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American Zionist Emergency Council, report by Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein about Jews in Poland, based on his visit, August 2, 1946, and undated report by Edwin W. Pauley about European Jews, based on his visit to the Jewish infiltre center in Furth, Germany, undated.

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2 August 1946

MEMORANDUM TO: General Joseph T. McNarney.

SUBJECT: Report on Poland.

1. Attached is my report on Poland. I take the liberty of suggesting that the following persons may be interested in seeing this report:

Secretary of State
Secretary of War
Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane
Ambassador Robert Murphy
General Mark Clark
Lt. General Lucius D. Clay
Lt. General Geoffrey Keyes
Maj. General Frank A. Keating
Colonel S. R. Mickelsen

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN
Adviser to the Theater Commander
on Jewish Affairs

Enc.: 1

2 August 1946

MEMORANDUM TO: General Joseph T. McNarney

SUBJECT: Report on Poland

Purpose:

Because of the increasing number of Jewish persecutees from Poland recently arriving in the United States Zone in Germany, and the likelihood of further increases, I visited Poland on 23 July 1946 and remained there until 30 July 1946. My purpose was to make a realistic evaluation of the situation and to bring back a report on the prospective problems and needs to be faced in the United States Zone in Germany in the near future.

Persons

In the pursuit of this objective I conferred with the following Persons:

U.S. Ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, and various members of his staff
Colonel Walter A. Pashley, Military Attache
Edward Osobka-Merawski, Prime Minister of Poland
Jakob Berman, Under-Secretary of State
Ignacy Zlotowski, Chief of American Section, Foreign Office
Ignacy Szaniawski, Assistant Chief, Jewish Section, Foreign Office
Oscar Lange, Polish Ambassador to the United States
Brig. General H.C. Drury, Chief of Mission, UNRRA
Representatives of Polish, American and Yiddish Press
The Chief Rabbis of Warsaw, Lodz and Lower Silesia
The Jewish Chief Chaplain in the Polish Army
The Officers of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, of the Central Committee in Lodz, and of the Central Committee in Lower Silesia
Officers of the Major Jewish organizations working in Poland, including Mr. William Bein, Director of the American Joint Distribution Committee.

In addition, I spoke personally to thousands of individual Jews.

Places.

I visited Warsaw and the Jewish institutions of its environs. I paid calls on the major Jewish organizations of Lodz, which has the heaviest concentration of Jews in Poland. I went to the larger communities in Lower Silesia, including Wroclaw (Breslau), Rychbach, and Kladzko. I studied the proceedings at the repatriation centers, the orphaned children's homes, and the points at which Jews begin their emigration which brings them ultimately to the U.S. Zone in Germany.

Population.

The situation in Poland is too confused and fluid to secure absolutely reliable Jewish population statistics. This was reflected in varying estimates expressed to me by several responsible persons. They range as follows: 120,000 (Chaplain (Lt.Col.) David Kahane, Chief Jewish Chaplain and Chairman of the Jewish Religious Council); 140,000 (correspondent Schneidermann of the Jewish Morning Journal, N.Y., who recently visited every Jewish center in Poland); 150,000 (Central Committee of Polish Jews); 160,000 (U.S. Ambassador Lane); 160,000 (Director Bein of the American Joint Distribution Committee). In order that this report may contain specific figures, but allowing the possibility of some margin for error, the highest figures, namely those of Ambassador Lane and Director Bein, will be herein used. It will be assumed that, as of 1 August 1946, there is a total of approximately 160,000 Jews in Poland. This takes into account the fact that the repatriation of Polish Jews from Russia has been completed.

