

1300, Europe, Migration (Displaced Persons)



#9503-2R

UNITED NATIONS  
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

CENTRAL REGISTRY

OUT-CHARGE FORM

Date 24/3/47

① File No. Guide to Camps Requirements

Subject for Europe - Bur of Areas UNRRA

② Report on El. Shatt Camp 28 May 44  
J. Jacobs Field Organizer & Inspector

Control No. \_\_\_\_\_

Letter, memorandum, telegram, cables, last date \_\_\_\_\_

Requested by Records

Extension \_\_\_\_\_

For \_\_\_\_\_

Division \_\_\_\_\_

Room No. \_\_\_\_\_

Searcher C.S.

UNITED NATIONS  
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

CENTRAL REGISTRY

OUT-CHARGE FORM

Date 24/3/47

File No. A R B/C / (21) 1 - Committee

Subject on Coordination of Estimates  
of Requirements D.P.s. 8 Nov - 1945

Control No. \_\_\_\_\_

Letter, memorandum, telegram, cables, last date \_\_\_\_\_

Requested by Records Extension \_\_\_\_\_

For \_\_\_\_\_

Division \_\_\_\_\_ Room No. \_\_\_\_\_

Searcher CS



GEN CATROUX, who is preparing to leave for Moscow, is considering the establishment of a French Repatriation Committee in the USSR, it is reported from a reliable source. A similar commission on the Russian side under Gen. Dragoun is working on the repatriation of Soviet prisoners who are in France. Gen. Catroux would entrust the work to a mission of 50 officers liberated by the Red Army. (Paris.)

ROGER GARREAU French Ambassador to Moscow, made a speech on the situation of prisoners of war. He stated: "The Red Army has already freed a great number of Frenchmen, probably more than 100,000. The Polish Provisional Government is examining, together with our authorities, the grave problem of medical assistance and transportation for these men suddenly abandoned by their fleeing jailors." He mentioned that Gen. Petit, Chief of the French Military Mission in Moscow, and DeCharbonnel, First Secretary of the Embassy, visited freed Frenchmen in Kiev and Lvov recently. (Russia)

#### FRENCH WORKERS EVACUATED FROM EAST

Berlin in English to England: "It was stated by the French authorities in Germany that the withdrawal of French workers from the districts threatened by the Soviets was proceeding systematically and in perfect order. There had already been many cases of French workers displaying great courage and self-sacrifice in their efforts to save their French as well as German comrades and families from the Bolsheviks." (Berlin, in English to England, Feb. 1, 9:30 AM)



x1300 B

To: Frank Weisl

Subject: Recruitment in Washington for D.P. in Germany

For Assembly Centres

Allocation still to be made for:

The above mentioned allocations are based on the total quotas minus personnel already recruited here.

London intends to allocate 50% of all positions for Assembly Centres to European continental nations.

1300E

30 January, 1945

To: Frank Weisl

From: Tony Sender

Subject: Communication from Sir Herbert Emerson  
to the Director General

Please find attached a summary of the above mentioned  
communication.

Attachment

T.Sender/ss



Summary of Communication from  
Sir Herbert Emerson to the Director General

The communication from Sir Herbert Emerson to the Director General is concerned with the decision of the "Standing Technical Committee on Displaced Persons" regarding the interpretation by UNRRA of its responsibilities in respect to non-repatriable persons.

In the early days of UNRRA there was a broad understanding between UNRRA and IGC according to which UNRRA was considered as a comprehensive relief organization whose functions cover all elements of the population including persons in which the IGC is interested. At that time (at the time of Atlantic City) the responsibilities assumed by UNRRA fell under two headings:

1. those affecting non-repatriables as part of the general population of an area to which UNRRA extends its operations; and
2. those affecting persons coming within the special provisions to be made by UNRRA for displaced persons.

The Technical Committee in Washington has now approved a statement with the intention of excluding from the operations of UNRRA those who might be able to return to their countries or settled places of residence but who do not wish to do so.

The IGC declares that it relies on the resolutions of the Council rather than on a summary statement of them divorced from their context. The statement of the Technical

Committee does not, for instance, include the words "until the Intergovernmental Committee is prepared to remove them to new places of settlement."

Sir Herbert Emerson thinks that if the intention of the Committee in Montreal had been, in fact, to make a distinction between those who cannot be repatriated and those who do not desire to be repatriated it would have surely expressed this in unequivocal terms and made it clear that it excluded from UNRRA's care the latter category. Furthermore, the Technical Committee's formula still leaves the matter open to doubt as to whether a person who refuses to return to his country for good cause is, in fact, a person who can or cannot be repatriated.

