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UJA

MEMORANDUM

On the Termination of UNRRA, and the
Organization of IRO and ICEF --

Their Significance for the Overseas Program
of the Joint Distribution Committee

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Prepared by the
Research Department of the
Joint Distribution Committee

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MILBROOK BOND

SPAC CONTENT

Memorandum on the Termination of UNRRA and the Organization of IRO and ICEF -
Their Significance in Relation to the Overseas Program of the Joint Distribution
Committee.

I

Termination of UNRRA and the \$350,000,000 U.S. Relief Appropriation

The termination of UNRRA activities on June 30, 1947 poses a serious problem for the JDC as the major Jewish overseas relief organization. During the three years of its operations UNRRA has spent about \$3,500,000,000, most of it in the two-year period since liberation. While in the early phase UNRRA operations were confined to an area comprising only 25 per cent of the Jewish population in Continental Europe outside of the Soviet Union, the operational area of UNRRA gradually widened to include between 35 and 40 per cent of the Jewish population. This was accomplished by the extension of UNRRA operations to Italy, and to a limited extent to Austria and Hungary, and by the shifting of approximately 150,000 from Eastern Europe to Germany, Austria and Italy where as displaced persons they qualified for UNRRA services and assistance.

The contribution of UNRRA to the relief needs of the Jewish population in Europe and elsewhere were both of direct and indirect nature. Directly UNRRA eased the financial burden of Jewish relief agencies by assuming responsibility for basic support to about 23,000 Jewish displaced persons in Italy and some 10,000 in Shanghai; by providing administrative and professional personnel serving displaced persons; and by contributing valuable medical, educational and recreational services in the camps for displaced persons in Germany, thus serving approximately 200,000 Jewish displaced persons. UNRRA also provided legal protection to displaced persons and generally acted as liaison between Jewish relief agencies and the military occupation authorities. It is estimated that UNRRA will have spent by June 1947, \$91,200,000 on behalf of displaced persons. The termination of UNRRA thus raises a problem of utmost urgency with regard to basic relief to thousands of Jewish displaced persons in Italy and Shanghai and a serious problem of replacing the administrative and professional services on behalf of the displaced persons in Germany now performed by the UNRRA.

Indirectly UNRRA relieved the burden of Jewish relief agencies by the extensive relief operations which it had carried on in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Shanghai, China, and to a limited extent in Hungary. During its last two years of operations UNRRA poured into the relief areas millions of tons of food, clothing, medical supplies and agricultural equipment. In 1946 the supplies were shipped at the rate of almost one million tons per month. This vast flow of supplies relieved the drastic material shortages in the various countries. It benefited the Jewish needy directly, to the extent that the UNRRA supplies were distributed without discrimination to all needy; and indirectly by easing the general supply situation and thus enabling the JDC agencies to purchase supplies more readily and at more attractive prices to meet the supplementary and other special Jewish needs not covered by the general scope of the UNRRA program.

The \$350,000,000 U. S. relief appropriation

To fill the gap left by the liquidation of the UNRRA relief operations, the U.S. Congress enacted a bill calling for the expenditure of \$350,000,000 for overseas relief needs for the coming fiscal year. The bill signed by President Truman on May 31, falls far short of the relief needs as estimated by the UN Committee on Relief and Needs After the Termination of UNRRA, which placed the amount required for 1947 at \$583,000,000 for Austria, Greece, Italy, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia and an additional \$294,924,034 for nine months of 1947 for China - or a total of \$877,924,034. The bill as finally enacted confines relief expenditures to China, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Greece, Italy and Trieste. The inadequacy of the measure may be gauged by the fact that total population of the beneficiary countries is over 552,000,000. Assuming that only 10 per cent of this population come within the category of needy, the \$350,000,000 will have to serve 55,000,000 with a per capita relief allotment of \$7 per year, or two cents per day.

The total Jewish population within this area is a little over 400,000 - approximately 30 per cent of the total Jewish population in Continental Europe exclusive

of the Soviet Union. Recent developments raise some doubts as to the future economic relations of the U.S. toward Hungary. A change in attitude may reduce the Jewish population coming within the scope of this relief measure to a little over 200,000, or 15 per cent of Europe's Jews. By the same token it may increase the financial burden of the JDC. Even assuming that the relief supplies will reach needy Jews on an equal basis, the contribution of the relief measure to the solution of the vital relief and rehabilitation tasks facing European Jewry will be of little significance. It should be clear that, to the extent that the financial scope of the relief measure falls far short of the erstwhile UNRRA operations and that the funds to be provided amount only to a fraction of the needs as estimated by the UN Committee, the termination of UNRRA will add considerably to the financial burdens of the JDC.

It should be added that although the bill has been approved and signed by President Truman, the Congress has yet to make the actual appropriation. Pending that appropriation, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized to advance \$75,000,000 for immediate relief operations. It should also be added that out of the \$350,000,000, an undetermined amount of \$15-40,000,000 was set aside for the contemplated operation of the International Children's Emergency Fund and \$5,000,000 for defraying the cost of transportation of relief shipments of voluntary agencies including, of course, those of the JDC.

II

The International Refugee Organization

The International Refugee Organization (IRO) was called into being by action of the United Nations Assembly in order to assume the functions of UNRRA, now being liquidated, on behalf of displaced persons and of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGC) on behalf of certain categories of refugees. Although the IRO has not yet secured the funds necessary for operations, the Preparatory Commission of the IRO at its recent meeting in Lausanne decided to commence operations on July 1st

after eight of the participating governments including the United States and Great Britain had expressed their readiness to advance funds to the Preparatory Commission by executive action.

The budget of the IRO was originally set at \$160,860,500 distributed as follows:

Operational Budget	\$151,060,500
Administrative "	4,800,000
Resettlement "	5,000,000

Contributions under the last item are on a purely voluntary basis. Pending the full payment of contributions by sponsoring governments the IRO approved a budget for the first operational year of \$112,045,000 or 75% of the original budget. The U. S. share in the IRO budget is \$73,500,000 and final favorable Congressional action on the appropriation is expected by June 10th. So far, the IRO has little money at its disposal, and Arthur J. Altmeyer the Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission of the IRO was recently authorized to apply to United Nations for an advance of funds, should the pledged contributions not be forthcoming before July 1st.

The number of persons coming within the jurisdiction of the IRO was estimated in January 1947 at 844,525. At the end of February the UNRRA cared for 719,351. More recently, Mr. Altmeyer stated that additional hundreds of thousands of persons come within the IRO's scope of protection. The number of Jews who eventually will come under the care of IRO may reach 300,000, if there are included the thousands of refugees and persecutees now outside displaced persons areas.

The fate awaiting the displaced persons after July 1st and the exact role of the IRO in the relief program is still uncertain. It may be recalled that in Germany and Austria the responsibility for basic support of displaced persons rested with the military authorities. Beginning July 1, however, the IRO is scheduled to assume full responsibility for their support. The very modest IRO operational budget of \$112,000,000 when divided among the minimum number of 720,000 displaced persons would represent

a per capital expenditure of \$155 per year, or 42 cents per day. This amount is intended to cover full maintenance including food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and all other related requirements. How inadequate this amount is, may well be gauged by the fact that in maintaining the very modest standard of living of the displaced persons last year, the U.S. Government alone directly and indirectly spent \$182,000,000 according to the estimate of Representative William G. Stratton in his statement to the House Judiciary Subcommittee on June 4, 1947. The contemplated allotment of \$5,000,000 for resettlement is hopelessly inadequate - assuming that the various governments will make this voluntary contribution - and will allow for the resettlement of only several thousand persons.

In the light of these severe budgetary limitations it is clear beyond doubt that at best the IRO will be able to meet only a fraction of the needs now met jointly by the military, UNRRA and IGC and that the JDC will consequently be called upon to fill many of the gaps left in the Jewish sector of the overseas relief program.

III

International Children's Emergency Fund

The plight of the millions of undernourished children the world over is even more serious than that of the needy adult population. To alleviate the problem the United Nations Assembly in December 1946, authorized the establishment of the International Children's Emergency Fund. Twenty-five nations, including the U.S., United Kingdom and the USSR joined the project. The ICEF estimates that 60,000,000 children, half of whom are in European countries and half in China and Philippines, require additional food and other care.