The local Jewish population groups are estimated as follows:

Lodz	20,000
Stettin	18,000
Krakow	8,000
Warsaw	6,000
Bialystok, Lublin, Chelm, Tarnow	6,000
Other localities, central Poland	12,000
Upper Silesia (Katowici, Bytom, etc.)	<u>15,000</u>
Estimated Total	85,000

Lower Silesia:

Wroclaw	15,000	
Rychbach	11,000	
Walbrzych	7,000	
Bielawa	5,000	
Kladzko	3,000	
Lignica	4,000	
37 Localities	<u>30,000</u>	<u>75,000</u>
Estimated Grand Total		160,000

Pogroms

For centuries Poland has been a classic land of anti-Semitism. It was the scene of some of the worst pogroms in pre-Hitler Jewish history. Jew hatred took on a profound, violent character, and was constantly supported by religious fanaticism. The Easter season, for example, was for many generations a time when Jews lived in terror of violence by Christians who attacked them as "Christ killers". The infamous charges about the use of Christian children's blood for Jewish religious ceremonies found wide credence in Poland for centuries and are still being repeated in some of the churches. The fact that the largest numbers of settlers in Palestine during the last half century came from Poland is in itself testimony to the fear and insecurity which anti-Semitism caused Jews in that unhappy country.

✓ During the Nazi regime in Poland, over ninety percent of Polish Jewry was exterminated. This is in marked contrast to the fate of the Jews under the same regime in Italy, where most managed to survive. It is the unanimous opinion of surviving Polish Jews that the reason for the almost complete extirpation of their community was the willing, strenuous and malicious cooperation of the Poles in the Nazi anti-Semitic program. According to their reports, most of the Jews of Poland were destroyed by Poles working under and improving upon Nazi instructions, rather than by the Germans themselves.

✓ To the indigenous anti-Semitism of Poland was added, therefore the experience of unmitigated and approved mass murder of Jews. This was accompanied by unceasing anti-Semitic propaganda during the Nazi occupation. As a result, Poland is steeped in anti-Semitism.

✓ It is also a country of violence -- of gallant violence, of drunken violence, and of just plain violence. The combination of this profound anti-Semitism and the habits of violence has made life bitter and insecure for most of the Jews of Poland. Before the recent Kielce pogrom, there were innumerable incidents of beatings and many of killings. Jews were seized and abused in trains and other public places. Being robbed was for them a common experience. Abusive letters threatened their lives and were a daily occurrence. The attempt by Jews to secure restitution of their property seized was this atmosphere of terror and desperation which led to the substantial and growing infiltration of Polish Jews to the U.S. Zone in Germany.

✓ The Kielce pogrom gave new impetus to this feeling of desperate fear. Even Jews who had become hardened to the manifestation of Jew-baiting in Poland, even Jewish Communists who are opposed to the emigration of Jews from Poland, were shaken and horrified by the events of 4 July 1946. The old hoax about Christian blood was

used to start the flame. But the inflammable material was ready, apparently, in the enthusiastic cooperation of all elements in the community in these acts of brutal murder. Women and children behaved with the same ferocity as men. They concentrated particularly on beating into a pulp the heads (and genital organs) of the victims. The police and local militia lent themselves to the pogrom, some officers even betraying Jews by false promises of safe escort. The church authorities declined to intervene. The survivors of the pogrom, whom I visited in a hospital in Lodz, described with an almost objective horror the elemental bestiality and obviously fanatical hatred of the pogromists.

The Jews in Poland became panic stricken. If this could happen in Kielce, they asked, was Jewish life safe anywhere in Poland? Considerable numbers of Jews immediately began to liquidate their affairs in order to migrate from the country. The rate of emigration was sharply increased, doubling within a few weeks. Although at the time of my visit there was some lessening of this feeling of panic and a calmer atmosphere had begun to prevail, I found that most of the Jews in central Poland believe that their lives are unsafe and want to get out.

Politics.

The political situation in Poland is not the subject of this report. However, it has bearing on the future of the Jews in that country, which is our concern.

The present government, according to the testimony of all Jews, is not only not anti-Semitic but has taken energetic and constructive steps to integrate the Jews into the life of Poland. It has enacted laws against the dissemination of race, religious and national prejudices, which are appended to this report. It conducted a summary investigation, trial and execution of the chief instigators of the Kielce pogrom. It has established a far-reaching program for the productivization of Jews in Poland, which is described later in this report.

