

REFUGEES

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WALTER DUSHNYCK • WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S. J.

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REFUGEES ARE PEOPLE

The Plight of Europe's Displaced Persons

by

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and

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Introduction

NEARLY TWO years have passed since the war in Europe came to an end. Yet many humanitarian and social problems left in its wake are still unsolved. These questions are the more urgent because they are the most fundamental confronting our post-war leadership. High on the list is the ultimate fate of hundreds of thousands of uprooted human beings who are unrepatriable as a result of the war.

Ever since the rise of Hitler to power and right through the second World War there have been dislocations of peoples to an extent unprecedented in the history of mankind. Obviously the victory of the United Nations over the forces of totalitarianism cannot be real unless justice is guaranteed these defenseless human beings. The promise was made in the enunciation of the Four Freedoms, which epitomized our war aims. Today it must be fulfilled toward those who seek freedom from political, religious or economic oppression.

The problem of *political refugees* or *displaced persons* continues to be a dominant factor in shaping the course of the post-war world. Recent months have brought to the fore the divergent views among the victors on the subject of human rights and values. While opposing doctrines are argued and attempts are made to reconcile differing interests, millions of human beings are used as pawns on a worldwide chess board.

Although an apparent compromise was reached after extensive debate in the United Nations, close observers realize that the fate of these human beings is far from secure. The frontier drawing in post-war Europe, the "rectifications" and "minority resettlements" which have become a current phenomenon, so far have not been worked out on principles of equity and justice, but rather on the assumption that might makes right.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The problem of political refugees is not a new one. A refugee, according to *A Dictionary of American Politics* (Smith & Zurcher), p. 263, is "one who has fled his native land to escape discrimination or persecution." *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Vol. XIII, p. 200) defines a refugee as "any person who under the stress of *force majeure* has left his home and become dependent on the hospitality of others." There have been many such peoples in the world's history.

In the past the non-revolutionary countries of Europe sheltered émigrés of the French Revolution. States with liberal institutions, such as England and Switzerland, have consistently harbored refugees from the rule of autocracies. Many countries today as in the past, made it a point of honor to grant the right of political asylum, even though this often involves them in difficulties with the government concerned.

Refugee movements have helped keep alive the national spirit of countries temporarily oppressed by a foreign autocracy. For example, the Ukrainian Cossacks originated in the sixteenth century by taking refuge from Polish and Russian lords; they preferred dangerous liberty to political slavery. Other notable cases of political refugees are those of the Magyar emigration after 1848, and the Polish exodus after the unsuccessful insurrection against the Czar in 1863.

Many earlier American colonists were true religious refugees, notably the Catholics who sought out sanctuary in Maryland to escape discrimination at home and the Pilgrims who looked to America as a refuge from contemporary British intolerance at their non-conformism.

A special and prominent place in the history of refugee movements is held by the Jews, who have often been referred to as a nation of refugees. In the Middle Ages they were expelled from Spain and Germany and were hospitably received by the Kings of Poland and Lithuania. During the despotic regime of the Russian Czars they were periodically beaten and persecuted in police-inspired pogroms.

The importance of modern organization in handling political refugees became apparent during and after World War I, and especially after the Russian Revolution of 1917 when millions of Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians and others fled the Bolshevik terror. In 1921 the International Red Cross and other charitable organizations requested the League of Nations to organize a commission, define the legal position of the refugees and provide necessary protection and help for their subsistence. One of the outstanding League accomplish-

ments was the creation of the "Nansen Passport" Office. Passports issued by the commission were accepted by many governments in lieu of ordinary passports.

The question of political refugees reaches far beyond the bounds of immediate charity or relief. History shows that periodic refugee movements of one kind or another, or religious persecutions are unavoidable in the absence of international enforcement of human rights. Catastrophic political changes, followed by reprisals, make them inevitable. Where repatriation proves impossible, naturalization elsewhere has been accepted as the only alternate solution. Countries reluctant to facilitate this solution might well reflect on the historical evidence. This indicates that whereas refugee movements usually occasion great sufferings among the refugees themselves, they often enriched the countries which granted hospitality and almost uniformly impoverished those from which they fled.

1. Refugees and Displaced Persons

1. THEIR ORIGIN

The displaced persons of Europe are, generally speaking, refugees, who for various reasons have crossed international frontiers, and can not now or will not return to their homelands. They are people fleeing from what they consider their enemies. Their number includes women and children, old men and young men, whose present fate symbolizes in terms of human suffering, the full tragedy of World War II. Who are they, whence did they come, why did they depart from their native lands?

Millions of the displaced persons fled or were driven out of their home countries by the German war machine. A great number of them became slave laborers, being taken forcibly to Germany as workers in German industry and agriculture. They were men and women deported because of race, or political beliefs. Some of them were labeled as "politically dangerous elements." Still another group, known as "voluntary laborers" (how "voluntary" is open to question), became displaced due to their work. In the face of invasion there occurred population shifts unparalleled in history—men, women and children fleeing terror and death from the skies.

With the retreat of the German armies from the East, new millions of human beings were forced to flee westward. Most of them fled in fear of political, religious and racial persecution on the part of the invading Soviet armies. This latter category comprises many Eastern Europeans who never had been Russian citizens, either Soviet or Czarist.

Still another group of displaced persons were men forcibly conscripted into the German army. Mainly Asiatics, these included Kalmuks, Turkmen, Tartars and the like. The majority had been pressed into service upon threat of death by the Gestapo and SS troops. Despite the readiness with which these bewildered "volunteers" surrendered to Allied troops, they now fear Soviet reprisal for their participation in the German effort.

Finally, among the displaced persons are some old political refugees who originally fled the Soviet Union because of avowed opposition to communism. Among these are numbered thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Armenians and Georgians. They left the Soviet Union following the Revolution of 1917, or else during the forced collectivization of 1929-1932 and the subsequent Soviet "purges." To these may be added thousands of Soviet soldiers captured by the Germans and liberated by Americans and British troops in Western Germany. Many of them remained in Western Europe for fear of punitive measures on the part of the Soviet government.

2. DISPLACED PERSONS

When the Allies brought about the final collapse of Germany, there were probably 12,000,000 displaced Europeans scattered over the western part of the continent. Most, especially those from Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, Denmark and Norway were helped back to their homes by the Allied military authorities and international relief organizations. Repatriation to Western and Northern European countries was accomplished without any appreciable difficulty or complications.

But well over 1,000,000 refugees were still in the American, British and French zones of occupied Germany and Austria, as late as May, 1946. Of these 920,000 were cared for in camps, assembly centers and other types of organized shelter. (No available data, however, exist as to displaced persons in the Soviet zones of Germany and Austria. The Soviet government has never requested of UNRRA or other relief agencies assistance in caring for them.) How many displaced persons live outside of camps in Germany and Austria under British, American and French occupation, is not known for certain, but it is assumed that their number remains relatively large, perhaps totaling as many as 500,000. These include principally the Poles, Ukrainians, Baltic nationals and Yugoslavs.

Because of the admitted inadequacy of statistics, it is not possible to present accurate figures listing by location and by nationality all of the refugees. The best available figures on displaced persons compiled by various agencies, give their total number as from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000. This does not include the large numbers of displaced Chinese, Indians, Javanese, Japanese, Malaysians and Koreans, who are still scattered through the Far East. According to UNRRA's Far Eastern Mission (early part of 1946) these Oriental DP's numbered well over 3,000,000.

Various national groups of European displaced persons are estimated by voluntary relief agencies as follows: Estonians—100,000; Latvians—180,000; Lithuanians—150,000; Poles—350,000; Ukrainians—485,000; Spanish Republicans—200,000. Displaced Russians of World War II are estimated at 100,000; together with the old Russian émigrés the number of displaced Russians may well reach 300,000.

All the preceding unrepatriables are classified as “displaced persons” although the refugee status of many is not yet clear. The definition of “displaced persons” term, used in the *Report of the Voluntary Agencies*, reads as follows:

Those persons who have been displaced from their countries of nationality or residence since the outbreak of World War I, by reasons of war, revolutions, their aftermath, of the political situations that give rise to war, or revolution; including those ex-enemy nationals not displaced from their countries of nationality, refuge or residence, who have been persecuted by the enemy because of race, religion or activities in favor of the United Nations.

In the United States there is a generally accepted but erroneous conception that displaced persons in Europe are for the most part Jews. The simple truth is that Jews constitute only about 20 per cent of them. The other 80 per cent are Christians, mostly Catholics (60 to 70 per cent), while the remainder are Orthodox and Protestant.

2. The Refugees of 1947

By the end of 1946 there still were more than 1,200,000 displaced persons in the American, British and French zones of Germany and Austria, these being cared for in UNRRA or army camps. Many other thousands are scattered in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Great Britain, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. The majority of these scattered groups are not covered by the programs of refugee care operated by the major governmental, inter-governmental and voluntary services. It can be assumed that by now the voluntary homeward movement of displaced persons from camps in Germany and Austria has passed its peak. Most of those still remaining in camps are regarded as the "hard core" of non-repatriables.

These refugees for the most part come from Eastern Europe. Former residents of Poland, the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, as well as of the Soviet Union, they would prefer above all to return to their homelands and there resume a normal existence. But they express substantial fear that so long as their countries are controlled by communist-dominated governments their lives and liberties are endangered. From their past experiences under Soviet rule, they have come to the conclusion that known opposition to a totalitarian form of government will make them liable to political persecution.

Some knowledge of the political, cultural and religious background of each national group of displaced persons is necessary to understand their unwillingness to go home, an unwillingness not infrequently expressed by suicide.

1. ESTONIANS

Estonia is a little Baltic country whose population in 1939 census terms numbered 1,133,940. All are Christians: Lutherans account for 78 percent, while 19 percent are Greek-Orthodox. They speak the Finno-Ugrian language and form a distinct cultural entity.

The history of the Estonians runs on parallel line with that of their Baltic brothers, the Lithuanians and Latvians. Estonia, gaining

political independence after the fall of the Russian Empire in 1917, was able to organize its political and cultural life on a higher plane than would be expected in view of its scanty economic resources. The Estonian Protestant Church knew free and unhindered development during the years of Estonian independence.

In 1940 this period of peaceful constructive work was interrupted by the Russian invasion, preceeded by the joint German-Soviet attack upon Poland in the fall of 1939. Despite the fact that there existed a pact of mutual defense between Estonia and the Soviet Union, the Russian government deliberately embarked upon a policy of conquest.

Simultaneously with the German onslaught on France and the Low Countries, the Soviets began invading the Baltic States. Luthuania was accused of "kidnapping" Soviet soldiers, while Estonia and Latvia were said to "plan a military conspiracy" against the Soviet state. On June 16, 1940, an armed ultimatum was issued to the Estonian and Latvian governments, demanding the passage of Soviet troops through, and the establishment of Soviet military bases within these countries. Copying nazi methods so successful in Czechoslovakia, the Russians threatened to bomb Estonian cities unless their ultimatum was accepted and a "friendly" government immediately organized.

On June 17, 1940, without warning, the Soviet armies overran Estonia. The population of the country, instead of rising against the "fascist" rulers, remained tranquil. They loyally supported their legal government, which invited the people to continue work and treat the Russian troops as the army of a friendly country. The Soviets, completely taken aback by such an attitude, sent a special deputy, General Zhdanov, to Tallinn, there to form a "friendly" government. Presently mock elections for dummy parliaments were engineered. The "people's assembly," elected on a single pro-communist ticket and supported by the Soviet Army and the NKVD, decided by "acclamation" to sovietize Estonia.

A truly tragic period for the Estonian people then began. Members of the liberal professions, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers, journalists, students and above all the clergy, were hunted and deported into Russia by the hundreds. Among them was Professor Rahamägi, former Bishop of Estonia. Broadcasting of divine services was discontinued. A decree was issued prohibiting bible camps for first communicants and other gatherings of a religious character. All Christian youth associations were suppressed. Anti-religious propaganda got under way, enjoying the full support of the Soviets. The

Soviet-installed *Kommunist* of August 11, 1940, declared: "The new socialist school will sweep away religion, a merely bygone means for deceiving the people."*)

Evidently the sovietization process could not be a success without mass deportations of people into the interior of the Soviet Union. On the basis of Lithuanian Red Cross reports it is estimated that some 200,000 people were lost to the Baltic States during the first Soviet occupation alone. These people have simply disappeared. The details of the deportation proceedings were meticulously worked out in the *Serov Instruction*, originating with the Commissariat of State Security, Moscow (text in *Lithuanian Bulletin*, January 1946). This official document was prefaced by the proposition that "the deportation of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic States is a task of great political importance." According to these plans, the "enemies of the Soviet state" were to be removed at pistol-point, without "noise and panic" to designated points. At these centers families were separated from their heads and thence taken to slave labor colonies in the Soviet Union.

It is impossible to determine accurately how many thousands Estonians were so deported from their native country. But Estonian sources give these figures as between 65,000 and 80,000 people. Many others, fleeing from the Soviet terror, escaped to Germany. There they were conscripted into an Estonian Legion, which was sent against the Soviets upon the outbreak of the German-Soviet war.

The German occupation of Estonia was as ruthless as that of the Soviets. There was, however, no visible persecution of religion, but thousands of young Estonians were forcibly conscripted into the German war and economic machines.

During the flight in 1944—the 1940 experiences of Russian domination had forewarned them—many of the professional classes among the Estonians and the Balts in general escaped in time to Germany.

It was reliably reported that about 15,000 Estonians were working in Germany during January, 1944. By April of the same year 2,000 more were deported thence as political prisoners. While the total number of Estonians taken to Germany as labor deportees, political prisoners or conscripts in the German army is not certain, an allowance of 100,000 people who became displaced persons in Western Europe by 1945 seems to be reasonable. Of this number some, no doubt, were later voluntarily or forcibly repatriated to their native country.

*) *The Fate of Religion and Church Under Soviet Rule in Estonia, 1940-1941.* By H. Perliits. World's Evangelical Alliance, London, 1944.

Dr. Kulisher (*The Displacement of Population in Europe*, International Labor Office, Montreal, 1943) estimates that over 60,000 Estonians were deported to Russia in 1940. *The Baltic Refugees*, a publication of the Baltic Humanitarian Association in Stockholm, gives a figure of 60,973 Estonians killed and arrested by the Soviet authorities.

The speedy German advance in the Baltic States during June, 1941, interrupted the arrests and deportations by the NKVD, but the captured archives of the latter show arrangements had been made to deport further hundreds of thousands. Documents found in the NKVD headquarters in Kaunas included "detailed transport plans" for the Soviet railways to deport from Lithuania alone 700,000 families, i.e. about 2,000,000 people. (See: *Lietovos Archivo III*, and Minister Ignaz J. Scheynius' article in *Svensk Tidskrift*, No. 10, Stockholm, 1942).

ESTONIA—Population

Total pre-war population (as of January 1, 1939)	1,133,940
Soviet Occupation (June 15, 1940 to June 22, 1941):	
Estonians executed and deported by the NKVD	75,000
German Occupation (June 1941 to Summer 1944):	
Estonians deported as slave laborers, political prisoners and conscripted into the German army	100,000
Total War Casualties (estimated)	350,000
Displaced Persons in Western Europe:	
a) Germany:	
1) American Zone	18,225
2) British Zone	9,813
3) French Zone	1,055
b) Austria (all three zones)	4,600
c) France, Italy and Scandinavian countries	25,000
Total Estonian DP's in Western Europe	58,683

2. LATVIANS

Latvia is a little Baltic country, situated between Estonia and Lithuania. In 1939 (January 1) its population numbered 1,994,506 of whom 73 per cent were Letts or Latvians, 10.6 per cent Russians,

4.9 per cent Jews and 3.7 per cent Germans. According to religion 56 per cent of them are Protestants, followed by 24.5 per cent Roman Catholics, 9 per cent Greek Catholics, 5.5 per cent Greek Orthodox, and others. The Latvians speak their own language, the Lettish, a branch of the Baltic group of the Aryan language. It is closely related to the Lithuanian.

The people of Latvia are regarded as hard-working and democratic. Having inhabited their country for centuries, the Latvians always struggled hard to maintain their independence, constantly threatened by either Germany or Russia, the two mighty neighbors ever bent on expansion and conquest. Latvia was often utterly devastated by wars, and its population suffered from incessant strife and invasions. Despite the policy of assimilation pursued by both the Germans and the Russians, somehow the Latvians managed to survive as a well-defined national entity.

Latvia became an independent state after World War I, supported materially and diplomatically by the United States, Great Britain and France. During twenty-two years of political independence, the Latvian people sufficiently proved their ability to exist as a free nation. Relations with the Soviet Union were regulated by several treaties, under which the Soviet government solemnly promised to respect the integrity and independence of Latvia.

But in 1939, the Soviet Union, with the knowledge and cooperation of Hitler's Germany, imposed military bases upon Latvia, as well as upon the two other Baltic States. During the conversation in the Kremlin with the Latvian Foreign Minister on October 2, 1939, Stalin declared that "in regard to the Baltic States our views do not differ from those of Germany," and "as far as Germany is concerned we could occupy you." This threat of Stalin was actually realized on June 16, 1940. While the Western democracies were undergoing one of the severest crises in their history, Soviet troops swarmed into all three Baltic States.

The Soviet occupation of Latvia was denounced by both the United States and Britain. For the Latvian people the occupation meant the beginning of untold oppression and suffering. The Soviet pattern of mass deportations was thoroughly applied to Latvia and at least 34,250 Latvians were immediately seized and deported into the interior of the Soviet Union. The NKVD files, left behind during the Soviet retreat in June, 1941, disclosed that the Soviet government intended to deport about 800,000 Latvians. These were to include all mem-

bers of political parties; all judges, police and army officers; members of religious societies and clergymen; manufacturers, merchants, landowners and prosperous peasants.

Banks, factories, buildings and real estate were mercilessly "nationalized," i.e. confiscated by the ruling communist minority, always supported by the Soviet armies. Currencies were devaluated, and all types of valuables (bank deposits, machinery, raw materials, food stuffs, etc.) were expropriated and taken to the Soviet Union. A "national assembly," "elected" by a group of terroristic communists, quickly proclaimed a sovietized Latvia to be a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This ruthless sovietization was supervised by Andrey Vishinsky, later Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union and Soviet delegate to the U.N. General Assembly in 1946. Under such circumstances over 14,000 Latvians sought a haven in Germany as political refugees.

