerably better now than they were three months ago.

WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS

The 22nd World Zionist Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, on 8 December 45, and was a brilliant affair. Rabbi Bernstein and I drove down, skirting briefly through France, and entering the historic Swiss city where the very first Congress was held 60 years ago under the leadership of Theodore Herzl himself.

The really great of world Jewry were to be seen on the dais, in the corridors, in the hotels, during the three weeks of the Congress. We stayed only 8 days, but during that time met with Chaim Weizmann, Stephen Wise, David Ben-Gurion, Abba Hillel Silver, Nahum Goldmann, and a host of other equally famous and wonderful people.

There were delegates and guests from almost every country in the world. The DPs of Germany and Austria were also represented, with 16 elected delegates. Although one could hear almost every main language under the sun being spoken, the predominant tongues were English, Hebrew and Yiddish. Just to walk through the halls and meeting rooms was an education in itself, as one observed little groups talking, arguing, discussing.

It was the first Congress since the outbreak of war in 1939, and everyone went to it with great hope that perhaps, perhaps some formula would be found, some wise counsel evolved to provide a solution to the heartbreaking problem of the still-homeless. But, as you know, the only results were confusion, factional struggle, and no real decision.

I can understand this, and blame no one for it. The confusion was a result of our own inner dilemma. One group, led by Rabbi Silver, took a so-called extreme position, and said - We will not even negotiate with England on the basis of partition of Palestine. Another group, led by Wise, Weizmann, Ben Gurion, Goldmann, etc., took a more moderate stand,

saying - We should go to the London Conference to talk with England, on the basis of being able to receive a part of Palestine, large enough to accommodate all who need a home. Both moderates and extremists condemned the terrorists, whose answer was - We want to force England's hand. While you sit around and debate how much of Palestine, how little, whether you should go to the Conference, whether not to go, we want action, and we'll get it even if we have to shed blood. So it was a three-and-more-sided argument which went on day after day and week after week.

There is no answer. Only one thing is clear, and that is that the IPs must be moved out of Germany and Austria, and sent somewhere which they can call home. This is essential or these people will rot here. It is my own belief, based on things I saw and heard at the Congress, that the so-called extremists are also ready to accept a partition plan for Palestine, so long as the part assigned for a Jewish State is large enough to accommodate the amount of immigration necessary. This is my private, personal opinion, and I may be wrong. But I think that if England were to come across with a concrete plan, supported by the proper safeguards, the extremists would not turn it down.

It was quite a thrill to run into Rabbi Lederman in Basle. It was the first time I had seen anyone from Denver since coming overseas. Unfortunately, we had only two very short conversations together. He wanted to know all about the Jews in Germany, and I was eager to get all the news of Denver I could, so we plied each other with dozens of questions. As a result, neither of us learned very much. We finally stopped, with much laughter, realizing that we could not get very far in the short time we had, and promising to sit down for a "real" talk in Denver.

SPECIAL SERVICE PROGRAM

Life in the IP camps, as I have written many times, is essentially very drab and dull. Only the minimum essentials necessary for life itself exist. There are no frills and nothing fancy. Consequently, the people are starved for a little color, or warmth, or variety - anything to break the monotony of waiting for a solution.

About two months ago, we sat down with the heads of the JDC and tried to work out an expansion of their recreation program along four lines: movies; artistic presentations; reading books; and lectures. Special arrangements were made through the army so that American films were made available; so that trucks and projection equipment were loaned to the JDC.

Today there are 10 mobile film units touring all the camps in Germany, bringing to the people sound movies. The theaters are no more than empty barrack rooms, in many cases and the IPs don't understand the Hollywood brand of English very much, but you should watch their expressions or hear their comments in Yiddish, as they view "Scandals of 1942", "Call of the Wild", or "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn." The audience derives more entertainment from its own reactions, than from the screen. Unfortunately, each camp can be visited by one of the mobile units only infrequently, but it is better than nothing.

A concentrated effort has been made to bring in guest artists, and so far there have been two - a concert pianist and a concert dancer, both from Palestine. Each was a talented artist, and toured many of the camps. A terrifically enthusiastic response from the people shows how hungry they were for such performances.

The JDC and the Jewish Agency for Palestine will continue to expend this type of thing with increased emphasis.

EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

No Jew wants to do any work which will benefit the German economy. He will turn no spadeful of soil, pick up no brick, make no article which will in any way rebuild shattered Germany. And this is completely understandable. How can a Jew be expected to give his strength or talent or energy for that land or those people who murdered 6 million of his brethren?

But from another point of view, how long can our Jews sit around their camps doing nothing but wait, wait, wait for a place to go? How long can men vegetate, just sleeping and rising, without demoralizing? This question has long disturbed those charged with the responsibility for the DPs.

The two questions are bound together. Jews don't want to work for Germans or Germany, but men who don't work begin to disintegrate within themselves. There is only one obvious answer - namely, that Jewish DPs work with and for themselves, separate from the German economy. And that is already being done to a certain extent. In some camps, lucky enough to have ingenious UNRRA directors, all of the employables are engaged - either in trade schools, workshops, classrooms, or in police, fire watch, sanitation corps, kitchen, or in administrative work in the offices, warehouses, labor bureau, housing bureau, etc. All of this may be described roughly as camp maintenance and rehabilitation effort.

But at best, where all the employables are registered for one or another of the above categories of work, that does not actually mean they are thoroughly occupied. A man who works a few hours per day in an office, still has too much time to think about his plight, and too much opportunity to be caught in that vicious cycle of inner demoralization. In the average camp of 2500 people, there are really only 250-300 hard workers, who can measure at the end of the day what they have accomplished, and have that sense of satisfaction, which may be subconscious, but which can protect them from the process of rotting away.

It is becoming clearer every day that a long wait is in store for us. We must keep busy while waiting. So, a large-scale employment program is going into effect. The JDC is going to pour money, machinery, raw material, trained personnel into the picture. Manufacturing projects

will be set up. Enough skilled workers exist to get started - unskilled people will be trained. Articles produced by the IFA will be used by the IFA. The problem of payment is a thorny one, but will be worked out. There will be problems of supply, distribution, transportation - all the normal problems of business, with very little of the normal facilities. But they will be worked out. The Central Committee is agreed that the people should work - and we have noticed that the people are willing to work.

A few projects have already been started. I think the IFA employment program is launched.

MOOD OF DEPRESSION

What hopes are there on the horizon, the IFA asks himself every day. And as day follows day, his mood becomes more and more bitter, sad, defeated - because he sees there are no hopes. He is caught - he is in a trap - and sometimes, at night, he must scream to himself, out of frustration. It's going on two years after the end of the war - and he is still in a camp. Palestine not yet opened - America still closed - he feels he may perish here.

Already the world is beginning to forget him. At the moment Rabbi Berwstein is here, as a support upon whom he can lean; chaplains are here to protect his interests and speak his language; the Joint and the Agency have welfare workers in his camp. But soon these protectors and benefactors will leave. What then? He is left alone, in an alien land, miserable, once again forced to make his peace with the enemies who surround him, once again the forgotten Jew who suffered in vain.

Dear friends, I am describing to you the present mood of our brethren in the camps. You will never be able to grasp the magnitude of the problem until you somehow get under his skin, and feel his nervousness, his frustration. You must bite your lips in fear and desperation; you must throw your eyes here, there, seeking an open door to freedom; you must feel the doubt beginning to grow in the pit of your stomach. Then, you will approach an identification with the IFA.

There is only one big problem today - resettlement. I ask each of you, and all of you collectively, to give your strength, as you have given your dollars, to find homes for the remnant of surviving European Jewry. Get them Palestine and get them America.

The mood is a mood of depression.

Herb

HEADQUARTERS
U. S. FORCES, EUROPEAN THEATER
Office of the Commanding General

To:

Date

17 June 47

Herb,

In case you need
an additional copy
to support your
account of your
exploits in Germany.

Read this morning
O + I or the prospects of
the Strotton bill and am
side about it.

Get wires. Will
write you after I
am caught up
with non-essential
correspondence.

Regards to Elaine.

Did you
receive the
camera.

Abby

CONFIDENTIAL

HEADQUARTERS EUROPEAN COMMAND
Office of the Director of Personnel and Administration

APO 757

AG 201-Friedman, Herbert L. (0)

SUBJECT: Administrative Admonition

19 MAY 1947

TO : Captain Herbert L. Friedman,
[REDACTED] Chaplain Corps,
Displaced Persons Branch, Civil Affairs Division,
Office of the Advisor of Jewish Affairs,
Headquarters, European Command,
APO 757, U. S. Army.

1. Investigation discloses that, while an aide and assistant to Rabbi Phillip S. Bernstein, Advisor to the Commanding General, United States Forces, European Theater, on Jewish Affairs, and on or about 30 December 1946, you, and Captain Isaac Bencowitz, [REDACTED] Specialist Reserve, who was then the Director and Custodian of the Offenbach Archival Depot, Offenbach, Germany, acting jointly and in pursuance of a common intent, conspired together to fraudulently and illegally remove from the Offenbach Archival Depot, five (5) boxes containing historical Hebrew books and manuscripts, and forward the same to Professor Scholem of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, Palestine.

2. The investigation further discloses that, pursuant to said conspiracy you fraudulently and illegally received on or about 30 December 1946, from Captain Bencowitz the said five (5) boxes and their contents, by means of your receipt, bearing the signature of "Koppel S. Pinson", falsely made by you, and falsely and fraudulently describing the contents of said boxes as eleven hundred (1100) non-valuable books for distribution by the American Joint Distribution Committee to Displaced Persons Camps, and by means of the certificate of Captain Bencowitz which falsely and fraudulently described the contents of said boxes as items within the category authorized for distribution by said Committee; that, in further pursuance of said conspiracy, you illegally had transported on or about 15 January 1947 the said five (5) boxes and their contents from Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, to Paris, France, and then illegally delivered the said five (5) boxes and their contents to the Jewish Agency, 143 Avenue Wagram, Paris, France, on or about 16 January 1947, for shipment to Professor Scholem at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Palestine; and that in carrying out your part of said conspiracy, you made false statements and misrepresentations to Miss Sadie Sender of the American Joint Distribution Committee and to Agent Raymond F. Myler of the 52nd Criminal Investigation Detachment, Headquarters Command, European Command.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

3. Your action and conduct as above described were illegal, improper and censurable, not to be expected of a commissioned officer, who is a member of the Chaplain Corps. An officer who fails to maintain the high standards of conduct expected of him, not only disgraces himself but lowers the esteem of the office which he holds. In view of your past excellent record as an officer and a member of the Chaplain Corps, and as your actions (neither tolerated nor condoned) are recognized as resulting from emotional influences, the decision has been made by the Commander in Chief, European Command, to impose an administrative admonition, rather than resorting to disciplinary action involving punishment. Accordingly you are advised that this admonition is administered as an administrative measure.

4. You are advised that, by reason of your misconduct in this instance, your further usefulness in this Command is at an end and you will be returned to the United States. Further, the Commander in Chief, European Command, is recommending to the War Department that you be separated from the Military Service upon your return to the United States.

BY COMMAND OF GENERAL CLAY:

George Seleno
GEORGE SELENO
Lt. Col. AGD
Assistant Adjutant General

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
Public Information Division
PRESS SECTION
Tel. RE 6700
Brs. 2528 and 4860

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY , NOVEMBER 30, 1947

ARMY RELEASES REPORT
OF RABBI J. G. HELLER

Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall today released the report of Rabbi James G. Heller, Isaac M. Wise Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio, the eighth individual report submitted by a member of the group of fourteen representative American clergymen who studied Army and Military Government activities in Europe during a 35-day Army tour completed July 25th.

Rabbi Heller's views, based upon his own observations and analysis, follow in complete text:

First of all, may I ask to be forgiven for the tardiness of this report. Unfortunately, my return from the mission upon which you sent us, meant plunging into a vertiable maelstrom of work. This is my first opportunity to set down in consecutive order some of the central impressions made upon me by our five weeks abroad. I trust that they will not be too late, to be of some use.

I am very grateful to you and to your predecessor in office, Mr. Patterson, for the opportunity afforded me by the voyage made to the occupied areas of Austria and Germany. I was greatly impressed by the policy of the Army Department, through this as through previous missions, to afford - supposedly - leading Americans a chance to observe for themselves the perplexing problems and conditions in the American zones, and to formulate opinions. I feel certain that this policy will prove fruitful in aiding to build up an informed public opinion, and in the determination of future American views and programs.

All that was told us, in our meetings before leaving Washington, proved to be true. We were received graciously and hospitably. Every possible courtesy was shown us by the highest ranking American officers abroad, and by members of thier staffs. Nothing was concealed from us. A great deal of forethought and care had gone into the preparation and presentation of the essential materials that would serve as basis for sound judgment. I was especially grateful to Generals Lee, Keyes, and Clay, all three of whom seemed to me to be officers of splendid spirit, and of a high degree of acumen. I was also very grateful to the officers and men who accompanied us on the trip, to Major Dollard, and Chaplain Imrie, - and to Chaplain

MORE

Barnes and Mr. Davis on the other side. All of these were pleasant as companions, and unfailingly energetic and helpful. The members of the crew were a splendid group of young Americans, obviously expert in their jobs, and friendly and kindly. I should greatly appreciate the courtesy of the Army Department in relaying my sincere thanks to them all.

And, finally, in this preliminary word, I must not neglect to comment upon the fine character of the thirteen other men who composed our mission. An experience like this in prospect, together with representatives of so many diverse religious groups, might appear a bit alarming. Personalities and viewpoints have a habit of clashing. Nothing like this proved the case. There was unvarying friendliness, genuine cooperation, and, I thought, a considerable unanimity of opinion. I came to regard the fellow-clergymen on this trip as friends, - as men of genuine good will and of consecration to their faith. Repeatedly, on the trip itself, one or the other of us commented upon the foregoing, and regarded it as a possible harbinger of the coming of good will and cooperation among all men.

And lastly, in this preliminary section, I must set forth certain more or less obvious reservations. I have already said that everything was done to inform us, to make available to us, by direct instruction and by the opportunity for observation and conference, the material necessary for a judgment. Having visited Europe many times, from youth, I was already aware of the bewildering complexity of European problems, of the preliminary conditions in Germany, and Austria. I learned much, and collated certain impressions and opinions, which I shall now try to set forth. But I was and am also conscious of the fact that I did not and do not possess the expertness needed for a thoroughly sound judgment. No one can arrive at this in five weeks. Because of this I present my own views with considerable diffidence. Where I venture to express an opinion different from that of such men as General Clay, I do so with a great deal of hesitation. It was my own feeling, shared, I feel sure, by other members of our mission, that General Clay is an extraordinarily fine person, acute, incisive, and patently devoted to his great task, confronting one of the most heart-breaking of assignments. For whatever he projects he must have excellent reasons. I trust that he will be given every opportunity to present and defend those reasons, over against my own feeling and my own proposals.

With these preliminary expressions of gratitude, and with these necessary qualifications, let me launch in medias res, into the thorniest, and perhaps the most crucial, of all the problems faced by our occupying forces.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF GERMANY

Anti-democratic tendencies are not new in Germany. They are at least one hundred and fifty years old. Their roots are in the addresses of the

philosopher Fichte to the German people, in the latter part of the Napoleonic era; in the wanderings and the words of the founder of the Freiwilliger Corps, in the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche, in the rise of the "leadership" principle; in the maunderings on race and politics of Richard Wagner; in the racial doctrines of Chamberlain and later of Rosenberg. Add to this the fact that Germany has never had a full-fledged, or a successful, revolution (the Peasant wars were insurrections, repressed in a bath of blood, the uprisings of '48 were almost all abortive). This is not to deny that, in the long course of German history and of German culture, there have been exponents of democratic ideas, - men like Herder and Schiller. But they have not influenced permanently the docility of the German nation, its dearth of critical intelligence, and its gradual perversion to the ideals of crass power. It was upon these elements in the past that Hitler built. He would perhaps have been impossible without them. He played upon certain themes that were already deep and old in the souls of many Germans. To this he conjoined appeals playing upon the sense of defeat, the desire for unity, the subtle sense of inferiority, compensating for itself in the doctrine of racial superiority, and other themes of the tormented modern German soul.

* All of this must be borne in mind, in thinking about the possible democratization of Germany. They serve to underline the inherent difficulty of the problem.

Nor is this all! Insofar as I recall, the effort to induce a whole nation to change its way of life, in education and politics, is unprecedented. Nations are always willful. They resent improvement by others. Nothing that is not indigenous, however salutary, is likely to be tolerated by them. A fierce pride burns in them all. Defeat in war, the presence of occupying armies, control by aliens of key places and key activities: these do not serve to induce a receptive attitude of mind. Rather do they tend to engender sullenness, resentment, and stubborn resistance.

All of this seemed true to me in Germany today. Nazism has not been eradicated from among the people. Despite the feeling of some of those responsible for the Nuremberg trials, - that these were exerting a salutary influence upon Germans, I think that few of us found broadspread evidence of a change of heart on the part of Germans. One high official told us that, if the occupying armies were now to be withdrawn, Nazism would be in the saddle in Germany within two years. The Vice-Rector of the University of Heidelberg admitted that, despite all efforts, there was still an appreciable percentage of Nazis among the students of the university.

Antisemitism is still rife in Germany. It is chalked up on walls, whispered by passers-by. Surviving Jews in Berlin, Munich, Garmisch, and elsewhere, told me of its continued presence, and of their own fears. The

German Spruchkammer, charged with the task of investigating, trying and punishing minor Nazis, are said by some to be partly venal, and partly incompetent. A young girl, of obvious good will and intelligence, told me that German youth today is in vacuo. Some of them, she said, like herself, abandoned the doctrines of Hitler some years ago. They have nothing to put in their place. They are a lost, wandering generation.

The hunger that exists among Germans, even in the American Zone (and, by report, much more acutely in the areas ruled by France and Russia) does not conduce toward receptiveness, toward the possibility of concern with political and cultural issues. Hungry people tend to think with their stomachs, to put first, to the exclusion of all else, the problem of nutrition.

The continuing division of Germany, the ruthlessness and the pugnacity of Russia, are additional factors in making an approach to the German people exceedingly difficult.

Nonetheless, with all these serious conditions stated in advance, it seemed to me that our present policy in Germany is in serious error. I need not underline the critical quality of our actions in Germany. This was obvious to many thoughtful people during the War. Germany was a nation run amok. To defeat it on the field of battle was to be only the first step. Its people would somehow have to be brought back into the society of civilized nations, into the comity of men of good will. The necessity for this course has been intensified by the conditions that have now come to pass. The rivalry between East and West (it is not my purpose now to consider the causes of this rivalry, or possible courses of action in respect to it), efforts at cultural and economic penetration, are serving to make Germany a kind of meeting-ground for two philosophies, two antipodal purposes. What will become of Germany is, therefore, a matter not merely of interest to Germans, but to all civilized mankind. A necessary inference ought to be an acceleration of the effort to democratize Germany, much more expenditure of time, money and energy toward this end.

In contrast to all this, it was my feeling, which I state with some hesitancy, that there was a lack of realization of the depth, difficulty, and age of anti-democratic forces and conditions. This was reflected in all avenues, and seemed to stem from the central concept of the command. It was told us again and again that "you cannot ram democracy down the throats of the Germans"; that the best policy is to open the doors of democracy for them and let them walk through; that making the courts honest, giving the children a chance to play games, these will lead to democracy in Germany as they have in America.

I should like to submit, with all the earnestness I can marshal, that there are two extremes: one, that of coercive action, of dictating to the

Germans what they must do in every field; the other, of doing little or nothing, of hoping that the inherent good sense of the Germans and the processes of life will of themselves lead them soon toward a democratic way. The first would, as General Clay quite correctly feels, succeed only in increasing the sullenness of Germans; it would be quite futile in achieving its own goal. But the other, I contend, is equally futile. There are not, as I have tried to explain briefly, the bases on which to build in Germany. There are not the centuries of democratic striving behind them, that are the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, from the time of John and the Magna Charta, of habeas corpus, the jury system, the struggles of Parliament against the Stuarts, the writings of Locke and Milton, not to mention the concomitant intellectual and political labors of our own colonists, the traditions of Puritans and Quakers, and the magnificent array of men who a hundred and eighty years ago began to lay the theoretical and practical foundations of American democracy.

But I must not permit this to carry me away. I feel confident that it is vain to hope for democracy to arise in Germany in this way. It is not happening now. It will not happen in the foreseeable future.

There is a wide middle-ground between these extremes. Our leaders abroad do not need either to coerce, or to stand aside. Their task should be one of helpfulness, of suggesting ways by which Germans may come to see the errors of their way, may be moved to make essential changes in the diverse fields that conduce toward the democratic way of life.

It is in the attempt to discover this middle-ground, that I now venture to set forth certain suggestions. Each and every one of them would have to be considered at much greater length, and in much greater detail than is possible herein. If they are adopted as policies, they can be implemented, I feel sure.

1. The task of democratizing Germany should be entrusted as far as possible to Germans. Every effort should be put forth to discover anti-Nazis who have survived the concentration-camps, the slave-labor, battalions, or who have come out of hiding since the War. In addition to this, our own country should strive to persuade emigrés to return to Germany, not those for whom life in Germany would still be poisoned, but specifically leaders in education, politics, youth-work, literature, agencies of public-relations (press, radio, theatre, movies). They should be told that the greatest contribution they can make to the future of mankind, is now to go back to their native land, and to aid in bringing it to the light of reason. If these men are put into key-positions, if they are furnished means and power with which to work, there should be no inherent difficulty in persuading many of them to undertake this assignment. They ought to be the natural leaders of a reborn Germany.

2. The present system of training for educators, normal-schools for teachers, should be greatly broadened. The curriculum of all such institutions should be required, by conference, to be altered in the direction of democratic instruction and democratic ideals.

3. The present laissez-faire policy, in connection with press, radio, etc., should be fundamentally changed. This can be done, not primarily through the issuance of regulations commanding them to be democratic, and not primarily through the extension of censorship beyond the meagre limit it now covers; but by inducing returning democratic leaders to found new papers, by assisting them with newsprint; by furnishing exchange materials to German papers, the radio, etc.; by censoring frankly anti-democratic or anti-semitic articles (of which some appear from time to time now).

4. An extension of economic and political agreement to the area now occupied by France would help tranquilize the situation. In general, a unification of all Germany outside the Russian Zone (if the next few months prove that an agreement with Russia concerning Germany is impossible) would help establish conditions, in which propaganda for democracy would be more effective.

5. It is probably not wise to leave the administration of these plans for too long in the hands of the Army. It was my impression that we came to the end of the war with inadequate personnel for Military Government, and with loosely and insufficiently formulated plans. The most desirable arrangement would be the setting up of a joint British, French and American agency for these purposes, consisting of men highly trained in the fields of government, of education, and of public relations. Under them a staff should be built up, of German civilians, from the classifications mentioned above.

6. There is an obvious and deep relation between German economy and German political amelioration. The difficult but necessary aim should be to restore Germany to the point where she can become self-supporting, where she will again be able to exchange her manufactured commodities for food, without building up her war-potential. Since the manufacture of steel has always been a major German industry, it is obvious that, while this should be resuscitated, it should be kept under constant inter-allied inspection for at least a generation to come. And this time the inspection should not be as perfunctory and as ineffective as it was after the First World War.

It will be wise not to wait too long for Russians to come around to cooperation, to mutual agreement about the political and economic future of Germany, I reached the conviction that a definite period should be announced, after which Britain, France, and the United States, will constitute their respective zones in Germany as a compact economic and political unit.

Every effort should be put forth to break up the Cartels, still in existence, and to prevent the organization of future Cartels.

7. Until the time comes that Germany can balance her own budget, our own country should help feed her people. We should urge upon the United Nations that all food-exporting nations shall aid in this task. Perhaps the Assembly of the United Nations might be urged to create an inter-national agency, similar to the Institute established by Lubin in Rome after World War I, - the purpose of which shall be to correlate all facts relating to shortages and surpluses of food-supplies and raw materials, and to direct them where they are most needed in the midst of this emergency.

Toward this end Americans should continue to be asked to reduce their own consumption of food. If this can be done by voluntary restrictions, well and good. If not, some kind of rationing will have to be adopted. Letting our enemies starve may seem like rude retributive justice, but it does not become religious people. It will not heal wounds. It will not prove to the world, nor to the Germans, that forgiveness is better than revenge.

Care should be taken, lest German economy be aided more than that of France. This was urged upon us by the President of France, M. Auriol, and I found myself in the fullest sympathy with his point of view. France should be aided toward recovery at least a step ahead of Germany, - and she should be given effective assurances as to her future freedom from unwarranted and wanton attack.

8. Before too long a halt should be called to the denazification program in Germany. In general, in its treatment of the mass of Nazis, the program does not appear to be very effective. It was obvious to me that it will continue to keep the country in turmoil, and that the part of wisdom is to finish the task speedily.

9. The present program for helping youth groups, but giving them no direction, struck me as an error. In this field we may well take a page out of the book of Russia. Youth groups are almost invariably political in Germany. Their youth is not care-free like our own. It is not content with recreation, athletics. Whether we like it or not, youth groups will continue to be concerned with politics, and to be organized along the lines of political philosophy. Experts need to be called in, who shall help in the organization and direction of youth groups that shall be avowedly democratic in principle and project, that shall align themselves with the democratic parties in German political life. This does not have to be done crassly. It can be done by indirection, by guidance, by soliciting the aid of religious agencies. The crying need for this was expressed to me by many young Germans with whom I spoke. One of the most intelligent men I met in Germany, was the

Vice-Rector of Heidelberg University. It was his opinion that we were beginning at the wrong end in Germany, that Germans are hopelessly confused by the multiplicity and complexity of political parties. We should begin from the ground up, with education and with the youth groups.

10. The early specialization of German schools, the disproportion of children soon diverted into vocational training, should be changed, from the bottom up. To do this it is necessary to alter the whole system. University training should be not merely for direct professional preparation, but for general cultural background.

It is not enough to have text-books from the time before 1933. These were never democratic, and they are also hopelessly outmoded. It is imperative that new texts should be created by appropriate German authors and teachers, which shall be actively pro-democratic, which shall interpret Germany's plight and her future for the average child, from Kindergarten up.

Teacher-training in Germany needs to stress the same ends.

Authors should be invited back into Germany, to produce books on various levels, for general consumption (when normal, the Germans are the most voracious readers in the world). These works should search out the themes of democracy that are indigenous to Germany, and should put them in palatable and attractive forms.

MARRIAGE AMONG OUR SOLDIERS

Everywhere we went chaplains complained to us bitterly about the marriage of American youngsters to German girls. They declared their distaste for the task of "approving" these marriages. Even when no specific objection could be discovered, - such as membership in some active Nazi group, they found the marriages unsuitable and perilous.

Nor do these marriages serve as preventives of immorality. Many of them are after cohabitation, and the birth of one or more children. Chaplains disagreed, in various places, about the percentage of American boys living with German girls out of wedlock, but all asserted that it was high.

The temptations for German girls under the present situation are overwhelming. A girl can get food by and through an American boy, not only for herself but frequently also for her family. Most young Germans are passionately eager to come to America. A large proportion have been thoroughly demoralized during the days of Hitler, whose doctrine through the Hitler Jugend was that girls should have Nordic children out of wedlock, to replenish the military stock; and who set up breeding-camps for soldiers on leave.

There is a serious danger in bringing so many young Nazis to the United States. The evidence seems to be that, rather than our boys influencing German girls toward democracy, the converse is taking place, - and an alarming percentage of American boys are indoctrinated with Nazi ideas and with anti-semitism. One or two surveys have tended to substantiate this fact.

To these facts should be added that of the extreme youth of American soldiers now abroad. We were informed that the average age was nineteen. It was distressing to inspect the quarters of some of the boys (always well kept and displaying evidence of excellent morale otherwise), and to note the faces and forms of some of them. To be away from home in the later years of adolescence, to be a member of a conquering and occupying army, in the midst of such a people, means deep and constant temptation.

We had a number of suggestions to make to mitigate this problem, - the control of "Unit Clubs", the cancellation of the policy of permitting boys to sleep away from quarters. But the final step that should be taken is to permit marriages between American soldiers and enemy women, only six months after a boy has returned home and been demobilized. This may seem a drastic step, but it seemed manifestly advisable. It did not seem wise to forbid these marriages absolutely, but to make them considerably more difficult; and to permit American boys to be first in the salutary surroundings of home and family.

DISPLACED PERSONS

We visited a number of camps for Displaced Persons. Besides those inspected by the party as a whole, I went to a number more, especially those in which Jews live. It would take too long to detail all the impressions and convictions I carried back with me. I shall refer only to the most important, and these concisely.

There is great need for a general plan in regard to those DPs who cannot and should not return to their former homes. More than two years had elapsed since VE Day. The conscience of the world, never too active, is beginning to forget these men, women and children. These are among the outstanding victims of the War, the people who, beyond all others, paid a price for Nazi cruelty and Nazi oppression. All countries should be asked to aid them. They cannot remain forever suspended between heaven and earth. But, in whatever plan is drawn up, the wishes of the DP's themselves should be respected. Many of these people have developed an instinct as to their own future weal.

Certainly the Jewish DPs are the most difficult element in the problem.

They suffered far more than the rest. They are afflicted by the memory of the millions of their dear ones, killed in gas chambers, and consumed in crematoriums. It requires a good deal of understanding of their past and of their plight, when one speaks to them, or visits them. Casual observers are likely to feel that they are lazy, or that they were made vicious by selection or suffering. Neither of these things is true. Jews fear and hate Germans. Perhaps time and distance will mitigate this. But neither is yet available to these people. Quite naturally they do not want to live among Germans, or work with or for them. There is a hierarchy of suffering in post-war Europe, and the Jews there have the tragic privilege of being at its topmost apex.

Jews still feel themselves surrounded by antisemitism in Germany. This does not stem from their sickly imagination. It is solid and incontrovertible fact. Prejudices and slanders about them circulate readily. Visitors should be on their guard against too ready an acceptance of some of these perversions of truth. Doubtless some Jews brought out of their experience a certain desperation, which is sometimes reflected in action. But in general, by every report, they are law-abiding people, resolved to live, capable of developing culture and education even under the circumstances of the DP camps. A few may develop traumatic resentments, but most of them are quite simply waiting.

Primarily they want to go to Palestine. Of this there can be no real question. This is not to say that a small minority might not choose to go elsewhere, or that, if they were to be denied the right to go to Palestine, they might not be willing to go to some free land. But it was the general consensus, that, if they were permitted to choose freely for themselves, an amazing proportion would elect to migrate to what they call "home", the Land of Israel. Rightly or wrongly they feel this with obvious intensity. The world should give heed to this passionate wish of theirs, one that has behind it the promise of the nations to permit Jews, who so desire, to go to their "national homeland."

Though solitary cases of conflict or mistreatment may arise, these are far from being the rule. I have nothing but unqualified and grateful praise for the command of our Army, and for its attitude toward political and religious refugees. This is fully in the noble tradition of our American forebears. And it is carried out with generosity and with broad wisdom in both Austria and Germany. As a rabbi, and as an American Jew, I want to express my deep thankfulness to all the officers, who have permitted Jews in large numbers to enter the American zones, who have tried to help them on the road back to health and vital activity, and who have treated them not as prisoners but as free men, who may do as they wish, and go whither they wish.

CHAPLAINS

During the entire War I had an especial interest in the chaplaincy. I had the privilege of serving as a chaplain in World War I. I brought with me the conviction that few things rival in importance spiritual service to men on the field of battle. I tried to help in persuading the best men in the rabbinate to enter the service, even at the cost of considerable inconvenience to congregations at home.

I am deeply proud of the record made during the War by all chaplains, among them those of my own faith. This pride was intensified by what I saw abroad. Even after the War many chaplains are still laboring with might and main. They have a unique relationship with the men. They busy themselves also with works of mercy and of good will in relation to the people of the land. Their cooperation with the German clergy, of all faiths, is admirable.

AMERICAN JEWISH RELIGION IN GERMANY ARCHIVES

In this section I should like to reiterate, in substance, a word of caution, which I have set forth in my preliminary observations.

In the course of our travels, and the conferences arranged for us, I met hardly any Catholic clergy. My impressions are chiefly derived from conversations with Protestant church-leaders or servants, or from listening to them. But even here I have some hesitancy in expressing my impressions. I fear that they may be unjust, or superficial. I have no doubt that among the present clergy of Germany there may be many splendid men, serving God, devoted to the spiritual remaking of their parishioners and their country.

If such there be, however, with but one exception, I did not meet them or hear them. Those who met with us were, for the most part, given chiefly to whining about the destruction of their churches, the impoverishment and hunger of their people. It was almost never that we heard a clergymen mention the havoc wrought by Germans upon other peoples, the destruction of churches in England or other countries, the fearful burden of guilt that lies upon the German conscience, because of Warsaw, Lidice, the shooting of hostages, the murder of eight to nine million human beings, the whole technique of Nazi intimidation and terror.

Germany needs a religious revival, in the deepest sense. The churches that still exist are crowded. But they house only a small proportion of Germans. Anti-religious tendencies, engendered by the Nazis, are still prevalent. Here is a nation that is, in the deepest sense, a problem in moral reawakening, in what the New Testament calls metanoia, a "change of heart." I looked long and hard for evidences of such a moral restoration.

I did not find it.

I believe that we can help Germans in this direction, too. Americans should intensify and broaden agencies of relief for Germans. There should be instituted an exchange system for ministers, professors in theological seminaries. Lecturers should be sent to Germany, not to preach at them, but to set before them the aspect of a rational and ethical world. To this there should be added, as an element in the plan presented above, under the problem of German democratization, the institution of a general plan for exchange of professors, students, and lecturers.

RUSSIA

I went to Europe this summer, believing that certain American groups were magnifying the menace of Russia for partisan, selfish reasons. I returned, realizing that, whether this is true or not, the menace is considerable. It is not too difficult to conjecture the reasons that have prompted Russia to embark upon her course of non-cooperation, of attempted propagandizing, of trying to assimilate satellite-nations. The results are only too tragically evident, in the obstacles which now retard, if they do not prevent, the unification and restoration of post-bellum Europe, and, perhaps even more, in the general atmosphere of tension, hostility, and trepidation which moves through Europe.

Our country faces and will face a difficult problem in Europe. I accept the judgment of some of our best-qualified observers, that there is no immediate danger of war. In the meantime, it should be American policy to stand firm, not to retreat before encroachments, to try to make whatever progress is possible despite Russia in the pacification of Europe, in democratizing Germany, and in the resuscitation of European lands through the Marshall Plan.

CONCLUSION

I trust that the frankness and forthrightness of this report will not offend, that it will be understood as it is intended. It has been my purpose to try to repay the magnificent opportunity this trip represented, by sincere study, and by the formulation of conclusions that seemed justified by the facts.

Not a word of this report is to be intended as disparagement of American officers, or troops. I returned, prouder than ever of the caliber and character of our boys, and with a genuine admiration for the men who direct our affairs abroad. They would be the first to concede that their task is one of the most arduous and equivocal men have ever confronted; and that there is abundant space for valid differences of judgment.

How could things be other than they are today in Central Europe? A country, a section of the world, does not recuperate so promptly from a disease as deep, and devastating, as that which afflicted Germany. Europe is impoverished by war, made abnormal by oppression, victimized by cruelty. It is still riddled with false ideas, politically unstable, filled with populations lacking food, and millions who have been uprooted. Hatred and delusion still stalk some of its lands. Its essential instability is not helped by the contest now raging between East and West. Central Europe is now the frontier of this struggle. The fluctuation of ideas and projects over its body will tend to delay its normalization.

Nothing is to be gained by sinking into hopelessness. The great danger of our time is that she shall stare too long into the eyes of the basilisk, and become immobile and helpless. Much of the paralysis of our time is neither necessary nor permanent. Many things can be done. And in the end tranquility, reason and justice will return to the world. But they will not return, until we come to see things as they are, until we gather all our forces together, until we learn to help energetically and generously.

It has become a truism that for better or worse this is One World. We shall stand as one; we shall fall as one. The world has become an organism, in which the disease of one member must spread to all. Our own country can add to its magnificent historic service to mankind, by refusing to cut itself off, by refraining from immuring itself behind the wall of its own strength and prosperity; by identifying itself actively with the struggle to achieve a united world; by resisting the temptation to become annoyed by opposition, irritated by impudent provocation; by proceeding calmly upon its task of assisting the nations toward recovery and freedom.

- 13 -

END

DISTRIBUTION: N, Y, CAD.

11-26-47

1:45 P. M.

EDWIN ROSENBERG
15 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

August 22, 1949

Rabbi Herbert Friedman
Temple Emanuel
Pearl and 16 Streets
Denver 2, Colorado

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

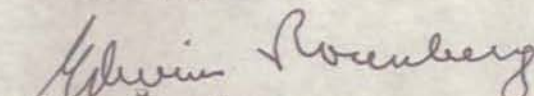
We are pleased to hear from Dr. Alfred Neumann that you have been making an important contribution to Denver's settlement program. He has also told us of your many other welfare and civic activities. In behalf of United Service for New Americans, I want to express our deep appreciation for the splendid example you are setting for Denver by personally welcoming and helping to orient newcomers into the life of your community.

With the rapidly increasing rate of immigration and the need to settle newcomers in communities which have had no previous experience, we feel that you could do an effective job of interpretation outside Denver for United Service and the larger movement to close DP camps. Accordingly, I would like to extend a cordial invitation to you to be a member of our Speakers Roster. Dr. Neumann has sent us a list of your numerous activities, but perhaps it would be well if you would send us a few biographical notes which we may have in case of need.

As explained to Dr. Neumann, we do not have an appropriation of funds and have advised all communities that they will be expected to pay transportation and incidental expenses for speakers. Consequently, you are not likely to receive any calls from distant points through us.

With renewed thanks for the splendid work you are doing in the newcomer program and with cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,


Edwin Rosenberg

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH

U. S. Bulletin No. 1

UNITED STATES
PARTICIPATION
IN THE
AMERICAN JEWISH
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
ON MENTAL HEALTH

London, August 11-21, 1948



INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, Inc.

1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Telephone: Circle 5-8000

December, 1947

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.

OFFICERS AND INTERIM GOVERNING BOARD

Officers

Honorary President
Adolf Meyer, M.D.
President
J. R. Rees, M.D.
Vice-Presidents
H. Crichton-Miller, M.D. (England)
Frank Fremont-Smith, M.D. (U.S.A.)
Jean L'Hermitte, M.D. (France)
Auguste Ley, M.D. (Belgium)
Jonathan C. Meakins, M.D. (Canada)
Eugenio Medea, M.D. (Italy)
Henrique Roxo, M.D. (Brazil)

Secretary-General

H. Edmund Bullis

Treasurer

A. L. van Ameringen

Executive Committee

Chairman

Frank Fremont-Smith, M.D.

Vice-Chairman

Molly R. Harrower, Ph.D.

H. Edmund Bullis

J. D. Griffin, M.D.

Austin H. MacCormick, LL.D.

J. R. Rees, M.D.

George S. Stevenson, M.D.

Staff

Executive Officer

Nina Ridenour, Ph.D.

Assistant to Executive Officer

Jean Conti

Interim Governing Board

Carl A. L. Binger, M.D. (U.S.A.)
K. Herman Bouman, M.D. (Netherlands)
Henry W. Brosin, M.D. (U.S.A.)
H. Edmund Bullis (U.S.A.)
C. Charles Burlingame, M.D. (U.S.A.)
René Charpentier, M.D. (Monaco)
Hans Evensen, M.D. (Norway)
Frank Fremont-Smith, M.D. (U.S.A.)
J. D. Griffin, M.D. (Canada)
C. R. Hargreaves, M.D. (England)
Molly R. Harrower, Ph.D. (U.S.A.)
Sir David Henderson, M.D. (Scotland)
Kerstin Hesselgren (Sweden)
C. M. Hincks, M.D. (Canada)
Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D. (U.S.A.)
Clyde Kluckhohn, Ph.D. (U.S.A.)
Paul O. Komora (U.S.A.)
Adele R. Levy (U.S.A.)
David M. Levy, M.D. (U.S.A.)
William Line, Ph.D. (Canada)
Austin H. MacCormick, LL.D. (U.S.A.)
Margaret Mead, Ph.D. (U.S.A.)
William C. Menninger, M.D. (U.S.A.)
John M. Murray, M.D. (U.S.A.)
Doris M. Odium, M.D. (England)
Howard W. Potter, M.D. (U.S.A.)
Daniel A. Prescott, Ed.D. (U.S.A.)
J. R. Rees, M.D. (England)
André Repond, M.D. (Switzerland)
Arthur H. Ruggles, M.D. (U.S.A.)
Mildred C. Scoville (U.S.A.)
Milton J. E. Senn, M.D. (U.S.A.)
G. Howland Shaw, LL.D. (U.S.A.)
George S. Stevenson, M.D. (U.S.A.)

As this Bulletin goes to press, the original preliminary program of the Congress, including registration blanks and all necessary information, is being revised. If you wish to receive the new program, send your name and address to

NINA RIDENOUR, *Executive Officer*
International Committee for Mental Hygiene
1790 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION
IN THE
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH
LONDON, AUGUST 11-21, 1948

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds
of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

—*Constitution of UNESCO*

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS on Mental Health will mobilize the efforts of many different professional groups for the study and application of the principles essential to the building of harmonious human relations. It is to be the first phase of a new program of world planning for mental health.

Preliminary organization of the Congress is being carried out by the National Association for Mental Health of England. The Congress is to consist of three Conferences. The main one of these, the International Conference on Mental Hygiene, is sponsored by the International Committee for Mental Hygiene.*

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

The International Committee for Mental Hygiene is now (October, 1947) proposing the formation of a "World Federation for Mental Health" which will replace the present International Committee and which will be incorporated some time within the next few months. At the Congress meetings in London in August, 1948, a permanent Constitution and By-Laws will be adopted by the World Federation for Mental Health and a Board will be organized consisting of democratically elected delegates from many countries. The new World Federation for Mental Health will then apply to UNESCO and the World Health Organization of the United Nations for recognition as the official international voluntary organization in the field of mental health.

The forthcoming Congress will provide an opportunity for professional groups from many nations to begin work together towards

*Details about the other two Conferences, August 11-14, and other information about the Congress as a whole will be printed in the revised program of the Congress. (See note inside front cover.) The International Conference on Mental Hygiene, August 16-21, is the only one discussed in this Bulletin.

common mental health goals. Recommendations formulated at the Congress will serve as a base for national and international planning for referral to WHO and UNESCO. Thus for the first time in history mental health planning on a world scale is about to begin, and this Congress is the first step.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MENTAL HYGIENE

The International Conference on Mental Hygiene is distinctive in the way in which it is being organized. Instead of consisting principally of papers by individuals, the program is to be built around the reports of numerous small discussion groups, or "Preparatory Commissions," which are being established throughout the various participating countries. Some of these Commissions will at first consist of representatives of one profession only, such as a group of psychiatrists, or of psychologists. Most of the Commissions will be "multi-discipline" from the outset. By "multi-discipline" is meant that Preparatory Commissions will consist of representatives of three or more professions or disciplines. For example, a Commission might include two or three psychiatrists, a social worker, and an anthropologist or two; another might include half a dozen nursery school teachers, two or three psychologists, a pediatrician, and a public health nurse. Commissions which start out as single-discipline will be encouraged to include representatives of other disciplines in their discussions and will thus become multi-discipline.

The purpose of this multi-discipline structure is self-evident. Experience has shown that often when professional groups with similar interests but different backgrounds come together to discuss the same problem, the views of each are broadened and each is able to approach the problem more constructively. It is anticipated that pooling the experiences of the several disciplines concerned with mental health will provide a broad and stimulating program and an excellent base for future planning.

THE ORIGINAL PROGRAM

The preliminary tentative program of the Conference on Mental Hygiene was intentionally planned to be broad enough to elicit the interest of many different professional groups, and is as follows:

**Theme: Mental Health
and World Citizenship**

| | MAIN TOPIC | SUBSIDIARY TOPICS |
|-----------|---|--|
| Aug. 16th | Problems of World Citizenship and Good Group Relationships. | Socio-psychological criteria of a good society. Patriotism and wider group sentiments. Ascertainment of public opinion and means of disseminating information. |
| Aug. 17th | The Individual and Society. | War-time experience. Economic security. Cultural clashes and Fascist infection. |
| Aug. 18th | Family Problems and Psychological Disturbance. | Social development of the child. Marital and family maladjustment. Social anxiety and fertility. |
| Aug. 19th | Planning for Mental Health; Organization, Training, Propaganda. | Official and voluntary organizations. The Mental Health "Team" and training for each aspect of the work. Public relations and mental health. |
| Aug. 20th | Mental Health in Industry and Industrial Relations. | Human relations, morale, incentives, vocational guidance and placement. Industries especially liable to morale problems. |
| Aug. 21st | Practical Conclusions and Recommendations. | |

FOCUS FOR THE UNITED STATES EFFORT

The Executive Committee of the International Committee for Mental Hygiene has decided that within this broad program the focus for the United States effort shall be "*What has war done to the children of the world, and what can we do about it?*" Some Preparatory Commissions may wish to broaden this further to "*What do we do to children that leads them as adults to make war, and what can we do about it?*" In order to include in this inter-

national effort the interests and results of studies on other topics in the program, it has been decided to set up two Central Commissions: one, called the Central Commission on War and Children, to be devoted to the work of Preparatory Commissions related to the focus for the United States effort; the other, the Central Commission on Mental Health and World Citizenship, to work with the Preparatory Commissions studying all other problems falling within the range of the original Conference program. That part of the program bearing on children and war may be outlined tentatively as follows:

**What Has War Done to the Children of the World, and
What Can We Do about It?**

PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM

- To centralize all the knowledge in the world now available on the effects of war on children; to obtain a distillate of world experience.
- To pool raw data from all countries for present and future study and interpretation; to collect these data now, quickly, before they are lost.
- To provide a baseline for longitudinal studies on selected groups of war-injured children.
- To analyze all studies with respect to their implication for world citizenship and outline areas for further investigation.

SUGGESTED TOPICS

I. *Effects of Displacement and Disruption*

1. Studies of evacuated, displaced, and refugee children in Europe and in the U.S.A.

- Psychodynamics of trauma
- Character structure of war-injured children
- Studies of physiological and psychological development
- Emotional effects of prolonged hunger

- Effects of camp life on families
Congregate care of children
Effects of different circumstances of evacuation
2. Effects on families of civilian war activities in non-combat areas in the U.S.A.
- Day care; working mothers
Variation in attitudes of parents towards work; towards children; patterns of rejection
Studies in mobility
Parental tensions
Parental participation in community activities
Beneficial effects of employment; ease of getting jobs
Special problems of adolescence and youth; delinquency, etc.
3. Problems resulting from military service of the father
Absence of the father; following the father
Death of the father
Responsibility placed on children
- II. *Special Studies of Impact of War on Children, Youth, and Families*
- As seen by social agencies
As seen in psychiatric consultation
Children's productions; drawings, Rorschach, play, etc.
Effects of specific ideologies
Comparison between adult reaction to war and children's reaction to other special stress.
- III. *Critical Evaluation of Current Methods of Handling Children**
- Basic needs of children
Implications for world citizenship
"What is the world doing to children?"
Cultural and sub-cultural differences in attitudes toward children—corporal punishment; authoritarianism, etc.
- IV. *Areas for Further Investigation*
- A psychiatric history of the war based on observations of children and families.

*It is suggested that this is a particularly important topic, with significant implications for the general theme "World Citizenship."

Influence of disturbed children on other children; families;
community.
Group tensions.
Concepts of democracy.

ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

It is the wish of the various planning and organizing committees here and in London that as many as possible of those who have a contribution to make to the program shall have an opportunity to do so. In order to keep material flowing and not let the program get out of bounds, the following plan of organization has been worked out.

The United States is divided into five Regions, each with a Regional Chairman, as follows:

I. Northeast Region

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.

Chairman: Miss Marian McBee
State Charities Aid Association
105 East 22nd Street
New York 10, N. Y.

II. Southeast Region

Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana.

Chairman: Dr. George H. Preston
Board of Mental Hygiene
330 North Charles Street
Baltimore 1, Md.

III. Central Northwest Region

Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Chairman: Dr. Leo H. Bartemeier
250 General Motors Building
Detroit, Michigan

IV. Central Southwest Region

Missouri, Arkansas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico.

Chairman: Dr. Lewis L. Robbins
Menninger Clinic
Topeka, Kansas

V. *Far West Region*

Montana, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California.

Chairman: Dr. Martha MacDonald
Veterans Administration Hospital
Palo Alto, California.

Regions will be divided into Areas, each with an Area Coordinator appointed by the Regional Chairman. An Area may be a state, a city, a town, a county, a university center, or any convenient geographic unit determined by the Regional Chairman. Area Coordinators will have Discipline Advisers, selected to represent given disciplines or professions. For instance, a psychiatrist well acquainted in the Area will be asked to confer with the Coordinator about ways of using psychiatrists to advantage. Similarly a psychologist, a social worker, etc., will be asked to represent their respective professions.

Preparatory Commissions will ordinarily consist of not fewer than three or not more than 15 persons, preferably representing at least three different disciplines. If a group wishes to form a Commission of representatives of one discipline only (such as all social workers, or all pediatricians) there is no strong objection. The Area Coordinator will, however, encourage such Commissions to include representatives of other disciplines in their discussions.

There are no hard and fast lines about eligibility for work on a Commission. Any representative of any profession, or any lay person who has a contribution to make may be asked to join a Commission or may form his own Commission if he wishes. Appropriate national or local associations may form Commissions, such as parent-teacher associations or child study groups. In general, it is anticipated that the greatest amount of work will come from psychiatrists, psychologists and psychiatric social workers. Cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists will necessarily take an active part. Excellent contributions are expected from nursery school and other teachers, from nurses, especially public health nurses, and from pediatricians. Some clergymen will be interested, and judges will also be helpful. Many lay people will have important observations to add.

HOW TO FORM A PREPARATORY COMMISSION

Time is short! If you are interested in forming a Commission, call your group together *at once*. Do not wait to find out the name of your Area Coordinator or the Discipline Advisers; that can come later. Decide who is to be included in your group, what subject you will discuss, how often you will meet, and then get going. Select as your subject any topic which fits into the focus of the American effort, or, if you prefer, any other topic related to the theme stated in the original program. Some priority will be given to the subject of the impact of war on children and what is to be done about it, and particularly to discussion based on specific data. Start working on a report which will be the result of the thinking of your group and which says what you think ought to be said on that subject at an International Conference on Mental Hygiene. Some of the recommendations growing out of the reports presented at the Conference will be passed on to the World Health Organization and UNESCO to be implemented by them when possible. Therefore, keep in mind that your report should include the kind of material which could be used in planning for world mental health.

If you wish to participate in a Commission but do not have a group in mind, or if you want to know what else is going on in your Area, write to your Regional Chairman. As this bulletin goes to press (October), Area Coordinators are being appointed and it will take a little time before all Areas are delineated. Do not postpone starting a Commission because your Area Coordinator has not been appointed. Go right ahead, but be sure to get in touch with your Area Coordinator as soon as you are notified by your Regional Chairman that one has been appointed.

Because it is necessary for the central office to keep track of what the groups are and what they are doing, the following procedures will be required in order to establish and maintain official status.

1. *For official recognition*

Each Preparatory Commission must submit

- A. A list of the names and professions of members of the group, and the name and address of the permanent chairman.

- B. A statement of the problem or subject on which the group is working. This should be in sufficient detail so that others can get a clear idea, but must not exceed one page of double space type.
- C. List and problem must be accompanied by a statement to the effect that the chairman is mailing them as follows:
 - a. Original to the executive officer, International Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. This is the copy on which official recognition is granted.
 - b. Copy to the Program Secretary, International Congress on Mental Health, 19 Manchester Street, London W. 1, England.
 - c. Copy to the Regional Chairman.
 - d. Copy to the Area Coordinator. (If one has not been appointed up to the time the group seeks recognition, hold copy and send later.)

2. *To maintain official status*

Each Preparatory Commission must submit

- A. *By January 15*, or, indeed, as soon as possible, a preliminary report (any length) accompanied by an abstract of one page. (Prepare and mail four copies as above.)
- B. *By March 31*, a final report (any length) accompanied by an abstract of one page. The abstract should give a clear idea of main points considered, conclusions, and recommendations. (Four copies, as above.)

The reason for the preliminary report is so that the central office and the various people in coordinating capacities can see how things are moving. The reason for the relatively early date for the final report is to allow time for revisions and exchange of correspondence about reports which the Program Committee decides to use. All groups will be encouraged, of course, to continue work on their topics, on many of which agreement cannot possibly have been reached by March 31.

Because planning a program in this way is a new experiment in methodology, it is impossible to say exactly which reports will be used in the program and how they will be handled. However, quite apart from how specific reports happen to be used in the program, there are two important values in this method. The first is that these reports will inevitably provide an excellent base for future planning for *local*, *national*, and *world* mental health. They will be used by various kinds of local groups, by the several divisions of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and WHO and UNESCO. Secondly, there is the value which accrues to the participants. People who take part in thoughtful inter-discipline discussions of common problems invariably find that, quite regardless of the final product in the way of a report, their time has been well spent because their vision is broadened.

A stimulating discussion of these points and of the need for a "world-wide mobilization of psychiatry" is to be found in the excellent article entitled "Remobilization for Enduring Peace and Social Progress" by Harry Stack Sullivan, M.D., in the August, 1947, issue of *Psychiatry*. This article is especially recommended to all participants in Preparatory Commissions.

Dr. Sullivan concludes his article with these appropriate words: "I say to you with the utmost seriousness of which I am capable that this is no time to excuse yourself from paying the debt you and yours owe the social order with some facile verbalism like 'Nothing will come of it; it can't be done.' Begin; and let it be said of you, if there is any more history, that you labored nobly in the measure of man in the XX century of the scientific Western world."

Effects on Children of War Experiences

1. Substitution of group for family.
Group leader is father. Tremendous loyalty to group. Group cooperation factor in survival. Group discipline very powerful. Some groups good - others mere packs of animals.