However, the government, by common knowledge, was not selected by the majority of the people in Poland. It is believed to have close connections with and the support of Soviet Russia, which is unpopular with substantial elements of the Polish population. Furthermore, despite its apparent good will toward the Jews, the government cannot legislate age-old anti-Semitism out of the hearts of the people.

Because of its program and its associations, the government has attracted to itself bitter and unrelenting enemies. Following the Nazi pattern they, too, have found in anti-Semitism a popular and effective weapon for discrediting the government and for creating unrest. Of the fifty top members of government, three are Jews.

It should be added that they are of Jewish descent only and are not identified with Jewish religious or communal life. However, the opposition has singled out these Jews and their Jewishness for its most virulent attacks. Cardinal Hlond in effect condoned the Kielce pogrom by attributing as its root cause the presence and the program of these Jews in the government. The government, on the other hand, finding itself under attack on the Jewish question, states that precisely because of their anti-Semitism it will deal rigorously with its enemies. As a result, the poor surviving Jews of Poland find themselves ground between the upper and the lower millstones. They are daily the objects of attack and counter-attack. They are the scapegoats for failure, on the one side, and frustration on the other. The internal dissension gives promise of mounting in violence as November, the month of elections, approaches. Some even believe that there may be civil conflict in Poland, during which the Jews would be destroyed. Nearly all feel that in central Poland, at least, where the tensions and dissensions are sharpest, the Jews face a very precarious future.

Productivization.

At this point a distinction should be made between the 75,000 Jews in Lower Silesia and those in the rest of Poland. In Lower Silesia a new set of conditions has been established by the government. The land, industry and homes of the Germans who lived in this rich area have been distributed among the Poles and the Jews. A deliberate and not unsuccessful effort has been made to integrate Jews into this new life. They have been given good homes and land to cultivate. They are employed on state farms. They are active in the government of the area. And in some towns, such as Rychbach, they constitute the majority of the population. According to the statistics of the Central Committee of Polish Jews in Lower Silesia, Jews are gainfully employed in that area as follows:

Heavy Industry	338
Coal mines	781
Textiles	1,422
Agriculture	560
Government enterprises and institutions	2,753
Members of cooperatives	1,540
Miscellaneous (including individual merchants, artisans, etc.)	4,440
Total	11,834

As a result, there is not the same mood of desperate fear in Lower Silesia, as I found in the rest of Poland. Jews walk the streets without noticeable insecurity. Incidents of violence against them seem to be no more numerous than among the general population. Although some of the Jews of Lower Silesia are leaving the country, there is not the urgent haste which is present elsewhere. It is

the opinion of Chief Rabbi Treistman that most of the Jews in that area will remain, at least in the near future.

It must be added that this is problematical. A violent pogrom, an outbreak of civil conflict might precipitate a rapid movement over the nearby Czech border. However, at present the prospect seems to be that most of the Jews of Lower Silesia will not seek to emigrate in these immediate forthcoming months for the following reasons:

- a. The provincialism of Poland enables some sections of the country to remain fundamentally different from others.
- b. Both Poles and Jews are new in Lower Silesia and there has not been time for the transfer and hardening of old conflicts.
- c. Both have the common fear and enemy, namely, the dispossessed Germans.
- d. There seems to be enough land, work, business and housing for all.

Prospects.

According to the above analysis, most of the Jews of Lower Silesia are not likely to find their way into the American Zone in the coming months. However, the majority of the Jews in the rest of Poland are likely to move this way. The latter will not be 10%. The Jewish Communists and their fellow travellers, the Jewish socialists and Bundists, who constitute over 10% of the Jewish population, are committed to the present government and give evidence of intending to remain. Although the government as such imposes no obstacles to emigration, it is conducting, with the aid of these Jews, a vigorous campaign to convince Jews that their future lies in the upbuilding of a democratic Poland. Other Jews who have some stake in the existing order, such as people with property or business interests, civil employees, etc., also may not depart quickly or at all.