After listing the various reasons for which a person may not wish to be repatriated, Sir Herbert Emerson states:

"We cannot at this stage make the easy assumption that every group which declines to return will thereby put itself outside the pale of humanitarian assistance from international sources."

The IGC, for instance, explicitly excludes from its assistance collaborators.

The IGC estimates that the non-repatriables who will be unable to return to their countries because their governments are unwilling to receive them will be a small proportion of the total. The great majority will be persons who, in theory, will be able to return, but who, in reality, will have reasonable cause for refusing to do so.

Sir Herbert Emerson, however, thinks that it is difficult



to believe that it is the intention to exclude these people from a general program of relief as distinct from a specific program confined to D.P. And he emphasizes that the difficulties have arisen due to the fact that the question has been treated as though it is almost exclusively related to the program for D.P.

The result would be that the IGC in order to reach a solution of the problem of non-repatriables must undertake relief operations on a larger scale and for a longer period than originally contemplated.

In the last paragraph Sir Herbert brings up the situation in Roumania where liberation will be followed by a period of extreme hardship for certain groups who, as a result of the war, or of persecution, or of both, have lost all they had and lack the means of their former livelihoods, the Jews being at present the most affected. The relief burden, at present borne by voluntary organizations, will require a coordination of international, national and voluntary assistance. Sir Herbert suggests that on the international side it falls more within the competence of UNRRA than of the IGC.

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30 January, 1945

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From: Tony Sender

Subject: Communication from Sir Herbert Emerson  
to the Director General

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communication.

Attachment

T.Sender/ss



1300E

X/300B

6 February, 1945

To: Mr. Weial  
From: Tony Sender

According to your request, I send you attached a summary of the memorandum of Sir Herbert Haerscn of the Intergovernmental Committee.

Attachment

T.Sender/ss

SUMMARY OF SIR HERBERT EMERSON'S MEMORANDUM  
ON THE GERMAN JEWISH REFUGEE PROBLEM

The attached statement gives:

1. The total Jewish population for some continental European countries.
2. Number of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria.

Figures for USSR and liberated Poland are not available.

Of a total number of 1,179,000 Jews, the Austrian and German refugees are estimated at only 35,000.

The number of Jews remaining in the part of Poland until recently occupied by the Germans, and in Germany and Austria, is estimated by Sir Herbert at about 750,000. This number is composed of persons of many nationalities, French, Belgian, Czech, Dutch, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, Yugoslav, etc. The number of Jews from Austria and Germany among them is estimated at only 6,000. The inclination of the majority will be to return to their own countries or those of established residence.

It follows that the estimate of the total number of Austrian and German refugees in continental Europe is 59,000 out of a total Jewish population of:

$$1,179,000 + 750,000 = 1,929,000.$$

Outside continental Europe the following groups of Austrian and German Jewish refugees are mentioned as not yet permanently settled:

1. U.K. (including those in the British forces) about 55,000.
2. Persons enlisted in the British forces outside U.K. 3,000.
3. Refugees in Canada and Australia totally estimated 1,000.
4. Group in the Far East, mainly Shanghai, about 20,000  
(among them are 3-5,000 young people including children for whom rehabilitation program ought to be undertaken; the others would have to be maintained in the places where they are.)
5. Small groups scattered in various countries - North Africa, India, South Africa and West Indies - the totals about 5,000.

Thus, the estimate of Jewish refugees of Austrian and German origin not permanently settled is:

$$\begin{array}{r} 39,000 \\ 84,000 \\ \hline \text{total } 123,000 \end{array}$$

Of the German Jews very few wish to return to Germany, but a considerable proportion of Austrian Jews (estimated at up to 50%) will wish to return to Austria if conditions permit. The great majority (75%) of those in the U.K. or serving in the British forces, or in France, Belgium or Holland would wish to stay. Of those outside Europe the order of preference would be U.S. first and Palestine second.



Hence the following three methods of permanent solution would have to be envisaged:

1. Return to their own countries of those who wish to return.
2. Absorption in present countries of residence.
3. Individual emigration to other countries.

Besides the group of Austrian and German Jews the Polish Jews may present a problem. Many of them were established before the war in Western Europe. They may wish to remain or to return if they had become displaced. Others were expelled from Germany before the war and during the war, and again, others displaced from Poland, from Germany or German occupied territory. Many may not wish to return to Poland. A rough estimate of the number is 30,000, 20,000 of which may constitute a refugee problem.