2. Residual nightmares - sweating - skin rashes.

3. Effect on creative talents - horror scenes, gallows, gas chambers, crematoria, depicted in ~~for~~ drawings, as ~~long~~ late as 2 years after war.

4. Sexual abnormalities resulting from guerilla life in woods and caves away from restraints.

5. Serious distrust and actual suspicion of strangers. Long hard work to win confidence.

6. Not as great destruction of moral standards as would be imagined. Not so much stealing, physical violence, etc.

7. ~~Development~~ "Chocolate as soap" story.



Effects On Children Of War Experiences

1. Substitution of group for family. Group leader is father. Tremendous loyalty to group. Group cooperation factor in survival. Group discipline very powerful. Some groups good--others mere packs of animals.

2. Residual nightmares -- sweating -- skin rashes.

3. Effect on creative talents -- horror scenes, gallows, gas chambers, crematoria, depicted in drawings, as late as two years after war.

4. Sexual abnormalities resulting from guerilla life in woods and caves away from restraints.

5. Serious distrust and actual suspicion of strangers. Long hard work to win confidence.

6. Not as great destruction of moral standards as would be imagined. Not so much stealing, physical violence, etc.

7. "Chocolate as soap" story.

Ruth Ivor,
1596 Cook Street,
Denver 6. Colorado.
January 26, 1948.

Rabbi Herbert Friedman,
Temple Emanuel,
1595 Pearl.
Denver.

Dear Rabbi Friedman,

As arranged yesterday on the telephone I am herewith sending you excerpts from the Bulletin on Mental Health appertaining to the International Congress.

The first meeting of the preparatory Commission is being held next Friday, January 30 at 8 p.m., at the Faculty Lounge, Mary Reed Library, University of Denver. Unfortunately it was not possible to arrange another date with all the other members, and we shall be very sorry not to have you at the first meeting.

However, you will see from the notes that I suggested Thursday, February 19 as the date for the next meeting. Meanwhile we shall be very interested to hear your views and suggestions as to the agenda of the reports.

I have underlined some of the topics which I thought might be the ones you would like to give reports and recommendations. Your experience and knowledge will be most valuable indeed.

Professor Link, Head of the Dept. of Sociology at D.U., Dr. Goldner, Psychiatrist, ~~xxxxxxxchildxandxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~, Beulah Link, Psychologist, Dr. Young, Psychiatrist at the Child Guidance Clinic, Sue Wolff, formerly with Anna Freud's nursery for bombed children, a pediatrician and Lucille Beck, United Nations Association, will be on the Commission.

Thank you for your cooperation,

Yours sincerely,

Ruth Ivor

The Area Coordinator for The International Congress on Mental Health, Dr. Jules Coleman, Director of the psychiatric Out-Patients Department, Colorado Psychopathic Hospital, University of Colorado, asked me a few days ago to set up this preparatory Commission for our area.

As Dr. Coleman has only been able to let me have one copy of the U.S. Bulletin No. 1. outlining the program of the International Congress, I have made the enclosed excerpts. I thought they might help to acquaint you with the aims and objectives of the Commission. This advance information might also aid to keep the number of our meetings to an absolute minimum.

I have immediately written to the International Committee for Mental Hygiene and have asked for additional copies of the Bulletin and any material available to submit to you at our first meeting.

In the meantime I hope that ~~that~~ from the enclosed outline you will be able to acquaint yourself with the topics of discussion, find out the areas where your specific expert knowledge will be of value and bring suggestions and recommendations to our first meeting.

At the first meeting we shall survey trends and focal points and select the topics you wish to place on the agenda. As you note from the excerpts we shall have to send our preliminary report to the International Committee immediately, and I would be willing to write a short abstract after our first meeting, indicating the topics which will be incorporated in our report.

At this first meeting we shall also select the individual topics on which you, the various experts in the fields, will make specific reports. These reports, the results of your experience, studies and research, might be worked out by each of you within the next three weeks, to be submitted at our next meeting. A tentative date suggested for this second meeting is February 19.

At the second meeting we shall discuss your specialised reports, suggestions and recommendations. From these detailed reports a final abstract and summary will have to be written.

This final report, incorporating all your recommendations, would be submitted to you for approval ~~xxxx~~ at the last meeting to be held early in March. The final report would then be handed to the International Congress for their agenda.

The U.S. Bulletin No. 1. states as the reason for the relatively early date for the final report: "To allow time for revisions and exchange of correspondence about reports."

Please let me know your views and suggestions and whether this tentative schedule meets with your approval. My address is

Ruth Ivor
1596 Cook Street,
Denver 6, Colorado.
Telephone: Fremont 6096.

Excerpts from:

U.S. Bulletin No. 1. International Congress on Mental Health.

United States Participation in the
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH. London, August 11-21, 48

"after intensive consultation, it was decided by the Executive Committee of the Intern. Committee for Mental Hygiene that within this broad program the focus for the United States effort should be WHAT HAS WAR DONE TO THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD AND WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT.?

Purpose of the Program:

To centralize all the knowledge in the world now available on the effects of war on children; to obtain a distillate of world experience.

To pool raw data from all countries for present and future study and interpretation; to collect these data now, quickly, before they are lost.

To provide a baseline for longitudinal studies on selected groups of war-injured children.

To analyze all studies with respect to their implication for world citizenship and outline areas for further investigation.

Suggested Topics.

I. Effects of Displacement and Disruption.

1. Studies of evacuated, displaced and refugee children in Europe and in the U.S.A.

Psychodynamics of trauma
Character structure of war-injured children.
Studies of physiological and psychological development
Emotional effects of prolonged hunger
Effects of camp life on families
Congregate care of children
Effects of different circumstances of evacuation.

2. Effects on families of civilian war activities in non-combat areas in the U.S.A.

Day care; working mothers.
Variation in attitudes of parents towards work; towards children; patterns of rejection
Studies in mobility
Parental tensions
Parental participation in community activities
Beneficial effects of employment; ease of getting jobs
Special problems of adolescence and youth, delinquency etc.

II. Special Studies of Impact of War on Children, Youth and Families.

As seen by social agencies.
As seen in psychiatric consultation.
Children's productions; drawing, Rorschach, play, etc.
Effect of specific ideologies
Comparison between adult reaction to war and children's
reaction to other special stress.

III. Critical Evaluation of Current Methods of Handling Children

Basic needs of children
Implications for world citizenship
What is the world doing to children?
Cultural and sub-cultural differences in attitudes towards
children- corporal punishment, authoritarianism etc.

IV. Further Areas for Investigation

A psychiatric history of the war based on observations of
children and families.
Influence of disturbed children on other children/ families;
community.
Group tensions.
Concepts of democracy.

;;.....

...." Preparatory Commissions will ordinarily consist of not fewer than three or not more than 15 persons, preferably representing at least three different disciplines..... There are no hard and fast lines about eligibility for work on a Commission. Any representative of any profession or any lay person who has a contribution to make may be asked to join a Commission... Start working on a report which will be the result of the thinking of your group and which says what you think ought to be said at an International Conference on Mental Hygiene. Some of the recommendations growing out of the reports presented at the Conference will be passed on to the World Health Organization and UNESCO to be implemented by them when possible. Therefore, keep in mind that your report should include the kind of material which could be used in planning for world mental health.

- ...
Each preparatory Commission must submit:
- A. By January 15 or ineed as soon as possible, a preliminary report (any length accompanied by an abstract of one page.
 - B) By March 31, a final report (any length) accompanied by an abstract of one page. The Abstract should give a clear idea of main points considered, conclusions, and recommendations."

DP

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

JUNE 19, 1947
NO. 504

CONFIDENTIAL
FUTURE RELEASE
NOTE DATE

CONFIDENTIAL RELEASE FOR PUBLICATION UPON DELIVERY EXPECTED
ABOUT 11:00 A. M., E.D.T., FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1947.
NOT TO BE PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED, QUOTED FROM OR USED
IN ANY WAY.

STATEMENT BY RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN, ADVISER
ON JEWISH AFFAIRS TO GENERAL CLAY, BEFORE THE
HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION, JUNE 20, 1947.

At the request of the State and War Departments I have just flown over from Germany to testify concerning H. R. 2910. I am Adviser on Jewish Affairs to General Clay, Commander in Chief of the European Command. I have served in that capacity since May 1946 both to General McNarney in Germany and to Generals Clark and Keyes in Austria.

During the war I was the Director of the Jewish religious program for the U. S. Armed Forces. I worked closely with 311 American Rabbis who served as Chaplains in the Army and Navy. At the invitation of the Secretaries of War and Navy, I visited American military personnel on most of the far-flung battlefields of the world. There was hardly an island in the Pacific from Attu to Guadalcanal, where American troops were stationed, to which this duty did not take me. In the later stages of the war and after its close, particularly in Europe, we began to encounter the displaced persons. These were the survivors of a Nazi policy which has enslaved those who could be useful, and slaughtered the rest.

The bill before you deals with the question of the admission over a period of four years of up to 400,000 displaced persons out of the million Balts, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians and Yugoslavs that the Western Allied Armies now have under their care.

Naturally this Committee wants to know what these people are like. It has been felt that it would be useful to you to have some testimony from some of those who have had a long and varied first-hand contact with these people in the numerous camp communities in which they are now living.

Others can testify from wider experience and with greater authority concerning the displaced persons as a whole. But my own experience, both in the war and after, has given me a special familiarity with the Jewish displaced persons who constitute about twenty per cent of the whole number. I visited nearly all of the considerable number of camps in Germany and Austria in which they are to be found. I have heard the moving stories of their past and how they would like to rebuild their lives. I have seen how they live
and

and what they are doing in the small communities in which they are now gathered. I have also been called upon to regard them in terms of the practical responsibilities of the U. S. zone Commanders. Perhaps that is why the Secretaries of State and War have requested me to share with you my knowledge and experience of this particular group of displaced persons.

At the close of the European war we found about 30,000 Jews still alive in the concentration camps. Soon their numbers were augmented by many thousands, including orphaned children who had hidden in forests, caves and cellars. Further numbers came from partisan bands who had fought valiantly against the Nazis. The majority of these displaced persons were Polish Jews. When after the German defeat they returned to their homes they learned that their families had been exterminated, their property had been demolished or confiscated, and their hopes for a new free life were blasted by violent pogroms. They then fled to haven in the U. S. Zones of Germany and Austria. A smaller number came from Hungary and Rumania where they encountered a similar legacy of Nazi anti-semitism.

The total number of these various uprooted, homeless Jews, now to be found in the zones of the Western Allies in Germany and Austria, as well as in Italy, is approximately 225,000. The majority of these are in the U. S. Zone, Germany, where the Jewish DP population in and out of camp on June 2, 1947 amounted to 156,646. In the U. S. Zone, Austria, the number is 27,456. The British Zones in Germany and Austria contain about 16,000; the French Zones about 2,000. There are reported to be about 25,000 Jewish displaced persons in Italy. Altogether, these Jews constitute about one-fifth of the total DP population.

These homeless Jews cannot return whence they fled. In most instances, they have nothing to return to, for their families, their homes, their associations and their hopes were utterly annihilated. They do not wish to return to countries whose populations willingly assisted the Nazis in the destruction of the Jews and where violent anti-semitism persists. Regardless of the announced policies of governments, they believe that the peoples have not changed and that their return in any numbers would incite further pogroms. Despite the hardships of camp life, they are almost to a man unwilling to return.

There is no question that the great majority of Jewish displaced persons strongly desire to settle in Palestine. I would say that at the most about 25 per cent of the Jewish DPs or approximately 60,000 would, if given the opportunity, choose to come here. Primarily, these would wish to come because they have relatives here. Jewish family life has been hopelessly shattered in Europe. The families of most of these people have largely been destroyed. Large numbers are orphaned children or lone survivors. These people have a perfectly natural and overwhelming desire to attach themselves to the remaining members of their families in America. Also, they wish to come because they see, as most Jews have seen, in the American way of life, the best hope for freedom and justice.

My observations led me to the conclusion that they would make good American citizens. Although they reveal the usual variations of intelligence, character and ability, and although the immigration screening process would undoubtedly find some to be ineligible, fundamentally they are good human stock. Otherwise they could not have survived nor rehabilitated themselves

themselves so quickly.

It is well to recall the situation which confronted them when they were liberated in the Spring of 1945. Six millions of their brethren had been killed. Their own families had been almost completely exterminated. The cries from the gas chambers still echoed in their ears. They had no homes, no jobs, no property, no business. There had been no education of the young, no religious exercises, no family life. Each individual had personally suffered agonizing persecution. All found themselves in an atmosphere poisoned by a decade of Nazi-propaganda.

This situation would have been enough to crush almost any group of human beings. But not these. With the help primarily of the American Army they made a quick physical comeback. Flesh was restored to living skeletons. Vitality surged through their blood again.

Their first interest was to seek surviving members of their families. Their agonizing search followed the trails of the Nazi hordes. In most instances the search led only to ashes. But occasionally a wife, a parent or a child would be found. The stories were fantastic but true. This child was thrown in a suitcase out of the window of a moving train by parents who knew they were on the way to the gas chambers but subsequently escaped. Another was chloroformed by his father and carried in a sack of potatoes to a Christian peasant who maintained the boy until the war was over.

After the fragments of families were reunited they began to establish new ones. Many marriages took place and children were born. The traditional values of Jewish family life were reasserted; illegitimacy is practically unknown. In lands where venereal disease has reached the most alarming proportions among the military and the civilian populations, it is negligible among the Jews.

They were settled in Camps as the best way of taking care of them amidst the hostile impoverished German population. For the most part, these camps were bare, drab and ugly. Also, they had already seen too much of camps. Nevertheless they faced the realities and made the best of them. They organized the camps on democratic lines and gradually assumed complete responsibility for their administration as well as for their menial tasks. Most Jewish camps are conducted by the DPs themselves. They perform all the necessary services of a community.

They quickly reestablished the institutions of Jewish religious and cultural life. They consecrated Houses of Worship in crude shacks or barren rooms. They beautified them with the symbols of the Synagogue. In some camps where materials were available they built religious edifices and thronged to worship in them. When enough children were assembled they set up classes. They conducted adult education courses in cultural and technical subjects as well as in the English language. They even founded higher academies of religious learning and peoples universities. They organized musical and dramatic groups. They published as many newspapers and magazines as could be provided with paper. The average camp, despite its grimness and frustrations, is alive with the manifestations of the unconquerable human spirit.

At first they could not and would not work. They were too weak. They refused to perform any labor that might help the Germans who had despoiled them. But as strength was restored their attitude changed. Today, although most of them still will not work for the Germans, they do all sorts of work for the Army, voluntary agencies and themselves. In the past year I have not encountered a single instance where there was more work than workers. But there are, very unfortunately, limitations upon their opportunities for employment. These limitations are usually imposed by lack of materials and by lack of machines. Sometimes they overcome this with remarkable ingenuity. There are work shops in some camps that specialize in the manufacture of utensils, toys and religious objects out of tin cans. They do beautiful work which has been exhibited in the European Command Headquarters. Every camp has a tailor shop which remakes the cast-off clothing sent from America. Damaged Army blankets purchased by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee have been re-fashioned into attractive practical winter garments for children.

A number of camps raise food for themselves and other DPs. Specifically, 3600 Jews are settled in agricultural training camps where they must meet minimal production requirements set by the Army. The farm of the notorious anti-semitic Julius Streicher is now a thriving DP settlement on which over a hundred young Jews receive training as they await resettlement.

A great variety of labor skills is represented among these DPs. Artisans predominate, namely carpenters, painters, textile workers, shoe makers, tailors. There is a fair sized group of technicians specializing in auto mechanics, electricity, dentistry, et cetera. Nurses and doctors, because they were found necessary by the Nazis, survived in goodly numbers. Actually, the largest single group, about 15 per cent, consists of tailors, male and female. This happens to be an industry in which the United States is actually short of skilled help at the present time. I have been informed since my return that my own city of Rochester, for example, could use at least 3000 of these tailors at this very moment.

At least one-third of the maximum of 60,000 Jewish displaced persons who would come here, if the opportunity were afforded, would be children. Most of them would go to their relatives who would provide at least temporary shelter in their own homes where there might be a housing shortage. Responsible Jewish organizations are ready to guarantee that they would not become a burden on the community.

Of course, there are exceptions to the general picture that I have given you of these people and the communities in which they are living. The corroding effects of lack of opportunity for work, overcrowding in the shelter afforded, the haunting vision of their immediate past and uncertainty and despair as to their future have at various times and in various places produced unhappy situations. But to focus attention on these and treat them as typical would be entirely misleading. These displaced persons are human beings like other human beings. They have already been through the tough screening process of the greatest adversity. By and large, they have shown the moral and physical stamina necessary to survive and rebuild their lives if given an opportunity. It has been a remarkable achievement in self-rehabilitation. General Lucius D. Clay, who watched and assisted this process over the past two years, has appraised it as follows:

"The

"The behavior of the Jewish displaced persons has not been a major problem at any time since the surrender of Germany. The Jewish displaced persons were quickly gathered into communities where their religious and selected community leaders insisted on an orderly pattern of community life. Of course, we have had many minor problems resulting from the assembly of large numbers of Jewish displaced persons in the midst of the people who had caused their suffering. Moreover, the unsettled economic conditions in Germany have made barter trading and black market operations a common problem. Even in this field, the Jewish displaced persons have not been conspicuous in their activities as compared to other displaced persons groups or, in fact, as compared to the German population itself.

"The Jewish displaced persons have on the whole established an excellent record insofar as crimes of violence are concerned, and in spite of their very natural hatred of the German people have been remarkably restrained in avoiding incidents of a serious nature with the German population.

"In view of the conditions under which they have had to live in Germany, with their future unsettled and their past suffering clear at hand, their record for preserving law and order is to my mind one of the remarkable achievements which I have witnessed during my more than two years in Germany."

I have been describing to you the particular group of displaced persons among whom I have been working for the Army. They suffered the first and the worst at the hands of our common enemy. Like other groups of displaced persons, they find themselves today under circumstances beyond their control, in the midst of the people who are responsible for their misfortunes. They are caught in a trap from which they cannot extricate themselves by their own efforts. They are unwilling to go back and they cannot remain where they are. They must go elsewhere if they and their children are to have a chance to build lives for themselves. The problem of this group with which I am best acquainted is but a segment of the broader problem of what to do with the displaced persons as a whole. Let me say a word as to that broader problem.

The American people are now called upon through their elected representatives to make a decision, momentous to the fate of all displaced persons. Our own armies alone have 600,000 of them under our care. Some decision must be made. Even a postponement of decision is a decision -- a negative decision. It would doom these people to another winter of blighting uncertainty and inability to help themselves. It might be the death-blow to the morals and hope of thousands. The decision narrows down, then, either to merely prolonging the existence of the displaced persons in the camps, primarily at the expense of the United States, or to an early reasonable program of resettlement in which this country would take a part to enable these displaced persons to resume life in a normal atmosphere and to achieve self-respect through work and freedom.

I trust you will bear with an expression of my personal opinion as an American citizen as to this decision. I believe that American tradition, American common sense and decent humanitarianism here unite to say, "Take these people in."

It was

It was prophesied of old that the time would come when nations will be told:

"Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

"Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

"When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?

"Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

"And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

This is the time to practice what we believe.



AMERICAN DEVELOPMENTSHEARINGS ON STRATTON BILL CONCLUDE WITH TESTIMONY BY ATTORNEY-GENERAL TOM CLARK

WASHINGTON, (JTA) -- House hearings on the Stratton Bill ended this week with testimony by Attorney-General Tom Clark, who strongly supported the measure.

Clark told the House Sub-Committee on Immigration that "practically every every person who appeared in support of this bill presented his facts and views on the basis of actual experience or first-hand acquaintance with the subject," while most of the opposition witnesses had based their testimony on a long-standing prejudice to immigration itself.

He urged the Committee to bear such prejudices in mind in determining the weight which should be given to their utterances in opposition to this bill. "As a lawyer, I feel justified in saying that these witnesses lack qualification to state essential facts and lack the qualification of expert witnesses," Clark charged.

Refuting charges that admission of 400,000 displaced persons, as provided by the Stratton Bill, would take jobs away from American workers, Clark cited the testimony of A.F.L. President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray on behalf of the measure. He reiterated that there was no intention of changing the basic immigration law of the U.S. Rep. Frank Fellows, introduced a resolution in the House similar to Senator Revercomb's, calling for an investigation of the immigration system.

Earl G. Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, charged that a move is being made in the Senate to stall action on the entry of displaced persons in America "for two years at least, possibly until they are dead." Mr. Harrison said that Senate Resolution 137, introduced by Sen. Chapman Revercomb, Republican of W. Va., on July 11, on the floor of the Senate for action, "will, if passed, hopelessly entangle the displaced persons problem in Congressional investigation, red-tape, fumble and delay."

Later, Harrison called for the enactment of the Stratton Bill as soon as possible, in a 78-page statement filed with the House Sub-Committee on Immigration. The former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization declared: "A war fought to re-establish the rights and dignity of man cannot end with homeless DP's on our conscience."

Harrison said the United States must conform with its stated immigration policy and "to our resources, our hopes and our international declarations." He termed the problem as "crying for action," and declared cooperation with other nations to keep the peace requires "affirmative steps to help settle the problem of the war refugees."

He said the Stratton Bill would not disturb normal immigration procedure. He quoted a report of a War Department investigation of displaced persons testifying to their obedience to this country's laws and their gratitude to the United States for their treatment in the camps.

To: Members of Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons

From: William S. Bernard

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY ON H. R. 2910 ON JUNE 20, 1947 BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, JUDICIARY ROOM, OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

| | |
|------------|----------|
| RECEIVED | |
| NOTED BY | REFER TO |
| JUL 2 1947 | |
| ANSWERED | |

The Judiciary Committee Room, where subsequent hearings will be heard, is smaller than the Caucus Room, having room for approximately 100. For the first time the room was crowded.

Members of the Committee present were: Chairman Follows, Congressman Celler, Chelf, Gossett, and Robsion. Congressman Graham did not attend but several members of the over-all Judiciary Committee dropped in from time to time.

The first witness was Ugo Carusi, Commissioner of Immigration. He directed his testimony for the most part to answering the charges recently publicized by Commander Griffith of the American Legion and "others of high and low station" who have echoed him. Mr. Carusi made a forceful statement presenting the facts on the subject of legal immigrants, illegal immigrants, seamen, visitors and transients, and students, ending with a statement supporting H. R. 2910 with amendments, particularly one that would include some 15,000 temporary visitors now in the United States in the category of displaced persons eligible under the terms of the bill. He said that contrary to rumor, the quotas had not been filled, 80 per cent of them not having been used. Commenting on illegal immigrants, he stated that the largest number of them came from Canada and Mexico and that there was no evidence that Europeans are coming in over those borders. Less than 2,000 Europeans seek to slip in illegally through our ports. He added that "it may be of interest to know that the large number of expulsions (of illegal immigrants) has brought about a labor shortage in the states bordering Mexico. This is convincing proof that the expulsion are nox exceeding the entries." He added that he had received many requests from Congressmen to go easy on expulsion of persons from their areas and in answer to a statement from Gossett to the effect that we did not need to worry about Mexicans, replied indeed we do. We concern ourselves with any entries that are illegal. Mr. Carusi commented on the remarks made by Omar Ketchum, Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, made on the Town Hall Meeting of the Air, Thursday night, June 19 and said that Ketchum had boosted the figure of illegal aliens in the United States to 2,000,000. In doing so, he said "Ketchum broke the record and made himself world champion." Continuing his remarks on the alleged presence in the United States of millions of illegal immigrants, he said his records and experience do not indicate this is so. Furthermore, from the lack of transportation, if they are here they must have swum the Atlantic. He referred to the previous testimony before the Committee made by C. E. Babcock, United Order of Junior Mechanics of America, on the subject of aliens in the United States and called it "confused."

Mr. Gossett closed the question period with remarks about the large borders of the United States and the small border patrols to which Mr. Carusi replied he would welcome further appropriations for still more effective patrolling. "This Committee tells us what we have to do," he said, "but unfortunately the Appropriations Committee tells us what we have to do without."

The next witness was Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Advisor on Jewish Affairs to General Clay. Rabbi Bernstein had been flown over from Germany especially to testify at the hearings. He analyzed the nature and conditions of the displaced persons of Jewish faith, said that they constituted about 1/5 of the total displaced persons population, and that they would not wish to "return to countries whose population willingly assisted the Nazis in the destruction of the Jews and where violent anti-Semitism persists." He also estimated that "at the most, about 25 per cent of the Jewish displaced persons or approximately 60,000 would, if given the opportunity, choose to come here." He said the Jewish displaced persons were good human stock and that they are industrious, possess a great variety of labor skills and in the words of General Clay, "their record for preserving law and order is one of the remarkable achievements which I have witnessed in my more than two years in Germany."

Chairman Fellows questioned him as to the effect on the 300,000 displaced persons who would not be able to come to the United States the first year if the Stratton Bill were passed and Bernstein said that even with delay, for them the future prospect of resettlement would raise their morale.

Gossett wondered if there were not millions of people throughout the world worse off than the displaced persons and pitied in passing the poor Puerto Ricans. He again raised the question of how many displaced persons were in the camps at the end of the war as versus subsequent infiltrates. Bernstein quoted General Hildring to the effect that from 80 to 90 per cent were original displaced persons.

Gossett again stated his belief that there was no persecution facing displaced persons if they were repatriated. Robsion took over the questioning at this point and continued till the end of the session. He evidenced great interest in the number of Jews in specific European countries, in Europe as a whole, in the United States, and in the world, and wondered what percentage of the world's Jews were now in America. He again asked who would rebuild Europe if displaced persons were resettled elsewhere. Bernstein replied that the displaced persons were far less than 1 per cent of the European population and that there would be plenty of Europeans left to do the job. Robsion questioned if other lands would not take them in. Bernstein replied that Britain, for instance, wants primarily displaced persons from their own zone and prefers single men. Robsion ended on the housing problem and Bernstein reaffirmed the willingness and ability of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish organizations to house displaced persons and prevent their becoming a burden on our economy.

The Committee then rose in response to a call from the House and was scheduled to hold its next hearing on Wednesday, June 25 at 10:00 in the Judiciary Room of the Old House Office Building.

Estimated reactions to today's testimony: Carusi was impressive with an array of incontrovertible statistics. Opposition on the basis of arguments challenged by him should prove less easy in the future. Rabbi Bernstein's testimony pictured the condition of Jewish displaced persons as good and also passed without challenge.

Gossett and Robsion are still unfavorable; Celler, favorable; and Graham, Chelf, and Fellows presumably impelled to do some thing but with whatever modification they can achieve.

Stratton
Bill

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

OF THE UNITED STATES

726 JACKSON PLACE



WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Request for Action

June 13, 1947
Stratton Displaced
Persons Bill

Dear President:

Hearings are now being held by the Immigration Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee on H.R. 2910. This bill authorizes the entry into the U.S. of 100,000 displaced persons per year for four years. (See TRENDS of May 19)

This is emergency legislation to permit the United States to take an active and constructive part in the resettlement of these war victims who for political or religious reasons cannot or will not return to their country of origin. 400,000 is a part of the total number of immigration quotas unused during the war years. To be eligible for admission, the displaced persons would have to qualify under existing immigration laws as to character, health, guarantee that they will not become a public charge, etc.

Our support of this measure stems from the League's position that the United States must assume its full share of responsibility in removing this disrupting factor in international relations. It was specifically authorized by the national Board in April and the Council endorsed this action.

Letters from individuals or groups who favor the bill should go at this time to all Representatives (no companion bill has been introduced in the Senate as yet). Special attention should be focused on the Subcommittee members by Leagues in their districts. They are in a key position to kill or save the legislation. These men are: Frank Fellows (R., Me.), Chairman; John M. Robsion (R., Ky.), Louis E. Graham (R., Pa.), Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), Frank L. Chelf (D., Ky.), Ed Gossett (D., Tex.). The Subcommittee Chairman can of course appropriately be written to by persons outside his district, as can the full Committee Chairman Earl C. Michener (R., Mich.)

Sincerely yours,

Anna Louise Strauss
President

League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

July 7, 1947
DISPLACED PERSONS
Additional Copies: 14

Statement by the League of Women Voters of the United States to the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House Committee on the Judiciary in support of H.R. 2910

The League of Women Voters of the United States wishes to go on record in favor of H.R. 2910 which would authorize the United States to assist in the resettlement of Europe's displaced persons. Our support of this bill stems from the League's position that the United States must assume its full share of responsibility in removing this disrupting factor in international relations. It was specifically authorized by the national Board, and the Council endorsed this action at its meeting in Washington in May of this year.

The League believes keenly in the duty of the United States to take an active and constructive part in the settlement of international problems. The American people have clearly rejected isolationism. The problem of displaced persons has grown out of the war. It must be dealt with constructively, by an international cooperative effort, before a real peace can be attained in Europe. The attainment of this peace as speedily as possible is one of the prime objectives of American foreign policy; it is in the interest not only of Europe, but of ourselves and the entire world.

Seven of the eight million displaced persons liberated at the end of the war have been repatriated; the remaining million who, for valid reasons, cannot return to the place from which they came, must be taken care of in a humanitarian way, and in a way that will provide a permanent solution to their problem. Their presence now in Germany, Austria, and Italy is naturally a disruptive factor in those countries, and because of the political issues involved has been a source of friction between the eastern and western powers. In addition to the burden which they put upon our forces of occupation and upon the relief agencies, they also involve a considerable expense to the American taxpayer, estimated at 130 million dollars during 1947. There is no satisfactory solution other than resettling these war victims in nations of the world which are willing and able to give them a chance to build a new life. Certainly the United States, fortunate enough not to have suffered any of the physical destruction of war, and today a land of plenty in comparison with the rest of the world, would be shirking its responsibilities if it failed to contribute to the solution. Encouragingly, other nations have already volunteered to do their share of this resettlement job, and the action of the United States in accepting 400,000 persons over a four-year period would not only take care of almost half of those remaining, but would also give a great impetus to other countries to help finish the job. Unless the United States is willing to assume its part of the obligation, the prospect of reaching any satisfactory solution is indeed slight.

During the war years immigration of necessity came almost to a stop and less than 10% of the quotas were filled. This bill simply authorizes entry into the United States of a part of the total number who would otherwise have entered the country during the war years. The same careful selection procedures specified for other immigrants would be applied by our consulates abroad. Over half of the group is composed of women and children, and there are large numbers of farmers, construction workers, nurses and domestics, all of whose skills are very much needed in the United States.

The League believes that these cogent, practical, and humanitarian reasons point very plainly to the conclusion that H.R. 2910 must be passed. We would like to recommend to the Committee that a provision be added to the bill for supervision of the settlement of these persons in the United States, and particularly to see that those with special occupational skills are guided to the areas where these skills are most needed.



United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 78th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Entrance of Refugees Into the United States

SPEECH

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Breckenridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on November 26, 1943, and testified concerning House Resolution 350 and House Resolution 352. His testimony has been printed, and in reading that testimony I find therein so many faults and errors with reference to the subject matter of the resolutions in question that I deem it incumbent to point them out and highlight them. They indicate a culpability that cannot go by unnoticed. They must be corrected, because they caused grave and erroneous impressions in the minds of the committee members, and false notions in the minds of the public generally. They seem to indicate not only a lack of appreciation of the subject matter of the resolutions but seem to indicate that the gentleman, in questions in his testimony, went pretty far afield in his desire to bolster his forced and false conclusions. A little research would have told him of his blunders. He deserves condign criticism. It indicates that he is no longer entitled to hold sway over refugees and visas. For example, he said, in his testimony as it appears on page 32, as follows:

We have been interested in refugees, and I think there has been some indisposition on the part of some officers to accept a thought that the American Government ought to specialize and make it particularly direct that we are interested only in the Jews. We have felt from the start that we could not exclude other persons from our governmental and official activities.

On page 45 appears the following as Mr. Long's testimony:

The State Department's policy, I think, must be that we cannot exclude persons from our sympathy and our sympathetic attention if they are not Jews.

No one asked Mr. Long or anyone connected with the State Department to exclude non-Jews. I think it is degrading and shameful that an official of our ad-

576721-5255

ministration should imply, much less aver, that we intend to withhold aid from non-Jews. We are in favor of aid to all persons, but beyond that, and not as a substitute, we want a special and an extraordinary aid concomitant with special and extraordinarily cruel treatment of Jews and all others threatened with death. No minority people are treated as cruelly as the Jew. All others are in a prison, but the Jew is in a death chamber. All others may with victory ultimately breathe free, but the Jew is in a charnel house—most of them already are in a sepulcher.

The gentleman from California [Mr. ROGERS], who is present in the Chamber, has offered one of the aforesaid resolutions providing extraordinary treatments for those who are being extraordinarily and cruelly treated. It calls for the establishment of a special board appointed by the President to find havens and refuge for the victims of Nazi tyranny. The President in his wisdom Saturday last, by Executive directive, set up the War Refugee Board, similar to the authority the gentleman from California [Mr. ROGERS] advocated, and the President stressed in an accompanying statement to his directive the very details that are embodied in the so-called Rogers resolution, and he asked directly and by inference that special treatment be accorded the Jews, who are being heinously tortured and pillaged and plundered by Hitler and his Quislings.

Further, on page 22 of the testimony of Mr. Long we find the specific statement:

The point is made that the historic attitude of the United States in providing a haven to the oppressed has not been stopped. The State Department has kept the door open. It is perfectly screened. The door is open. . . . There are vacancies on the list of quotas.

That is an astonishing statement and does not square with the facts. The "door is not open." It is on a tiny, a very tiny crack. For example, fewer immigrants entered during the past fiscal years. Not since 1863 have less immigrants come to our country. At a time when mass murders in Festung Europa were greatest, in 1943, when the doors of refuge should have been kept open, they were deliberately, practically closed,

Only 5.9 percent of all immigrants admissible came in that year. Nobody is asking for any change in the immigration statutes. We are asking changes in the impossible conditions and cruel, cold-blooded regulations that are laid down as to "screening" by the Department of State, and particularly by Mr. Long.

However, because of the richly deserved criticisms brought against Mr. Long, I am happy to state that those in authority in the Department of State are about to decree that Mr. Long shall no longer be in charge of refugees and visas. As proof positive of the blunder made by Mr. Long when he undertook to state what he thought was the attitude of the State Department with reference to refugees, we find a member of the Cabinet in a different Department, Mr. Biddle, the Attorney General, taking issue with him. Mr. Biddle emphatically and scorchingly took issue with Mr. Long. You can see how serious was the mischief. It is rare that a Cabinet officer challenges the statement of any Assistant Secretary. It is only done when a serious and dreadful error has been made.

Mr. Long has sought to give the impression that we had received in 10 years 580,000 immigrants and that most were Jewish refugees. The 580,000 mentioned by Long include visas authorized for quota, nonquota persons, and those in transit. Often a visa authorized is not issued. One issued is frequently not even used. Mr. Long, without even so much as "by your leave," bunched transients, visitors, and nonquota entrants and ordinary immigrants with refugees. He thus gave the impression that we gave sanctuary to 580,000. That was utterly false. Mr. Biddle explained that within the last 10 fiscal years the average number of quota and nonquota immigrants was only 26,647, although the annual quota was 153,774, and that in the year ending June 30, 1943, only 23,725 persons entered the country, 13,000 of them being nonquota. Mr. Biddle added:

During the same 10-year period the annual average number of persons emigrating from the United States was 24,000, leaving a net increase of 23,287 immigrants. Moreover, while in 1920 the aliens constituted 6.9 percent of the population in the United States, at the present time they comprise

within and without Germany and the occupied territories." Mr. Malin pointed out that the mandate was extended specifically with respect to persons and not countries.

In view of these contradictory interpretations, we urge immediate clarification of the situation. Confusion and conflict of opinion at this late date are inexcusable.

The failure to rescue Jews from the Balkan countries was not attributable entirely to the opposition of the Nazis, as Mr. Long's testimony has indicated. It is known that red tape and delay on the part of the British authorities were responsible for the fact that full advantage was not taken of all the opportunities presented.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I desire to offer the Aide-Memoire of the American Jewish Conference, which I adverted to heretofore, and for which I have received unanimous consent to include in the RECORD as my own remarks:

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE—RESEARCH DEPARTMENT—AIDE-MEMOIRE ON JEWISH REFUGEES, 1933-43

CONTENTS

I. Displacement of Jewish population in Europe

What happened to the 8,250,000 Jews who in September 1939 lived in the countries now dominated by the Axis? Refugees, evacuees, and deportees. Countries of immigration which admitted refugees and evacuees. Countries to which Jews have been deported by the Nazis.

II. Jewish immigration into the United States

General immigration, quota and non-quota. Jewish immigration, number of refugees. Unfilled quotas. Emigration from the United States. Ratio of Jewish immigrants to Jewish population.

III. United States visa procedure in wartime

Application for visas (Form BC). Consideration of applications by Government agencies. Criteria for admission of aliens in wartime. Preparation of application. Primary committee. Advisory approval, period of validity. Review of application by inter-departmental visa review committee. Board of appeals. Application of aliens of enemy nationality. Suspended or s. Quota year.

IV. Comments on visa procedure

Filing of application often delayed on account of difficulty in obtaining information from applicant abroad. Latest changes in BC form complicate procedure. "Hostage angle" handicaps approval. Occupational experience interpreted as "useful to war effort." Applicants from Spain and Portugal have to account for the manner in which they reached those countries. Refugees not in "acute danger" denied visas. Internees in camps cannot obtain visa unless they reach consulate, but cannot be freed unless they obtain visa.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE—AIDE-MEMOIRE ON JEWISH REFUGEES, 1933-1943

I. DISPLACEMENT OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN EUROPE

Since the advent of Hitler in 1933, and particularly since the outbreak of war in 1939, the Jewish population in every European country has been displaced from its original habitation by voluntary emigration, evacuation, or deportation. For purposes of our present analysis, all those who have escaped the Nazi dominated and occupied countries, are classified as refugees (including evacuees); all others are deportees. The latter category embraces those who have been deported from one country to another (in Nazi Europe) or from one place to another within the limits of the same country. It should further be noted that the classification of

"refugees" does not include the Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe or other countries prior to the Nazi occupation of these countries.

The following table gives the country of origin of refugees and deportees:

TABLE I.—Jewish refugees and deportees, 1933-43, classified by category and country of origin¹

| Country | Refugees (including evacuees) | Deportees | | Total |
|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| | | From one country to another | Within the limits of the same country | |
| All countries..... | 2,391,000 | 965,000 | 2,205,000 | 5,261,000 |
| Poland..... | 525,000 | ..... | 2,000,000 | 2,525,000 |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..... | 1,200,000 | ..... | ..... | 1,200,000 |
| Germany..... | 285,000 | 160,000 | ..... | 445,000 |
| Austria..... | 100,000 | 20,000 | ..... | 120,000 |
| Rumania..... | 100,000 | 155,000 | ..... | 255,000 |
| France..... | 30,000 | 70,000 | 100,000 | 200,000 |
| Protectorate..... | 25,000 | 30,000 | 40,000 | 95,000 |
| Slovakia..... | 10,000 | 60,000 | 20,000 | 90,000 |
| Lithuania..... | 10,000 | ..... | 30,000 | 40,000 |
| Latvia..... | 15,000 | ..... | 15,000 | 30,000 |
| Belgium..... | 25,000 | 50,000 | ..... | 75,000 |
| Holland..... | 25,000 | 80,000 | ..... | 105,000 |
| Yugoslavia..... | 8,000 | 25,000 | ..... | 33,000 |
| Greece..... | 3,000 | 10,000 | ..... | 13,000 |
| Bulgaria..... | ..... | 10,000 | ..... | 10,000 |
| Other European countries..... | 30,000 | 5,000 | ..... | 35,000 |

¹ From Jewish Refugee, by Kurt R. Grossman and Arich Tartakover (in manuscript) to be published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, American and World Jewish Congress, ch. X, table I.

It appears from this table that 5,261,000 Jews, out of a total of 8,250,000 Jewish population in the same area in 1939, have been uprooted from their original homes. The refugees who escaped Nazi dominated and occupied European countries have found their way to various parts of the world to countries of immigration overseas, to the interior of U. S. S. R. and to neutral countries in Europe.

The following table gives the distribution of these refugees (and evacuees) in the various free countries:

TABLE II.—Jewish refugees, 1933-43, classified by country of immigration (and asylum)

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| All countries: | 2,421,000 |
| U. S. S. R..... | 1,800,000 |
| United States..... | 190,000 |
| Palestine..... | 120,000 |
| England..... | 65,000 |
| Switzerland..... | 16,000 |
| Spain..... | 12,000 |
| Argentina..... | 50,000 |
| Brazil..... | 25,000 |
| Chile..... | 14,000 |
| Bolivia..... | 12,000 |
| Uruguay..... | 7,000 |
| Other Latin American countries..... | 20,000 |
| China..... | 25,000 |
| South Africa..... | 8,000 |
| Australia..... | 9,000 |
| Canada..... | 8,000 |
| Other countries..... | 40,000 |

¹ Tables II and III are compiled on the basis of data in Jewish Refugee, ch. X.

² It is estimated that only some 2,300 Jewish refugees have remained in Spain, as of Jan. 12, 1944 (JTA News Jan. 13, 1944).

The number of Jewish refugees in the U. S. S. R. comprises 1,200,000 Soviet citizens of White Russia, the Ukraine, and parts of other previously occupied territories, and 600,000 from eastern Poland and the Baltic States which were occupied by the Red Army in 1939. Those refugees were evacuated by the Soviet authorities into the interiors of Asiatic Russia.

The number of refugees admitted to the United States (190,000) is calculated on the basis of the total Jewish immigration to this country less that which came from Canada, Poland, Rumania, Lithuania, and Hungary prior to the war. (The figure 190,000 includes some 25,000 nonimmigrants who came in on temporary visas, as visitors, etc.)

The number of refugees who entered Palestine (120,000) is only part of the total Jewish immigration into that country during the same period, which was about 300,000.

Sweden should be added as a country of refuge, as it is giving asylum now to some 12,000 Jewish refugees from Denmark and other parts of Europe.

In Portugal many Jewish refugees are in transit, leaving there some 500 to 600 at a time.

Hungary has recently admitted several thousand Jewish refugees who escaped from Poland through the "underground."

TABLE III.—Jewish deportees (including refugees trapped in occupied territories), according to country of deportation (including deportees within the limits of their own country)

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| All countries: | 2,840,000 |
| Poland..... | 2,600,000 |
| Occupied Soviet territory..... | 150,000 |
| France..... | 55,000 |
| Belgium..... | 30,000 |
| Holland..... | 35,000 |
| Other European countries..... | 70,000 |

¹ This figure is indeterminate, as it may vary in tens of thousands.

With the exception of Poland and the occupied parts of the U. S. S. R., to which deportees from all countries were taken, the countries mentioned in this table harbored refugees from central, eastern, and western Europe who were trapped by the Nazi occupation.

II. JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES, 1933-43¹

1. General immigration

The total number of alien immigrants entering this country from June 30, 1933, to June 30, 1943 (10 years) was 476,930. Of these, 292,882 were quota immigrants. The total quota for the same period was 1,537,740. This means that less than one-fifth of the quota was actually admitted to this country. (Quota immigrants are classified according to country of birth.) It should be pointed out, that of the total annual quota allotted to all countries, 55 percent is allocated to Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Irish Free State, and about 16 percent to Germany and Austria. Poland receives 4 percent; Italy, 3.7 percent; France and Sweden, 2.1 percent each; the other countries, 1 percent or less each.

2. Jewish immigration

The total number of Jewish immigrants entering the United States during the same 10-year period was 165,755. To this may be added 43,089 nonimmigrants who were admitted on temporary visas. (Some of these nonimmigrants changed their status as immigrants after reentering the country on permanent visas.) Out of this total of 208,845, about 190,000 were refugees. (See previous section, table II and explanation.)

3. Unfilled quotas

Unfilled quotas for all countries in the past 10 years totaled 1,244,858. Unfilled quotas during the same period for 20 countries now Axis dominated or occupied, totaled 341,567.

From June 1933 to June 1939, when emigration from Germany and Austria was still possible on a large scale, the United States admitted from those countries only 78,009

¹ Sources: Jewish Refugee; National Refugee Service; interpreter releases, published by Common Council for American Unity.

within and without Germany and the occupied territories." Mr. Malin pointed out that the mandate was extended specifically with respect to persons and not countries.

In view of these contradictory interpretations, we urge immediate clarification of the situation. Confusion and conflict of opinion at this late date are inexcusable.

The failure to rescue Jews from the Balkan countries was not attributable entirely to the opposition of the Nazis, as Mr. Long's testimony has indicated. It is known that red tape and delay on the part of the British authorities were responsible for the fact that full advantage was not taken of all the opportunities presented.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I desire to offer the Aide-Memoire of the American Jewish Conference, which I adverted to heretofore, and for which I have received unanimous consent to include in the RECORD as my own remarks:

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE—RESEARCH DEPARTMENT—AIDE-MEMOIRE ON JEWISH REFUGEES, 1933-43

CONTENTS

I. Displacement of Jewish population in Europe

What happened to the 8,250,000 Jews who in September 1939 lived in the countries now dominated by the Axis? Refugees, evacuees, and deportees. Countries of immigration which admitted refugees and evacuees. Countries to which Jews have been deported by the Nazis.

II. Jewish immigration into the United States

General immigration, quota and non-quota. Jewish immigration, number of refugees. Unfilled quotas. Emigration from the United States. Ratio of Jewish immigrants to Jewish population.

III. United States visa procedure in wartime

Application for visas (Form BC). Consideration of applications by Government agencies. Criteria for admission of aliens in wartime. Preparation of application. Primary committee. Advisory approval, period of validity. Review of application by inter-departmental visa review committee. Board of appeals. Application of aliens of enemy nationality. Suspended criteria. Quota year.

IV. Comments on visa procedure

Filing of application often delayed on account of difficulty in obtaining information from applicant abroad. Latest changes in BC form complicate procedure. "Hostage angle" handicaps approval. Occupational experience interpreted as "useful to war effort." Applicants from Spain and Portugal have to account for the manner in which they reached those countries. Refugees not in "acute danger" denied visas. Internees in camps cannot obtain visa unless they reach consulate, but cannot be freed unless they obtain visa.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE—AIDE-MEMOIRE ON JEWISH REFUGEES, 1933-1943

I. DISPLACEMENT OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN EUROPE

Since the advent of Hitler in 1933, and particularly since the outbreak of war in 1939, the Jewish population in every European country has been displaced from its original habitation by voluntary emigration, evacuation, or deportation. For purposes of our present analysis, all those who have escaped the Nazi dominated and occupied countries, are classified as refugees (including evacuees); all others are deportees. The latter category embraces those who have been deported from one country to another (in Nazi Europe) or from one place to another within the limits of the same country. It should further be noted that the classification of

"refugees" does not include the Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe or other countries prior to the Nazi occupation of these countries.

The following table gives the country of origin of refugees and deportees:

TABLE I.—Jewish refugees and deportees, 1933-43, classified by category and country of origin¹

| Country | Refugees (including evacuees) | Deportees | | Total |
|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| | | From one country to another | Within the limits of the same country | |
| All countries..... | 2,391,000 | 665,000 | 2,205,000 | 5,261,000 |
| Poland..... | 625,000 | ..... | 2,000,000 | 2,625,000 |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..... | 1,200,000 | ..... | ..... | 1,200,000 |
| Germany..... | 285,000 | 160,000 | ..... | 445,000 |
| Austria..... | 100,000 | 20,000 | ..... | 120,000 |
| Rumania..... | 100,000 | 185,000 | ..... | 285,000 |
| France..... | 30,000 | 70,000 | 100,000 | 200,000 |
| Protectorate..... | 25,000 | 30,000 | 40,000 | 95,000 |
| Slovakia..... | 10,000 | 60,000 | 20,000 | 90,000 |
| Lithuania..... | 10,000 | ..... | 30,000 | 40,000 |
| Latvia..... | 15,000 | ..... | 15,000 | 30,000 |
| Belgium..... | 25,000 | 50,000 | ..... | 75,000 |
| Holland..... | 25,000 | 80,000 | ..... | 105,000 |
| Yugoslavia..... | 8,000 | 25,000 | ..... | 33,000 |
| Greece..... | 3,000 | 10,000 | ..... | 13,000 |
| Bulgaria..... | ..... | 10,000 | ..... | 10,000 |
| Other European countries..... | 30,000 | 5,000 | ..... | 35,000 |

¹ From Jewish Refugee, by Kurt R. Grossman and Arich Tartakower (in manuscript) to be published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, American and World Jewish Congress, ch. X, table I.

It appears from this table that 5,261,000 Jews, out of a total of 8,250,000 Jewish population in the same area in 1939, have been uprooted from their original homes. The refugees who escaped Nazi dominated and occupied European countries have found their way to various parts of the world to countries of immigration overseas, to the interior of U. S. S. R. and to neutral countries in Europe.

The following table gives the distribution of these refugees (and evacuees) in the various free countries:

TABLE II.—Jewish refugees, 1933-43, classified by country of immigration (and asylum)

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| All countries: | 2,421,000 |
| U. S. S. R..... | 1,800,000 |
| United States..... | 190,000 |
| Palestine..... | 120,000 |
| England..... | 65,000 |
| Switzerland..... | 16,000 |
| Spain..... | * 12,000 |
| Argentina..... | 50,000 |
| Brazil..... | 25,000 |
| Chile..... | 14,000 |
| Bolivia..... | 12,000 |
| Uruguay..... | 7,000 |
| Other Latin American countries..... | 20,000 |
| China..... | 25,000 |
| South Africa..... | 8,000 |
| Australia..... | 9,000 |
| Canada..... | 8,000 |
| Other countries..... | 40,000 |

¹ Tables II and III are compiled on the basis of data in Jewish Refugee, ch. X.

* It is estimated that only some 2,300 Jewish refugees have remained in Spain, as of Jan. 12, 1944 (JTA News Jan. 13, 1944).

The number of Jewish refugees in the U. S. S. R. comprises 1,200,000 Soviet citizens of White Russia, the Ukraine, and parts of other previously occupied territories, and 600,000 from eastern Poland and the Baltic States which were occupied by the Red Army in 1939. Those refugees were evacuated by the Soviet authorities into the interiors of Asiatic Russia.

The number of refugees admitted to the United States (190,000) is calculated on the basis of the total Jewish immigration to this country less that which came from Canada, Poland, Rumania, Lithuania, and Hungary prior to the war. (The figure 190,000 includes some 25,000 nonimmigrants who came in on temporary visas, as visitors, etc.)

The number of refugees who entered Palestine (120,000) is only part of the total Jewish immigration into that country during the same period, which was about 300,000.

Sweden should be added as a country of refuge, as it is giving asylum now to some 12,000 Jewish refugees from Denmark and other parts of Europe.

In Portugal many Jewish refugees are in transit, leaving there some 500 to 600 at a time.

Hungary has recently admitted several thousand Jewish refugees who escaped from Poland through the "underground."

TABLE III.—Jewish deportees (including refugees trapped in occupied territories), according to country of deportation (including deportees within the limits of their own country)

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| All countries: | 2,840,000 |
| Poland..... | 2,600,000 |
| Occupied Soviet territory..... | 150,000 |
| France..... | 55,000 |
| Belgium..... | 30,000 |
| Holland..... | 35,000 |
| Other European countries..... | 70,000 |

¹ This figure is indeterminate, as it may vary in tens of thousands.

With the exception of Poland and the occupied parts of the U. S. S. R., to which deportees from all countries were taken, the countries mentioned in this table harbored refugees from central, eastern, and western Europe who were trapped by the Nazi occupation.

II. JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES, 1933-43¹

1. General immigration

The total number of alien immigrants entering this country from June 30, 1933, to June 30, 1943 (10 years) was 476,930. Of these, 292,882 were quota immigrants. The total quota for the same period was 1,537,740. This means that less than one-fifth of the quota was actually admitted to this country. (Quota immigrants are classified according to country of birth.) It should be pointed out, that of the total annual quota allotted to all countries, 55 percent is allocated to Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Irish Free State, and about 16 percent to Germany and Austria. Poland receives 4 percent; Italy, 3.7 percent; France and Sweden, 2.1 percent each; the other countries, 1 percent or less each.

2. Jewish immigration

The total number of Jewish immigrants entering the United States during the same 10-year period was 165,756. To this may be added 43,089 nonimmigrants who were admitted on temporary visas. (Some of these nonimmigrants changed their status as immigrants after reentering the country on permanent visas.) Out of this total of 208,845, about 190,000 were refugees. (See previous section, table II and explanation.)

3. Unfilled quotas

Unfilled quotas for all countries in the past 10 years totaled 1,244,858. Unfilled quotas during the same period for 20 countries now Axis dominated or occupied, totaled 341,567.

From June 1933 to June 1939, when emigration from Germany and Austria was still possible on a large scale, the United States admitted from those countries only 78,009

¹ Sources: Jewish refugee: National Refugee Service; interpreter releases, published by Common Council for American Unity.

quota immigrants (of which 55,550 were Jews), i. e., less than half of the admissible quota. The admissible quota for the same period for Germany and Austria was 27,370 per year, or a total of 164,220 for the 6-year period.

In 1943, the total quota immigration into the United States was 9,045, or 5.9 percent of an admissible quota of 153,774. Even counting all immigrants—quota and nonquota—admitted to this country in 1943, the total was only 23,725, which was the lowest number since 1862.

4. Emigration from the United States

During the same period (1933-34) 243,965 legal alien residents of the United States left the country. Of these, 2,161 were Jews. Thus, the total net immigration (quota and nonquota) to this country for the past 10 years was 232,965, while the net Jewish immigration (immigrants and nonimmigrants) was 206,684.