The original resolution before the Economic and Social Council limited the activities of the Fund to aid to children in countries which were victims of aggression. On the initiative of the United States, however, the scope of the Fund was widened to include children in all countries with the proviso that priority be given

to children in countries which were victims of aggression.

The ICEF does not expect to accept primary responsibility for the care of children in the countries in which it will operate. It will confine itself to providing one meal of 700 calories a day to certain groups of infants, children and expectant and nursing mothers. Originally the Fund set itself a budget of \$450,000,000. At an estimated cost of 6¢ a day for supplementary food, it is expected that the Fund will require \$400,000,000 to fulfill its plan of help to some 20,000,000 children, or one-third of the estimated total needy children. An additional \$50,000,000 is allocated for clothing, medical supplies and other items.

The Fund expects to raise the sum required from three sources:

\$200,000,000 from the governments of the recipient countries in the form of food-stuffs, transport, warehousing and other services; another \$200,000,000 from interested governments of non-benefiting countries and \$50,000,000 from voluntary contributions. The major part of the \$50,000,000 is expected to come from the campaign to be conducted under the One Day Pay Plan, proposed by Dr. Ordning of Norway to raise money from the peoples of the world for relief. This plan was accepted by the Economic and Social Council in March 1947. The campaign which will be carried out in conjunction with the Save the Children Day established by the Secretary General of the UN will enlist the assistance of the major voluntary agencies in all countries.

The sums so far at the disposal of the Fund are very limited. UNRRA has turned over \$550,000 to the ICEF which is earmarked for food. It has also arranged to loan 12-20 members of its staff to the organization until June 1947. In addition, the Secretary General of the UN has loaned the ICEF \$21,244. The prospects of raising the planned \$450,000,000 are extremely doubtful. Originally the Fund requested \$100,000,000 ~~\$100,000~~ from the United States, part in money and part in food supplies. The \$350,000,000 foreign relief bill signed by President Truman on May 31, provides for the allotment of \$15,000,000 to the Children's Fund, and additional amounts up to

\$40,000,000 provided that for every \$57 given by this government, other nations together will pledge \$43. The publication World Report estimates that the funds available from all governmental sources will not exceed \$70,000,000 and supplies and services from the beneficiary countries will amount to another \$70,000,000 thus bringing the total to \$140,000,000. How much an appeal for private contributions will bring in is impossible to estimate at the moment. In the opinion of qualified persons in the field of voluntary overseas relief it is doubtful that the campaign will produce substantial funds. According to the World Report, the relief standards will probably follow the general geographical limitations embodied in the \$350,000,000 relief measure. The same source estimates that within the five European countries designated in the general relief bill there are almost 20,000,000 needy mothers and children who would qualify for aid; but that in view of the dim prospects of raising the originally proposed budget only 7,000,000 or little more than one-third will be actually helped; the aid will amount to one meal of 500 calories instead of the original 700 calories.

It should be obvious that the effect of the Fund on the needs of Jewish children and mothers will be negligible. If the World Report's information is accurate, and the operations of the Fund will be primarily confined to the five European countries listed in the general relief measure, it will reach only 7,000,000 out of the 90,000,000 people inhabiting the area. The number of Jewish needy reached by the Fund will amount to about 32,000 of the 400,000 Jews residing in this group of countries. As per capita expenditure will be about \$20 per annum, the total contribution of the Fund to the Jewish relief program will be about \$640,000 per annum.

The current rate of appropriation of JDC for 1947 for these five countries will reach approximately \$19,000,000. If on the other hand the Fund will widen its geographical area to include China and all other Axis invaded countries, the Fund will

have to scale down still further the extremely modest 6-7 cents per day allotment and the effectiveness of its work would be reduced to complete insignificance.

In the light of the uncertain and limited resources of the Fund it is certain that the scope of relief action planned by the Fund will fall far short of the activities of UNRRA in the field of child care (now being liquidated), and the coming months will see increased claims upon the resources of voluntary agencies, especially in the field of Jewish assistance.

June 5th, 1947



UGA

I worked in the office of Rabbi Philip Bernstein.

Rabbi Bernstein was the Advisor first to General MacNarney, and later to General Clay.

He was asked to go over there by the Secretary of War, Patterson, to sit on General McNarney's staff and try to help the United States Army help with the problem of the Jewish DP's. We had Polish DP's over there; we had Yugoslavs; we had Balts; we had all kinds; but none of them had any special adviser representing them on the General Staff. Only the Jews did, since the Army recognized the Jews had a very special problem. I was fortunate enough to be the Aide and assistant to the Jewish Advisor.

I know about DP's, Germany and Austria, camps, bloody, dirty, filthy, muddy camps, where you wouldn't stay for twenty-four hours, because the latrines smell too bad.

When I came into Germany, I was with the Ninth Infantry Division, and the Ninth Infantry Division went through Southern Bavaria and they opened up these concentration camps. After the camps were opened, we had thirty thousand Jews in Germany in the fall of 1945.

We started with thirty thousand people--the ex-concentration camp victims, the fellows who were wearing the striped suits with the numbers on their chests. From that day, late in the fall of 1945, to today, we have gone from thirty thousand DP's to almost a quarter of a million DP's.

Where did they come from? Where did the Jews come from?

I'll tell you where. They sprang up out of the caves. They came out of the woods and the forests where they had been fighting with the partisans.

They came deep out of the Middle East. They were in Turkestan and Uzbekistan and places you never heard of. They were deep in Asiatic Russia. That's how 200,000 managed to stay alive, and they came flooding into Germany. They stopped in Poland for a little bit, because they were looking for relatives; they were looking for homes; they couldn't stay there; Poland was a bloody, filthy place at that time. We were there two weeks after the Kielce pogrom. On the 4th of July, 1944, forty-two Jews in an apartment house in Kielce were brutally murdered--pogromized, and the Polish Government was powerless to prevent it.

So the Jews came running to us. They didn't stop, they didn't wait. They came across borders. Who fed them? You fed them. I sat in the border town between Poland and Czechoslovakia there and watched Jews pouring in and out, night after night--a thousand a night. You don't know what it is.

Take a bunch of people on a truck. Make them throw all the baggage away so you can get one or two more people on that truck, and you have saved another life or another two. That's how they came. They lived in the camps all the way along the line--Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria--the pipe line; we called it the pipe-line.

And the Jews came funneling through the pipe-line all through the summer and the fall of 1946.

Your money--that's what helped. When they gave a kid on the border at Austria a cup of chocolate, it was your money; and then we were sending chaplains down there to bring these

trains in, these trains of people in at a thousand a day.

We were opening up a camp every week. A camp usually held 3,000 people.

Let me try to tell you what a camp is. We opened them up. We kicked the Krauts out. We took the PW's and threw them out, and we put the Jews into a prisoner-of-war camp. We took the barbed wire off because we didn't want the Jews to see barbed wire any more. But the buildings were prisoner-of-war buildings. Two, six, eight latrines for a camp of 3,000 people. Sure, that was good for the prisoners. We didn't care how we kept the Krauts. But it wasn't good for the Jews.

Life in a camp means getting up in the morning, trying to dress yourself with the other six or seven or eight people who are in the room. There is no privacy. If the people were lucky and had a blanket to spare, they would spread a blanket across the room to divide one bed from another bed. One couple could live alone behind a blanket. If they didn't have a blanket to spare, which was more often the case than not, everybody slept together--a husband, wife, six, eight, nine people in a room.

You get up in the morning, and you try to get yourself warm, because the buildings were wooden shacks most of the time, and the dew would seep in and the blankets would have a thin film of ice on them in the morning; and you would try to shake yourself warm, and then you would go out and get your early morning chow. You would go for breakfast.

You go down the line. There are thousands of others in that line, and they are all your friends, and you look at them and you wait for the cooks to dish out the oatmeal to you;

and they give you the oatmeal slap on a plate. Sugar! Milk! No, no. The Joint Distribution Committee sends in sugar--precious--milk, unobtainable. It goes for the kids. The kids get fed. Not everybody can get fed.