The last refugee problem is presented in Roumania. Of the 450,000 Jews now in Roumania the majority wish to stay. All discriminatory laws have been annulled, but there was very little restitution of property, employment, etc. Bank accounts are still blocked. As a result, 200,000 are reduced to a state of destitution. Unless these people are enabled to resume their occupation in the near future there will be considerable outward movement. This may also happen in Hungary when that country will be completely liberated. A favorable factor is the desire of the majority to remain in those countries.

The Jewish problem as it may affect the Intergovernmental Committee is summed up as follows:

1. The problem of Jews of Austrian and German origin is moderate in size and presenting no insurmountable difficulties.
2. The problem of Jews of Polish origin outside of their country estimated at 20,000 persons.
3. Potential problems arising out of economic condition in Roumania and Hungary.

Tony Sender  
6 February, 1945.

E-1300

UNITED NATIONS  
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

1344 CONNECTICUT AVENUE  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

13 January 1945

TO: Frank Weisl

FROM: V. J. Tereshtenko *q.t.*

Please find attached notes on our conversation with Dr. Adolf Silberstein. Perhaps you would be able to remember some other points worth mentioning in the notes.

Attachment



Notes on Conversation with  
Dr. and Mrs. Adolf Silberstein.

The conversation with Dr. and Mrs. Adolf Silberstein took place on January 12, 1945 in Mr. Weisl's office. V. J. Tereshtenko also participated in the conversation.

Dr. Silberstein is a Polish Jewish lawyer from Lwow and a former member of the Sejm, as a delegate from the Jewish Party. He left Poland in 1939, went to Switzerland and organized a Refugee Committee for Jewish refugees (Comité d'Assistance Pour la Population Juive Frappée par la Guerre, Genève, 1, Rue du Rhône). His wife, Fanny Silberstein, is a member of the International Committee for securing employment for refugee professional workers (Comité International pour le Placement des Intellectuels Réfugiés, Genève, 1, Rue du Rhône).

Having been actively engaged for years in relief work for Jewish refugees, Dr. Silberstein seemed to be very well informed regarding developments in this field during the war. According to him, the total number of Jews available at present on the liberated territories of Rumania, Hungary, Italy, France, Belgium and in Switzerland doesn't exceed 400,000. The total number of Jews on the liberated territory of Poland is around 300,000. As to displaced Jews from Poland, not more than from two to ten percent of them would be willing to be repatriated back to Poland. Their problem is one of long range resettlement. Dr. Silberstein was anxious to find out what UNRRA's plans are in this regard. It was explained to him that UNRRA is a temporary Agency and therefore the long range aspect of the problem under consideration, in the light of the Council's Resolutions, cannot be considered as UNRRA's task. Perhaps another Agency will later carry on the work started by UNRRA, as far as displaced Jews are concerned.

Dr. Silberstein stressed that any program for displaced Jews should not be separated from the welfare program since practically all Jews in Europe are badly in need of medical aid. The percentage of tuberculosis among Jewish refugees is horrifying, reaching 75 percent in some places of their concentration. Jewish children are in an especially difficult situation. Practically all the Jews who escaped from Poland are sick.

Dr. Silberstein came to this country last December and will stay until the middle of March, when he will return to Switzerland. He is living in Hotel Wellington, 55th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City. He stated that he should be only too glad to be of assistance to UNRRA.

F. Weisl

1300E

Excerpts From

Resolutions adopted by the Standing Technical  
Committee on Displaced Persons relating to Item  
V and Item VI (1st and 2nd clauses) on the  
Provisional Agenda for the Second Sessions of  
the Council.



Exceprts from

ITEM V

EXHIBIT B

DISPLACED EUROPEAN NATIONALS IN UNITED NATIONS TERRITORY NEVER OCCUPIED  
BY THE ENEMY

1.	<u>Africa (Other than Middle East and Egypt)</u>	<u>a/</u>
	b. Poles	17,350
3.	<u>Middle East and Egypt</u>	<u>a/</u>
	e. Poles	7,900
4.	<u>Iran</u>	<u>a/</u>
	Poles	8,250
5.	<u>India</u>	<u>a/</u>
	Poles	4,300
6.	<u>Great Britain</u>	60,000

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a/ The numbers given indicate displaced persons living in refugee centers.