It is my estimate, based on innumerable conferences, that approximately 60,000 Jews are likely to migrate from Poland during August, September and October. The greatest number is likely to come in the first six weeks, which will be followed by some tapering off. By November there will be a sharp reduction in emigration owing to (a) the fact that the bulk of these intent of flight will already have moved, (b) adverse weather conditions and (c) the completion of the election.

It is my present estimate, based on foreseeable conditions, that within a year 100,000 of the present population of 160,000 Polish Jews will have emigrated. The balance will probably remain.

Program.

A. General Observations. 1: No panic psychology "to save the Jews of Poland" should be encouraged. It was the unanimous judgment of all responsible Jewish leaders, in which I concur, that any deliberate program to get all the Jews to leave Poland would be unwise, impractical and dangerous, for the following reasons:-

- a. At present there is not evidence that all Jews need to leave Poland. Many have found there a life and livelihood at least equal to the uncertainties of migration elsewhere.
- b. The present government would be likely to resent a concerted public effort to move all Jews out of Poland as a reflection on its intentions and its capacity to preserve order and protect its citizens. This might lead to difficulties between the government and the Jews, which do not now exist.
- c. A public, panicky wave of emigration might lead to pogroms, individual killings and robbings of Jews by Poles, who might hope to benefit thereby.
- d. A public acceptance of emigration as a direct answer to the Kielce pogrom might establish the precedent by which anti-Semites in other countries might initiate pogroms in order to bring about the emigration of all Jews.

2. The Jews, as I met them in Poland, were of average or better than average stock. Meeting them at the source reveals that such deterioration as may be evident in the DP camps is the product of abnormal conditions, rather than of any inherent defects in the people. Nearly all the Jews I met in Poland are accustomed to work. The best thing for them is to resume working when they reach the Zone. Since, as now seems likely, there will be a substantial number of Jewish displaced Persons in the U.S. Zone over the winter, a productivization program should be vigorously undertaken. Everything should be done to create the maximum possible normality of conditions for the DPs, including maximum possible self-administration.

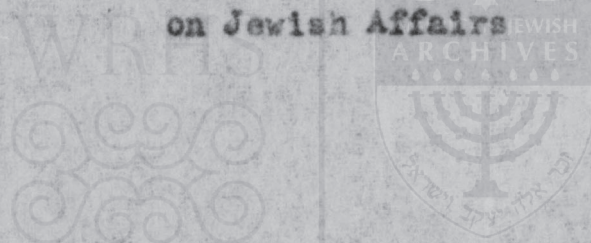
3. All legitimate methods of emigration for such Jews as wish to leave Poland should be expedited. It is highly disappointing to note that no American Consulate has been opened in Poland. Although, under the reestablished quota system, visas to the United States are available for Polish nationals, not a single visa has as yet been issued in Poland. Shortages of personnel and office space are given as reasons for this failure. However, with vigor and determination both can be overcome, as private organizations have demonstrated in Warsaw. Until this unnecessary obstacle is overcome, numbers of Jews eligible for direct immigration to the United States will continue, out of frustration, to filter into the U.S. Zone to add to the problems here.

4. In view of the explosive situation in Poland, no program should be undertaken which would involve the housing of Jewish DPs at the expense of Polish DPs in the U.S. Zone. Whatever efforts may be made by the United States Army to induce non-Jewish DPs of various nationalities to return to their own countries, should be completely separated from any plans for the housing of Jewish infiltrates.

B. Specific Recommendations. It is recommended that under the auspices of and at the initiative of the Commanding General, USFET, plans be explored and undertaken for the accommodation of 60,000 additional Jewish displaced persons in the coming three months and of an additional 40,000 over the winter months; that these plans include the expansion of facilities for such care in the U.S. Zone in Austria, The British and French Zones, France, Italy, and other countries, and that the resources of such private agencies as the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine be fully utilized in the extension of this program; that the Commanding General, USFET, undertake to prepare accommodations for such incoming Jewish persecutees as cannot be cared for in other places.