The second act of the Latvian tragedy opened with the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 21, 1941. From that date until 1945, the Nazis pursued a policy of racial annihilation of Latvians and their Baltic brothers, the Lithuanians and Estonians. The official German policy toward Latvia was outlined in a book, *Small and Great Nations*, by Friedrich Lange (*Zentralverlag der NSDAP*, Berlin, 1943). On page 89, he wrote:

. . . The small Baltic border states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia feel safe clinging to England's skirts and think they are strong enough to provoke, more or less, the German Government. In all the three countries, but most cruelly and insolently in Latvia, the German language, local as well as German *Reich* art, and possibilities of existence for Germans were suppressed.

This passage typifies the German attitude toward the Baltic States. Latvian economy was driven to complete ruin by constant requisitions for the Germans. In 1943 and 1944 the Nazis, under penalty of court martial, forcibly drafted Latvians into their armies, to a total of about 100,000. A similar number was deported to work as slave labor in Germany. Subsequently a resistance movement sprang up. Many of its participants died in German concentration camps, especially in the Stutthof camp near Danzig.

In 1944, when German resistance on the Eastern Front was breaking down and Soviet troops were approaching the Latvian border, the Nazis issued "evacuation orders." The people were forced to flee with the German troops. In Riga as well as in other Latvian cities,

people ignoring these orders were seized in the streets and in their homes by special Gestapo units, and then brought to the evacuation centers.

Other people, in deathly fear of the Russians, fled westward of their own accord to find refuge under the protection of the Western democracies. These refugee people, with few exceptions, did not voluntarily serve the Nazis. They either were compelled to fight within the German ranks, or in their own "Latvian Legion," to which they were forcibly mobilized by the desperate German High Command.

Thus upon the collapse of Germany there were over 150,000 Latvians in Germany and Austria. Several thousands of them escaped to Denmark and Sweden.* Of these 77 per cent are in the age group between 17 and 60, while the youth up to 16 years of age forms 17 per cent of the Latvian displaced persons. Among them are scientists, educational and cultural workers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, clerks, office workers, industrial workers, farmers, contractors and students.

LATVIA—Population

Total pre-war population (1940 census)	1,950,000
Soviet occupation (from June 15, 1940 to June 22, 1941):	
Deportations and executions	50,000
German occupation (from 1941 to 1944):	
Deportation as slave laborers to Germany	100,000
Total War Casualties (estimated)	650,000
Displaced Persons in Europe:	
a) Germany:	
1) American Zone	70,000
2) British Zone	62,500
3) French Zone	2,500
b) Austria (all three zones)	2,000
c) Other countries:	
Poland	}
Czechoslovakia	
Italy	
Switzerland	
France	
Sweden	5,500
Denmark	1,800
<hr/>	
Total Latvian DP's in Europe ..'	153,300

*) *American-Swedish News Exchange, Inc.*, Feb. 12, 1947, reports that there are about 18,000 refugee Balts in Sweden.

d) Repatriated by Russia	25,000
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Professional Occupations of Latvian DP's in Percentages:

a) Qualified Laborers	29.6 per cent
b) Clerical Workers	12.5
c) Farmers	12.3
d) Teachers	4.4
e) Free Professions	2.3
f) Businessmen	1.4
g) Students, School Pupils	12.3
h) Infants under 7 years	7.2
i) Older People	17.0

Of some 104,093 Latvian DP's 59,007 are men and 45,086 women. Among them 16,880 are under 17 years of age, and 84,072 persons older than 17 years.

3. LITHUANIANS

The kaleidoscopic changes of centuries of Lithuanian political history were epitomized in the events that took place during the years 1940-1945. Lithuania, the third Baltic country, knew the identical fortunes which befell Estonia and Latvia. The Lithuanians, who on January 1, 1940, numbered 2,879,070, are closely connected racially with the Latvians, their language being a Baltic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. More than 85 per cent of them are Roman Catholics, while the remainder is Protestant and Greek Orthodox.

Through the centuries of its history Lithuania has known periods of prosperity and *grandeur*. Finally weakened and reduced in territory and population, it became another victim in the game between Germany and Russia. After World War I Lithuania, led by the *Taryba* (National Council), regained its independence. This it preserved with a great degree of success and prosperity until the outbreak of World War II.

In 1939, the Soviet Union, after its participation in the dismemberment of Poland by Germany, forced Lithuania to permit the establishment of military bases within its territory. Between June 15 and 17, 1940, at the time of the German all-out offensive against France and the Low Countries, Soviet troops occupied Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. Conscious of no guilt, the bulk of the Lithuanian people remained in the country. But it took only a few weeks of occupation to bring home forcefully to everyone the magnitude of the error committed in placing any trust in Soviet decency. By July, 1940, a systematic extermination of the Lithuanian people had started. This

meant the elimination of all those who had attained any degree of prominence in public life, irrespective of social position, age, or sex.

In the course of one year, from June 15, 1940, to June 22, 1941, over 45,000 Lithuanians were executed, sentenced to penal servitude or deported to Siberia without semblance of trial.* Detailed lists were being prepared by the NKVD agencies for additional arrests of people destined for deportation into the interior of the Soviet Union. The so-called *Serov Instruction* (deriving from the name of Soviet General Serov who was in charge of mass deportations of Baltic nationals) called for rounding up of all "anti-Soviet elements" in the Baltic countries.

Special punitive detachments of Soviet secret police, known as *istrebitels*, became a real terror to Lithuanians. With the arrival at Vilna of V. G. Dekanazov, emissary of Foreign Commissar Molotov, a complete Soviet grip upon Lithuania was an accomplished fact. At the time of their flight Soviet authorities were preparing to deport 700,000 Lithuanians, as was found out later in the secret files of the NKVD in Lithuania.

Again, when the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, and the Russian troops were pushed back to the East, no one in Lithuania fled the country. The new wave of nazi terror swept over the country, and during the first months of German occupation several thousands of Lithuanians, mostly of Jewish descent, were exterminated. The Nazi plans for Lithuania, especially the frantic efforts to harness Lithuanian manpower to the German war machine, were opposed with the greatest determination by the Lithuanian people.

The Lithuanian patriots had restored Lithuanian independence before the Germans reached Lithuania, which was soon crushed. About 2,000 Lithuanians died a heroic death at the hands of the Nazis, while thousands of others shared the suffering of Jews, Poles, Ukrainians and Frenchmen in numerous Nazi concentration and extermination camps.

Since about 50 per cent of those Lithuanians deported to Siberia died within a year's time or were deliberately exterminated—as is borne out by the testimony of Lithuanian Jewish citizens, who were deported to Siberia and later found their way to Western democratic countries—it is easily understood why the Lithuanians upon the imminence of a second Soviet occupation of their country fled for their lives. Every one of those who stayed behind felt that the iron curtain

* Figures taken from *Memorandum, Concerning the Present Situation of Baltic DP's with Special Reference to that of the Lithuanian DP's*. By Rev. Dr. Joseph B. Koncius, head of the United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, August 26, 1946.

would descend, and separate him from the civilized world, burying him alive.

It has been estimated by competent quarters that about 250,000 Lithuanians were displaced by the military events of 1944. The majority of them, encumbered by large families, failed to reach the regions which eventually fell under control of the Western Allies. Their subsequent fate can be only conjectured.

The Lithuanians who found themselves in the Western parts of Germany, comprise political refugees, slave laborers and men forcibly conscripted into the *Wehrmacht*. The ranks of the Lithuanian DP's are made up of people from various walks of life, representing all shades of political thought. Among them are to be encountered former cabinet ministers, famous opera singers and gifted musicians, outstanding authors and journalists, the rectors and professors of the universities (closed down by the Nazis), physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc. They also include the ordinary clergymen and highest dignitaries of the Catholic Church and other denominations. Strange as it may seem at first glance, the ranks of the Lithuanian DP's have also a great number of the leaders and fighters of the anti-Nazi Lithuanian resistance movement. From bitter experience and the example of Poland, every resistance leader of any mark was well aware that his head would be the very first to fall upon the advent of the Soviets.

Among the Lithuanian displaced persons there are two categories of political refugees to whom Allied authorities refused to grant the status of DP's, thus complicating still more the general difficulty of Lithuanians caught in Germany. They are: 1) the so-called *Umsiedlers* and 2) *Memellanders*. It should be recalled that a great number of the Lithuanians availed themselves of the provision in the Soviet-German treaty of January 10, 1941, calling for the mutual exchange of minority populations. Some Lithuanians, very often with the help of forged documents, left for Germany with the *Volksdeutsche*, in an effort to save their lives. Persons thus resettled were called *Umsiedlers*. The other group is made up of the inhabitants of Memel (Klaipeda) Territory, taken away from Lithuania by Hitler's Germany on March 23, 1939. The Allied authorities classify these as Germans, thus refusing them any assistance given to other DP's in Western Germany.

The general situation of the Lithuanian DP's as that of any other national group, is very difficult. Stories of conditions of DP's in the three military zones of Germany and of their mistreatment by MP's have reached relatives in the United States. Comparing the

situation in the occupation zones of Germany to that in Switzerland, for instance, one notes a great difference. The refugees in Switzerland enjoy complete liberty concerning the practice of their profession, and as regards their right to work.

LITHUANIA—Population

Total pre-war population (as of January 1, 1940)	2,879,070
Soviet Occupation (from June 15, 1940 to June 22, 1941):	
a) Lithuanians put to death by the NKVD	5,000
b) Lithuanians deported to Siberia and Altai	40,000
Nazi Occupation (from June 1941 to Summer 1944):	
a) Lithuanians sent to concentration camps	14,500
b) Lithuanians deported as slave laborers	100,000
c) Exterminated by the Nazis	250,000
Total War Casualties (estimated)	600,000

Displaced Persons in Western Europe:

a) Germany:	
1) American Zone	38,000
2) British Zone	27,000
3) French Zone	5,000
b) Austria	2,500
c) Italy	2,100
d) France	1,500
e) Denmark, Sweden	2,000
f) Switzerland	675

Total Lithuanian DP's in Western Europe	*78,775
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4. UKRAINIANS

The Ukrainians, according to various voluntary and relief services, form the bulk of displaced persons in Germany and Austria. Up to recently they were not listed as Ukrainians by UNRRA or military authorities for obvious political reasons. Ukraine was not an independent country, hence all Ukrainian displaced persons are listed as Soviet, Polish, Rumanian or Czech citizens, depending on the state to which they belonged in 1939. While the majority of them are under the general classification of "Polish," thousands have been listed as of "undetermined nationality." Last summer this heading, accord-

* These figures compiled by the Lithuanian American Council. United Nations sources report the number of Lithuanian refugees in UNRRA camps as of September 30, 1946, to be 56,510.

ing to the report of Earl G. Harrison, Chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, included as many as 202,300.

The history of Ukrainian refugees in Europe is most complicated due to the fact that they come from four different states of Eastern Europe: the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, where they used to live before the outbreak of World War II.

The pre-war population of Ukraine was as follows: Soviet Ukraine—31,901,400; Ukrainians under Poland—7,350,675; Ukrainians in Rumania (Bukovina and Bessarabia)—1,540,000; Carpatho-Ukraine—725,357.

Never in the history of Ukraine were there so many Ukrainians outside their ancient ethnic boundaries as today. According to conservative estimates, about three and a half million known Ukrainians were scattered all over Western Europe by V-E Day. The actual number may have been much higher. These Ukrainian refugees present a cross-section of nearly all classes, political groups and religious denominations prevailing today within the ethnic Ukrainian territory.

As to their background, the Ukrainian DP's can be subdivided into two broad categories: a) those who between the two World Wars lived outside the Soviet Union; b) those who are of "Soviet formation" and had lived under the Soviet regime since 1920.

The non-Soviet Ukrainians comprise the natives of Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, and Bukovina and Bessarabia, all of them Ukrainian territories which after World War I were assigned to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania respectively. They can be readily considered westernized and as serving as a link between the Western world and the Soviet Ukraine.

Politically, this group comprises several categories of people. First is the "old guard" of the Ukrainian political renaissance going back to the beginning of this century. These persons lived under both the Russian and Austro-Hungarian imperial regimes and have fought for their nation's liberation since student days. One cannot deny that they possess brilliance, high standards of education and are imbued with democratic ideas. Political extremists, such as communists or fascists, are very rare among them. Akin to them are thousands of Ukrainian refugees from Eastern Ukraine who lived in Poland and were educated outside the Soviet orbit.

The period from September 17, 1939, to June 21, 1941, known as the first Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, will ever remain in the memory of Ukrainians as one of great sufferings and ordeals. Execu-

tions, combined with mass deportations into the depths of the Soviet Union, filled the entire population with terror. The class that suffered most was the intelligentsia. Members and leaders of cooperative societies, social and cultural organizations were executed at random or exiled to Siberia. Members of democratic parties were considered "traitors" to the Soviet state and dealt with as such. Persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy became commonplace. It is estimated that out of some seven million Ukrainians residing in the former Poland, 750,000 were either killed outright or deported to the Soviet Union.

Retreating before the Germans in June, 1941, the Soviet troops, and especially the NKVD detachments, massacred Ukrainians by the thousands. The prisons in cities like Lviv, Tarnopol, Drohobych, Stryj, Boryslav, were full of corpses. This was duly reported by American correspondents assigned to cover the German *blitzkrieg* in the first months of the German-Soviet war. These massacres were repeated in Soviet Ukraine in such cities as Zhytomir, Proskuriv, Bila Tserkva, Kremenchug, Dniepropetrovsk, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv and Poltava. The only "crime" of these victims was their opposition to communist dictatorship.

Soon after the occupation of Ukraine by the Germans, the Nazis began an energetic campaign to recruit all available labor for German agriculture and industry. Thus they hoped to fill the ever increasing gaps in their manpower. This campaign soon deteriorated into mass slave-labor deportations. German civil and military authorities fixed quotas for different localities, towns and villages. Peasants with their wives and children, workers from the factories, students, teachers, even priests, all had to go under military and police escorts.

The Germans treated these labor deportees like prisoners and often kept them in camps behind barbed wire. On their sleeves they had to wear "O", meaning *Ost-Arbeiter* (worker from the East). The late Metropolitan Sheptytzky, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, issued two notable Pastoral Letters in 1942 and 1943, defending the Jews against inhuman treatment by the Nazis, as well as condemning the wholesale deportations of Ukrainians for slave labor in Germany and the German-occupied countries of Western Europe.

With the German debacle on the Eastern front in 1944, the retreating troops carried out mass evacuation on an unprecedented scale. Entire villages and towns of Eastern (Soviet) Ukraine were forced by the Nazis to flee westward.

Those not moved forcibly by the Germans, fled westward to escape the returning communist tyranny which they had known for so many years under the Stalin regime. Even the entire ensembles of the Kiev, Kharkov and Poltava Opera Companies took to flight, hoping to find protection in the democratic states. Many of them came as far as France, Belgium and Holland, while all of Western Germany was literally invaded with the refugees from the East, the majority of them being Ukrainian. To this mass of Ukrainian refugees must be added the numerous Ukrainian war prisoners from the Soviet armies, captured during the first year of the German-Soviet war.

After V-E Day millions of these displaced persons, deportees or former war prisoners, were overtaken by the Soviet armies and sent back to Ukraine. In the course of a year (August 1945-August 1946) a good half million of them were forcibly "repatriated" to the Soviet side of the Stettin-Trieste line.

At the end of 1946, there were, according to Ukrainian Relief Committees in the United States and Canada, over 400,000 Ukrainians classified as "unrepatriable" because of their previous anti-communist convictions, or newly-discovered antipathy to the Soviet regime. These refugees include the pre-war (1939) émigrés who used to live in various countries of Europe and enjoyed the nominal protection (through Nansen Passports) of the League of Nations.

There are several thousands of Ukrainian refugees from Carpatho-Ukraine (formerly in Czechoslovakia) and Bukovina and Bessarabia (formerly in Rumania), who together with the two other categories of Ukrainian refugees, are considered "unrepatriable." They simply will not return to their country of origin because considerable numbers of them will be "liquidated" by the Soviets as "enemies of the people."

Today all Ukrainian displaced persons, regardless of their former citizenship, are in a pitiful and tragic position. By nature independent and western-minded, they are imbued with a love for personal freedom. Geographically, they were squeezed between two totalitarian systems, both of which they feared and equally detested. Millions of Eastern Ukrainians fought the Germans with superb bravery as members of the Soviet armies not because of Stalin, but in defense of their country. Some residents of Western Ukraine were forced to fight alongside the Germans against the Russians, but the vast majority of them resorted to independent action, organizing a powerful Ukrainian Insurgent Army which fought the Germans to the last day of their occupation.

Writing on the subject of Ukrainian displaced persons, a British official declared in a confidential report:

Such is the hatred of Ukrainians of Soviet Russia that none can be returned safely to the U.S.S.R. This they all realize very acutely, but as they do not fit with all the conditions laid down for qualifying for protection, and as some have in the past unfortunately been surrendered to the Russians, they live in distinct fear of the future. They have proved, however, to be an excellent element, sober, industrious and law-abiding, and those who have worked for and among them are warm in their praise.

Indeed, several cases of voluntary suicide were reported as a protest against General McNarney's determination to "fulfill the Yalta Agreement to return Soviet nationals by force if necessary."*

UKRAINE—Population

Total pre-war population	41,517,432
a) Soviet Ukraine	31,901,400
b) Ukrainians under Poland	7,350,675
c) Ukrainians in Rumania (Bukovina and Bessarabia)	1,540,000
d) Carpatho-Ukraine (in Czechoslovakia)	725,357
First Soviet Occupation of Western Ukraine (from September 1939 to June 1941):	
Ukrainians killed and deported to Siberia	750,000
German Occupation of all Ukrainian territories (from June 1941 to Summer 1944):	
a) Ukrainians deported as slave workers	3,700,000
b) Ukrainians exterminated by the Nazis	1,400,000
Total War Casualties (estimated)	3,400,000
Displaced Persons in Western Europe:	
a) Germany:	
1) American Zone	104,024
2) British Zone	54,580
3) French Zone	19,026
b) Austria	29,241
c) Italy	19,000
d) France	80,000
e) Belgium	7,000
f) Other European countries	10,000
g) Africa and Asia	20,000
Total Ukrainian refugees in the world	342,861
Total Ukrainian DP's in Germany and Austria	206,871
Of these in camps are	114,356

*) *Ukrainian Refugees*. By Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Winnipeg, 1946.

5. POLES

Poland was the first to fall victim of the Nazi-Soviet scheming for political hegemony in Europe. The fate of the Polish people is seen as all the more tragic if one realizes that the Western Allies went to war against Germany to fulfill their guarantee given the Polish government.