And that's when you did a terrific job last year of raising money. How much more do you think you are going to have to raise this year?

After you've had your magnificent breakfast, and you take your piece of bread, which is to last you for the whole day, you go back home. You go back to your barrack and your wife is trying to scrub the wooden floor; and you sit out on the doorstep, and you take a little, tiny precious butt of a cigarette, and you smoke it, and you wonder what you're going to do for the rest of the day. Then you go to the library, the reading room. Every camp has a reading room, and you find 30 or 40 people huddled around one copy of any one of the Yiddish papers from New York that the Joint sends over, only two or three months late.

That's okay; you've got something to read. It makes you feel like a human being. And after you have read the paper, you walk through the muddy pathways, looking at the Germans who are across the street of the camp, and the bitterness grows inside of you because you see how the Germans are living and you see how you are living, and you wonder who won the war.

Then it is time for noonday chow, and you go for noonday chow; and if you are lucky, if the Joint has had good luck with its boats, and if the trains have come down from Bremerhaven, okay, there will be some supplies. There will be some canned Vienna sausage, or there will be some

kosher corned beef in a can, and you get it, together with macaroni.

What's the sense of going on? Americans will never understand it. Day in and day out, morning, noon, night, month after month, year after year, the Jews have been living in those camps.

That's the story. There is nothing new about it. The only thing that is new about it is that nobody is dying, thank God. Nobody is dying of hunger, nobody is dying of exposure on the streets because you got a measure of food and drugs to them.

You won't believe it; honestly, you won't believe it, but they asked me questions in 64 DP camps in Germany. I have been in every single camp in Germany, and 15 camps in Austria--every single one--not once and not twice. And in almost every place they have asked me: "How are the Jews in America doing? How are they doing? Do they care about us? Do they worry? Are they interested?"

And I told them: "Sure, they are interested, Don't they send people over to visit you? You have seen all these visitors coming through. I can tell you that they are fighting back home to raise money. The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America has given his time to this, and he is sparking the whole thing."

And then you want to see: they kind of relax, and they kind of smile, and they ask you for a cigarette. You give it to them.

And they would say: "Is it going to be all right with us? Will it really be all right with us?"

And I have got to tell them, "It will be all right." Because, do you see what I would be doing if I told them it would not be all right? I would be murdering right there. I would be crucifying, if I had to tell them, "I don't know, I don't know what they are doing here."

Don't you see, I can't do that, because you are the only thing they have got to hang on to; and if I tell them that you are wavering, that you are insecure, that you don't know what you are doing, I might just as well let them lie down and die. I might just as well tell them, "Brother-Jews, forget about it, you're sunk, you're through, you're trapped. Sink down into the German economy. Submerge yourselves. It's silly to sit and wait in the camps. Nobody is going to really be able to do anything for you, because the Jews of America have grown weak and soft."

So I have told them the other story. I have told them in every camp: "Sure, fellows--Don't you worry, they're going to take care of you. It will be all right. American Jews will help. Now let's get on to the second piece of business. What are you doing while you are waiting?" And we went ahead to set up all sorts of programs--schools, recreation, work-shops, everything we could think of to keep up their morale while they were waiting.

What are they waiting for? It is very simple--they want a home! And this world has become so brutalized that no one will take them in.

Someone suggested that 500 be resettled in Rhodesia, in Africa--and the answer of the Colonial Office was that they did not want to introduce a minority problem down there.

Imagine that! A minority problem in a territory where millions of Negroes are exploited by a few thousand whites.

Another suggestion was for northern Australia, near Darwin, where the Japanese attacked, where there are millions of empty square miles. And the answer was--no Semites. They would rather take their chances with the Japs than with the Jews.

It is true--some few thousands have gotten out of Europe. I was privileged to take part in the negotiations with the Norwegian government which resulted in 600 families being resettled in that country. Some have come to America, but only a fraction of what we should take in.

The doors of the world are closed, except in one place--Palestine. The people there welcome the refugees with open arms. Their sympathy and friendship provide the only hope in a cynical and xenophobic world. 8,000 got into Palestine in January of this year; 11,000 in February; and 10,600 in March.

Knowing how insecure their future is, knowing that the thing they want most--a home and a new life--is what the world is not willing to help them achieve, they become bitter and morose. Morale sags. People become dangerous because they are desperate. Static electricity is in the air.

Let me tell you a story about an incident in Frankfurt-on-Main, because it is symbolic and important.

Fifteen hundred Jews from two camps, one at Zeilsheim and one at Wetzlar, collected in the synagogue in Frankfort, which is just kind of an empty shell. The roof is on the building, and the walls are on the building, and that's it. They were having a memorial meeting, for Dov Gruner, the

terrorist, who had just been executed and also for the heroes of the battle of the Warsaw ghetto.

I was in my office and knew that the meeting was going on, knew what the purpose of the meeting was, and wasn't worried about it.

About an hour after the meeting was started, the red line telephone, which was the special General's line--Rabbi Bernstein was entitled to it because he carried the rank of a Major General--the red line phone range, and General Duff, Headquarters Commandant of the City of Frankfurt, was on the phone. He said, "Friedman, get over to the synagogue fast because there's trouble. We've just got a riot call from the British consulate, and they are expecting an attack on the building."

I knew General Duff pretty well. We had worked with him. He was our Chief at Heidelberg, with the Third Army.

I tried to calm him down. I told him to relax, that there wasn't going to be any trouble, not to have any shooting, and that I would go over to see what it was all about.

I got over to the synagogue just as the crowd was pouring out. They had a few leaders who were getting the people whipped into formation, rank, five or six abreast. The British Consulate was about half a mile away.

As the people poured out of the synagogue, the MP's roared; MP's in combat jeeps, mounted machine guns, open belts of ammunition hanging from the machine guns, grenade cases ripped open in the back of the jeeps, everybody with four or five gas bombs in his pocket.

The 18th Infantry Regiment of the First Infantry

Division, located on the outskirts of Frankfort, had gotten a general alert; and the whole regiment was loaded, with field equipment, on trucks ready to roll into town because a riot call had gone out, stating that the Jews might riot and tear the city apart,

Such a situation could mushroom and blossom only in an abnormal atmosphere, which is what the mood of that moment was. The army was tense. They didn't know what was going to happen. They didn't want trouble. The Germans were scared stiff. They knew the Jews had never taken any mass revenge on them; and if the Jews ever did start out for mass revenge, there would be blood on the streets.

We were scared stiff because we didn't want our people to get out of hand. We knew there would be heads broken and people shot. Jews would be dead; that's all we cared about.

So it was a three-corner thing, with the army, the Germans and us, the DP's, all worried about how this situation would turn out.

Jeeps and command cars were strung up across Buckenheimer Landstrasse, between the synagogue and the British Consulate, and that's where the situation was touch and go, because those MP's were given orders by the provost marshal, Colonel Woods, to halt this march. And that's when I had ten minutes of work which left me feeling that I was sweating.

It was a question of convincing him: "Colonel, let these Jews"--and there must have been two thousand of them in the march by now--"let these Jews march to the British Consulate. I will guarantee you that if the army will let them go, they will stay in formation and they will not cause any trouble. They

have a committee of ten, whom they want to send into the British Consulate with a letter protesting the restrictions on immigration. They want to go to Palestine. All they want to do on this march is to deliver that letter to the British Consulate, and they want him to forward it to London; and then, after their committee of ten comes out of the building, they are going to turn right around and they are going to march home."

I had to sell it to him; and it's the toughest job of selling I have ever done. And, thank God, he was a soldier. He said: "All right, Chaplain. The responsibility is yours. I'll have my MP's flank this column on the outside." And he ordered them to disperse so they didn't block the forward movement of the Jews. Instead, they flanked them. And he said: "We'll go to the British Consulate, and we'll get this committee of ten in, and let them deliver the letter; and then I want them to disperse."

I thanked him. I told him he was doing a smart thing. General Duff came up just then. I told him what we had decided. He agreed.

Then I turned around to the Jews. They were all tense, and I tried to quiet down all I could reach with my voice, which was only the first thirty, forty, or fifty of them in the column; and I told them what the situation was. The army wasn't going to block them. All that the army wanted was order and discipline and self-control, and that they could go ahead with their plan.