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN
Adviser to the Theater Commander
on Jewish Affairs

Inc.1;



Dziennik Ustaw No. 30
of July 12, 1946

Translation of excerpts from the decree of June 13, 1946, concerning crimes particularly dangerous during the period of the State's reconstruction appearing in No. 30 ~~th~~ of the Journal laws of the Republic of Poland, dated July 12, 1946, under Item 192:

Article 30

Anyone who publicly calls for nationality, religious or racial quarrels or praises them is subject to imprisonment up to five years.

Article 31

1. Anyone who publicly insults, derides or debases a nationality group or an individual person because of nationality, religious or racial membership is subject to imprisonment for not less than three years or for life or subject to a death penalty if the act resulted in death or serious bodily injury or a disturbance of the normal course of public life or threatens general security.

Article 32

Anyone who participates in a conspiracy intended to carry out the crimes described in Article 31, paragraph 2 or Article 32 or participates in a public assembly which jointly carried out such a crime, is subject to imprisonment.

Article 33

Anyone who, contrary to his duty, does not counteract the carrying out of a crime described in Articles 30 to 32 is subject to imprisonment up to five years or arrest.

Memorandum for the President

Re: Jewish People of Europe ✓

On my recent visit to Europe I had the opportunity to talk to a number of persons about the situation of the Jews in Europe. I also took the occasion to visit the Jewish infiltre center, which is located at Furth (just outside Nuremberg) in the United States Zone of Germany.

Although I do not want to pose in any sense as an expert in this matter, I have formed certain impressions and have a few thoughts which I would like to pass on to you.

The more one hears about the wanton murder of the Jews by the Germans, the more one wonders why this great crime has not shocked the conscience of mankind more than it has. The reason, I suppose, is that it is difficult for anyone to grasp the full significance of the murder of over five million human beings. Newspapers are accustomed to speak of mass murder when a half-dozen victims are shot down by a gunman. What shall we call it when whole towns die and the slaughtered are numbered by millions.

In talking with Justice Robert H. Jackson and examining the Nuremberg Trial Exhibits, I found how completely all of the unspeakable atrocities committed against the Jews, which many refused to believe at the time, have now been recorded and documented for history. Not only do these records establish the inhuman nature of these atrocities, but the casual, callous, everyday nature of the official reports dealing with the crimes perpetrated against the Jews and slave labor are such that they reveal a completely and shockingly different attitude toward individual responsibility, toward cruelty, and toward human relations and human decency than is accepted generally throughout the world.

Thus, one report (bound in fanciest of leather covers) made to Himmler on the "Elimination of the Jews from Warsaw" contains daily accounts of the commandant, reciting the "progress" of each day. One daily account says "Jews disposed of - 59,340 - our losses none". The whole report concludes with the statement "I have the honor to report that there are no more Jews in Warsaw, and no Jewish section remaining". In the back of the report are photographs showing Jews emerging from cellars, hands up, covered by troops with tommy guns; men jumping from a five story building which had been set afire; piles of corpses, some stripped naked; nude men standing on the edge of pits before firing squads; etc.

When I first heard that the Germans had used the flesh of these victims to make soap, I did not believe it. There are a number of exhibits at the trial from the "soap factory". The factory contained various cauldrons for trying out the fat from human bodies. The victims were apparently killed, beheaded, scalped for their hair (seven thousand kilos of hair were found in one warehouse) and tried out for fat. The fat was then combined with lye and other chemicals and the soap was poured out in pans to harden. One technical report says "The only inconvenience about the manufacture of soap from human bodies is the smell of the soap, which is somewhat disagreeable". Some experimentation was conducted on "suitable methods of perfuming human soap". One exhibit from the soap factory is a photograph of a pile of scalped heads, heaped in the yard, gasping and staring.

Justice Jackson told me how one Nazi Commandant of an extermination center, in testifying at the trial, had boasted about how he had increased the daily capacity of the gas chambers and had calmly recited how he had "caught Jewish mothers trying to hide their little babies under their skirts in the vain hope that they might somehow escape being thrown into the chambers.