Poland came out of the second World War with terrific losses in people, territory and material wealth. Several million Poles had been killed in the war, exterminated by the Nazis or deported by the Russians. After the fourth partition of Poland by Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia, the Polish people did not surrender but continued to fight against overwhelming odds. Polish armies in the West and East took an active part in the fighting which resulted in victory over the Nazis. The Polish troops of General Stanislaw Maczek in France, and those of General Wladyslaw Anders, operating in Italy, contributed substantially to the Allied might. Polish air forces fighter squadrons, operating from Great Britain from August 1940 to May 1945, shot down a total of 755 German planes, while Polish bomber squadrons dropped 16,000 tons of bombs and mines. During that period the Polish Air Force in Great Britain lost 1,968 commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

A comprehensive analysis of military and civilian casualties suffered by Poland from the outbreak of World War II, shows that roughly 10,000,000 people, or more than 28 per cent of the country's pre-war population, were killed, deported, taken prisoner or sent to concentration and extermination camps. Among them are hundreds of thousands of pre-war Poland's Ukrainians and Jews. Originally these minorities numbered over 7,000,000 and 3,500,000 people respectively.

The Poles suffered persecution not only at the hands of the Nazis but at those of the Russians as well. While hundreds of thousands of them were being sent for premeditated extermination in German concentration camps, other hundreds of thousands, including a good percentage of Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, were deported to Siberia and Turkestan as slave laborers of the Soviet government.

During the entire German occupation the Poles were active in underground activities, which resulted in irreplaceable losses for the Nazi occupants. In the summer of 1941, the hard-pressed Soviet Union came to a political understanding with the Polish government-in-exile in London, but only an insignificant number of Polish deportees were liberated by the Soviet government. The majority of them have

not and probably will never return from the depths of Russia.

The Soviet attitude toward its ally, Poland, was best exemplified by the wholesale murder of 10,000 Polish officers at Katyn Wood, which all Polish sources attributed to the NKVD police. In the summer of 1944, when the armies of Marshal Georgi Zhukov were at the outskirts of Warsaw, the Polish Underground, known as the Home Army (*Armja Krajowa*) of General Bor-Komorowski, organized an epic uprising against the Germans in the vain hope that the Russians would soon arrive with helping hand. More than 250,000 people, women and children perished, but the Soviet aid never arrived.

At the close of the European war, more than 800,000 Polish displaced persons were in Germany and other countries of Western Europe. These comprised former slave laborers, survivors of the Buchenwald, Oswiecim and Ravensbrueck extermination camps, and more than 150,000 Polish war prisoners, detained in various centers by the Germans. The bulk of these were overtaken by the advancing Soviet armies and sent back to what is known today as Poland.

In a memorandum, submitted to former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes on October 11, 1946, Charles Rozmarek and Ignatius Nurkiewicz, president and vice-president respectively of Polish American Congress, presented the case of Polish displaced persons in the light of facts and figures. They stated that there are about 195,000 Polish DP's in Western Germany. Among them are 169,000 deportees, political refugees and former war prisoners. To the latter should be added thousands of members of the Polish Home Army, captured after the unsuccessful Warsaw uprising in the summer of 1944. About 35,000 Poles are now enrolled in "Guard Companies" and in that capacity assist the United States Army.*

The complaints registered by the Polish American Congress delegates in Europe bear a striking resemblance to those made in the name of other DP's. Among the chief problems disturbing Polish displaced persons at the time were: insufficient food, barely enough to allow them to exist; constant transfers from one camp to another; lack of adequate housing facilities; a ban on Polish schools and the publication of newspapers and magazines in the Polish language; denial of freedom of movement to the Polish clergy; refusal to grant the status of DP's to new Polish refugees, who escaped from Poland. Finally the Poles were harassed by constant screenings and re-screenings. Members of a family were broken apart and sent to different camps. The sole

*) *The Polish Review*, No. 20, November 28, 1946. New York.

judges as to who is qualified to receive DP status seem to have been pro-Soviet UNRRA officials and the representatives of the Warsaw regime.

The general attitude of Polish displaced persons toward return to their homes is totally negative. UNRRA policy in the past and up to the present has been to encourage "voluntary" repatriation. Former Director General of UNRRA Fiorello LaGuardia introduced the policy of inducement (called "Operation Carrot"), by which sixty-days rations were offered to repatriates. According to Colonel Mickelson, in charge of the DP Division in the American Zone, the number of those returning from Poland (infiltrates) to Germany was not far short of the numbers repatriated to Poland. Thus the wisdom of the policy of "voluntary" repatriation is questionable even on a short-term basis.

The Poles rightly feel that they have suffered perhaps more than any other nation, in proportion to their number. They say that the present Polish government is not a government of the Polish people, but one designated by the Kremlin. Russia, to achieve sovietization, has not hesitated to imprison, exile and liquidate many millions of her own subjects. If at some future time Poland should declare itself "the Polish Soviet Socialist Republic" the individualistic Pole would necessarily undergo intense suffering.

Polish repatriation agents, sent to Germany by the Warsaw government, are suspicious of every displaced Polish man and woman. Following the Soviet pattern they qualify anyone unwilling to go home as a "fascist" and "war criminal."

There seems no other solution for these people but resettlement abroad and mass emigration to the western hemisphere. The prospects of keeping them long in Germany are exceedingly slim. Poles feel such profound bitterness and dislike for the Germans that they, more than any other racial group, recoil from the very idea of doing work which would aid in rehabilitating Germany.

POLAND—Population

Total pre-war population	35,100,000
(The number includes; Ukrainians	7,200,000
Jews	3,500,000
German-Soviet Occupation (from September 1939 to June 1941):	
a) Poles killed in German-Polish war	110,000
b) Poles deported by the Nazis as slave laborers	1,200,000
(this includes also Polish PW's captured by the Germans) ..	259,000

c) Poles executed by the Russian NKVD	65,000
d) Poles deported by the Soviets	950,000
(this includes also Polish PW's captured by the Russians) ...	181,500
Total War Casualties (estimated)	8,000,000
(Ukrainians, Jews and other minorities are included in the total)	

Displaced Persons in Western Europe:

a) Germany:	
1) American Zone	92,938
2) British Zone	316,155
3) French Zone	32,823
b) Austria (all three zones)	50,000
c) France, Italy, Belgium, Scandinavian countries and Switzerland	80,000

Total Polish DP's in Western Europe	*571,916
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General Wladyslaw Anders' Second Corps now in the process of demobilization in Britain	110,000
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6. YUGOSLAVS

Numerically small, the Yugoslavs present an especially difficult problem among European displaced persons. To better understand the problem a background analysis would help in properly evaluating their unwillingness to return home.

Yugoslavia is not an homogenous nation but is composed of three different ethnic groups: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The population also includes numerous Moslems. In 1940 there were 15,703,000 people in Yugoslavia, including 6,785,501 Greek Orthodox (Serbs), 5,217,910 Roman Catholics (Croats and Slovenes), 1,516,166 Moslems and 68,405 Jews. Politically the country has long been ruled by the Serb majority, especially since 1929, when the country took the official name of "Kingdom of Yugoslavia." Croats and Slovenes constantly complained of Serbian centralism, and not seldom resorted to terrorism as a means of political argument. King Alexander was assassinated in Marseille in 1934 by a group of Croat terrorists.

When Yugoslavia was invaded by Germany on April 6, 1941, certain Croat groups, headed by the *Ustashi*, supported the German invaders. The promise of a Croat "independent state" under Ante Pavelich

*) This number given by UNRRA statistics includes also Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, formerly Polish citizens. According to Charles Rozmarek, President of the Polish-American Congress, the number of ethnic Polish DP's is now about 195,000 people.

temporarily attracted a majority of the Croats into the anti-Serb camp. Disillusioned by their experience with the Nazis and with Pavelich, the Croats later turned in increasing numbers to the resistance movement. But during the initial period General Mihailovich's troops had to fight not only against the German and Italian invaders but against the *Ustashi* insurgents as well.

In 1944 when the Allies switched their support to Soviet-sponsored Marshal Tito, some of the Western units of General Mihailovich's Army were compelled to flee to Italy. A very large number of Croats and Slovenes also fled before the advancing communist armies. The majority of these were members of the *Domobran* or Homeguard who, while they fought under nominal German direction, confined their function to defending their villages when these were attacked by the communists.

At the present time there are about 35,000 Yugoslavs in camps in Germany, most of them ex-prisoners of war who have not seen their homelands since 1941; there are another 25,000 in camps in Italy; and there are roughly 15,000 in Austria. There are, in addition, an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 Yugoslav refugees, men, women and children, living precariously in the cities and towns of Italy. Some of these arrived in Italy by small boats across the Adriatic; others smuggled themselves across the closely guarded Istrian frontier.

The proportion of men to women and children among the Yugoslav refugees is much greater than among the other racial groups. Most of them are ex-fighting men with a developed sense of military discipline, whether Serbs, Croats or Slovenes. The persecutions of the regime has united these different peoples as they were never united before. In the largest camp as Eboli, there were Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, all living on the best of terms, each group under the command of its own general.

The Belgrade government has sent several Yugoslav liaison officers to canvass the exiles in DP's camps and offer a welcome if they return. In the case of the Yugoslavs, as with the Poles, the overwhelming majority refuse to go home. Last year some of King Peter's adherents were returned to Yugoslavia in error. Some escaped back, relating the dire happenings that had befallen the others. The report was that many, especially officers, were shot on arrival.

Since nearly all of these refugees left families behind them in Yugoslavia, the lure of the homeland is extremely strong. Yet a poll conducted among the Yugoslavs shows that less than 5 per cent would be willing to take the risk of returning to their country of origin.

The Belgrade government's reaction has been to deprive recalcitrants of their Yugoslav citizenship. Technically, therefore, Yugoslavia no longer has any claim upon the refugees, yet its government still calls for their return.

The Yugoslav refugees are apprehensive that when peace has been signed between Austria and Yugoslavia, they may be sent back to the latter country. For after the peace treaties their fate would rest in effect with the individual countries, at least after withdrawal of Allied troops. Already the position of the Yugoslav refugees in Italy is critical. With the signing of the Italian peace treaty their only security is the presence of Allied forces, destined to be withdrawn in the near future. The governments of both Austria and Italy recognize the plight of the refugees, but the domestic economy of the countries is overburdened, food is at a premium and the populations are restive.

YUGOSLAVIA—Population

Total pre-war population	15,703,000
Component national groups:	
a) Serbs	6,785,501
b) Croats and Slovenes	5,217,910
c) Jews, Mohammedans and others	1,816,742
German Occupation (from April 6, 1941 to Fall, 1944):	
a) Deported to Germany	350,000
b) Killed by the Nazis	45,000
Total war casualties (estimated)	550,000
Displaced Persons in Europe:	
a) Germany:	
1) American Zone	15,244
2) British Zone	14,959
3) French Zone	477
b) Austria	14,048
c) Italy	6,773
Total Yugoslav DP's in Western Europe	*51,501

7. RUSSIANS

There exists no accurate estimate of the number of Russian displaced persons and political refugees in the countries of Western

* These figures include both Serbs and Croats who oppose the present government of Tito.

Europe. But it is commonly believed that more than 400,000 of them have sought refuge in various countries of Europe. These figures do not include the Russian political émigrés from World War I.

Upon the German collapse in May, 1945, there were millions of slave laborers and deportees in Germany and other countries. The overwhelming majority of them came from Poland, Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the Baltic States. The Russian slave laborers alone were probably in excess of 4,000,000. It is to this category that the majority of the Russian refugees in Europe belong. When liberation approached, the slave-laborers recruited from all the Western nationalities rejoiced, because to them liberation meant home-coming. Only the Russians did not rejoice. They wrung their hands and wept. "Where shall we go?" they said. "We have no home. If we return to Russia we shall certainly be doomed to the forced labor camps of Siberia."

The second category of the Russian displaced persons are the former prisoners-of-war. Ethnic Russians formed the bulk of the Soviet prisoners of war captured by the Germans. According to Victor Kravchenko's *I Chose Freedom*, entire regiments and divisions of the Soviet armies went over to the German lines, such was their strong hatred of the communistic regime in Russia. In view of Stalin's pronouncement that "there will be no deserters in the Red Army," these former Soviet soldiers feared the death penalty should they return to the Soviet Union. Thus they automatically became Russian displaced persons.

It is unfortunately true that the majority of the displaced Russians were handed over to the Soviets by the American and British authorities, without any moral qualms, in the first months after the German surrender. To appreciate the situation, one must recall that the outbreak of World War II found hundreds of thousands of Russian refugees scattered through Europe. They had left Russia or were expelled by the communist regime in the years following the Revolution of 1917. Many of them had managed to escape through the Middle East or Poland in the early 1930's.

An eloquent appeal on behalf of Russian displaced persons was voiced by two well-known Russians in this country, Alexander Kerensky and Michael Karpovich. Writing in the *New York Times*, January 24, 1947, they gave expression to the hopes of Russian displaced persons in Europe. Their appeal, based upon a message from a group of Russian refugees, read:

Hundreds of thousands of new refugees from the Soviet Union are scattered today through Europe, most of them without any recognized

legal status. Why is it that they are not granted the time-honored right of asylum that political émigrés enjoyed in the past? There is a tendency to regard them all as collaborators with the Germans. Let them be given a chance to clear themselves from these accusations before an international commission, without the participation of Soviet representatives.

The only guilt of these people consists in that they do not share the views of the Russian Communist Party and permit themselves the luxury of having their own political ideas. . . . It is on behalf of these people that we are appealing to the conscience of the world. We address ourselves to its leaders, writers and artists, statesmen and scholars. Unfortunately Russia, lying under the heel of the Bolsheviks, cannot have today either a Tolstoy or a Herzen, or any of those giants of thought who in the past were so quick to react against any injustice committed anywhere in the world. We appeal to all political parties, except the Communists, who everywhere and always are nothing but the agents of Moscow. Let the "rightists" remember that many of us have undergone suffering and persecution merely for our attachment to the traditions of our fatherland; that the regime of which we are victims has for its aim the destruction of all the foundations of society throughout the world. Let the "leftists" not forget that the overwhelming majority of the new émigrés are workers and peasants.

We appeal to all the leaders of the Christian churches of the world. Is it not for the church leaders to raise their voices in protest against all unjust persecution?

If our appeal remains a voice in the wilderness we shall know how to face our Calvary, but for you in the West it will mean an open repudiation of all your best traditions. What then will remain ahead? On the path of violence, only the first step is hard. Let all those who cherish freedom and justice beware.

The position of Russian displaced persons is made all the more difficult inasmuch as their deep antipathy to the present regime causes the Soviets to regard them as "war criminals" and "fascists." The preliminary parley among deputies of the Big Four in London, concerning the Austria Treaty, almost came to a standstill because of the uncompromising Soviet attitude regarding displaced persons in Austria.

The Soviets would like to see all Russian refugees now in the West summarily handed over to them. The truth is that the majority of Russian displaced persons are decent people whose only "crime" is their opposition to the totalitarian despotism which has held their country in the iron hands of the communist dictatorship for three decades.

8. JEWS

The Jewish displaced persons and their problems have thus far received more attention than have any other racial group or nationality. No other race, however, suffered so tragically as did the Jews in Europe. Of all 9,946,200 Jews in various countries of Europe before the outbreak of World War I, only 4,224,600 survived to the present day.* Some reliable Jewish sources maintain that the number of liquidated Jews reaches the six million mark, or more than two-thirds of pre-war European Jewry.**

The Jews may rightly be called a "nation of refugees" since for many centuries they have known persecution and expulsion. Their religious non-conformity, their homelessness as a people and their minority status in every country of residence, rendered them ever-ready targets of incitement and victims of oppression. Their migrations took them from Palestine to ancient Mezopotamia, Egypt, and later to Greece and Italy, whence they followed the Roman legions into France and Germany. Some medieval rulers encouraged the settlement of Jews in their domains as they were willing to engage in money lending, but this odious privilege only served to inflame the neighbors against them.

During the 14th and 15th centuries large numbers of Jews left Central and Western Europe for Poland and Lithuania. These who were expelled from Spain found shelter in the Netherlands and Italy and the Balkan countries. The mass of Jews in Czarist Russia lived in grim poverty. The French Revolution brought about the emancipation of Jews in Western and Central Europe, which resulted in improvement of their economic and cultural life. A wave of anti-semitism in Germany and other countries followed this period of amelioration. The Pan-German agitation of the 1880's and the Dreyfus case in France in the 1890's intensified the anti-semitic feeling. This reached its peak a half of a century later in the German National-Socialist movement.

The Nazi regime, during its initial phase, merely "systematized" the policy that was already in vogue. Hitler turned anti-semitism into an official instrument of state policy. The "nordic race" theory was elevated into a state doctrine, and the Jews as "non-Aryans" were marked for total extermination by the Nazi philosophers and politicians.

Jewish displaced persons now number about 220,000 or approxi-

*) *Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry*. State Department, Washington, D. C. 1946.

**) *Balance Sheet of Extermination*. By Jacob Lestchinsky. *Jewish Affairs*, No. 12. November 15, 1946. New York, N. Y.

mately 20-23 per cent of all DP's scattered throughout the various countries of Europe. Their lot is no better than that of other refugees, although the help received from various Jewish organizations is far more efficient and substantial than that supplied by any other national group. A proportionately larger number of Jewish displaced persons were able to gain admission to the United States zones of Germany and Austria or to some countries of Western Europe. Some succeeded in making their way to Palestine through legal or "illegal" ways, but the majority of them, at least 150,000, are compelled to live in DP's camps. There is no other solution for them but immigration.

While the Jewish refugees wait their ultimate disposition in a world whose doors are tightly shut, they are confronted with the gravest problems. The physical conditions in which they were found when liberated were appalling. Months passed before adequate food and medical care could be provided. The Earl Harrison report reported that food and housing conditions of Jewish DP's were deplorable. His report resulted in improvement in food and housing, particularly in the American zone, where the displaced persons were on the whole treated better than elsewhere.

It seems that the Jews in great numbers would willingly go to Palestine, which with some of them was a dream for many years. Despite hunger, concentration camps, tortures and the bitter aftermath of liberation amidst hostile surroundings, the Jews of Europe have not lost hope or their will to survive as a people. From the moment of liberation they set themselves with incredible energy to revive their cultural and religious institutions and to establish systems of education. There are, of course, various political groups represented among them, but all seem united in their desire for general intensification of Jewish values and closer cooperation for a common goal.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (J.D.C.) is helping the survivors of nazism and those currently arriving from the East. Various other American, British, Canadian Jewish groups follow the example and endeavor to bring assistance and material help to those who seek emigration to the western hemisphere. The expenditures of American Jewish relief agencies have run to hundreds of millions of dollars.