Well, you should have seen it. A tremendous shout went up from the whole column, "Long live President Truman."

(Laughter) That was the reaction of the people--"Long live President Truman."

And then it really was a sight. Then you should have seen it. All the army brass up at the front of this column, General Duff and Colonel Woods, and Major Hyman and myself, and everybody in front, and the MP's, 40 or 50 of them, flanking the column and escorting it. What was really cute was this: some of the DP photographers had their cameras. There were about twenty of them with theirs; and the cutest thing in the world was to see them, about thirty feet away from the head of the column, backing up as we were progressing, snapping pictures of the United States Army leading the march on the British Consulate. (Laughter)

Well, those pictures were very, very embarrassing. We got the DP's to promise not to publish them, and they didn't, because such pictures could have embarrassed the Army no end. So all they did was to make exhibits of them in the camps, just for internal consumption, and every camp in Germany knew that the march in Frankfurt had been, shall we say, not led, but "subsidized" by the American Army.

What was explosive in that situation? Everything ended happily, so why do I tell the story?

A very tragic thing could have taken place, quite unconsciously, namely, a conflict between the DP's and the American military. That is what could have come out of that situation, and that would have been one of the worst things that could have happened to us, because the American Army has been one of our best friends, and they all know it. But the heat of the emotion which was born out of frustration and bitterness, the emotions which come from those inhibited repressed feelings

which they must keep in--those emotions could have caused the kind of trouble which would have been suicidal. Let us never underestimate what people will do under stress.

We've got two jobs, just two jobs; Number one, we have got to feed them while they are waiting. We have got to feed them while they are waiting because nobody else is going to feed them. The Army isn't; the IRO isn't. You are.

And the second thing, you have got to get them out. Feed them while they are waiting, and then get them out. They can't stay. Don't let me hear anybody talk in terms in reintegration into Europe, resettlement into old homes. That is unrealistic talk; it's phony. It just won't work.

You have got 250,000 Jews in camps; and every one of them is burning, burning inside of himself, to get off the soil of Europe, because the soil of Europe is full of blood and it is the cemetery of his whole family. There are another million and a quarter, not in camps, who also wish to leave.

So--our duty seems pretty clear to me. We have to help them the best way we can; The UJA has three component agencies-- The JEC, for relief and rehabilitation in Europe; The UPA, for absorption into Palestine; and the USNA, to take care of however many can come to this country.

We can be at least as brave and courageous with our dollars as they are with their lives. 6,000,000 were killed--they are dead and burned--and they now cost us nothing to support--they are cheap. The million and a half left alive are expensive--we must help them, at any cost--I beg you to give.

250,000 DPs
not total survivors

UJA

- 1. feed them while they wait
 - 2. keep them constructively occupied
 - employment
 - recreation
 - education
- this costs money.

Address by

CHAPLAIN HERBERT FRIEDMAN

June 8, 1947

Galen Hall, Pennsylvania



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 15 PARK ROW
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MR. MORGENTHAU: Wait a minute. It's all right for Governor Lehman to say UNRRA was going out of business -- fine. This is the first time, Mr. Firestein that it has been put down in black and white, plus what Mr. Gilbert said, and what Mr. Schwartz said.

Now, we can't manufacture stories here. But whether we are arguing here whether people are going to get along on thirty-three and a half cents or forty-two cents a day or not -- there is something wrong.

We can't make the situation any worse than it is, and God knows the situation is bad enough, and if you aren't satisfied -- well, let the Chaplain come up here.

Here's the Chaplain, who is just back from Europe, and he can tell us. There is something wrong somewhere. We cannot make tragedies. All we can do is tell them to you. And if we can't get something concrete out of this, there is something wrong with Los Angeles -- I repeat, there is something wrong with Los Angeles.

CHAPLAIN FRIEDMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I want the people in this room to excuse me. I am very frank to tell you that my nerves are not very good right

I don't know Mr. Firestein; I don't know Los Angeles. All I know is Germany and Austria.

Miss Saxe just said that she doesn't have any children. I want to tell her right now that there are 200,000 children over there in those camps that would plant a kiss right on her cheek for what she told us this morning.

I can't make the story any worse than it is. I can't tell Mr. Firestein that the people are rotting in the streets. I can't tell him that they are dripping Hemorrhages, and I can't tell him that they are starving. I don't know what the people in Los Angeles want. Maybe they see too many movies out there. I don't know what it is.

I don't know what you have to do with people to get them to understand what is going on. I had some notes prepared. I don't know whether you want me to talk now or whether you want me to talk later, but I have an awful lot of things on my mind, and I think I'm going to say them.

I worked
I've been working in the office of Rabbi *Philip* Bernstein. Rabbi Bernstein ^{was} is the adviser ^{first} to General MacNarney, and he ^{later} is now the adviser to General Clay.

He was asked to go over there by the Secretary of War, Paterson, to sit down on General McNarney's staff and try to help the United States Army help with the problem of the Jewish DP's. We ^{had} get Polish DP's over there; we ^{had} have Yugoslavs; we ^{had} have Balts; we ^{had} have all kinds; but none of them ^{had} have any special adviser. ^{representing them on the general staff.} Only the Jews ^{did} do, ^{since} and the Army ^{had} recognized the Jews ^{had} have a very special problem.

~~So General McNarney asked for an adviser, and Secretary of War Paterson gave him one, and I was ^{fortunate} lucky enough to be ^{the aide and} assistant to ^{the Jewish} that adviser, Rabbi Bernstein, who is a swell fellow.~~

~~He flew back there a week ago Tuesday.~~

~~So now you know who I am, and you know that I was sitting where I could see what's going on.~~

~~Dr. Schwartz talked about Poland and Czechoslovakia. I don't know about that. I know about DP's, Germany and Austria, camps, bloody, dirty, filthy, muddy camps, where you wouldn't stay for twenty-four hours, because the latrines smell too bad.~~

~~Okay. When I came into Germany, I was with the Ninth Infantry Division, and the Ninth Infantry Division went through Southern Barvaria and they opened up these~~

concentration camps. After the camps were opened, we had thirty thousand Jews in Germany in the fall of 1945. Thirty thousand people. We thought that we could lick the DP problem in six weeks, and we could have if they had given us what we wanted.

We wanted ten airplanes, and we didn't ask any questions, and we weren't going to ask any questions, and we were going to shuttle those thirty thousand people right out of there.

We couldn't do it. Politics -- red tape. We couldn't do anything. From the time I came, we started with thirty thousand people. The ex-concentration camp victims, the fellows who were wearing the striped suits with the numbers on their chests. From that day, late in the fall of 1945, to today, we have gone from thirty thousand DP'S to almost a quarter of a million DP'S.

Where did they come from? Where did the Jews come from? I'll tell you where. They sprang up out of the caves. They came out of the woods and the forests where they had been fighting with the partisans.

They came deep out of the Middle East. They were in Turkestan and Azerbaxhan and places you never heard of. They were ^{uzbekistan} in Russia. That's how ^{sup. 200,000} 150,000 of

managed to stay alive, and they came flooding into Germany. They stopped in Poland for a little bit, because they were looking for relatives; they were looking for homes; they couldn't stay there; Poland was a bloody, filthy place ^{at that time} last summer. We were there two weeks after the Kielce pogrom. ^{on the 4th of July,} In the summer of 1946, forty-two Jews in an apartment house in Kielce ^{were brutally murdered} ^{pogromists} get knocked off -- killed, and the Polish Government stands there powerless to ^{was} ^{prevent it} do anything about it.

So the Jews came running to us. They didn't stop. They didn't wait. They came across borders. Who fed them? You fed them. I sat in the border town between Poland and Czechoslovakia there and watched Jews pouring in and out, night after night -- a thousand a night. You don't know what it is.

Take a bunch of people on a truck. Make them throw all the baggage away so you can get one or two more people on that truck, and you have saved another life or another two. That's how they came. They lived in the camps all the way along the line -- Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria -- the pipe line; we called it the pipe-line.

And the Jews came funneling through the pipe-

line all through the summer and the fall of 1946.