5. Ratio of Jewish Immigrants to Jewish population²

The Jewish immigrants who entered the United States in the past decade (208,845) constituted only 4.1 percent of the Jewish population in this country (estimated at 5,000,000) and about 2.5 percent of the total Jewish population (8,250,000) that lived in 1939 in the European countries of emigration, now dominated by the Axis. Compared with other countries of immigration and refuge, this is the lowest ratio. England, for example, having admitted 65,000 Jewish refugees, increased its Jewish population by 21.7 percent. Similarly, the 16,000 Jewish refugees in Switzerland constitute 8.6 percent of the local Jewish population; in Argentina, 23.2 percent; Australia, 37.5 percent; South Africa, 8.8 percent; Canada, 5.2 percent.

The following table presents an analysis of the annual quota for each country of emigration, the number of quota immigrants admitted to the United States, and the number of registered applicants for visas.

TABLE IV.—General and Jewish quota immigration into the United States, June 30, 1933-June 30, 1943

SELECTED COUNTRIES NOW UNDER AXIS DOMINATION

| Country of birth | 10-year quota | Total general, 1933-43 | Total Jewish, 1933-43 | Registered applicants as of Jan. 1, 1939 ³ |
|---|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| All countries..... | 1,537,740 | 292,882 | 165,756 | 513,528 |
| Total, 20 countries..... | 571,070 | 229,503 | 149,231 | 447,275 |
| Belgium..... | 13,040 | 3,488 | 1,471 | 2,701 |
| Bulgaria..... | 1,000 | 616 | 1,413 | 1,413 |
| Czechoslovakia..... | 28,740 | 13,549 | 7,052 | 36,988 |
| Danzig..... | 1,000 | 503 | 497 | 497 |
| Denmark..... | 11,810 | 1,989 | 55 | 3,327 |
| Estonia..... | 1,160 | 481 | --- | 1,828 |
| France..... | 30,860 | 7,402 | 2,095 | 4,731 |
| Germany..... | 259,570 | 121,454 | 97,321 | 240,748 |
| Austria..... | 14,130 | 1,848 | --- | --- |
| Greece..... | 3,070 | 3,051 | 117 | 3,267 |
| Hungary..... | 8,620 | 6,374 | 4,117 | 24,842 |
| Italy..... | 58,020 | 21,149 | 953 | 4,047 |
| Latvia..... | 2,360 | 1,170 | --- | 797 |
| Lithuania..... | 3,860 | 2,217 | 1,696 | 5,696 |
| Luxemburg..... | 1,000 | 300 | --- | --- |
| Netherlands..... | 31,530 | 4,541 | 1,489 | 1,440 |
| Norway..... | 23,770 | 2,979 | 31 | 13,716 |
| Poland..... | 65,240 | 20,151 | 27,741 | 78,400 |
| Rumania..... | 3,770 | 3,310 | 2,719 | 16,072 |
| Yugoslavia..... | 8,450 | 3,931 | 453 | 6,961 |
| Other countries, Jewish immigration, 1,921. | | | | |

¹ Source: Releases of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice. (Information supplied by the National Refugee Service.)

² Includes quota and nonquota alien immigrants (by country of birth).

³ Registered applicants for visas at the United States consulates abroad. Information supplied by them, according to United States Consular Service reports.

⁴ Source: Jewish Refugee, ch. X, table IV. 576721-5255

III. UNITED STATES VISA PROCEDURE IN WAR TIME¹

(a) Application for visas

Alien applicants desiring visas to the United States—whether for permanent immigration, preference quota, temporary, or transit—must have BC forms filed in their behalf with the Visa Division of the United States Department in Washington, D. C.

Form BC, issued by the Visa Division (second revision, July 1, 1943), is 50 inches in length (four legal-size sheets printed on both sides) and contains all questions pertinent to information required by the State Department regarding the alien applicant.

(There are some categories of aliens for whom no BC form may be required, such as native-born citizens of independent countries of the Western Hemisphere, British native-born subjects, citizens of Canada or Newfoundland, persons entitled to nonquota status except enemy aliens, etc.)

Part B of Form BC is to be filled out by the alien applicant or by an American sponsor who is most familiar with his personal history and background. Each applicant over 18 years of age must fill out a separate form (B). Part C is to be filled out by the financial sponsor. Each alien must have two sponsors. If the sponsors, or the alien applicant (if he happens to be in this country), wish to appear for a hearing before the Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee, they must file an application for such a hearing (Form IVRC-1) together with the BC form. Witnesses (may be citizens or aliens) who know the applicant's life history may also appear for a hearing, upon filing a notice of appearance at the same time as the sponsors.

(b) Administrative procedure in the Visa Division

1. Consideration of Applications by Four Bodies Possible

Under the authority vested in the Secretary of State by the President's proclamation of November 14, 1941, restricting entry into and departure from the United States of all persons, the Visa Division has set up a series of steps by which applications of aliens are given careful consideration and review, to insure the interests of the United States during this national emergency.

Applications may be considered by four instances: First by a primary committee, next by an interdepartmental visa review committee, then by the board of appeals, and last by the Secretary of State, who has final authority.

2. Criteria for Admission of Aliens in Wartime

Among the classes of aliens deemed prejudicial to public interest, there is one group of aliens having close relatives in enemy countries. It is considered that since the relatives are kept as hostages by the enemy, the alien immigrant might be forced to engage in activities in the United States of America which might be detrimental to our country. However, the regulations make it clear that this factor is to be considered along with other evidence and should not be cause for denial to enter.

Emphasis is now placed on the probability of the alien being of benefit to our country, especially in defense work.

Close relatives—parents, husband, wife, children—in this country are also considered as factors favorable for admission of aliens, since the reunion of families is regarded as beneficial to the morale of the American citizens, or residents, involved.

¹ According to Interpreter Releases, published by Common Council for American Unity, volume XX, No. 40, October 29, 1943. A Summary of Visa Procedure in Wartime, by Cecilia Razovsky Davidson.

3. Preparation of Application for Primary Committee

Form BC must be filed in six copies with the Visa Division of the State Department. After ascertaining the sponsor's financial adequacy, a copy of the form is sent to the investigating agencies: The Immigration and Naturalization Service, F. B. I., Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, and the State Department. It usually takes from 3 to 6 weeks for the reports to come from these agencies. An examiner then prepares the material for the Interdepartmental Visa Committee, known also as the Primary Committee.

4. Action by the Primary Committee

The Primary Committee consists of one representative from each of the departments mentioned in the preceding paragraph. If the case is approved—i. e., advisory approval is granted—it is forwarded to the consul abroad for action. If the consul—who has final decision in granting a visa—is satisfied as to the applicant's eligibility, he requests a quota number from the State Department in Washington. The latter cables a quota number, or sends it air mail, if one is available. If the consul disapproves, the case is referred back by him to the State Department for further consideration.

5. Period of Validity of Advisory Approval

An advisory approval is valid for 6 months. If the applicant did not obtain his visa by that time, for whatever reason, the sponsor has to apply for an extension, indicating his continued interest in the applicant and ability to support him.

6. Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee

This committee, consisting of representatives of the same departments as those of the Primary Committee, reviews the cases of applicants rejected by the Primary Committee. It conducts hearings, at which the sponsors or/and other witnesses may appear. The decision is made on the basis of the information in the record and the testimony of the witness. If this committee disapproves the case, it goes automatically to the Board of Appeals. (No appeal to the Board is necessary.)

7. President's Board of Appeals

The Board of Appeals consists of two members appointed by the President, who are not supposed to represent any branch or agency of the Government. Their decision is based on the evidence of the record and witness submitted by the previous two committees. The board may ask these committees for additional investigation and data. The approval of the Board may be reversed by the Secretary of State, who has final authority. If the application is denied by the Board of Appeals, it may be renewed by the same or different sponsors after 6 months. The entire original procedure has to be started over again, as if it were a new case.

8. Applications of Aliens of Enemy Nationality

All applications for aliens of enemy nationality, whether natives, citizens, subjects, or denizens of enemy countries, must be considered by the Primary Committee, the Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee, and even if approved by these two bodies, they must also be considered by the Board of Appeals. (Enemy countries are Germany, Italy,⁴ Japan, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania.)

9. Suspended Cases

Visa applications of aliens now residing in enemy territory—where there is no American

⁴ Italy, having been recognized by the United States of America, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia, as a cobelligerent, is no longer regarded as an enemy alien for purposes of selective service in this country. However, the State Department has not yet issued any statement with regard to immigration from Italy.

consular service—are held in suspense in the State Department or at American consulates abroad. After the territories are freed the applications will have to be renewed. If, however, the applicant can reach an American consul before the 6 months of validity expire, he may obtain his visa.

10. Annual Quota

The annual quota for a given country extends only for 1 fiscal year and may not be carried over to a succeeding year. If an applicant who has received a visa, having been assigned a quota number, is unable to sail within the fiscal year of his quota number, he forfeits his visa and has to apply to the consul for a new one. It should be noted that the quota number is assigned to the applicant upon the issuance of the visa.

IV. COMMENTS ON VISA PROCEDURE*

1. Filing of application

Since the BC form must be filed with the Visa Division in Washington (and not with the consulate abroad), much precious time may be lost in obtaining the necessary information from an alien applicant who is abroad. Very often the American sponsor who files the application is not familiar with the numerous details of the alien's life history required to be filled out in form BC. In some cases, due to communication difficulties, such information may never be obtained.

2. Changes in Form BC (made July 1, 1943)*

When the BC form was revised by the State Department on July 1, 1943, the following important changes were made, which complicate the procedure:

(a) The question (No. 15, part B) as to the applicant's "places of previous residence (city and country)" requires "giving approximate dates since age of 14 years." In the former BC form only a 10-year period was requested.

(b) The sponsor must now indicate his occupation and his residence for the past 10 years instead of 5 years. The sponsor is required to give more specific information in regard to his American citizenship and

must answer questions (Nos. 25 to 28, part B) about his own political thinking and attachment to the United States Constitution.

3. Hostage angle

Section 7 of this application deals with "close relatives in countries other than the United States." This section has proved to be a serious handicap in the consideration of many cases because the Visa Division still takes into consideration the so-called hostage clause. This means that the applications of people who have relatives in any one of the Nazi-occupied countries are usually refused. Quite frequently this is the only cause for refusal.

4. Occupational experience

Question No. 9 (part B) dealing with "occupational experience" is frequently interpreted by the Visa Division as requiring such occupational experience as may be regarded "useful to the war effort of the United States." Such an interpretation is, of course, not professed publicly, but numerous inquiries along these lines lead to the conclusion that this is a criterion frequently employed in determining the fitness of an applicant for admission into the country. It serves to disqualify many applicants who are either professionals or have been merchants in Europe.

5. Refugees in Spain and Portugal

There was a time when applications submitted on behalf of people in Spain and Portugal were given preferred consideration. This policy has changed completely in the past 3 months. Relatives who now appear at hearings before the Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee are now questioned in detail as to "how the applicants got to Spain," although members of the committee know what is common knowledge to everybody—that these people succeeded in getting into Spain from France by escaping over the Pyrenees. In this connection another question put by the committee is with regard to the applicant's stay in Spain. Again it is common knowledge that people who escape into Spain are arrested and interned at Camp Miranda or put into prisons. Many of them are released afterward as the result of persistent efforts on the part of friendly governments and private relief organizations. Nevertheless, the committee insists on ask-

ing the sponsors details concerning the release of the applicant. Inevitably most of these questions must go unanswered, since the people who appear at the hearings usually know nothing or very little about the efforts in Spain. The failure, however, to answer these questions produces an unfavorable impression on the committee, resulting very often in a refusal of the application.

6. Refugees not in "acute danger"

Two other considerations militate against the granting of visas. The first is a criterion entitled "Not Being in Acute Danger." This applies to people in such countries as Spain, Portugal, Tangier, Jamaica, Cuba, and other Latin-American countries. It is, of course, true that such people may not be in danger of extermination. Many of them, however, have relatives in the United States whom they naturally wish to join, or generally are anxious to begin life anew in America as contrasted with the rather hopeless existence that most of them lead in places like Jamaica, Tangier, etc. In most instances these people have no possibility of earning a living in these places, since many of them are detained in camps. Furthermore, if these refugees could leave for the United States, they would make room in these places for others to come in, yet their applications for visas are in most cases refused.

7. Internees cannot reach consulates

The second consideration is that the Department of State refuses to consider visa applications for refugees who are interned in camps in Mauritius, Cyprus, etc., which are under British rule. The attitude of the Visa Division is that it cannot act on these applications so long as these people are not released unconditionally from their internment so that they may appear at the consulates in person. On the other hand, the British Government will not release these people unless they show valid visas for another country. The result is a vicious circle. It should be noted that the Jewish refugees in Mauritius were deported there in 1940, after they had tried to enter Palestine without certificates. Many of them have families in the United States who are anxious to bring them to this country. To date their applications have not been acted upon for the reasons indicated.

* Source: American Jewish Congress.

* Source: National Refugee Service.

IMPORTANT

Displaced Persons: Facts Versus Fiction

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Statement by

Senator Pat McCarran

of Nevada

in the

Senate of the United States

Friday, January 6, 1950

*Not printed
at Government
expense*

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1950

869288-32457

DISPLACED PERSONS: FACTS VERSUS FICTION
(Statement by Senator PAT McCARRAN,
chairman of the Senate Committee on
the Judiciary)

(Foreword)

As chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, which has jurisdiction over immigration legislation, I have recently returned from a European investigation of the displaced-persons situation. The facts verify the information gathered by a special subcommittee of the Senate, of which I am chairman, which has over the course of the last 2½ years been studying our entire immigration and naturalization system. These facts point to the inescapable conclusion that the floodgates of this Nation are being pried open for the entrance of millions of aliens, from the turbulent populations of the entire world, who are seeking admission into the United States under the guise of displaced persons.

This movement is being facilitated by certain pressure groups in this country, which over the years have had as their ultimate objective the destruction of our immigration barriers. One pressure group has, during the course of the last 3 years, registered with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, lobbying expenditures of approximately \$1,000,000. This money has not, of course, been spent for the relief of displaced persons but solely for dissemination of propaganda designed to influence legislation to repeal the safeguards of our immigration laws. Unless the rank and file of the American people express themselves promptly and forthrightly to their representatives in the Congress, it is a cer-

tainly that the objective of these pressure groups will be accomplished.

WHO IS A DISPLACED PERSON?

At the end of the war the Allied armies in central Europe became the guardians of approximately 8,000,000 persons who had been displaced during the war. Within a few months after the war approximately 7,000,000 of these persons were repatriated to their native countries, leaving about 1,000,000 persons, who, because of fear of persecution, refused to return to their homelands. By the expiration date of our present displaced-persons law (June 30, 1950) there will remain only a few thousand such war-displaced persons in central Europe, other than the so-called hard core who because of social or physical disqualifications are ineligible for resettlement.

The constitution of the International Refugee Organization, however, embraces not only displaced persons who were displaced by the war in central Europe but, in addition, it embraces all persons in the entire world who are, or who may hereafter be, out of their country of nationality or former residence and who are unwilling to return. Some year or two after the war in central Europe there began and continues until the present time, a general migration from eastern Europe into the occupied areas of western Europe of hundreds of thousands of persons who, because of political and economic turmoil, have been leaving their homelands. The potential number of persons embraced in this second category has been estimated to be in the millions.

In addition to the displaced persons who are embraced by the International Refugee Organization, there are between fifteen and twenty million persons who are de facto displaced but who are not presently embraced by the International Refugee Organization. These persons include:

1. The German expellees, who were forcibly expelled from the countries of eastern Europe pursuant to the Potsdam agreement of August 1, 1945, and driven into Germany and Austria. These German expellees number from ten to fifteen million. Under the constitution of the International Refugee Organization the German expellees are expressly excluded from the concern of the International Refugee Organization.

2. The Greek displaced persons who were displaced from their homes by the Nazis in World War II or by the Communists in the Greek civil war. These Greek displaced persons number approximately 500,000 but are ineligible under the constitution of the International Refugee Organization because they are in their native land.

3. The Palestinian displaced persons, who were displaced from their homes in the Palestine War. These Palestinian displaced persons number approximately 1,000,000.

4. The Pakistanian displaced persons, who were displaced from their homes in the partition of India. It is estimated that these Pakistanian displaced persons number approximately 10,000,000.

5. Displaced persons in China, who are being displaced in the course of the civil war in China. The number of such persons is unknown but it is probable that they number several million.

869288-32457

HAS THE UNITED STATES TAKEN ITS FAIR SHARE OF DISPLACED PERSONS?

Unlike most countries of the world the United States operates under an immigration quota system whereby approximately 154,000 quota immigrants may be received annually for permanent residence, chiefly from European countries. In addition, immigrants are received for permanent residence on a nonquota immigration basis without any numerical limitation. This latter group consists chiefly of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere and of relatives of citizens of the United States. During the fiscal year 1948 there were admitted for permanent residence, 92,506 quota immigrants and 78,044 nonquota immigrants.

1. Displaced persons during the war years: Although our general immigration laws do not provide specific categories for displaced persons, reliable official and semiofficial estimates are that during the Nazi regime we received into the United States between 250,000 and 300,000 displaced persons for permanent residence and approximately 200,000 displaced persons for temporary stay.

2. Displaced persons under Presidential directive: Pursuant to a Presidential directive of December 22, 1945, approximately 44,000 displaced persons were admitted into the United States for permanent residence during the period ending on the effective date of the present displaced-persons law.

3. Displaced persons under the present displaced-persons law: The present law provides for the admission of an additional 205,000 displaced persons over a 2-year period, and also provides for adjusting the status to permanent resi-

dence of 15,000 displaced persons who have gained admission into the United States on a temporary basis.

4. Displaced persons under the general immigration law: Displaced persons are, of course, eligible, along with other aliens, for immigration into the United States under our general immigration laws. No reliable estimates are available concerning the number of displaced persons who have been admitted into the United States, since the Nazi regime, who have applied for admission not as displaced persons but as regular immigrants.

DOES OUR DISPLACED-PERSONS PROGRAM DISCRIMINATE AGAINST JEWS AND CATHOLICS?

1. Displaced persons during the war years: Of the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons who were admitted into the United States during the war years, it is reliably estimated that approximately four-fifths were of the Jewish faith.

2. Displaced persons under the Presidential directive: Under the President's directive of December 22, 1945, visas were issued to 23,594 displaced persons of the Jewish faith; 5,924 visas were issued to displaced persons of the Catholic faith; and 3,906 visas were issued to displaced persons of Protestant faith.

3. Displaced persons under the displaced-persons law: As of November 30, 1949, there had been issued 127,866 visas pursuant to the displaced-persons law. Fifty-three thousand four hundred and two of the visas were to displaced persons of the Catholic faith; 33,479 were to displaced persons of the Jewish faith; 20,279 were to displaced persons of the Protestant faith; 19,283 were to displaced per-

sons of the Greek Orthodox faith; and 1,423 were to displaced persons of unknown faith.

IS THE PRESENT CUT-OFF DATE FAIR?

The present displaced-persons law was designed to afford maximum relief to those persons who were displaced as a direct result of the war or shortly thereafter. Accordingly, the law prescribes a cut-off date of December 22, 1945, for eligibility. This is some 7 months after the termination of the war and is the same cut-off date which was used in the administration of the Presidential directive in order to distinguish between the war-displaced persons and the hundreds of thousands of persons who have voluntarily displaced themselves by migrating into the occupied areas since that date. It is obvious that any extension of the cut-off date will work to the detriment of those persons who were displaced by the war because their chances of immigration into the United States will be diluted by several hundred thousand. The Celler bill (H. R. 4567), which the pressure groups are trying to drive through the Senate, not only advances this cut-off date to January 1, 1949, but provides for the admission into the United States of some 15,000 displaced persons from behind the iron curtain who have not yet been displaced but may be displaced in the future. An official of our principal intelligence agency which is operating abroad has expressed the opinion that this provision of the Celler bill would constitute a dangerous threat to the security of the United States and would be another loophole for the infiltration of Communist agents.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PRESENT DISPLACED-
PERSONS LAW

I am confident, on the basis of my investigation, that there is a complete break-down in the administration of the law. Inadequate screening of applicants, with little or no regard for background, political beliefs, and predilections of applicants, has opened the gates to persons who will not become good citizens and who will become ready recruits in subversive organizations to tear down the democracy of the United States. My investigation has brought to light innumerable instances of wholesale fraud, misrepresentation, fictitious documents, and perjury resorted to by persons seeking displaced-persons status in order to qualify within the terms of the law. Let it be remembered that the Attorney General of the United States recently testified that an analysis of 4,984 of the more militant members of the Communist Party in the United States showed that 91.4 percent of the total were of foreign stock or were married to persons of foreign stock.

The present law contains provisions as a prerequisite to eligibility that there be job and housing assurances without displacing other persons from jobs and housing. The Displaced Persons Commission, in administering these provisions of the law, has been validating "blanket" assurances to certain groups with no independent check whatsoever in order to ascertain the validity of the assurances. The Displaced Persons Commission has even validated assurances for displaced persons which were made by other displaced persons already admitted into the United States.

Notwithstanding repeated evidences of fraud and misrepresentation, not a single displaced person who has thus far been admitted into the United States by virtue of such fraud and misrepresentation has been returned to Europe.

PROVISIONS OF H. R. 4567

H. R. 4567, which the pressure groups are trying to drive through the Senate:

1. Expands the definition of a displaced person so as to admit into the United States certain select groups from all over the world, but excludes Greek displaced persons, displaced persons of German blood, and other equally deserving groups, irrespective of their location.
2. Provides for the admission of 10,000 displaced persons who presently reside in the British Isles.
3. Extends the cut-off date to January 1, 1949, and thus dilutes the number of the present war-displaced-persons category by several hundred thousand.
4. Provides for the admission into the United States of 15,000 persons from behind the iron curtain, who have not yet been displaced but may be displaced in the future.
5. Provides that anyone who left the occupied areas of central Europe may return at any time and gain eligibility for immigration into the United States.
6. Sets aside 50 percent of the non-preference portion of certain quotas for the exclusive use of displaced persons who have already been admitted into other countries of the world.
7. Removes from the present law the priority which is given to agricultural workers and their families. Although the statistics reveal that aliens generally, and displaced persons in particular,

are congested in the large cities, H. R. 4567 would further intensify this problem.

8. Increases the number to be admitted to 339,000. This number is, of course, in addition to the number admissible under our general immigration system.

IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED STATES

Since the end of the war there has been a tremendous increase in the influx into the United States, both legally and illegally, of people from all over the world. There is at present a backlog of registered demand against the immigration quotas of over 1,000,000. During the fiscal year 1948, over 170,000 aliens were admitted into the United States for permanent residence. In addition, approximately one-half million aliens were admitted into the United States from overseas presumably on a temporary basis, but many thousands of these aliens have overstayed their periods of admission and are seeking to remain here permanently.

During the last session of the Congress, the Senate approved the adjustment of the status to permanent residence of over 3,000 cases of aliens who were admitted temporarily.

An indication of the scope of the problem of illegal entries is the fact that on the Mexican border alone apprehensions during the first 6 months of the 1949 fiscal year were at a rate of 25,000 a month. During the fiscal year 1948, there were apprehended on the Mexican border 193,852 illegal entrants.

During the fiscal year 1948, there were apprehended in the United States 4,353 seamen who had jumped ship and it is

602288-32457

estimated by United States immigration officials that stowaways are arriving at the rate of approximately 100 per month. During the last year 412 smugglers of aliens were arrested, but, of course, the number who were actually smuggled into the United States is unknown.

The scope of the problem of illegal aliens is clearly set out by the fact that the number of forced departures from the United States for the last 5 years has exceeded the number of immigrants entering the country legally during that period.

Officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service testified in the course of our investigation of the immigration and naturalization system that if the manpower were available there would be over 500,000 investigations of potential cases of aliens illegally in the United States in the present fiscal year.

Typical of the comments of the Immigration and Naturalization Service officers respecting investigations of aliens illegally in the United States is the following:

"We have little or no what we might call free-lance investigations; that is, to go out and try to find aliens who are illegally in the country."

A former American consul on the Canadian border estimated the number of illegal aliens in the United States to be from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. The Immigration and Naturalization Service officials estimate that there are approximately 50,000 Cubans illegally in the United States in the Miami, Fla., immigration district. The immigration and naturalization officials in the Los Angeles area estimate that there are ap-

proximately 50,000 illegal aliens in the general vicinity of Los Angeles and that they are unable to keep control of them due to the lack of manpower.

WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT THE SITUATION?

The pressure groups have already succeeded in getting H. R. 4567 passed by the House of Representatives and the bill will be scheduled for debate in the Senate soon. The pressure groups are using a relatively few war-displaced persons, virtually all of whom are being re-

settled or repatriated, for the purpose of destroying our immigration barriers, to the end that this country will be inundated with a flood of aliens. With seemingly unlimited money these well-knit determined groups will succeed unless the patriotic American groups and the rank and file of the American people speak their minds firmly and promptly to the Congress. Your opinion and the opinion of your group, if expressed to your Senators, will help hold the dikes of our protective immigration system.

869288-32457

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



WHY ARE THEY STILL THERE?



Europe's **DISPLACED PERSONS**

by Lt. Col. Jerry M. Sage

Colonel Sage has recently returned to the United States after nearly six years in Europe, including experience as an agent for the Office of Strategic Services and as a prisoner of war in Germany. For the last three years he has been chief inspector for displaced persons in the United States Zone of Germany.

APPROVAL by the President last June of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 marked a vital step toward the solution of the complex, costly and human problem of 800,000 displaced persons in Europe.

The Displaced Persons Commission was appointed as the implementing agency under the act and began the task of selecting, processing, and moving the immigrants to the United States. Full support to the program is being given by other governmental agencies, the International Refugee Organization, various welfare groups, and the United States Army, which still has nearly half a million displaced persons under its control.

Yet in the first seven and a half months of the authorized two-year admittance period, less than 4,500 refugees have entered this country.

On Feb. 1 the D. P. Commission reported that the lag in the resettlement program was mainly due to difficulty in administering efficiently certain restrictive clauses of the legislation itself. Resolutions designed to broaden the scope of the D. P. Act and make it more workable are now pending in both houses of Congress. The McGrath-Neely Bill, Senate 311, and the Celler Bill, HR 1344, are identical and include the substance of changes recommended by the Displaced Persons Commission. The proposals include raising the number to be admitted to 400,000, removal of clauses which favor one group of D. P.s over another, and modification of requirements which are considered too rigid for efficient, just, and expeditious implementation of the program.

But under either the 1948 act or the new proposals, the immigration of each displaced person will be contingent on some sponsor in the United States who will assist the newcomer in establishing himself in this country. Since my recent return from Germany, people from all walks of life, particularly those who need help in the home, business, or on the farm, have asked me the following questions:

Who Are They?

Who are these people? What does our Army have to do with them? Why don't they go home—or stay in Germany?

What are other countries doing about them?

What sort of people are they—their political and religious beliefs, their health and morals, the state of law and order in their communities?

What are their occupational skills and potential as self-supporting citizens?

Here are the answers—based on three years' intimate work with displaced persons, visits to over 200 installations, and countless talks with people from every group under our control in Germany.

The majority of D. P.s were brought to Germany as laborers from conquered countries. Many were concentration camp prisoners. Others were prisoners of war who fought on our side. As the Allied forces overran the enemy, increasing numbers of D. P.s

were uncovered until approximately eight million persons had passed from Nazi custody into Allied hands in Western Europe. Nearly seven million were returned to their homelands, primarily in Western Europe and the U.S.S.R., in the mass repatriation movements from 1945 to 1947.

At present in the zones of the Western Allies in Germany and Austria, there are approximately 800,000 Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, and stateless persons who can not or will not go back to their homelands for fear of racial, religious, or political persecution. About 100,000 of these, mainly Jewish persons from Poland, came to Germany in 1946 and 1947.



The United States Army initially had the full responsibility for the half million people in its area, and cared for them with the aid of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel. At present, the International Refugee Organization has assumed the major portion of the effort to feed, clothe, and find homes for them. The I. R. O. is operating on a shoestring budget which comes mainly from the pockets of United States taxpayers, as do the appropriations for the Army.

What Is To Become Of Them?

A vital question is constantly before us: "What is to become of these people?" Four alternative courses of action have been considered.

The first alternative, repatriation, would at this point have to be by force. The fear of the displaced persons of the new Red regimes now dominating their homelands is so great that they would have to be rounded up by the United States Constabulary or German police and forced into repatriation trains with gun and bayonet.

The second alternative, to turn the D. P.s out to become Germans, would only make more burdensome our task in the occupation of Germany. The mutual ingrained antagonisms would be a perpetual source of conflict. From an economic standpoint, to close the camps and add nearly a half-million non-Germans to our devastated areas, already crowded with surplus Germans, would offer no real relief to the problem.

The third alternative, to continue to maintain these displaced persons indefinitely in the assembly centers, obviously is no solution. It merely perpetuates a heavy drain on the American taxpayers and keeps these victims of the totalitarian states in a stagnant environment, with no hope for the future.

A fourth alternative is to secure the resettlement of the displaced persons in free countries where they can strike new roots and build new productive lives for themselves and their children. It seems clear that this is the course to pursue in order to achieve final liquidation of the problem.

Nearly thirty countries began accepting displaced persons before our Congress passed the D.P. Act of 1948. Great Britain has taken over 80,000 D.P.s from the occupied areas. Belgium, Canada and Venezuela have each accepted 30,000. Reports from representatives of these countries indicate that the new immigrants have become adjusted,

assimilated, and producing members of the communities in an amazingly short time. These same representatives at our headquarters in Heidelberg have frequently voiced their surprise at the long delay of the United States in starting a positive program for the immigration of displaced persons.

Our country had admitted only a handful of D. P.s a year under laws promulgated in 1924 until the 1948 act was passed. With the current movement to broaden and accelerate the D. P. immigration program the United States stands to alleviate the financial burden of D. P. camp maintenance and gain thousands of worthwhile citizens in American communities. Fortunately, although other countries began resettlement activities before we did, the great quantity of fine potential immigrants has hardly been touched.

Since my return to Europe in early 1946 I have been continually surprised at the resiliency of the displaced persons. Many of the same captives and forced laborers of the Nazis, whom I had seen while an O. S. S. agent and prisoner of war in Germany in 1943 and 1944, are still living abnormal camp-type lives as D. P.s. Their ability to make the best of the situation by studying, working and striving to improve themselves is amazing.

D.P.s Hate Totalitarianism

In response to their urgent desire for constructive work, and to save the expense of Army and I. R. O. personnel, the administration of the assembly centers has been turned over to the displaced persons themselves. The center director, acting for I. R. O., may be an ex-cabinet minister of the former Lithuanian Republic, or a farmer from the Ukraine. He is assisted in his duties by a council or committee of D. P. representatives who have been elected in much the same manner as officials are chosen in a small town in this country.

The desires of displaced persons to use "Western-style" democratic procedures is easily understood when one considers their intense hatred of totalitarian methods and "isms." If I were asked to point out the community which I considered the least susceptible to, and the most thoroughly indoctrinated against Nazism, fascism, and Communism, I would not take you to the isolated "100 per cent American" small town in the Middle West. I would take you to a D. P. center in our zone of Germany. The vast majority of the people of the United States definitely dislike these "isms," but have not had a great deal of intimate contact with them. The D. P. who describes his being rounded up at night, torn from his family, and brought to Germany to labor; or the D. P. who shows you the tattooed concentration camp number on his arm, is certainly actively indoctrinated against any form of Nazism or fascism.

The displaced persons are deeply religious people. In every center they have built or reconstructed churches with their own hands, where each group worships under its indigenous religious leaders.

Every center has its own grade school and high school. In our zone over 60,000 children attend these schools taught by D. P. instructors. In addition to the usual basic courses one or two other languages, nearly always including English, are taught.

The maintenance of law and order within the assembly centers is handled by displaced persons police who are selected by I. R. O. and trained by United States Army personnel. The incidence of law violations among the D. P.s is approximately the same as that of the Germans, and considerably less than that of the big cities.

The over-all health condition of the displaced persons is much better than that of the Germans. No serious outbreak of any disease has occurred from the beginning of

the D.P. operations, probably as a result of using the same immunization procedures that are used in the United States Army. The hospitals are operated by D. P.s themselves, as there is an abundance of well trained physicians and surgeons among all groups of the refugees. We have also found excellent nurses among the D. P. women, and others have been trained to hospital service in vocational schools in the occupied areas. Regular checks are made on the health of each member of the center population. The center doctor may point with pride to the fact that the incidence of venereal disease is negligible among his patients; a condition which is outstanding in war-torn Europe. A contributing factor may be found in the devotion of D. P.s in general to a family life. The birth and death rates of D.P.s are comparable to those in the United States. The young children are the healthiest that I have seen anywhere.



D.P.s Are Working People

Legislation that will broaden the scope of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 is now pending in both houses of Congress. The proposals are designed to increase from 205,000 to 400,000 the number of D. P.s to be admitted, to remove clauses favoring one group over another, to eliminate some of the red tape that has been tying the hands of the D. P. Commission, and to speed the solution of an over-all problem involving a total of 800,000 displaced persons in occupied Europe.

In discussions of the proposals, two questions are frequently asked:

1. "What kind of workers are these people and what can they contribute to my community?"
2. "How can I sponsor a displaced person to come and work for me?"

The answer to the second question is simple. People who have a job to offer a D. P. can instigate action by writing to the Displaced Persons Commission, Washington 25, D. C., requesting copies of the sponsorship assurance forms and complete instructions.

As to the first question, the displaced persons in general are working and thinking people. The Nazis selected for deportation to Germany primarily young people qualified for labor. One finds relatively few old or physically handicapped people in our centers. Today they are working industriously in the operation of centers under the International Refugee Organization, in outside employment with Army units, and in the local economy when they can find work in shattered Germany. The latter is extremely difficult, partly because of occasional discrimination against D. P.s by German labor offices, and partly because D. P.s are, in the main, quartered in former German army camps which are far removed from work projects. Despite these handicaps, and several others, the majority of employables residing in D. P. assembly centers are at work or learning new trades.

The vocational skills available among displaced persons are impressive. Recently an occupational survey was made by the I. R. O. of about 330,000 D. P.s in the Western occupied areas. The survey reveals that over 60 per cent of the employable men are skilled workers and persons experienced in agriculture.

Skilled male workers are found in approximately sixty occupations, varying from airplane mechanic to woodworker. In the United States and British zones of Germany alone, there are thousands of men skilled as tailors, shoemakers or saddlers, locksmiths, carpenters, auto and truck mechanics, butchers, electricians, bakers, and woodworkers. Although considerably fewer than those listed above, there are also significant numbers of tool makers, machinists, structural steel workers, plumbers, and masons.

The second large group in which many male D. P.s are classified is that of agriculture, fishery, forestry, and kindred occupations. Most of the men included in this classification are farmers, but there are also a few reported as experienced in fishery, forestry, and related work.

The third broad classification of skills, in which approximately 10 per cent of the men are found, is the professional, semi-professional and managerial group. This grouping includes professors, engineers, musicians, clergymen, lawyers, agronomists, physicians and surgeons, entertainers, architects and chemists.

The D. P. women are distributed among the occupations listed above more uniformly than the men, although there are relatively large proportions of agricultural, domestic and professional workers among them. Thousands of teachers and nurses are found in the professional group. There are also thousands of women highly skilled as seamstresses.

Vocational Training

Predominant vocations among the D. P.s vary according to their country of citizenship or ethnic origin. The Poles, for example, are more likely to be agricultural workers and less likely to be professionals than other national groups. The Ukrainians are also mostly agricultural workers. A high percentage of the refugees from Baltic countries are experienced in the professions, clerical work, and skilled trades. The Jews have an average proportion of professionals and a high proportion of skilled workers.

During the past few months I. R. O. personnel in the United States zone of Germany have been conducting an extensive testing program. Regional commissions, composed of outstanding D. P. craftsmen of various nationalities, examined workers in ten major occupational fields. The workers were then classed as master craftsmen, first-class workers, second-class workers, apprentices, laborers, or helpers. Generally persons in the first three groups can perform all the duties of the occupation tested.

Thousands of D. P.s are constantly augmenting their potential as breadwinners in the sixty vocational training schools in the United States zone of Germany. The I. R. O. school at Schweinfurt is a good example of the means afforded the D. P.s to acquire skills for future use in communities in which they may resettle. This school has a capacity of 550 students, plus ninety-four instructors and administrative personnel. The curriculum includes courses for carpenters, electricians, locksmiths, bricklayers, auto mechanics, shoe repairmen and seamstresses. In addition to seven hours of daily vocational training, each student is required to take an hour of English. Spanish is also part of the curriculum, but is not mandatory. The administrative personnel, as well as the students, are trying to approximate as nearly as possible United States standards in their vocational courses and their daily living conditions, so the D. P.s will be able to adapt themselves more readily to their anticipated future environments.

Many of the vocational schools are sponsored by a voluntary agency, the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training. For example, at an assembly center at Pocking, a former airplane hangar has been partitioned into work shops and equipped by O. R. T. While girls are being instructed by experienced D. P. seamstresses in one room,

young men are learning to operate machinists' lathes in an adjacent classroom. Some of the other trades offered are carpentry, bricklaying, steam fitting, auto mechanics and radio repair. One of the outstanding projects in progress at the school today is the construction by advanced student workers of a complete, two-story brick house. Although not quite as large as a full-scale building, the project presents all the usual building problems and provides a wealth of experience. The house is being erected under the shelter of the hangar so that work may continue despite inclement weather.

More than 16,000 displaced persons in the United States zone of Germany are employed directly by the Army in organized labor service companies, and are performing extremely valuable service in work formerly done by United States troops.

Of the thirty-six technical labor organizations, sixteen are engaged in highly skilled construction work. The Frankfurt military post, for example, has turned over the complete maintenance and supply of approximately 6,000 vehicles to a company of 186 well trained and experienced Estonian displaced persons. The Heidelberg military post employs 150 Baltic D. P.s in a complete engineer depot unit. Seven companies, totaling 2,100 D. P.s, are doing an excellent round-the-clock job of loading planes for the Berlin air lift at the Rhine-Main and Wiesbaden airports. Another six companies recently prepared a large housing project in Frankfurt for the employees, who moved there to serve at bipartite headquarters from former locations in Berlin and the British zone.

D.P.s Will Make Excellent Citizens

In addition to regular employment with I. R. O., the occupying forces, and in the German economy, displaced persons are busy with the home manufacture of items to make more livable their drab environment. They make their own pots and pans from old biscuit tins and powdered-milk cans; they make furniture from old crates; they make children's toys from the unfinished stocks of German army rifles. The women are kept busy mending and supplementing their meager supply of clothing. I recall one Ukrainian center in which seventy women were congregated in one large room knitting gloves and mufflers which were distributed not only to inhabitants of the camp but to others in the vicinity. There are several such self-aid work projects in the zone, although they are greatly handicapped by the lack of raw material. Many centers have their own metal shops where displaced persons are busy working at a forge and anvil, pounding out the tools, bolts, locks and other metal equipment needed in the camp and neighboring camps.

In nearly every center the inhabitants have assisted in the reconstruction of war-damaged buildings, have planted gardens of vegetables to supplement their diet and have made flower gardens bordered by whitewashed stones to beautify the surroundings. When one visits the rooms of the displaced persons themselves, one finds today in addition to the bare minimum equipment furnished them, samples of the work of their hands and imagination, such as rugs, tapestries and drapes woven from worn-out stockings and other salvaged articles of clothing.

To summarize, the average displaced person is physically fit, a person who longs to have and to participate in political and religious freedom, is a person who abides by the rules of the community and who has skills, ingenuity and strength which he wants to put to use in a new, permanent home.

Action to accelerate the immigration of such people to the United States will not only help solve the complex, costly and human problem of our occupational forces in Europe, but will also add valuable workers and excellent future citizens to the American communities.

Copyright, 1949, New York Herald Tribune Inc., Reprinted with permission.

I.R.O. Photos by Arthur Zegart



WHAT YOU CAN DO

In January of this year, Senators McGrath and Neely and Congressman Celler introduced companion bills to amend the discriminatory and unworkable features of the D.P. Act of 1948. Listed below are the major changes proposed by the pending legislation:

The D.P. Act of 1948 —

- 1.—defines a displaced person as one who was in the Western Zones on or before December 22, 1945, cutting off political refugees from Soviet controlled countries and the majority of the Jewish refugees who fled into the camps during 1946.
- 2.—awards 40% of visas to displaced persons from the Baltic countries, unmercifully reducing immigration opportunities for other groups.
- 3.—awards 30% of visas to displaced persons previously engaged in agriculture, tending to exclude those with other important skills.
- 4.—subtracts visas issued to displaced persons from the future immigration quotas of their countries of origin up to 50% each year, eliminating half the regular immigration quotas of some countries for over 100 years.
- 5.—requires displaced persons to have jobs and homes waiting for them, sight unseen and 3,000 miles away, to be held for them until their arrival months later.
- 6.—permits the entry of only 205,000 displaced persons during a two-year period.

Join us in support of S. 311 and H.R. 1344:

- Write your Senators and Representative
- Send us your contribution today

MR. EARL G. HARRISON, Chairman
CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS
39 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

I am enclosing my check for \$_____ to help make possible a final campaign to secure non-discriminatory displaced persons legislation.

Name _____

(Please print)

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Please make checks payable to Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons.
Contributions not deductible from taxable income.

The McGrath-Neely Bill in the Senate (S. 311), paralleled by the Celler Bill in the House (H.R. 1344)—

—advances the cut-off date from December 22, 1945 to April 21, 1947.

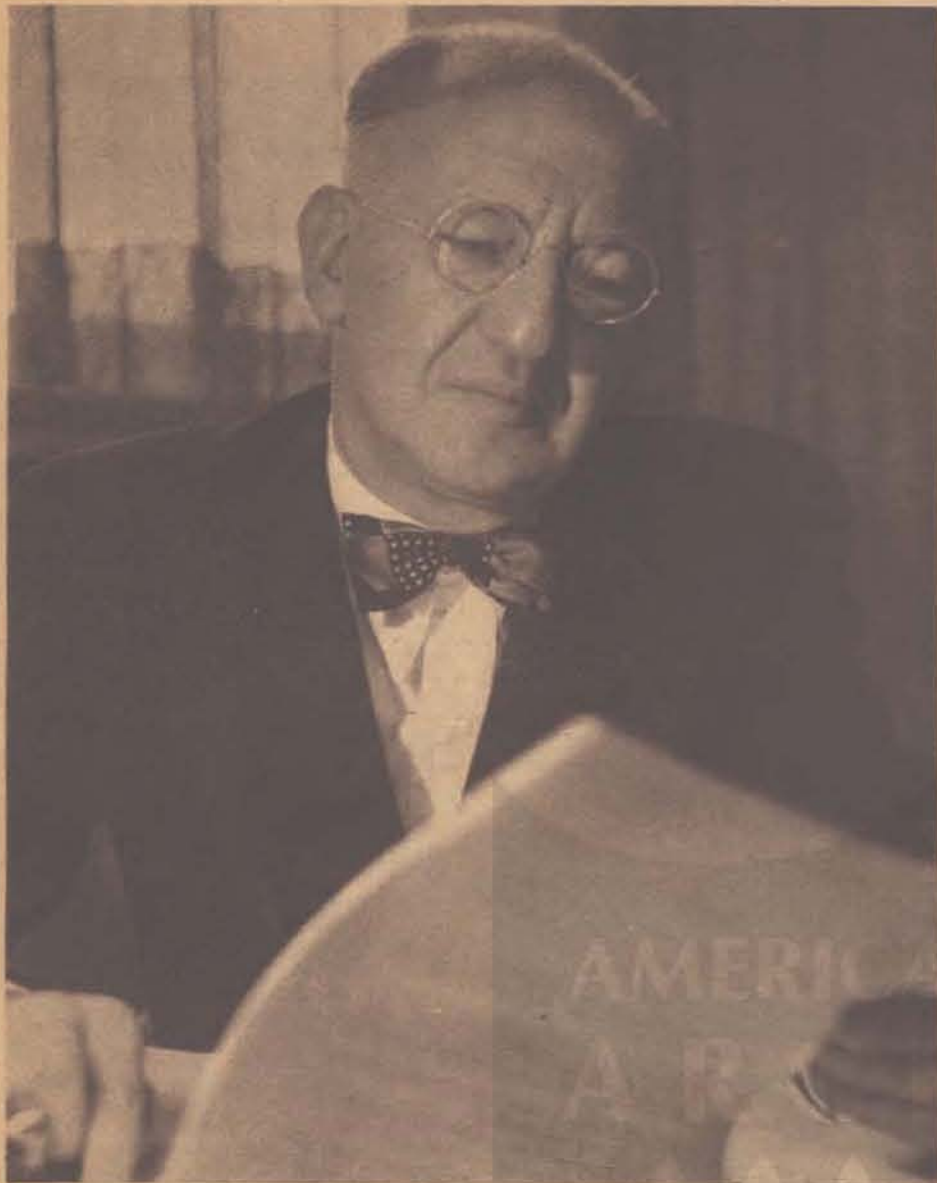
—substitutes a clause prohibiting discrimination for or against any displaced person because of religion or national origin.

—broadens the occupational base by giving preferences, not by any percentage, to about a dozen different skills.

—eliminates these mortgaging provisions, thus permitting displaced persons to enter the United States on an emergency basis outside the regular quotas.

—substitutes for this unworkable clause a sponsor's guarantee that the displaced person will not become a public charge (similar to the regular immigration requirements).

—increases this number to 400,000, to be admitted over a four-year period.



JUDGE LEVINTHAL brings the patience and understanding gained on the bench to his dealings with the zones' Jewish displaced persons.

Realistic Optimist

BY ROBERT R. RODGERS

As a special unpaid adviser on Jewish affairs in the U. S. zones of Germany, Austria, Judge Louis E. Levinthal daily listens to the complaints, tears and sorrows of Jewish DPs

"SOME people call me a Pollyanna," Judge Louis E. Levinthal says. "Maybe it's true. I've always been on the optimistic side." But in spite of his optimism, if Levinthal saw no hope of an eventual solution to the Jewish problem, he would in his own words, "call it quits." He says that unless he had faith the world would someday end its violent prejudices, life itself would be worthless. At the same time he faces each day and its new problems with the matter-of-fact realism of a mathematician.

This optimism and conviction that justice and humanitarianism will eventually replace the strife of today sustains Levinthal through his duties as special adviser on Jewish affairs to General Lucius D. Clay in Germany and Lieutenant General Geoffrey Keyes in Austria. Counselor to the remnants of Europe's six million Jews, he daily looks misery in the eye and prays to his God that the world will forget its fear of color and creed. Listening to complaints, tears and sorrow are the business of this dapper, slight, grey-haired man who constantly, seven days a week, hears tales of horror and frustration across his desk in the former Forben building. A lesser man, confronted with the multiple woes of Jewish DPs and a maligned minority, would become hopelessly despondent.

When Jews in the U. S. Zone of Germany and Austria are worried or incensed, which is often, since anti-Semitism did not die with the third reich, they turn to Levinthal for help. Six telephones in his Frankfurt office bring him troubles from Passau, Dachau, Zeilsheim or one of the other camps housing a quarter of a million Jews in

his area. He counsels the excited callers in fluent, succinct Yiddish.

The Army does not pay Levinthal for his work. When he returns to the bench in the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia around the end of the year, his six-month assignment in the EC will have cost him nearly three thousand dollars out of his own pocket. This expense, which he bears cheerfully, trusting that his volunteer aid has helped the Jews here, has included trips to Geneva and Paris for discussions with the International Refugee Organization, a visit to Prague to check on rumors that another exodus of Jews from Poland was about to get under way. All but the most routine travel within Germany and Austria Levinthal has paid for himself. He is no burden on the taxpayers.

Criticism against the good-natured adviser, who often works on correspondence and reports in his home at Bad Homburg until three A. M., is hard to unearth. His friends are legion. The wrist-branded, DP daughter of the murdered Rabbi of Kielce is as welcome at his dinner table as a visiting senator. The only grumbling against Levinthal's position is the back-handed comment of persons who wonder why there is no adviser on Catholic, Protestant, Polish or Ukrainian affairs. The answer is that this largest minority was the object of Nazi persecution and, as such, won the sympathy of the world when their story became known.

THEY are a special group with an untenable birthplace and an involved future. There is no easy, established channel for them to reach either the Holy Land or the U. S., and the U. S. Army, whose responsibility they have

become here, needs a coordinator to assure their health and well-being until the log-jam on resettlement is broken. Ninety per cent of them still wish only to migrate to Palestine.

The temperament of the fifty-five-year-old judge is a major asset in his treatment of the problems of the DPs today. His affability has made him popular in the role of father-confessor to the Jews, advising them to be patient, to keep themselves busy, to study and to prepare themselves for a peaceful future. His predecessors, notably Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein and the United Nations Committee on Palestine, have wrestled with all the urgent problems of Jewish resettlement, and now the next few years will be a period of waiting. "The Jews have waited so long," Levinthal says, "they are understandably impatient. They have been disappointed so often they are discouraged. Some of them are desperate."

Aide to Levinthal is Major Abraham S. Hyman, a tough-minded, critical lawyer from Gary, Indiana, who is counter-point to his boss. Where Levinthal is prone to be too generous or too ready to accept all the speaking and camp party invitations—"He doesn't know how to say 'No,'" Hyman complains—Hyman does, in effect, protect the judge from himself. Hyman frankly disapproves of his chief's having to work until three A. M. to finish his reports, and it is Hyman who insists that Levinthal relax occasionally and play gin rummy on long trips. He tries to get the adviser onto the golf course for exercise. He managed to play nine holes of golf only twice last summer; once at Salzburg, once at Frankfurt. Levinthal appreciates Scotch and soda, good meals and company, but he does not smoke. His thirty years of court experience, both as lawyer and jurist, have given him a background of stories and anecdotes which he tells well. He is a reader of biography, a music lover and an accomplished public speaker.

SON of Rabbi Bernard L. Levinthal, the eighty-three-year-old dean of American rabbis who has led the Jewish community in Philadelphia since 1891, Judge Levinthal was reared in Philadelphia and was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with Phi Eta Kappa honors. He was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1916 after winning his master of law degree for his thesis on the history of bankruptcy law, a study he later turned into a book. He also has written a brief biographical study of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis. When he was elected to a judgeship on the Court of Common Pleas, the highest trial court in the state, in 1937, he had already been a member of the county board of law examiners for more than twenty years. A staunch Democrat, he also had become a national leader among the five million Jews in the United States.

His wife, Lenore, content with the title "housewife," is a handsome, public-spirited woman with an avid interest in welfare work. Grateful for a respite from her work as chairman of the Women's Division of the Allied Jewish Appeal of Philadelphia, the Jewish welfare organization in that city, she had no sooner arrived in Germany than she found her Bad Homburg house filling up with packages from generous friends in the States, sent for her to distribute to DPs. Her sympathetic letters to friends about the homeless, whom she had seen on camp visits with her husband, led to the unexpected response. New shoes, sweaters, pants, dresses and stockings, arriving by ordinary post, made it necessary for the Frankfurt APO to assign a special truck to deliver the parcels and boxes to her home. She receives many letters, too, including those from the grown Levinthal son, who is twenty-four, and a married daughter who has presented her and the judge with two grandchildren.

Appointment of the jurist to the position of adviser here by the then Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson climaxed a busy decade. Besides being a board member of the Community Fund and American Red Cross in Philadelphia, he was president of the Zionist Organization of America from 1941 through 1943. His active participation in Jewish affairs during these last ten years resulted in his nomination by Patterson being unanimously endorsed by the American Jewish Conference, representing sixty-four national organizations and 350 Jewish communities in the U. S., the American Jewish Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the American section of the Jewish Agency

for Palestine and the American Joint Distribution Committee, the five major Jewish organizations in the country. He is the only American serving in the World Court of the Zionist Congress. He is called upon to arbitrate Zionist organizational conflicts which occur throughout the world where Jewish communities are located.

Faith in human nature would seem to come hard for a man whose profession is weighing right and wrong and listening to endless arguments over evil and righteousness. Levinthal, however, has not found his belief shaken. Once in 1941 a nineteen-year-old boy stood before his bench. He was charged with larceny and assault. It was his third offense. He had been placed on probation twice before, and now he again confessed his guilt and awaited justice. He had explained his story to Judge Levinthal. "I wanted to get into the Air Corps. They wouldn't take me," he glowered. "My record was bad."

LEVINTHAL, to the shock and disgust of the district attorney, took a chance on human nature. He placed the boy on probation a third time, arranged for the Air Corps to accept him and waited with his fingers crossed, knowing that if the boy should commit a crime in the Army, his own record would be blotted because he had permitted the youngster to go free. Two years later the boy, who had become an air gunner, was shot down over Germany and imprisoned. Levinthal stood beside the boy's parents in Philadelphia while they accepted in absentia the commendation for his combat bravery. He was a hero. The boy's family straightened out their own domestic troubles, mainly through pride in the son, and Levinthal again stood beside them when, after the war, the son was happily married in the judge's chambers.

Levinthal does not pretend that the world is milk and honey, and so far as prejudice goes, he does not absolve the Jews. He cautions wisdom among them and warns the extremists that violence and hate are just as sinful in them as in their persecutors. He advises that the embattled minority watch intolerance within itself and keep its perspective. He tells the story of Yehudi Menuhin, Jewish violinist, who recently toured the zone.

"The DPs in Berlin were furious," Levinthal says, "when Menuhin came to Berlin and played for the benefit of the Germans, without giving the Jews a concert. They called him a traitor for not playing for them first and threatened to boycott him if he ever did choose to play before any of their groups."

"Menuhin was crestfallen to think that his fellow Jews had shown such misunderstanding. He was an invited guest and performed at the request of the American Military Government. Nevertheless, he accepted an IRO camp director's invitation to play. The Jews boycotted him. He then scheduled another date—this time a public debate with the camp leaders, the entire camp in attendance!"

"This was an admirable, courageous act. Menuhin is world famous and with impunity might have disregarded the clamor of his co-religionists," he says.

"HE refuted the charges that he was a traitor. He told the Jews that they were near-sighted. He warned them that hate doesn't overcome hate. He pointed out that Germans, including German Jews, had written some of the world's greatest music, for which civilization was indebted. And he informed the DPs that he himself, at his own expense, had been the first Jewish performer to come from America immediately after the war to give concerts for the sick, impoverished victims of the concentration camps."