Excerpts from  
ITEM VI, FIRST CLAUSE  
EXHIBIT A

DISPLACED PERSONS IN ENEMY AND EX-ENEMY TERRITORY

United Nations nationals in AUSTRIA -

a. Belgians	32,000
b. Czechoslovaks	118,500
c. Danes	1,000
d. French	285,000
e. Greeks	6,650
f. Dutch	30,000
g. Norwegians	-
h. Poles	350,000
i. Russians	280,000
j. Yugoslavs	131,320

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SOURCE: UNRRA TDP/E(44)16, June 28, 1944, pp. 2-5.  
Those figures were obtained either from SHAEF or from the National Governments concerned, and were compiled by UNRRA on the principle of accepting the higher figures when alternatives were presented. Prisoners of war actually in camps have been excluded.



Excerpts from  
ITEM VI, FIRST CLAUSE  
EXHIBIT A

DISPLACED PERSONS IN ENEMY AND EX-ENEMY TERRITORY  
(Germany)

b. CZECHOSLOVAKS

N	Hamburg, Oldenburg, Hanover	13,200
N	Schleswig-Holstein	17,300
N	Mecklenburg, Pomerania	32,000
N	Brandenburg, <del>Pomerania</del>	76,100
Ches	Rheinprovinz, Westphalia	216,700
Ches	Hessen, Nassau	27,200
N	Pfalz and Saar	27,600
N	Baden, Wurttemberg	16,900
N	Bavaria	37,900
N	Central Germany	96,100
N	Saxony	22,000
E	Silesia	67,400
E	Austria	118,500
E	E. Prussia	14,600

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Total 784,300

140  
140  
180

EXCERPTS FROM  
ITEM VI, FIRST CLAUSE  
EXHIBIT A

DISPLACED PERSONS IN ENEMY AND EX-ENEMY TERRITORY  
(Germany)

h. POLES

M	Hessen, Nassau	122,500
X	E. Prussia	166,250
M	L Silesia	192,500
S	Austria	350,000
M	Brandenburg	187,300
N	Mecklenburg, Pomerania	166,250
M	Saxony	210,000
S	Bavaria	117,250
M	Central Germany	304,500
S	Baden, Wurttemberg	80,500
M	Rheinprovinz, Westphalia	271,750
S	Pfalz and Saar	52,500
N	Hamburg, Oldenburg, Hanover (Ost.)	122,500
N	Schleswig-Holstein	42,000
	Total	2,386,000 *

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\* Total given by source, 2,450,000



Excerpts from  
ITEM VI, FIRST CLAUSE

EXHIBIT A

DISPLACED PERSONS IN ENEMY AND EX-ENEMY TERRITORY  
(Germany)

1. RUSSIANS

E. Prussia	90,000
Silesia	206,000
Austria	280,000
Brandenburg	132,000
Mecklenburg, Pomerania	140,000
Saxony	90,000
Bavaria	160,000
Central Germany	236,000
Baden, Wurttemberg	85,000
Hessen, Nassau	83,000
Rheinprovinz, Westphalia	170,000
Pfalz and Saar	66,000
Hamburg, Oldeburg, Hanover (Ost.)	90,000
Schleswig-Holstein	22,000

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Total	1,850,000
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EXCERPTS FROM  
ITEM VI, FIRST CLAUSE  
EXHIBIT A

DISPLACED PERSONS IN ENEMY AND EX-ENEMY TERRITORY

3. RUMANIA

a. Poles -		
	Fugitives	*
	Refugees	7,000

\* See Hungary for total Poles to Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary.

4. HUNGARY

a. Czechoslovaks	Jews	10,000
c. Poles -		
	Fugitives	39,050**

\*\* To Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, not entered for Bulgaria and Rumania.

5. ITALY

a. Czechoslovaks -		
	Civil Prisoners	600
	Workers	<u>2,000</u>
		2,600
c. Poles -		
	Fugitives	3,100

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SOURCE:

SHAEF/G-5/9 dated 15 May 1944 Appendix "K", Present Location and probable Movement of Displaced European Nationals.



F. Weis

(Excerpt)

U N R R A

STANDING TECHNICAL SUB-COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS FOR EUROPE  
NINTH Meeting 11th August 1944  
Draft Report on Food Supplies for displaced  
nationals of the United Nations in Germany, \*  
submitted by the Expert Commission on Supplies.

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\* For the purposes of this Report, "Germany" means pre-war Germany plus pre-war Austria.

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(Appendix VII)

LOCATION OF EMERGENCY STOCKS AT THE BARRAGES

It is suggested that such emergency stocks should be set up in the following zones:-

(aa) In the West .....