The Jewish relief agencies are unanimous in stressing the precarious position of Jewish displaced persons. They maintain that Austria, Germany and Italy, countries with the largest groups of Jewish refugees, are not safe for any refugees, and for the Jews in particular, once the Allied troops have left these countries.

Lieut. General Sir Frederick E. Morgan, former United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation chief in Europe, stated that from humanitarian and economic motives Britain should admit to the British Isles the 250,000 displaced persons now in the British zone of Germany. He added that he was thinking particularly of Jews, saying that "it is inconceivable that they should stay on the scene of their decimation among the people who have butchered their nearest and dearest." (The *New York Times*, February 8, 1947). He said that for many of the displaced persons—Balts, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs and Poles—there was the "shadow of the iron curtain" falling upon them like a "shadow of the pit." (Sir Frederick lost his UNRRA job and was retired from the British army after he had made a statement about "Soviet spies" among UNRRA personnel and an "organized exodus" of Jews from Europe.)

But the problem of the Jewish DP's, despite the fact that they are ably championed by several powerful authorities and committees, will ultimately have to be solved as part of a general plan embracing the refugees of other nationalities.

JEWISH POPULATION

Jewish Population and Its Losses During the War in Europe:*

	<i>Pre-war Figures</i>	<i>Number of Jews Lost</i>	<i>Percentages of Jews Lost</i>
Poland	3,300,000	2,800,000	85.0
Soviet Union (occupied countries)	2,100,000	1,500,000	71.4
Rumania	850,000	425,000	50.0
Hungary	404,000	200,000	49.5
Czechoslovakia	315,000	260,000	82.5
France	300,000	90,000	30.0
Germany	210,000	170,000	81.0
Austria	60,000	40,000	66.6
Lithuania	150,000	135,000	90.0
Holland	150,000	90,000	60.0
Latvia	95,000	85,000	89.5
Belgium	90,000	40,000	44.4
Yugoslavia	75,000	55,000	73.3
Greece	75,000	60,000	80.0
Italy	57,000	15,000	26.3
Bulgaria	50,000	7,000	14.0
Denmark, Estonia, Norway Luxembourg, Danzig	20,000	6,000	30.0
*Totals	8,301,000	5,978,000	72.0

*) These figures are taken from *Balance Sheet of Extermination*, by Jacob Lestchinsky. *Jewish Affairs*, No. 1, February 1, 1946.

Figures for Holland, France, Belgium and Italy include refugees. Remaining Jews in these countries number 2,323,000.

Jewish Displaced Persons:

a) Germany:	
1) American Zone	130,300
2) British Zone	23,000
3) French Zone	2,000
b) Austria:	
1) American Zone	33,901
2) French and British Zones	3,000
c) Italy:	
Jewish DP's under UNRRA	9,000
d) France:	
Jewish refugees in France	7,000

Total Jewish DP's in Western Europe	208,201
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Such are the main ethnic groups of displaced persons who were expelled by the enemies, or fled their native countries because of persecution for reasons of race, religion, or political activities directed against governments which they consider a threat to their personal liberties and existence.

In addition, there are some thousands of Asiatic peoples, such as Kalmuks, Kirghiz, Crimean Tartars, etc. who were captured as Soviet Army soldiers, and later incorporated into the German economic machine as slave laborers. These are sometimes placed under a heading of "unclassified," or more often under "Russian."

Altogether, the displaced persons are from fifteen to twenty different nationalities, with the Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Balts and Yugoslavs constituting the largest groups.

In religion about 75 to 80 per cent of the refugees are Christian—Latin Catholic comprising the largest part, followed by Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Protestant. About 20 per cent are Jews; the rest of various religious beliefs.

It is generally believed that the process of repatriation has passed its peak and that there only remains a hard core of unrepatriables numbering over a million, located in various DP's camps or outside camps in Germany, Italy and Austria.

What has been done in the past for such political refugees will be told in the chapters that follow.

3. Work to Date for Refugees

1. LEAGUE OF NATIONS

After the First World War the serious situation arising out of refugees who fled the territories of the Soviet Union and Turkey compelled the League of Nations to set up the Office for Refugees. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was appointed League High Commissioner for Russian refugees in 1921. His jurisdiction was extended later to include also Armenian refugees as well as others from the Near and Middle East countries.

The main concern and activities of the Office for Refugees were concentrated in Europe, where most of the refugees were located. Naturalization was difficult to acquire, and the refugees did not enjoy any protection or support from their countries of origin. Both Russia and Turkey were not then members of the League of Nations. The main objective of the Office was to give legal protection to refugees, while the main burden of relief was carried by national and international voluntary agencies. Among the achievements of the Nansen Office was the creation of identity cards, called "Nansen Passports," accepted by many governments in place of ordinary passports.

In January, 1925 the technical services of the League High Commissioner were transferred to the International Labor Office (ILO). This service included the task of aiding in immigration, employment and resettlement of refugees.* In 1929 the Nansen Office underwent a complete reorganization at the direction of the League of Nations.

In 1933, another office of High Commissioner for Refugees was established at Lausanne. Geneva was not chosen to indicate that the new body had no connection with the League of Nations. The purpose of the new organization was to help the German refugees. Several

*) *The Problem of the Displaced Persons*. Report of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. New York. 1946.

governments served on the advisory body of the council, including the United States. The organization achieved little success due to the insufficient support from the various governments.

On December 31, 1938 the League of Nations Assembly resolved to liquidate the Nansen Office and to make the office of the League High Commissioner directly responsible to the League. At that time there were about 800,000 refugees recognized as such by the League of Nations. The only solution offered for the Nansen refugees was absorption in the countries of their refuge, whereas the refugees from Germany were migrating and settling in various countries overseas. In 1938 the League Assembly recommended that a single High Commissioner take over the League's responsibilities in regard to both Nansen and German refugees. The Russian representative (the Soviet Union had meanwhile joined the League of Nations) did not oppose the action, provided that the name of Nansen be dropped.

With the liquidation of the League of Nations in 1946, the Office of High Commissioner for Refugees ceased to exist. Its functions were to be taken over by the new body set up under the United Nations.

2. INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES (IGCR)

The Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees was established at the Evian Conference in France, in 1938, to help victims of Nazi persecution in Germany and Austria, and later in the Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia. Later its program was expanded to help all those anywhere who, as a result of war in Europe, had to leave their country because of danger to their lives or liberty on account of race, religion or political convictions. Although the Committee numbers 36 nations as members, the operational funds have been contributed chiefly by the United Kingdom and the United States.

The Inter-Governmental Committee's main task was to provide legal protection, maintenance and resettlement for refugees under its jurisdiction. The principal groups served were German and Austrian victims of persecution, and fugitive Spanish Loyalists. These latter numbered about 200,000.

On July 16, 1946 the executive committee of the IGCR authorized extension of its operations to include non-repatriable refugees and displaced persons who might be eligible for assistance from the new International Refugee Organization (IRO). In its work the IGCR stresses emigration and permanent resettlement, both for individuals or for groups.

The Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees operates through resident representatives in the countries in which it works. At present these are: Belgium, Holland, France, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Germany (3 zones), Austria (3 zones), Italy, Middle East (Cairo) and the United States.

By a special provision in the Agreement on Reparations from Germany signed in January, 1946, a sum of \$25,000,000 was made available out of German assets to be used for rehabilitation and resettlement of victims of Nazi persecution. So far the money has been handled by the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees.

3. THE WORK OF SHAEF IN EUROPE

Long before the Allied invasion of the European continent the military authorities under General Eisenhower recognized the gravity of civilian problems which would face the occupying forces when they landed on the continent. Not the least of these were those related to the millions of displaced persons. The Allied intelligence sources revealed that there were millions of slave workers, deportees and refugees in Germany and nazi-occupied countries of Europe.

Within SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces) a new division, G-5, was created and charged with responsibility for civilian affairs. Its sub-branch, called "The Displaced Persons Branch of G-5" was given the job of planning for the care and repatriation of all displaced persons and refugees. Each Allied government worked jointly with the Branch, setting up a ministry or commission to plan and carry out the required services of repatriation. After long hours of discussion and deliberation several plans for providing shelter, food, health services, transportation and repatriation were adopted.

Already in the first days of the invasion of Normandy in June, 1944, the Armies of the United States and the United Kingdom began to encounter thousands of displaced persons who needed immediate care. But this was only the prelude to a vast task which befell the Allies as they moved deeper into Germany.

In December, 1944 the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, General Eisenhower, and the Director General of UNRRA, Herbert H. Lehman, signed an agreement under which representatives of various relief organizations were requested to work as agents of the armies and later to assume broader responsibilities for the care and repatriation of displaced persons, wherever found in the enemy territory.

In July, 1945, SHAEF went out of existence and each component command—American, British and French—took full responsibility for all operations in their respective territories. To supervise the over-all activities connected with displaced persons a new body was created. It was called the "Combined Displaced Persons Executive," or CDPX, which included representatives of the Displaced Persons Branch, G-5 USFET (United States Forces, European Theatre), the British Army of the Rhine, and the French Army of Occupation. Moreover, other agencies such as UNRRA and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees joined the new organization.

The task of CDPX was that of easing the transition period during which the occupation armies took over the work from SHAEF. As such it did not establish any general policy in regard to displaced persons and refugees.

There were, in addition, various Allied liaison officers, who represented the countries with a direct interest in displaced persons. The task of these officers was to help their respective nationals to get home. Not rarely they were responsible for forcible repatriation of refugees who came from the East. In the weeks following the German collapse there were unprecedented movements of people throughout Europe. Deportees, evacuees and slave laborers began to return to their homes in the millions. Several hundreds of thousands of Soviet refugees, both war prisoners and slave laborers, were sent back by the Allied forces to the Soviet Union. Great tragedies accompanied these movements, especially in the cases of forcible repatriation.

Under the Yalta Agreement, the United States and Great Britain were under obligation to turn over to the Soviet military authorities all refugees whom the Soviets claimed as their citizens. What is more, the Soviets were temporarily able to convince the British and Americans that all refugees from the Baltic States, Finland, the Eastern parts of Poland (Western Ukraine and White Russia), Rumania (Bukovina and Bessarabia) and Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine)—all annexed by the Soviets—were their citizens. Only after the lapse of several months, when American and British authorities learned of the fate of many refugees and displaced persons once they reached the Soviet lines, were they more cautious in handing over human beings to the Soviets. But even so the policy of sending refugees back to the Soviet Union or Soviet-dominated countries against their will continued until late in 1946.

By the end of 1945, several millions of displaced persons had been

repatriated from Western Germany to their countries of origin. Among them were many Italians, Greeks, Czechs, Yugoslavs as well as other nationalities.

Meanwhile in the American, British and French zones of Germany and Austria the Soviets had their own repatriation commissions. Yet the Western Allies were unable to send their own representatives to Russian-held Germany or the Balkan countries to witness the process of repatriation.

4. UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION (UNRRA)

The agreement of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was signed on November 9, 1943. It was signed by forty-four nations which agreed to join together in assuming responsibility for the common welfare. The aim of UNRRA was to help heal the wounds left upon many countries by a total war.

In the spring of 1944, a special school for training both UNRRA personnel, and voluntary agency representatives who would work with displaced persons, was opened at the University of Maryland near Washington, D. C. The candidates, who came from various nationalities, attended special courses in foreign customs and languages designed to prepare them to meet the needs of the people with whom they were to deal on the European continent.

UNRRA's main task in regard to displaced persons, was summarized in a resolution, passed at the opening Council Session at Atlantic City. It made clear that UNRRA:

- 1) In particular regards itself as responsible for assisting in the repatriation to their country of origin of those nationals of the United Nations who have been obliged to leave their homes by reason of the war and are found in liberated or conquered territory;

- 2) That UNRRA should also assist those nationals of the United Nations who have been displaced within their own (liberated) countries to return to their homes in those countries, if requested to do so by the member government concerned;

- 3) That UNRRA should also assist in the repatriation of those nationals of the United Nations who are exiled as a result of the war, and whose return to their homes in liberated territory is regarded as matter of urgency;

- 4) That UNRRA should also assist those nationals of the United Nations and those stateless persons who have been driven as a result

of the war from their places of settled residence in countries which they are not nationals, to return to those places;

5) That UNRRA should also assist in the repatriation of any other categories of persons which can be shown to fall within the proper scope of UNRRA's activities in this respect.

Other resolutions adopted at the Atlantic Session contained further provisions for the care of certain displaced persons found in territories which had never been occupied by the enemy, and for the removal or repatriation of intruded persons of ex-enemy nationality from liberated areas.

UNRRA was considered the logical over-all agency to deal with the problem of displaced persons. Both UNRRA and the Inter-Government Committee of Refugees established policies which permit cooperation with various national and international voluntary organizations.

With its numerous "teams" in the American, British and French zones of occupied Germany and Austria, UNRRA performed a giant-size job. Over 5,259,000 displaced persons were repatriated between the cessation of hostilities in Europe and September, 1945.

At the end of 1945 the number of displaced persons who remained unrepatriated was above 2,000,000. These were left in charge of UNRRA and the Allied Military Government. Most of them were living in UNRRA camps and assembly centers, but a great number remained outside, fearing that registry in UNRRA files would endanger their stay.

The personnel of UNRRA were recruited from some 25 nationalities. In Germany alone 4,886 persons were engaged in UNRRA activities. Of that number 786 came from the United States; 1,395 from the United Kingdom; 953 from France; 606 from Belgium, 450 from Holland and 157 from Poland.

While opinion is unanimous that UNRRA has performed a splendid job in providing for the maintenance and relief of displaced persons, severe criticism coming from many quarters indicates that on the moral plane UNRRA fell short of the mark in the great task of relieving human suffering.

5. INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION (IRO)

The draft constitution of the new body which is to succeed UNRRA, the International Refugee Organization (IRO), was approved by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its Third Session in October, 1946. In virtue of the constitution the organiza-

tion could develop a well-rounded, comprehensive and long-term program for displaced persons. The IRO, and until its formal inauguration the Preparatory Commission, is empowered to provide protection and assistance, pending final repatriation or resettlement, to practically all categories of refugees, including those left from World War I. By its constitution the IRO is permitted to operate in neutral countries, which was not the case with UNRRA. Persons, not displaced outside their own country, but persecuted because of race, religion, or activities in behalf of the United Nations, would be entitled to IRO protection and help.

The IRO will begin legal existence when the minimum of 15 member-governments will sign their adherence to the body. It is a fair hope that such quorum will soon be obtained so that the new organization will be in a position to take over the great task of continuous assistance to Europe's displaced persons when UNRRA goes out of existence on June 30, 1947.

Although the IRO constitution was adopted by the United Nations and its Preparatory Commission opened its first session in Geneva, February 11, 1947, there is reason to fear that deep-seated differences of opinion existing among the members of the United Nations may prove an obstacle to the complete success of the refugee organization.

The IRO Constitution itself contains a number of clauses and definitions which are unsatisfactory from the viewpoint of human rights principles. As is evident from the Constitution, the new body places the chief emphasis upon *return of the refugees to their countries of origin*. It is also laid down that re-establishment of refugees in countries of temporary residence, or their emigration to or re-settlement in other countries should be done "in such a way as to avoid disturbing friendly relations between nations." (*General Principles*). A further analysis of these clauses reveals that the United Nations, in setting up the IRO, made no reference to human rights, as embodied in the principles of the United Nations Charter. The Preamble to the UN Charter proclaims:

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

The Preamble of the United Nations Charter presupposes respect for the dignity of all human beings. Yet the IRO Constitution places insufficient stress upon these principles. For instance, in the *Definitions* the term "refugee" is applied primarily to one of the following categories:

1) Victims of the Nazi or Fascist regimes or of regimes which took part on their side in the Second World War, or of the quisling or similar regimes which assisted them against the United Nations.

2) Spanish Republicans (Loyalists);

3) Persons who were considered refugees before the outbreak of the Second World War.

This classification omits mention of the political victims of the communist regime of the Soviet Union and its puppet governments such as those in Poland, Yugoslavia, Ukraine and other countries. Yet these victims form the overwhelming majority of today's displaced persons and refugees in Europe!

The same limited viewpoint prevails in the definition of a "displaced person." It reads:

The term "displaced person" applies to a person who, as a result of the actions of the authorities of the regimes mentioned in Part I, Section A, Paragraph 1 . . . has been deported from, or has been obliged to leave his country of nationality or former habitual residence, such as persons who were compelled to undertake forced labor or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons. . . . If the reasons of their displacement have ceased to exist, they should be repatriated as soon as possible. . . .

Thus special care is provided for "the victims of the Nazi or Fascist regimes, . . . or of the quisling or similar regimes which assisted them against the United Nations," while the millions of slave workers, prisoners, deportees to the Arctic regions, Siberia, Turkestan and the Ural, are not mentioned. If in some miraculous way these latter had succeeded in escaping from their slave labor camps and reached a

country where IRO had an operational agency how would they be received? In this connection too, it is worth recalling that the government of the Soviet Union willingly collaborated with the nazi regime in its first aggression against Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States.

Part II of the *Definitions* deals with "persons who will not be the concern of the Organization." Such are "war criminals, quislings and traitors" as well as persons who "assisted the enemy forces" against the United Nations; unless such assistance was "purely humanitarian and non-military." *Volksdeutschen* and German citizens even though displaced are also definitely excluded from the IRO protection. Item 6 of the provision is most interesting. It mentions as excluded from IRO assistance:

Persons who, since the end of hostilities in the Second World War:

a) have participated in any organization having as one of its purposes the overthrow by armed force of the government of their country of origin, being a member of the United Nations, or the overthrow by force of the government of any other member of the United Nations, or have participated in any terrorist organization;

b) have become leaders of movements hostile to the government of their country of origin being a member of the United Nations or sponsors of movements encouraging refugees not to return to their country of origin.

This clause obviously is intended to stifle opposition to the Soviet Union or to the governments installed by the Soviets in number of formerly free European countries.