Yehudi Menuhin won his battle and apologies were offered. The misunderstanding was cleared, but the incident had a sequel the next day in Frankfurt which revealed to Menuhin what he himself had not completely recognized before. In the company of Levinthal, the artist visited the vaults of the Reichsbank and saw the carefully-collected valuables of murdered Jews, the thousands of wedding rings, spectacle frames, watch cases and gold fillings rifled from their bodies. "The visit was undoubtedly a revelation to the sensitive soul of the great artist," Levinthal states. "Menuhin began to appreciate what he didn't understand in Berlin among the angry people at the camp. He felt the profound, collective hurt of the Jewish DPs."



Displaced persons at a camp in Germany, waiting for emigration overseas. At right, DP Hirsch Schwartzberg, camp director.

Passport to Nowhere: A DP Story

It is also an unfinished story—of people who have made many moves but who have yet to find the haven they need.

BERLIN.

By GERTRUDE SAMUELS

THIS is the story of Hirsch Schwartzberg and his "passport to nowhere"—the story of the last remnants of Jewish Displaced Persons who have moved from tragedy to tragedy, outcast and forgotten.

I met Schwartzberg at Dueppel Displaced Persons camp. He had, figuratively, just been handed his "passport to nowhere"—a transfer from one DP camp to another. A mountain of a man, with a three-day beard and a terrible calm in his eyes and voice, he was helping the officials move the DP's of Dueppel and of adjoining Mariendorf camp—men, women and the children born here—to other camps in the Western zone. And over the gray and rotting barracks, which are soon to become a "boys' town" for German youth, over the noise of trucks and children, hung the same terrible calm—and dread.

The DP's milled before the temporary wooden platform near the Jewish Welfare Center with its Star of David, helmeted constabulary moving quietly among them to keep order. Army trucks backed up to the platform as an official called the DP's forward—the Abrahams, the Bezalas, the

Daniels, nearly all from Poland—loaded them and drove off to Tempelhof Airfield. More trucks carried the 200-pound lots of baggage allowed for each DP—other possessions, hopefully accumulated, had gone for a song to German buyers outside the camps. Schwartzberg stamped this and that, signed his name to "character references." He found time for all their questions, though he didn't know the answers—"Where are we going?" "How long will it take?" "Will we meet again?"

We still had time. For Schwartzberg was the last man out of the camp he himself had established over two years ago.

To follow the story of how Schwartzberg got to nowhere, one must begin with the year 1941 and Vilna, where he lived with his wife, Rebecca, and his 5-year-old son, Jacob.

That year, the Gestapo killed his father, sister and brother, killed every member of his wife's family, and took the surviving Schwartzbergs to Vilna ghetto. There were 60,000 Jews in the ghetto—just one of many areas marked for death by the Nazis in Lithuania and Poland. Three million Polish Jews alone were rounded up in preparation for death by firing squads, starvation and furnaces. In the Vilna ghetto, the Germans indexed them according to yellow and white cards, or

what the Jews soon called "Leben" (life) or "Tod" (death) cards. Because Schwartzberg had been a truck driver, they had use for him in the "schwarzarbeiter"—among the "black workers" doing construction, forest work and ditch digging.

BY 1944, only 20,000 of the original 60,000 Jews of the Vilna ghetto were alive; only an estimated 80,000 Polish Jews out of the 3,000,000 survived. For all Europe, 1,500,000 survived out of the pre-war Jewish population of 7,500,000.

"Nobody," reflects Schwartzberg, "will believe that we have suffered so much."

There were only ninety children left in Vilna ghetto when the Nazis ordered a special killing of children. Schwartzberg clawed out the wood and bricks under the window of his room, deep enough to hold a child's body, clothed Jacob fully as protection against the weather, and put him inside the hole. Sixty children were killed in the pogrom. For four months, Jacob lived and ate in his hide-out, coming out late at night to stretch and play. As Jacob recalls it now, he "couldn't stand it at first and cried, but after I understood what it was for, I stayed quiet and didn't mind."

In 1944, the Nazis decided to liquidate the entire camp, ordering all Jews forward for killing or cremation. With thirty others, Schwartzberg took his wife and son,

clambered between the ceiling and roof of their dwelling and lay there for two days. "Just when it seemed quite mad to want to try to go on living," villagers poured in to loot. And the handful of Jews climbed quietly down, one by one, from their hiding place to mix with the looters and go unnoticed out of the ghetto.

The Schwartzbergs got into the city of Vilna—by then in the Lithuania Soviet Socialist Republic. They found nothing left of their old home. When the Government announced that all who had been Polish subjects until 1939 could be registered for repatriation to Poland, Schwartzberg qualified and the family was evacuated to Lodz.

THERE I had a friend," explained Schwartzberg. "My boy was growing. We wanted somehow to make another start." The ghetto-slave labor phase had closed. It seemed possible to put down roots again. But post-war Poland still suffered from Hitler's legacy of anti-Semitism and the UNRRA camps in Germany seemed to hold greater safety for those who had miraculously survived Hitler. Thus the Schwartzbergs, suddenly fleeing again, joined that strange, new group for whom the world had to coin a name—Displaced Persons.

There were already hundreds of thousands of the DP's (Continued on Page 62)

GERTRUDE SAMUELS, a member of The Times Sunday staff, is touring Europe this summer in the dual capacity of reporter and observer for the International Children's Emergency Fund.

Passport to Nowhere

(Continued from Page 14)
in the Western zone camps in Germany—former Christian nationals of Poland and the Baltic countries, many of whom had been in Germany at the end of the war as slave labor. Surely UNRRA and the American military could let in a few more Jewish survivors: thus Schwartzberg reasoned. Traveling illegally by train and truck with sixteen other Polish Jews, the Schwartzbergs arrived, late in 1945, stateless and penniless, in Berlin.

WHAT followed laid the foundation for Dueppel DP camp. With the help of the Jewish "Gemeinde" (community) of Berlin, an UNRRA camp was set up in a former pavilion at Wannsee. No permission was asked to occupy it. The Jews simply moved in "because it was empty and we needed a floor to sleep on." And they kept coming—"exhausted, bitter, lost, hopeful, even with peace still not knowing where to turn." There were 450 in the original group, including twenty children, and for a few days they lived off bread and rations brought in by a Jewish chaplain. Then they formed a committee to get in touch with the United States Military Government. Schwartzberg, whose ingenuity and patience had become a legend in the ghetto, was elected director.

"General Barker," said Schwartzberg, "came out to the pavilion. He said he couldn't believe that people could exist as we were existing. He said he had no words for our experiences and for what we had managed to do. He said very much more, with words which our people had not heard for years. He would get us help. And he did."

For five months Schwartzberg and his 450 DP's lived in

the pavilion. Then on June 10, 1946, the Dueppel camp, formerly training quarters for the German Luftwaffe, was opened for them. Within three days all of them plus another 350 Jewish DP's were moved in, UNRRA and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee pitching in with workers, food, supplies, advice.

And the DP's began to build what many believed was to be their last way-station. They renamed the camp Herzl, after the founder of Zionism, Theodor Herzl. They hoisted the Star of David. Their hopes were clearly known, at least among themselves. They would go to the "homeland which would welcome them—Palestine—with American help." They again made Schwartzberg their director, and elected a committee of thirteen to run the camp.

ORGANIZATION went forward under Schwartzberg's direction. First came the hospital—critically needed for those just out of concentration camps.

"It filled up completely at once," said Schwartzberg. "We had five doctors and ten or twelve nurses among our DP's and UNRRA and the Army gave us more help and supplies." Then the place of worship—"crude but adequate, and it filled up too. Our DP's had a strange feeling about this camp. They felt lucky. They saw the interest of the Government. They were free to move around. They heard kind words again. They felt lucky and alive."

And so they worked to put down some roots again. They established schools, a registration office, a postoffice, a search and tracing office for those who still hoped to find relatives, their own police detail. By July, 1946, the popu-

(Continued on Following Page)



Camp to camp—"The grim question is: Who will take them in?"



Six-year-old Nusha Luszczanowski waits for her name to be called.

(Continued from Preceding Page) lation of Dueppel had grown to 10,000 as thousands more Jewish DP's fled to Berlin after the Kielce pogrom in Poland. Another camp, Mariendorf, adjoining Dueppel, was opened and some 5,000 settled in it. A Central Committee of the Liberated Jews in Berlin was established to act in behalf of both camps, again with Schwartzberg directing.

IN the hard winter of 1946-47 Schwartzberg scrounged for materials, food and coal. He settled quarrels and moved constantly around the camp; a 200-pound tower of determination and philosophy, he intervened at Military Government courts in behalf of those arrested for black-marketing. "Is it difficult to understand how some can become ill with the mind?" he would gently inquire.

And the DP's loved him. They knew him, not as Hirsch but as Solomon. To them, he symbolized the good and the wise and the understanding. His decisions stood and were respected. He knew there were "good and bad souls" among them—that many had suffered so cruelly that they had turned inward and refused to trust even fellow DP's; that perhaps those, above all, needed protection.

He could speak to them in Yiddish, German, Polish, Russian, Lithuanian. He rarely punished them—"Can you wonder?" His reputation spread beyond Dueppel and Mariendorf to wherever Jews were in trouble. The first words of a sick and homeless DP who had wandered into a Berlin hospital recently were: "Please get word to Schwartzberg at Dueppel camp. He will know what to do."

And his DP's? Who were they?

There was, for instance, Roza Emer, a wide-eyed blonde of 5, born in Lodz, Poland,

who escaped to Dueppel with her parents, Laja and Aron. In Block 42, Room 20, there was the Luszczanowski family—mother, father, their 6-year-old daughter, Nusha, from Petrokow, Poland, and the baby Daniel, born in the camp six months ago. (They had left Nusha, who is fair enough to be "Aryan," with gentile friends in their native town when they fled before the Nazis, and were reunited after liberation.) There was Sersuel Neubauer, who had "been through it all—ghetto, concentration camps, slave labor—watching everyone around me killed but somehow never feeling nervous for myself. But now—now for the first time I am nervous. We do not know what will happen to us. We do not know where we are going. We do not know, three years after the war, what will become of us."

THUS, as they loaded the trucks, as they took down the sign in Hebrew letters below the Star of David—"Give Help to Israel"—as friends bade each other wordless farewells, as they flew out of Berlin to Wiesbaden and Frankfurt and then were dispersed to other DP camps in the west of Germany—the future remained uncertain.

Most of them have their hearts set on Palestine. Many, like Schwartzberg, are registered for the United States; the underlying hope is to leave Germany forever. Schwartzberg summed it up this way:

"I have three emotions left. One is concerned with the liquidation of this camp; another is that perhaps it is lucky for our people to be moving out of this very troubled area, though they are going to other camps. The third is for my wife and son. We do not know where we will go. Everything is uncertain again. We must wait," he said calmly—"for instructions."

DP
Reprinted from the
COMMENTARY
January 1947

Affectionately,
Leo

WHY THE DP'S CAN'T WAIT

Proposing an International Plan of Rescue

LEO SROLE

ALLIED troops sweeping across Germany early in 1945 reacted to Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, with incredulity, revulsion, and fury. "There are no words in the English language to describe Dachau," is the opening sentence of an official United States Army report. The solicitude the Army forced upon the emaciated men they found there, Jews in large part, sprang from deep compassion for the victims of a crime enormous beyond all precedent.

Until then, the drama of rescue had followed the lines of the simplest movie plot. But the drama did not end there. The rescue

THE situation of the DP's in the German camps is here reported with full documentation for the first time. We are given the opportunity to see the true picture through the trained eyes of a distinguished American sociologist, who as UNRRA Welfare Director of the Landsberg camps for more than a year had unexcelled opportunity for intimate first-hand observation. What is the DP state of mind and morale? How do they live? How are they treated? What solution does the world have for their problems? LEO SROLE, who endeavors to answer these questions, is co-author with W. Lloyd Warner of *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, published in 1945 as the third volume of the *Yankee City Series*. Dr. Srole went to his post at Landsberg following his war service as psychologist in an Army Air Force convalescent hospital. To the observation of this new social microcosm, so different from the small town in Massachusetts that was Yankee City, he brought the same sociological objectivity and psychological insight that made his previous work so authoritative. Dr. Srole was born in Chicago in 1908, received his undergraduate training at Harvard and earned his doctorate at the University of Chicago. He is professor of sociology and anthropology at Hobart College and at present is on leave of absence. He is the author of a report on the psychological states and needs of Jewish concentration camp survivors, prepared for the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

was a respite only. It was followed by a change from one camp to another, in which the "liberated" victim, today, twenty months later, is still captive and still in jeopardy. There was a change also in the hero. Incredibly, the solicitous rescuer has become the camp-keeper, cold and unfriendly. The happy ending has been reconverted into tragedy. The victims still await final rescue.

Those who have stood opposed to their rescue—figures like Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Morgan and isolated United States Army officers who have recently echoed him through the instrument of Mr. George Meader—have helped postpone the freeing of the displaced, stateless Jews by denying their needs, discrediting their motives, and attacking their character.

Nor have the spokesmen of American Jewry, or liberals generally, been always correct in their facts or statements. Creature conditions in the DP camps are sub-standard, but are by no means at a level warranting statements that the present camps are "just as bad" as the Nazi concentration camps. And the attempt merely to arouse pity for people who are far from sitting on their hands, or waiting passively for their second liberation, is grossly inappropriate to their problem.

The displaced Jews have an almost obsessive will to live normally again, to reclaim their full rights as free men. Their energies and talents have been dramatically exhibited in the vigorous communities they have created in the camps, despite scant material resources and highly abnormal environmental conditions. This achievement in reconstruction reduces to absurdity the efforts made to stigmatize the Jewish survivors. It deserves the world's admiration. More important, it calls for the determination that such character and courage shall no longer be denied fulfillment. Since the story of the achievement of the displaced persons is not generally known, even in in-

formed American circles, I propose to tell it here out of my year's experiences in sharing the day-by-day life of one of the largest and earliest Jewish DP camps, that at Landsberg, in the American zone of Germany.

ESSENTIAL as prologue to the story is a brief background placing the Jews within the displaced persons situation as a whole.

Of 8,000,000 uprooted Allied nationals in Germany and Austria at the end of the war, approximately 1,000,000 remain today where they were found. Why don't they "go back where they came from"?

Roughly 75 per cent of them are Balts, Poles, Yugoslavs, and Ukrainians. Some were collaborationists, mercenaries who volunteered more or less eagerly to help build the Nazi war machine, and these realistically fear the reprisals awaiting them at home. A considerably larger number accepted the opportunities for work in Germany to save themselves or their families from starvation; they, too, fear reprisal at home—whether realistically or not is unknown.

The largest group were slave laborers brought forcibly into the Reich. While they have no ostensible reason to expect punishment in their homelands, they fear the new regimes that are aligned with the Soviet Union.

The remaining 25 per cent are Jews, with a quite different war and postwar history. They fall into three groups. The first are the accidental survivors of the concentration camps, which differed from the extermination camps only in that their victims were starved, tortured, and worked to death slowly instead of being summarily executed in mass. Almost all who were nationals of the Western countries, and of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, accepted repatriation. But those from the Baltic States and Poland had suffered as much from their compatriots as from the Nazis, and their faces were turned predominantly to Palestine. Nevertheless, most of these did return briefly to their former homes in the desperate and generally futile hope of finding their kin and recovering their possessions.

There they encountered the second, and smallest, category of Jewish survivors, those who had contrived to escape the ghettos by hiding in the forests or on the "Aryan" side of the ghetto walls.

The "Katsetler" (concentration camp) Jews quickly returned to the DP camps to which they had been moved directly after V-E day. Soon after, under the rising tide of terrorism in Poland, there followed the "forest" Jews in a stream that jammed the Jewish camps by early winter (1945-1946).

The third group of Jews were those evacuated in family units by the Russians from Poland in 1941, principally to Siberia. In the spring of 1946, approximately 150,000 accepted the Russian offer of repatriation, and were resettled largely in the new Polish province of Silesia (now cleared of its German population). From the first, sporadic attacks had indicated that, despite the ostensible good will of the Polish government, the Jewish position in Poland was untenable. Jews now began to trickle westward, and with the Kielce pogrom in July, they fled in panic to join their brethren.

In accepting them without restriction, despite the fact that existing facilities were inadequate and many complex problems were involved, Generals McNamey and Clark maintained the best American traditions of giving refuge to the persecuted and the oppressed.

In all, 275,000 Jews are homeless and stateless, suspended for almost two years now in an exodus that can move neither forward nor back, waiting for the moment the barriers will be lifted. Approximately 155,000 are in the American zone of Germany, and 25,000 in the British zone. Some 40,000 are in Austria, almost exclusively in the American zone, and 25,000 in Italy. In addition, there are an estimated 30,000 Jewish refugees, on temporary visas only, in France, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Low Countries.

This is a predominantly male and overwhelmingly young adult population. Age and sex statistics, based upon a Joint Distribution Committee census taken in Bavaria early in 1946, mutely reveal the lines of Nazi extermination policies. The sex ratio is two male survivors to one female. Only 8 per cent are under the age of seventeen, only 11 per cent are over forty. That is, 81 per cent are between the years of seventeen and thirty-nine.

The census is not revealing as to economic status and occupational background. Nevertheless, I should judge that about 5 per

cent of the adults are upper-middle class in origin, i.e., business executives and professionals; 20 per cent upper-lower class, i.e., heavy workers; and approximately 75 per cent lower-middle class, principally skilled craftsmen, small shopkeepers, and merchants.

LANDSBERG is a picturesque town, unscarred by the war, set in beautiful rolling country on the approaches to the Bavarian Alps. It has a placid air about it, which seems to be confirmed by its population of 14,000 solid, conservative, respectable burghers. But a closer glance brings into focus its meaning as a symbol of the whole recent history of Germany. Here, in a small but comfortable attendant's room in the town prison, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*. The townspeople converted the room into a national shrine.

Here, within sight of Landsberg, are the remains of a network of concentration camps, ancillary to Dachau, whose prisoners built the huge underground munitions works in the area. Through the streets of Landsberg, under the eyes of the burghers, the weary prisoners were often marched. On the town's outskirts are numerous mass graves of Jews. And in Landsberg proper are cavalry barracks built for the First World War. It is this military camp that received the Jewish survivors of Dachau in May 1945, and still houses them and their refugee brethren, 5,500 in all.

The Landsberg Jewish Center, as it is officially called, is characteristic in many respects of the older Jewish DP camps, particularly in the American zone of Germany.

The visitor arriving in town sees Jewish faces here and there on the streets. At the camp entrance, he sees residents coming and going without interruption. The barbed-wire enclosures he may have expected are nowhere in sight, and he learns that displaced persons are allowed unrestricted movement within the American zone. On the other hand, the visitor, whether American or German, finds that he cannot enter the camp except on official business, a matter checked at the entrance by a Jewish policeman in a smart uniform with a Star of David on his cap.

At the entrance is a waist-high red-brick wall, obviously new, flanked by two pylons.

Set into one pylon is a memorial tablet to the 6,000,000 Jewish dead, civilian and military. In the other is a tablet expressing Jewish aspirations for the future. Crowning the pylons are statues of the Jew of the exile, bent by the Torah scrolls on his back, and of the *halutz* (pioneer), ramrod-straight, with a shovel at his shoulder.

The visitor enters the camp and walks through the cleanly swept streets. Men are moving about—many with a look of purpose, obviously about work. On a huge sport field set with goal posts, a group of boys is noisily playing soccer. In a little tree-shaded park, young women sit with infants in their arms.

As the visitor moves about, he notes the many garages and stables, some functioning as intended, others used as official warehouses, clubrooms, workshops, and even classrooms. Three-story, solid, stone buildings, streaked with green and buff camouflage, bear signs in Yiddish and English: "Herzl House," "Weizmann House," "Roosevelt House," "Balfour House," etc. These are the living quarters. Escorted by the "House Elder," a Jewish worker responsible for maintenance, sanitation, and distribution of firewood in each house, the visitor looks into the rooms. Most are very large, and he remembers that these buildings were designed as barracks. The single beds are built of new, but unpainted, slats. Bumpy, straw-filled burlap sacks serve as mattresses, and are covered by United States Army blankets.

The visitor is taken aback by the number of beds in each room, and he is told that Army regulation allocates 36 square feet per individual, a standard he knows may be adequate for troop dormitories, but not for family living-quarters. In a room of about 450 square feet, he counts 16 beds instead of the 12 required by regulation. The House Elder explains that with some doubling up in the beds, there are actually 20 occupants in the room, and adds that although the camp is badly overcrowded, it was at one time last winter considerably worse. The impossibility of privacy is emphasized by the pathetic attempts of neighboring couples to place their high wooden clothes-lockers in such a way that, with a blanket strung on a rope, each has a tiny cubicle shut off from the eyes, at least, of the others. Into this recess is generally squeezed a small table and a few chairs for entertaining friends.

Chatting with occupants, the visitor is told that such overcrowding is a constant irritation, depriving one not only of privacy, but of self-respect as well. "A man," says one, "cannot always live in a crowd. In the concentration camp we also lived . . . and died . . . in a crowd." The overcrowding is to some extent voluntary, built up over the months by the arrival of long-separated kin, friends, and *landsleit*. With what may be called the "psychology of the lifeboat," refugee-newcomers are often accepted and squeezed in somehow, despite orders to the contrary.

Such overcrowding would be accepted as the inescapable condition of a people in flight except for one factor vehemently stressed by every occupant: "We don't mind overcrowding itself. But while we are crowded into barracks, twenty or thirty to a room, the Germans and even Nazi party-members in town are living in their own homes. Why can't we be assigned the houses in town until we leave, and have the Germans live in this camp they built for their own sons?" It was the same thought that led one Jewish leader to say: "It is better today to be a conquered German than a 'liberated' Jew."

Family cooking being impossible in barracks rooms, food is served in three large mess-halls, one of which is kosher. Emphatic comments are made about the quantity of food, which is calorically the minimum necessary for bodily activity, but is both physically and psychologically inadequate for people with a history of long starvation.

The strongest language is reserved for the deadly monotony of the diet, which has deteriorated steadily for the past year, until now all fresh foods—meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit—have been supplanted by a starchy diet of bread, potatoes, ersatz coffee, lentils, dehydrated vegetables, and a few shreds of Spam. The deficiencies in vitamins and in such essential elements as proteins, carbohydrates, and fats make for a grossly unbalanced diet, especially for growing, seriously stunted children and adolescents.

It is pointed out, further, that while the Germans officially get somewhat less food, the rich agricultural neighborhood insures that "unofficial" food sources are available to them. And even the official German ration provides a variety of fresh foods. Certainly, to the eye of the observer in the Bavarian

area, the Germans still give the appearance of being the best fed people in Europe.

And there is another factor. "This is the bitter bread of charity," one Jew said. "When will I again be able to buy my own bread and say to myself, 'I am a man again like all men. I am free—I earn my own bread!' We want nothing from the American government, or from the American Jews, generous as they have tried to be. Like you Americans, we want to help ourselves. This feeding makes us feel like prisoners and slaves."

It is apparent that the conditions of camp existence weigh heavily upon these stranded Jews. Yet, looked at another way, there is reassurance in this very fact, for it indicates how far they are from being reconciled to the dependent status of wards.

IMMEDIATELY after liberation and physical recovery, these Jews began the painful reconstruction of their lives. Destitute of family in most cases, the first step in the process was the establishment by each of a special patchwork type of kinship group. Incorporated in it, generally, are the few surviving distant kin, former *landsleit*, and, above all, concentration-camp "brothers." These relationships are so close and intense that they often provide administrative difficulties when overcrowding requires the redistribution of a group to other rooms or, worse, to other camps. These bonds combine characteristics of the strong Jewish family structure and the "blood-brotherhood" of the "buddies" relationships among American combat soldiers.

The next major step is the establishment of the family by marriage, early among the single people, relatively late among the widowed. Despite disheartening living conditions, children often follow quickly. Even for a population predominantly young adult, the birth rate is extraordinarily high. This does not reflect lack of knowledge about birth control. Rather, it can be explained by two factors: children are needed as pillars of a normal life; and the traditional high valuation placed upon children among Jews as a foundation for group survival has been still further heightened by the slaughter of almost an entire generation of Jewish children.

Perhaps only second in importance to the

re-establishment of kin and family groups is the recovery of productive work-skills. Since postwar Germany provides no appropriate economic framework for learning and practicing occupations, and, even if it did, the former victims of that economy would have nothing to do with it, the only alternative was to create an economic system in each camp. Despite persistent difficulties, such systems have slowly been built up. Since this aspect of Jewish camp life has been the particular focus of misunderstanding, it is necessary to clarify it in some detail.

Two facts must first be emphasized. First, work is voluntary in the Jewish camps—a humane policy, in view of the number of ailing and unemployable. Second, material incentives for work, beyond somewhat larger rations of food and amenities (cigarettes, soap, etc.), are not available. Despite the fact that there is little difference in the living conditions of worker and non-worker, and work is exclusively on a volunteer basis, there are in the Landsberg camp, for example, over 2,000 regular workers and young work-trainees in a population of 3,500 males of all ages.

What do they do? Within the camp proper, they prepare, cook, and serve meals to 5,500 people daily. They clean the streets, load and haul away refuse. They chop wood in the forest, haul, store, and distribute it for use in room-stoves. They repair plumbing and wiring, paint rooms, and construct new communal facilities. They haul supplies from distant cities, store them and distribute them. They man the camp's police, fire, and sanitary-inspection departments. They teach in the schools. They staff, nurse, and assist in the camp's out-patient and dental clinics, and in the model 200-bed hospital that they themselves set up in an empty barracks building. They drive and repair the camp's trucks and ambulances. They operate the camp post-office and numerous recreational facilities. They employ their skills in the camp's system of workshops—repairing furniture, shoes, and clothes, barbering, printing, painting signs, sewing women's house-dresses and men's caps. Finally, they perform clerical and supervisory functions in the camp's complex administrative apparatus.

All the services indispensable to maintenance of the life, health, order, and welfare of any normal town are performed exclu-

sively by camp residents, not merely because it is expected of them or out of necessity, but out of a sense of personal, social responsibility, a moral regard for work, and the normal drive to develop one's skills and talents for a better future. Camp facilities, in fact, are never sufficiently extensive to absorb all who desire work. In Landsberg, there are waiting-lists of those who have registered for employment of various types, but for whom there are no suitable places or equipment. If the machinery and materials could be secured, hundreds more could be employed in productive work. Indeed, plans are now maturing to secure equipment and raw materials for the establishment of factories in Jewish camps to employ thousands of skilled craftsmen.

How account, then, for the reports that have created in some quarters the false stereotype of the displaced Jews as drones? First of all, a camp economy such as Landsberg's is necessarily the result of protracted and dogged procurement and scrounging. A work program is impossible without equipment and materials, which are as difficult to secure in Germany as gold itself. It is not done in a day or a month.

A routine example of the obstacles involved and the efforts necessary to overcome them is provided by one Landsberg experience. The leaders decided that the entrance to the camp was unsightly and unworthy, and prepared plans for the handsome memorial wall and pylons previously described. The camp construction department, to which the plans were given for execution, had no bricks on hand, nor could any be secured because of German priority. Therefore, the brick lean-to's that protected the entrances to the camp's air-raid shelters were carefully dismantled. But to remove the encrusted cement from the bricks, a special type of tool was required. Again, such tools were not at hand or procurable—German priority. The camp machine-shop was asked to make them. But the salvaged metals on hand required, for this special purpose, forging with coke. And coke was not to be had. Nevertheless, after considerable search, the small amount necessary was procured, the tools were made, the bricks were prepared, and the memorial wall was built—after months of unflagging effort.

The steady growth of the Jewish population in Germany has necessitated the regular opening of new camps. New camps, given the barriers to the acquisition of necessary equipment, have always had a high proportion of idle hands.

A visitor pressed for time, or perhaps selecting evidence to prove a thesis, can look into a new camp briefly, find many people not at work, and draw the erroneous conclusion that they will not work. And even a fair-minded visitor cannot see the full magnitude of a camp's work activity, given the wide dispersal of workers within and without the camp locale. To my knowledge, there has yet to appear a newspaper or official report that does even partial justice to the large-scale and indispensable work going on as a routine part of life in the established camps.

Also contributing to the stereotype of the displaced Jew is the sensational newspaper treatment of black marketing in the camps. There is no denying that such activities exist. But it is a matter of elementary fairness to set the phenomenon in proper perspective. In the first place, no controlled, rationed economy operating under acute shortages of necessities has ever been free of clandestine trade. Nor are any elements now in occupied Germany immune to the temptations it offers. However, for the sake of completeness, it should be pointed out that among all elements so engaged, the displaced Jews, being largely destitute, have least to contribute to the commodities that are the traffic of the market. If all the displaced persons in Germany were resettled tomorrow, the traffic would be diminished in no important way.

In the Jewish camps, there are those who are actively and usefully employed, those who are waiting for work opportunities to open, those who, for physical reasons, are unemployable, and those who in varying degrees are involved in what is known as "speculation" or "trading." The last group requires understanding also. Left destitute materially, and warped psychologically, they have not been able to resist the temptation present on every hand to recover part of the capital stripped from them by Nazi Germany. But it is a testimony to the moral backbone of the displaced Jewish population as a whole that this group remains a small

minority, against whom camp leaders and workers have waged a persistent campaign.

Seeing the picture in the large, one learns to appreciate how all-pervasively the spirit of self-help and stubborn make-do has bulwarked camp existence. Without it, the camps would have disintegrated into anarchic disorder instead of operating as the bustling and orderly communities they are. The working force has made work the warp and woof of camp community life.

INTO this fabric of communal life in the Jewish camps have been woven variegated and vigorous motifs of cultural activity. Landsberg has a pre-school kindergarten, and a compulsory elementary school for children between six and sixteen. It has a technical high school, with more than 700 students receiving professional training as carpenters, machinists, electricians, radio technicians, shoemakers, ceramic technicians, bricklayers, tinsmiths, chauffeurs and auto mechanics, dress cutters, seamstresses, milliners, farmers, nurses, and dental mechanics. This school is transforming a whole generation of unskilled Jewish young people into skilled craftsmen. Its graduates are taking places in the camp economy, and have even become instructors in the technical schools recently opened in the newer camps.

Landsberg also has an evening adult-education program organized as a "People's University," with courses in history, literature, geography, elementary science, Hebrew, and English. Students number almost 500. Completing the camp's educational system is a yeshiva, with approximately fifty students preparing for the rabbinate.

Landsberg's Chaim Bialik Library, named for the great Hebrew poet, occupies what was formerly the conference room of the Wehrmacht commandant. With its chandelier, high draped windows, huge fireplace, and comfortable furniture "rescued" from a ruined castle, it is the only really attractive room in the camp. Gracing its walls are restful landscapes, and portraits by camp artists of Bialik, Sholom Aleichem, and two more recent figures—Roosevelt and Eisenhower. On its shelves are 2,000 books secured largely through JDC's library-service program, and on loan to camp workers. The library draws on the average about 1,000 visitors weekly.

It can be said that Landsberg's educational program, created originally by the camp residents themselves, with later assistance from such organizations as JDC, ORT, and UNRRA, is the peer of any available in most ordinary towns of comparable size. Nor can the scale of the achievement be fully appreciated without knowledge of the prodigies performed to secure the most elementary essentials—books, paper, pencils, blackboards, not to speak of the heavy equipment necessary for the technical school. Another handicap has been the shortage of room space, which compels the use of garages and warehouse lofts as classrooms.

In religious life, Landsberg presents a picture of schism. The trend toward secularization in religious outlook was already well advanced among the pre-war youth of East European Jewry. The Nazi ordeal—surprisingly or not—appears to have reinforced that trend. As a result, the community is sharply split into non-religious and religious groups. The latter are extreme in their orthodoxy, and are organized in a congregation of approximately 1,500 people. Though it is a minority, the religious group, with an alert rabbinical and lay leadership, is aggressive in enforcing general observance of the Sabbath, holidays, and other religious regulations. The schism rests, for the most part, on questions of emphasis—upon the letter of the Law, upon ritual or faith, upon divine or folk tradition, and so on.

MORE important than outside Yiddish newspapers, which arrive four to five weeks after publication, are Landsberg's own camp newspapers, written and printed locally. The *Landsberger Lager-Caytung* is a semiweekly newspaper, somewhat larger than tabloid in size, of sixteen to forty-eight pages. It carries international, Palestinian, American, local, and DP news, of both general and specifically Jewish reference. It includes political commentaries, literary pieces, historical articles on the war period, pictures of camp life, essays on health and hygiene, and a page of "seeking kin" items. Except for a page in Hebrew covering Zionist and Palestinian matters, it is written in Yiddish, with most pages set in roman type because of the shortage of Yiddish type. Circulation, reaching most of the Jewish camps in the

United States zone, is over 15,000, and would be considerably larger if more paper were available. Visitors have agreed that in the quality of its writing and editing, and the range of its contents, it is the equal of Yiddish newspapers published in America and Palestine.

Supplementing the *Lager-Caytung* is a journalistic innovation, an outdoor daily "wall newspaper" called the *Landsberger Szpigel*. It consists of two huge bulletin boards, laid out in the format of an eight-column newspaper, consisting, in effect, of four pages. Into the columns are set photographic exhibits, large cartoons, and type-written camp news and radio "flash" bulletins.

Completing Landsberg's information service is its "radio station," a public-address system that twice daily broadcasts music, international news of Jewish significance monitored by radio, and camp announcements of special importance. Programs are prepared by the *Szpigel's* staff. All in all, by their own energy and ingenuity, Jewish camp residents keep themselves as well informed of world and local developments as the citizens of any metropolis. A Truman-Bevin conference in the White House or a United Nations debate on the International Refugee Organization is a matter of common knowledge and general discussion the day after.

Landsberg's recreational facilities include two indoor cafés and a decorative outdoor café, where couples dance to the music of small camp orchestras. An outdoor teagarden, under the shelter of trees, has been arranged for the older folk. Chess and ping-pong rooms draw many others. The camp *kino*, showing principally American films, gives two performances nightly to packed houses. On the rare occasions when a Yiddish film is shown, total attendance far exceeds the camp population, because many see the film more than once.

Landsberg's strikingly attractive 1,300-seat theater was converted from a huge, bare Wehrmacht parade-hall. The balcony and stage, of standard dimensions, were built from lumber secured by tearing down a cavalry stable. The reflectors in the footlights were hammered out of discarded tin cans, the lighting contrived from German army equipment, the curtain sewn together

from old stock and dyed maroon, the proscenium decorated by camp artists. Here the camp's drama group stages its periodic productions. Here the camp's orchestra and chorus, as well as visiting artists and musical ensembles, have given concerts. Here, also, are held general meetings, lectures, and all-zone Jewish conventions. The *Bet Yichud* (House for All), as it is called, is in the fullest sense a communal cultural center, in use almost every night of the week.

The keystone of the camp's recreational framework is its athletics program. In addition to athletic activities for children on all school levels, there are first and second adult teams in soccer, basketball, volley ball, boxing, swimming, track, and gymnastics. Centers for these activities are two sports fields and an ex-parade-hall gymnasium. All these teams compete in the Jewish camp leagues in the zone, and occasionally engage Jewish teams from the British zone as well as local American Army teams. The games are the focus of intense community spirit and draw thousands of spectators.

THE whole complex camp administrative system is headed by an executive body known as the Camp Committee, which is elected by the vote of all residents over the age of eighteen and is the prime force in the community structure. In the regular elections for a camp committee like Landsberg's, three principal political parties, all Zionist in orientation, contest for the places. On the Right, and least influential, is the Revisionist party. In the Center is the Unity party of Social-Democrats, with which the religious group is generally leagued. And on the Left (but definitely not Communist) is the Labor or Progressive party. In Landsberg, as in most Jewish camps, the committee has generally been a coalition with the centrist party predominating. Ideological differences, which reflect the politics of the Palestinian community, have generally been secondary to personalities in determining the results of an election. Campaigns are always spirited, with mass meetings, posters, and leaflets, and reach at their close a high pitch of partisanship. The right to democratic representation is one that the displaced Jews accept with pride and seriousness.

Around each of the political parties is clustered a complex of unofficial associations,

voluntary organizations that have significant functions in camp social life. The most important of these are the *kibbutzim*, pioneer youth organizations composed largely of orphans, and patterned after the cooperative agricultural settlements in Palestine. Each *kibbutz* has its own quarters in the camp, and its own mess, and operates under a scheduled regimen combining schooling and assigned work. The leaders of the *kibbutzim* are themselves young people out of the concentration camps, who serve, in effect, as fathers and mothers to groups of children and adolescents ranging in number from 50 to 250.

These youngsters have for years been without parental influence or schooling of any kind. They are stunted three to four years in physical growth, wise beyond their years, though often illiterate, precocious in some psychological respects and retarded in others, especially in social discipline. The close fraternal bonds of the *kibbutz* group, and the firm hand of its leaders, are slowly restoring them to normal, as perhaps no other kind of organization could do. (The various *kibbutzim* have swept up and recovered thousands of orphaned children from all corners of the Continent, from peasant homes, monasteries, city streets, and forests.)

To facilitate the processes of re-education, the *kibbutzim* have adopted boy-scout methods. Marching, with their distinctive khaki shorts and white shirts, their Jewish and *kibbutz* flags, and their spirited singing, they are one of the most colorful of camp sights. And by their discipline, high morality, and morale, they act as a steadying influence on the adults.

In Landsberg, there are eight *kibbutz* groups with a total membership of approximately 800. Three of these groups are quartered outside the camp on farm installations, where they are trained in agricultural and allied crafts for pioneer life in Palestine.

A POLL early in 1946 revealed that approximately 15 per cent of the Landsberg population listed the United States as their first choice for a place of resettlement, with the primary motive, understandably, reunion with kin. Since that time, there are indications that the proportion has grown somewhat, a trend halted only by the dis-

couraging fact that President Truman's directive to facilitate DP immigration to the United States is plainly not being implemented.

In the same poll, approximately 80 per cent declared Palestine as their resettlement choice. Those in this group had during their final weeks in the concentration camps nursed dreams of migration to Palestine immediately after liberation. Detention in Germany—in camps, again—was their first blow. President Truman's statement in August 1945 recommending admission of 100,000 displaced Jews to Palestine renewed their hopes of an early release. Nine months more of growing impatience and perplexity went by as the British continued to block immigration, until in May 1946 the Report of the Anglo-American Committee seemed sure evidence that deliverance was near. Now, nearly two years after liberation, they see their fate still in the balance.

These long months, as this account has indicated, have been turned to remarkably constructive use. Almost every aspect of the community system they have built is the result of a determination to undo the past and build for the future. One of the inscriptions on Landsberg's memorial wall reads: *The Landsberg Jewish Center is the corridor where we work and learn in preparation for the blessed day when we shall march through this gateway to our promised land—Eretz Yisrael.*

Before the war, Palestine was a personal goal for relatively few of the displaced Jews. The war was the catalyst for conversion. As one Landsberger expressed it: "We Jews in Galut have always been insecure. But we never suspected the potentialities of that insecurity until we saw them written out in the blood and ashes of our wives, children, and brothers. We have learned the lesson. We want no more of Galut."

These Jewish survivors cannot forget the slaughter and their complete helplessness against it. They feel that only in the Jewish homeland will they find the security and the strength to insure against a repetition. With its elementary survival value, therefore, Palestine has become a *sine qua non*, an irresistible goal. But blocking their way to that goal stands a still immovable obstacle. This produces what experimental psychologists often call "a classical frustration situation."

In compensation, the displaced Jews in the camps have poured their newly released energies into the reconstruction of their personal and social lives for "the blessed day" when they will depart for their goal. As time passes and the obstacle seems to grow and the goal to recede, these energies begin to shift themselves and hammer at the obstacle. As a result, since this summer in particular, frustration in the Jewish camps has been accumulating apace, intensified by the collapse of the promises held out by the seemingly definitive Anglo-American Committee Report.

To a psychologist, the camp's communal and cultural institutions came to be seen as a kind of behavioral facade, behind which ran progressively deepening currents of bewilderment, depression, despair, and fear of abandonment to a limbo existence as "stateless, homeless, rejected living-dead in this bloody graveyard." The anxious question asked repeatedly was: "What will become of us?" As a result of this blockage, some are now willing to accept migration "anywhere—as long as it's out of Germany and Europe." The final stages in the frustration experiments of psychologists are random flight followed by breakdown.

SUCH currents must be seen against the background of one more set of facts, namely, the deep psychic damage suffered as the result of experiences in the concentration camps and Nazi ghettos. The symptoms form a constellation almost identical with that prevalent among combat soldiers and labeled "combat fatigue" by American military psychiatrists, but also generally referred to as "war shock."

Among the symptoms found in varying degrees of intensity and somewhat different individual combinations in both displaced Jews and disabled American combat personnel are: excessive perspiration of face and extremities; disturbed sleep—insomnia, somnambulism, nightmare; impaired memory—partial or total amnesia for extreme events and periods of the war, and occasional defective recall of recent events; reduced capacity for mental concentration and application; irritability, sensitivity, restlessness, and impatience—necessity for action and movement; spells of depression and withdrawal.

The genesis of this condition among dis-

placed Jews and disabled soldiers is fundamentally the same: repeated exposure to catastrophic danger in situations of individual helplessness that induce overwhelming anxiety and nervous shock. Further, as one medical authority states, the appearance of war shock "in most cases does *not* occur under the *sudden* impact of *one* catastrophic accident, but after the protracted accumulation of traumatic influences—certainly, physical and emotional exhaustion are predisposing factors for a soldier's breakdown in war."

Concentration-camp prisoners were far more defenseless against SS brutality than American bomber crews against German interception. After enough "close calls," the normal individual in either case might find his nervous system disabled by traumatic "overloading." Although the surviving Jews were exposed to situations of mortal danger for a far longer period, and had fewer channels of response to it than had combat personnel, the precipitating incident for the latter was often more explosive. This may account for my observation that while the incidence of war shock was far higher among Jewish survivors than among American combat personnel, the shock condition on the whole reached a less acute stage in the Jewish survivors than among the combat men. I must stress the fact that this observation refers to the *surviving* Jews, because it is not improbable that prisoners in more advanced stages of nervous shock were summarily executed. It may be presumed, therefore, that only the sturdiest individuals could have survived.

In the Jewish and military war-shock groups, symptoms and precipitating factors were similar. Similar therapy, therefore, would be indicated for cases in comparable stages of severity. While the details of the American Army's therapeutic program for the milder cases need not be elaborated here, its underlying principle is relevant and may be stated, somewhat simplified, in the following terms: provision of a normal, sympathetic environment, free of strain and anxiety, which allows the individual's own resources free rein to effect recuperation.

How does this principle apply to the Jews in the DP camps? Their community creation, on the one hand, is an excellent

example of recuperative resources in action, and the community institutions have secondarily provided the social framework for further self-help and self-cure activities. On the other hand, for all the communal facade, their situation remains abnormal, laden with a heavy weight of anxieties and strains from six distinct sources:

1. These people are largely middle-class in background, and they share the American middle-class attitude toward charity as a form of parasitism. Their dependent status injures their self-respect and accentuates their depressive and anxiety tendencies.

2. Their subsistence is considerably below their needs, giving rise to constant insecurity, irritation, and a feeling of deprivation and degradation.

3. The example of those who profit conspicuously by illegal trade, set against their own acute physical needs, induces conflicts that drain their stamina and undermine their resolve.

4. They are enclaved among the Germans, whom they hold collectively responsible for Nazism and regard, with some reason, as still Nazi-minded; their underlying apprehensions about the Germans are revealed in the remark: "if the Americans were to leave today, we would all be dead by morning." Also, they have seen that in the eyes of American military personnel their status as "camp inmates" has fallen lower, while that of the Germans has been rising rapidly and ominously; the Meader Report to the Senate War Investigating Committee, with its reckless use of hearsay and impressions, was a particularly cruel and devastating climax to this trend.

5. They are haunted by the feeling that their time is running out, that the waste in their lives continues without end. "The war broke our lives in 1939, and now seven years later the war is still not over for us alone. 'How long, oh Lord, how long?'"

6. Their drive to get to Palestine or the United States, into a congenial environment where they might find security and peace to effect their self-cure, has been blocked for almost two years. Together with this frustration, their uncertainties and fears for the future have been proliferating.

All six factors in combination grind away slowly and inexorably on even the strongest characters. Under such abnormal circum-

stances, even psychologically healthy people would in time be worn down. But these are people still suffering in varying degrees from war shock, and their anxieties and tensions, instead of being lightened to allow self-recovery, have been heavily exacerbated and multiplied. As a result, their psychic wounds are not only not being healed, but are actually being aggravated. The camp communal organizations have been a vital counterforce without which there would have been mass psychological disintegration, but they obviously constitute a structure built upon an environmental morass. It has slowed, but not reversed or even halted the pressures upon the processes of deterioration. There is evidence suggesting a prognosis of acceleration in these processes. After fourteen months without a single nervous breakdown in Landsberg, three occurred in rapid succession during my last two weeks in the camp. Since that time, there has been a report, which I have been unable to verify as yet, of a wave of suicides in the Jewish camps.

Speedy resettlement of the displaced Jews is thus not merely a matter of justice for allies who have suffered most at the hands of the common enemy, and who morally deserve far better at our own hands than detention in former German military camps. More important, only such resettlement will save these people from further irreparable injury, blight, and disaster.*

In my opinion, to allow the present slow rot of the DP camps—against which their inmates are increasingly defenseless—to continue its course is to be accessory to a form of genocide. The DP camps are destroying the extraordinary capacities of these people for psychic recovery much as the concentration camps destroyed their bodies. By obstructing their removal and resettlement, the Western democracies will be committing, more slowly but *against the same people*, the substance of the crime that at Nuremberg they pinned with overwhelming detail of evidence on the perverted master-architects of Nazism.

The displaced Jews themselves are clear

* "It is plain that to continue indefinitely to support [the displaced persons] camps is not a solution of the problem and is, in fact, an injury to [the displaced persons]."—From the statement of the Catholic Bishops of the United States on *Man and the Peace*.

about the alternatives. As one of them said to me in bidding me farewell: "Tell our American and English friends that if we are not freed from here soon, they might as well start re-stoking the crematoria for us!"

IF THIS crime is not to be consummated, there must be an immediate, aroused call to forthright action. What practical lines should such action follow?

Although the needs of the displaced Jews are the most acute, the problem embraces all displaced persons. The solution must accordingly be framed inclusively, although with due regard for the special requirements of the Jews.

At this remove from V-E Day, it is highly improbable that voluntary repatriation to any significant degree will still occur. Since the throwing of the displaced persons upon the German economy is also ruled out on fundamental moral grounds, the only remaining alternative is *resettlement for all*.

Resettlement of 1,000,000 people a year was no problem in the free immigration period before World War I. With the present almost universal restrictions to immigration, it is a political problem only, although one of international dimensions. To expect the various nations unilaterally to admit displaced persons in adequate numbers is to be unrealistic to an extreme. So dark is the outlook, indeed, that the *New York Times* could recently report under a Lake Success date line: "No solution of the problem except providing for a considerable part of the refugees and DP's for the rest of their lives, is seen by competent sources. Whether the refugee camps established by UNRRA will be continued for another generation is an unsolved question." This statement reflects a crass, callous, and imaginatively paralyzed acceptance of the displaced persons as life-long, institutionalized pauper-pariahs.

To be sure, temporary liberalization of immigration quotas on the part of the United States has been urged by President Truman and many others, both to offer a small contribution to the solution and to "lead the way for other countries." But, at the time of writing, all signs indicate it will be touch-and-go whether Congress approves the proposal. And even should Congress approve, there is no certainty that other countries will follow. Therefore, unless the attempt to

solve the problem is to be abandoned altogether, the remaining alternative is to treat it as the international problem that it is, by the established methods of international conference.

Since the International Refugee Organization lacks the necessary authority, the United Nations should hold a resettlement conference to which would be called all nations economically and culturally capable of absorbing DP immigrants. All the countries of Western Europe, the Middle East, the British Commonwealth, and North and South America, would be included.

This conference would seek an agreement establishing the proportion of the total DP population each nation would accept, which should be determined by such national differentials as population, area, and economic capacity. The quota fixed for each nation could be received over a period of twenty-four to thirty-six months. Thus, the DP population would be spread equitably without burden on any one country. The increments would average approximately one-fifth of one percent (.002) of the present population of each country. The IRO would assume full responsibility for execution of the mass migration and would bear the costs of transportation and, where necessary, of settlement. It is obvious that such costs would be no more than a fraction of those involved in indefinite international maintenance of the DP camps.

THE following selective principles and priorities might be applied in organizing the migration:

1. Palestine to accept 100,000 Jews from the camps, to be followed by the 45,000 Jewish orphans on the continent, but not in camps.

2. The remaining 175,000 refugee Jews to be absorbed as 17.5 per cent of the quota of each sharing nation.

3. The DP's of other nationalities to be similarly represented in the quota of each sharing nation in a proportion equivalent to that of each DP nationality in the total DP population. Thus Poles, who number ap-

proximately 400,000 of the total DP population of 1,000,000, would constitute 40 per cent of the quota of each receiving country.

4. Preferences of individual displaced persons as to countries of choice for resettlement to be respected so far as is possible within the quotas set. Should a country be "over-subscribed" by a given DP nationality, then those DP's with kin in that country would receive first priority, and concentration-camp victims second.

5. All DP immigrants to be accorded United Nations citizenship and passports. Thereby, those who migrate to countries other than their choice would be free subsequently to re-emigrate upon acceptance by country of choice.

6. Priority for order of migration to be accorded concentration-camp victims, regardless of creed, and persecutees.

Only by concerted international action along such general lines can there be hope of quickly relieving the displaced persons from the doom of a life sentence in the camps, and of lifting a heavy weight of guilt from the world's conscience.

The injustice of the enforced detention of 1,000,000 war victims in the displaced-persons camps continues not by intent but by international default arising from the inertia of individual nations. National inertia, in turn, derives from the inertia of individual citizens. Ultimate responsibility, therefore, rests squarely upon each of us.

If belated justice is to be done, it must be initiated by each of us implementing our good will with the actions that are both the privilege and the duty of alert and free citizens. We need only speak out to our government, calling for international action on behalf of the oppressed. Established channels for such expressions are civic and religious organizations, and communications to the President and to our senators and congressional representatives. An aroused and articulate public opinion will not be denied.

A million human lives are at stake. Also at stake are our own professed humane and democratic standards.

The Second Exodus of the Jews

By SAMUEL LUBELL

\$10.50 will give some
starved child one month of
food, shelter and clothing.
HOW MANY months will you
take care of a poor, starving,
homeless child?

An Important Analysis of the Plight of the Jews of Europe Today

Reprinted by the United Jewish Appeal
from THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

The Second Exodus of the Jews

By SAMUEL LUBELL

VIENNA.

THE most striking thing about the exodus of the Jews from Eastern Europe is that it is a movement of a people in dreadful and violent psychological upheaval. Wherever I have seen and talked with these migrants—in displaced-persons camps in Germany and Austria, within Poland and Czechoslovakia, along several of their underground escape routes—the violence of their emotions has been startling.

Although it is not easy to weather-map the storms that rage within the human breast, the basic explanation, I believe, is this:

For the Jews of Eastern Europe the Nazi gas chambers constituted a kind of grim, perverted Darwinism, psychologically and physically. Six years of systematic extermination—through a process that might be called “unnatural selection”—bred a strange pattern of tenacious survival. This must be understood if one is to comprehend fully the current violence in Palestine, the clashes—likely to grow more numerous—of Jews and American MPs in displaced-persons camps, and the explosive restlessness that is propelling the Jews out of Poland, Hungary and Rumania in numbers swelling daily.

I remember my surprise at the desperate beligerence of the first group of these refugees I encountered, in the UNRRA camp in the American sector of Berlin. A new synagogue was being dedicated. Jammed into a cramped barracks room and overflowing into the corridors, the wandering Jews roared their approval as speaker after speaker leaped up and shouted in Yiddish:

“We will quit Europe as once we left Egypt! Only by killing us all can we be kept from the land of Israel! Europe’s bloody ground shall never see us again!”

At first, the repetition of their cries seemed a defiant drumbeat to arms. Reflecting, though,

From the Kosher kitchens, maintained by American aid, along the busy underground railway from Poland to Palestine, a correspondent brings you the inside story of one of the strangest and most tragic mass movements in history.

one wondered whether this vehemence wasn’t really a mass panic pounding against a locked door. All these people had left Poland illegally, without permits. What if the emigration walls barring them from going farther failed to tumble before their Joshua-like trumpeting? Had they fled a land which, to them, was one vast cemetery, only to be trapped in the rubble of anti-Semitism that was Hitler’s Germany?

Their personal appearance was as bellicose as their chant. Thinking of their wartime ordeal, I expected to find many broken and dispirited—the sort of human jetsam ordinarily associated with the word “refugee.” Instead, the overwhelming majority were in the prime of life, vigorous and lusty, largely in the military-age bracket of sixteen to forty.

I remarked on this to the Jewish Army chaplain who had driven me to the camp.

The Army chaplain nodded bitterly and replied, “Only the toughest survived. Those who were too young or too old or too weak, the Nazis murdered. They let live only the ones who could work like beasts.”

The psychological results of the ruthless Darwinism of the crematoriums were even more pronounced than the physical, I discovered from talks with hundreds of Jews and people working with them. I cannot recall a man or a woman who survived the concentration “lagers” whose mentality was not profoundly altered.

This transformation is one major reason why Europe’s so-called “Jewish problem” differs radically today from before the war. It demonstrates why the current exodus presents an interesting parallel to the children of Israel’s wanderings in the wilderness. According to Hebrew folklore, one reason Moses is believed to have kept his followers in the wilderness for forty years was to enable a new and more militant generation to grow up—one with few memories of Egypt and no desire to return, one which would fight for the Promised Land. In some respects, that is the kind of generation Nazi persecution has produced—it toughened the bodies, hardened the hearts and sharpened the wits of the few who survived. These Jews are fleeing with a desperation to live that knows no normal restraints of patience or order—and certainly no frontiers.