(bb) In the East following the Oder and along the Carpathians. The following places are suggested for the setting up of stocks:-

Stettin, Frankfurt on the Oder, Glogau, Breslau, Oppeln, Ratibor,  
Bielsko, Tarnow, Przemysl, Stanislawow.  
Around East Prussia: Elbing, Marienwerder, Deutsch Eylau, Neidenburg,  
Ortelsburg, Johannisburg, Lyck, Augustow.

(cc) Along the frontiers of Czechoslovakia in a chain of places within the country close to the borders:-

Jasina, Skotarsky, Uzok, Medzilaborce, Orlov, Bohumin, Krnov, Hanusovice,  
Lichkov, Nachod, Trutnov, Tanvald, Liberec, Lipa, Krasna, Decin, Podmokly,  
Most, Chomutov, Karl, Vary, Cheb, Tachov, Domazlice, Zelez, Ruda, Volary,  
H. Dvoriste, C. Velenice, Slavonice, Satov, Breclav, Bratislava, Komarno,  
Slov Nove Mesto, Cop, Kralova n/T., Trebusany.

(dd) Along the frontiers of Yugo-slavia (on the Austrian side and on the Yugo-slav side facing Hungary):

Villach, Volkermarkt, Leibnitz, Cakovac, Osijeck, Subotica.

1300 E-

10 January, 1945

To: Frank Weisl

From: Tony Sender

Subject: ERO Report for Month of November, 1944.

Besides the note on the meetings with the Hungarian Council in Great Britain, this report contains another interesting item, with the following text:

"An interpretation of Resolution 60 has been produced for the Administrative Council. A summary of correspondence with Allied Governments about displaced persons and about UNRRA Missions has been prepared for the information of this office."

So far I have not been able to find any division in UNRRA Headquarters which had more information on this topic. If the Displaced Persons Division should not cable for this information, I would suggest that we do.

T.Sender/ss



1300 E

6th January, 1945

MEMO TO THE FILES

From: Tony Sender T.S.

In a conversation with Mr. Bonnell I asked him about his connection with the Military and especially with Major Taylor of the CCAC. He said there was no direct connection between the Bureau of Supply and CCAC, but he understood that the arrangement for supplies for displaced persons was as follows:

1. Supplies. Each country should include in its procurement for supplies the eventual needs for camps and displaced persons, calculating its population in such a way that the persons displaced outside the national borders are included. The countries should indicate the number of their nationals displaced outside their frontiers, and if possible, where they are. However, Mr. Bonnell thinks that the total supply available could not be increased, at least not in the goods short in supply such as fats, oils and proteins.
2. Catalogue for camp needs. The setting up of a catalogue for camp needs is meant as a service to the countries to enable the latter to have a check-list for their needs. It would also enable the Bureau of Supply to anticipate requirements if camps should have to be supplied.

cc - Mr. Weisl

JAN 8 1945

SS

Mr. Weisl

1300E

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cc - Mr. Weisl ✓

*Mr. Fer*

~~*Mr. L L L*~~

*SS*

*Then free*

T.Sender/ss



1300 E

6th January, 1945

To: William Stauffer  
From: Tony Sender  
Subject: Foreign Workers in Germany

Concerning savings of foreign workers the German Official News Agency under dateline of 29 November, 1944, contained the following news item:

"Foreign workers who, owing to the interruption of transfer facilities to certain foreign countries, are no longer able to remit home their savings, can now pay these into 'special workers' accounts' opened by German commercial and savings banks, or into special post-office savings accounts."

The British Ministry of Economic Warfare attached the following comment to this item:

"A campaign has been carried on for some time to induce foreign workers to continue to deposit with German banks that part of their wages which was formerly transferred home to their families, in spite of the fact that such transfers can no longer be effected, their home countries now having been liberated. Only quite recently, a German paper wrote naively: 'As payments to Belgium, France, Bulgaria, the Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the General Government have stopped, foreign workers' savings cannot be transferred. Nevertheless, the Deutsche Bank still accepts such savings for transfer to Belgium, France and Bulgaria according to the hitherto existing regulations and is preparing their transfer to those countries in case such payments are resumed. Therefore, foreign workers are recommended currently to deposit their savings with the Deutsche Bank through their employers.'

The fact that most of Germany's foreign workers having by now been deprived of any transfer facilities with their home countries apparently prefer to retain their wages in notes rather than deposit them with any German bank, has certainly contributed to the very steep rise in the German note circulation. This hoarding of notes would also explain the German desire to induce the foreign workers to deposit their savings with some German credit institution.