Your money--that's all. ^{What helped.} When they gave a kid on the border at Austria a cup of chocolate, it was your money; and then we were sending chaplains down there to bring these trains in, these trains of people in at a thousand a day.

We were opening up a camp every week. A camp usually held 3000 people.



We were opening up camps. The people, the half dozen of you people from here who were there -- the Abeles' and Geis' and Rothbergs and the Levys -- all the people who were there -- Gilman of Boston -- they are the only ones who saw it. They know what a camp is.

Let me try to tell you what a camp is. We opened them up. We kicked the Krauts out. We took the PW's and threw them out, and we put the Jews into a prisoner-of-war camp. We took the barbed wire off because we didn't want the Jews to see barbed wire any more. But the buildings were prisoner-of-war buildings. Two, six, eight latrines for a camp of 3,000 people. Sure, that was good for the prisoners. We didn't care how we kept the Krauts. But it wasn't good for the Jews.

~~Life in a camp, ladies and gentlemen --~~
~~I wish the people in Los Angeles were here to listen to this --~~ life in a camp means getting up in the morning, trying to dress yourself with the other six or seven or eight people who are in the room. And ~~don't talk to me about privacy.~~ ^{There is no} If they ^{the people were} are lucky and they had a blanket to spare, they would spread a

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blanket across the room to divide one bed from another bed. One couple could live alone behind a blanket. If they didn't have a blanket to spare, which was more often the case than not, everybody slept together -- a husband, wife, six, eight, nine people in a room.

You get up in the morning, and you try to get yourself warm, because the buildings were wooden shakes most of the time, and the dew would seep in and the blankets would have a thin film of ice on them in the morning; and you would try to shake yourself warm, and then you would go out and get your early morning chow. You would go for breakfast.

~~I like what Gilman said last night about the way we were eating here, because I have had breakfast with them.~~ You go down the line. ^{There are thousands of others} ~~You have got another~~ 2,000 people in the line, and they are all your friends, and you look at them and you wait for ^{the cooks} ~~them~~ to dish out the oatmeal to you; and they give you the oatmeal slap on a plate. Sugar! Milk! No, no. The Joint Distribution Committee sends in sugar -- precious -- milk, unobtainable. It goes for the kids. The kids get fed. Not everybody can get fed.

And that's when you did a terrific job last year of raising money. How much more do you think you

are going to have to ^{raise} ~~do~~ this year?

Look, I will tell you this: Mr. Gilbert's figures are right. This is now the 8th of June. On the 30th of June the United States Army is finished. We don't get a dime. We don't keep a piece of oatmeal, the oatmeal they hate so much, because that's all they get. They aren't even going to get that. You're going to have to feed them. IRO is going to feed them -- sure. 25 cents a day, and it costs 85.

After you've had your magnificent breakfast, and you take your piece of bread, ^{which is to} ~~and that last~~ you for the whole day, you go back home. You go back to your ^{barrack} room, and your wife is trying to scrub the ^{wooden} floor; and you ~~sort of sit on the floor,~~ ^{out} on the doorstep, and you take a little, tiny precious butt of a cigarette, and you smoke it, and you wonder what you're going to do for the rest of the day. Then you go to the library, the reading room. Every camp has a reading room, and you find thirty or forty people huddled around one copy of any one of the Yiddish papers from New York that the Joint sends over, only two or three months late.

That's okay; you've got something to read. It makes you feel like a human being. ~~So you escape~~

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And after you have read the paper, you walk through the muddy pathways, looking over the paper and thirty or forty men read one copy, and then they walk on the street, after they read the paper, and they look at the Germans who are across the street of the camp, and the bitterness grows inside of them because they see how the Germans are living and they see how they are living, and you wonder who won the war.

Then it is time for noonday chow, and you go for noonday chow; and if you are lucky, if the Joint has had good luck with its boats, and if the trains have come down from Bremerhaven, okay, there will be some supplies. There will be some canned Vienna sausage, or there will be some kosher corned beef in a can, and you get it, together with macaroni. If you are very, very lucky, the Army has managed to throw some dehydrated onions into the pot. So the dehydrated onions are cooked and fried up in whatever fat is available, and the old ladies in the kitchen throw it onto the macaroni, and the macaroni has some taste because it has got some fried onions in it.

What's the sense of going on? ^{Quarantined} You will never understand it. Day in and day out, morning, noon, night, month after month, ^{year after year} they have been living in those camps. ^{The Jews} They wouldn't even live up to that basic minimum if it weren't for you.

8-7-5

That's the story. There is nothing new about it. The only thing that is new about it is that nobody is dying, thank God. Nobody is dying of hunger, nobody is dying of exposure on the streets because we ^{you} have got ^{a measure of food & clothing} clothes on them. You ~~got clothes on them.~~ ~~That's the only thing that is new about the story.~~

Maybe that won't please the people in Los Angeles. All right, we've got it.

I'll tell you what is happening there now: the people are scared out of their wits, just as scared as any 200,000 human beings can be. They don't know what is going to happen to them. They don't know whether IRO is coming into the business -- and let me tell you, incidentally, they are very smart. They are sophisticated people. They have been through an awful lot. They have managed to live by their wits. So they know what questions to ask, and they ask us all the time. They send delegations to our Rabbi Bernstein's office, and I've got to answer them.

They want to know whether IRO is coming into the business; and if it does, they want to know what the Joint is going to do. And they ask us questions.

You won't believe it; honestly, you won't

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believe it, but they ask me ^{ed} questions in 64 DP camps in Germany. I have been in every single camp in Germany, and 15 camps in Austria -- every single one -- not once and not twice. And in almost every place they have asked me: "How are the Jews in America doing? How are they doing? Do they care about us? Do they worry? Do they give a damn? Are they interested?"

And I told them: "Sure, they are interested. Don't they send people over to visit you? You have seen all these visitors coming through. I can tell you that they are fighting back home to raise money. The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America has given his time to this, and he is sparking the whole thing."

And then you want to see: they kind of relax, and they kind of smile, and they ask you for a cigarette. You give it to them.

And they they would say: "Is it going to be all right with us? Will it really be all right with us?"

And I have got to tell them, "It will be all right." Because, do you see what I would be doing if I told them it would not be all right? I would be

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murdering right there. I would be crucifying, if I had to tell them, "I don't know, I don't know what they are doing here."

Denver, my town, hasn't started its campaign yet. I don't know what we are going to do. Los Angeles is having a little trouble. Cleveland is \$800,000 short.

Don't you see, I can't do that, because you are the only thing they have got to hang on to; and if I tell them that you are wavering, that you are insecure, that you don't know what you are doing, I might just as well let them lie down. I might just as well tell them, "Fellows, forget about it, you're sunk, you're through, you're trapped. Sink down into the German economy. Submerge yourselves. It's silly to sit and wait in the camps. Nobody is going to really be able to do anything for you, because the Jews of America have grown weak and soft."

So I have told them the other story. I have told them: ^{in every camp} "Sure, fellows -- I've told it to the Central Committee, I've told it to Greenhouse, the leader of the DP's in Landsburg, I've told it to all of them -- I said, "Don't you worry, they're going to take care of you. ^{It will be all right. American Jews will help} Now let's get on to the second

Insert (p9-90)

(1)

What are They waiting for?

It is very simple - They want a home!
And This world ^{has become so} ~~is so~~ brutalized that no
one will take them in.

Someone suggested that 500 be resettled
in Rhodesia, in Africa - and the answer of the
Colonial Office was that they did not want to
introduce a minority problem down there.

Imagine that! A minority problem in a
territory where millions of Negroes are exploited by
a few thousand whites.

Another suggestion was for northern
Australia, near Darwin, ^{where the Japanese attacked,} where there are millions
of empty square miles. And the answer was -
no Semites. They would rather take their
chances with the Japs than with the Jews.

~~After~~ It is true - some few thousands
have gotten out of Europe. I was privileged
to take part in the negotiations with the

Norwegian government which resulted in 600 families being resettled in that country.

Some have come to America, but only a fraction of what we should take in.

The doors of the world are closed, except in one place Palestine. The people there welcome the refugees with open arms. Their sympathy and friendship provide the only hope in a cynical and xenophobic world. 8,000 got into Palestine in

January of this year; 11,000 in Feb.; and 10,000 in March.