A Trek That Recognizes No Barriers

Because the pattern of today’s exodus has been one of infiltration in small numbers over many months, neither the scale of the migration, nor the immensity of its human drama, nor the tragedy that may engulf it, seems generally understood. This illegal trek is far, far bigger than any resettlement scheme thus far proposed. By July, in Germany, Austria and Italy, more than 150,000 uprooted Jewish refugees were waiting—in the same belligerent dread as those I saw in Berlin—for the 100,000 certificates of immigration into Palestine recommended by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. Every day since,



A day—any day—at Bratislava, the busiest of the Koshers kitchens maintained by the American Joint Distribution Committee for Jews en route to Palestine on the underground railway. Fifty-seven such kitchens are operating.



Among the married women "there is almost universal pregnancy today." The extermination policies practiced by the Nazis seem to have intensified the refugees' urge to reproduce—and so survive.

more hundreds have slipped out of Poland, Hungary and Rumania.

During June at least 8,000 infiltrated into UNRRA camps in the American zone of Germany. Our area has been a lodestar for those in exodus, since it has been American policy to provide temporary food and housing to all "infiltrates." In July, following the brutal pogrom in Kielce, Poland, migrants stampeded to an estimated 20,000. To accommodate them, eleven new camps were hastily thrown open around Munich within ten days. By the time this article appears another 50,000 probably will have broken out from behind the iron curtain.

Those figures spotlight one explosive fact. Even if Palestine's gates swung wide tomorrow for 100,000 settlers, there still would remain at least another 100,000 who have severed themselves from the countries of their past and are clamoring to quit Europe. The Second Exodus is already a bigger movement than anyone contemplated. With UNRRA, which has been doing the housekeeping for the émigrés, about to go out of business and with no end to the exodus yet in sight, the magnitude of the dilemma is clear.

In Poland, of scores of Jews I talked with, including many just repatriated from Soviet Russia, exactly two intended to stay. All the others intended to leave by any means possible—with visas or illegally, in organized groups or on their own. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry calculated that 500,000 of 685,000 Jews surviving in Poland, Hungary and Rumania wanted to migrate. By now, that estimate is low, according to Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, who as European director of the American Joint Distribution Committee has perhaps a better insight into the feelings of Europe's Jews than any other person.

"The problem is not one of a hundred thousand persons," he insisted one evening in Paris, "but of five or six times that number."

Should that prediction prove accurate, the figure would come close to the Exodus from Egypt. The Bible puts the number Moses led out of Pharaoh's bondage at 600,000. This, incidentally, is also the current Hebrew population in Palestine.

How many eventually will come out is likely to depend on how many are permitted to—and on the desperation with which these migrants batter themselves against barriers which are set up. Wor-

ried over the crowding into our occupation zone, Army authorities have been pressuring Washington to close our zonal frontiers. Various Jewish organizations have been fighting to keep the channels open, at least until the terror stirred by the Kielce pogrom relaxes. To ease the pressure, they have been appealing, with some success, to France to permit greater numbers of infiltrates over coming months. The British have patrols across their occupation zones in Germany and Austria and Trieste to block movements to the Italian and Yugoslavian coasts, major embarkation points for illegal voyages to the Holy Land. They also have protested to Russia and Rumania against Palestine-bound ships leaving Rumanian ports.

Power politics probably plays a role. These migrations originate in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe. Doubtless neither the Russians nor their satellites are losing sleep over the resulting pressure upon the British in Palestine. But it would be far-fetched to suspect a Soviet plot. From all I have seen, the Russians have simply taken a what-do-we-care attitude, permitting the exodus to roll on.

No one knows how many Jews are on the move in Europe on any one day. Doctor Schwartz's best guess on a daily average this summer was 3,500. Some travel in tightly disciplined bands supervised by several Zionist bodies in one of the greatest underground-railway operations in history. Others collect by twos and threes at certain spots—locations are common grapevine knowledge—where "guides" escort them across. Still others cross borders on their own—hot human lava erupting spontaneously.

One hears astonishing stories of personal adventure. There was the twelve-year-old Polish girl who smuggled herself into Czechoslovakia unaided, clutching a four-year-old in her arms. Then there was the discharged UNRRA employee who tried to play Moses. Flashing a variety of UNRRA credentials, he commandeered a Polish train, loaded it with Jews from a repatriation camp and had them shunted to the border. There he disappeared into some convenient bulrushes while confusion reigned. UNRRA and Jewish-organization representatives finally got the train across the frontier.

In Breslau, once in German Silesia but now part of Poland, I found Jews registering as "Germans," so they could be expelled by the Polish Government, clearing the region of "racial Germans." One trainload of 1,500 "racial Germans" which I saw pull out for the British zone of Germany had a majority of Jews on it. Another complication that has meant freedom for thousands has been the Polish-Czech dispute over Teschen. Anticipating a plebiscite to decide the nationality of this area, the Polish Government encourages Jews to settle there. The Czechs, eager to drain Teschen of Poles, have been inviting the Jews to come south. Reception centers were set up on the Czech side of the frontier. From there the Jews were moved, often by special trains, to Bratislava on the Austrian border. This route was running smoothly when the Kielce pogrom stampeded thousands through it.

How are those on the move fed? The manna is provided principally through the American Joint Distribution Committee, with an indirection typical of the entire exodus. The committee scrupulously avoids being involved in the physical passover of Jews from country to country. Its representatives say frankly, "The less we know about it the better." However, throughout Europe the committee finances Kosher kitchens. Any Jew showing up at them is fed free, no questions asked. In Czechoslovakia, across which most Polish Jews travel, fifty-seven such kitchens are operating.

The busiest one is at Bratislava, junction for the Czech, Hungarian and Austrian borders, and the crossroads for migrations south from Poland and west out of the Balkans. The morning my wife and I arrived we were told the Hungarian frontier was shut tight. Still, that evening, on visiting the Kosher kitchen, we found eight youngsters—including three girls—who had come through. They were from Budapest—that much they admitted. As to how they had eluded or bribed the patrol, or when they would move on again, they were as mum as carefully coached clams.

Ranging from sixteen to eighteen, they were typical of the youth recruited by Zionist groups, who have an understandable preference for young



"Back home," I thought, "kids this age might be scheming to get Frank Sinatra's autograph." Mr. Lubell found the refugee children old beyond their years, almost all cruelly stunted in growth.

people. They had a half-young, half-old appearance, as if their childhood had been suddenly frozen. Their suspicious eyes, which never ceased hopping while we talked, had seen their parents marched into the gas ovens at infamous Auschwitz. The Nazi labor battalions for which these youngsters had been spared had left a cruel evolutionary twist to their bodies. Their physical frames were small, stunted in growth, but within the frames hung muscles overdeveloped by premature labor. On their arms and backs they showed us their concentration camp numbers tattooed in blue ink. The baby of the group was fifteen. He had been twelve when herded into Auschwitz. Children that young, as a rule, were done away with. He had lied about his age, he explained, and, being tall for his years, got away with his life.

Back home, I thought, kids this age might be scheming how to get Frank Sinatra's autograph. These gas-chamber bobby-soxers would probably be slipping across the Austrian border tomorrow night, crossing the Alps into Italy a few days later, boarding an overloaded corvette for the Holy Land in several weeks and, on landing, they prob-

ably would be arrested and thrust behind barbed wire in some detention camp. Few illegal immigrants escape arrest. What really restricts this human smuggling is the seizure of the ships. Since few vessels make more than one voyage, the cost of the operation is prohibitive.

With so few reaching their goal, and only after hazardous journeys, one might expect the movement to dwindle instead of swelling steadily. Is it because it is so "well organized," as has been reported? My own feeling is that it is less a matter of organization than of psychology.

In fact, this summer the exodus burst the bounds of its "organization." For example, the movement of refugees through Austria had been stabilized since winter, with the numbers entering and leaving balanced to maintain a permanent camp population of between 5,000 and 6,000. This "balanced budget" was largely the result of a tacit understanding between Gen. Mark Clark's staff and leaders of the underground railway, former members of the Jewish brigade who fought in Italy. General Clark's staff wanted to keep the movement orderly and humane by channeling it through fixed routes. The underground leaders

undertook to maintain strict military discipline over the migrating bands, channeling all through the collecting station at Rothschild Hospital in Vienna, regularizing the flow, and diverting "strays"—that is, unorganized refugees—directly into Germany.

The agreement worked perfectly, an American officer assured me, until May, when Jews in flight increased. By June, when 6,600 were tallied coming through Vienna, the "budget" was thrown well out of balance. By July it was beyond anyone's control.

The exodus is not "organized" in the sense of being recruited or instigated. No prodding is needed. The Jews are driving themselves out of Poland as if obsessed. You have only to see what's left of the Warsaw ghetto to realize how impossible it is for the 175,000 or so Jews in Poland to find mental peace there.

WITH A GUIDE who had known the ghetto when alive, my wife and I drove there one afternoon. We stopped in what had once been a busy city street, but now was a dusty lane, flanked on both sides by mounds of debris. Climbing one of the rubble heaps, we looked out at what must be the most appalling ruin in the world. It was indescribably sickening. From where we stood, for perhaps a mile around, there was nothing—nothing but a desert with dunes of rubble. In what had been a congested city within a city, housing a quarter of a million persons, with theaters, shops, synagogues, hospitals and schools, we could not see a single part of a building, or a single wall. Of 85,000 persons in the ghetto during its final tragic days, 83,000 perished. How many times—in what fury of thoroughness—must the Germans have wheeled their planes and tanks, reworking over these ruins to make certain nothing escaped, that no beam of wood eluded their torches, no girder stood intact as a marker. Could any Jew in Poland ever look out on this and feel secure?

Down one ghetto street we met two walking figures. They were Jews, repatriated two weeks before from Soviet Russia, where they had been for seven years, through the war.

"I am the only one in my whole family of fifty

who survived," the younger man told us. He was twenty-eight. Warsaw was not his home, but he had come to see the ghetto with his own eyes, not believing the tales he had heard about its destruction. "It is worse," he acknowledged morbidly. "I didn't believe it possible."

His friend lifted his cap, pointed to his gray hair and smiled feebly. "How old do you think me? I look like an old man! I am only thirty-eight. My mother and father lived in one of those houses," he went on lifelessly, pointing to several near-by debris heaps. "They may be lying under there. The last I heard, they were in the ghetto when the Germans came to destroy it."

Both said they could have remained in Russia had they wished. I asked why they hadn't. The younger replied, "The Russians saved my life. Let us say no more about them."

Did they intend to stay in Poland? They quickly shook their heads and gestured, "With this?"

"The government is all right," conceded the young one. "But the Polish people always have been anti-Semitic, and still are."

We offered them a lift to town. The younger man climbed in, but his friend shook his head sadly. "I want to stay a little longer." Glancing back as we drove off, we saw his tragic, shabby figure against the ruins, poking among the dumps of rubble, still trying to figure which was the house he had been born in and under which his parents might be lying.

That night at dinner, when we told another Jew about this encounter, he nodded ruefully, and said, "I went to a funeral this afternoon. A friend's wife died. We all envied him."

"His wife died and you envied him?" I exclaimed.

"Oh, yes," he sighed. "My friend is a lucky man. He knows where his wife is buried. None of us do."

Of every thirty Jews in prewar Poland, twenty-five to twenty-seven perished—exact figures aren't possible because no one knows how many are still living, disguised as gentiles. A whole family, in the sense of a husband, wife and children who survived, is a miracle—this is true for Czechoslovakia and Hungary also. The committee rep-

resentative in Bratislava, Philip Ruby, told us of attending the reopening of a synagogue. A prayer of Kaddish was to be said for the dead. As is the custom, all with parents still alive were asked to leave the room. "I was the only one in the whole, crowded synagogue who got up and walked out," Ruby said.

This has been one of the most powerful migration incentives, a deep homing instinct to join some relative with whom émigrés can feel kinship. Many find it unbearable to dwell again where they once lived with loved ones. A waiter in Breslau had come from Cracow. Not knowing he was Jewish, I asked why he hadn't stayed there—it was one Polish city which escaped devastation.

"How could I when every stone in the street is covered with blood?" he demanded angrily. "I am the last of my family." He was quitting Poland soon.

Another newcomer to Breslau was running a grocery, renting the fixtures from the city government, which had appropriated them from the former German owner. Why didn't he buy the fixtures and save the rent, I asked.

He shrugged. "Who knows how long I will stay?"

EVERY JEW I met in Poland was organized for flight, his belongings converted into transportable dollars, gold or jewelry. Many operate little businesses on a fly-by-month basis, waiting for relatives abroad to get them visas for some foreign country. Lately, hopes for visas have been fading because of the huge backlogs of applications. The annual Polish quota into the United States is only 6,500 for Polish citizens all over the world. Jews here constantly debate whether they should wait to hit the visa jackpot or get out at least as far as Germany while the getting is still possible. A lucrative traffic is going on in South American republic visas. These are bought not for use to the country in question, but as a legal ruse to leave Poland.

The present Polish Provisional Government, whatever its sins against human liberties, is unquestionably the least anti-Semitic régime in Poland's history. For the first time, today one sees appreciable numbers of Jewish officers in the army. Some influential officials are Jewish, like

Hilary Minc, Minister of Industry, and Jacob Ber- man, right hand to the Prime Minister. The gov- ernment has abolished the university ghetto, which obliged Jewish students to sit separately from others.

A great many Poles, however, resent the toler- ance being shown the Jews by the government. Why are only Jews and not Poles permitted to emigrate, they ask. Some fight against having to restore Jewish properties. Even some of those who saved Jewish lives during the war now feel they were inadequately rewarded, particularly when they hear that the rescued person has a supposedly wealthy American relative. Many Poles have the notion that all American Jews are rich. I heard of several instances where \$10,000 ransom was being demanded for the return of a Jewish child.

THE government opposition has been exploit- ing the traditional Polish hatred for Jews, par- ticularly among the peasantry. Its target is the "Jewish Communist" government in Warsaw. Anti-Semitic terrorism increased markedly as the near civil war between the government and the opposition underground intensified almost daily.

In Katowice, Lower Silesia, several families we called on with messages from the United States were afraid to open the door. Only after much shouting that we were Americans did they slip back the bolts and peer out suspiciously, their weight ready to hurl against the door. We were told that hoodlums had been breaking into Jew- ish apartments. These families had not been hurt or threatened. Simply hearing of such incidents left them living in terror, and eager to get out.

Flight is contagious. As each month more and more Jews migrate, the instinct to run dominates those remaining. The entire exodus is a kind of mass claustrophobia. One finds almost insane despair among those unable to undertake the illegal journey out—because of age, or illness in what remains of the family, or the perils to which the journey will expose small children.

The frustration of one such family exploded over us one night. Husband and wife had both been married previously. He had lost his wife in an extermination camp, she her husband; they had closed ranks. Two of their children had been

spared and they had adopted an orphaned niece. We had been asked by relatives in the United States to take them money and food. Having lugged these gifts around Europe for months at considerable inconvenience, we expected to be greeted with open arms. As an added thought, we threw in some of our own PX supplies and a pair of lisle stockings.

The husband shoved the food back at us, snarl- ing, "We can get all these things in the black market!" He picked up the stockings and tossed them onto the table contemptuously, "Tell my wife's brother that my wife wears only silk stock- ings!"

At that we blew up. In the stormy argument that followed, the reason for such behavior be- came clear. He wanted only one thing from American relatives—assistance in quitting Poland—nothing short of that. He did not want to show himself grateful for gifts, fearing that some day this relative might, in effect, say, "I have tried my best, but can't get you a visa. Still, look at all the money and food I sent you. What more can you reasonably ask?"

Our rude reception was his way of fighting against the fear of being kissed off to stay in Poland. "I have written we need nothing!" he stormed. "No food, no money, no stockings, nothing but to leave!"

This spirit of desperation is present throughout the camps in Germany, Austria and Italy. I re- call an Army lieutenant at Augsburg, near Munich, complaining, "We feed and house these refugees, yet, instead of showing their gratitude, many of them treat us as if we were their jailers."

Questionnaires have been distributed among the camps asking, "Where would you like to em-igrate?" Many have filled in the blanks: "First choice, Palestine. Second choice, crematorium."

In one camp that I visited, every person gave Palestine as the desired destination. Privately, later, several approached the camp director to say they would go to other countries—as long as it was out of Europe. Such unanimity raises the suspicion of an organized front, and it is a dem- onstration of solidarity before the world. But it is definitely true that a decided majority prefer Palestine to any other country, even to the United

States. Many say bluntly, "America in time will become as anti-Semitic as Europe. At least in Palestine we will die together."

A persecution complex naturally dogs many of these refugees. They do not fully trust other Jews, even those representing relief organizations. An official of one agency compared this antagon- ism to "the resentment in aggravated form of the front-line soldier against the rear-echelon troops."

There have been riots and hunger strikes in the camps, and also an astonishing number of weddings. Among the married women, according to camp reports, "there is almost universal preg- nancy today." In the Nazi camps, to be pregnant so one couldn't work was a virtual death sentence. As if to compensate now, the urge to reproduce has been intensified.

IN A VERY real sense, also, it was mainly those with an unyielding will to live who managed to win out against the Nazi attempt to wipe out their race. Numerous stories make clear that as the Nazi extermination policy ground on for year after year, the spirit to resist in hundreds of thousands of Jews faded out so that death was accepted as a welcome escape.

A girl in Paris told me of her experience on a crowded train for Treblinka, notorious as an extermination camp. Hearing she still had a brother and a husband alive, men and women sitting near her urged the girl, "Why don't you jump off the train and try to escape?" She did, and lived. What is almost unbelievable about the tale, not another person on that train at- tempted to escape, though all knew they were riding to certain death.

The Nazis repeatedly marched 100 Jews into the woods to be shot. Ten, perhaps twenty, would break and run. Eighty or ninety would not. To make a broad generalization, the Jews alive today are largely those men and women who broke and ran, who were resourceful, reckless, ruthless, or just plain lucky. It was a survival not of the fittest, not of the most high-minded or reasonable and certainly not of the meekest, but of the toughest.

With dead-end-kid cockiness, some of the more belligerent youths in the American-zone camps

of Germany have been heard to boast, "We took the SS for six years. We're not afraid of the MPs."

In sharp contrast to the Jews who were hunted by the Nazis are those—about 150,000 in all—who returned from Soviet Russia this spring as part of a general repatriation of 1,500,000 Polish subjects. The contrast projects an instructive lesson in mass psychology. When Hitler drove through Poland in 1939, these Jews fled eastward into the Lwów region, which the Red Army took over. After Poland's collapse, they faced the alternative of returning to the area under German control or of being shipped into the Russian interior. From what I was told of the callousness with which the Soviets handled those going into Russia, it was not easy to choose between Russian toughness and the questionable mercies of Nazism. Whatever determined their decision saved the lives of the Jews who went Russian. Of those who drifted back into Poland, a few survived. Most of those who gambled on Russia came out. They brought out with them about 25,000 children under fourteen, five times the total number of Jewish children known to have survived in all Germanized Poland.

DISPLACED-PERSONS camp officials have been watching the infiltration of these repatriates from Russia with interest. "This second wave of migrants is much more stable emotionally," I was told. "In Russia they enjoyed something like normal family life and didn't live in concentration camps. They are not belligerent. They are also more religious."

Not that they acquired godliness while in the USSR. The Nazis made particular sport of the orthodox Jews and proportionately fewer survived in the west.

These Jews returning from Soviet Russia have swelled the exodus in recent months. The anti-Semitism they found in Poland accelerated their movement, but it was well under way before

that. Most of them made up their minds before leaving Russia that when they got to Poland they would keep on going, a group of forty told me when they arrived in Katowice.

Only one—a woman—planned to stay. In her thirties, with reddish-blond hair, she evidently had been converted to communism. "For me, conditions were good there," she explained. An artist, she had taught painting in the schools after a stint as a factory worker. Returning to find "Poland like Russia" pleased her. She intended to work with the government to build a "new Poland." For all the others, "new Poland's" proximity to Russia, both geographically and politically, was an incentive to flight.

They told no horror stories of life in the Soviet Union. They suffered no racial discrimination. All agreed the Soviets treated them no worse than Russian citizens, but that was harsh enough. Seven years of Bolshevism's bitter black bread was all they wanted.

This fear of communism is also a factor in the Jewish urge to flee Poland. "There is no future here," one Polish Jewish leader told me. "While the underground and government battle, we have anti-Semitism. If stability comes, through the communists' taking over, that's when the Jews will first want to get out."

This devil-and-blue-sea dilemma between anti-Semitism and communism hangs over the Jews in Hungary and Rumania as well. In fact, the second exodus is becoming a race against time—to get out while borders still are loosely patrolled and before postwar Europe hardens in the mold into which it has been poured.

Clearly, the flight of the Jews will not be halted by official expressions of hope that "political and economic stability will soon be re-established" or by clauses in peace treaties guaranteeing against persecution. After World War I, much emphasis was placed upon the concept of protecting minorities within countries. When Hitler came, this principle of minority protection broke down

completely. The Jews no longer feel they can entrust their very lives to such assurances.

What will happen? Much will hinge not only on the speed with which immigration into Palestine can be organized but on the success of the appeal before the UNO General Assembly for the nations of the world to accept a proportionate share of these refugees. Until now, the whole problem has been handled on a makeshift basis—apparently on the assumption that once 100,000 certificates into Palestine were obtained, "the situation will clean itself up." The numbers in exodus are already so great that to resettle them outside of Europe requires opening up the whole world.

SINCE any adequate resettlement scheme is likely to take a year, probably longer, interim rehabilitation becomes vital. Can these people be made self-supporting? Is it a good idea to continue them in camps, considering their abnormal psychological hangover from the Nazi camps? Not only has no program to deal with such questions been drawn up but there is the additional uncertainty about who is to do the job until the new International Refugee Organization takes over. The wisest course would seem to be to continue UNRRA in this field until then.

Rehabilitation must walk along with emigration to be successful. The growing dread among these Jews is that they may be left where they are, which, for most of them, means Germany. Rehabilitation efforts in German camps are bound to be suspect, and resisted.

Terrorism—ten plagues—finally induced Pharaoh to send the Jews out of Egypt. If these thousands who have turned their backs on Eastern Europe feel they now face being trapped in Germany, one may expect the headlines of violence in Palestine to echo in the American-zone camps until either the spirit of these embattled remnants of Israel breaks down or the world hearkens to their despairing, belligerent, "Let my people go."

Reprinted by the United Jewish Appeal by special permission of THE SATURDAY EVENING POST.
Copyright, 1946, by The Curtis Publishing Company, Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

DP

DO YOU KNOW THAT ?

1. Two years after the war there are still some 850,000 people in Europe who live in detention camps.
2. These men, women and children are the displaced persons—the survivors of Nazi concentration camps and of slave labor battalions. *They are fugitives from all forms of religious and political persecution and victims of barbarism and Nazi terror.*
3. They represent almost all religions. *Some 80 per cent are Christians of various denominations; 20 per cent are Jews.*
4. Most of the displaced persons are natives of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Others come from Finland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Russia and various other European countries.
5. More than 50% of the displaced persons are women and children. *There are 150,000 children below the age of 17. Of these 70,000 are estimated to be under six years of age.*
6. The displaced persons' most cherished desire is to start a new life in a country where there is freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of movement.
7. Since V-E Day, 11,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated. But the remaining 850,000 cannot be returned to their original places of residence.

Do You Know That?

8. These people do not wish to and cannot return to their homes of origin because they fear *oppression for religious, racial or political reasons.*
9. The Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France officially declared that *no people would be forced to return to their homelands against their will.* The United Nations has endorsed the same principle.
10. Unless reasonably quick action is taken for the permanent resettlement of displaced persons, *these people may form the nucleus of an international relief problem of long duration, draining the treasures of the United States and other countries.*
11. By remaining in Central Europe, they may become a source of international discord. All thinking men and women are aware that the plight of displaced persons constitutes one of the gravest dangers to the peace so dearly won.
12. The United Nations have established the International Refugee Organization to care for the displaced persons' immediate needs. Its charter is signed by the United States. *The IRO cannot solve the D.P. problem unless immigrant-receiving countries make special provisions to receive a fair share of displaced persons.*
13. The United States, *as a leader in international affairs,* must take the first step in this direction. The rest of the world would follow suit.
14. In the 1920's the United States Congress passed immigration laws *which permit 154,000 quota immigrants to enter this country annually.*
15. During the 1940-1946 war period only *15 per cent* of the total world quota was used. In other words, *the United States lost 914,762 people who could have entered this country legally and whom we were ready and prepared to receive.*

Do You Know That?

16. The United States is one of the few countries that has not been ravaged by war. It has been estimated that a fair share of displaced persons to enter the United States would be about 400,000. *This number would equal less than half of the number of quotas that were not used during the war years.*

17. Having lived under the brutal tyranny of dictatorship and totalitarianism, the displaced persons can truly value the ideals of democracy and the principles on which this country was founded.

18. The displaced persons, like any other groups of immigrants, would be screened by Federal authorities before permission to enter this country is granted. *No person advocating the overthrow of the government by violence, no anarchist or criminal could enter the United States.*

19. No displaced person entering the United States could become a public charge. Every agency or individual sponsoring a displaced person must furnish an affidavit of support.

20. The bulk of the displaced persons are self-supporting. *There are some 90,000 agricultural workers among them; some 21,000 are construction workers; some 22,000 are domestics; about 32,000 are professionals; hundreds of others are artisans.*

21. There is a great need for these types of services in the United States. New immigrants who are not workers tend to open non-competitive business shops. *A recent study in a metropolitan city showed that each refugee entrepreneur in business created a job for seven Americans.*

22. The displaced persons will not take homes away from veterans and other Americans. *They would be housed by relatives or friends who would not sublet rooms to strangers.* Well organized church and welfare groups which care for immigrants will direct newcomers away from large cities to small towns and farming communities.

Do You Know That?

23. Some of the organizations which have gone on record as favoring the admittance of a fair share of displaced persons to this country are:

- The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
- The National Catholic Welfare Conference
- Catholic War Veterans
- The United Council of American Veteran Organizations
- The National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires
- The American Federation of Labor
- The Congress of Industrial Organizations
- The major national Jewish organizations and many other civic, educational and religious groups.

24. In his State of the Union message, delivered before Congress on January 6, 1947, President Harry S. Truman said:

"... I do not think that the United States has done its part. Only about 5,000 of them have entered this country since May, 1946 ... *definite assistance in the form of new legislation is needed.* I urge the Congress to turn its attention to this world problem in an effort to find ways whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

25. You can join or form a Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons in your community. You can *inform your Congressman that you are in favor of H.R. 2910, emergency legislation, which would permit the United States to admit 100,000 displaced persons annually during a four-year temporary period.*

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

39 EAST 36th STREET

NEW YORK CITY



181

Murray Hill 4-7850

10c

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 111

THE REFUGEES ARE NOW AMERICANS

By Maurice R. Davie and Samuel Koenig

COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF RECENT IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE



The Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe was organized in 1944 by five leading national refugee service organizations, viz., the American Christian Committee for Refugees, the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Committee for Refugees, the National Refugee Service, and the United States Committee for the Care of European Children. Officers of the Committee are Alvin Johnson, Director, New School for Social Research, chairman; and Henry Bruère, President, the Bowery Savings Bank, New York, treasurer. The National Sponsors' Committee consists of 164 members, of which C.A. Dykstra, Provost, University of California at Los Angeles, is chairman, and George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College, and William Rosenwald, businessman, are vice-chairmen.

The Committee had as its aim the making of an impartial, objective study of the adjustment of refugees and their effect on American society. The Study has been directed by Maurice R. Davie, chairman of the Department of Sociology, Yale University, on leave of absence for this purpose. Assisting him has been a research staff experienced in the field of immigration.

The Committee has had the cooperation of over 200 agencies and committees concerned with immigrant welfare, as well as of refugee organizations, throughout the country. The original data collected include questionnaire returns from over 11,000 individuals in 638 communities in 44 states and the District of Columbia, which have been found to be a representative sample of the refugee population; 1,600 replies to a special questionnaire for physicians and dentists, covering about 30 per cent of these groups; over 200 life stories, either autobiographical or biographical; reports on community backgrounds and attitudes from over 50 communities; several hundred questionnaire returns on business enterprises established by refugees; some 65 schedules giving information on refugee organizations; and data obtained from interviews with representative refugees and Americans in various fields of activity and other informants. In addition to consulting the available literature on the subject, immigration statistics, and government documents, thousands of case records of agencies and committees serving refugees in general or special groups of refugees such as children, scholars, lawyers, physicians, musicians, and writers, were analyzed.

THE REFUGEES ARE NOW AMERICANS

By MAURICE R. DAVIE and SAMUEL KOENIG

THE story of Mr. S—— is typical of that of thousands of the refugees from Nazi tyranny who came to the United States in the years immediately before the war.

Mr. S—— was an exporter in Germany. He lived in comfortable circumstances, but he was not rich. He was one of the heroes of the first World War and enjoyed considerable prestige. When the Nazis first came to power, he felt quite safe. But though he was transacting his business strictly according to the letter of the law, he was arrested in 1934 on a trumped-up charge of illegal trading with the government of Czechoslovakia. The trial was a farce, and he was dismissed. A second arrest in 1937 on the same charge was only slightly more serious. A third trial

This pamphlet is based on a comprehensive, nation-wide study conducted by the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe. The full report will be published in the spring of 1946 by Harper & Brothers under the tentative title of *The Refugee Immigrant in the United States: A Study of His Adjustment and Effect on American Society*. Maurice R. Davie is Professor of Sociology in Yale University. Samuel Koenig is Instructor in Sociology at Brooklyn College. Other members of the research staff assisting in the preparation of this pamphlet were Mrs. Sarah W. Cohn, Miss Betty Drury, Mrs. Dorothy Foote Tate, and Dr. Carolyn Zeleny.

Copyright, 1945, by the Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated
—A nonprofit, educational organization—

a few months later, before a hostile judge and prosecuting attorney and a jury wearing swastika bands, led to a sentence of ten months' imprisonment.

In the few days allowed by the court and the Gestapo to put his business affairs in order, he managed to escape to Czechoslovakia. After months of wandering, he and his wife finally reached a French port from which they sailed for America.

His joy and relief at reaching this country were immediately overcast by a feeling of despair at being in a new and completely foreign country where he had to make a new start. The English that he had learned so correctly at school was of no help. The porter at the dock and the cab driver could not understand him.

He decided that the thing to do first was to learn English and the way to do it was to mingle with people. He began by peddling, first pencils and later candy that his wife made. Then he tried jobs. The various social agencies to whom he went suggested retraining, particularly because his arm had been injured in the first World War; and he looked into this, too. His heart was not in it. He had been a businessman, and he was determined to get back to business. He talked to a great many businessmen and was impressed by their kindness, by the freedom with which they gave information, and by the amount of time they were willing to spend with him. After a year and a half, with the financial help of another German refugee, he bought a small defense plant in a New England town and employed sixteen workers in the manufacture of war goods for the government.

He lives modestly and does not have the luxurious apartment that he had abroad, but he feels that he is sharing in the abundance of America and he has a sense of well-being.

This is but one story out of thousands that could be told about the most recent of American immigrants.

Few immigrant movements to the United States have been as dramatic as that of the refugees. Although small in numbers, the refugees have aroused unusual interest because of the tragic circumstances under which they emigrated. Fleeing from the oppression of fascism, they made Americans aware of the sinister events occurring in Europe and forewarned them of the impending world catastrophe. Arriving during a period of extreme economic depression, they met with considerable opposition, particularly on the part of professional and business people who feared their competition. Moreover, since the majority of them came from Nazi Germany, there was some suspicion as to their intentions

in this country. And since many were Jews, they increased anti-Jewish feeling among certain elements in the population. All this has led to widespread rumors and charges. What are the facts regarding these refugees? How many came? Who are they? How are they adjusting to American life? What effect are they having on American economy and culture?

BACKGROUND OF THE REFUGEE MOVEMENT

Earlier Refugee Movements

This is by no means the first time that people have come to these shores to escape persecution. Early in our history the Pilgrim Fathers sought refuge here. Later came the Huguenots, who were driven out of France because of their religious beliefs. Numerous other religious groups, such as the Protestant minorities from England, Holland and Germany, sought freedom here from persecution. Among other groups who fled from oppression were the Scotch-Irish in colonial times and the German liberals of 1848. In later periods came the Eastern European Jews, escaping from pogroms and other mistreatment. After World War I, a series of refugee movements began, during which America received several thousand Armenians, escaping from the cruelty of the Turkish regime, and "White" Russians, fleeing because of Bolshevism. With the rise and spread of Fascism and Nazism, a refugee movement of gigantic proportions was started which sent a considerable number of victims to the United States.

The Present Refugee Movement

All refugee movements have much in common. The refugees leave against their will. They are forced out by tyranny and oppression or by upheavals and wars. In some ways, however, the present-day refugee movement is in a class by itself. From a world-wide view, it is unprecedented in scope. Also unique is the fact that descent or "race" has forced people to leave their homelands. The individual is thus left with no choice, for while it is possible to change one's faith or political views, one cannot change one's ancestry.

Similarly without parallel is the doctrine of nationalism that resulted in pushing aside all conflicting loyalties, whether po-

litical, social, or religious. This extreme nationalism has led to depriving the nonconformist of the rights of citizenship, leaving him unprotected by any government. Being a man without a country was a rare and isolated occurrence in the past but has now become common.

The recent refugee movement has also been marked by (1) the extremely cruel treatment of the victims of political, religious, and "racial" persecution; (2) by the difficulty which these victims encountered in escaping and in finding a secure refuge as Nazism spread to ever larger areas; (3) by the reluctance of the countries not immediately affected to admit them because of the deep economic depression then existing; and (4) by the breaking up of families on a scale previously unknown. Such has been the refugee movement which began with the rise of Hitler to power in 1933.

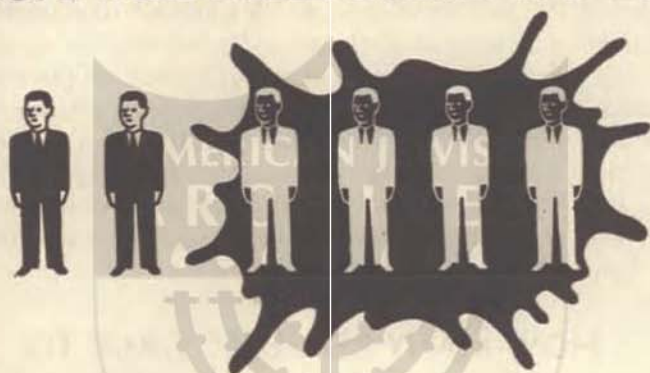
The Assault on the Jews

The first victims of the Nazi assault on civilization were the Jews in Germany, a small minority numbering 499,682 according to the German census of June 16, 1933. Although they constituted only 0.8 per cent of the total population, they were a convenient scapegoat because of their geographical and occupational concentration. About 70 per cent were living in cities of 100,000 or more population, and about four-fifths resided in Prussia. Despite this concentration in large urban centers, no German city had so large a Jewish population as such European cities as Lodz, London, Moscow, Budapest, and Warsaw, or such American cities as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Since the German Jews were concentrated in commerce and the liberal professions, their influence could easily be exaggerated. As a matter of fact, they constituted only 3.3 per cent of the Germans engaged in commerce, only 2.3 per cent of all engaged in the professions. Only in law and medicine, traditional professions among the Jews, did they constitute comparatively large proportions, 16.3 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively. But though the Jews formed less than 1 per cent of the German population, they played an important role in scientific, political, and cultural life, far out of proportion to their numbers.

Against this helpless minority of half a million souls the force of Nazi fury was directed. Those who had sufficient foresight and the financial means migrated early with a considerable part

of their possessions. Those who hesitated were first deprived of the means of livelihood and of their civil rights and property. Then they were ostracized and segregated, tortured in concentration camps, driven out, or killed. By the close of the war, there were only some 20,000 Jews remaining in Germany. The Nazis went so far as to persecute not only those who were Jews by religion but also those who had even one Jewish grandparent.

PROBABLY 4 OUT OF EVERY 6 JEWS IN EUROPE* WERE KILLED DURING THE WAR



* Outside of the Soviet Union

Refugees who succeeded in escaping from Nazi terror in Germany to other European countries soon found themselves pursued by the Nazi hordes invading one country after another, and were forced to flee again. The extension of Nazi domination also stirred up new refugee movements from the invaded countries where minorities, both Jewish and Christian, were subjected to the same kind of treatment as in Germany. What had taken the Nazis years to accomplish in Germany was brought about in Austria and Czechoslovakia in the course of a few months. Poland became the central slaughterhouse of Nazi victims. Practically no country in continental Europe escaped Nazi domination or influence.

War and fascism have uprooted and displaced many millions of people in Europe. Among them were millions seeking to escape from persecution. Only a small proportion of them succeeded

in escaping the Nazi terror. Most were killed, either directly in extermination camps or indirectly through disease and starvation. Of the approximately 6,000,000 Jews living in Europe outside of the Soviet Union in 1933, over 4,000,000 were killed by one means or another. How many anti-Nazi Christians were killed is unknown, but the number was small compared to the Jews who were the main victims.

Of those who escaped the Nazis, many found shelter in various European and overseas countries. Some countries, such as France, offered a temporary haven, and others, especially Sweden and Switzerland, a more lasting place of refuge. Estimates of the number of refugees, Jewish and non-Jewish, admitted into countries other than the United States vary widely. The following may be taken as rough guesses of the number admitted, at one time or another, into the most important refugee-receiving areas: France (including North Africa), 800,000; Palestine, 150,000; Great Britain, 140,000; Latin America, 125,000; Italy, 116,000; East African Colonies, 90,000; Switzerland, 80,000; Sweden, 44,000; Shanghai, 30,000; Spain, 18,000; and Canada, 6,000.

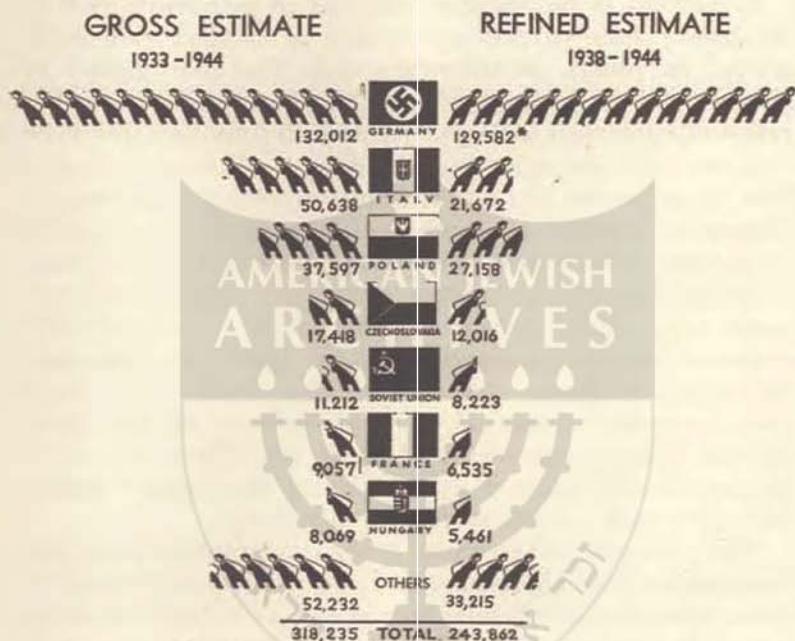
HOW MANY REFUGEES CAME TO THE UNITED STATES?

THERE are no official figures on the number of refugees admitted to the United States, since refugees are not separately classified under our laws. All aliens are admitted to the United States either as immigrants for permanent residence or as non-immigrants for temporary stay. Refugees are subject to the same eligibility requirements as all other applicants for admission. Since it is the motive for immigrating that distinguishes the refugee from other immigrants, and since the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service does not record motives, it is necessary to resort to an estimate of the number of refugees.

This estimate is based on the number of arrivals in the United States since 1933 who were born in what came to be Axis-occupied or Axis-dominated countries. To this list of countries Spain has been added, since its civil war led to a fascist regime that resulted in a refugee movement from that country. Russia has been included because many individuals who had been born

in Russia but were living as emigres in other countries came here as refugees. The list of countries of refugee emigration thus includes all of Europe except Great Britain, Eire, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland. If all the immigrants admitted to the

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF REFUGEES TO U.S.



EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS 10,000 PERSONS

* INCLUDES GERMANY FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD 1933-1944 AND AUSTRIA FOR 1938-1944

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

United States from the refugee countries between 1933 and 1944 were refugees, the maximum number of refugee immigrants, as seen in the accompanying chart, would be 318,235. Since, however, most of these countries were not Axis-occupied or -dominated as early as 1933, this estimate should be reduced by eliminating the number of immigrants arriving from European countries other than Germany prior to 1938. This year has been selected as marking the period when German aggression against other countries began and it became clear that there was no

escape from Axis domination. Thus calculated, the total number of refugee immigrants admitted to the United States would be 243,862.

As seen in the graph on page 9, the period 1938-1941 marks the peak of refugee immigration. After the entry of the United States into the war only a few refugees were able to reach this country.

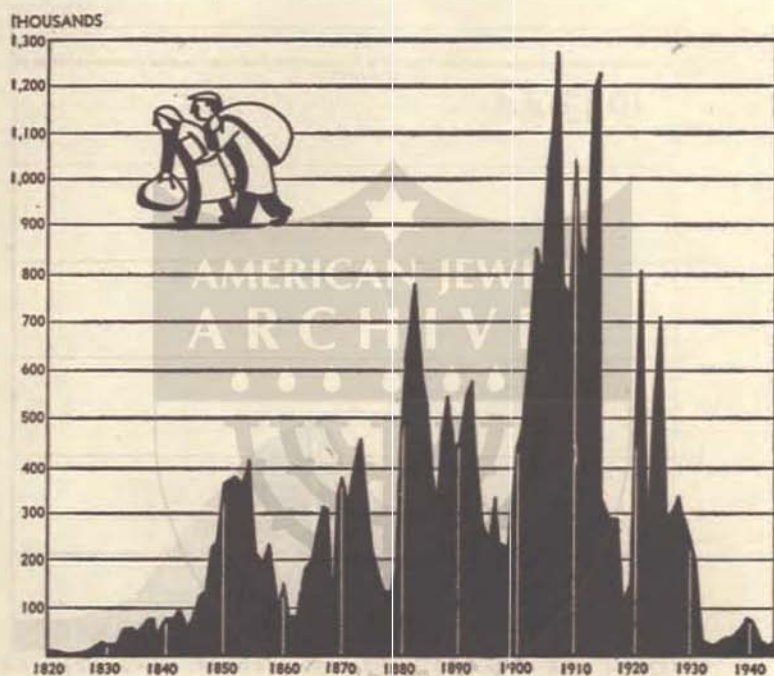
In addition to the refugees admitted on permanent visas as immigrants, some refugees arrived here as so-called "non-immigrants," or visitors, on temporary visas. The total number of visitors admitted from these same countries during the entire period of 1933-1944 was 293,976. Arrivals from Germany since 1933 and from the other countries since 1938 totalled 196,432. Even if we assume that all of them were refugees, the number of such non-immigrant refugees remaining in the United States is not large, because most of these non-immigrants left the country. Only 34,037 more visitors entered the country than left during the 1933-1944 period. Some of the visitors who left re-entered later on permanent visas, in which case they were included in the figures of immigrant aliens admitted. Although exact figures are lacking, official reports indicate that only about 15,000 refugees remain here on visitors' visas. These are mainly persons who were granted an extension of their permits because they were unable to return to their homelands.

Aside from the refugees who entered this country under our immigration laws, approximately 1,000 refugees were admitted in 1944 outside of the regular immigration procedure and placed in an emergency shelter at Fort Ontario, near Oswego, New York, under the authority of the War Refugee Board. This group was made up of persons of various nationalities who had fled from their homelands to southern Italy. They were brought here for the duration of the emergency.

Our immigration laws were not changed during the period of refugee immigration. Neither were the quota requirements altered. Indeed, owing to the economic depression and the threat of war, the enforcement of our laws became more severe. A new visa procedure was introduced to prevent the entry of aliens whose admission might endanger public safety. Visa control was centralized in the State Department, and all applications for admission were carefully examined. These new regulations were time-consuming, with the result that often individuals were un-

able to leave in time to save their lives. Some administrative measures, on the other hand, were adopted to make the immigration of refugees less difficult. In the case of children unaccompanied by their parents, the affidavit of designated child-

TRENDS OF IMMIGRATION



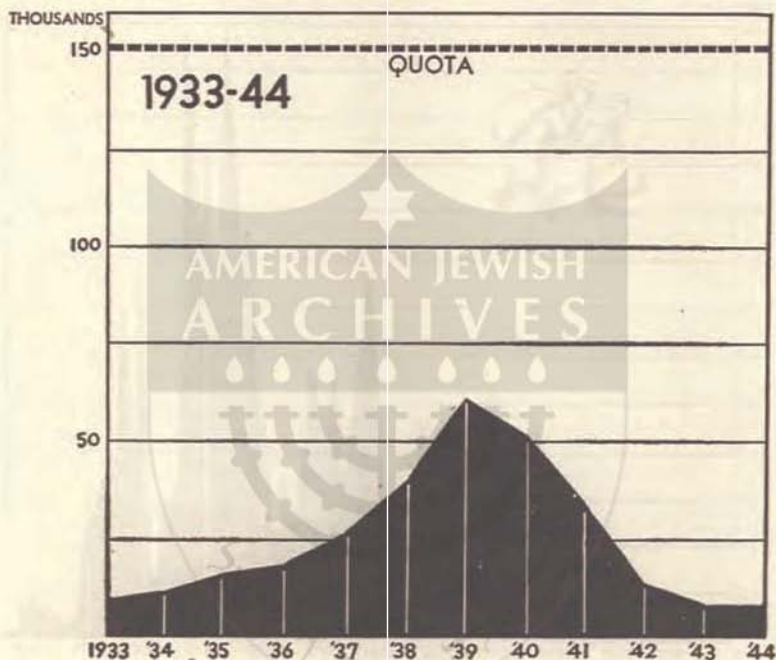
GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

caring agencies was accepted in place of the usual guarantee of support by individuals. About 1,000 children were brought over under this plan. In granting visas, preference was given to those who were able to escape so as to make full use of the places available under the quota. Our immigration laws were administered justly. They were not modified for the benefit of the refugees despite the tremendous urgency of the situation.

The figures given above refute the rumor that a million or more refugees have been admitted to the United States. Indeed, the total number of immigrants from all countries during

1933 to 1944 amounted to only 528,549, and that from Europe—the source of refugee movements—was only 365,955. Moreover, it is worth noting that during the period 1933–1944 only 16.8 per cent of the total number of aliens from Europe admissible under our quota law have entered the United States.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION QUOTA WAS NEVER FILLED



GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

This was due to a strict interpretation of the immigration laws because of the economic depression, and, later, because of wartime restrictions. In fact, as shown by the graph on page 9, the total number of immigrants admitted during this period was smaller than at any other period during the last century.

What Proportion of the Refugees Are Jews?

While Jews constitute a minority of all recent immigrants, they make up a majority of the refugee group. Assuming that all Jews from Europe were refugees, we find that the Jews would

constitute 51.5 per cent of the gross estimate of the number of refugees (see chart on page 7). If, however, the refined estimate is taken, they would make up 67.6 per cent of the total, which may be considered the more accurate estimate. This percentage does not include an appreciable number of Christians who were declared Jews by Nazi decrees. Among the Christian refugees in general, there are more Protestants than Catholics, the ratio being approximately three to two.

Nationalities Represented

The relative numerical importance of the various nationalities arriving here as refugees can be seen from the chart on page 7. The findings of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe agree in general with the estimates, which are based on official immigration statistics by country of birth. In some cases, however, these findings suggest certain modifications. For example, only a small minority of the Italian immigrants were actually refugees, not more than 4,000. The Italian refugees, therefore, should rank much lower. The Germans and Austrians rank first among the refugees, and the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Russians, French, Italians, and Hungarians should follow in this order.

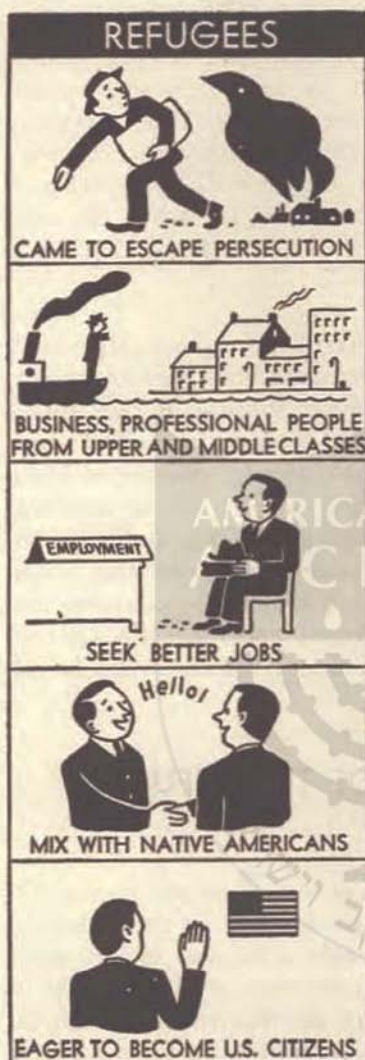
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REFUGEES

Who Are the Refugees?

The refugees differ in a number of ways from the immigrants who came to the United States in the two or three decades immediately preceding 1933. To begin with, they include more women. A larger proportion of the refugees are forty-five years of age or over. A higher percentage are married. Although the refugee movement is fundamentally a family type, there is a large number of separated families. There is also a large number of young children, since their escape was made easier by the help extended by various social agencies.

Refugees and Earlier Immigrants Compared

One of the most striking differences between the present-day refugees and other earlier immigrants is to be found in the kind of jobs they held before coming to this country. According to



GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES FOR
PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

were exceptional. By far the most of them had gone beyond the elementary school level, and nearly half had attended college or graduate school. They were primarily a city group with a cosmopolitan outlook, many of them having come from the largest cities of the Continent. A considerable number of them had traveled widely and knew languages other than their own.

official immigration statistics, an unusually large proportion of the refugees were engaged in professional and commercial fields and white-collar occupations. The proportion of skilled workers was less than normal, while the proportion of farmers, unskilled laborers, and servants was far below average. Of those who had engaged in business and industry before coming to this country, some 25,000 were merchants and dealers, about 5,500 agents, and 1,800 manufacturers. Physicians were the most numerous among those in the professions, numbering about 5,000. Other professional groups included approximately 3,500 college professors and school teachers, 2,500 technical engineers, 2,400 clergymen, 1,900 scientists and literary men, 1,800 lawyers, 1,200 musicians, 800 actors, and 700 artists.

In contrast to the earlier immigrants, a good many of the refugees who came here were relatively well off. This was particularly true of the refugees who arrived in the middle 1930's, when it was still possible to rescue a part of one's fortune. Educationally, too, the refugees

How Are the Refugees Distributed?

Although the majority of the refugees, like other immigrants, arrived at the port of New York, they are to be found in practically every state of the Union. Following the distribution pattern of our immigrant population, they are concentrated in the East, particularly New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts; in the Middle West, especially Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan; and in the Far West, especially California. They have settled mostly in the larger cities although a good many live in small towns and rural areas. New York City, the largest center of immigrant population and the main port of entry, has absorbed a larger number of refugees than any other city in the United States. The distribution of the refugees throughout the country has been determined largely by the location of their relatives and friends, job opportunities, and the resettlement program of the various refugee service agencies.

THE REFUGEES BECOME AMERICANS

Difficulties Faced by Refugees

The task of becoming adjusted to American life is difficult enough for the ordinary immigrant in normal times. He finds himself in a strange environment, with different customs, laws, language, and ways of life to which he must adjust. The difficulties faced by the refugee, however, are much greater, for he has been forcibly uprooted and often has gone through indescribably horrible experiences. He is filled with fears and anxieties about the fate of relatives and friends left behind. His adjustment is made more difficult by the spread of propaganda against him from fascist countries. Being forced, in many instances, to leave his possessions behind, he often arrives here without means and finds it necessary to accept jobs beneath his former status. Thus, many a former businessman, manufacturer, or professional person has had to take a job as a peddler, janitor, doorman, or dishwasher. Many couples who previously had servants of their own took jobs as butlers and maids. Housewives who never before had been employed accepted factory jobs and other kinds of work. Not infrequently the main support

of the family fell upon them. Not all of the refugees accepted these hardships with good grace, but most of them accepted their difficulties with a courage that was truly admirable.

Assistance by Refugee Service Organizations

Assisting the refugees in their adjustment have been a number of agencies and organizations supported by private funds. Some of these were social service and immigrant aid societies already established. Others have been created for the refugees to meet the special problems presented by them. Some of these agencies give aid to refugees in general and render a variety of services, including temporary financial relief, loans for establishing business enterprises and professional practice, retraining for new occupations, resettlement in other communities, and aid in family and general social adjustment, in immigration problems, and in job finding. Prominent are the large national refugee service organizations with their local cooperating committees throughout the country. Also noteworthy are the self-help and other organizations created and maintained by the refugees themselves.

Other refugee service agencies assist in solving the problems of special groups. Important among this type are committees aiding in the adjustment of such groups as physicians, scholars, lawyers, musicians, clergymen, teachers, writers, and artists. Some agencies have carried on rescue and relief work overseas, either aiding all groups or concentrating on helping in the rescue of intellectuals, labor leaders, or political refugees whose lives were in special danger. Other agencies have been concerned solely with bringing children over and supervising their adjustment.

The refugees have also been helped in many ways by relatives and friends. Only in the case of the special group in the emergency shelter at Oswego have public funds been used, and even here some of the costs have been paid by private funds.