4. The Plight of Political Refugees

1. DISPLACED PERSONS: ON THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

Solving the problem of political refugees, or displaced persons who in the last analysis are nothing but that, occasions almost insurmountable difficulties. The Western Allies and the Soviet Union, along with its satellite states, approach the question in completely divergent ways. Long established concepts of human freedom in the West, have resulted in a readiness to recognize the sacred rights of the human person as such. The unwillingness of displaced persons to return home is in most instances understood and tolerated by representatives of the Western Powers. At least in principle, they maintain that the refugees should enjoy so far as is possible all prerogatives flowing from the Four Freedoms, including that of sanctuary when they are not guilty of non-political crimes.

The Soviets conceive human rights in a diametrically opposed fashion. Imbued with materialistic teachings of Marx and Lenin, they insist that no individual, no nationals should have the right to seek refuge outside the state holding sovereignty over their birthplace—and that all should be surrendered to the government in power. To back up their claim, the Soviet representatives unhesitatingly bring up charges that displaced persons refusing to return to their countries of origin, are “guilty” of political activity towards their fatherlands. They argue that these farmers, workers, intellectuals, former administrative personnel from various countries of Eastern Europe—are now “nourished” in the refugee camps as “tools of aggression for foreign powers.” Such official Soviet views were expressed by Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Andrei Y. Vishinsky, in his attacks against the proposed constitution of the International Refugee Organization. Mr. Vishinsky went so far as to recommend that freedom of speech and of the press be curtailed in refugee camps.

It was on that occasion that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, United States delegate to the General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, rose to the defense of freedom of speech and of the press as practiced in the United States. Refuting Mr. Vishinsky's

contention that "under the guise of freedom of expression propaganda hostile to the countries of origin is tolerated," she declared:

We in the United States tolerate opposition provided it does not extend to the point of the overthrow of government by force. . . . Unless the right of opposition is conceded, it seems to me that there is very little possibility that countries with differing conceptions of democracy can live together without friction in the same world. . . . I gather that Mr. Vishinsky felt that all people who do not wish to return to their homelands must of necessity be fascists. . . . I talked to a great many of these people who do not strike me as fascists. . . . (The New York Times, December 9, 1946).

Especially significant was the Soviet view presented in the United Nations Human Rights Commission. There the Soviet delegate, V. T. Tepliakov, taking part in the discussion on February 4, 1947, urged the deletion of the following from the proposed list of rights: the right of life, of personal liberty; prohibition of slavery and of compulsory labor; right to petition national governments and the United Nations; non-retroactivity of penal laws; rights of property and prohibition of unlawful expropriation; freedom of migration; freedom to resist aggression. Apparently unaware of the consequence of his statement, Mr. Tepliakov claimed that such rights are either superfluous, beyond the power of the United Nations or contrary to local laws and customs.

Indeed, such rights have no effective guarantee in the law of the Soviet Union. This is precisely the reason for the unyielding position of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons from Eastern Europe. They fear that return will mean not only privation of rights which they enjoyed previously, but almost certain death in a slave labor camp.

2. FORCED REPATRIATION

In a rather futile effort to reconcile these two diametrically opposed concepts of personal freedom, several unfortunate compromises have been made at the expense of the refugees. The Western Powers more readily made concessions because no large-scale resettlement plans had yet been developed. The only alternatives apparently open were return of the refugees to their homelands despite the regimes, or allowing them to moulder on for years in a devastated, overcrowded and unfriendly Germany.

Faced with this dilemma, the American and British authorities on the continent at first remained silent in the face of the magnitude of

the human tragedy enacted in Germany and Austria. During the first weeks after the German collapse hundreds of thousands of displaced persons were simply herded to the Soviet lines without any regard of what might subsequently happen to them. In the melee that followed our victory in Europe, such situations were either not reported, or if so, nobody actually paid attention. The thought foremost in peoples' minds was the building of a new world in which the Soviets would cooperate. Consequently, even the mildest criticism of Soviet policy was unacceptable.

Yet instances of forced repatriation kept coming to light. There was the incident at Camp Mannheim, Germany, where American soldiers assisted Soviet agents in rounding up refugees in the American zone (*Zealandia*, Auckland, Dec. 27, 1945). Despite the order of General Eisenhower (*AP*, October 4, 1945) that forced repatriation should be stopped by local administrative officers, complaints persisted.

On February 9, 1946, the London *Catholic Herald* published an eye-witness report about the manhunting of Soviet agents. It reads:

In the American zone Soviet agents move about quite freely. They seek out and try to corrupt them. They are very anxious to get hold of Ukrainians and other "Soviet citizens" who might eventually become "dangerous." I hear of several specific cases in which Americans carried such people across the demarcation line, with hands and feet bound. Here and there individual Americans secured considerable personal rewards for these kidnappings. The Czechs are also man-hunting.

The question of citizenship and statelessness needs some explanation. Through their satellite and controlled radio-stations, the Soviets declare the Balts and Ukrainians, whether Polish, Czech or Rumanian subjects, to be Soviet citizens. In Western, as well as in Eastern Europe, their agents claim, or seize them as such. Between the Baltic and the Mediterranean kidnapping has become a widespread practice. The British, officially, have handed over those who were Soviet citizens as of September 1, 1939. The Americans have handed over, or allowed to be taken, those who are claimed to have been Soviet citizens as of September 17, 1939. This is quite another matter. On the later date the Soviets, by joint agreement with the Germans, invaded Poland. Thereafter they claimed as Soviet citizens some seven and a half million Ukrainians from Poland and Rumania, as well as White Ruthenians and the subjects of the three Baltic States. An American military order dated November 27, 1945, read:

Those who do not report will be considered as having contravened military orders. They will be seized here or in any other part of Germany occupied by Americans. They will be brought to Stuttgart (Soviet camp) under armed escort . . . (none) will be able to benefit from assistance and support in any displaced persons' camp after 8th December, 1945.

This is a simple statement of fact, not a criticism intended to compromise our military authorities in Germany.

If Ukrainians are mentioned here at all, it is not because their fate is more important, unless it be numerically, than that of any other category of refugees. But their cases provide the most characteristic illustrations of the position of political refugees in Europe. Moreover, the British and Americans have a special responsibility toward them. In Western Europe (American, British, French zones of Germany and Austria) the man-hunt was and still is concentrated on Ukrainians. The Soviets had demonstrated on many occasions what happens when such unwilling refugees are handed over to their agents. Not infrequently political refugees were shot on the spot. In most cases they are sent like criminals to Soviet-operated slave labor camps (*Gulags*), a fate worse than death by shooting. Hence these refugees, human beings like ourselves, logically expect only what has long been established practice in the despotic countries: torture in slavery and death.

In 1939, there were in Polish-held Eastern Galicia from six to seven and a half million Ukrainians. Neither they nor their ancestors, have ever been Russian or Soviet subjects. During the war they were taken to Germany as slave laborers, and some farmers, workers and intellectuals, fled in fear of what was in store for them at the hands of Soviet government. At the war's end more than 400,000 were under the "protection" of the Western powers in Germany. Not all have trusted themselves to the UNRRA camps. Quite a large number live outside the camps, thus receiving no support.

So far as religion is concerned, most of the Ukrainian displaced persons are Catholics. Their Church has always been their refuge and rallying point. Now this Church is physically destroyed by the Soviets. That is but one more reason why Ukrainians fear to return to their country of origin.

It is worthwhile noting that the Soviets do provide "rights of political asylum" but only for communist refugees. Article 129 of the Soviet Constitution reads:

The U.S.S.R. affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interest of the working people, or for their scientific activities, for their struggle for national liberation.*

Yet, these same rights are opposed when other countries, reared in a tradition of freedom, provide shelter and political asylum for refugees persecuted by the Soviets because of their struggle for national liberation.

3. REHABILITATION AND SUBJUGATION

It is against this background that the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has been carried on. UNRRA was maintained mainly by the donations of the English-speaking world, American, British and Canadian taxpayers. All of them fought for their own survival as well as for the principles which urged them to enter the all-out fight against the forces of totalitarianism. UNRRA should, logically, in its practice and relations with refugees have upheld these moral tenets.

Yet severe charges have been brought by many that in that respect UNRRA failed. It came to the attention of American and British public that UNRRA personnel, in line with its general policy, followed closely the Soviet practice in handling refugees. No one will deny that the maintenance of UNRRA camps in Germany and Austria has been an economic burden on the United States and Great Britain and that under normal circumstances these refugees should go back home. But UNRRA personnel cannot be considered so poorly informed as not to know why many displaced persons consistently refuse to be repatriated. UNRRA Team Directors were instructed to devote themselves to repatriation and "to subjugate" all other opinions and ideas. They were told that a Team Director who does not work "heart and soul" for repatriation, should send in his resignation.

Many refugees, especially Poles who by such "persuasion" were repatriated, later came back. If caught, they are sent to special camps such as Delmenhorst and Borkum Island. They are segregated from the other DP's and are prohibited from informing the latter of conditions prevailing in Communist-held countries of Eastern Europe.

American military authorities in Germany have fostered UNRRA activities on behalf of displaced persons, yet on numerous occasions there were criticisms of UNRRA personnel by our army men. Although General Joseph T. McNarney, former American theater commander in Germany, denied that American Army officers were preparing in-

* *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. OGIZ, State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1938.*

formation that would show that UNRRA "has been an umbrella covering Russian secret agents," he admitted that one Russian NKVD woman agent was identified on UNRRA's payroll. (*The New York Times*, August 22, 1946).

A great many persons in Britain were indignant at the insulting title of "Operation Carrot" officially bestowed by UNRRA upon the attempt to persuade exiled Poles, Ukrainians, Russians and Balts to return home by offering them two months' supply of canned food. The plan was sponsored by the American, British and French governments. The London monthly review, *Free Europe* commented on the regulation in question as follows:

If it is thought likely that the promise of two months' food might induce these hundreds of thousands to alter the decision for which they have already suffered so much for so long, then that is only an indictment of those responsible for the displaced persons' camps for not feeding them properly. . . . But in fact it is not at all likely that, however hungry, they will be persuaded to go to live under the NKVD (Soviet secret police) by being called donkeys. . . . UNRRA's desire is to secure repatriation by any means whatever, however ignoble, short of physical force. It is with dismay that we read in Section (c) of Resolution No. 99 passed by the UNRRA Council in Geneva: "(1) That the Administration shall admit to displaced persons camps only such voluntary agency personnel as undertake not to discourage repatriation, and shall remove such personnel if they are found to discourage repatriation. . . ."

A subsequent step by UNRRA in the British zone of Germany, dealt with marriages of displaced persons. All displaced persons wishing to marry had to write for permission to the UNRRA office at Herford, Westphalia. There it was considered "in consultation" with the emissaries of respective governments. In the case of Poles these were the agents of the Warsaw regime. The applicants had to fill in forms giving their places of birth and the names of their relatives living under the rule of political police in Poland and send these to a source from which these details could at once be communicated to the NKVD. Otherwise they might not marry. The same regulations prevailed in regard to enrollment in German universities. In fact, these were later completely closed to displaced persons by the UNRRA administration in the British zone.

But most shocking of all was UNRRA's "repatriation program" promulgated on November 11, 1946. It was long alleged that at Yalta the United States and Great Britain gave in to Stalin on a very vital

point: all political refugees claimed by the Soviets should be handed over by the Western powers. The existence of such any secret agreement has been denied by spokesmen of the United States government. It does not appear in the officially released texts. But in at least one UNRRA document the existence of such an agreement seems to be taken for granted. According to this official UNRRA document, hundreds of thousands of Baltics and Ukrainians from Poland in displaced persons camps were to be subjected to an intense "repatriation program" to bring about their "voluntary" return to their Soviet-dominated homelands. This program, set forth in *Administrative Order No. 199*, was formulated at the U. S. Zone Headquarters of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Heidelberg, Germany, and announced on November 11, 1946. In it provision is made for the visit of Soviet "liaison officers" to the displaced persons camps, for the distribution of Soviet newspaper and film propaganda, and "the use of emotional devices" at what the order calls "the propitious time."

The text of the order, which was signed by J. H. Whiting, zone director, was promptly published in the United States by the Lithuanian-American Information Center and the Inter-Catholic Press Agency (see Appendix).

"The skillful Repatriation Officer," the UNRRA order reads, "will change the present drift of camp population thinking in terms of fear of returning home and nebulous dreaming of emigration, to one of calm consideration of alternatives and acceptance of repatriation."

The long document gives detailed prescription for psychological "conditioning" of displaced persons. The first step to be taken is the culling out of "the leaders or residents engaging in anti-repatriation activity." They are to be transferred "to centers containing groups considered to be non-repatriable at this time." In camps where "conditions have been so corrected" officials are instructed to select "small groups of influential persons . . . to discuss and consider their repatriation and their responsibility for carrying the discussion forward to the general population of the camps." Soviet liaison officers "who are natives of most of the areas concerned" are to be available for these discussions.

After these discussions, which aim at "careful preparation for the ground work," the distribution of "Soviet proclamations, literature, films and newspapers" would take place. Such material is now available and more "has been promised by the Soviet officials," the order says. "Cultural activities will be utilized and turned toward the theme

of repatriation," and that "every advantage must be taken to utilize the sentiments of persons who accept repatriation."

Although Order No. 199 was rescinded after several weeks of circulation, its effects are still felt among the refugees in various camps in Germany and Austria. This is especially true as far as the authorization for the visits of Soviet officers is concerned.

Until late in 1946, Soviet repatriation and liaison officers could not gain an easy entry to the camps containing Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Ukrainians because the inmates of the camps, considering them as usurpers and oppressors, often attacked them. But Order No. 199 stated that "any acts of disorder are a violation of Military Government Regulation." By virtue of the order, visits of Soviet Army (NKVD or MVD) men could be forced on unwilling and helpless people by British and American authorities.

Under a special section of the directive defining the term "statelessness" Baltic and Ukrainian DP's could not claim the status of "stateless" persons. This is to imply that they are Soviet citizens and that their former countries—are permanently recognized as Soviet.

The situation of displaced persons deteriorated progressively. This was due, in part, to turnover in army personnel and to inadequacy of briefing and orientation in U. S. policy objectives as well as to deficient instruction in the background history of the mass exodus of people from Soviet-dominated countries.

Our Army ordered a series of political "screenings" intended to distinguish genuine refugees from those not entitled to the United Nations protection and help. Such "screenings," as often as not confusedly conducted, bring real terror to displaced persons. The refugees themselves were barred from facilitating the screening by providing their own competent consultative assistance, as was wisely permitted in the British zone. Individuals were arbitrarily dismissed from some camps without opportunity for any review of their appeals and without an explanation of the reasons for their expulsion. In some instances even families were broken up. On occasion refugees were summarily detained and as summarily left on the road miles away from the camp. At times screening officers even hinted that they were under orders to make room for newly arriving refugees and had to expel a fixed percentage of the inhabitants of the DP camps.

The position of displaced persons is especially precarious in Austria due to the chaotic political and economic conditions of the country. The problem of displaced persons in Austria came to light during the preliminary parleys on the Austrian treaty held in London by the

Foreign Ministers' deputies. Opposing the position of the Soviet Delegate, Fedor Gusev, that all refugees be handed to the governments of their countries of origin, General Mark W. Clark, American commander in Austria, made clear that the United States is against forceful repatriation of displaced persons. Accordingly he demanded a modified form of war-criminal clause designed to protect the rights of individuals. The clause, he added, should contain a ninety-day time limit on demands for handing over war criminals. Satisfactory evidence against alleged criminals should be required. General Clark stated furthermore, that of twelve alleged "war criminals" requested at the time by the Russians, only two were Soviet citizens. (*The New York Times*, February 2, 1947). Yet previous to this clarification of the U. S. position such practices as "screening" had deprived thousands of refugees of the status of displaced persons, thus implying that they might be considered as war criminals.

Commenting on the tragic lot of political refugees in Germany, Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, outstanding woman journalist and United States Delegate to UNESCO, wrote as follows:

Time was when a citizen who fled from persecution in his own country could escape to a new world. But in the year 1947, when travel is so swift and easy, when great Governments are ostensibly and ostentatiously engaged in the work of international organization, a man who loses his country loses his place in the world too. As a stateless person he has no status in the world community. . . . Over and over again in the camps in Germany one meets intellectual and spiritual refugees from eastern Europe whose fate will not shake the balance of power or break the peace. They will not even be forced to go back whence they came, for they represent the irreducible minimum remaining after every kind of pressure has been applied to the job of repatriation. If nothing is done to release them they will only sicken of waiting or die of despair and all they will leave behind is a scar on the conscience of those who believe that human security and human dignity are imperiled everywhere when human beings anywhere suffer degradation. (*The New York Times*, February 1, 1947).

The writer stresses, moreover, the American responsibility toward these people. "The tradition of the United States as the land of opportunity and sanctuary for the oppressed dies hard in Europe, and the sight of an American always lights a flicker of hope in these dark rooms where people live between two closed doors,"—American responsibility lies in that we are the only hope on earth for these people to look to. An answer to their urgent pleas cannot any longer be postponed.

5. Future Prospects for Refugees

1. PROBLEM FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The picture of displaced persons in Europe simply presented on the basis of facts and statistics should remind Americans of their responsibility toward mankind. Under present circumstances, refugees everywhere look toward the United States precisely because America is the only country in the world that can remedy the situation.

Deep down in their hearts many sorely tried "unrepatriable" refugees have a lurking fear, a growing fear, that in the tussle between East and West a large number of them may eventually be abandoned or even surrendered to a fate that inspires them with dread—either to be cast without status or resources among a hostile German population, or, still worse, be returned to the fate that an absolutist regime may decree for them.

The need for a return to decent principles of humanity in solving the refugee problem is imperative. Americans will lose most if oppressed people lose hope in American principles reaffirming the most basic human rights.

The Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons under the chairmanship of Dr. Earl G. Harrison, former Commissioner of Immigration, sponsors the campaign to permit 400,000 of displaced persons to enter the United States during the next few years. The projected number would only partly fill the unused quotas of the war years. Such a number of new immigrants would relieve the shortages of farm labor and domestic help. But what is more important, it would do much to ease a dangerous European situation, which is our direct concern whether this suits us or not.

2. IMMIGRATION POSSIBILITIES

Before the war 3,900 persons per month were allowed to enter the United States as regular quota immigrants. The majority of them

were from Eastern and Central European countries—the same countries from which the principal European displaced persons came to Western Germany. During the war, of course, practically no new immigrants from Europe came to our shores.