6 January, 1945

Propagandists should discourage foreign workers from complying with such requests and advise them not only to hold on to their notes rather than deposit them with any German bank or post-office (from which its withdrawal might be difficult, or even impossible), but to try and buy some tangible asset or supplement their meagre food ration by purchases on the Black Market. The foreign worker should also be warned that as the future of the Mark is so very uncertain, even if a transfer does take place at some future date, he may find that his savings have depreciated to a small fraction of their original value.

The German authorities are obviously anxious to see these funds returned so that a) they can contribute to the German war effort, and b) retard the steep rise in the note circulation.

Once deposited, the bank, knowing that a resumption of transfer facilities cannot take place for some time, would lend the money to the State. The bank's assurance that it was "preparing the transfer to those countries in case such payments are resumed" is therefore without foundation.

According to a German message the other day, the following sums have been transferred abroad by foreign workers in Germany.

In 1940	RM.120,000,000
" 1941	RM.383,000,000
" 1942	RM.605,000,000
" 1943	RM.960,000,000
" 1944 over	RM.3,000,000,000

(N.B. this figure quoted without comment from an E.P.D.message)

The amounts involved are thus of fair importance and German attempts to make them available to their war effort quite understandable."

cc- Mr. Weisl

T.Sender/ss  
6 Jan 45

(Source: Weekly Prop. Ext. M.E.W. No. 148, 16 Dec. 44)



1300 E

X1300H

4 January, 1945

To: Frank Weisl

From: Tony Sender

Subject: Cable No. 4 from London Dealing with I.R.C.  
Report on 3½ million Starving Persons in  
Roumania and Liberated Parts of Hungary.

Having examined the UNHRA documents of Atlantic City and Montreal, it seems to me that the following two resolutions might apply to the above mentioned case.

Resolution No. 57, Montreal, says:

"Resolved

1. That, notwithstanding the provisions of Resolution 1, Part 1, the Administration shall be authorized without the necessity of obtaining prior approval by the Council to carry out operations in enemy or ex-enemy areas for the care and repatriation or return of displaced persons as contemplated by Resolution 10, in agreement with the government of the country of which they are nationals, or other persons who have been obliged to leave their country or place of origin or former residence or who have been deported therefrom, by action of the enemy, because of race, religion or activities in favor of the United Nations, or for the control of epidemics for the purpose of preventing the spread of such epidemics to United Nations areas or to displaced persons of United Nations nationality found in the particular enemy or ex-enemy area. In carrying out the purposes of this Resolution the Administration will do so only from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary.

2. That with regard to payment for such operations the Administration shall

4 January, 1945

(a) make arrangements with the military command or the appropriate authority for the provision of local currency in the manner contemplated in Sections 19 and 20 of Resolution 14;

(b) be authorized to charge against its general resources such expenses as cannot be met in local currency and fall to be met in foreign exchange, provided that the Director General consult from time to time with a committee established under Resolution 23 as to the financial commitments incurred by the Administration in carrying out the operations set out in paragraph 1 hereof and as to the ability of the countries involved to pay.

There is also a Resolution No. 60 dealing with care and return of certain persons of other than United Nations nationality, or stateless persons, found in liberated territory, which says:

"RESOLVED

1. That, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in other Resolutions of the Council, the Administration shall be authorized to undertake the care and return to their homes of persons of other than United Nations nationality, or stateless persons, who are found in liberated territory and who have been obliged to leave their country or place of origin or former residence or who have been deported therefrom, by action of the enemy, because of their race, religion, or activities in favor of the United Nations; provided, however, that nothing in this Resolution shall affect the provisions contained in the preamble of the Agreement and in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Part I of Resolution 1.

2. That with regard to payment for such operations the Administration shall

(a) make arrangements with the military command, the established control authority or the appropriate national authority for the provision of local currency in the manner contemplated in Sections 19 and 20 of Resolution 14;



4 January 1944

(b) be authorized to charge against its general resources such expenses as cannot be met in local currency and fall to be met in foreign exchange, provided that the Director General consult from time to time with a committee established under Resolution 23 as to the financial commitments incurred by the Administration in carrying out the operations set out in paragraph 1 hereof and as to the ability to pay of the enemy or ex-enemy countries of which the persons referred to in paragraph 1 are nationals.

It would result, from these motions, that UNRRA has the constitutional right to intervene in the case of the Jewish refugees mentioned in the cable. However, UNRRA would have to communicate with the military authorities, which would mean with the military authorities of the USSR, in order to come to a method to be agreed upon. It is doubtful if the right to care for the persons mentioned in the cable would concern all 3½ million, but there is probably no doubt that the 10% Jewish displaced persons would fall in this category.