The clearer a picture one gets of what happened to over five million Jewish men, women, and children in Europe during the last several years, the clearer an understanding one develops of the tragic situation of the surviving Jews in Europe.

We cannot bring five million dead bodies to life - we cannot breathe the breath of life into the pits of human ash and human bones - we cannot even find the little bodies that once were the thousands of baby shoes found amongst piles of shoes of every size. But we can take action - and take it now - to make certain that the over one million European Jews who survived the Nazi terror are given a chance to live. The time for talk has long passed - the time for action is long overdue.

My visit to the Jewish camp at Furth, where I spent several hours talking to the persons living or rather existing there, impressed upon me more than ever the burning passion which these people have to get moving - moving toward a place which they can call home. Although the Army and UNRRA have done an excellent job in organizing and equipping this particular camp, it is clear that the time which the Jews have to spend there is, in the words of one Polish Jew whom I talked to, "that much more time lost out of their lifetime". One can imagine the feeling of these people, who after wandering over Europe for several years trying to get out, now find, well over one year after their supposed liberation, that they are no closer to a home than before. We have saved them from death - but we have not yet given them a chance to live.

General Joseph T. McNarney and General Mark Clark both told me of the large infiltration of Jews into the American Zones in Germany and Austria. These Jews are coming from all over Europe, looking to America to give them a helping hand. We cannot - we must not - let them down.

America has a grave responsibility to see to it that the Jews who are in camps in the American Zones in Germany and Austria are moved out as quickly as possible. They have no ties in these countries and no desire to go back to the countries in which their families were maimed, tortured and murdered. We cannot ask that they go back and search through the ashes for some trace of their dear ones. Practically all of them want to leave Europe and most of them feel they can only achieve security of body and spirit in Palestine.

We cannot, without pangs of conscience and shame, continue to ignore these facts. We must not forget that throughout the Nazi reign of terror, these people heard brave voices of freedom, justice and equality. These voices kept them alive and kept them fighting in the ghettos, in the concentration camps, and in the very shadows of their own graves. Those Jews who have survived no longer hear these voices. They have been drowned out by voices denying them the very things which kept them alive.

Unless something is done at once to bring some hope into the hearts of these people, more and more will die with each passing day. It is now over one year since VE day, and many Jews in Europe die every day of broken spirit as much as broken body.

It is with these considerations in mind, that I have certain concrete suggestions which I would like to give you, for what they may be worth.

1. Prompt Movement of Jews in Germany and Austria

With respect to the Jews in Germany and Austria, and particularly the Jews in the American Zones of Germany and Austria, it seems to me that the time for inquiries, for investigations, for commissions, for discussions and diplomatic maneuvers has past. Elementary human decency and morality require that these human beings be moved as soon as possible, to places where they can live without fear on equal footing with their fellow man. It is essential that some action, however small, be taken at once. If we can only break the ice, I am sure we can keep it from freezing over.

I suggest, therefore, that we select initially about 5,000 Jews from camps in the American Zone of Germany, and actually begin moving them - moving them closer at least to their permanent homes. Caravans could be organized, fully equipped with the necessary food and medical supplies and with adequate personnel

to carry out a safe journey, for the purpose of moving these Jews to a port on the Mediterranean. They might be moved, for example, to some port in Southern Italy. I am confident that the warm-hearted Italian people, who have already done so much to aid and comfort refugees from persecution and oppression, would welcome such a mission of mercy with open arms. A camp could be established near the port, where the Jews could wait temporarily until arrangements were made to take them by ship to more permanent homes - to homes where they could walk with dignity, free from fear and free from want.

This would be only a small step, and every effort would have to be made to prevent its significance from being exaggerated. If it served to revive the broken spirits of some of those who have stopped dreaming, it would be worthwhile. We could not let it raise hopes too high, however, lest they come crashing down again. It would be my fervent wish that this small act would be followed by many more, and many greater and bigger acts - that those powerful forces of good will towards oppressed peoples, which exist I am sure in hearts all over the world, would shortly come to their rescue.