It was to reduce human suffering as well as to demonstrate our good faith that President Truman on December 22, 1945, requested the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of War, the War Shipping Administrator, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and the Director General of UNRRA to proceed at once to take all necessary steps to expedite immigration to this country. The supposition was that these immigrants would be displaced persons, and would come within the limits of established quotas. The Presidential directive provided only 39,000 quotas. It should be clear that even with the admission of such a number, our obligation to the displaced victims of war is not discharged.

Administrative action alone will hardly solve this acute problem. Legislative steps must be taken by the Congress. The Harrison Report on immigration suggests several methods which might be successfully used in solving the problem. One of them is "recapturing" of unused quotas. The report recalls that since 1930 the immigration quotas have never been filled.

The yearly immigration quota for the United States is 153,724 persons. The Harrison Committee estimates that between the fiscal years 1930-1946, 2,614,273 quota immigrants would have come to this country had all immigration quotas been used. But only 559,812 immigrants arrived within those years. This is 21.4 per cent of the permissible total, which means that 2,054,461 (78.6 per cent) additional persons might legally have come to the United States under the quotas.

The critical refugee situation in Europe would be greatly alleviated if some 400,000 displaced persons were admitted by thus "recapturing" unused quotas. The American Federation of Labor, through its president William Green, went on record as favoring such a procedure. Delegates to the convention urged unanimously that "the doors be opened to refugees" from Europe to "set an example to Great Britain and the world in the handling of the displaced persons problem." (*The New York Times*, February 20, 1947). This stand has been supported by many church and educational groups and by at least sixty members of the new Congress.

The United States has a brilliant record in the history of immigra-

tion. We have received over 38,000,000 people throughout our history. The admission of a few hundreds of thousands of refugees would not in any way upset our national economy or our political structure. On the contrary, fresh human resources would increase our productiveness and consumption and add manpower for national defense should the occasion arise. While our economic resources may continue to develop, our population prospects are not very encouraging. The rate of growth is slowing up, our birth rate is low, and our population is definitely getting older. With the present rate of increase of our population, the United States may have only about 160,000,000 people by 1970. Thereafter the general trend of American population will be stationary, while that of Great Britain and France decline. Russia by that time may well have 250,000,000 people, in view of her rapidly increasing growth rate and continued annexation of new territory.

Opponents of the admission of European refugees to this country maintain that new immigrants will increase the number of unemployed. The factual truth is that our capacities for employment are greater than we realized. Despite dire predictions to the contrary the total number of employed rose from 51,250,000 in September, 1945, to 57,370,000 in September, 1946. It is sure that new immigrants would fill shortages in farm labor and other branches of our multiple industries.

The displaced persons now being admitted to the United States are thoroughly screened by Army intelligence channels and other Federal agencies. And since our basic immigration laws bar criminals, anarchists and persons who would seek to overthrow our government by violence, there is little danger of the wrong kind of immigrants being admitted, if we abide by the laws.

Attacks are made upon these unfortunate human beings and victims of political oppression, that they might bring un-American philosophies, communism in particular, to this country. The mere fact that the great majority of displaced persons, perhaps 75-80 per cent, flee the totalitarian rule of communism, disproves at once accusations that they are communists.

Since the United States is one of the few big countries not ravaged by war and capable of absorbing a fair share of displaced persons, it is up to the American people and their government to take adequate measures to facilitate entry of displaced persons. The Harrison Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons lists many prominent Americans as favoring the admission of European refugees. Among them are Major General William J. Donovan, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,

James A. Farley, William Green, Philip Murray, former Governor Herbert H. Lehman and Charles P. Taft. Numerous national organizations have gone on record as favoring admittance of large numbers of refugees. These include the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, leading Jewish national membership organizations, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor, the Catholic War Veterans, the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, the United Council of American Veteran Organizations and many civic, educational and religious groups.

3. CANADA

The question of immigration has always been a matter of great importance to a young country like Canada. But its gravity never loomed greater than at the present time. One aftermath of World War II has been the disclosure of an entirely new situation in regard to manpower resources and war potential. Various nations passionately and even deliriously seek means of safeguarding their national security. Countries with vast unpopulated areas consider immigration as a partial solution to the problem.

To date Canada has not announced its postwar policy on immigration. Before and during World War II immigration to Canada was practically non-existent. With the exception of a handful of refugees, the door of the Dominion of Canada was effectively sealed to further entry. Yet a great and wealthy country like Canada cannot escape its destiny as a leading trade and commercial nation, nor can it control that destiny successfully with an insufficient population. Canada needs more citizens, but she cannot obtain them by natural growth alone but must resort to the extraordinary means of immigration. Like other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada is a country of vast open spaces capable of settling many times the number of people occupying her territories at the present time. In view of the hundreds of thousands of potential immigrants, it is not so much a question of finding room for prospective settlers as it is one of policy and legislation.

So far Canadian policy has limited immigration to the minimum. The rehabilitation and establishment of service men and women in preference to admission of aliens preoccupies the government in Ottawa. No one will oppose these laudable aims of helping war veterans get

reestablished in civilian life, but there is still room for those who are in dire need of resettlement.

It is to be hoped that Canada will modify her legislation so that she can accept a substantial quota of refugee immigrants within the near future. A Senate committee, set up to study the question last year, reported unanimously in favor of large scale immigration. The leader of the opposition has also come out in favor of a substantial increase in Canada's immigration quotas. Editorial opinion, too, has been almost uniformly favorable. And finally, the most prominent spokesmen for the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish communities have given their endorsement to refugee immigration.

4. LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

South American governments, in the light of changing world conditions, are beginning to reexamine plans for future development of their countries. Hence they seriously consider the desirability of admitting European immigrants. Over seven million men, women and children from Europe will find homes in Latin America during the next ten years, if the immigration projects prepared by several countries are carried out. Although it is not yet possible to point out clearly what may be the results of this reexamination of policy, there are indications that new doors may open to receive certain groups of displaced persons.

a) *Argentine*: The Argentine Consul General in the United States, in a press release on April 20, 1946, declared that "there is room in Argentina for a great many more people than our nation now has. We will welcome especially agricultural workers and technicians." He explained that personal health will be virtually the only requisite of this open door immigration policy.

Argentina, like many other Latin American governments, sent special missions to Europe for preliminary work of investigating and selecting future immigrants. How many genuine displaced persons will be admitted is still a matter of speculation, since it is known that the Argentine Government favors immigrants from Italy, Spain and Portugal and will admit only a limited percentage from Eastern Europe.

b) *Brazil*: The country's immigration plans call for admission of 800,000 selected men, women and children in a 10-year period, many to come from the displaced persons camps in Europe. At the Fourth

Session of the UNRRA Council at Atlantic City, March 21, 1946, the delegate from Brazil declared: "Brazil has embarked immediately after the war upon a very aggressive immigration policy. Immigration experts were going to Europe to select immigrants, principally farmers and technicians in agriculture and different industries . . . Brazil was not in a position to receive the refugees of Europe in general . . . but had discovered that a large percentage of the refugees constituted the kind of immigrants needed in Brazil." National laws restricting language use among national groups and general fear of certain minorities stand in the way of all-out help to displaced persons.

c) *Venezuela*: The country is in need of immigrants in large numbers. But it wants them only on condition they will settle in the interior of the country and work on land. The Venezuelan Government has announced it is preparing adequate provisions for refugees and colonization centers for the benefit of citizens of any of the United Nations who were victims of German or Japanese aggression.

d) *Paraguay*: Plans have been made with the Mennonite Central Committee to admit a certain number of displaced European Mennonites. The first group of them arrived in Paraguay on the eve of the winter revolution. But there is no possibility for a larger number of refugees to settle in this small country.

e) *Colombia and Uruguay*: Both countries want more agricultural and industrial workers, but are not prepared to broaden their immigration laws in order to permit entry of European displaced persons.

f) *Chile*: The Chilean Government was among nine countries which recently have expressed their willingness to take a substantial quota of displaced persons. Together with France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Brazil, Venezuela, South Africa and Canada, Chile stands ready to offer employment to displaced persons who cannot be repatriated.

From above sketchy outline about immigration possibilities in the Western Hemisphere, it is clear that only by admission of large numbers to the United States and Canada can we hope to satisfactorily resettle any sizeable portion of the European refugees. The two other countries which could readily absorb them, Australia and New Zealand, thus far have manifested little desire to participate in solving the problem through resettlement. Both countries have stringent immigration laws.

Dr. Earl G. Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Dis-

placed Persons, initiated a campaign for admission of 400,000 European displaced persons to the United States. Formerly U. S. Commissioner on Immigration and this nation's representative to the Inter-Government Committee on Refugees (IGCR), Dr. Harrison is an authority on displaced persons as well as a person thoroughly familiar with existing United States immigration laws.

In one of his numerous statements on the plight of European refugees, Dr. Harrison writes of a "campaign of misrepresentation and distortion concerning immigration to the United States." This falsification campaign is designed to set up a smoke screen so that the true facts will be obscured and the real situation distorted. These refugees are victims of nazi and communist terror in Europe. Many will never return to their homelands. Hatred of tyranny and fear of reprisal make this impossible during the foreseeable future. The governments of the United States, Great Britain and France have officially declared that they will compel no person to return to the country of origin against his or her will. This sacred principle was endorsed by the United Nations.

It is up to the United States to take the lead in this great humanitarian drive to provide homes for these people.

6. Other Uprooted Nationalities

The problem of displaced persons in Europe is not the only sore spot on the conscience of our post-war world. Besides the political refugees, who cannot and will not return to their homelands, are millions of other peoples. These are victims of mass expulsion, deportations or "resettlement," planned and executed with disregard for basic human rights.

Among those expelled are: approximately three million Poles from east of the Curzon Line; more than half of a million Hungarians resident in Slovakia, and over ten million Germans and *Volksdeutsche*. Most of the German deportees were neither minority groups living in foreign countries nor settlers sent by the Nazis to populate the territories conquered by them. On the contrary, many of them helped form the indigenous population of such ancient German provinces as Silesia, Brandenburg, Pomerania and East Prussia, and their rights to their homes had never been questioned. Although the Potsdam Declaration provided that all expulsions should be carried out in an "orderly and humane" fashion, the transfers were actually accompanied by barbarities and hardships, reminiscent of scenes in Buchenwald and Auschwitz.

It was about the expulsions, taken for granted by the Potsdam Declaration, that Anne O'Hare McCormick, a conscientious American observer, wrote as follows:

The scale of this resettlement and the conditions in which it takes place are without precedent in history. No one seeing its horrors first-hand can doubt that it is a crime against humanity for which history will exact a terrible retribution. (*The New York Times*, October 23, 1946).

The new Polish government, for which the Polish people as such cannot be held responsible, expelled several million Germans from east of the Oder River. The plan was that this territory should be colonized by Poles. One of the most sinister aspects of the expulsion is the fact that in the course of its execution many thousands of human

beings simply disappeared. At least they cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by any available statistics. While several hundreds of thousands of these people perished in the process of the expulsion, others are known to be held as slave labor in Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans.

The *London Review of World Affairs* (January, 1947) reported that thousands of German women are known to be working as slaves in the mines near Sverdlovsk. Tens of thousands of civilian slaves are laboring in the mines of Upper Silesia, while Czechoslovakia retains over 300,000 Sudeten Germans as slave workers.

Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary on several occasions protested to the Czech government against using Hungarians as slave laborers. He complained that "slave markets have been established at Kolin, Pilsen and other localities throughout the Sudeten area" (*America*, January 18, 1947).

The attitude of the present governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia toward minorities, growing out of apparent Allied approval of mass deportations, stands in glaring contrast to the Christian and democratic behavior of the people and government of Denmark, a country which also suffered German occupation. There are 200,000 German refugees in Denmark, and though almost two years have passed since the German collapse, the Danish government shelters and feeds these uninvited guests, knowing that their return to Germany at present would only worsen food and housing conditions. Italy, too, has demonstrated by her liberal policy toward refugees and minority groups, that an enlightened and civilized approach to problems of persecution is not yet wholly absent from Europe.

Conclusions

The displaced persons and political refugees of Europe present us with a moral issue which cannot be solved justly without reference to human rights. Freedom-loving countries, especially the United States and Canada, should do their share in affording sanctuary to those whose forced repatriation would mean victimization for political and even religious views. During past centuries the right of political asylum was recognized even by backward peoples. Today it is not only the sentiment of mercy but the obligations arising from justice and human decency which urge us to meet the needs of many thousands of displaced persons whose plight is so tragic and so desperate.

The Catholic Church and its Sovereign Pontiff have called time and again for assistance to those who were forced to leave their homelands through fear of persecution. The Pope has condemned "forced return to one's country" and "denial of the right of asylum." The American Catholic Hierarchy, in their statement *Man and the Peace*, asks protection for the hundreds of thousands of refugees now in camps of Western and Central Europe:

These victims of injustice have the right of refuge—a right that is sacrosanct in our history and culture. To provide for them and to give them an opportunity to begin life anew in useful pursuits without fear is the inescapable responsibility of the nations. (*Statement of Bishops of the United States*, N.C.W.C. News Service, November 18, 1946).

Over 1,200,000 irrepatriable European displaced persons have fought or suffered for their ideals, and still suffer now. For the Nazis' ruthless denial of individual and human rights is equally held as an article of faith by totalitarian states of Eastern Europe. With the exception of the Spanish refugees, the overwhelming majority of displaced persons fled from countries ruled or dominated by Russia.

The peoples of the United States, Great Britain and Canada, through their respective governments, are committed to the principles so eloquently proclaimed in the articles of the Atlantic Charter. They have pledged themselves to do their utmost for the victims of a politically misruled world. Their failure to preserve for the refugees the protection of sanctuary can lead to further unjust suffering or long-drawn out agony in dictatorship states. A newly published book, *The Dark Side of the Moon*, portrays what is in store. The Soviet criminal code labels flight from the Soviet state an act of treason, calling for capital punishment.

We can only say that these displaced persons are entitled to the same treatment and protection we ourselves would have expected, had Providence allowed us and not them to be the victims of these dreadful, amoral times.

Appendix

Appendix 1

Bishop's Statement on Human Rights

"HUMANE TREATMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS"

(From *Man and the Peace*, Statement issued by the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States, November 16, 1946.)

A serious problem which challenges the nations is finding a way rightly to provide for the hundreds of thousands of refugees from persecution and dire danger now in camps in Central Europe. These victims of injustice have the right of refuge—a right that is sacrosanct in our history and culture. To provide for them and to give them an opportunity to begin life anew in useful pursuits without fear is the inescapable responsibility of the nations.

All of them, the displaced persons and the persecuted peoples, must be treated humanely without discrimination. A perfect solution of the problem would be to give them the full guarantee for the enjoyment of their native rights in their countries of origin. Since this solution is not forthcoming, the nations must extend to them help which their very human rights demand. It is plain that to continue indefinitely to support them in camps is not a solution of the problem and is, in fact, an injury to them. To force them against their will to return to their countries of their origin, where, with reason, they fear that grave dangers await them, is stark inhumanity.

By agreement among the victors those in displaced-persons camps allegedly guilty of crimes must be returned to their country of origin. If guilty, they should be punished, but they should not be made the victims of political persecution with the cooperation of the authorities of the military occupation.

Before honoring demands for the return of these persons to their countries of origin the military authorities are obligated to give the accused honest juridical hearings to prevent grave injustice. Tragic indeed was the decision of the United Nations Committee on Refugees that "all measures be taken" to repatriate child refugees to their countries of origin.

Nor can we condone with any sense of humanity the alternative of either returning refugees against their will to their countries of origin or throwing them on the economy of an already overcrowded and impoverished Germany. With justice to all these unfortunate men, women and children, and without discrimination in favor of any group of them, the nations must find a way to resettle them in countries where opportunities to begin life anew await them.

It is heartening that the President of the United States has pledged himself publicly to ask our Congress to enact a law which will permit the entry of considerable numbers of them into the United States. If this is done the generosity of our country will stir other nations to give these unfortunate people a haven and a chance to live in the enjoyment of their God-given rights.

The problem is admittedly very difficult, but the difficulty in it should be a challenge to the nations to solve it in a constructive, humane way, in which charity will do even what justice does not compel.

Appendix 2

N.C.W.C. Declaration of Human Rights*

PART I — PREAMBLE

The dignity of man, created in the image of God, obligates him to live in accordance with law imposed by God. Consequently, he is endowed as an individual and a member of society with rights which are inalienable.

Among these rights are:

(1) The right to life and bodily integrity from the moment of conception, regardless of physical or mental condition, except in just punishment for crime.

(2) The right to serve and worship God in private and in public.

(3) The right to religious formation through education and association.

(4) The right to personal liberty under just law.

(5) The right to the equal protection of just law regardless of sex, nationality, color or creed.

(6) The right to freedom of expression of information and of communication in accordance with truth and justice.

* (From a *Declaration of Human Rights*: Statement Drafted by a Committee Appointed by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Full text available from the Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.)

- (7) The right to choose and freely to maintain a state of life, married or single, lay or religious.
- (8) The right to education suitable for the maintenance and development of man's dignity as a human person.
- (9) The right to petition the government for redress of grievances.
- (10) The right to a nationality.
- (11) The right of access to the means of livelihood, by migration when necessary.
- (12) The right of association and peaceable assembly.
- (13) The right to work and choose one's occupation.
- (14) The right to personal ownership, use and disposal of property subject to the rights of others and to limitations in the interest of the general welfare.
- (15) The right to a living wage.
- (16) The right to collective bargaining.
- (17) The right to associate by industries and professions to obtain economic justice and the general welfare.
- (18) The right to assistance from society, if necessary from the State, in distress of person or family.

Appendix 3

Resolution

of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, adopted at the Twenty-fourth Annual Conference, October 11-15, 1946, Green Bay, Wis.

REFUGEES

1. Approximately one million European refugees, the unrepatriable element of millions displaced by war, today await permanent resettlement. Relief measures, no matter how necessary as temporary expedients, cannot satisfy the needs of those unable or unwilling to return to countries of origin. For their care, along with that of thousands of other displaced persons now repatriated, the United States has already spent millions of dollars. It is time that our charitable dollars be converted into constructive dollars. This means expenditure of funds and energies upon permanent rehabilitation of refugees in countries where they can earn a livelihood and be free from religious, racial and political persecution.