Concerning the expenses incurred by eventual action of UNRRA it would have to be investigated if there is any delivery of relief supplies, the proceeds for which could be used for covering the expenses incurred in an eventual action, or if the Director General would have to make a decision.

Another question which would have to be investigated is the existence of appropriate national authority in the territories mentioned in the cable. As you remember, there was a news item in the press lately regarding the establishment of a government of liberated Hungary, and I assume that there is an appropriate national authority also in Roumania. I would think that those authorities would have to be consulted.

I want to draw your attention to an exchange of letters between the London office and the Allied governments of the Western powers which refer also to a similar question. You will see from the letter addressed by Mr. Robertson to Mr. Jackson that SHAEF thinks that the resolution No. 57, as well as 60, would not necessitate any modification of SHAEF procedures or of SHAEF/UNRRA Agreement.

Please find attached also, section 19 and 20 of resolution No. 14 (Atlantic City).

Attached also, is paragraphs 1 and 2 of part I of Resolution No. I (Atlantic City).

RESOLUTION NO. 14

Section 19. Supplies and Services for Which Member Governments Are Not in a Position to Pay with Suitable Means of Foreign Exchange.

The Council recommends that governments not in a position to pay in suitable means of foreign exchange for necessary relief and rehabilitation supplies or services make available to the Administration in whole or in part the local currency proceeds from the sale of supplies furnished by the Administration. It shall be the policy of the Administration to use any such local currency for relief and rehabilitation work, including the care and movement of displaced persons, and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon with the government. Programs for the utilization of such local currency shall be formulated by the Director General and the member government involved.

Section 20. Expenses Met With Local Currency.

The Council recommends that so far as possible all expenses of the Administration within a liberated area shall be borne by the government of such area, and shall be paid in local currency made available by the government of the area or derived from the proceeds of the sale of supplies.



PART I

GENERAL POLICIES

RESOLUTION NO. I

1. In the case of a liberated area in which a government or recognized national authority does not yet exercise administrative authority, the Administrations will operate from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command and the Administration, and subject to such control as the military command may find necessary. The Administration shall, so far as circumstances permit, seek the advice of the government or recognized national authority concerned.

2. In the case of a liberated area in which a government or recognized national authority exercises administrative authority, the Administration will operate only after consultation with, and with the consent of, the government or recognized national authority concerned regarding the form of activities to be undertaken by the Administration within the whole or part of such area.

1300 E

3 January, 1945

MEMO TO THE FILES

FROM: Tony Sender

SUBJECT: Displaced Persons (Camp Division)

The Camp Division is continuing its work on cataloguing food, clothing and medical supplies needed in camps for D.P. They started to take the next step in initiating measures for the stock-piling of all the needed goods or commodities for 100,000 persons, the underlying idea being the needs for 10 camps with a population of 10,000 each.

The stock-piled goods would be sufficient as initial equipment for the duration of 30 days. Any amount of articles taken away and shipped will be replenished at once.

CC - Mr. Weisl

T.Sender/ss

✓ X 8413 E48 ✓



1300E

29 December, 1944

To: William Stauffer (Room 214A)

From: Tony Sender

Subject: Multilateral Agreement for Displaced Persons

After our conversation of yesterday, I checked with Mr. Hugh Jackson's office and also with Mr. James Johnson of the General Counsel's office, on the question of which of the United Nations Governments had signed the Multilateral Agreement. None of the persons contacted had any positive knowledge of the present status of the question. Mr. Johnson's assumption was that none had signed yet although the Western powers seem to have declared their readiness to sign.

In case your own division has no more positive information, would it not be advisable to initiate a cable to London asking about the present status of this problem?

1300E

29 December, 1944

To: William Stauffer (Room 214A)

From: Tony Sender

Subject: SHAEF Documents

On December 14, 1944 Mr. Cooley sent a cable to London with the following text:

"Appendices to Shaef Administrative Memorandum number 39 unobtainable here. Please obtain and forward here earliest if possible."

I have here a copy of Administrative Memorandum No. 39 with the appendices A to E attached to it. You probably have the same document in your office, so I must assume that Mr. Cooley did not want the appendices but some other documents unobtainable here.

In going over the Memorandum, I come to the conclusion that the following documents would be valuable here. They are mentioned in the following places in the Memorandum.

Page 2, point 5, Organization

"TALISMAN Memorandum No. 14, SHAEF/G-5/DP/1043, dated 30 September, 1944."