~~The Palestine situation looks pretty grim (over) right now, and the possibilities of open immigration~~

Knowing how insecure their future is,
knowing that the thing they want most -
a home & a new life - is what the world
is not willing to help them achieve, they
become bitter & morose. Morale sags.

People become dangerous because they are
desperate. Static electricity is in the air.

Let me tell you a story
about an incident in Frankfurt - am - Main,
because it is symbolic and important.

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to keep up their morale while they were waiting. Insert

piece of business. What are you doing while you are waiting?" *And we went ahead to set up all sorts of programs - ~~about~~ schools, recreation, work-shops, everything we could think of*

And that is what we have been concentrating on. We have been trying to help them build their morale.

Morale is a very, very crucial thing. Dr. Schwartz got at it last night. It is a crucial thing; and it fluctuates. It is very, very delicate. Sometimes it's up, sometimes it's down. You don't know why. Right now, it's down, it's down pretty badly.

I will tell you one thing that happened in Munich and in Frankfort a couple of weeks ago, three or four weeks ago, which is an indication of how badly it is down.

The extremists--and we have extremists in the camps--the extremists are beginning to take advantage and are beginning to exploit this sinking of morale.

After Dov Gruner, the terrorist in Palestine, was executed in Palestine, the terrorists began to talk to the people in the camps about organizing some marches on the British Consulate. We have two British Consulates in Germany, one in Munich and one in Frankfort.

Well, let me tell you the story, with apologies to Mr. Kaplan, of the Agency, who heard it in Washington last week, just after he got back. Let me

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~~tell you the story of the march in Frankfort, because it is very symbolic.~~

Fifteen hundred Jews from two camps, one at ^{Zeilsheim} ~~Salsheim~~ and one at Wetzlar, collected in the synagogue in Frankfort, which is just kind of an empty shell. The roof is on the building, and the walls are on the building, and that's it. They were having a memorial meeting, ^{The terrorist who had just been executed.} ~~a memorial for Dov Gruner and, co-incidentally, it happened to be the day of the anniversary of the resistance in the Warsaw ghetto of 1943. So they were having a memorial meeting for the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto.~~

I was in ^{my} ~~the~~ office and knew that the meeting was going on, knew what the purpose of the meeting was, and I wasn't worried about it.

About an hour after the meeting was started, the red line telephone, which ^{was} is the special General's line--Rabbi Bernstein ^{was} is entitled to it because he carried the rank of a Major General--the red line phone rang, and General Duff, Headquarters Commandant of the City of Frankfort, was on the phone. He said, "Friedman, get over to the synagogue fast because there's trouble. We've just got a riot call from the ^{British} consulate, and we're ^{they are} expecting an attack on the ^{building} consulate."

I knew General Duff pretty well. We had

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worked with him. He was our Chief at Heidelberg, with the Third Army.

I tried to calm him down. I told him to relax, that there wasn't going to be any trouble, not to have any shooting, and that I would go over to see what it was all about.

I got over to the synagogue just as the crowd was pouring out. They had a few leaders who were getting the people whipped into formation, rank, five or six abreast. The British Consulate was about half a mile away.

As the people poured out of the synagogue, the MP's roared up, MP's in combat jeeps, mounted machine guns, open belts of ammunition hanging from the machine guns, grenade cases ripped open in the back of the jeeps, everybody with four or five gas bombs in their ^{kit} pockets.

The 18th Infantry Regiment of the First Infantry Division, located on the outskirts of Frankfurt, had gotten a general alert; and the whole regiment, ~~three thousand men~~, was loaded, with field equipment, on trucks ready to roll into town because there was some kind of a riot call that had gone out, ^{stating} that the Jews were ^{wicht} about to riot and they were going ~~to~~ ^{to} tear the city apart, which was now the information that had reached the pro-

S7-11

~~provost marshal. MP's--it's fantastic.~~

^{Such a} The situation could mushroom and blossom only in an abnormal atmosphere, which is what ^{the mood of that moment} ~~that atmosphere~~ is. The army ^{was} is tense. They ^{didn't} know what ^{was} is going to happen. They ^{didn't} want trouble. The Germans ^{were} are scared stiff. They ^{knew} know the Jews have never taken any mass revenge on them; and if the Jews ever did ^{start} get out for mass revenge, there would be blood on the streets.

We were scared stiff because we didn't want our people to get out of hand. We knew there would be heads broken, and ^{shot} the people would be dead. Jews would be dead; that's all we cared about.

So it was a three-corner thing, with the army, the ^{Germans} Jews, and us, the DP's, all worried about how this situation would turn out.

Jeeps and command cars were strung up across Buckenheimer Landstrasse, between the synagogue and the British Consulate, and that's where the situation was touch and go, because those MP's were given orders by the provost marshal, Colonel Woods, to halt this march. And that's when I had ten minutes of work which left me feeling that I was sweating.

It was a question of convincing him: "Colonel, let these Jews"--and there must have been two thousand

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of them in the march by now--"let these Jews march to the British Consulate. I will guarantee you that if the army will let them go, they will stay in formation and they will not cause any trouble. They have a committee of ten, whom they want to send into the British Consulate with a letter protesting the restrictions on immigration. They want to go to Palestine. All they want to do on this march is to deliver that letter to the British Consulate, and they want him to forward it to London; and then, after their committee of ten comes out of the building, they are going to turn right around and they are going to march home."

I had to sell it to him; and it's the toughest job of selling I have ever done. And, thank ^{God} goodness, he was a ~~guy who was a~~ smart soldier, and he said: "All right, Chaplain. The responsibility is yours. I'll have my MP's flank this column on the outside." And he ordered them to disperse so they didn't block the forward movement of the Jews. Instead, they flanked them. And he said: "We'll go to the British Consulate, and we'll get this committee of ten in, and let them deliver the letter; and then I want them to disperse."

I thanked him. I told him he was doing a smart thing. General Duff came up just then. I told

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him what we had decided. ^{He agreed.} He said, "Okay."

Then I turned around to the Jews. They were all tense, and I tried to quiet down all I could reach with my voice, which was only the first thirty, forty, or fifty of them in the column; and I told them what the situation was. The army wasn't going to block them. All that the army wanted was order and discipline and self-control, and that they could go ahead with their plan.

Well, you should have seen it. A tremendous shout ^{went} goes up from the whole column, "Long live President Truman." (Laughter) That was the reaction of the people--"Long live President Truman."

And then it really was a sight. Then you should have seen it. All the army brass up at the front of this column, General Duff and Colonel Woods, and Major ^{Hymann} Heymann and myself, and everybody in front, and the MP's, 40 or 50 of them, flanking the column and escorting it. What was really cute was this: ~~Among our people there are a few well-to-do gentlemen, and one of the things which they like to get, if they can get it, is a Leica camera. Every soldier tries to get a Leica camera; and some of the DP photographers like~~ ^{to get their cameras} to get them.

So there were about twenty of them with their

~~Leica~~ cameras; and the outest thing in the world was to see them, about thirty feet away from the head of the column, backing up as we were progressing, snapping pictures of the United States Army leading the march on the British Consulate. (Laughter)

Well, those pictures were very, very embarrassing. We ~~promised, of course--I mean, we~~ got the DP's to promise not to publish them, and they didn't, because ^{such pictures could have embarrassed the Army no end} ~~that is hot stuff. That is dynamite politically.~~ So all they did was to make exhibits of them in the camps, just for internal consumption, and every camp in Germany knew that the march in Frankfort had been, shall we say, not led but "subsidized" by the American Army.