Our United States, which divine Providence has blessed with abundance of material wealth and placed in a position of moral leadership, must take the initiative in settling refugees. Upon our fullest partici-

pation depends the success of the International Refugee Organization. Toward the solution of the refugee problem existing immigration must be used to the full, and, where necessary, quotas should be revised upward to meet the emergency. Several hundred thousand refugee immigrants could readily be absorbed within our shores. Through proper distribution, carried out by retained resettlement agents, danger of concentration and unsatisfactory minority groupings could be avoided.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference recommends that admission of refugee immigrants be on a broad basis, and embrace various nationalities and occupational groups. Without prejudice to existing labor supply, there is room in many sections of our country for experienced farmers and agricultural workers. The Conference therefore recommends that resettlement of homeless Europeans on the land be made a prime objective of the United States postwar immigration policy. Toward this end private agencies can and should cooperate with our government.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference strongly urges that fundamental principles of charity and justice and the long recognized practice of offering asylum to those not guilty of crimes be adhered to in our day. Recognizing that the immigration problem is broader than the refugee question, the Conference recommends prompt revision of discriminatory selective immigration quotas. The free transit of morally and physically acceptable immigrants seeking space to live and relief from overpopulated countries is considerably more important than the free exchange of goods between nations. Basic human rights may not be subordinated to political or ideological ends, nor should they be ignored within our own country by any longer fostering a nationalist immigration policy.

Appendix 4

STATEMENT ON DISPLACED PERSONS

Adopted by the Executive Committee of the
National Catholic Rural Life Conference at a meeting
held in Des Moines, Iowa, April 16, 1947

As the second year since the close of the war draws to an end, over 1,200,000 refugees remain within or outside the displacement camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy. The vast majority of these people are unrepatriated and unrepatriable. The Western democracies have set their face against any solution which would force these people to return

to the countries of their origin. Conscious of what our nation has done so far to safeguard the human rights of these displaced persons but seriously concerned about their fate, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, in the words of the resolution adopted at its Convention, held in Green Bay, Wisconsin, on October 11-16, 1946,

... strongly urges that fundamental principles of justice and charity and the long recognized practice of offering asylum to those not guilty of crime be adhered to in our day.

The Conference heartily endorses the policy of our government which refuses to cooperate in any plan to surrender displaced persons, without previous trial, to the totalitarian regime from which they flee. The ideology dominating the government in the countries of their origin conceives as criminal anyone whose declared political or religious convictions are in disagreement with those of the party in power. To act toward these unfortunates as if the word *justice* had the same meaning for us as it does for them whom they fear would be to betray our democratic ideal and to abandon our respect for human rights.

Under present conditions, which we seem powerless to change, no satisfactory solution of the problem of the displaced persons can be found save in resettlement and naturalization elsewhere, preferably in countries outside of Europe. The countries in which they now reside are in no position to absorb them; the straightened domestic economy alone of these countries suffices to reveal that fact. In the case of Germany, particularly, considerable harm has even now resulted from the overburdening with millions of deportees a country whose national boundaries have been restricted. The addition of nearly a million refugees would make even more difficult the reconstruction of the economy and the establishment of peace. Upon the United States, therefore, and other nations with excess resources, territory, and opportunity, devolves the duty to open their doors to these homeless people.

The Conference urges at least the temporary modification of our immigration laws to permit the admission of worthy refugees without regard to national origin. It presupposes, of course, that due precaution be taken to separate the worthy from the unworthy so that those alone be admitted who are not likely to undermine our democratic ideals and institutions. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference favors the bill sponsored by the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, and, with this Committee, urges prompt passage of the necessary legislation.

The Conference is convinced that the admission of these displaced

persons to the United States can be effected without undue strain upon our domestic economy, without injustice to the veterans, and without aggravation of the housing situation. Our proportionate share of 400,000 of these people is not a large number in view of the size and resources of our country. The number means somewhat less than 100,000 families, many of whom would be cared for by relatives, friends, or others willing to assume responsibility during the period of readjustment for their housing and employment. Since many of the displaced persons are rural people, it is highly desirable that they be directed to the land and away from our congested cities. To see that those known to be prepared for such a life be so directed should be a fixed policy of our government.

The Conference, on its part, promises support to all efforts in the resettlement of displaced families on the land. It has received pledges from various dioceses and individuals to assume out of a sense of charity and justice the responsibility for absorption of definite numbers of these rural families. Some localities in our nation suffer from a lack of agricultural workers. In many instances older farmers are eager to retire from active farming carried on during the war. In fact, the practice of importing farm laborers from neighboring countries and the West Indies is still followed, despite the passing of the war emergency. The Conference feels that a much more satisfactory and permanent solution of the shortage of agricultural labor could be reached by the employment of displaced rural workers in dire need of resettlement and security.

We reassert our statement that the absorption in our countryside of these displaced rural families will in no way aggravate the housing situation nor cause unemployment. We have this pledge and assurance from our own priests and bishops who are in daily contact with rural people and who are eager to solve the housing problem in cities, towns, and country. They tell us that the charitable spirit of their parishioners will find a way to give shelter to the unfortunate displaced people. This will be especially feasible in large rural homes located at a distance from towns and cities, where only two or three persons now occupy such residences.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference urges upon our Congress the prompt appropriation of funds for the budget of the International Refugee Organization. This organization is charged with the responsibility of caring for the displaced persons during the period intervening until a satisfactory solution be found through resettlement. It is obvious that some such international agency is needed to care for these hapless people once the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

Administration, which has supported most of the camps, goes out of existence. Provision must be made in time.

Reaffirming the stand taken in its resolution adopted at Green Bay, the Conference again urges that, in addition to temporary relief to refugees, the permanent immigration policy be re-examined. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference affirms that the least that can be done in defense of human rights at this time is to provide shelter within our shores for the deserving victims of totalitarian persecution. This objective can and must be achieved by passage of temporary legislation on immigration. It should not be delayed by examination of or disputes about permanent immigration policy.

MOST REV. W. T. MULLOY,
President.

RT. REV. L. G. LIGUTTI,
Exec. Secy.

Appendix 5

Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons

BRIEF STATEMENT OF AIMS

THE UNITED STATES *has emerged from the war a leader in international affairs. THIS ROLE gives us the obligation to lead in the solution of international problems. A major international problem facing us today is that of the DISPLACED PERSONS.*

BACKGROUND FACTS

Two years after the war there are still some 850,000 displaced persons in Europe who live in detention camps.

These men, women and children are victims of all forms of religious and political persecution, of barbarism and nazi terror.

They represent almost all religions. Some 80 per cent are Christians of various denominations; 20 per cent are Jews.

These people do not wish to and cannot return to their home countries because they fear oppression for religious, racial or political reasons.

The Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France officially declare that *no people would be forced to return to their homelands against their will.* The United Nations has endorsed the same principle.

The United States immigration laws permit 154,000 quota immigrants to enter annually. During the past 16 years, from June 30, 1930 to June 30, 1946, visas were available for 2,614,273 people, but fewer than 600,000 came. *Over 2,000,000 visas were not used.*

Since the United States is one of the few countries that has not been ravaged by war; since so few immigrants have come in under our quota law, it has been estimated that a fair share of displaced persons to come to these shores would be about 400,000.

AIM

The purpose of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons is *to secure passage of an emergency act by Congress which would permit 400,000 displaced persons to enter the United States in a period of four years.*

The act would be *temporary legislation*, ceasing to operate after the four year period. *It would not alter the basic Quota Law* regulating normal immigration.

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.*

Not more than half the number of quota immigrants are likely to enter the United States in the next few years. Consequently, with the emergency act for the displaced persons there will be only a small excess, *if any*, over the 154,000 quota immigrants permitted to come under the existing laws.

The protective restrictions of the general immigration law screening immigrants on the basis of health, morals, economic status and specified political beliefs would apply to the displaced persons.

The 400,000 displaced persons entering this country during a four year period would be absorbed without disturbance of our economy. Over half of the displaced persons are women and children. A large number are farm workers and domestics. These services are needed in this country.

AFTER THE NIGHTMARE of Nazism and Fascism, after the holocaust of World War II, we owe it to ourselves and to the world to be the guardians of freedom and peace. We owe it to ourselves and to the world to take action in solving problems which threaten the peace. The leading problem today is that of the displaced persons.

IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE, this country must march in the van by admitting a fair share of displaced persons to enter these shores. If the United States acts, its example will compel other nations to follow suit and the pitiful survivors of Hitler-terror will find permanent haven at an early date.

International Refugee Organization (IRO) Constitution

PART I—*Section A.* DEFINITION OF REFUGEES

1. Subject to the provisions of Section C and D of Part II below, the term "refugee" applies to a person who has left, or who is outside of, his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, and who, whether or not he had retained his nationality, belongs to one of the following categories:

(a) Victims of the nazi or fascist regimes or of regimes which took part in their side in the Second World War, or of the quisling or similar regimes which assisted them against the United Nations, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;

(b) Spanish Republicans and other victims of the Falangist regime in Spain, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;

(c) Persons who were considered refugees before the outbreak of the Second World War, for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion.

2. Subject to the provisions of Sections C and D and of Part II below regarding the expulsion of certain categories of persons, including war criminals, quislings and traitors, from the benefits of the Organization, the term "refugee" also applies to a person, other than a displaced person as defined in Section B below, who is outside of his country of nationality or former habitual residence, and who as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the Second World War, is unable or unwilling to avail himself the protection of the Government of his country of nationality or former nationality.

3. Subject to the provisions of Section D and of Part II below, the term "refugee" also applies to persons who, having resided in Germany or Austria, and being of Jewish origin or foreigners or stateless persons, were victims of Nazi persecution and were detained in or were obliged to flee from and were subsequently returned to, one of those countries as a result of enemy action, or of war circumstances, and have not yet been firmly resettled therein.

4. The term "refugee" also applies to unaccompanied children who are war orphans or whose parents have disappeared, and who are outside their countries of origin. Such children shall be given all possible priority assistance, including in the case of those whose nationality can

be determined, assistance in repatriation, to which there should be no obstacles.

Section B. DEFINITION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

The term "Displaced Persons" applies to a person who, as a result of the actions of the authorities of the regimes mentioned in Part I, Section 1 (a) has been deported from, or has been obliged to leave, his country of nationality of former habitual residence, such as persons who were compelled to undertake forced labor or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons. Displaced persons will only fall within the mandate of the Organization subject to the provisions of Sections C and D of Part I and to the provisions of Part II below. If the reasons for their displacement have ceased to exist, they should be repatriated as soon as possible in accordance with Article II, 1 (a) of this Constitution, and subject to the provision of paragraph (c), subparagraphs (ii) and (iii) of the General Assembly Resolution of 12 February 1946 regarding the problem of refugees (Annex III).

Appendix 7

UNRRA Directives on Displaced Persons

UNRRA DISTRICT OFFICE No. 1
2b Uhlandstrasse, Stuttgart

Ref: 8 MEN#WMC

25th September 1946

TEAM LETTER No. 135

SUBJECT: Organized Cultural Activities in Polish DP Camps.

1. Effective October 1st, 1946, all educational, recreational and other cultural activities are to be discontinued in all camps caring for one hundred or more Polish Displaced Persons.

2. This policy will continue until further notice.

3. Teams are requested to take inventories of all recreational and school equipment and books on hand and to send copies of these inventories to this office. Supplies and equipment should be withdrawn from use and properly stored.

A. T. BERNEY-FICKLIN,
District Director.

By **M. E. NICOLET, (signed)**
Relief Services Officer.

UNRRA DISTRICT OFFICE No. 1

2b Uhlandstrasse, Stuttgart

23 October 1946

TEAM LETTER No. 150

SUBJECT: Organized Cultural Activities in Polish DP Camps.

1. The moratorium on education, recreational and cultural activities and work projects in Polish DP Camps, prescribed under the provisions of Team Letters Nos. 135 and 141, will be lifted as of 9 November 1946, provided that, in future, all such activities and projects in the said Camps are coordinated with and organized so as in no possible way to delay, discourage or thwart the repatriation program.

2. Instructors, Teachers, Supervising Officers and Staff concerned will be appointed only from amongst Displaced Persons who wholeheartedly support, as regards repatriation, the current program and the principles relating thereto announced in UNRRA Council Resolution No. 99.

A. T. BERNEY-FICKLIN,
District Director.

UNRRA US ZONE HEADQUARTERS
HEIDELBERG

11 November 1946

Administrative Order No. 199

SUBJECT: Repatriation of Persons who lived within the boundaries of USSR prior to 1 September 1939 and persons from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Ukraine.

REFERENCES: (cited)

1. Repatriation Policy

A. UNRRA and military authorities are in agreement on the advisability for speedy return of the greatest possible number of displaced persons to their homelands as quickly as possible. This policy represents the substance of resolutions under which UNRRA now operates and is in keeping with the Yalta Agreement, and the projected plans and draft Constitution for an International Refugee Organization. In an effort to repatriate the subject nationalities the closest coopera-

tion between all echelons of UNRRA, but particularly Repatriation and Eligibility Officers, with the US Army authorities must be maintained.

B. The District Directors will initiate through their Repatriation Officers, on or before 25 November, a repatriation program for all of the subject nationalities and will hold field services responsible for assistance. Eligibility Officers, in particular, will plan their activities with the view to implementation of applicable sections of this Administrative Order.

2. Definition "Statelessness"

For the purpose of this Administrative Order, the term "Stateless persons" in relation to persons of Russian origin, means only those who acquired protection of the League of Nations by negotiation with national governments, did not enjoy the protection of the USSR prior to the outbreak of the second World War and did not acquire another nationality or if having acquired another nationality after having received protection of the League of Nations, have since lost it and are eligible for UNRRA assistance.

Most of the Stateless persons of Russian origin are refugees from Russia after the first World War, formerly lived in Czechoslovakia, the Balkan countries, and France. These persons are not nationals of the Soviet Union.

3. Repatriation Program

The following outline is designed to be a skeleton order of operational and repatriational procedure within which workable repatriation plans may be built. It is general in nature, therefore allowing for the different approaches which will be necessary in dealing with the three main nationality groups, namely:

- (1) Baltics,
- (2) Polish Ukrainians, and
- (3) Soviet citizens, who lived within the boundaries of USSR prior to 1 September 1939.

(1) Each camp will be examined closely by District Directors together with their Repatriation and Eligibility Officers with the end in view of the implementation of General Bulletin No. 112 and its references. In many instances it may be *advisable to examine camps jointly with the appropriate military authorities. The leaders and residents engaging in anti-repatriation activity will be dealt with in accordance with existing procedure. Leadership taking an adamant anti-repatriation attitude to the extent it influences individual decisions will be transferred to centers containing groups considered to be non-repatriable at this time. (italics added)*

(2) Following this review and action resulting therefrom, as rapidly as is practicable, nationality camps will be established and population sorted and shifted thereto, i.e., 1) Baltics, 2) Polish Ukrainians and 3) Soviet citizens, who lived in the USSR prior to 1 September 1939 and/or 4) any other odd Soviet nationals, i.e., Ruthenians, Armenians, etc.

All Stateless persons of Russian origin and/or those claiming, with proof, to be "old emigres" from Russia will be maintained in centers containing non-repatriable groups, and no effort will be expended for their repatriation.

(3) In Camps where the District Directors, District Repatriation Officers, Area Directors, and Repatriation Officers agree that conditions have been so corrected or are under such leadership or influence that corrective action is unnecessary and therefore that a repatriation program is possible, small groups of influential persons in the camp will be selected to discuss and consider their repatriation and their responsibility for carrying the discussion forward to the general population of the camps. *Soviet Liaison Officers who are natives of most of the area concerned, are now, or will be available. At such time as deemed advisable by the Area Director meetings with small groups and these officers should be held in accordance with proper procedure to answer questions, provide information and discuss the mechanics of actual repatriation. (italics added)*

(4) *After careful preparation of the ground work (which may include the display and use of statements of General McNarney and Mr. LaGuardia, together with other current information concerning the lack of emigrational opportunities for any significant number of persons and the uncertain plans of the scope of the I.R.O., meeting with the military and liaison officers concerned), Soviet proclamations, literature, films and newspapers will be distributed. Some such material is now available for distribution and additional material has been promised by Soviet officials. Cultural activities will be utilized and turned toward the theme of repatriation, and every opportunity will be utilized by Repatriation Officers to assist the people in their re-evaluation of their life plans and in their serious consideration of taking advantage of repatriation opportunities now offered. (italics added)*

(5) Every advantage must be taken to utilize the sentiments of persons who accept repatriation. This will call for alertness on the part of Repatriation Officers and Area Directors. *As the program gains momentum the experience of mass appeal already gained in the Polish Repatriation Drive can be brought to fruition with these nationalities. (italics added)*

The propitious time for the use of emotional devices will be left to

the judgment of the District Officers and Area Teams. It is emphasized that the probable inadvisability of using such devices at this time is a matter of judgment by the local administration. The problem facing Repatriation Officers is one calling for careful planning and penetrating analysis of each camp community, its leadership, and its existing social, psychological and political controls. The skillful Repatriation Officer will change the present drift of camp populations thinking in terms of fear of returning home and nebulous dreaming of emigration, to one of calm consideration of alternatives and acceptance of repatriation.

(6) Special status with UNRRA will be accorded repatriates in all camp affairs and priorities for basic needs will be arranged on existing stocks of clothing and amenity supplies.

(7) Lists of Soviet citizens who lived in the USSR prior to 1 September 1939 and determined to be Soviet citizens by military authorities (Screening teams or Army Review Board) and receiving UNRRA care will be forwarded to UNRRA District Headquarters by the 1 December 1946, where they will be consolidated and then transmitted to U. S. Zone Headquarters, who in turn can transmit them to G.5 Third U. S. Army for ultimate transmission to the Soviet Liaison Mission.

(8) The advisability of holding mass meetings to consider repatriation, or for the purpose of meeting with the Soviet Liaison Officer, is questionable. Such meetings provide a medium for dissidents, hecklers, and anti-repatriation organizers. Unless the groundwork is well laid, the meetings may result in emotional mob action perpetrated by anti-repatriation elements.

(9) The importance of the attitude of UNRRA personnel towards their jobs must be fully appreciated if this program is to meet with success. Displaced persons observe carefully the opinions and actions of team members. Occurrences of anti-repatriation attitudes being expressed to displaced persons, of anti-repatriation activity of any degree, or of failure to accord Liaison Officers respect due Allied personnel will be reported by District Directors directly to the Home Director.

4. Political and other Questions

The effect of rumor, political and otherwise, upon repatriation is well known. This problem must be handled in a rational and objective manner. All questions which are of this nature which are deterring repatriation should be submitted to Soviet Liaison Officers. Such questions which are not satisfactorily handled in this manner should be channeled through the District Repatriation Officer to the Zone Repatriation Officer in order that they may be submitted to the Soviet Liaison Mission for official reply.