America must continue to maintain its moral leadership in this weary world, even though it may seem at first glance that others are prepared to shirk their moral responsibilities. The acceptance of responsibility comes with it the duty to act when action is required.

2. Property Assistance from Germany

The resettlement of the Jews of Europe, including the immediate resettlement of 100,000 Jews in Palestine, will require financial and economic assistance. A part of this assistance, if not a large part, might well come from Germany itself. I know of no more appropriate source from which to obtain resources necessary to rebuild the shattered lives of these victims than from the very nation which shattered their lives. Why should not German forests be cut down, for example, to supply whatever timber is needed to build homes for these people?

In discussing this particular matter with some of our representatives in London of your Cabinet Committee, they indicate that there might be a number of things in Germany which could be used for the resettlement of Jews in Palestine.

There are many ways in which materials might be shipped out of Germany to aid in this resettlement task:

- (1) As reparations, either in the form of reparations to the Jews of Europe or if necessary as part of the United States' share of reparations.
- (2) As restitution, or in lieu of restitution (actual restitution of Jewish property confiscated by the Nazis is proceeding very slowly - in fact, in the Russian occupied or controlled areas the officials apparently have no intention of ever restoring such property).
- (3) As an export, payable for in appropriate currencies.

It would be my suggestion that General McFarney be authorized to permit the immediate shipment out of the American Zone of Germany of such resources as the appropriate authorities of this government deem necessary for the re-settlement of the Jews in the American Zone of Germany. It may be noted that the overall economic burden on the American Zone which the resettlement of these Jews elsewhere would relieve would be far greater than the burden resulting from using resources in the American Zone for such re-settlement. In taking such resources from the American Zone, it could be stipulated that it would be determined later whether they would be accounted for as reparations, restitution or as an export.

3. Open the Doors all over the World

In addition to the 100,000 Jews which you recommended about a year ago should be moved immediately to Palestine. A recommendation which was later concurred in by the Anglo-American Committee of inquiry - there are well over one

million surviving Jews in Europe. Without delay or compromising in any way the immediate movement of the 100,000 Jews a program should also be undertaken at once to deal with the even larger problem of finding homes for the over one million remaining. The Anglo-American Committee has estimated that as many as 500,000 may wish or be impelled to emigrate from Europe.

The solution to this broader problem must, it seems to me, lie in the freedom-loving nations all over the whole world extending a welcome hand to those who have been deprived of freedom for so long.

I suggest that consideration be given to the immediate convocation of representatives of all the United Nations, either through the appropriate agency of UNO or otherwise, for the specific purpose of meeting this problem - and meeting it at once. An international agreement should be arrived at whereby each United Nation (with certain possible exceptions) agrees to accept a certain quota of Jews and other refugees from Europe as immigrants into its territory and territory under its jurisdiction. There is no reason whatsoever why 500,000 to 1,000,000 Jews could not be resettled within one year in countries where they can live in peace and dignity, provided that the freedom-loving peoples of the world wholeheartedly cooperate toward this end.

The United States can and must do its share toward this end. It is indeed fitting that this great Nation, which from its inception has been a refuge for the fugitive from injustice, oppression and persecution, should furnish to the broken survivors of Hitlerism the sanctum and asylum which since biblical times have been afforded the defenseless by civilized peoples. We can never forget that we are a Nation fused from the people of every conceivable country, every known race, and representing every religion. All of us have been thrown into the melting pot of freedom and all of us have emerged Americans.

It seems to me that the inscription borne by that great symbol of our democracy - the Statue of Liberty, furnishes us our best guide:

"give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning
to breathe free - the wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest tost to me. I lift my lamp
beside the golden door."

Whatever action we can take to help the victims of Nazi persecution and oppression is not merely the performance of a humanitarian duty, it is the final symbol of our triumph over the forces of darkness which might have enslaved us.

Edwin W. Pauley