What was explosive, ~~what was explosive in~~ that situation? *Everything, ended happily, so why do I tell the story?*

~~What was explosive was this:~~ A very tragic thing could have taken place, quite unconsciously, namely, a conflict between the DP's and the American military. That is what could have come out of that situation, and that would have been one of the worst things that could have happened to us, because the American Army has been one of our best friends, and they all know it, all the DP's know it. But the heat of the emotion which was born out of frustration and bitterness,

the emotions which come from those inhibited repressed feelings which they must keep in--those emotions could have caused the kind of trouble which would have been suicidal. *Let us never underestimate what people will do under stress.*

It is an indication, good friends, it is an indication of morale. Morale is not good there now. It is in the balance, I would say; it is hanging. They are waiting for the United Nations Commission on Palestine; but they kind of got their tongues in their cheeks about it, because we had one last year in 1946, the Anglo-American Committee. They are waiting for the Stratton Bill here in the States; and Rabbi Bernstein is flying back any day now--I am expecting him on Tuesday or Wednesday--to testify before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Stratton Bill. Mr. Peterson, the Assistant Secretary of War, and General Hilldring, whose name was mentioned here before, the Assistant Secretary of State, both have asked him to testify.

They think--and I don't know if I am revealing anything off the record or not--but the feeling down there is that there may be a sixty-forty or forty-sixty chance of getting that bill through. Now I don't know. They are going to try. The Army is sending over some big guns from Frankfort. The firsthand testimony of Rabbi Bernstein

is going to carry an awful lot of weight.

But the DP's are waiting for the outcome of those two things: either the United Nations Committee on Palestine, or the Stratton Bill in the States. They are waiting and they are waiting, and that is where morale is hanging right in the balance, because there is only one solution. There is only one solution.

I am through now. I am willing to stand here for two hours and answer any questions you want; but I am through with this more or less formal presentation right now.

There is only one answer: Mr. Kaplan said it last night; Mr. Schwartz said it last night. You have got to get those people out. They can't stay. Don't let me hear anybody talk in terms of reintegration into Europe, resettlement into old homes. That is unrealistic talk; it's phony. It just won't work.

You have got 250,000 Jews; ^{in camps} and every one of them is burning, burning inside of ^{himself} them, to get off the soil of Europe, because the soil of Europe is full of blood and it is the cemetery of his whole family. ^{There are} 220,000 left out of 6,000,000. Put that in your pipe. Those are the figures. So they aren't going to stay there. They are going to get out. I tell you they are going to get out however they can. Now I know what I am talking about.

*Final
next
page*

There are 2 million and a half people, not in camps who also want to leave.

So - our ~~responsibility~~ duty seems (3.
pretty clear to me. ~~The UJA is the~~
~~agency~~ we have to help them the best way
we can. The UJA has three component
agencies - The JDC, for relief & rehabilitation in
Europe; The UPA, for absorption into Palestine; and
The USNA, to take care of however many can come
to this country.

We can be at least as brave and
courageous with our dollars as they are with their lives.
(over)

6,000,000 were killed - They are dead & burned - and
They ^{now} ~~lost~~ ^{have} nothing to support - They are cheap.

The million and a half left alive are expensive - we
must help them, at any cost - I beg you to give.



^{we've}
~~So you've~~ got two jobs, just two jobs! Number
 one, ^{we} you have got to feed them while they are waiting.
^{we} You have got to feed them while they are waiting,
 because nobody else is going to feed them. The Army
 isn't; the IHO isn't. You are.

And the second thing, you have got to get
 them out. Feed them while they are waiting, and then
 get them out, ~~and that is just exactly what your campaign~~
~~is geared for.~~

Insert
 previous
 page

Insert ^{yellow}
 page 3

There are three parts to getting them out!
 There is Palestine -- and I don't know what proportion
 of the UJA goes to the United Palestine Appeal, but
 whatever it is, that is going to be the proportion which
 will absorb them into Palestine. That's one way of
 getting them out.

The second way of getting them out is to the
 States; and your JDC, in addition to feeding, has got
 to pay for ships, it has got to pay for transportation,
 it has got to pay for the whole immigration apparatus,
 because when we get one of those precious, precious
 American visas, it takes a lot of money to put the
 person from Germany into the States.

And the third part of your appeal here, the
 Service for New Americans that Mr. Rosenberg talked
 about this morning, that takes the money to absorb them

into the United States -- here in America.

So to me, it is clear, and to them it is clear. You know, they know all about the UJA; They know what it is supposed to do. They know the three functions that it is geared for, and those are the three functions which are going to get them out.

So there you have got it: Feed them while they are waiting, and set up the machinery and the funds and the apparatus to get them out..

I am sorry about what I said to Mr. Firestein from Los Angeles. I was really pretty emotional, and you could tell it from my voice before. I was pretty burned up, so I apologize to him and to everybody now for having blown my top. But I have lived with these people for a year and a half. I know almost every one of their leaders by name, and they are my people, they are good people. I will tell you now, if life in Denver, in my congregation, Temple Emanu-El, which is a big congregation, a swell outfit and a nice bunch of people -- if my congregation in Denver and life in America do not give me the satisfaction I want in terms of service, I am going to go back to those people, because they are swell, swell people, and they

and I know you are not going to let them down.

Thank you. (A rising applause)



UJA

TEXT OF ADDRESS

BY GENERAL JOSEPH T. McNARNEY

Former Commander, United States Forces

In European Theatre of Operations

Sunday, June 8, 1947

Emergency Conference

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

WERNERSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA

I am advised that you who are gathered here represent the leadership to which the Jewish men and women in communities all over the United States look for guidance in matters that vitally concern all the members of your faith. I am glad that you have taken the trouble to come here to discuss the situation that faces your co-religionists in other parts of the world. I have looked forward to the opportunity of exchanging frankly and bluntly ^{some} such ideas ^{with} as you and I may have as to the nature of the problem with which we must cope and the steps which must be taken to solve it.

Let us face it -- the surviving Jews of Europe are in a critical position and they are moving rapidly toward a crisis. You, the leaders of the American Jewish community, have been chosen by history to play a vital role in helping them to meet and to overcome this crisis. And just as physicians have evolved sulpha and penicillin for use in illness when their patients are on the critical list, so you have evolved a United Jewish Appeal to serve as a figurative penicillin in this European Jewish crisis. You have prescribed 170,000,000 units as the dose required in 1947 to do the job. You cannot succeed in doing what you have set out to do by cutting the dose, any more than a doctor can afford to scrimp and give his patient less than the prescribed allotment of penicillin.

I think it would be useful for us now to go into consultation and examine our innocent and long-suffering patient. We can help him more readily when we know what causes his condition, what his present status is, and what may be a reasonable prognosis.

The plight of the surviving Jews of Europe is the result of two major phenomena. First, they were the first to be attacked by the dark forces that eventually engulfed the whole world in the bloodiest war of all time. Second, the end of that war did not bring them the peace, the surcease, the freedom, they had every right to expect.

Though I am proud and gratified that the American Army was able to save the lives of tens of thousands of Jewish men, women and children by liberating them

from the horrible concentration camps in the first instance, and by giving them asylum and the necessities of life thereafter, I am not happy about the fact that they are still unable, two years after the end of the war, to live normally. There are even now some 250,000 Jews in Displaced Persons Centers. There are even now other tens of thousands in Eastern Europe who are destitute, unwanted, and almost shorn of hope.

You, too, can take pride that through the United Jewish Appeal you shared with the American Army in the preservation of these worthy people. The Joint Distribution Committee, whose splendid work I had the opportunity of observing for a long time at first hand, did yeoman service in supplementing the help that the Army was able to give. The J.D.C. was right in there pitching with us when we undertook the difficult task of caring for and rehabilitating the displaced persons. We did the best we could for them, within the limits of our resources, but our efforts would have been far less successful without the help given by Jewish agencies. Their sympathetic understanding of the problems; their splendid trained personnel, and their funds were of incalculable help.

But you too have cause for unhappiness about their present position. Let us for the moment ignore that fact that, at best, life in a Displaced Persons Center is not the sort of life that would be tolerated by any man, woman or child who had any possibility of resuming a normal life of home and school and shop and self-sufficiency. What then? We are rapidly approaching July 1st, a date that holds ominous significance for displaced persons. July 1st marks the end of UNRRA. UNRRA aid has been an important factor in the lives of these people and it will be sorely missed.