What Refugees Do

A majority of the refugees ultimately found work in business and the professions, even though many of them were forced at first to accept menial jobs. Owing to the shortage of manpower during the war period, practically all of those seeking employment eventually found work. Often they did not find it in the occupations for which they were trained abroad. Yet practically all have become self-supporting. Among the few

still needing financial assistance are those either too old or too young to work and the physically or emotionally handicapped. Most of the refugees are wholly dependent upon their earnings. Only a small proportion have other sources of income.

Most of the refugees, according to the findings of the Study, now feel that their living conditions are as good as or better than those they enjoyed in Europe. This is particularly true of the skilled and unskilled workers, the younger persons, and those who have lived here a number of years. On the other hand, among the professional and business people, the older age groups, and those who have been here a comparatively short time, the majority report their living conditions as being the same or worse. Moreover, the great majority feel that their social position is about the same as or lower than it was in Europe. Thus, it would seem that most of the refugees feel that they have lost more in social than in economic standing.

Where They Live

The refugees, unlike other recent immigrants, do not concentrate in special neighborhoods in the towns in which they live. Except in a few very large cities like New York and Chicago, they do not form colonies, but scatter throughout the city. They do, however, show a tendency to settle in parts of the city where others of their own nationality group live, taking into account economic and social class lines.

In contrast to other immigrants of recent periods, the refugees tend to associate much more frequently with native Americans. This is unusual in view of the fact that they have been here a short time.

Integration into Community Life

The striking extent to which refugees have fitted into American community life may be explained partly by their relatively small numbers and wide distribution, partly by their superior educational and cultural background, but particularly by their desire to become assimilated. Reports from communities throughout the country reveal that refugees take part in all kinds of community activities. They readily intermarry with native Americans, especially with persons of their own religion and national background. Of those who have married since their arrival, 30 per cent of the men and 17 per cent of the women have

married native Americans, unusually high percentages for a foreign-born group. The only age group that experiences real difficulty in adjusting to American life is, as might be expected, the older people.

Refugee women on the whole appear to adapt themselves more readily to American life than the men. The women are quicker in acquiring the language and adapting themselves to new customs. They find it easier to get jobs. They accept inferior types of work with more composure than the men, to whom this means a greater sense of loss and frustration. They encounter less prejudice in the labor and business fields because they are less likely to be considered as permanent competitors.

Although the refugees have acquired a knowledge of English with great rapidity, they frequently state that language has been one of their greatest difficulties in adjusting to American life. This is because they are not content with a superficial knowledge of the language. They are very anxious to master it and use it like an educated native American.

Refugee Children Adjust Readily

Most successful in adjusting to American life have been the young adults and the children. Reports from various communities throughout the country agree that refugee children fit into American life without difficulty and soon become practically indistinguishable from native-born children. Principals and teachers who have been interviewed say the same of the refugee children in school. They report that these children have learned English in a remarkably short period of time, that language has been, at most, only a temporary handicap, that they associate freely with other children, and present no special problem. Many of the teachers stated that the work of refugee children as a group has been above average. They feel that this is due to the superior educational background of their parents and the value the latter place upon education. They also feel that the refugee children have exercised a beneficial influence by stimulating interest in languages, art, literature, and scholarship.

Although most of the refugee children have recovered quite rapidly from the harrowing experiences abroad, some have found it difficult to overcome those experiences and have suffered from emotional upsets in various degrees. In general, however, these

emotional disturbances have tended to disappear after a while as a sense of security is gained and unpleasant memories recede into the dim past. Refugee children, having few or no ties to the European background but merely recollections of an often unhappy childhood in Europe, do not know or long for any other life, as their parents may. They cannot, therefore, think of their future apart from America.



What America means to these children may be seen in the following story, written by a sixteen-year-old boy after nine months in this country:

November 10, 1938, was the most terrible day in my life. In the morning of that day I went as usual to school. At 10 o'clock I went home, beaten by Nazi boys. It was on this day the Nazis set fire to the Jewish synagogues throughout Germany. But this was not enough. At 11 o'clock they took my father to a concentration camp without giving any explanations. Later, six Nazis came to our door, brutally expelled us from our home, and destroyed everything in it.

My brother and I worked hard to support our mother. There were many days when we had nothing to eat. Those who have never known what famine is can't realize what a terrible thing it can be. Days, weeks, months went by, and still my father had to bear the terrible life of a concentration camp. Just at that time when we felt we could not endure the struggle any more, my dad was released from the camp. We were glad to see him, but the change in him was pathetic. His eyes were sunken. His face was drawn and haggard. His hair was gray, and he had aged twenty years and lost about 30 pounds.

After a great deal of effort my parents were able to send my sister and me to France. . . . Finally the train came. A last embrace and good-bye. One part of my heart was full of joy because of having escaped from a land of slavery, but the other part of my heart was dark, full of grief for my parents and all my folks who were left behind. . . .

We spent two years in children's homes in France. Finally, together with forty-three other children we were brought to the United States. When we arrived at the port of New York, every one of us felt overjoyed and our eyes were wet with tears, thrilled

at the sight of this land of liberty and justice for all. My dreams were finally realized—being in America. How wonderful it was to be able to sleep at night without fear of being bombed or killed, to have enough to eat, and to be free as only in America one can be free!

[This boy and his sister are still in a foster home and have not yet heard from their parents, who fled to France and were put into a concentration camp.]

The Refugees Become Loyal Americans

The refugees, on the whole, have sought to identify themselves completely with America. About 95 per cent of them state that they have no intention of returning to their former homelands. The proportion varies with the nationality and occupation. Practically no German wants to return, and only a few Austrians, Poles, and Russians. More Czechs, Italians, Belgians, Netherlanders, and Frenchmen indicate that they want to go back. Artists, scholars, and political leaders predominate among those who wish to return. Jews are almost unanimous in their intention not to return.

Nearly all have shown great eagerness to become naturalized. Many of them took out their first papers almost immediately after their arrival. Only a few have failed to apply. Fully half of the refugees have been granted citizenship, the rest being in various stages of getting it. This is a remarkable record, considering the brief period of time they have been here. To the refugees, most of whom have been deprived of their full rights as citizens in their homelands, and many of whom had been rendered stateless, the attainment of American citizenship is a matter of great importance. The event is often marked by celebrations, the exchange of gifts, and notices in the foreign-language press. The refugees become enthusiastic citizens and show great appreciation of the democratic principles underlying our government, contrasting, from personal experience, the freedom of democracy with the tyranny of fascism.

Loyalty to the United States was also shown by the refugees who had been here too short a time to become citizens and hence were still aliens when America entered the war. Along with other aliens born in countries with which the United States was at war, they became technically "enemy aliens," with limitations on their personal freedom. Actually, however, they were "friendly

aliens" of enemy nationality. This fact was soon recognized by the Department of Justice which, upon proof of loyalty, permitted them to become naturalized. The refugee community proved itself to be overwhelmingly on the side of democracy and aided in the war effort in every way. The Selective Training and Service Act made aliens as fully liable to service as citizens. Eligible refugees, aliens and citizens alike, therefore entered the armed forces to the same extent as native Americans. Many of them rendered special services because of their intimate knowledge of the languages, culture, psychology, and geography of enemy countries. Those who remained at home contributed generously to the various war activities on the home front. Important contributions were made by scientists and highly trained technicians, either in government services or in private industries. All regarded their contribution to the war effort as an expression of the gratitude they feel toward America.

THE BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES

SINCE the business and professional classes constitute important elements among the refugees, their adjustment is of particular interest.

The Businessman and the Manufacturer

While most of those who had been in business abroad naturally desired to continue in it here, a number of them have been unable to do so because of lack of capital, insufficient knowledge of English, and unfamiliarity with American business methods. But many have succeeded in establishing themselves either in their former line of business or in an entirely new field. Outstanding among the fields of business which refugees have entered are: furs, leather goods, textiles, glassware, plastics, jewelry, and diamonds.

It is interesting to note that the diamond industry was transferred almost completely from the Netherlands and Belgium to this country.



Many refugees showed great ingenuity in starting new types of businesses. In numerous instances they have brought with them or developed here new processes, and started the manufacture of products hitherto either unknown here or imported, such as scientific instruments, precision tools, and synthetic industrial products. Many refugee manufacturers, like Mr. S——, produced articles that were essential to the war effort. The number of new products, services, and styles introduced is very considerable. Some are carrying on here an export-import business which they had previously developed in Europe. Thus, the refugees have made a substantial contribution to American business and industry, and their activities have been far from merely competitive. Instead of taking jobs away from Americans, they have, like Mr. S——, given employment to a considerable number of Americans, in some instances as many as 500 to 1,000.

The Physician

The physicians are the largest single group of professional people among the refugees. In their case our information is based upon a special survey made in forty-one states and covering 33 per cent of the total. All told, about five thousand refugee physicians, including medical students and nonpractitioners, came to this country from Europe between 1933 and 1944. Approximately three-fourths of them were specialists in one branch of medicine or another.



Refugee physicians may be found in practically every state of the Union. The largest group is in New York, particularly in New York City. This undoubtedly is due to the fact that New York City, aside from being the port of entry for most European immigrants, is located in one of the few states that require only first citizenship papers of applicants for the licensing examination. But a large proportion of the doctors have settled in localities with less than 2,500 population. The Study reveals that no physician has failed to apply for his first citizenship papers, and that two-thirds of them, as compared with one-half of the general refugee group, have already become citizens.

The professions differ from most occupations in that many of them require licenses. This is especially true of medicine, where the requirements are particularly rigid with respect to both state laws and the regulations of the state medical examining boards. American physicians, more than any other professional group, have feared possible refugee competition. They have, therefore, made the existing requirements stricter for the refugees. While the restrictions have served in some instances to protect the American public against a lowering of standards, they have served primarily to safeguard the interests of the American physicians. This is evident from the kinds of bars that have been erected in many states. These include refusal to admit to a licensing examination graduates of European medical schools unless the application was signed by the dean of the particular school, requiring certification of medical diplomas by a United States consul, restricting licenses to graduates of approved American or Canadian schools, requiring that the country of the applicant must grant reciprocity to licensees of a given state, and requiring internship in an American hospital, even though the individual may have practiced for years and won distinction in his field. In addition to being handicapped by these restrictions, the refugee physician has faced special difficulties in taking an examination given in English, which is a foreign language to him, long after the completion of his schooling. This largely accounts for the fact that refugees have failed more frequently than American applicants who have just been graduated from medical school.

Owing to these difficulties—and additional ones, such as non-acceptance by county medical societies and refusal of hospital affiliation—some of the refugee physicians have been forced either to give up their profession entirely or to accept laboratory, hospital, and other similar positions. The majority, however, have succeeded in entering private practice. Most of them have become general practitioners rather than continuing as specialists.

Although the competition of refugee physicians has undoubtedly been felt occasionally, especially in some of the larger cities, it has been greatly exaggerated. Many of the refugee doctors have settled in rural areas and small towns, where American physicians have been reluctant to take up practice. Moreover, the war caused such a scarcity of physicians that there could have been little competition.

Not only have American communities facing a shortage in physicians gained by the coming of refugee doctors, but American medicine also has benefited by the achievements of many of those refugees who were given the chance of resuming their work in medical research, clinical work, and teaching.

The dentists have had a tougher row to hoe than the physicians. European dentistry, which is simply one of the medical specialties, is technically inferior to American dentistry; consequently, the refugee dentists have had to take training in American dental schools. Indeed, practically no state has permitted foreign dentists to take a licensing examination until they have completed such a course. A minimum of two or three years' retraining has generally been required. Even after graduation, the refugee dentist is not allowed to practice in most states of the Union unless he has attained full citizenship. Those who have qualified have never been considered by the profession as outsiders or competitors, and they have generally been very successful. On the other hand, it has been hard for the older practitioners and those with little money to get the needed retraining. A large proportion of them have had to leave dentistry.

The University Professor and the Scientist

College professors have not found it hard to transfer their skills to the American scene although, as in any other group, some were forced to enter new occupations. Those who con-



tinued in their field had some difficulty in adjusting to the American academic atmosphere. As a rule, the refugee professors have done better on the lecture platform and as graduate-school professors than as teachers of undergraduates. They have found it difficult to talk clearly, precisely, and interestingly in a strange tongue, and to adapt themselves to new teaching methods

and American democratic classroom procedures. In contrast to the informal teacher-student relationship in America, the European professor had often developed aloofness. He felt that the further removed he was from his students the greater his eminence.

Refugee professors have frequently encountered prejudice and

opposition on the part of their American colleagues. This was especially true during the economic depression when job opportunities even for qualified Americans were very limited. Some college administrators and individual faculty members often expressed fears that American colleges might be flooded with foreign teachers, particularly Jews; exposed to foreign influences; and polluted with foreign ideas. On the other hand, many colleges welcomed the refugee professor because this gave them the opportunity of adding a distinguished foreign scholar to their faculty at a low cost. And many American professors, aroused at the Nazi attack on freedom of teaching and learning, did much to aid their oppressed colleagues.

The scientists among the refugees found it easier to get jobs than most university professors because they had a more "marketable product." They have accepted positions in universities, government departments, research agencies, and industry.



Among the university teachers and scientists may be found many eminent scholars of international reputation. They include eight Nobel Prize winners, and several who have taken a leading part in the development of the atomic bomb. They have contributed in many ways to the war effort and to the advancement of American science and scholarship.

The school teachers among the refugees have found it almost impossible to get jobs in the American public school system. A few have found positions in private schools and institutions; the rest have had to accept employment in other fields.

The Lawyer

Of the various professional groups, the lawyers have experienced perhaps the greatest difficulties in making use of their special skills. Laws vary greatly from country to country. Having been trained in Continental legal systems, which differ fundamentally from the American system, the refugee lawyers find it practically impossible to practice here without almost complete retraining. A few of the younger lawyers have attended American law schools and succeeded in entering the field here. Of the older group who found retraining impractical, some

earn their livelihood by looking after the interests of European clients, by serving as consultants on European law, or by acting



as intermediaries between refugee clients and American attorneys. The majority, however, have had to leave the profession. Some, after special preparation, became accountants; others took factory or business jobs. During the war many refugee lawyers, like individuals in other professions, found employment in government service, where their training proved a valuable asset.

The Artist and the Writer

The musician and artist have had less difficulty in adjusting to American conditions because they use an international medium of expression. But not all have been able to find suitable employment or even to remain in their field. The musicians, particularly, have been up against limited job opportunities. Similarly, while some of the artists have managed to exhibit and sell their works, others have been forced to commercialize their art or take other jobs. Some of these believe that there will be greater opportunities for them in their homelands when conditions become more settled, and therefore are planning to return.



Less fortunate have been the refugee writers. Depending as they do upon the intimate knowledge and precise use of language, they can hardly be expected to do as well in a new tongue. Especially is this true of poets, playwrights, and other creative writers. The only recourse of such authors is to have their works translated. On the other hand, writers on historical subjects and current events frequently adapt themselves more easily to the use of English because of the more factual nature of their material and the lesser importance of style.

Outstanding among the distinguished refugees is Thomas Mann:

Nobel Prize laureate and world-famous author, Thomas Mann chose self-exile rather than existence in Hitler's Germany. His

personal rejection of Nazi doctrine and distrust of it as a design for living had found public expression as early as 1930, but it was in 1933 after the Reichstag fire that Mann, vacationing in Switzerland with his wife, decided not to return to his homeland.

His anti-Nazi stand met with sharp retaliation. His property was seized, he was stripped of German nationality, and the University of Bonn revoked the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy it had conferred upon him. Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and France extended hospitality to him, but he found himself spiritually a man without a country, just as technically he was "without papers," and could not settle down in tranquility of mind to live and work.

Then came a call from an American university, and in 1938 he came to the United States. Several years of distinguished service as visiting lecturer in the humanities at Princeton University followed, during which time he took out his first citizenship papers.

His literary production has continued without interruption since his arrival in this country, and his work, which is translated from German into English, reaches an ever-widening public. In 1941, in his sixty-sixth year, he retired to California to devote himself to his writing.

Representative of the finest qualities to be found among the new arrivals, Thomas Mann has made an outstanding contribution to American life by virtue both of his unsurpassed literary gifts and his strong stand for democratic principles. He is now an American citizen. In response to an invitation from his fellow writers to return, he has stated that he will never again live in Germany. During the years of exile, Germany has become alien to him—a land of anxiety and apprehension. He has recently pointed out the obstacles to understanding between "people who have only witnessed from without the Witches' Sabbath of the Nazis, and those within who have participated in its wild dance."

In addition, strong ties hold him to America. Two of his sons have served in the armed forces, and English-speaking grandchildren are growing up around him. Leading American universities have expressed their affection and esteem by bestowing honorary degrees upon him, and he has built his permanent home along the beautiful California coast, whose protection, he says, enables him to bring to a close his life's work.

Another class of refugee artists to whom language has presented a special handicap is the actors. Many could not find work in their profession, while others who found a place in the theater frequently were restricted to dialect or accent parts,

which are generally minor roles. In contrast to the difficulties faced by individuals in other professions, those encountered by the actors have been due more to circumstances beyond the control of the theater than to the discriminatory attitude of the profession, which has a strong tradition of broad social outlook and tolerance.

A few of the refugee actors have succeeded in gaining a reputation which has assured them top places on the legitimate stage as well as in the movies. It is in Hollywood rather than on Broadway that refugee actors have been able to make use of their talents most fully. The same is true also of producers and directors.

WHAT REFUGEES AND AMERICANS THINK OF EACH OTHER

What the Refugees Think of Americans

Interviews and questionnaires obtained by the Committee from thousands of refugees throughout the country tell an interesting story of their reaction to America. Coming from countries suffering from a depressed economy because of war conditions, they are struck by the economic abundance, greater conveniences, and luxuries in the United States. Having lived in fear of the Gestapo, they are impressed with the freedom and security found here. They are amazed to discover that government officials are public servants instead of petty tyrants to be feared and distrusted. Among the other features of American life that provoke their comments are the lack of rigid class lines, the high degree of social mobility, familiarity between employer and employee, the extensive educational and cultural opportunities, and the friendliness, cordiality, informality, and optimism of Americans. They are much impressed with American democracy and liberty, and express great appreciation of the opportunities offered by this country.

Yet they find some of our customs strange and difficult to understand; there are others which they dislike. They express disapproval of the frequent changing of jobs, the lack of thoroughness, the hustle and bustle of life, the lesser regard for orderliness, and the dominating role of money that they believe

exist here. They are surprised at the amount of race prejudice, especially at the treatment accorded to the Negro, and appalled at the extent of anti-Semitism in this country. They are particularly disturbed over such practices as restricted neighborhoods, hotels, resorts, and schools. They find it hard to reconcile such practices and attitudes with the principles of democracy. Most of the refugees—about three-quarters—report, however, that they themselves have experienced no discrimination. Of those who did, it is interesting to note, the earlier arrivals experienced more discrimination than those who came in more recent years. This may be explained by the fact that the latter arrived here in a period of full employment.

One Woman's Appraisal

Following are some of the impressions of America expressed by a cultured German woman in an interview:

I was first of all impressed by your general fearlessness. Children are not afraid of their parents, students are not afraid of their teachers, men of their bosses. Women don't seem to be afraid of anything or anybody. Nobody closes doors here, or erects fences and walls that might serve as a hostile or discriminating gesture. Even your houses look inviting. . . . People keep their shades up for everybody to look in, and nobody seems disturbed by the fact that his privacy can be violated at any time on the slightest pretext.

The fact that everything in America is public at first impresses a European as rather indiscreet. This is especially true of your newspapers. Even your most famous, most important men must share their private lives with their fellow-Americans. They are under a magnifying glass all the time. The public knows how many socks and ties they own and how they live in general. . . .

In the United States dreams are made to come true. The gap between dream and reality is narrow, and while Europeans are often unwilling to bridge it because they feel the result might not live up to their expectations, Americans seem to know no such hesitancy. . . .

If you make a mistake in America, your life isn't ruined. You have tremendous reserves and tremendous room. Americans will greet a new idea or experiment with "why not try it" and, strange to say, it does not kill them. . . . In Europe, on the contrary, every mistake strikes back at you tomorrow. . . . If a European is forced to change his job, he is apt to call himself a failure.

But in America most life histories of outstanding citizens show that they have had lots of different jobs in their lives, all varied. . . .

Another thing that impresses me about this country is the great influence your women wield. This doesn't mean that we don't have outstanding women abroad, but they rarely find such large audiences as, for instance, Mrs. Roosevelt, Dorothy Thompson, and others. I find American women in general far more alert and progressive than European women. . . . What really amazes the foreigner, however, is the way American men have been domesticated. Much as they compete with each other in business, at home they seem to be more or less content to leave the management of their private lives to their wives. . . .

What Americans Think of the Refugees

The general reaction of Americans toward the refugees may be summed up as one of compassion for the victims of persecution seeking a haven here. The refugees report that, on the whole, Americans have shown an attitude of friendliness and helpfulness. As the number of refugees increased, however, a certain amount of antagonism developed. Refugees began to be looked upon as serious competitors, especially by certain professional and wage-earning groups and in certain communities. These fears were allayed with the increased demand for labor brought about by the war.

Some Resent Competition

Nevertheless, a certain degree of resentment has persisted in certain quarters and against certain groups of refugees. This is not an uncommon occurrence in American history, since newcomers frequently have been regarded with enmity and accused of possessing undesirable traits and of offering serious competition. American physicians, led by American medical societies, have complained about the potential competition of refugee physicians, especially where the latter have replaced Americans who left for military service. The extent of the competition, however, could not have been great because the total number of refugee physicians, not all of whom were practitioners, was only 3 per cent of the number of physicians in America. Moreover, the nation has been experiencing a dearth rather than a surplus of doctors. It should be noted that many of the eligible refugee physicians joined the armed forces, while others took

over the practices of Americans with the understanding that they would relinquish them upon the latter's return. Still others settled in small communities which had no doctor.

Complaints have also been heard about the alleged amassing of wealth by some refugees dealing in the stock market and real estate and engaging in other large business enterprises. The number and effect of refugees in these fields have been greatly exaggerated. Only a very small proportion of them are engaged in Wall Street operations, and a still smaller proportion are nonresident aliens who under the present law are not required to pay a capital gains tax. The large-scale real-estate operations of refugees have been confined to a very few large cities, and the amount of real estate they hold is relatively insignificant. Leading American real-estate operators state that, on the whole, refugees in this field have had quite a stimulating effect on the market.

The "Cafe Society" Group

Among other charges leveled against the refugees have been the conspicuous display of wealth by the "café society" group among them, their arrogance, air of superiority, and ungratefulness, as well as their habit of constantly contrasting unfavorably their condition here with their former social and economic status in Europe. The Committee's Study indicates that these typical complaints and charges are limited to a few communities and are greatly exaggerated. In most communities the number of refugees is so small that unless attention is drawn to them the community as a whole is hardly aware of their presence.

The refugee "café society" group comprises only a small percentage even of the wealthy, who are a very small minority. While arrogance may be found among the refugees, as in any other group, what is interpreted as arrogance may be due to sensitiveness or merely to the difference between European and American social habits. Ungratefulness is definitely the exception rather than the rule. The Study indicates that most refugees feel a profound gratitude to America. There may be some Americans who expect the refugees to show continuing humility, gratefulness, and a willingness to accept a low standard of living. This attitude dates back to dealings with immigrants of earlier periods, who were quite unlike the present-day refugees in educational and cultural background.

CONCLUSION

Effects on American Life

In conclusion, it is evident that the refugees, making up only an insignificant percentage of the immigrant population and an utterly negligible proportion of the total population of this country, could hardly offer serious competition to Americans or endanger their way of life. On the contrary, they have had a beneficial influence upon this country out of proportion to their numbers. They have had a stimulating effect upon the economic and cultural life of the nation. In business they have started new types of enterprises, stimulated existing ones, and developed new markets. In industry they have introduced new processes and produced articles hitherto unknown or not manufactured here. Moreover, in both of these fields they have brought in capital and created job opportunities for Americans. A considerable number of refugees, being highly skilled workers, have contributed their skill toward the advancement of various American industries, notably those producing diamonds, jewelry, plastics, textiles, furs, leather goods, and food specialties. In the field of arts and letters they have introduced new forms of expression and significant works; in drama they have created many outstanding and successful plays and motion pictures; in scholarship they have extended the bounds of knowledge; and in science they have made important discoveries.

The refugees have shown unusual adaptability. In a short period of time they have gone a long way toward becoming a part of the nation, presenting little or no problem to the American community.

The Refugee a World Problem

The end of the war has not meant the end of the refugee problem. Millions, uprooted and displaced by the catastrophe through which the world has just passed, are dispersed all over the earth. Many of these cannot go back to their former homes. This is particularly true of the Jews and a good many of the Poles, Russians, Yugoslavs, and nationals of the former Baltic states. For many of these the only solution seems to be to remain in the present countries or to migrate again. In the case of the

Jews, the problem is so great and so complex that bold, far-reaching measures are necessary to solve it. Only by the co-operative effort of all nations can the refugee problem be solved satisfactorily. A step in this direction was taken in 1938 with the creation, at the initiative of the United States, of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Another step was taken in 1943 by the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), in which the United States again assumed a leading part. The problem in its entirety, however, has not as yet been adequately considered, and a definite program for migration and resettlement has not yet been formulated. In this program the United States, with its tradition of serving as a haven for the oppressed, must play an important role.



FOR FURTHER READING

- American Christian Committee for Refugees. *Toward a New Life*. New York. 1945
- American Friends Service Committee. *Refugee Facts: A Study of the German Refugee in America*. Philadelphia. 1939
- Angell, Norman (with two chapters by Dorothy F. Buxton). *You and the Refugee*. London and New York, Penguin Books. 1939
- Brown, Francis J., Editor. "Refugees," special issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 203. May, 1939
- Fields, Harold. *The Refugee in the United States*. New York, Oxford University Press. 1938
- Gottschalk, Max, and Duker, Abraham G. *Jews in the Post-War World*. New York, published for the American Jewish Committee by the Dryden Press. 1945
- Gumpert, Martin. *First Papers*. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pierce. 1941
- National Board, Young Women's Christian Associations. *Meet the Refugees*. New York. 1940
- . *Refugees in Wartime*. New York. 1943
- National Planning Association. *Europe's Uprooted People, the Relocation of Displaced Population*. Washington, D. C., Planning Pamphlet No. 36. September, 1944
- National Refugee Service. *Dividends from New Americans*. New York. 1941
- Natonek, Hans. *In Search of Myself*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1943
- Robison, Sophia M. *Refugees at Work*. New York, King's Crown Press. 1942
- Saenger, Gerhart. *Today's Refugees, Tomorrow's Citizens, a Story of Americanization*. New York, Harpers. 1941
- Simpson, Sir John Hope. *The Refugee Problem. Report of a Survey*. London, Oxford University Press. 1939
- Tartakower, Arieh, and Grossmann, Kurt R. *The Jewish Refugee*. New York Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and World Jewish Congress. 1944.

THE publication of *Public Affairs Pamphlets*—now in their tenth million—is one of the activities of the Public Affairs Committee, whose purpose as expressed in its Constitution is "to make available in summary and inexpensive form the results of research on economic and social problems to aid in the understanding and development of American policy. The sole purpose of the Committee is educational. It has no economic or social program of its own to promote." The members serve in a personal capacity and not as representatives of their respective organizations. Publication of a pamphlet does not necessarily imply the Committee's approval of the statements or views contained in it.

THE COMMITTEE

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Ordway Tead, Chairman | William Trufant Foster | Felix Morley |
| Harry D. Gideonse, Vice Chairman | Luther Gulick | Thomas D. Rishworth |
| S. M. Keeny, Secretary | F. Ernest Johnson | Walter R. Sharp |
| Erling M. Hunt, Acting Secretary | Harry W. Laidler | Donald Slesinger |
| Beulah Amidon, Treasurer | Robert P. Lane | George Soule |
| Eleanor C. Anderson | Francis P. Miller | Mark Starr |
| Earl Brown | Frieda S. Miller | William T. Stone |
| Raymond Leslie Buell | | William H. Wells |

Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor of the Pamphlet Series
Mabel C. Mount, Assistant Editor
Violet Edwards, Director of Education and Promotion
Gladys Gunnerson, Business Manager

All rights reserved. No part of this pamphlet may be reproduced without permission, except short passages of no more than 500 words in length which may be quoted by a reviewer or commentator, with full credit to the Committee. For permission to use longer excerpts, write to the Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

First Edition, December, 1945

Printed in the United States of America

145

DETACH AND MAIL TODAY

Postage
Will Be Paid
by
Addressee

No
Postage Stamp
Necessary
If Mailed in the
United States

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 277516, SEC. 510 P.L.&R, NEW YORK, N. Y.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

1. INCOME AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS
5. CREDIT FOR CONSUMERS
6. THE SOUTH'S PLACE IN THE NATION
18. HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY
23. INDUSTRIAL PRICE POLICIES
25. MACHINES AND TOMORROW'S WORLD
26. HOW GOOD ARE OUR COLLEGES?
27. WHO CAN AFFORD HEALTH?
32. COOPERATIVES IN THE U.S.
33. THIS PROBLEM OF FOOD
34. WHAT MAKES CRIME?
38. THE FIGHT ON CANCER
39. LOAN SHARKS AND THEIR VICTIMS
42. ADRIFT ON THE LAND
43. SAFEGUARDING OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES
44. 59¢ OF YOUR \$1—
45. HOW MONEY WORKS
47. AMERICA'S CHILDREN
50. CREDIT UNIONS
51. READ YOUR LABELS
53. WHAT IT TAKES TO
MAKE GOOD IN COLLEGE
56. WHAT THE NEW CENSUS MEANS
61. INSTALMENT SELLING—PROS AND CONS
62. HOW TO BUY LIFE INSURANCE
65. PROSTITUTION AND THE WAR
66. HOMES TO LIVE IN
67. GOVERNMENT UNDER PRESSURE
69. VITAMINS FOR HEALTH
70. WHAT'S HAPPENING TO
OUR CONSTITUTION?
73. AFTER THE WAR?
76. WORKERS AND BOSSES ARE HUMAN
78. THE AIRPLANE AND TOMORROW'S WORLD
79. THE BEVERIDGE PLAN
80. FREEDOM FROM WANT: A WORLD GOAL
83. WAR, BABIES, AND THE FUTURE
84. JOBS AND SECURITY FOR TOMORROW
85. THE RACES OF MANKIND
86. WHEN I GET OUT? WILL I FIND A JOB?
87. WHY RACE RIOTS?
89. HAVE WE FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL?
90. THE AMERICAN WAY
91. WHAT ABOUT OUR JAPANESE-AMERICANS?
92. FACTS AND TIPS FOR
SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN
93. FREEDOM OF THE AIR
94. RECONVERSION—THE JOB AHEAD
95. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA
96. HOUSES FOR TOMORROW
97. SOCIAL WORK AND THE JONESES
98. EPILEPSY—THE GHOST IS OUT OF THE CLOSET
99. WHAT FOREIGN TRADE MEANS TO YOU
100. SMALL FARM AND BIG FARM
101. THE STORY OF BLUE CROSS
102. VETERAN'S GUIDE
103. CARTELS OR FREE ENTERPRISE?
104. HEALTH CARE FOR AMERICANS
105. THERE CAN BE JOBS FOR ALL!
106. STRAIGHT TALK FOR DISABLED VETERANS
107. RACE RIOTS AREN'T NECESSARY
108. YOUTH AND YOUR COMMUNITY
109. GYPS AND SWINDLES
110. WILL NEGROES GET JOBS NOW?
111. THE REFUGEES ARE NOW AMERICANS

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription for the next 12 Public Affairs Pamphlets for \$1. (If you send payment with this card, we will send you 14 issues—2 extra pamphlets free.)

Please send me the following pamphlets at 10¢ each: _____

Name _____

Organization _____

Street _____

City and State _____

DETACH AND MAIL TODAY

A New Generation . . . From The Ghetto of Warsaw

We are the legions,
the martyred legions,
old and new.
We are the people
for whom no bands played
and no flags waved
and no drums rolled.
We are the murdered Jews,
sons and fathers and children
and wives, who were put to shame,
in the untold GHETTOES OF
WARSAW.

We are the legions,
hosts upon hosts,
whose bones lie scattered
throughout the earth;
upon mountain tops
and furrows deep
and in restless seas;
like newly opened petals
plucked loose by a raging wind,
we have perished
tho we haven't sinned . . .
We were cut off
without reason or rhyme,
before our time.

Aye, as ever,
from age to age,
to begin another historic page,
we need to come once again
to gather our own
from the new fields
of bloody slaughter.
Every generation we come,
to gather each his own,
a father his son,
a brother his brother
and friend his friends,
to deliver each his own
from the bloody hands of man
into the protective custody
of death's oblivion.

But we do not rest!
Nay, and we shall not rest
until our quest is done.
No, we cannot rest,
for the martyred dead
never, rest,
nor are their voices ever stilled.
Theirs is that anguished cry,
theirs that tortured sigh
heard in the night.
Theirs are the flaming tongues
that light the sky,
theirs the challenging thunder
shouting why,
why were we slaughtered?

Why?

Answer, if you can,
you beasts who walk
in the forms of man.
Answer, for you can no longer defy
this, our challenge why.
Why were we murdered?

Why?

And you, mad men, who slay
and have raped and tortured
and plundered us for centuries
night and day,
whether in fury
or because of greed
or in drunken revelry.
Is this THE MISSION
you received AT CAVALRY?
Is this your heritage,
the bloody sword,
with which to justify
the son of Judah
as your LORD?

Helpless as withered weeds
we wept by the waters of Babylon
yet were we staunch
like Lebanon's cedars.
We wept by the Euphrates
and we wept by the Nile
and died even then,
rather than defile
our, legacy,
from SINAI.

And this alone is our code,
Shma Yisroel, Adonai Echod!
Ah, yes, and for this we died.

We built Temples,
monuments to God's Glory,
and for this we died.

We created wonderous lyrics,

PURCHASE BOOKS FOR HANUKKAH GIFTS

through the

BOOKSHOP

Books make fine gifts to children,
friends and service men.

psalms that anoint the soul,
and for this we died.

We had communion with God
and received His Commands!

"Thou shalt have no other gods
before me!"
For this we die, still.

"Thou shalt keep the Sabbath Day
Holy!"

But we are mocked and ridiculed,
but for this we die, still.

"Thou shalt not kill!"
But we are maimed and mutilated,
but for this we die, still.

"Thou shalt not commit adultery!"
But our daughters are violated,
but for this we die, still.

"Thou shalt not steal!"
But we are robbed at every turn,
but for this we die, still.

"Thou shalt not covet!"
But our possessions are plundered,
but for this we die, still.

For all this you kill!
For all this we die still!!

Ah, you creatures of shame,
you who debauch the human name,
and you, of the pious,
who think yourselves saintly,
and just,
who yet stood by and witnessed
the depraved lust of swine
without protest,
you speak, now of mercy,
what a jest!

No, we shall not rest,
not we who are living
nor our immortal dead
for no matter how vile,
no despot can restrain
the weeping echoes
of the martyred slain,
and not until the tides
forget to ebb and flow
or the seasons change,
or the winds blow
or the storms die
shall our martyred spirits cease
to defy
the conscience of mankind
with this challenge,
why?
Oh, WHY?

Lillian Reznick Ott.

Subscribe to and Read "The Reconstructionist" Regularly

Jewish Book Council Announces Book Month

The Jewish Book Council announces that Jewish Book Month this year will be observed between November 10th and December 10th, 1944. It is the purpose of the Council to bring to the attention of the American reader some of the outstanding literary and artistic creations bearing upon Jewry and Judaism.

At the last meeting of the Jewish Book Council of America, the following were elected as the officers for the year 1944-45: Dr. Samuel M. Blumenfeld, Dean of the College of Jewish Studies, Chairman; Mrs. Moses Purvin, member of the Board of the Chicago Public Library, Vice-Chairman; Leonard Meites, editor of the Jewish Chronicle, Treasurer, Anna L. Salzman, Recording Secretary, and Mrs. Miriam Cooper, Corresponding Secretary. The outgoing president is the novelist, Louis Zara.

Among those sponsoring Jewish Book Month are Carl B. Roden, Librarian of the Chicago Public Library, Rabbi Benjamin H. Birnbaum, president of the Chicago Rabbinical Association, and Dr. Philip L. Seman, Director of the Jewish People's Institute.

Mr. William A. Nudelman, our Executive Director, is the representative of the Anshe Emet Synagogue on the Jewish Book Council.

**Perpetuate the Memory of
YOUR DEAR
DEPARTED ONES**

by erecting a
MEMORIAL PLATE
in the
Synagogue Lobby

Please communicate with our office
for additional information

THE OPEN MEETING OF THE ALUMNI

Sunday, November 19, at 7:30 P. M.

PROGRAM

Speaker....."LUCKY" RANGER SHERMAN

Veteran of nineteen battles, holder of many decorations
and one of the original U. S. Rangers

An Original "DOCTOR I. Q." PROGRAM

DANCING

REFRESHMENTS

WAR SERVICE ACTIVITIES

MRS. CHESTER GOODSTEIN,
Chairman

THE WAR IS NOT YET OVER!

Many thousands of bandages are needed by our boys.

Won't you do your share in this war effort by coming to RED CROSS on Tuesdays and Thursdays? We need you —PLEASE DO YOUR SHARE!

* * *

Mrs. J. J. Katzin, chairman of the Stamp and Bond Division, urges all of our members and friends to purchase their stamps and bonds through the Synagogue office.

* * *

The Sisterhood and our Synagogue are participating in the Community and War Fund Drive. Please send your contributions to the Synagogue office.

* * *

There is a national campaign going on to collect 3,000,000 family kits which are to be sent to liberated areas of Russia. Each kit contains essential items and may be purchased for \$2.50. Checks may be mailed to Mrs. Milton C. Lippitz at the Synagogue or 3954 Pine Grove Avenue.

THE CEMETERY BEAUTIFUL

**ANSHE EMET
SYNAGOGUE SECTION
MEMORIAL
PARK
CEMETERY**

CALL OR WRITE FOR INFORMATION
CHICAGO OFFICE
STATE 6740
123 W. MADISON ST.

**PERPETUAL CHARTER
PERPETUAL CARE
REASONABLE PRICES
CONVENIENT TERMS**

**INVESTIGATE
BEFORE
YOU BUY**

↓

RIDGE RD. & HARRISON ST. Evanston, Ill.

ANSHE EMET SYNAGOGUE

PINE GROVE AT GRACE
CHICAGO, ILL.

ENTERED AS
SECOND CLASS MATTER
AT CHICAGO, ILL.

DISPLACED PERSONS

By Philip S. Bernstein

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



Reprinted from THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK
VOL. 49 — 1947-48

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
NEW YORK 1947

DISPLACED PERSONS

By Philip S. Bernstein

THE NAZI WAR not only destroyed 6,000,000 European Jews, their homes and communities, but also left a tragic aftermath of homelessness and hatred. It is estimated that some 30,000 Jews were found alive in the concentration camps by the liberating Allied armies. They had neither the strength nor the will to return to the lands where they had lost everything.

Repatriates from Russia

A much larger group, who later became the bulk of the displaced Jews, were those who had been repatriated from Russia. These people had fled from Poland before the advancing German armies, found temporary haven in the Baltic countries and in White Russia and, subsequently, were sent to work in the interior of Russia—middle Asia, Siberia, etc. In the fall of 1945 and in the spring of 1946, all who could prove Polish citizenship were given the choice of remaining in Russia or of returning to Poland. Nearly all of them, approximately 150,000 persons, elected to return to Poland. They hoped to find their families, their possessions and a new free way of life. Instead, they discovered that their loved ones had been exterminated, their property demolished or confiscated, and their hopes blasted by pogroms. The latter culminated in the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946, in which forty-two Jews were murdered outright by Polish men, women and children, with the apparent approval of the entire community. Disappointment and fear pushed 130,000 Polish Jews toward haven in the U. S. Zones of Germany and Austria. In the spring and summer of 1946, they were moved also by the hope, stimulated by the recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission to admit 100,000 displaced persons into Palestine, that Germany would be the staging area for their emigration to their ultimate desired goals.

Still another group of Jews, stirred by similar, though not so desperate, motivation, infiltrated from other east European countries, notably Hungary and Rumania. These, together, never constituted more than 15 per cent of the infiltration.

Policies of Occupation Authorities

In the U. S. Zones the basic policy for the reception and care of displaced persons was formulated by General Dwight D. Eisenhower. As Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, he announced that "The liberation, care and repatriation of United Nations displaced persons is a major Allied objective," and enjoined the use of all available resources at the disposal of the military commanders to accomplish this aim.

This policy was maintained by his successor, General Joseph T. McNarney. Facing the onrushing, irresistible flood of refugees pouring across the Polish border, through Czechoslovakia, into Austria and Germany, he ordered his armies to admit them and to take care of them.

In the British Zones the refugee Jews received different and inferior treatment. They were denied DP status and treated like the Germans. Energetic efforts were made to prevent their admittance; on the other hand, they were not discouraged from migrating from the British to the U. S. Zones. As a result, the British never had more than 10 per cent of the total Jewish DP population of the U. S. Zones.

Only a handful of Jews found haven in the French Zones, where their food and care were reported to be inadequate.

The Russians were alleged to have denied the existence of a separate Jewish DP group. Very few Jews remained in the Russian Zones. They were not anti-Soviet but preferred not to be under Russian control.

The great flow of east European Jews was reduced to a trickle in the fall of 1946. As contrasted with 3,900 who crossed the Polish-Czechoslovakian border in one night in August of that year, the winter months saw practically no movement. Nor was there any substantial movement in prospect when, on April 21, 1947, General Lucius D. Clay,

Commander in Chief of the European Command, issued an order denying DP care to any further infiltrees. This order did not close the borders of the U. S. Zones to infiltrees, but closed the camps to them. Henceforth, they were dependent for sustenance on the indigenous economy and on the help of Jewish voluntary agencies.

At this point the population of displaced Jews became stable. On June 1, 1947, there were 156,646 Jewish displaced persons in U. S. Zone, Germany, of whom 123,778 lived in camps. In U. S. Zone, Austria, according to official reports, there were 27,456. The British Zones in Germany and Austria contained about 16,000; the French Zones about 2,000. There were reported to be about 25,000 Jewish displaced persons in Italy.

Although there was no compulsion to live in camps, approximately 80 per cent of the Jews preferred to do so because of better care and greater security. At the time of stabilization, Jews constituted approximately one-quarter of the total DP population; the other large groups consisted chiefly of Poles and Balts.

The United States Army recognized a special responsibility toward the Jews because of their special suffering. This was due, both to the basic traditions and policy of the United States toward victims of persecution and to the criticism of their early treatment by President Truman's special emissary, Mr. Earl Harrison. Jews were given the following advantages over other DP's, some of whom were alleged to have collaborated with the Nazis: They were automatically granted DP status and exempted from the screening imposed on others; their basic ration of 2,200 calories was higher than the basic ration of the non-Jews, 2,000; German police were not permitted to enter Jewish camps for the purpose of making arrests; no raids could be made on Jewish camps, except with top level approval; the trials of Jewish offenders were ordered to be expedited; those convicted were exempt from serving their sentences in German jails and were not subject to compulsory repatriation; there was a special Adviser on Jewish Affairs at the Headquarters of the Theater Commander, at first Judge Simon H. Rifkind and, subsequently, Rabbi Philip

S. Bernstein of Rochester, New York; on September 7, 1946, General McNarney gave official recognition to the Central Committee of Liberated Jews, their democratically elected representative organization; the Jews were exempted from the repatriation pressures designed to induce other DP's to return to their native lands.

By the spring of 1947, the Jews were settled in the following installations:

| | Number of Installations | Population (in 1000) | Population (in % of total) |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Camps..... | 63 | 103 | 67.0% |
| Hachsharoth..... | 39 | 3.6 | 2.5% |
| Communities..... | 139 | 43.7 | 25.3% |
| Children's Centers..... | 14 | 4.1 | 2.8% |
| Hospitals & Sanatoriums..... | 48 | 3.5 | 2.4% |
| | 303 | 157.9 | 100.0% |

Agency Services

Recognizing the need for camp administration by an international civilian body, arrangements were made for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to assume this function. At the height of its program, UNRRA had some 4,000 persons in Germany alone, administering its DP activities. Its staff was truly international and, in many instances, Jews encountered profound sympathy in the non-Jewish personnel. The Army gave food, clothing and shelter; UNRRA provided administration and some amenities.

The need for supplementary services by Jewish voluntary agencies was recognized not only by American Jewry, which contributed the largest sums in the history of philanthropy, but also by the Army and UNRRA. The American Joint Distribution Committee steadily built up a program of usefulness, providing supplementary food and clothing, amenities and medicaments, educational and religious equipment, as well as immigration and other services. The Jewish Agency for Palestine not only participated in activities designed to prepare Jews for migration to Palestine, including the establishment of Hachsharoth, but assumed responsibility for instruction in the camps. The children were given a Zionist orientation, which

reflected the outlook and the wish of the camp communities. The Hebrew Immigration Aid Society offered various immigration services. The world ORT Union conducted occupational training schools. The Vaad Hatzala devoted itself to the rehabilitation of orthodox Jewish life among the displaced persons and assisted a number of orthodox rabbis in migrating to the States. The Jewish chaplains in the United States Army, who rendered yeoman service in the early days of liberation, continued to render special, though more limited, services, as the time passed.

The Central Committee of Liberated Jews, founded through the initiative of Chaplain Abraham J. Klausner on June 15, 1945, became a highly organized institution, prepared to take over most of the functions and services to the DP's. The AJDC transferred to this body many of its functional responsibilities.

Health Conditions of DP's

When liberated from concentration camps, the Jews were sociologically abnormal. All the older people and all the children had been exterminated. The intellectuals, the professional people, the leadership, the sick, the weak, had perished. Chiefly those survived whose labor or skill was useful to their captors. The handful of survivors found that their families had been destroyed.

In due course the Jewish will to live asserted itself. Marriages abounded. The birthrate was higher than in any other Jewish community. Despite lack of privacy and normalcy, illegitimate births were rare. In lands where venereal disease had become almost ubiquitous among the military and civilian populations, it was negligible among the Jews.

Their health steadily improved. Flesh was put on wasted figures. The camps were justly proud of the prowess of their athletic teams. The children, especially those born in the camps, were normal, healthy specimens. In the dreadful winter of 1946-47, there were no epidemics, no deaths from hunger or cold—a tribute both to their own reserves of health and to the care given them by the United States Army.

It should be added that the normalization was partly due

to the infiltration of large numbers of repatriated Polish Jews. For the most part, these people had fled to Russia as family groups. They escaped Nazi extermination and degradation. Their old people and children, their rabbis and leaders, survived. They worked very hard in Russia, enduring many privations, but emerged in reasonably good health. Thus, they transplanted to Germany the sociological structure of a Polish Jewish community.

Age and Occupational Structure

The age distribution of the Jewish DP population in assembly centers, as of February 1, 1947, follows:

| Age Group | Number and Sex | Totals |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------|
| Under 1..... | 6,610 | — |
| 1-5..... | 5,386 | — |
| 6-17..... | 16,099 | — |
| Total, 0-17..... | — | 28,095 |
| 18-44..... | 54,639 (men) | — |
| Total..... | 42,041 (women) | — |
| | — | 98,680 |
| 45 and over..... | 6,776 (men) | — |
| Total..... | 5,486 (women) | — |
| | — | 12,262 |
| Total, 18 and over..... | — | 110,942 |
| GRAND TOTAL..... | — | 139,037 |

The Jews who were rescued from the concentration camps were not strong enough to work, nor did they have the will to do so. Under the Nazis, work meant slavery and, ultimately, death. In Germany they were unwilling to rebuild the economy of the nation that had despoiled them. Both their physical disability and their attitude found sympathy among the Americans, and no special effort was made to induce or compel them to work. But, as time passed, and, particularly, with the influx of the repatriated Polish Jews, the situation changed. They took over all the functions of the camps. They became its teachers, nurses, cooks, policemen,

garbage collectors, shoemakers, etc. Work projects were established in a number of camps which produced clothing, shoes, utensils, toys, etc. By the summer of 1947, it was evident in most camps that about one-third of the population were working, which constituted over one-half of the employables. Considerable numbers were enrolled in occupational training schools. A study of the Jewish DP's employed at their primary skills revealed the following information:

| OCCUPATION | MEN | WOMEN |
|--------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Accountants..... | 984 | 639 |
| Business Executives..... | 988 | 224 |
| Salesmen..... | 977 | 298 |
| Farmers..... | 1102 | 325 |
| Nurses..... | | 540 |
| Auto Mechanics..... | 567 | |
| Drivers..... | 1035 | |
| Butchers..... | 1074 | |
| Bakers..... | 814 | |
| Domestics..... | | 1660 |
| Locksmiths..... | 1367 | |
| Shoemakers..... | 2032 | |
| Tailors or Seamstresses..... | 3717 | 4886 |
| Teachers, Professors, Academics..... | 424 | 381 |
| Textile Workers..... | 960 | 603 |

Black marketing, it must be added, also constituted an occupation. Obviously, this was not peculiar to the Jews, for all Germany—indeed, most of Europe—was in the throes of the black market, owing to the scarcity of necessities. Furthermore, a rigid interpretation of regulations regarded barter as black market. Thus, a father who might exchange a package of cigarettes for a bottle of milk for his child would be regarded as a law-breaker. Nevertheless, because Jews were segregated into special communities, where their activities seemed to be conducted in a goldfish bowl, their share of “operators” made them particularly vulnerable to the charge of black marketing.

Political and Cultural Activities

The Jews enjoyed a lively political life. They elected their own camp committees who, in turn, chose regional commit-

tees. At the top stood the Central Committee of Liberated Jews with a highly organized political apparatus which employed, in 1947, about 1,000 persons in its various bureaus. At first the various committees were chosen, regardless of party affiliation. Most of the top leadership seemed to be of Lithuanian descent. In time, and reflecting the heightened Zionist tensions, party alignments played a greater role. At the Congress of Liberated Jews in February, 1947, the Central Committee was elected entirely on a party basis. The Zionist parties, reflecting the structure of Palestine politics, were: Hashomer Hatzair, both branches of the Poale Zion, Pechach, Mizrahi, General Zionists, Revisionists, and Aguda.

Camps conducted interesting cultural programs. Lectures and concerts were given by their own people and by outside celebrities. Theatrical groups sprang up. Lecture courses were presented. Volks-Universitäten were founded. There were as many newspapers and magazines as could be supplied with paper.

Religious activities enjoyed a moderate success. Not all Jews were religious, but more of them participated in observances than would have done so in a normal community. There was no Liberal or Reform Judaism among them. They were either observant Orthodox Jews or, if indifferent, insisted upon traditional ceremonies in times of need.

One or more synagogues were to be found in all camps. In most of the larger camps there was a Mikvah. The Army assisted in arrangements for Kosher meat. Many of the smaller camps had only a Kosher kitchen; the larger camps had both Kosher and general kitchens.

Despite their sufferings, the Jews did not berate nor deny God. Nor did they indulge in the mystical escapism which became popular in France and in England. They did not become faddists. They retained a tough-minded, critical realism about their universe, from which faith was not lacking.

Morale

Although some of the camps consisted of small houses, most of them were converted German barracks. Large, drab,

rectangular buildings faced an open square. Because bombed-out Germany was overcrowded, both with its own population and with millions of Germans expelled from other countries, housing space for DP's was limited. Frequently, therefore, from four to ten people of different ages and sexes would occupy one room. There was little privacy, few amenities. Although health regulations required communal eating, most people in large camps managed to prepare their own meals in their own sleeping quarters.

The adults were short, by comparison with Americans or Germans. In manner they were excitable, their emotions easily aroused. Crowds would quickly gather around a visitor or an argument. Confronted with ugly quarters and limited food, their life was a constant selfish struggle for existence. On the other hand, they were capable of great generosity and self-sacrifice. No camp population ever refused to admit any of their brethren fleeing from persecution. Established camps shared their meager food with new camps that were in need. On the fringes of many camps were numerous Jews who, prevented from registration in these particular camps by maximal capacity regulations, were fed by friends and relatives from their own limited rations.

The individual Jew seemed reasonably normal under abnormal conditions. As a mass, however, they frequently showed signs of hysteria. Wild, unfounded rumors spread like wildfire, and were devoured. Although they developed day by day relations with many Germans, the men sometimes with German women, they hated them with an unforgiving hate. They were unwilling to accept any plan which involved some concession to the Germans.

The Children

The children were remarkable. At first, there were none. Then, rescue parties began to bring in from Poland those who had hidden in forests, caves and cellars; those who had fought with partisan bands; and those who had been hidden by Christians. Most of them had undergone fantastic experiences. One was thrown, in a suitcase, out of a moving train by his

parents on their way to the extermination chambers. Another was chloroformed by his physician father and carried out of the Kovno Ghetto in a sack of potatoes. Others had registered as Christians or Moslems. Many of these children had no Jewish education and knew no Yiddish. Most of them were prematurely aged and wizened. Under affectionate and generous care, both by the DP's and by the various agencies, they soon became normal Jewish boys and girls. These unattached, and usually orphaned, boys and girls numbered over 5,000. They lived in special children's centers. They conducted their own vigorous cultural and athletic programs. Their entertainments were imaginative and creative. The other children, numbering over 22,000, lived with their families in the camps.

Testimony of General Clay

Looking back over the horrors visited upon these people, the losses they suffered, the ugliness of camp life, the dreary, protracted delays in their resettlement, and all the threats of demoralization, these Jewish displaced persons achieved a remarkable rehabilitation. General Lucius D. Clay who, as Military Governor and, later, as Commander in Chief of the European Command, observed them closely for two years, passed this judgment upon them:

The behavior of the Jewish displaced persons has not been a major problem at any time since the surrender of Germany. I wish that I could say the same for all other groups. The Jewish displaced persons were quickly gathered into communities where their religious and selected community leaders insisted on an orderly pattern of community life. Of course, we have had many minor problems resulting from the assembly of large numbers of Jewish displaced persons in the midst of the people who had caused their suffering. Moreover, the unsettled economic conditions in Germany have made barter trading and black market operations a common problem. Even in this field, the Jewish displaced persons have not been conspicuous in their activities as compared to other displaced persons groups or, in fact, as compared to the German population itself.