5. Procedure for Repatriation

As individuals, or groups signify their intention to return to their homelands, they will be sent to the Soviet repatriation centers now in operation at Lichtenau, near Ansbach; Hersfeld near Fulda and at Stuttgart. These centers are operated by Soviet authorities under the supervision of the U. S. Army. They are voluntary collection points. The transfer point for Soviet nationals from the U. S. Zone is at Hof.

6. Procedure for obtaining services of Soviet Liaison Officers

The services of the Soviet Liaison Officers will be obtained in the following manner:

A. The visit of a Soviet Liaison Officer to an UNRRA operated camp will be requested by the Area Team Director or Repatriation Officer through the District Director.

B. The District Director will request military authorities to accompany the Liaison Officer to the Center in the manner prescribed in current military directives.

C. This does not preclude the Soviet Liaison Officer from making his own request of the Area Team Director in the prescribed manner, but does provide the proper channel for the coordination of the repatriation program by the District Director.

D. Any "*acts of disorder, violence, disrespect or insult toward Soviet Officers or any other behavior which might incite disorder*" is a violation of Military Government regulation. In accordance with latter, Headquarters Third U. S. Army, 10 April 1946, amending A.O. 211 GNMCS Subect "Privileges of Soviet Liaison Officers in DP Camps other than wholly Soviet" the Area Team Director shall request the U. S. military authorities to proceed with *arrest on the spot*. Such a notice shall be displayed prominently in the appropriate languages in all centers housing the subject nationalities. (*italics added*)

7. Relationships with Soviet Liaison Officers

Provisions laid down by the U. S. Army for working with Soviet Liaison Officers are summarized for guidance of UNRRA personnel. Basic documents are listed in references. All employes or camp leaders who may have occasion to come into contact with Liaison Officers should be thoroughly aware of UNRRA's responsibilities and the U. S. Army's regulations.

A. *Visits to Camp*: Any accredited Soviet Liaison Officer may visit UNRRA operated camps in order to contact, for purpose of repatriation, any of the nationalities specified in this order.

B. *U. S. Army Representatives*: Soviet Liaison Officers may only visit UNRRA operated camps when accompanied by a U. S. Army representative.

C. *Interviewing DP's*: Interviewing the DP's either singly or in groups, may take place in the presence of a U. S. Army representative, and UNRRA officials will assist in arranging such contacts. Attendance at such meetings must be on a voluntary basis but DP's should be encouraged to attend to hear what the Liaison Officers have to say.

D. *Lists of Soviet Citizens*: Only lists of persons determined by U. S. military authorities to be Soviet citizens may be furnished Soviet Liaison Officers. UNRRA officials will cooperate with military authorities in preparing and submitting such lists.

E. *House Calls*: The Liaison Officer has the privilege of making calls to enquire regarding the residents of each house but they shall not be permitted to demand entrance, interview or seizure.

F. *Use of Force or Coercion*: No force, or coercion will be used in order to accomplish interviews, calls or meetings. Relationships are to be maintained on a voluntary basis at all times.

8. Soviet Liaison Officers Now in the Field

[Then follows a list of 9 Soviet army officers]

(signed) J. H. WHITING,
Zone Director.

UNRRA Repatriation News

Issue No. 13 Repatriation Division, Zone Hq. 15 May 1947

<i>Data</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Soviet Point of Origin</i>	<i>Number of Persons</i>
15-28 Apr.	BROUGHT FORWARD		76
29 Apr.	Soviet	Stuttgart-Hof	18
1 May	Soviet	Fulda-Hof	10
7	Soviet	Ausbach-Hof	30

Total (Soviets receiving 60 days food ration) 134
(Breakdown of Nationality)

Estonian	1
Kalmyk	1
Russian	28
Latvian	79
Lithuanian	15
Ukrainian	10

134

IS YOURS A GOOD REPATRIATION PROGRAM ? ? ? CHECK YOURS AGAINST THE FOLLOWING

What is the responsibility of an Area Team Repatriation Officer?

That is a question frequently asked, so this check list of duties and responsibilities has been prepared. With this check list you may examine your program to determine whether it contains all of the possible basic elements of a good repatriation program.

(1) Meetings have been arranged between liaison officers and camp groups and committees.

(2) Meetings have been arranged between liaison officers and individuals where private discussions can be held.

(3) Space has been arranged in Assembly Centers for an office for the Liaison officers.

(4) A Reading Room has been established in each assembly center for repatriation literature.

(5) A Repatriation Committee has been formed of fair-minded displaced persons.

(6) Bulletin Boards solely for repatriation news of interest to nationalities concerned have been conspicuously placed in Assembly Centers.

(7) Facilities for the translation of specific repatriation news items for the bulletin board are maintained.

(8) Distribution channels of newspapers and other repatriation literature is spot checked weekly to insure displaced persons receipt of it.

(9) Special discussions of problems effecting specific groups have been arranged—example—discussion for Poles displaced from east of the Curzon line.

(10) Segregation of anti-repatriation and/or non-repatriable elements to Assembly Centers has been recommended to the Area Team Directors.

(11) Gala or colorful departures for repatriates on repatriation trains or to Repatriation Centers have been arranged.

(12) Visits of U. S. Military Authorities to Assembly Centers to encourage repatriation have been arranged.

(13) A repatriation poster contest, slogan contest, or declaration of the Assembly centers has been sponsored.

(14) Short repatriation speeches producing the regular showing of repatriation films have been arranged.

(15) Repatriation parades or events have been sponsored on appropriate holidays.

(16) Movements have been planned in such a way that they will cause the least discomfort to repatriates.

(17) Additional amenity supplies have been made available for repatriation moves.

(18) Common Rooms, Dining Rooms have been decorated with repatriation posters, slogans, etc.

(19) Posters have been conspicuously displayed on bulletin boards encouraging displaced persons to write to their home countries.

(20) Meetings have been held for the UNRRA staff orienting them on the repatriation program.

PRESIDENT OF LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC MAKES STATEMENT

The President of the Lithuanian Republic has issued a statement in which he urges Lithuanians to return to their homelands. This is a strong and effectively worded statement to all Lithuanians. It is being translated and will be distributed to all Lithuanian camps.

WATCH FOR YOUR COPIES! ! !

REPORT FROM ESTONIA

The report below has been received recently from Estonia.. This report came in answer to a letter from an Estonian displaced person requesting information from the ESSR on conditions which the repatriates may expect on their return.

This report in Estonian is being printed for distribution to Estonians in the Zone.

Repatriation officers should be alert for this publicity and see that it gets necessary distribution.

The report from Estonia follows:

Tallinn, 7 March 1947.

"I am authorized to submit to you the following with reference to your letter to the representative of the Minister Council of the Estonian Social Soviet Republic:

(1) The Repatriation Office is a part of the Minister Council of the ESSR and sends its representatives to every Kries administration. This office and its representatives are charged with the following tasks:

To receive the repatriates of Estonian nationality;

To make arrangements for their employment, welfare and support.

(2) In answer to your questions I submit the following:

(a) The soldiers and officers who served the German army can also repatriate to their home-country and will be sent back to their home villages the same as the other repatriates according to the directives of the Soviet Union Government. They will not be called to account for their services in the German army and they will have the same rights as the other citizens. These directives are also valid for Latvia and Lithuania.

(b) In accordance with the directives of the Soviet Union procurator, all displaced persons of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nationality who return to the Baltic Republics and formerly possessed houses there, will receive them back as personal property. The Repatriation Office at the Minister Council of the ESSR is charged with the task of providing the repatriants with housing.

(c) Everyone may choose the place where he wants to live. Exception is made for the town of Tallinn where the repatriate is authorized only if his family lives there and he can find lodging in their apartment. This prohibition is necessary due to the lack of living room in Tallinn caused by the destruction during the war.

(d) It is not guaranteed that everybody can return to his former place of work or to his former position. It is guaranteed, however, that everyone may choose his job according to his special training. Everyone who is willing to work will find a job. Besides that, all citizens who served in the Soviet army during the war and who were not voluntarily taken German prisoners of war and liberated by the Soviet army or by the Allied Forces and who return home now, will have all privileges as are defined according to the Soviet laws for the demobilized Soviet soldiers. All above-mentioned citizens can receive money by way of loan to reconstruct their homes or to build new homes.

(e) Mothers with many children or unmarried mothers will be supported with money according to the laws of the Soviet Union.

(f) The repatriated war invalids who were wounded at the front or injured during their captivity will receive pensions and support money according to the laws of the Soviet Union.

(g) The transportation of baggage is not limited and will be guaranteed for all repatriates except for fruits and vegetables, because of the danger of importing plant diseases. The home travel will be made by the shortest way and will not exceed more than 10-15 days, from Austria to Germany.

(h) When the repatriates arrive at the place of destination back

home, they will report to the Repatriation Office at the minister Council of the ESSR (located at Tallinn Vene tan. 6) or in their Kreis at the Reception and Processing Committee, where they will be provided with the necessary identification cards and documents and with support money as well.

(i) It is really difficult for me to report about the life of the repatriated citizens, since I do not know them by name. Will you please inform me about whom you want to have information. Will you submit the family and Christian names of the concerned persons and, if possible, their former address to this office. I can help you then to contact these persons by letter.

(k) We will send you the requested literature. I hope that I have answered all your questions. I ask you to tell all Estonian citizens, that their home country and work is waiting for them and their relatives and friends too."

(signed) AGDA NEY
*Leader of the
Repatriation Office
at the Minister
Council of ESSR.*

Appendix 8

Petition

ON THE SUBJECT OF:

The "Repatriation Drive" Currently Being Carried on by the Authorities in Charge of the Displaced Persons.

To:

The Honorable George C. Marshall
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

PRESENTED BY:

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
National Catholic Welfare Conference
American Friends' Service Committee
Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society
American Federation of Labor

Congress of Industrial Organizations
Refugee Defense Committee
International Rescue and Relief Committee

May 14, 1947.

When the question of the refugees was being debated by the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations, the United States delegation under the leadership of Mrs. Roosevelt resolutely opposed every demand of the Soviet powers that the Displaced Persons be forcibly returned to their homelands. Repatriation, said the American delegation, should be entirely on a voluntary basis. Those who had reason to fear persecution if they returned home should be accorded the traditional right of asylum.

In a world where human life had come to mean so little, the refusal of the democratic nations to compromise with the totalitarian nations at the expense of these hapless refugees was heartening indeed—and this all the more since the democratic nations could not have been unaware of the costs and difficulties involved in providing sanctuary for those who refused repatriation.

It is to be regretted that the attitude of the various authorities encharged or to be encharged with the care of the Displaced Persons has reduced to rather questionable proportions the right of asylum for which the American delegation fought so uncompromisingly at the United Nations. Many refugees who were opposed to repatriation have already succumbed to the pressures that have been applied to them. Instead of decreasing, these pressures have been increasing, so that at the present time the plight of the refugees has reached a state of crisis that cries out for the strong and immediate intervention of the United States, Great Britain and the other democratic powers.

(I) Over a long period of time there were numerous reports from unimpeachable sources that certain UNRRA administrators were employing various types of pressures and inducements to get the refugees to go home. On March 18, a conference of UNRRA directors in Paris announced a "program to repatriate this Spring 369,281 displaced Poles and Yugoslavs," this program to be preceded by "the circulation in various DP camps of 'the fullest information possible' about Poland and Yugoslavia, whose governments will supply the facts." (N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*, March 19, 1947.)

UNRRA administrators have indicated that they hope to push their repatriation drive to the limit in the brief time left to them—and the word “compulsory” has even appeared in some of their statements.

(II) The preparatory commission of the IRO at its recent meeting in Geneva spoke of launching the IRO by initiating a tremendous repatriation drive. In this connection it is noteworthy that the IRO constitution says that its main purpose is “to encourage and assist in every way possible the return of the Displaced Persons to their countries of origin.”

(III) Finally, there is the recent proclamation of General Lucius D. Clay in which he urged the refugees “to volunteer to go home this Spring rather than face the uncertainties of continued residence in in Germany.” We know that General Clay personally has been most sympathetic to the cause of the refugees, and we cannot believe that he could have issued his proclamation unless he had despaired of finding a democratic solution.

We are convinced, however, that a democratic solution can be found.

It is not right to demand of the 200,000 Jewish Displaced Persons that they return to the countries where six million of their brethren were slaughtered, countries which for the Jews evoke memories that make rehabilitation a psychological impossibility.

It is equally inhuman—in many respects it is even more inhuman—to urge the Poles, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs and Balts, who have fled from totalitarian terror in their own countries, to accept repatriation. The 850,000 political refugees who still remain in the camps and assembly centers of Europe have already refused repeated offers, frequently accompanied by substantial inducement, to return home. It is not an easy thing for people of the land to cut themselves off from their ancestral soil. If they have spurned the many overtures that have been made to them and resisted all the pressures that have been exercised on them, then it can only be because they find the regimes existing in their homeland so utterly abhorrent that they prefer all the hardships of exile and the camps to life in their ancestral homeland. Nor must the fact be overlooked that by their repeated refusals the refugees who remain in the camps have stigmatized themselves as recalcitrant oppositionists in the eyes of the governments demanding their return.

The official pronouncements of the American government on the subject of the Yugoslav, Polish and Russian regimes could hardly be reassuring to a man who feels himself to be thus stigmatized. Nor are

they particularly reassured by those well-wishers who tell them that, while it may be dangerous for intellectual opponents of communism to return home, simple peasants have absolutely nothing to fear if they are repatriated. We would point out that the *New York Times* recently estimated the number of political prisoners in Yugoslavia at 500,000. When it is considered that Yugoslavia's total population is only 14,000,000, it is very obvious that the bulk of the 500,000 must be not intellectuals, but "simple peasants."

We believe that neither UNRRA nor the IRO nor any other authority has any moral right to attempt to persuade the Displaced Persons to return *unless they are prepared to offer a practical and workable guarantee that they will not be subject to racial or political persecution in the countries to which they are asked to return.* The declarations of the Department of State in re the Yugoslav elections and the Polish elections would indicate that the American government is convinced, on the basis of all available information, that freedom of political opposition does not exist in the countries within the Soviet sphere of influence; and they would indicate further that the government sees no way at this time in which it can act to prevent these violations of the Yalta Agreement and the Atlantic Charter.

At the foundation of all freedom is freedom of choice. It is not consistent to speak of the need for supporting the forces of democracy everywhere in the world and at the same time to deprive the mass of refugees in Europe of the freedom to choose whether they wish to live under communist regimes or whether they wish to remake their lives in the democratic world. What is more, it is difficult to see how either UNRRA or IRO can hope to persuade these until-now unpersuadable refugees to return home without exercising considerable pressure on them. One is compelled to ask precisely what forms of pressure the authorities contemplate using to achieve the goal of repatriation.

We would urge you, Mr. Secretary, to give these problems your immediate and sympathetic consideration. To offer the refugees no alternative but repatriation or starvation is to negate the right of asylum which is a traditional tenet of the democratic faith.

After the last war, the League of Nations succeeded in coping with a refugee problem much like the one that exists today. If the pro-refugee nations were to combine all their efforts, we are convinced that, among the many countries of Latin America, among the Empire countries and in the United States, homes could be found for the vast majority of the Displaced Persons in Europe. We are convinced, too, that the integration

of the Displaced Persons into the life and economy of the democratic world would contribute both culturally and economically to its progress. It need hardly be pointed out that, had the pro-refugee governments, as soon as the war was over, embarked on a concerted refugee policy, the majority of the Displaced Persons could have been resettled for somewhat less than what it has cost to feed them and house them under abysmal conditions in the camps of Europe since the end of the war.

It is not too late for the democratic governments to embark on such a program now.

For the Federal Council of
Churches of Christ in America

SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

For the National Catholic
Welfare Conference

EDWARD E. SWANSTROM

For the American Friends
Service Committee

JAMES READ

For the Hebrew Immigrant
Aid Society

SAMUEL TELSEY

For the American Federation
of Labor

FRANK FENTON

For the Congress of Industrial
Organizations

JAMES B. CAREY

For the Refugee Defense
Committee

DAVID MARTIN

For the International Rescue
and Relief Committee

ABRAM BECKER

Appendix 9

Expenditures by Relief Agencies for Work with Refugees

Year 1945

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>
American Christian Committee for Refugees, Inc.....	\$ 216,300
American Federation of International Institutes.....	57,500
American Friends Service Committee.....	697,000
American Jewish Conference.....	9,400
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.....	8,000,000
American ORT Federation.....	318,000
American Relief for Poland, Inc.....	592,500

Committee for Overseas Supplies (American Jewish Congress)	84,000
Estonian Relief Committee.....	5,000
Funds for Relief of Scientists and Men of Letters of Russia	15,700
Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society.....	1,490,000
International Migration Service.....	92,100
International Rescue and Relief Committee.....	456,700
Jewish Labor Committee.....	700,000
Latvian Relief, Inc.	14,000
Lutheran World Relief, Inc.	28,700
Mennonite Central Committee.....	136,000
National Refugee Service, Inc.....	1,000,000
Russian Children's Welfare Society.....	29,400
Selfhelp of Emigres from Central Europe, Inc.	21,000
Spanish Refugee Appeal (Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee)	270,700
Tolstoy Foundation, Inc.	100,000
Unitarian Service Committee.....	461,000
United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Inc.	73,000
United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America.....	318,600
U. S. Committee for Care of European Children, Inc....	159,200
Vaad Hatzala Emergency Committee.....	1,602,000
War Prisoners Aid Committee of Y.M.C.A.....	515,000
War Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference	1,782,000
Young Women's Christian Association.....	12,000
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$19,257,700

Displaced Persons

(As of February 20, 1947)

GERMANY

U. S. Zone	.....	496,828		
		6,756		
British Zone	.....	468,943	+	86,000 (D. P.'s living outside camps)
French Zone		68,800		
				1,041,327
				86,000
			Total	1,127,327

ITALY

Total 26,038

AUSTRIA

U. S. Zone	.....	241,717		
British Zone	.....	32,406		
			Total	274,123

GRAND TOTAL

(Germany, Italy, Austria)		1,341,488 (in camps)
		86,000 (outside)
		<hr/> 1,427,488

Displaced Persons Camps

GERMANY

U. S. Zone	.....	143	
British Zone	.....	194	
French Zone		36	
		<hr/>	373

AUSTRIA

120

493 camps

ITALY (Complete camp record not available)

27 camps

TOTAL..... 520 camps