Well, you may say, UNRRA is being replaced by the IRO -- the International Refugee Organization. That is true. When UNRRA steps out of the picture, the IRO will presumably begin to function. But what are the resources of the IRO? The budget of the IRO is \$150,000,000 to cover the needs of more than a million DP's all over the world. The staff of the IRO will number approximately 700 at the peak for the world. Compare this with the far larger sums which were available to UNRRA and to the staff of 5,000 in Germany alone which UNRRA commanded. Remember, too, that the IRO will incorporate the activities of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees. This adds up to a very drastically reduced program of aid for the DP's in Germany. It means that a much greater responsibility will be placed on private agencies like the Joint Distribution Committee.

Army funds that can be used to help the DP's are not inexhaustible. Growing difficulties stand in the way of utilizing supplies which up to now have been taken from the German economy for assistance to DP's.

I do not mean to say that the American Army intends to stop trying in every way possible to do what it can. On the contrary, we shall redouble our efforts to find ways and means of carrying on this desperately needed assistance. But we cannot do it alone.

And here I want to touch on a delicate problem which we must work out together. The Army has the responsibility for maintaining order in the areas it occupies. The success of the Army in performing its total mission is closely linked with its success in performing adequately this phase of its project. And I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that there is also a link between the United Jewish Appeal campaign and the Army's responsibility for maintaining order. This requires some explanation.

I have said that life in a Displaced Persons Center is not particularly pleasant at best. But under the best conditions it is tolerable. When men have enough to eat, clothes for warmth, shelter from the elements, medicine for their ills and a chance to do a little work and a little study, they can manage to carry on even if they have no citizenship and no real freedom and no roots in the soil on which they stand. They can go along for months -- even for years, if necessary -- when these elementary needs are furnished -- hoping against hope that some day their turn for real peace and freedom will come.

Recently their caloric ration has of necessity been reduced from 2200 to 2000 per day. This is barely a subsistence level. Surplus Army and captured enemy equipment from which we furnished clothes, housekeeping and work equipment and medical supplies are practically exhausted. All these are elementary needs. They must be maintained on at least their present level. If they are not, I think you know what is almost certain to happen, especially when the victims, through no fault of their own, have lived through years of horror and suffering, have seen their loved ones tortured and cremated, have seen their hopes for a new life after the war dashed to earth again and again. They begin to brood. They may be the most patient and the most peaceful and considerate people in the world, but they begin to grow nervous and irritable. They begin to feel a sense of frustration and despair.

I know these people. I can understand and sympathize with their moods. In the same circumstances I would react in the same way, and so would you. A human being can stand just so much and then there comes the straw that breaks the camel's back.

My friends, we must prevent that last straw from being added to their burden. We must move heaven and earth to avoid the irritations and the frictions that this last straw would induce. We cannot afford to wait until a despairing man or a despairing group of men, in frantic, unconsidered action, create an

incident or series
of incidents

incident or a series of incidents between them and some of the German population or even between them and soldiers of the American Army.

The problem calls for Jewish statesmanship — American Jewish statesmanship, for you are the only Jewish community capable of action on the required scale. Through your campaign for \$170,000,000 you must take up as much as possible of the slack that will result from the reductions in aid I have already forecast. You may not be able to replace entirely the help that will be missing, but you can keep your brothers in a state of at least tolerable living. I am glad that you will not have to do it alone. You have the sympathy of your Christian fellow-citizens in your great work and I am sure you will have a generous measure of their support. I join with President Truman, Secretary Patterson, and General Eisenhower in calling for this support.

I have said little about the general European situation because my own experience has been largely with the DP's in Germany. I am aware, however, that the Joint Distribution Committee has a great responsibility in other parts of Europe and that in your deliberations as to what resources can be made available to the JDC the rest of Europe must be taken into account.

Many thousands of the Jews in Europe look to the JDC to give them an opportunity to become once again self-sustaining. Just as the JDC is required in the occupied areas of Germany and Austria to set up work programs, educational programs, and even recreational to keep up the morale of the displaced persons, so must the JDC in other parts of Europe help make possible the reconstruction of Jewish life — social, communal and economic.

Assistance of this constructive sort is, of course, far more expensive than simple relief. But it pays dividends in that it serves to decrease the need for relief as time goes on.

However, we cannot blink the fact that in some parts of Europe anti-Semitism is still rife. In these areas it is extremely difficult for Jews who returned to establish themselves as self-sufficient nationals of the countries in which they were born. Many thousands of them entered the U.S. Zones of Germany and Austria in the summer and fall of 1946. Many thousands of them remain and are almost completely dependent upon JDC aid. I shall not undertake a statistical review of what is involved in this aid, but you must all be aware of the inflationary trend which has so greatly increased the cost of relief assistance. What is to happen eventually with those who can never again reestablish themselves in a Europe which holds such a dread memory of the past for them, such as unhappy present and such an uncertain future? I am afraid that this leads one inevitably into the political field which is, of course, out of my bailiwick. I shall not talk politics. I shall only tell you what I have

seen and what I know.

seen and what I know. In my contacts with the displaced Jews I found that the majority desired to go to Palestine. I trust that the United Nations will achieve a just solution to the problem of Palestine so that the deepest wishes of these people may be fulfilled.

The United Palestine Appeal, which is responsible for the settlement of Jews in the Holy Land, will be called upon, I hope, to make a historic contribution to the solution of the displaced persons problem.

If your funds, in addition to providing the vital measure of aid in Europe to which I have already referred, can purchase land in Palestine, turn that land from desert dust to fertile soil, create new settlements on this soil so that newcomers may start their lives over again in a manner consistent with human dignity, then you have additional reason for taking great pride in the work you are doing through the United Jewish Appeal. This long-term reconstruction phase of your work has significance that will best be understood by the historians of the future. It is one of the most potent forces for sustaining the morale of those who languish without citizenship in various parts of Europe. While that work goes on in Palestine, they have hope that some day, somehow, they will find sanctuary with brothers who eagerly want them.

Nor does even this complete the total of accomplishment which your campaign for \$170,000,000 bespeaks. Many of the displaced persons in Europe have relatives in our own great land whom they wish to join. Others look to the United States as the traditional asylum for human beings in need of a helping hand. For these, the United Service for New Americans stands as a beacon of hope.

President Truman's directive of December 2, 1945, has enabled some to enter the United States. I understand that legislation has been proposed to make available the unused, war-time quotas for the immigration of displaced persons. I know these people and believe they will make good citizens. I, for one, would welcome them warmly to our shores. In the Jewish group there are many tailors, textile workers, carpenters, painters, shoemakers, technicians, etc., who can make useful contributions to the United States. I understand that the USNA assumes responsibility for the absorption of these immigrants so that they do not become a burden on the general community. The service that it is now giving and the larger service which it may be called upon to render after proposed immigration legislation is adopted must be considered indispensable to the solution of the displaced persons problem.

Yes, the \$170,000,000 you seek are ^{like} 170,000,000 units of healing medicine. ^{penicillin}

It is a stupendous task you have set for yourselves. It is exceeded only by the

*greatness of the
tragedy.*

greatness of the tragedy and the need and the possibilities. These are good people whom you are seeking to save. If you knew them as I do, you would realize that no gift is too generous, no sacrifice too great. I wish you Godspeed and success in your sacred task.

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6/5/47



Miss Sacks said that she didn't have any children of her own - but she has 200,000 DP children.

1a) Rav Rabbi Rabbiner (Chaplain) { taking someone else's place - McFarney
taking place of rabbi - DPs don't understand what we are.

1b) Bernstein's office (Chaplain story)

2) ~~Food~~ 30,000 - 200,000

3) What is Life in a Camp? - oatmeal, mud, latrines, calories

4) Organizational Crisis - IRO - DPs don't know what will happen to them.

5) Morale crisis - frustration - march on Consulate
VISITS - Abela, Rothberg, Gess, Deroff, Gitman - Leys, Warburg, Speert - good for morale.

6) Growing anti-Semitism - rabbis in Munich

7) ~~Food~~ 2 problems

1. Feed them until they can get out
2. Get them out
 1. JDC emigration
 2. USNA absorption - US
 3. JAFF absorption in Palestine.

8) Costs will be increased.

Miss Sacks - Hemisphere
loaned money

Didn't know what people in Los Angeles want?

Chairman said he can't go back and

tell "same old story". His people should be ashamed.

Dave Richman - new theme
made Louis Richman - change 5th
aspects him to give library.