The Jewish displaced persons have on the whole established an excellent record insofar as crimes of violence are concerned, and in spite of their very natural hatred of the German people have been remarkably restrained in avoiding incidents of a serious nature with the German population.

In view of the conditions under which they have had to live in Germany, with their future unsettled and their past suffering clear at hand, their record for preserving law and order is to my mind one of the remarkable achievements which I have witnessed during my more than two years in Germany.

By the summer of 1947, the prospects of these people were not good. UNRRA had expired. Gone were its vast funds and large trained staff. The International Refugee Organization had replaced it, but with severely limited funds and personnel. Under pressure from an economy-minded Congress, the United States Army was attempting the occupation of Germany with substantially reduced forces, with no money and little attention for the DP's. The heaviest burdens in their history were falling upon the voluntary agencies at a time when a reversal in economic trends was cutting deeply into their funds.

DP—German Relations

The continuing abnormalities of their lives in Germany could not help but bring about some deterioration in the relations of the displaced Jews with the German population and with the Army.

Studies of Germans' attitudes revealed that four out of every ten would participate in, or condone, overt acts against Jews. An additional four were ardent German racists or nationalists, easily susceptible to anti-Semitic incitement. In addition to their anti-Semitic predisposition and conditioning, these Germans were confronted with terrible housing, food and fuel shortages. They resented the displaced persons in their midst and begrudged whatever they received. Although few overt

acts occurred, the tensions were mounting. Anti-Semitic threats, songs, abuse were again heard.

The high level policy of the United States Army continued to be as sympathetic and as fair as could be expected under the circumstances. But, on the operational level, difficulties were increasing. The military personnel in the field had contacts with DP's only at the point of trouble. Because these soldiers were usually young and lacking in background for the understanding of so alien and complex a problem, it was hard for them to have a sympathetic or just evaluation of these uprooted Jews. Increasingly, as United States policy turned more activities over to the Germans and, also, as German girls influenced American men, the Americans were affected by German attitudes.

Emigration a Compelling Necessity

These external threats of deterioration and growing inner dangers of demoralization made it clear that the Jews could not and should not stay much longer in Germany. But where should they go? Very few wished to return to their lands of origin. Despite the announced good intentions of the Polish government, they felt they could not trust the Polish people who had committed and permitted such outrages as the Kielce pogrom. They feared, too, that their return in any numbers to Poland would again evoke the same violent anti-Semitism.

Responsible organizations and persons, including the writer, explored various immigration possibilities. In most instances, it developed either that the countries did not want Jews or wanted such categories of labor as were not to be found among Jews, such as miners and lumbermen. Norway offered to replenish its slaughtered Jewish population, but the numbers were small. France granted 8,000 transient visas. Other European countries took a few. The United States, by the reestablishment of the quota system, took larger numbers, but altogether, by the summer of 1947, they constituted less than 5 per cent of the DP population.

After much painful exploration it became clear that there were only two realistic possibilities: increased immigration to the United States and mass resettlement in Palestine. About 25 per cent of the displaced persons wished to emigrate to the United States, chiefly to join their relatives. Having lost most of their families, there was a natural and overwhelming desire to reunite with the remaining fragments. The immigration of some 60,000 Jews to the United States over a period of time would obviously impose no hardships. In the early stages, their families and the Jewish communities would take care of them. Their work skills and native intelligence would enable them to make a useful contribution to American life.

Resettlement in Palestine was the passionate and unquenchable wish of most of the displaced Jews. The opening of its doors at any moment would have led 90 per cent of them in that direction. Simultaneous immigration possibilities to the United States and Palestine would have found 75 per cent on the road to Zion. Even the attempt permanently to close the doors of Palestine would have found at least 50 per cent prepared to oppose all delays and obstacles with their unflagging determination to go there. There were no anti-Zionists among the DP's. Even those who were migrating to the United States believed in the Jewish National Home. Their Zionist views reflected the divisions in the Zionist movement. But all of them believed in the need for creating a Jewish state in Palestine, not necessarily in all of Palestine.

This powerful national urge expressed itself in steady and growing unauthorized immigration to Palestine. The young, the vigorous, the unattached went first. It was estimated, by the summer of 1947, that 30,000 from Germany and Austria had migrated toward Palestine since liberation. The obstacles placed in their path were very great, but neither hardship nor hazards could deter them. Out they went in growing numbers.

AM YISRAEL CHAI.

It's Up To You

NOW!

- 1.** *130,000,000 dollars a year—or 400,000 dollars a day—* that is the approximate sum *American taxpayers have been paying since V-E Day to maintain displaced persons in European detention camps.*
- 2.** The displaced persons, *850,000 survivors of Nazi concentration camps and of slave labor battalions,* are in Germany, Austria and Italy.
- 3.** They represent almost all religions. *Some 80 per cent are Christians of various denominations; 20 per cent are Jews.*
- 4.** These men, women and children, victims of Nazi barbarism and terror, do not wish to and cannot return to their homes of origin, now in the Soviet sphere of influence, because *they fear oppression for religious or political reasons.*
- 5.** On February 12, 1946, the *United States Government officially declared at the United Nations General Assembly that it is against any forced repatriation of displaced persons.*
- 6.** During various *United Nations* debates, *the United States delegation vigorously upheld this principle* as opposed to the Soviet delegation which fought for the return of displaced persons to their homelands. The United States delegation won. The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the principle that displaced persons are not to be repatriated forcibly.
- 7.** The United States Government signed the charter of the International Refugee Organization which is to handle the displaced persons problem. But *IRO cannot solve the problem unless immigrant-receiving countries make special provisions to receive a fair share of displaced persons.*

It's Up To You NOW!

8. By remaining in Central Europe, the displaced persons have *already become a source of grave misunderstandings among the world's great powers; unless speedy action is taken for the permanent resettlement of these people, they will continue to be one of the most serious dangers to the peace so dearly won.*

9. The policy of maintaining displaced persons in concentration-like camps is *a crime against the unfortunate displaced nationals of our Allies; a heavy financial drain on the United States treasury; a threat to the position of the United States as a world power; and a danger to world peace.*

10. There are now two bills in Congress which, if passed, would solve this acute international emergency. They are: *H.R. 2910*, introduced by Representative William G. Stratton (R., Ill.) and *S. 1563* sponsored by Senators Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.); Joseph H. Ball (R., Minn.); H. Alexander Smith (R., N. J.); John W. Bricker (R., Ohio); John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.); Leverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.); Wayne Morse (R., Ore.); Carl A. Hatch (D., N. Mex.); and J. Howard McGrath (D., R. I.).

11. These bills permit the United States to admit a fair share of displaced persons to this country. *H.R. 2910* specifies that a fair share would be 400,000 people who would enter the United States in a period of four years; this means that *one family unit of only 3 persons would be added to a community of 1,000 people.*

12. The U.S. Census Bureau on August 15, 1947 reported that *17 mid-western states had lost 1,031,865 civilian residents* in the past six years. The gross annual income loss suffered by these states is computed at \$833,590,610. The 400,000 displaced persons in Europe are *skilled farmers, professionals, mechanics, domestics* and are *experienced in other occupations needed here*; they could greatly contribute to our economy by partially filling the void created by the out-migration of over 1,000,000 Americans.

It's Up To You NOW!

13. The total of 400,000 *would equal less than half the number of quota immigrants who could have legally come here during the war years, but did not do so because of the war.*

14. During the 1940-1946 war period only 15 per cent of the total world quota was used. In other words, *the United States lost 914,762 prospective citizens in that period.*

15. *H.R. 2910 would be temporary emergency legislation. It would cease to operate after the four-year period. It would not alter the basic quota law regulating normal immigration.*

16. *H.R. 2910 adopts the protective restrictions of the general immigration law which screens immigrants on the basis of health, morals, economic status and specified political beliefs.*

17. *Over 110 national organizations, including the major welfare, religious, civic and labor organizations, support H.R. 2910.*

18. Hearings on *H.R. 2910* were held by the House Subcommittee on Immigration in June and July 1947. Twenty-eight leading citizens testified in favor of the bill. Eight persons testified against.

19. *Secretary of State George C. Marshall in his testimony urged: "Now is the time to act." Other nations are watching to see "if we practice what we preach" and will be guided by United States action on the displaced persons problem.*

20. *Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson emphasized that the displaced persons problem was not one Congress could decide to "accept or reject," but one it had on its hands since 600,000 displaced persons are in the American zones of Germany and Austria alone. He advocated immediate passage of H.R. 2910 on the grounds of "economy, humanity and the furtherance of world peace."*

It's Up To You NOW!

21. *Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, said: "The Churches are effectively organized to do resettlement when larger numbers of displaced persons are permitted to enter our country."*

22. *Bishop William T. Mulloy, President of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, presented statements from 16 Bishops supporting H.R. 2910 and offering to resettle displaced persons in their areas.*

23. *Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor of New York and former head of UNRRA, stated that failure to pass the Stratton Bill would benefit "the forces of disorder and chaos already working to turn the European continent against the American ideals we maintain."*

24. *William Green, President of the A.F.L., said in his testimony in favor of H.R. 2910: "How can we hope to promote the ideal of democracy throughout the world if we refuse to offer sanctuary to the refugees from totalitarian oppression. . . . H.R. 2910 will not have any adverse bearing on the American workman." Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., added that the displaced persons would, in fact, stimulate employment.*

25. *Urging passage of suitable displaced persons legislation "as speedily as possible," President Truman sent a special message to Congress in July 1947. The President declared: "These are people who oppose totalitarian rule, and who because of their burning faith in the principles of freedom and democracy have suffered untold privation and hardship. Because they are opposed to communism, they have staunchly resisted all efforts to return to communist-controlled areas. They look hopefully to the democratic countries to help them rebuild their lives. We should admit a substantial number as immigrants and join in giving them a chance at decent and self-supporting lives."*

26. *Bills H.R. 2910 and S. 1563 must come to the floors of the House and Senate for deliberation and vote. It is up to each of us to urge passage of these bills.*

It's Up To You NOW!

27. Write a personal letter, individually, to your Representative or Senator, explaining in your own language your support of these bills.

28. Your letters should be written in the friendliest of spirits, in the confidence that your Congressional representatives want to be fair-minded and that they are interested in your views.

29. Be sure to make it clear that *your interest is not in any one group* or segment of the displaced persons but in the *entire group as human beings without regard to race, creed or origin.*

30. Send copies of your letter to members of the Senate and House Committees of the Judiciary.

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Republicans

Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin
Chairman
William Langer, No. D.
Homer Ferguson, Mich.
Chapman Revercomb, W. Va.
E. H. Moore, Okla.
Forrest C. Donnell, Mo.
John Sherman Cooper, Ky.

Democrats

Pat McCarran, Nev.
Harley M. Kilgore, W. Va.
James O. Eastland, Miss.
Warren G. Magnuson, Wash.
J. W. Fulbright, Ark.
J. Howard McGrath, R. I.

SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Chapman Revercomb, W. Va., *Chairman*
Pat McCarran, Nev.

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Republicans

Earl C. Michener, Mich.,
Chairman
John M. Robsion, Ky.
Chauncey W. Reed, Ill.
John W. Gwynne, Iowa
Louis E. Graham, Pa.
Frank Fellows, Maine
Earl R. Lewis, Ohio
John Jennings, Jr., Tenn.
Angier L. Goodwin, Mass.
Clifford P. Case, N. J.
E. Wallace Chadwick, Pa.
Albert L. Reeves, Jr., Mo.
Kenneth B. Keating, N. Y.
Edward J. Devitt, Minn.

Democrats

Emanuel Celler, N. Y.
Francis E. Walter, Pa.
Sam Hobbs, Ala.
William T. Byrne, N. Y.
Estes Kefauver, Tenn.
Joseph R. Bryson, S. C.
Fadjo Cravens, Ark.
Thomas J. Lane, Mass.
Martin Gorski, Ill.
Michael A. Feighan, Ohio
Frank L. Chelf, Ky.
Ed Gossett, Tex.

HOUSE SUB-COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Frank Fellows, Maine,
Chairman
John M. Robsion, Ky.
Louis E. Graham, Pa.

Emanuel Celler, N. Y.
Frank L. Chelf, Ky.
Ed Gossett, Tex.

It's Up To You NOW!

31. *Follow up every reply.* If asked for documentary material, write the national Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons for such information and forward it to your Congressional representative.

32. Arrange to see your Representative or Senator either in his home district or in Washington, D.C. Tell him how strongly you feel on the subject. In addition to seeing him as an individual citizen, visit him as a member of delegations of various organizations.

33. Secure resolutions and petitions by the organizations with which you are affiliated, embodying support for H.R. 2910 and S. 1563.

34. Send copies of the petitions and resolutions and reports of your visits with Congressmen to newspapers in your own community and to the national Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons.

35. Meet with editors, political leaders and other outstanding public-spirited citizens in your community to discuss the subject with them and urge them to give their support to the proposal that 100,000 displaced persons enter the United States a year for four years.

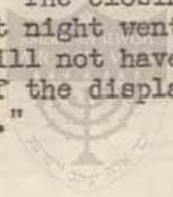
36. Urge the passage of H.R. 2910 and S. 1563!

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS
39 EAST 36th STREET NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Earl G. Harrison, Chairman

A.F.L. CONVENTION ENDORSES STRATTON BILL; SAYS DP'S ARE NOT COMPETITORS FOR JOBS

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 17. (JTA) -- The closing session of the 66th convention of the American Federation of Labor last night went on record in favor of the Stratton Bill, declaring that the legislation "will not have an adverse bearing on the American workman," since "more than 50 percent of the displaced persons are women and children. They will not be job competitors."



THE DP'S AT THE GOLDEN DOOR

Congress has no more important obligation during the few remaining days of the present session than to arrange for the early admission to this country of a fair share of those war victims who carry the pathetic title of Displaced Persons. There are no arguments against this proposal that will stand examination by daylight. Let us look at the main points.

1. The Stratton Bill in the House would admit 400,000 within the next four years, at the rate of 100,000 a year. A similar bill in the Senate sets no figure, but would doubtless admit as many. Existing quotas, which have not been filled for many years, would admit 154,000. The pending measures would merely adjust the quotas, letting some of those who desperately need new homes take the places of those who do not want to come.

2. The newcomers, to use the words of former Immigration Commissioner Earl G. Harrison in his eloquent support of the Stratton Bill, would not be "an assorted group of revolutionists, Communists, crackpots, bums, criminals, wealthy black-marketeers and indigent paupers." Nearly all of the DP's are now homeless because they will not or dare not go back to Communist-dominated countries. They possess skills which will enable us, as Mr. Harrison said, to "put them to productive use."

3. Economy-minded members of Congress might be asked to consider the fact that about 600,000 of these refugees are in our own camps in Germany and Austria, where they are maintained at an expense to the American taxpayer of many millions of dollars a year. In this case humanitarianism may actually be a paying investment. We do not believe the American public would tolerate the only other possible economy, which would be to let the DP's starve or to deport them to countries where they would be savagely punished for their political views.

The sources of opposition to this measure have not been fully exposed, and the articulate opposition has not been candid. The supporters include both our great labor organizations; they include spokesmen for our principal religious faiths; they include every federal official, from President Truman down, who has studied the subject.

We owe it to ourselves, in our own best interest, to pass the Stratton Bill or its equivalent. We owe it to those who suffered during the second World War for the common cause. We owe it to our prestige and dignity abroad, of which we can buy more with simple human kindness and a touch of wisdom than we can with dollars. Congress this week might well remember the lines of Emma Lazarus about the "lamp beside the golden door." Our hospitality at best in these latter days does not extend to millions. Still, it would be like a breath of the splendid and spacious past, in which America was loved by millions, if Congress took time out this week from its lesser knitting and passed this law.

DP

New York Times

July 23, 1947

JEWISH REFUGEES TRAIN IN ENGLAND

Farm School Preparing Pupils
for Life in Palestine. ORT
Official Reports Here

The Organization for Rehabilitation through Training is preparing Jewish refugees for life in Palestine at a farm school in England. Mrs. William J. Borkovitz of Winnetka, Ill., president of the American ORT Midwest region, said yesterday in the Hotel Barbizon-Plaza.

Returning from a six-week tour of ORT training schools abroad with Mrs. Ludwig Kaphan, president of the American ORT metropolitan region here, Mrs. Borkovitz described ORT's vocational program in displaced persons' camps in Germany and Austria and its two training schools in England. One is in London.

The ORT farm school, Bedford, is at Goldington, fifty miles from London. Mrs. Borkovitz said the students were fitted for trades and learned the geography of the country to which they believed they were going.

"Palestine is the country where so many want to go," she declared. "Usually a special teacher is assigned to give a special course in its geography."

Asked how the English reacted, Mrs. Borkovitz observed that "the British leave the school alone." They know, she explained, that it is an ORT school. English farmers whose land adjoins the school are "neighborly and helpful," she asserted.

"The way young women are taught sewing in ORT schools in England and on the Continent would stagger an American woman," Mrs. Borkovitz said. "They learn anatomy before learning design."

The two ORT representatives visited retraining schools in the American zone of Germany, Salzburg, Austria; France, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. Mrs. Borkovitz showed articles made by ORT trainees with materials bought by the Joint Distribution Committee.

The world ORT union is operating fifty-three schools in the American and British zones of Germany. The goal there is to raise the number of trainees from 10,000 to 30,000.

Mrs. Borkovitz said she found the DDP teachers "providing not just vocational training, but giving back the feeling of the love of human beings." Through learning skills, the DP's have gained "dignity," she remarked.

The speaker declared that, in contrast to the spirit among the DP's, she found the Germans "sullen, complaining and riding around on bicycles they stole from Holland and Denmark." She added that more and more ORT-trained DP's would be absorbed abroad because of the "need for skilled labor."



July 23, 1947

THE SCREEN

**'Crossfire,' Study on Tolerance,
Starring Robert Young and
Robert Ryan, Opens at Rivoli
—Atry and Rogers at Rialto**

CROSSFIRE, screen play by John Paxton; from the novel, "The Brick Foxhole," by Richard Brooks; directed by Edward Dmytryk; produced by Adrian Scott for RKO Radio, At the Rivoli.

| | |
|---------------|------------------|
| Finley | Robert Young |
| Kelley | Robert Mitchum |
| Montgomery | Robert Ryan |
| Glenn | Gloria Grahame |
| The Man | Paul Kelly |
| Samuels | Sam Levene |
| Mary Mitchell | Jacqueline White |
| Floyd | Steve Brodie |
| Mitchell | George Cooper |
| Hill | Richard Benedict |
| Detective | Richard Powers |
| Lover | William Phillips |
| Harry | Les Barker |
| Miss Lewis | Mario Dwyer |



Robert Ryan in "Crossfire"

By BOSLEY CROWTHER

An unqualified A for effort in bringing to the screen a frank and immediate demonstration of the brutality of religious bigotry as it festers and fires ferocity in certain seemingly normal American minds is due to Producers Dore Schary, Adrian Scott and everyone else at RKO who had a hand in the making of "Crossfire," which came to the Rivoli yesterday. For here, without hints or subterfuges, they have come right out and shown that such malice—in this case, anti-Jewish—is a dark and explosive sort of hate which, bred of ignorance and intolerance, can lead to extreme violence.

And an equally high mark for lacing this exceedingly thoughtful theme through a grimly absorbing melodrama is due the film's makers, too. For, again in a manner which advances the realistic techniques of the screen, they have blended both theme and storytelling in a cinematically stimulating way.

Slowly and apparently incidentally, the theme invades the plot, which seems, at its outset, to be more than a standard murder yarn. A man, suspected of a murder, refers to the victim as a "Jew boy"—that is all. A little later, this same man—an ex-soldier—lets slip some further anti-Jewish prejudice. And then the audience comes to realize, as does the district attorney probing the case, that here is the sole motive for the murder: a vicious and drunken hate.

But then, as this realization is shockingly brought to the fore, there emerges an equally-strong resistance to the unmasking of the suspected man. That is the curious confusion which certain of his soldier pals created, out of sheer misguided loyalty, to prevent his unqualified arrest. And thus is evolved a drama in which intolerance, supported by loyalty, is pitted against social justice and the righteousness of humanity.

In developing this stinging drama, Director Edward Dmytryk has employed a slow, aggravatingly-set tempo and a heavily-shaded pictorial style. He has worked for moods of ominous peril to carry the hot ferocity suggested in the script which John Paxton has written from Richard Brooks' novel, "The Brick Foxhole." Incidentally, the motive for murder which was brought out in the book has been changed for this present film version—and to remarkably advantageous effect.

Also, Mr. Dmytryk has handled most excellently a superlative cast which plays the drama. Robert Ryan is frighteningly real as the hard, sinewy, loud-mouthed, intolerant and vicious murderer, and Robert Mitchum, Steve Brodie and George Cooper are variously revealing as his pals. Robert Young gives a fine taut performance as the patiently questioning D. A. whose mind and sensibilities are revolted—and eloquently expressed—by what he finds. Sam Levene is affectingly gentle in his brief bit as the Jewish victim, and Gloria Grahame is believably brazen and pathetic as a girl of the streets.

Indeed, "Crossfire" would warrant an A for accomplishment all around if it weren't for an irritating confusion of detailed exposition at the start—a jumble of names and identities which oppress a watcher's mind—and for a few

illogical police slips and occasional stretches of heavy talk. Some of the slow dramatic tension is lost through these unhappy faults. But they can be generally forgiven for a thematically articulate film.



RANGE
IANCE

Why Not Bring Homeless Jews to U. S.?

By PHILIP WYLIE

Reprinted from New York Post

MANY AMERICANS of every political viewpoint and economic status are bitter about the refusal of the British to allow the Jewish people to return to Palestine.

These Americans—millions of them—point out, justly, that the British promised the Jewish people that they could go back, that the Jewish people have a spiritual claim on Palestine established by a book in good repute in America called "The Holy Bible," and that if the remnant Jewish people are not allowed to go somewhere they will suffer from the residual insanities left by Hitler.

The motive of these Americans is decency: a promise should be kept; condemning the Jews to live where they have been hunted like animals is vicious; if man does not immediately cease his inhumanity to man, the human race will not last out the century.

Moreover, those Jewish people who were permitted to settle in Palestine turned in an astonishing record. They were tolerant. They made friends with the Arabs in the area. They brought prosperity to those Arabs. They also brought education to them. The Jews built beautiful, modern cities. They set up hydroelectric plants and irrigation systems



WYLIE

which supplied

power to the region and which reclaimed vast areas of land that had been barren for a thousand years. They proved themselves fine farmers, teachers, governors—superb citizens, in short.

OBVIOUSLY, if all the nobly-motivated Americans find that the British continue to refuse to let the Jews go home, it will be incumbent upon them to do something. Otherwise, their idealism will have been pure blubber-mouth.

What they logically ought to do is to try to get these valuable people brought to America: everything these Jews have shown themselves able to accomplish is desperately needed here.

IN NEVADA, FOR INSTANCE? That's a desert region with plenty of room. It is badly in need of modern cities and irrigation. Possibly, also, it needs moral tone, in view of its legalized gambling, prostitution, its divorce mill, et cetera.

IN TEXAS? Here, again, dust-bowl tamers could be useful. Furthermore, Texans are constantly pointing out the ambitiousness of their state, the vacant spaces in it, and the general bigness—particularly of Texas hearts.

WHAT ABOUT GEORGIA? Georgian land desperately needs reclamation. Georgia is making a splendid struggle to emerge from its ignorance, its brutality, and its bigotry. A hundred thousand new citizens, say, who were wealth-creating and tolerance-teaching would swiftly push Georgia into the list of top, progressive states.

GENTILES who feel that segregation is necessary are at liberty, of course, to continue segregating themselves in their so-called "restricted" clubs, societies, hotels, apartment houses, and so on. These voluntary gentile ghettos dot the land and anybody who is not a Jew can get into them. Just anybody. I am a gentile, so I know.

I do admit, of course, that Palestine may be a pawn province in the Arab-wooing intrigue and that the Arabs may be a pawn people in the oil well schemes of our great, humanitarian statesmen and industrialists. From this we might deduce that the petroleum business is not controlled by Jews.

IN FACT, we might deduce that the Jews can't control anything because all they have been able to do for the last decade is get murdered by the millions. Poor evidence of the "secret power" which anti-Semites attribute to them. Indeed, this proves once again that all anti-Semites are crazy.

But this is a crazy world. It's got everything but principles. It works for everybody except people. Some of the Americans, for instance, who like to blame Britain for not letting the remaining Jews go home, wouldn't live in the same block with Einstein. Think of that! And think of the pathetic plight of our oil magnates, should they hear some day that in about twenty minutes they will be on the receiving end of a test demonstration launched by competitors who own uranium mines!

JEWISH QUIZ BOX

What Is Hanukah?

By RABBI SAMUEL J. FOX

(Copyright, 1945, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.)

QUESTION: *What is the meaning of the term "Hanukah"?*

ANSWER:: Technically, the word is taken to mean "dedication" or "inauguration." In this sense, it is implied that the festival inaugurates the dedication of the altar and the purification of the sanctuary which had been polluted and defiled at the hands of the pagan oppressors under the leadership of Antiochus Epiphanes, the tyrant.

There are other sources which read a different interpretation into the word. They break the word into two words: "Hanu" and "Kah." The first half means "they rested," while the second half represents the numeral "25." According to this interpretation the thought is implied that the gallant defenders of the Temple saw their victory and "rested" from their heroic struggle on the "25th" day of the month Kislev.

ANSWER:: Yes. It is sometimes called "The feast of the Maccabees" implying the fact that we celebrate the victory of the Maccabees over the Syrian Hellenists who wanted to supplant Judaism with heathen cults. It is also called "The Festival of Lights" signifying the fact that we kindle tiny candles on this Festival.

QUESTION: *Why do we celebrate the festival for eight days?*

ANSWER: A miracle is said to have occurred at the dedication of the purified Temple. Only one small cruse of oil had been found unpolluted by the pagan invaders when they defiled the Temple, it having been sealed and miraculously hidden away, thereby escaping the attention of the oppressors. Actually it was only enough for one day; but it miraculously lasted eight days. This is also the reason for which the eight candles are lit.

Army Trucks Carry

On the Other Side



The first Jewish wedding to be held in the Rheims Cathedral in France was that of Capt. Reuben Taitler and Lieut. Sarah Michaelson, both of Brooklyn. Altho a war-time wedding, the bride was fortunate in obtaining the traditional white wedding garb. Copyright, Newspaper PM, Inc., 1945.

DP

Wall Street Journal
July 23, 1947

The Challenge of the D.P.'s

Admitting 400,000 Under Stratton Bill Would Be Good Politics and Would Encourage Others to Act, Too

BY WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

The challenge of the million uprooted Europeans who are known as D.P.'s, displaced persons, to American generosity and humanity was clearly posed in President Truman's recent message to Congress, advocating legislation which would permit a "substantial number" to enter this country as immigrants. There are some 800,000 of these refugees in camps formerly maintained by U.N.R.R.A., recently taken over by the I.R.O. (International Refugee Organization).

The camps are mostly located in Germany and Austria. A large and unknown number of refugees are living outside the camps, some times under false identity papers, because of fear of compulsory repatriation to Russia. The figure of one million is a conservative estimate for the number of D.P.'s who will not return to their homelands behind the iron curtain.

Poles are the largest single nationality group among these stranded fugitives. About twenty percent of them are Jews. There are also many refugees from the Baltic republics, Letts, Lithuanians and Estonians. And there are Yugoslavs, Ukrainians and Soviet Russians. When I was in Paris last year I was surprised at the number of young people brought up under the Soviet regime, who had got out of Russia as war prisoners or because of German deportations and who were completely unwilling to return.

Poles Don't Want to Return

Wherever one goes in Central Europe, one stumbles across D.P.'s. A young Pole who drove the jeep which took me to the Frankfurt airport told me, in broken German, that he and other Poles would like to return to their native country, but only after the Russians were gone. Ukrainian peasant lads, trained as jeep drivers in Munich, told me their parents had been deported to Siberia after the Russian occupation of their native village, near Lvov. This was not an encouragement to repatriation.

There are so many refugees from the Baltic countries in the Hamburg area that a so-called Baltic University has been established, with scores of professors and over a thousand students, all Letts, Lithuanians and Estonians. There was a similar institution in Munich, with large numbers of Poles and Ukrainians among the students. Of course these "universities" are very sketchy institutions, sadly deficient in books and laboratory equipment. But their very existence shows how many of the refugees either possess an education or want to get one.

A bill introduced by Representative Stratton proposes that 400,000 D.P.'s, who

will be carefully screened according to our immigration laws, should be admitted to this country over a period of four years. It is worth remembering that during the war years, from 1940 until 1946, the number of foreigners who entered the United States was less by over a million than our normal immigration regulations would have admitted.

The proposal to admit D.P.'s has aroused considerable controversy. It is objected that there will be neither jobs nor houses for the newcomers, that their admission will break down our considered immigration policy, that advocates of communism and other subversive ideas will be found among them.

The objections to offering refuge to 400,000 victims of political persecution do not stand up well under close examination. America is not a very densely populated country and easily absorbed millions of immigrants in quite prosperous periods of its history. The idea that population restriction is a key to prosperity is highly questionable and the 400,000 D.P.'s who would come in gradually under the provisions of the Stratton Bill would certainly not upset our labor market.

Not Cases for Relief Agencies

Our showing on housing, for a country so wealthy and technically advanced as the United States, is little short of a national disgrace. But there again the proposed limited flow of special immigrants would hardly be a drop in the bucket. Nor would these newcomers crowd the relief agencies, because their applications for admission must be supported by guaranties of support, in case of need, by friends, relatives or organizations.

The mere existence of such a large number of self-exiled human beings from totalitarian countries is an impressive negative testimonial against tyranny and for freedom. It would be extremely uncommon to find even a single citizen of a free country among the million D.P.'s. The significance of this fact will scarcely be lost on any thoughtful observer.

But this negative testimonial is not enough. To give 400,000 of these fugitives from totalitarianism a chance to live free lives on the free soil of America would be an act both of humanity and of political wisdom. It would encourage other countries to make their contributions toward resettlement; Argentina, Brazil and other American states have already taken preliminary steps in this direction. It would be barbarous cruelty to force the exiles to return to the countries they shun and little less

inhuman to maintain them in refugee camps or turn them loose in countries like Germany, already overcrowded to the point of suffocation. We should have enough faith in the vitality and flexibility of our American system to believe that it can offer opportunity to these exiles from Europe's wars and revolutions, who are certainly qualified by their experiences to appreciate the blessings of American citizenship.

POLAND WOULD END JEWISH EMIGRATION

Sets Up Passport Barriers to
Further Outpouring—Wants
to Use Their Skills

By SYDNEY GRUON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WARSAW, Feb. 2.—The Government has introduced new passport regulations designed to halt the steady emigration of Polish Jews since the end of the war. Only about 80,000 Jews remain in Poland, once a home for about 3,500,000.

Since Jan. 1, it was learned today, Jews have been unable to receive emigration passports simply by producing an affidavit of support from abroad. Hitherto this affidavit, even in the form of a letter from a relative, was sufficient to obtain a passport.

Under the new regulations Jews like all other Poles must have a promise of a visa from another country for a passport application to be considered. And on April 1 they will be subject to all other regulations that govern the issuance of passports to Poles generally.

Held to Mean Emigration End

According to Jewish sources here, this means the virtual stoppage of emigration.

The government has promised Jewish leaders that no restriction will be placed on emigration to Palestine when the Jewish state to be established there is ready to permit the entry of Polish immigrants. However, this is unlikely for several years since priority is to be granted to displaced persons.

Apart from the general policy of discouraging emigration because of population losses during the war, two considerations appear to have induced the new regulation. The government is reluctant to build up Polish centers abroad that might work and propagandize against it, and it wants to retain for as long as possible the skilled labor of Jews still here.

Jews unanimously praise the present government's efforts to

assure them economic stability and to protect them with all its legal powers against hysterical anti-Semitism of the Polish population as a whole. But although there has been no major outbreak of anti-Semitism since the Kielce pogrom in July, 1946, sporadic incidents have made Jews uneasy over remaining and have convinced them of the futility of trying to legislate anti-Semitism out of existence.

The first anti-Jewish violence in Warsaw since the end of the war was reported a few weeks ago. Several young men stabbed Warsaw's only kosher animal slaughterer, a semi-religious occupation, on a main street, seriously wounding him.

Minister Is Mentioned

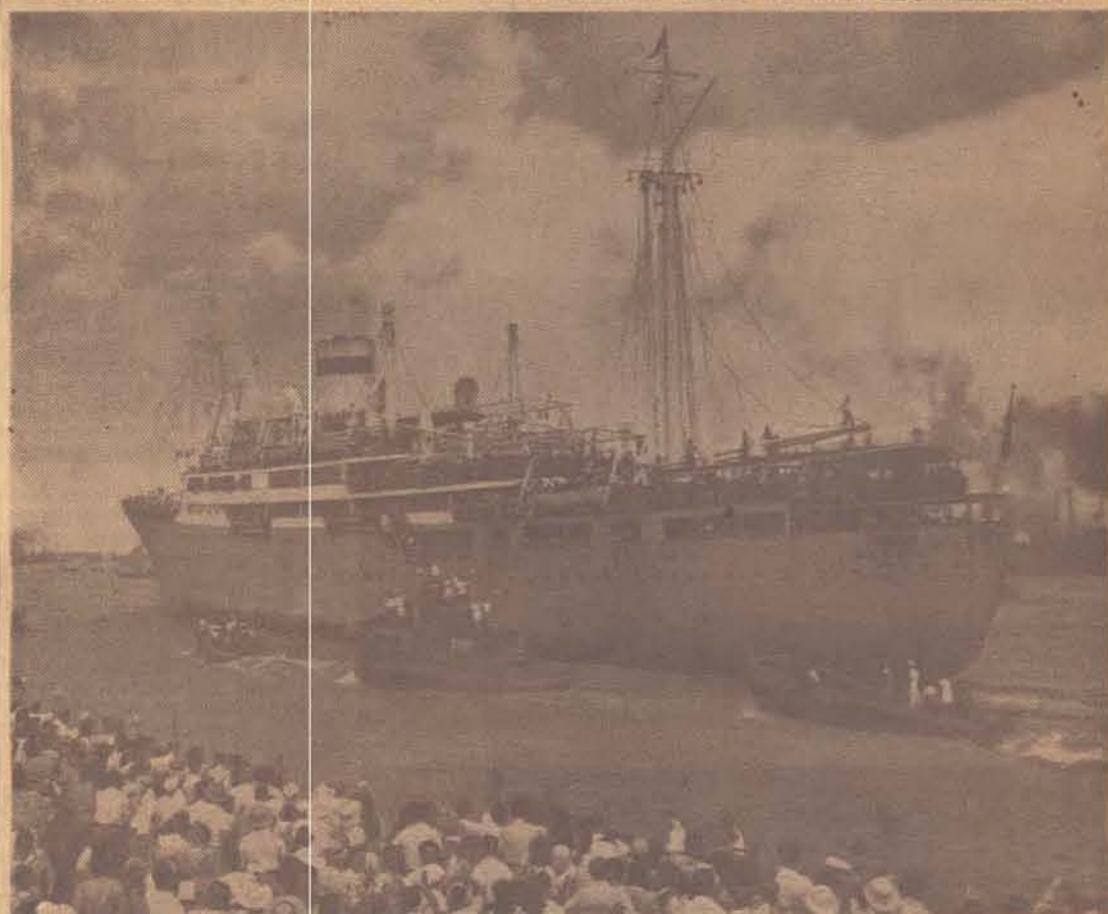
As they struck him they reportedly said, "Here is something for Minc." Hilary Minc, the Communist Minister of Industry, is a Jew.

This illustrated a vicious circle of anti-Semitism that has now grown up in Poland. A great many Poles say one reason they do not like the Government is because there are Jews in it and they do not like Jews because some are in the Government. The truth is that these Poles do not like either one.

About one-third of the Jewish population of Poland consists of the aged, ill and others unable to work. Of the remainder 40 per cent now have been economically rehabilitated, mainly through the work of the American Joint Distribution Committee. The committee has built up a Jewish producers' cooperative movement, which already embraces 15,000 Jews.

The committee spent \$5,000,000 in Poland last year, and its officials here, headed by William Bein of New York, estimate that a similar amount will need to be expended for the work in 1948.

RUSSIAN REPATRIATES DEPARTING FOR THEIR HOMELAND



One thousand persons, claiming Russian ancestry, sail from Shanghai on the Soviet liner Ilitch. The group includes many who worked on the Mukden railway and fled to China when the Japanese invaded Manchuria.

The New York Times (Shanghai Bureau)

295 German Exiles to Shanghai Return to Resume Life in Berlin

Refugees Appear to Accept Eagerly Warning That Life Ahead Means Hard Work—All Speak English and Praise Ideals of U. S.

By JACK RAYMOND

Special to The New York Times

BERLIN, Aug. 21—In the late winter of 1939 a large number of Jews and part Jews, many of whom already had served in concentration camps, left Berlin for Shanghai, having been told by the Nazi regime to "get out." Today 295 of them returned.

They received a cordial if serious welcome by Deputy Lord Mayor Dr. Ferdinand Friedensburg, himself a non-Jewish victim of fascism. With little ceremony he told them:

"The old style anti-Semitism that existed here for twenty years and even longer under Nazi influence will not confront you. However it is true that, aside from superficialities, to make sure a Berliner becomes a real human being still requires more work."

The Jews, men, women and children of all ages gathered in the sun-filled driveway of a former slave labor camp in the French sector of the city. They seemed almost enthusiastic. They listened intently to Dr. Friedensburg and other speakers.

Relatives Greet Repatriates

Occasionally there was a small rumpus as relatives and friends joined the crowd and recognized the newly returned. With the air of a man whose apology had been made easier by the understanding of his hearers, Dr. Friedensburg continued:

"We are sorry to greet you and welcome you to your old home city with empty hands, but please do not overlook our good-will. Together we will create a new time. This is not a land of milk and honey, but I can see that had you wanted a land of milk and honey you would not have returned."

The Jews applauded him. In interviews they indicated a desire to do nothing else but work hard. Unlike the Jewish displaced persons of other nationalities living in Germany today, they seemed willing to trust this sort of appeal. However, in this particular group such a trust is easier, since they are chiefly Jewish members of non-Jewish families who are returning here to live with relatives who were not persecuted.

The Jews who arrived in Berlin this morning had left the former German capital by freighters and other small vessels and had reached Shanghai about April, 1939. There they had settled in small colonies and for a comparatively short period in ghettos established by the Japanese.

But even during the war they carried on in jobs as small businessmen and workers in shops. During and after the war many obtained jobs with the United States Army. One outstanding aspect about them as a group today is their ability to speak excellent English in a completely American accent. The children speak English better than German and all have at least a smattering of Chinese.

They left Shanghai July 25 this year as part of a group of Germans and Austrians who voluntarily returned to their homeland. Sailing aboard the Marine Lynx, they proceeded through the Suez Canal and arrived in Naples Aug. 16.

Their ship was crowded but sanitary. Five persons died en route.

Then they were transported in cattle trains through the Brenner Pass until they arrived here this morning. There was no transportation for them or luggage. Some greeted relatives at the station and with them in trucks and autos went to the processing center in the borough of Reinickendorf on the outskirts of the city. Many of them rode in regular battered trolley cars.

Among them was Martin Hamburger, 71 years old, former chief editor of the Berliner Illustrierte Nachrichten. A rather spry, gray-haired man, he had worked on newspapers in Shanghai and had sent dispatches to the Aufbau, German-language newspaper in New York. He said he was returning to live with his brother "and take up my profession as a journalist once more."

Communists in Group

Another who returned today was 38-year-old Hans Levy, who typified almost all others in his ability to speak splendid English. He had worked for the United States Army as an auto driver. Another young man, who asked that his name be withheld, said he was a Communist who had been let out of a concentration camp in May, 1939, with orders to leave Germany in four days.

While in Shanghai he had spoken over the Soviet radio station. He said he had returned to Germany to take up his anti-Fascist activities. He said there were twenty or thirty others equally politically inclined.

Sigbert Aron, 18, who wore GI clothes and 14-year-old Ruth Kalweit were typical youngsters who had learned English in schools in Shanghai and spoke that language better than German. The girl did not remember Berlin and said she had "gaped" everything she had seen.

She added that Shanghai was her real "home" but she complained because there were no trees, woods, or parties and she did not know how to swim.

These people are all well-informed and politically alert. Different from the displaced persons, they showed no strong desire to continue on to Palestine. If they should ever seek to leave Germany it seems natural they would select the United States as their destination.

Their knowledge of English, their contacts with the United States Army and their praise for everything American is universal among them.

POOR HEALTH HELD BIG DP PROBLEM

Extensive Medical Program
Called Need for Jews in
European Areas

Dr. Jacob J. Golub, director of the Hospital for Joint Diseases and chairman of the Health Committee of the Joint Distribution Committee, declared yesterday that an extensive and long-range program of medical, dental and psychotherapeutic care would be required to return Europe's Jews to normal health.

In summarizing findings of a

six-week survey conducted in eight European countries this summer, Dr. Golub estimated that the fight for health among Europe's Jewish survivors would require expansion of the already widespread health activities of the JDC at a cost of at least \$20,000,000 over the next two years.

The JDC, which now supports 217 medical institutions in behalf of the 1,500,000 Jewish men, women and children on the Continent, receives its funds in this country from the \$170,000,000 campaign of the United Jewish Appeal.

Speaking at a special meeting of the JDC Health Committee at the Harmonie Club, 4 East Sixtieth Street, Dr. Golub said three major health problems must be faced immediately. He listed these as:

"1. The high incidence of tuberculosis among Jews throughout

Europe and in the displaced persons' camps of Germany, Austria and Italy, and particularly, the recurrence of the infection after partial or complete cure.

"2. The incidence of chronic disease, disabling disease and physical impairments, which is higher among displaced Jews than among the general populations.

"3. The 'critical' dental condition which prevails uniformly among Jews on the Continent."

He recommended as a first step in meeting these health problems the immediate establishment of five medical teams to conduct physical and X-ray examinations of Jewish displaced persons living in the DP camps of Central Europe.

"The entire operation," he said, "should be of such intensity and speed as to make possible completion of the project within three months after its initiation."

FRANCE RECRUITS MINERS AMONG DP'S

Sept. 1, 1947

Offers Refugees in Germany
Special Rations and Homes
to Work in Collieries

By JACK RAYMOND

Special to The New York Times.

BERLIN, Aug. 31—A French mission has arrived in Germany to interview and select displaced persons for resettlement in France as coal miners, it became known today. The mission is acting on instructions laid out in an agreement between the French Government and the Preparatory Commission of International Refugee Organization.

According to an official semi-monthly report of the United States Military Government, the French Government is prepared to receive "an unlimited number of male workers between 18 and 30 years of age for employment in the French mines." Afterward volunteers will be recruited as agricultural workers and certain types of factory employes. How many displaced persons the French will succeed in interesting in going to France is conjectural.

About six or seven months ago, France's chances of obtaining recruits would have been small, but it is known that many displaced persons—especially Jews—are becoming restless waiting for visas to other countries, notably the United States. Their enthusiasm to join illegal groups heading for Palestine also has decreased. Some of them have entered France illegally but apparently are not interested in working in the mines.

Families May Follow Them

Recruits going to France under the present scheme will receive a "sixty-day acclimation and orientation period," after which "selected candidates" may be joined by eligible dependents. Those selected by the French mission and who work in mines will have the same working and living conditions as the French miners, it was said.

They will receive hourly wages from \$35.05 francs to 48.65 francs. Homes will be provided for each recruit miner and his family, free coal and a priority on food supplies also will be provided.

A similar mission from the Netherlands also has arrived in Germany. The Dutch are interested in recruiting single and unattached men and women between the ages of 18 and 35. Although no provision will be made for dependents, the Dutch are offering a wider range of employment than the French. Jobs are said to be open for masons, carpenters, printers, metal workers and textile workers, as well as miners.

Dutch Also Seek 8,000

About 3,500 men and 4,500 women are being sought under the program and Netherlands citizenship will be available to them after five years of residence in the country. Before the recruiting officials came here, a representative group of twenty displaced persons visited the Netherlands to inspect the various industrial centers.

Meanwhile, the United States Military Government report disclosed that the recruitment of Germans for the Ruhr coal mines—cornerstone of the newly announced bi-zonal level of industry plan—had been suspended in Berlin and throughout the British zone by the British Military Government on recommendations of the North German Coal Control.

The suspension was ordered because of the lack of clothing for the miners and partly because of the scarcity of furniture and suitable living accommodations at colliery sites. The report added, however, that those persons who possessed the necessary work clothes might still be hired but no assurance could be given there would be housing for them.

Recruitment continued in the United States zone where 5,417 volunteers have been dispatched to the mines under the program to recruit 50,000 new miners, which began in March.

It was disclosed, however, that out of 1,195 volunteers who reported to the Hoechst assembly center in the United States zone, 16.4 per cent were "rejected as physically unqualified."



Aug. 20, 1947

TRUMAN SHUFFLES HIGH AIDES TO SPUR DP ISSUE SOLUTION

He Names Immigration Chief
Carusi to New Post in State
Department as Top Man

MILLER IS TRANSFERRED

Federal Security Head Goes to
Immigration, With Oscar
R. Ewing as Successor

By **WALTER H. WAGGONER**
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19—President Truman announced a three-way shift of high Federal personnel today to prepare the Government for the "critical problems" of displaced persons.

Placed in charge of "all phases" of the displaced person and European war refugee problems in a new post in the State Department is Ugo Carusi, now Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in the Department of Justice.

Watson B. Miller, Federal Security Administrator, succeeds Mr. Carusi in the Justice Department assignment, which also, according to the President, involves many "critical issues" related to the DP and refugee situation.

Entering the Government for the first time on a long-term basis, Oscar Ross Ewing, former vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and a United States prosecutor in the treason trials of William Dudley Pelley and Douglas Chandler, will replace Mr. Miller as head of the Federal Security Administration.

The appointments are effective immediately. Those involving Mr. Ewing and Mr. Miller, however, will eventually be subject to confirmation by Congress when the legislators return next January.

In making public the new assignments at a news conference this morning, Charles G. Ross, press secretary for the President, explained that Mr. Carusi would be formally designated as a special assistant to Charles E. Saltzman, new Assistant Secretary to State for Occupied Areas. Mr. Saltzman will take office on Sept. 1, on the departure of the present assistant secretary, Maj. Gen. John H. Hildring.

Will Survey of All Phases

Mr. Carusi, Mr. Ross said, will make a complete survey of all phases of the displaced persons problem, including resettlement. In addition, he will administer the

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

Truman Shuffles Solution of

Continued From Page 1

Presidential Directive of Dec. 22, 1943, and study the operations of the newly-formed International Refugee Organization.

In preparation for this latter task, it was stated, Mr. Carusi will spend "considerable time" in Europe and South America.

In his statement nearly two years ago, the President described the immensity of the displaced persons problem and refugees as being "almost beyond comprehension."

"The United States shares the responsibility to relieve the suffering," he said. "To the extent that our present immigration laws permit, everything possible should be done at once to facilitate the entrance of some of the displaced persons and refugees into the United States."

He pointed out that most of the unfortunate persons were nationals of Central and Eastern European and the Balkan countries, whose immigration quotas totaled only about 39,000 a year, two-thirds of which were assigned to Germany.

Congress at its last session debated but shelved a proposal, the Stratton Bill, which would have permitted the admission into the United States of 400,000 displaced persons over a four-year period. It was estimated at the time that from 850,000 to 900,000 displaced persons in Europe alone currently awaited resettlement.

In his early statement, the President said:

"I consider that common decency and the fundamental comradeship of all human beings require us to do what lies within our power to see that our established immigration quotas are used to reduce human suffering."

He therefore directed the Secretary of State, the Attorney General and other interested officials immediately to "expedite the quota immigration of displaced persons and refugees from Europe to the United States."

In his letter, which named Mr. Miller the new Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Mr. Truman reiterated that "the conscience of the nation has been moved by the tragic plight of these persons."

Mr. Miller observed that his job was "a very challenging assignment."

Asked by a reporter if the change for Mr. Miller was not a demotion, Mr. Ross answered quickly that he thought not, and that he believed it to be "a very important" post.

Unless a readjustment is made, however, the new job will pay Mr. Miller an annual salary of \$10,000, compared with his former FSA salary of \$12,000.

GOOD-WILL COUNCILS IN GERMANY URGED

The National Conference of Christians and Jews have been invited by Gen. Lucius D. Clay, commander of the American Occupation Zone in Germany, to help organize civilian good-will councils of Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the American Occupation Zone. Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of the conference, said yesterday,

He has returned from a recent conference on anti-Semitism of the new International Council of Christians and Jews in Seelisberg,

N. Y. Times Aug. 20, 1947

20 Aug 47 NY Times
MR. CARUSI AND THE DP'S

Though Congress went home, the problem of the "displaced persons" of Europe remained behind, more terrible than ever. The Stratton bill, which would permit 400,000 DP's to enter the United States over a four-year period, had been effectively pigeonholed by a House subcommittee; a Senate bill for similar legislation had not even reached committee stage. Because of the mood of a handful of Congressmen, the problem, far from insoluble, went unsolved.

Now there is evidence that the entire DP problem will be reopened at the next session of Congress. The President yesterday shifted Ugo Carusi, for three years Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, to a new State Department post. As assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas, Mr. Carusi will initiate an international survey of all phases of the DP problem, the emphasis being on finding new homes for them. This is a dramatic shift which will hearten everyone interested in arriving at a decent solution. Mr. Carusi brings to his newly created post the rich experience of the expert. He can be expected to examine this emergency situation with an eye on emergency legislation. The President is to be congratulated on opening the way to resumed action.

Just what effect the appointment will have on those directly concerned—the 860,000 DP's still in German, Austrian and Italian camps and villages—is hard to guess. That their frustration and misery is increasing as the third winter of "peace" nears is borne out by welfare workers returning from foreign posts. Moreover, until they can be resettled, their care has passed from UNRRA, now closed down, to the International Refugee Organization. IRO, however, is not even in existence legally. Nineteen nations signed IRO's constitution, but only eight ratifications have been received. Seven more ratifications and a total of 75 per cent of the first year's budget are needed for the DP's minimum care.

The U. N. members have signified their acceptance of IRO. They cannot do less than speedily ratify the constitution which will bring IRO into being.

N.Y. Times
Aug. 22, 1947

DP PROBLEM SEEN SOLVED IN 2 YEARS

**Ex-Official of Refugee Unit
Optimistic on Arrival
Aboard the de Grasse**

A former official of the International Refugee Organization, who returned yesterday from five months in Europe, expressed the belief that the problem of resettling displaced persons can be solved within two years.

Arthur J. Altmeyer, who retired recently as executive director of the Preparatory Commission of the IRO, made the statement after arriving here aboard the French liner De Grasse. The ship arrived at 9:15 A. M. at Pier 88, North River, with 727 passengers from Le Havre and Southampton. It was her second westbound commercial crossing of the Atlantic since the war.

One factor pointing the way to the solution of the refugee question was the increasing desire of various countries to obtain large numbers of refugee families, Mr. Altmeyer declared. He listed among these countries not only France, Belgium, Netherlands and the United Kingdom but distant countries such as Canada and Australia and nations of South America.

Another cause for optimism, he said, was the considerable number of displaced persons who have been returning to their own countries. In June 18,000 refugees returned to their former countries while another 18,000 resettled abroad, he pointed out.

Belgian Senator Abroad

Paul Van Zeeland, former Prime Minister of Belgium, and now a Belgian Senator, arrived seeking support for the Citizens League for European Cooperation, an organization founded last year. Designed to regroup European areas along economic lines, the league had aims similar to those contained in the Marshall Plan, M. Van Zeeland said.

He declared that Germany was a key factor in the reorganization of Europe, commenting:

"We cannot dream of reorganizing Europe without an economic settlement there. With the present level of production in Germany we cannot have economic equilibrium in Europe."

Left Detroit 50 Years Ago

Gustin Wright, 70 years old, who left his native Detroit fifty years ago to study music in France, returned with Mrs. Wright, a native of France. Except for several visits to this country, the last of which was in 1928, Mr. Wright has lived in France since he went there as a student.

For many years he was the organist at the Cathedral of Beauvais and has been decorated by three Popes and several European countries for his musical achievements.

The organ at the cathedral was built in the fifteenth century and was damaged by a shell during World War II, Mr. Wright said. He intends to see Cardinal Spellman and obtain permission to raise a fund here for its repair, the cost of which has been estimated at 6,000,000 francs.



N. Y. Times

Sept. 14, 1947

DP TAILORS HELD NEEDED

Clothing Groups Here Call for Workers From Europe

The State Department will be asked to admit promptly to this country skilled tailors among Europe's displaced persons, the Clothing Manufacturers Association and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers announced yesterday.

The move is designed to meet a manpower shortage in the men's clothing industry, according to a statement by Raymond H. Reiss for the manufacturers and Jacob S. Petofsky for the union. The acute shortage of skilled tailors here, they declared, resulted from immigration curbs, superannuated employes still working and the comparative failure of young Americans to enter the needle trades.

"Clothing employers in twenty-six states," the statement said, "are prepared to make commitments for jobs for these workers. They will prevent congestion in any one industrial community and will avoid intensifying the housing shortage."

The N. Y.
Times

165,000 JEWISH DP'S STILL WAIT IN GERMANY

Exodus Refugees Highlight Attempts To Leave Europe for Palestine

By DELBERT CLARK

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BERLIN, Sept. 13—The return of 4,000 Jews to barbed-wire enclosures in Germany after their capture by the British Navy puts a bitter ironic capstone on the house of sorrow which has been erected for the world's most persecuted minority. Probably the last place in the world to which they would want to go is Germany, scene of horror and the attempted extermination of an entire people.

This is no emotional outburst, but an attempt to show the background of the mood which today impels displaced Jews to commit acts of violence and desperation. Displaced-persons camps in Germany are drab, depressing, demoralizing places at best, better than the torture camps of Himmler, but still not what anyone in his right mind would choose for a permanent home. A life of enforced idleness in such a place for many months, with no joy in the past and no hope for the future, is enough to destroy the morale of any man and drive him to "illegal" acts.

U. S. Center

The Dueppel center in the United States sector of Berlin is one of the best operated of the lot. Here some 5,000 Jews, mostly from Poland, exist on meager rations under horribly crowded conditions. The camp director, himself a Jew, is just, sympathetic and hard-boiled.

The camp is as clean as any well kept army barracks. As many as six persons, sometimes of different families, are forced to live in a single tiny room; as many as 300 must use a single lavatory. But everything is spotless and, despite poor ventilation and light, neither dirt nor odors offend the visitor.

As many as are able work, but opportunities are limited and many in the camp simply have nothing to do but daily chores. The inmates are the target of all the black-marketeers and criminals with contraband for sale, and it would be foolish to deny that many of them engage in petty black-market operations themselves. But it is malicious slander to say, as has been said, that they are the backbone of the black market. The living standards they themselves maintain are generally far superior to those of German refugees from Poland, East Prussia and the Sudetenland whose homes I have also seen.

The bulk of those genuinely "displaced" came to Germany in the summer of 1946, when about 100,000 entered the United States zone alone. There are now in the United States zone about 150,000 Jewish DP's, with another 15,000 in the British zone, including those debarked this week from the Exodus ships. The French zone has about 2,000, but makes no statistical distinction between Jew and Gentile; the Soviet zone for all practical purposes has none, since it does not recognize DP status.

Length of Stay

How long on the average the inmates of these camps remain is, as one official said, "as long as a piece of string." There are, for example, those 32,000 who are still here after twenty-eight months. Some have been in the camps relatively few months, but they are late comers.

These are the spectacular few; in general the Jewish DP population remains fairly static pending some genuine solution of the problem.

In the United States zone the camps are administered by the International Refugee Organization, with the American Military Government serving in the role of inspector. From the German economy the Military Government provides housing, light and such heat as is available, as well as approximately 50 per cent of the food supplies; the IRO provides the remainder of the food to make up about 2,000 calories a day per person.

In the British and French zones the administrative situation is reversed. Military Government directly administers the camps, with IRO agents in the roles of inspectors. The British Control Commission guarantees 1,550 calories a day, the same as the "normal" German ration.

The bulk of Jewish DP's—about two-thirds—are refugees from Poland, with the remainder of scattering national origin. The known anti-Semitism in Poland makes them unwilling to return there, and the outcropping of this sinister by-product of nationalism in other countries has made them feel that their only hope of security is to make their way to Palestine and have a Government of their own.

N. Y. Times

Sept. 11, 1947

VFW ACTS ON REFUGEES

Opposes Immigrant Quota
Change, but Will Make Survey

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CLEVELAND, Sept. 10—The national encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars passed a resolution yesterday, which stated that the organization opposed any change in the existing immigration quotas, but at the same time called for a national survey to ascertain local community acceptance of any persons allowed into this country.

Because of incorrect information released by the VFW encampment publicity bureau, wire services and newspapers, including THE NEW YORK TIMES, published erroneous reports that the organization had "voted opposition to immigration of war refugees from Europe until the housing shortage is over and there is no danger of unemployment."

The results of the national survey will guide the VFW legislative service and new commander in chief when any special immigration problems arise, such as a Congressional proposal to admit 400,000 displaced persons into this country.

REFUGEES FLOWING TO SAN FRANCISCO

5,000 From Europe Expected
to Arrive at 'New Port of
Hope' During Year

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 12—

This city has become "the new port of hope" for great numbers of European refugees who spent the war years in Shanghai. Nearly 5,000 of them expected to pass through here this year for resettlement in other parts of the country, it was asserted today by Reuben B. Resnick, director of Community Relations of the United Service for New Americans.

Mr. Resnick, whose headquarters are in New York, has just completed a tour of West Coast cities. He surveyed the methods of reception, processing and resettlement of the refugees. Many of them are Germans. He said:

"The interest on the part of the people who have provided help, and the remarkable adjustments being made by the refugees, leaves nothing to be desired. Most of the refugees from Shanghai, where ten to twelve thousand from Germany were caught by the war, come through San Francisco, with smaller numbers received by other West Coast ports.

Eligible for Citizenship

"They are screened, processed and sent out to other cities throughout the country. Voluntary welfare organizations in Seattle, for example, take and resettle five family units monthly. Oakland takes five, San Francisco ten, Los Angeles ten and San Diego two."

Mr. Resnick said the refugees, who were eligible for American citizenship, since they were coming in under the quota system, were becoming integrated in their new communities with remarkable ease.

"Since the current group has gone through great difficulties and experienced unusual horrors, we look to some amelioration in an administrative way, and are hopeful that when Congress reconvenes legislation will be passed to admit a larger number of them," he added.

Some Going to Latin America

"They are high-grade people, well educated, with a strong social conscience, remarkable skills and good language facility."

The 4,000 to 5,000 expected to reach West Coast ports this year for distribution throughout the country is in addition to several thousand others who will pass through these ports, chiefly San Francisco, en route to other countries for resettlement.

Mr. Resnick said that most of this number would be bound for Latin America. The United Service for New Americans, he related, was receiving this group too, providing its members with temporary care and seeing that they were sent on their way to their destinations.

N. Y. Times

Aug. 13, 1947



N. Y. Times
Aug. 13, 1947

GI IN GERMANY SEEN A PREY TO BIGOTRY

Instruction in Democracy Is
Being Shelved, Dr. Slawson,
Home, Declares

Declaring that "education in reverse" is taking place in Germany, Dr. John Slawson, executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee, who returned Sunday from Europe, said yesterday that American troops, instead of democratizing the Germans, were being infected with bigotry.

"The problem is one we've had in history before, of the conquered conquering the conqueror," Dr. Slawson said at the committee's offices, 386 Fourth Avenue.

He said that the Information and Education Division of the Army had made a survey recently on troop attitudes and he was led to believe, although he had not seen the report, "that the situation is none too good and that certain action will be taken on the basis of that study."

"You've heard a lot about Frauleins," Dr. Slawson declared. "They are much more politically literate than our average GI because the people of Europe are more politically alert."

The Army officials are aware of this "education in reverse" but lack funds and adequate aggressive planning to cope with it, he asserted.

Dr. Slawson described the situation in Germany as "sad and serious." He deplored the failure not only of democratization but of American groups to organize the democratic forces left in Germany. "There aren't very many of them but enough to warrant receiving encouragement from groups here," he said.

"It isn't the fault of the military," he went on. "It's the fault of us here in the United States who haven't clamored for funds from Congress to encourage a democratic government."

Not a single organization in America is concerned with nourishing the nuclei of Germans who want to see a democratic Germany, he charged. He warned that unless "more potent" educational methods are employed Germany would become "a source of infection" for the entire European continent because of the growing anti-Semitism there.

He learned first-hand, he reported, that Nazis are able to get food from farmers through their former associations, while anti-Nazis were unable to supplement the meager 1,500-calory daily diet. "No premium is being given the pro-Democrat and the anti-Nazi for his friendship," he said.

He described the educational reorganization program as a failure, saying that most of the teachers are those indoctrinated by the Hitler regime. He suggested that German students be allowed to come to this country, that American lecturers be sent to Germany, that textbooks and source material for teaching programs be furnished and that American model schools be established.



FINDS NEW HOME HERE

GIRL WAR ORPHAN ENDS LONG FLIGHT



Steffi Nussbaum
The New York Times

German Refugee, 11, Arrives
From Shanghai to Live
With Friends in Bronx

Steffi Nussbaum, 11-year-old orphaned refugee, arrived here by train last night on the last lap of a journey that started in 1938 when she, her mother and grandparents escaped from the Germans to Shanghai.

The brown-haired child, who traveled from San Francisco to New York alone after a two-week voyage across the Pacific, was met at Grand Central Station at 8 P. M. by Mr. and Mrs. Adolf Goldschmidt of 2685 Valentine Avenue, the Bronx, with whom Steffi will make her new home.

When her mother died in Shanghai at the age of 28 during the Japanese occupation, the child was cared for by her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Benn Friedberg. They will soon follow her to this country.

The orphan, whose father was unable to leave Germany and has been unheard of ever since, arrived in San Francisco July 28 aboard the American President liner Marine Adder together with ninety-seven other refugees from the Orient.

Pertly dressed in a Peter Pan hat and a red cotton dress, Steffi alighted from the train here into the arms of Mrs. Goldschmidt. In flawless English, with a marked British accent, she said that she was not afraid while traveling alone and that she was looking forward to her stay in the city.

She learned to speak English at the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association School, which she entered at 4 years of age in the kindergarten class. She is also able to speak Yiddish and German fluently, she added.

Mr. Goldschmidt said that he and his wife and children came to the United States in 1938 from Germany, where they were friends of Steffi's parents.

"Mr. Nussbaum owned a large food market in Berlin," he said.

The Goldschmidts have two children, Ruth, 19, and Kurt, 21, an Army veteran. Mr. Goldschmidt, who works for the Jewish Kasher Provision Company in Brooklyn, was a butcher and a cattle dealer in Zeiggenheim, Germany.

"I received a letter from Steffi's grandparents when her mother died," Mr. Goldschmidt said. "We immediately wrote back and asked them to send the little girl here."

Mrs. Goldschmidt, a little shaken at seeing the child, remarked that she closely resembled her mother.

Also at the train to meet Steffi was Hershel Steinhardt, representing the United Service for New Americans, the major welfare agency aiding displaced persons coming to this country. Immigration arrangements were made for the child in Shanghai by the Joint Distribution Committee.

N. Y. Times
Aug. 13, 1947



AT CAMPS FOR DISPLACED PERSONS IN GERMANY



GEBT ACHT
AUF DIE KINDER
FAHRZEUGE UNTER
ATTENTION TO CHILDREN
VEHICLES: 6MPH
UWAZAJCIE NA DZIECI

Jewish children in the Duppel Center, Berlin, on their way to lunch. The Duppel Center was visited this week by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. Special provisions of food, clothing, medicines and other items are supplied for the Jewish refugees by the Joint Distribution Committee.

N. Y. Times
Aug. 15, 1947



A former inmate of the Nazi concentration camp at Oswiecim preparing a precision fitting as part of his course of study in vocational school in the Bergen-Belsen camp.

Joint Distribution Committee.

N. Y. Times Sept. 22, 1947

EXAMPLE FROM NORWAY

Amid much somber news, Norway offers a cheerful note in reporting enthusiastically on the ease with which 400 Middle European "Displaced Persons" are being integrated into Norwegian life. Officials in charge of the orientation and placement of the refugees, who arrived in the country four months ago to take up permanent residence, reveal that nearly all had found living quarters and suitable employment. Only seven families remained at the Ystehede Reception Center near Halden, while the remainder were settled and employed in a score of southern Norwegian communities. The period

of instruction is over and most of the refugees now speak a fair Norwegian.

Most of the new arrivals are skilled tradesmen and have voiced complete satisfaction with their new jobs and working conditions. Employers are unanimous in their praise of the former refugees. "First class craftsmen" or "unusually thorough workers" is the description usually given. Admission of 200 more refugees is being delayed only for the procurement of more adequate housing. This is another specific example showing that the problem of "Displaced Persons," whose misery and frustration are increasing as the third winter of peace nears, can be solved with enough intelligence and good-will.



HOUSE GROUP URGES SPEEDING DP'S AID

Entry of Refugees, Possibly
Under U. N. Pact, Proposed by
Fulton-Chelf Investigators

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10—Investigations in some 200 displaced persons camps of Europe have convinced a widely traveled House group that the solution of the problem should not await Congressional decision.

The group, headed by Representative James G. Fulton, Republican, of Pennsylvania, is preparing to recommend that the United States take leadership in proposing action through the United Nations.

Under the proposal that this group now has in mind, countries working under agreements with the International Refugee Organizations of the United Nations would agree to take specified numbers of the DP's. The objective would be to solve the problem in three years.

Some members of the House group are still aboard on the investigation, but it appears that final conclusions already have been reached. They were summed up by Representative Frank L. Chelf, Democrat, of Kentucky, who returned yesterday on the Queen Mary.

A Summary of Conclusions

The conclusions took this line: That the displaced persons are people of many kinds; hundreds of personal interviews convinced the legislators that a great majority of them would make good citizens of the United States or other democracies.

That the great majority "hate Communism."

That they want jobs, leading to a home, business, farm or whatever their own enterprise might develop for a free life.

That their desire to keep working has been proved by production of useful things in the camps, despite the acute lack of materials.

That morale is higher than it might have been expected to be under the circumstances.

That the "cream of this crop" might be accepted by and migrate to other countries while United States legislation for the entry of the DP's was delayed in Congress.

Representative Chelf went abroad representing the House Judiciary Committee. For the DP camp inspections he joined the Fulton subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Other members were Representatives Jacob K. Javits, Republican, and Joseph L. Pfeifer, Democrat, of New York.

Urgency of Problem Stressed

Mr. Chelf said that, through their extensive investigations and considerable personal contacts with DP's, the Congress members found a need of great urgency in the handling of the problem.

Mr. Chelf said that some of the DP's were "undesirable material" in regard to immigration, but these were far in the minority.

The United Nations idea, he added, would give an opportunity for all countries to agree to accept quotas of the desirables. He expressed the belief that Congress, if it were necessary to carry out the plan, would ratify "any reasonable" commitment made with the United Nations.

It was contended in other quarters, too, that under existing law the State Department could admit nearly 15,000 displaced persons a year by a simple altering of its regulations.

Representatives Fulton and Javits have been supporters of the Stratton bill for admittance of DP's under a four-year plan. This bill failed of action in the last session of Congress. Mr. Chelf is author of a bill, which has received little Congressional consideration, that would admit about 100,000 DP's this year.

N. Y. Times

Oct. 11, 1947



N.Y. Times. Aug. 23, 1947

'QUODDY' DISPOSAL DELAYED BY WAA

Brewster Office Says Agency
Has Extended Date Set for
Opening Bids on Village

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 22—The office of Senator Owen Brewster of Maine, stated today that the War Assets Administration had extended the date set for the opening of bids for the disposal of the abandoned Passamaquoddy Village.

Senator Brewster has taken an interest in a proposal to transform the village, containing housing units and installations remaining from the tidal power project sponsored by the late President Roosevelt, into a training center for displaced persons of Europe, who would, after training, be settled in Latin-American countries.

According to the WAA, bids were solicited for the project on July 24 and were scheduled to be opened Tuesday, but Roy C. Haines, Mr. Brewster's secretary, stated that a stay had been granted to allow for further conferences and new information on the displaced persons.

Hopes for Meeting With Cohen

Mr. Haines said that he hoped that a "clarification" conference could be arranged next week between the backers of the proposal, officials of the town of Eastport, Me., and Frank Cohen, New York and Philadelphia tractor manufacturer, and officials of the WAA and other interested agencies. WAA spokesmen disclaimed knowledge of any projected meetings.

Among the other agencies were listed the State Department, the Office of Education and the Immigration Bureau.

Under certain circumstances, particularly relating to the benefit of the public, Eastport would be entitled to the priority of a municipality in the disposal of surplus property, but WAA officials pointed out that other priorities might have precedence in connection with the possible use to which the village could be transformed.

Both the WAA and Senator Brewster's office reported that appraisers and engineers of the surplus property agency were at "Quoddy" to evaluate the property.

The WAA stated that the whole matter was being handled by its Boston regional office and that it was unable to take any official position or comment on the situation until proposals had been sent to Washington headquarters.

The officials explained that the Boston office would make a preliminary decision on the basis of offers received. This decision would be subject to review by the real property board in the main WAA office. In the course of the review, the recommendations of other Federal agencies concerned would be sought and all factors analyzed before a final decision was reached.

QUODDY HAS ACRES OF EMPTY HOUSES

Well Preserved Dwellings 'a
Dream City' for Millions
Who Are Seeking Homes

By FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN

Special to The New York Times.

EASTPORT, Me., Aug. 22—The buildings and plants of Passamaquoddy Village, the "dead" town upon which vast sums of federal money were spent in connection with an abandoned tidal power project, are in generally good condition. This tends to support the contention of officials and residents of this north Maine area that it would be a "crime" to raze the village and sell it for junk.

There are houses here so well designed and so spick and span, despite their long vacancy, that thousands, if not millions, of Americans would be glad to have in view of the housing shortages. This writer ventures an inexpert opinion that the one family houses here, if located in or near New York, would sell today at from \$10,000 to \$25,000 depending upon their size. Impartial experts assert, however, that it would cost too much to move them from this small city hundreds of miles from the nearest crowded urban center to make it worthwhile.

Set on Rolling Ground

Controversial "Quoddy" village is set on rolling ground, surrounded by pine trees, with a charging view of the water. A traveler catches his first view of the village on his left as he crosses the narrow wooden bridge to Eastport Island. At first glimpse the village looks like a new modern country club area development in any American city. The houses are of white "colonial" style, with bright red and green roofs and multi-hued shutters.

As the visitor draws close, however, he sees a high mesh fence, padlocked, around the whole area and War Assets Administration signs on the walls. "For Sale or Rent." The shingles are in good shape but the paint on some of the walls is peeling slightly.

Beyond, on what the natives generally call "Snob Hill," are the mansions, built with cellars as permanent residences by the United States Army Engineers, who originally constructed this village. These residences stand out on the hilltops, with a sun-kissed view of the Canadian shores opposite.

A bit farther along is the short black-paved air strip built with Federal funds, independently of the "Quoddy" project for the CAA program.

Village is Well Guarded

The only sign of life at "Quoddy" village is a guard near the administration building annex, just inside the grounds, some idling firemen paid by the Federal Government to protect the project against damage. With fifteen administrative employees in all, including a WAA engineer, John W. Roche, this village is costing the government from \$3,500 to \$4,000 monthly in salaries, plus property depreciation.

The buildings, as distinguished from homes, are along paved boulevards inside the gates. There are, nevertheless, forty-six buildings in the area, their individual floor space running from 4,000 to 60,000 square feet. They are said to be ideal for industrial use.

One of the smaller individual dwellings has on the ground floor a combination living and dining room, a bedroom and a kitchen. Upstairs is a bedroom and modern bath with shower. The rooms are excellently papered and the heating plant is in good shape. One of the smaller of the larger modern homes on the hill has four bedrooms and three baths.

This writer could see virtually no decay. The houses viewed, in fact, were in better shape than some being rented for high prices in major population centers. There are 129 housing units, of which there are nine big ones on the ridge. These units include two 40-family apartment houses and two and four family dwellings, in addition to large and small one family homes.

There is a hospital which, during the Seabee occupancy of the village during the war, was brought up to 200-bed capacity. A gymnasium, a mess hall which can feed 2,000 cafeteria style and an auditorium seating 300 people, with a motion picture projector. There are heating and water plants in operative condition.

The largest structure, Ben Morell Hall, is 600 feet long and 100 wide. It is equipped with a motion picture projection machine. During the war it held eight bowling alleys, now dismantled. The Navy put in a number of 140-foot by 40 Quonset huts. Electricity was, and can be, supplied by private power companies.

One prominent educator from New York State ventured the opinion to this correspondent today that the village would be ideal for a university or educational project, particularly in view of present and predicted national shortage of facilities for higher learning.

Aug. 22, 1947

QUODDY VILLAGE: SITE OF PROPOSED DP TRAINING CENTER

HOPE FOR 'QUODDY'
SEEN IN DP PLAN

Eastport Strives to Salvage
'U. S. Dream Project' of '35
by Training Europeans

CITY PLEDGED TO PROGRAM

Cohen Denies Profit Motive,
Saying He Wishes to Make
Workers 'Independent'

By FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

EASTPORT, Me., Aug. 21—This city of 3,400 persons is hoping to salvage something from the dream it once held and has explored every possibility to do so.

The city literally saw its dream "walking," according to the popular song, in 1935, when President Roosevelt approved the start of the world's first vast tidal power project to harness the sweeping tides of the Bay of Fundy, sometimes reaching twenty-eight feet, to produce electricity. The dream turned into a nightmare in 1936 when construction was halted under political opposition in Congress.

On the basis of preliminary work, including the start of construction of two dams and the building of the present controversial Pasamaquoddy Village, the city went "all out" to construct facilities to serve the aluminum, paper and other industries expected to rush in to take advantage of cheap power.

The Federal Government poured close to \$7,000,000 into what has turned out to be one of the world's biggest white elephants. After spending money on increased facilities, however, Eastport went bankrupt. The State of Maine took over Eastport and ran it for years.

Finally Pulls Out of Hole

Raising itself by its bootstraps, Eastport finally pulled out of the hole, and, in a gallant fight under its present city manager, Ralph T. Colwell, paid off 90 cents on each of the \$200,000 it owed. Now it has a small surplus. Officials claim, however, that this is far from enough to make possible payment of the assessed value of \$396,053 set by the War Assets Administration for "Quoddy" Village. The sum is, in fact, said to be equal to the entire city budget for four years.

Local officials believe that, only if "Quoddy" Village is maintained, can the city, and, in fact, this whole area of northern Washington County, be kept from being a long-run relief problem.

Before the war, when the law required a person to earn \$144 annually to get into the Social Security plan, less than fifty Eastport residents could qualify. About 90 per cent of the people were on relief for a long period.



The administrative building (left) and some of the 239 structures now under Federal control at Eastport, Me. The New York Times

undertaken in connection with "Quoddy."

This is outspokenly voiced opinion that "the newspapers" are playing with the "power trust."

The feeling of the city leaders that "Quoddy" must be turned over to the city to prevent this town from becoming a liability to the state and nation and the home of paupers is intense and primary.

That is why, officials and others say, that they are grabbing at what Mr. Colwell terms "the last chance" to get the city in the form of the plan of Frank Cohen, New York City financier.

This plan is to make "Quoddy" a training and export production center for European displaced persons now in the American zone of Germany. That is why local officials add they signed an agreement without full information as to details of the plan. The plan, they insist, however, would be a privately supported one "in line with President Truman's plan of helping Greece and Turkey."

No one, however, has approached the town of Eastport on this project, according to Mr. Colwell, and "as far as we know the people have made no offer."

Neither has anyone "bitten" on suggestions that Quoddy Village, which housed about 3,500 Seabees in a training school during the war, be made into a veterans hospital, or, say, a medical school for the state.

"In any case," says Mr. Colwell, "Eastport is committed morally, if not legally, to go through with Mr. Cohen's project."

"We think as a municipality we have priority in getting this property," Mr. Colwell stated.

Declared 'Cruel' Program

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21—The plan to use Quoddy Village at Eastport, Me., to train displaced workers to manufacture tractors and other farm implements for export to South America was denounced last July as a "cruel program for the exploitation of many thousands of displaced persons in Europe" by H. W. Brown, president of the International Association of Machin-



The war brought a boom to this quaint village with its attractive white colonial-style homes and ugly waterfront sardine canneries. Inhabitants earned \$800 to \$900 annually. The post-war boom and public demand for fish, plus the falling off of Norwegian and Spanish sardine imports because of temporary post-war conditions, has maintained this prosperous level. Almost everyone in Eastport, however, feels this cannot last.

City Manager Colwell expresses public sentiment when he asserts that "it is a good assumption that when Norway, Spain and other European countries resume sardine shipments, present sardine sales from here will be halved."

\$1,200 Spent in Promotion

Leaders in this area point out that they have done everything they could to help themselves in making some arrangement that would permit Eastport to keep "Quoddy" and establish a productive enterprise here.

The Washington County Chamber of Commerce, for instance, spent \$1,200 in seeking through direct mail and newspaper advertising in the United States and Canada to induce manufacturers to take over the village. Firms like United States Steel and General Motors were approached.

No firm was interested, perhaps because of the high freight rate differentials which are said to make shipping by land from Eastport to Boston as expensive as shipping by sea from New York to Hawaii, except one midwestern shoe concern. Its executives came to Eastport where the hopeful citizens entertained them. The firm was unable to buy new machinery and the matter was dropped.

Eastport still feels the ending of the "Quoddy" power project was a mistake and holds the cheap tide-produced power could have been used with great advantage during the war. The inhabitants still speak with venom of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, who played a prominent part in the successful Congressional fight against continuing the project.

They are still, or at least some of them, bitter against the Army Engineers. They say the Engineers spent too much money building the village and not enough on the engineering project. They complain yet of the permanent quasi-mansions built on the ridge locally called "Snob Hill," on the construction of a yacht, of the paneled walls in the administrative offices and the grandfather clocks and paintings purchased as part of the furnishings.

"Power Trust" Is Blamed

The major villain of the piece to the natives is still the "power trust," claimed to be highly influential in Maine politics, which, it is asserted, will not be satisfied until "Quoddy Village" is razed "for fear that the power project may be resurrected in the future."

"Quoddy," it is said, has been a bad-luck project throughout. Newspapermen are feared here to an extreme degree because it is felt that the bulk of the stories about "Quoddy," from the start to the present, have either been unduly critical or have harmed anything

else.

Mr. Brown made public today a letter he wrote to the War Assets Administration on July 17 asking him to withhold approval of a petition to turn over the "Quoddy" project to a manufacturer until "a proposal can be worked out that conforms more to the American way of doing business."

"According to the plan, the tractor manufacturer is to arrange for the temporary importation of European refugees," Mr. Brown wrote. "These displaced persons are not Fiji Islanders who have never seen machines. Many of them are skilled machinists and mechanics who under the guise of training are to be worked for six months or longer. At the end of that time the refugees are to be shipped on to South America."

"I should like to point out that under the Hitler regime citizens of other countries were brought into Germany to work as slaves in labor camps. They received no pay."

'Slave Labor' Idea Scored

EASTPORT, Me., Aug. 21—(AP)—The City of Eastport never would give its blessing to any project at the abandoned facilities of the \$37,000,000 Passamaquoddy Bay tidal power project if it involved "slave labor," City Manager Ralph T. Colwell declared today.

"The city would no more consider aiding a plan to utilize slave labor at 'Quoddy' than it would in using such labor in municipal operations," Mr. Colwell said.

'NO PROFITS,' COHEN ASSERTS

Plan Aims to Make Displaced Persons Independent, He Says

Frank Cohen, financier and sponsor of a plan to bring displaced persons to Passamaquoddy, Maine, denied yesterday that the venture would produce any monetary profits. Mr. Cohen said his plan was intended to give the refugees training which would enable them to migrate to Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, and to live there independently.

Mr. Cohen declared that in seeking the cooperation of the State Department, the Army, various industrial organizations and relief agencies, his purpose was to get the displaced persons out of the American zone of Germany, and transport them to South American countries where they would be welcome and useful.

To accomplish this, Mr. Cohen said, he had reached an agreement with officials of Eastport, Me., which neighbors the deserted "Quoddy" village. Eastport would supply personnel for some of the projects Mr. Cohen planned and eventually would acquire the "Quoddy" facilities, which are now held by the War Assets Administration, he stated.

The displaced persons to be chosen would be brought into this country on transit visas, enabling them to remain six to nine months, Mr. Cohen said. He stated that he had offered to guarantee to the immigration authorities that none would become charges of the United States, and to support the guarantee with assets of \$5,000,000

or more, subscribed by himself and unnamed associates.

The transients would be settled at "Quoddy," where there are extensive facilities, he continued. They would be instructed in various crafts at small plants to be set up by cooperating industrialists willing to contribute to the plan without hope of profit.

Such products as resulted from the displaced persons' labors would be shipped to South America, and if any profits resulted the industrialists would be required to turn them over to the "Quoddy" treasurer, for use at "Quoddy" or for the support of displaced persons elsewhere.

Mr. Cohen deplored the use of the term "slave labor" in a story published in yesterday's NEW YORK TIMES. The account made it clear that although the displaced persons would not legally be permitted to receive pay for their work, they would not be subjected to involuntary labor. Mr. Cohen asserted that there never had been any question of this, and that the displaced persons would benefit by being removed from their dependent status in Europe, and taken to places in South America where their new training would make them useful and, after a brief period of adjustment, independent.

A statement in yesterday's TIMES, to the effect that Mr. Cohen's representatives had said that he and his associates would receive any profits that might accrue from the program, was denied by Mr. Cohen. He said he had no representatives who were authorized to make such a statement, and maintained that in view of the many expenses involved and the small production capacity planned for the project, there could be no profits.

No Federal Meeting Set

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21—The White House denied any knowledge today of a reported meeting of Federal officials and a Presidential aide to discuss the use of Passamaquoddy Village for housing displaced persons from the American zone in Germany.

It had been reported that representatives of Federal agencies would discuss the project with Frank Cohen, New York financier, on Aug. 28, and that President Truman had assigned Clark Clifford, his counsel, to represent the White House.

"Mr. Clifford knows nothing about the meeting," Charles G. Ross, Presidential press secretary, said this afternoon. Asked specifically whether the President's aide had been given such an assignment, Mr. Ross repeated that Mr. Clifford simply knew nothing at all about the meeting.

'Slave Labor' Disclaimed In 'Quoddy' Plan for DP's

By FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

EASTPORT, Me., Aug. 20—Displaced persons from the American zone in Germany would be brought here not only to learn trades but to work without cash payment and possibly for the profit of private Americans, producing tractors, shoes or other products for export to South America, under a plan agreed to by Eastport officials and Frank Cohen, New York financier, for the use of deserted Passamaquoddy village.

The vast floor space of administrative buildings and white colonial houses of this development, 239 structures in all, now standing under Federal control, would be the center of the proposed activity, which must have Washington's sanction. "Quoddy" village is all that remains of a project for harnessing the mighty tides of the Bay of Fundy to produce electricity. This was started by the Roosevelt Administration, and almost \$7,000,000 of Federal funds were poured into it between July, 1933, and late 1936 when the undertaking was dropped because of political opposition.

A written agreement on the plan was signed in the office of Senator Owen Brewster of Maine in Washington June 10, contingent upon Eastport's being able to obtain the property and certain Federal machinery free or for a token payment. The War Assets Administration has set the present "fair value" of the village at \$396,055. Mr. Cohen, for his part, has agreed to pay the cost of re-

Continued on Page 10, Column 2



Aug. 21, 1947

'Slave Labor' Plan Is Disclaimed In Proposed DP School at 'Quoddy'

Continued From Page 1

habilitating the village, estimated locally at close to \$250,000.

Ralph T. Colwell, Eastport city manager, Roscoe C. Emery, chairman of the school board, and Mr. Cohen's publicity representatives in New York all declared today that displaced persons brought here free for six or eight months of training before, presumably, proceeding to permanent homes in South America, would manufacture or assemble goods for export to South America.

City officials said emphatically that this would have to be a non-profit undertaking throughout, with any surplus "ploughed back" into the venture. Mr. Cohen's representatives, however, asserted that it was impossible under the law to pay displaced persons and that profits, if any, would be kept by Mr. Cohen "and his associates."

Senator Brewster, according to Eastport officials, first brought the proposition to their attention by "calling" them to Washington for a meeting with Mr. Cohen. He has circularized appropriate Federal departments about the plan, they said, and a meeting has been scheduled for Aug. 28 in Washington when those involved will canvass the matter with Federal officials.

Clark Gifford, President Truman's aide, has been assigned to the project. Meanwhile bids for disposal of "Quoddy" village are supposed to be opened in Boston Tuesday. It was believed here that decision on the disposal of the village might be delayed until after the Washington meeting.

Leaders of the population of about 3,400 here, are vitally interested in seeing that "Quoddy" village is transformed into a productive center of some sort.

Humanitarian Feature Stressed

Messrs. Colwell and Emery and others here, as well as Mr. Cohen, assert that the plan is primarily humanitarian. The local officials say that the United States Government now has to support in Germany the displaced persons who would be here, perhaps 500 at first and possibly 2,500 at a time later. These would be supported in "Quoddy" village at private expense while learning a trade and obtaining other schooling.

To critics of the plan as some details have become known, Messrs. Colwell and Emery assert that the property could not be transferred from the city of Eastport



Frank Cohen

to Mr. Cohen outright if Eastport obtained it free or for a token payment. They further declare that the Federal Government would have a continued voice in the administration, explaining that the War Assets Administration is entrusted with seeing that the terms of any agreement are enforced.

Mr. Emery went on to say that if any opponent of the plan brought charges of what he termed "slave labor," he saw no reason why the displaced persons should not technically receive apprentice wages, these to be deducted on the books from the high cost of bringing them and their families here and maintaining them. No cash, he agreed, would be paid to them.

Meeting in Brewster's Office

Officials asserted that Senator Brewster's only interest in the matter was to aid his constituents here in Washington County. "Called" to the Senator's office early in June, they heard an explanation of the proposition by Mr. Brewster's secretary, Roy Haines. At no time was Mr. Brewster hit-

N. Y. Times

Aug. 19, 1947

DP SCHOOL IN U. S. WAITS FINAL WORD

Quoddy Village in Maine Ready
to Train Refugees as Soon
as WAA Signals Opening

Frank Cohen, industrialist and creator of the plan to use Quoddy Village, Me., as a training center where displaced persons from Europe would be prepared for settlement in South America, announced yesterday that only final word from the War Assets Administration prevented his project from getting under way.

He said the City of Eastport, which adjoins the village, had applied to the WAA for possession of the property. Only the terms of the transfer remain to be worked out, he added. When that is done, Mr. Cohen and his associates will "get the rest of the wheels moving," with the objective of bringing 25,000 families to the community by the middle of 1948, he said.

With the expected permission of the Department of Immigration, the refugees—Greeks, Czechs and Jews—would enter the United States for six to nine months. They would be trained in various industries at Quoddy and ultimately sent to Argentina, Uruguay or Brazil for permanent settlement.

Mr. Cohen reported that his plan had found favor with President Truman and that Clark Clifford of the White House staff had been assigned to work out the details. He also said other Federal agencies and departments, such as the Army, State Department, Maritime Commission and Treasury Department, were cooperating.

Aug. 24, 1947

'Quoddy' DP Training Program Condemned by WAA Labor Group

By SAMUEL A. TOWER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23—Labor has expressed its disapproval of a proposal to convert the ghost town of Passamaquoddy, Me., site of an abandoned vast tidal power project, into a temporary center where displaced persons would receive mechanical training and then be sent to South America, it was learned today.

The War Assets Administration, handling the disposal of the installations and dwellings remaining from the proposed project, has received from its labor advisory group a set of recommendations condemning the proposal for displaced persons and favoring alternative ways of utilizing the village.

For the past month the surplus property agency has been soliciting bids for the 239 housing units and administrative buildings in the

project started by the Roosevelt Administration in 1933 to produce electricity by harnessing the tides of the Bay of Fundy.

One of the proposals received by the WAA came from Eastport, Me., adjacent to the village known among the natives as "Quoddy."

Under this plan Eastport officials joined with Frank Cohen, New York and Philadelphia tractor manufacturer, to suggest a program whereby displaced persons from the American zone of occupation in Germany would be brought over and trained at "Quoddy" for six months or so in mechanical skills and then be settled in South America for permanent employment.

The Eastport plan is understood

Continued on Page 4, Column 7

'QUODDY' DP PLAN SCORED BY LABOR

Continued From Page 1

to have been drafted at the office of Senator Owen Brewster of Maine at a conference of city officials and Mr. Cohen. It was contingent upon Eastport's ability to obtain from the WAA the property and certain Federal machinery either without cost or at a token payment.

The agency has placed a "fair value" on the property of \$396,055. Mr. Cohen undertook to meet the cost of rehabilitation of the village, estimated at \$250,000.

Senator Brewster, proclaiming his interest in the beneficial aspects of the plan to Eastport and his state, gave it his endorsement. On July 3 he issued a press release saying that the village was about to "bow itself into national prominence as a testing laboratory for a humanitarian project.

"Slave Labor" Charges Made

The proposal entered the sphere of controversy when charges were voiced that the scheme approximated "slave labor" in that there would be no remuneration for the trainees for their production of tractors or other products and that a profit would accrue to private sellers of the manufactured items.

Proponents of the plan have denied the "slave labor" charges, pointing out that profits would be "plowed back" into the project and that the trainees, while not receiving cash, could receive compensation in terms of transportation and maintenance.

The labor issue was raised formally in a recent letter to the WAA by Harvey W. Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists, an independent union, in which he contended that the DP's were not aborigines who had never seen machinery but skilled machinists competing with members of the IAM. He said

that the tractors selling in South America, after donation of facilities by the WAA, would be in competition with those offered through regular commercial channels and produced by his union.

The letter was referred to the agency's labor advisory council, consisting of representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

After dispatching a staff member to examine the village and perusing the reports of WAA appraisers studying the possibilities of "Quoddy," the group took the position, in a report to the agency, that the Eastport proposal was in violation of the precept of the law as well as the latter of the law.

From a legal point of view, it was said, the proposal ran counter to statutes barring the making of advance arrangements in the contracting of a job for anyone brought into the United States and that the trainees would be entering upon such a contractual relationship both in training and subsequent transportation to South America.

From the viewpoint of principle, the proposal was regarded as one that involved the use of compulsory labor and came pretty close to bondage, thereby departing from the traditions of the labor movement and the precepts of American democracy.

It was pointed out too, it was reported, that there was in existence a Federal apprentice training program that had not been consulted in the development of the proposal, along with a failure to confer with other interested agencies, such as the State Department and the Immigration Service.

Taking cognizance of the plight of the city of Eastport, which was left with a heavy tax burden as a result of expansion of facilities in its "boom" days during work on the power project, the advisory group urged the exploration of possibilities of finding appropriate interests to utilize "Quoddy."



24 Aug

'QUODDY' PLAN HELD INELIGIBLE BY WAA

Eastport DP Training Program
Ruled Out After \$369,055
Is Bid for Village

EASTPORT, Me., Aug. 27 (AP)—Eastport's plan to convert "Quoddy" Village into a displaced persons' industrial training center tonight was ruled ineligible by the War Assets Administration for "public benefit allowances," a vital financial factor in the municipality's bid for the property.

City officials had hoped to acquire the village, a Government surplus property, valued at \$396,055, for far below that amount because of the nature of the plan for its use.

WAA's stand was announced in a meeting of seven Federal officials, among them Robert Whittet, WAA's director of the non-industrial real property division, and city representatives.

After the conference a joint statement was issued which said an analysis by WAA and advisory agencies had found the plan to be "essentially industrial rather than educational in character."

City officials planned to seek further WAA consideration in a Washington meeting which will be called when an amended bid is made.

Under the city's proposal, the village that cost \$1,000,000 would be acquired by it and then placed under supervision of a syndicate headed by Frank E. Cohen, New York and Philadelphia tractor manufacturer, for training of European displaced persons.

The DP's would not be paid wages and after six months training, would be sent to South America. Their production, tractors and other implements, also would be exported to South America.

CANADA RECEIVES MANY IMMIGRANTS

Britons, Poles and Dutch Form
Major Groups—10,000 From
DP Camps Authorized

By P. J. PHILIP

Special to The New York Times

OTTAWA, Aug. 26—The number of immigrants of different categories being admitted to Canada, following the recent easing of restrictions, is beginning to mount. They are being admitted to help Canada in supplying her own needs and to assist in the solution of the European displaced persons' problem.

The most spectacular has been the admission of 7,000 workers of both sexes from the United Kingdom as the result of an arrangement made by Premier George Drew of Ontario. These are being sent almost daily by air, and today the first two plane contingents arrived, completing the first 500.

Most of these coming under Premier Drew's scheme have been engaged for farm work in Ontario, but a considerable number will also find employment in factories and on specialized jobs.

The immigrants from Britain must be of good health and good character and are subject to examination before being provided with air transport.

Shipping conditions, until now, have slowed considerably the scheme for admitting displaced persons from European camps.

The first to be admitted were 5,000 Polish soldiers discharged from the Polish Army, which fought with the Western Allies. These, for the most part, have been established at farm work throughout the country and at logging work in the winter.

Another category consisted of relatives of persons already in Canada and who were in displaced persons camps. The number of these has not been disclosed but it is considerable.

3,000 From Netherlands

In another group were 3,000 Netherlands farmers and their families all of whom were chosen with a view to developing certain types of agriculture.

In the first quota of 10,000 persons from DP camps that has been authorized preference has been given to men capable of working in logging camps and heavy industries and of these 1,500 have arrived and been put to work. The next to come as soon as shipping space is available will, it is expected, be 2,000 needle workers and 1,500 domestic servants.

Orphan children are also being brought to Canada by an organization that is responsible for them.

As shipping facilities improve the already steady stream will be increased, C. D. Howe, Minister of Supply, said recently on his return from a visit to England and to some displaced persons camps on the continent.

All immigrants are checked before leaving. They must meet fairly strict physical standards and have a "clean sheet" with respect to their political activities.

There have been no complaints regarding the quality of those admitted and, in general, it is accepted that immigration is essential to the development of the country. The authorities, however, are being cautious about making any statement regarding the ultimate number that can be admitted. That, it is said, must depend on the manner in which each group of 10,000 is absorbed and on the economic prospects of this country.

Mission Due in Germany

HERFORD, Germany, Aug. 26 (Reuters)—A party of Canadian officials will arrive in Hanover tomorrow to begin selection of 1,000 women from among displaced persons for domestic work in Canada, the International Refugee Organization announced today. The first party of immigrants were expected to leave in October.

M. J. James

Aug. 27, 1947



N. Y. Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1947.

ACTION BY U. N. URGED FOR RESETTLING DP'S

The United Nations must undertake immediate concrete action to solve the problem of 250,000 uprooted and homeless Jews in Europe, and the United States and other countries must open their doors to displaced persons, David Rosenstein, chairman of the American delegation to the World ORT Union Conference in Paris, declared yesterday.

Mr. Rosenstein was authorized by the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training to make a seventy-day tour of European displaced persons' camps. He returned yesterday.

In an interview at the OAT's New York office, 212 Fifth Avenue, Mr. Rosenstein explained that the most pressing problem today was "the problem of resettlement."

"I spoke to hundreds and hundreds of Jews in displaced persons' camps," he said, "and it isn't propaganda that they want to go to Palestine. They do. The Jews studying under ORT feel that the Holy Land is the only place where they can make a future for themselves."

He asserted that the ORT's job in Europe was the vocational training of refugees, adding that the ORT schools and Joint Distribution Committee projects "have turned apathy and despair into courage and hope."

"From what I saw of the quality and potential of these people," Mr. Rosenstein said, "any country that admits them will be the gainer, economically and spiritually. I was utterly astonished by the eagerness with which DP's welcome opportunities for vocational and general schooling, as preparation for effective resettlement."

"The ORT pupils are hungry. The ORT teachers, most of whom are DP's, are hungry; still they keep up the work. Some students walked five miles each way to get to the ORT school every day. That kind of spirit evokes admiration."

In his tour, Mr. Rosenstein traveled through France, England, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and Germany.

From Concentration Camps To Barbed Wire "Homes"

(Continued From Page 28)

there's not much optimism over the outcome.

* * *
GERMANY as a whole, Rabbi Friedman said, still preserves its anti-Semitic attitude. And young American soldiers are often swayed by the mistresses they acquire for a pack of cigarets to share their prejudice. He told of a riot at one Jewish camp, caused by slurring remarks made by American troops parading up and down outside the camp with frauleins on their arms.

Rabbi Friedman told of visiting the synagogue of the little town of Namur in Belgium. On the wall was a picture of a Catholic priest, Father Andre. Around the frame was a garland of flowers, and under it the inscription: "This man is one of the saints of the world."

Father Andre lived next door to the hotel where the Gestapo made its headquarters in Namur. He befriended the Nazis, who often used his garden and living room for drunken orgies; and, under the protection of his simulated friendship, he made of his home a way station on the underground railroad of escape from Europe.

He hid refugees in his bed-

room, oftentimes while a dozen Germans caroused downstairs. For two years he hardly slept in his own bed, for it was turned over to the refugees. He was instrumental in spiriting more than 200 persons, many of them Jews, to freedom under the nose of the Gestapo.

* * *
WHEN Belgium was liberated, the Jewish community of Namur presented Father Andre with a new bed—symbol of their appreciation, and a reminder of the sleepless and dangerous nights he had passed for the safety of their people.

The world is full of people like Father Andre, Rabbi Friedman said, who helped their Jewish neighbors before, and are eager to help the Jewish DPs, and all DPs, now.

But they are powerless to act till the nations of the world decide what to do with this human wreckage, this flotsam and jetsam of a cataclysmic war.

So Rabbi and Mrs. Friedman stood at the window of their new home, and looked out at the mud, and thought of Europe. They were glad to be back in the United States—but their joy was tempered by the knowledge that a quarter of a million of their people were rotting slowly away.

VIEWS ON THE NEWS

Radio is back on its winter schedule, but some of the summer programs left the listeners awful cold.

* * *
Winter will bring the usual crop of women trying to live up to the kind of fur in their coats.

* * *
Fashion note: Women's skirts will be longer and men's looks shorter.

* * *
It's questionable whether a United Nations police force will

result in a worldwide liking for cops.

* * *
Using his name for unauthorized strikes must make the wild-cat wild.

* * *
Freedom in India has caused numerous natives to lose their heads.

* * *
World War II has proved it's the victor who picks up the check.

Ma Showed Her Teeth— And the Redskins Fled

COLORADO, like all the West, has its sagas of Indian fighters. Some were canny, some were brash, and all were intrepid. But none of them ever frightened the Redskins as did Ma Maggard.

Ma wasn't very pretty; she was buxom, had flaming red hair that reached her knees, and a set of false teeth that had a disconcerting habit of popping out of her mouth at inopportune moments.

But she was a born organizer. In 1859 when she heard of a thriving little town on Cherry Creek, waxing fat on the dust of surrounding mines, she determined to go out there and start a boarding house.

She gathered a party of fellow Missourians, corralled material enough for her boarding house, and started out, charging the others for the privilege of traveling with her. Her group of 30 people in eight ox-carts and wagons got on nicely until they crossed the Nebraska line.

THE very next morning, Ma awoke early with a sense of disaster. She stuck her head out the wagon, and sure enough, there was a large band of whooping Indians swooping down on the wagon circle.

Well, Ma threw back her head and howled; and, since her voice matched her buxom frame, everybody in that band of pioneers awoke and leaped to the defense.

The men started peppering away at the circling Indians, but Ma thought there was a better way of beating them off. She signalled imperiously for the firing to stop.

Then she shook out her flaming red hair till it was bushier than ever, and charged out of the circle of wagons at the bewildered Indians.

As she attacked, she popped her teeth in and out of her mouth, now waving them fiercely aloft, now clicking them furiously between her gums, all the while yelling like a maniac.

WELL, those Indians took one look at the apparition, then turned and fled with one purpose—to get as far away as possible from that evil spirit that flamed from head to knees and could take parts of its body off and put them back on again.

And Ma—she calmly led the band of pioneers on again to Denver, collecting an extra dollar from each one for extra services rendered.

The Stars Say:

By STELLA

SUNDAY, Sept. 14. — Born today, you have a tremendous capacity for work. Your energy appears to be boundless and you are never happy unless you are involved in a dozen activities all at once. You have a high temper which flares and flames at the most unexpected moments. You are sensitive and take umbrage; often, when none is intended. Your greatest success will come from dealing with people. Remember that temperamental moods do not sit too becomingly upon one who must deal with the public. Learn to control them and you progress faster.

You have a magnetic personality, but you are not frank and sincere with people. You have the capacity for keeping a confidence. Unfortunately you will use this information to your advantage should you consider it necessary. This tendency may be influenced by the fact that your early life was not easy or happy. As your talents develop you will believe that success should be yours at any price.

Monday, Sept. 15

VIRGO (Aug. 23-Sept. 22)—A successful day. A new moon brings your personal desires, aims and ambitions into the foreground for the next four weeks.

LIBRA (Sept. 23-Oct. 23)—This is a good day but make all plans carefully as some disillusionment may become apparent during the next few weeks.

SCORPIO (Oct. 24-Nov. 22)—A splendid day to get started on some new improvement which will augment your business income in the days to come.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 23-Dec. 22)—An excellent day for your personal aims and ambitions, especially along career lines you are planning to develop.

CAPIRICORN (Dec. 23-Jan. 20)—A long journey you have been planning should culminate in success soon.

AQUARIUS (Jan. 21-Feb. 19)—A promising period is just ahead, so seek spiritual guidance in making your plans with those close and dear to you.

PISCES (Feb. 20-March 21)—A fine time to correlate the prospects for you in the realm of partnership—either in the marriage or business field.

ARIES (March 22-April 20)—A stimulating period. Employment matters offer an opportunity to increase your income. Plan today.

TAURUS (April 21-May 21)—This may be the time to make an important decision in the future of children.

GEMINI (May 22-June 22)—A favorable day to take stock of the home front. Make sure everything is shipshape in the coming four weeks.

CANCER (June 23-July 23)—Prospects are good, especially if you will concentrate on things of the mind. Avoid worries in days to come.

LEO (July 24-Aug. 23)—If pending plans appear significant—only they should at this time—seek spiritual guidance for the weeks ahead.



BY JACK GASKIE



Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

THEY had just moved into their new house. The furniture was in place, but the homey touches, the signs of a place lived in, were missing.

Mrs. Friedman stood by the window. Outside the rain beat down, gouging crooked furrows into the unpaved road of the newly developed section. The mud was ankle deep.

"It reminds me of the camps,"

she said, with an involuntary shudder. "Mud—mud all over the place! Mud inside the four blank walls called home—mud in the outdoor latrines—mud in the eyes and in the minds."

She turned to her husband, Rabbi Herbert Friedman of Temple Emanuel. He nodded grimly.

They had been talking for close to two hours of the displaced persons, the DPs of Europe. They knew whereof they spoke; for they had just returned from Europe, where he served as a Jewish chaplain and she worked with the Joint Distribution Committee, a voluntary agency operating under UNRRA.

RABBI FRIEDMAN had much to tell of his almost two years in Europe; but everything else was dim and insignificant alongside the one pressing problem of the DPs.

There were 10 million of them in Western Europe at the close of the war, and more than nine million were speedily repatriated.

Now there are 850,000 huddled together in barracks, in hovels, even in old concentration camps. The army calls them the "hard core" that just cannot be repatriated.

Most of them refuse to return to their native countries because they know they will be greeted with persecution, open or covert; and they know that, in these "liberated" countries where "democracy" reigns, this perse-

cution will be directed against them because of their religion.

ABOUT 600,000 of them are Catholics from the Communist-dominated countries of Poland, Yugoslavia and the Baltic states. They know how cordially the puppet rulers of their homelands would greet them.

The rest are Jews—250,000 of the million left in Western Europe. There were seven million before the war. And they are condemned to remain in DP camps yet longer; for they either have no homes to return to, or are natives of countries where the "No Jews" sign is still out, despite the lessons of the war.

Rabbi Friedman went overseas in April, 1945, and was first attached to the Ninth Division of the Third Army, where he aided in screening DPs and setting up camps. He was then assigned to the American zone of Berlin, where he was the only Jewish chaplain.

Jewish troops of the other occupying countries—England, France and Russia—attended his Sabbath services, supplying the international touch. Rabbi Friedman has an interesting sidelight on that.

THE Russian worshippers, he noted, were as well versed in the ceremonial as were the troops of the other nations. This certainly seemed to indicate, he concluded, that they had not been prevented from holding religious services for years.

After a few months in Berlin, he was transferred to Frankfurt, headquarters of the American occupation forces, to work with

Rabbi Philip Bernstein. Bernstein is civilian adviser to General McNarney on Jewish matters.

One of Rabbi Friedman's chief duties was to work as liaison man between the army and the Central Committee of Liberated Jews. This is a group of 11 men chosen by an electoral body which was in turn chosen by vote of all Jewish DPs. The committee was formally recognized by the army last September.

The committee can arrange to have a building repaired here, to have entertainment there, to acquire tools elsewhere; but, said Rabbi Friedman, neither it nor the army could lift a finger to solve the one basic problem of where the DPs eventually were to go.

WAVES of rumors frequently start in the DP camps that at last a home has been found for them. To the Jews, it's Palestine; for the Poles and Yugoslavs, it's South America; for the Balts, it's Alaska.

Then enthusiasm mounts high, eyes glow, ambition is fired. But the rumor dies, and the DPs—many of them professional men or skilled workers—continue to live in hovels on charity.

Measures of hope have been held out from time to time. The Stratton Bill, to permit migration of many DPs to the United States, had the support of labor unions, educational groups, church organizations—but it didn't get far.

Palestine is the one answer, Rabbi Friedman said, to the Jewish problem; not only because it is the Jews' homeland—though that's a powerful enough reason—but also because it's the only place the Jews can go.

The United Nations will discuss the Palestine issue this week, considering letting 150,000 European Jews into the country during the next two years. But

(Continued On Page 35)



"Everything I want you refuse! You—you communist!"

COPIED, 1947 BY NEA SERVICE, INC. T. M. REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1947.

CONGRESS IS URGED TO SPEED DP ENTRY

**Citizens' Committee Asks Quick
Action Next Year, Saying
Misery Knows No Recess**

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31 (AP)—Top Congressional priority next year on legislation to admit 400,000 of Europe's homeless war refugees over a four-year period was urged today by the Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons.

"Misery, hopelessness and despair take no vacation or recess," declared Earl G. Harrison, chairman of the organization.

"The displaced persons' problem should top the foreign and domestic agenda in Congress when it reconvenes Jan. 2."

"There can be no peace in the world until the displaced persons' problem is settled and we can give our domestic economy a shot in the arm by integrating these valuable human beings into our agricultural and industrial pattern," he contended.

Mr. Harrison's statement was given through the committee's Washington office.

A measure to admit the 400,000 refugees, sponsored by Representative William G. Stratton, Republican, of Illinois, and endorsed by the Administration, was shelved—at least temporarily—by a House Judiciary subcommittee after extensive public hearings in the closing days of the last session.

Meanwhile, President Truman has served notice of his intention to renew his appeal for passage of a measure to admit a part of the refugees. Mr. Truman told a news conference recently that citizens of the United States should not object to their admission because all Americans were descendants of displaced persons.

A number of traveling Congressional committees will look into the problem at first hand during coming months, inspecting the DP camps in the Anglo-American zones of Germany which have housed the refugees since victory two years ago.