Page 4, point 8, Documentation

"Supreme Headquarters, AEF, Outline Plan for Refugees and D.P., AG 383.7-1 GE-AGM, 4 June, 1944."

"Memorandum No. 14, SHAEF/G-5/DP/1043, 30 Aug. 1944."

In Appendix E the following two documents are mentioned which might be valuable to secure from London:

"Guide to Assembly Centre Administration for Refugees and D.P. (CA/d9), July 1944."

"Guide to Organization & Staff Requirements of an Assembly Centre of 2,000 - 3,000 Occupants (SHAEF/G-5/DP/2720 dated 13 September, 1944."

Would you kindly let me know if you think it advisable to ask for these documents.



file  
1300E

18 December 1944

TO: L. Larry Lechard  
V. J. Tereshtenko  
Betty Douglass

FROM: Frank Weisl *FW*

SUBJECT: SHAEF Administrative Memo. of Displaced Persons

Before making the attached summary and comments on the SHAEF agreement concerning Displaced Persons available to Mr. Menshikov, I should like you to glance through it so that you will have the background information when the next meeting with Mr. Menshikov takes place.

Please return the summary to me today if it is at all possible.

Attachment.

1300E

5 February, 1945

To: Frank Weisl

From: Tony Sender

As requested, attached is a report I have written on Displaced  
Persons, for your use in the panel discussion.

T.Sender/ss



According to the UNRRA agreement signed by the United Nations, UNRRA will operate in enemy and ex-enemy countries for one purpose: To help bring back home the millions and millions of displaced people, deported workers and evacuees, victims of the Nazi lust for expansion.

Practically all nationalities of Europe are represented among the 8 to 10 million foreigners, most of them forced into Germany to work for the enemy's war plants. Their number was increased by an unknown high number of Prisoners of War released from prison camps for work in the German war industry. Among the non-Germans moved into Germany and Austria are:

5 - 600,000 Belgians

more than 800,000 Czechoslovaks

" " 2 million French

2- $\frac{1}{2}$  million Poles

1,900,000 Russians

Besides the millions of foreigners taken into Germany for labor or as prisoners, it is estimated that about one million more non-Germans have been conscripted or have volunteered for service in the German forces.

In addition there are some 150,000 so-called Volksdeutsche, persons of foreign nationality who were living outside Germany but for whom the Nazis claimed German nationality or to be of the German race.

The counter-flow out of Germany and Austria has been considerable, though smaller than the inflow. At the end of 1943 their number was estimated at about 2 millions.

The men, and a smaller number of women among the United Nations nationals, some of them away from home for three, four and more years, have the one most urgent desire: To return home as quickly as possible.

But Germany and Austria at this time, and increasing each week, will be completely deteriorating, with transportation systems breaking down, food supply disorganized, the Nazi authority crushed and the armies of three or four nations occupying the whole of the country. Under these circumstances it is evident that the return of the displaced persons to their homeland cannot be left unorganized and unaided.

Some of them, of course, will be able to make their way home unaided. But for the great majority this will not be possible. Especially not for those whose home is a long distance away or who have to travel through one or more other foreign lands before reaching the borders of their national home. Others may be too weak or sick; again others left without any documents to prove their nationality to permit them to cross the borders.

Thus, a large part of the displaced can only be dealt with by an international organization which can secure the necessary collaboration and draw upon adequate resources.

During the military period, when fighting is still going on or has but lately ceased, the responsibility for the care, registration, repatriation, health and welfare of the displaced persons rests with the Allied military authorities. In the Western European field of



action this authority is SCAEF - the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force. In order to assure a close and smooth cooperation with the Military, the Director General of UNRRA has signed an agreement with SHAEF (SUPREME Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force).

SHAEF will deal with the following tasks:

- prevent any hindrance to military operations which might be caused by the massing and uncontrolled movement of D.P.
- prevent and control outbreaks of disease.
- relieve conditions of destitution among D.P.
- set up an organization for rapid and orderly repatriation which can be handed over in due course to the appropriate civilian authorities.

Responsibility for the care of D.P. may be delegated at any time by the Military to UNRRA. UNRRA personnel will be assigned to work in such areas under the Military Commanders. Already UNRRA representatives are working with the military at the top level.

It is expected that UNRRA personnel will be steadily increased and with this increase in numbers and experience UNRRA will gradually assume an increasing responsibility.

Practically all the United Nations in Europe are concerned in the problem of D.P. In order to facilitate uniform and efficient treatment a Multilateral Agreement is being signed defining UNRRA's role and pledging the signatories to the recognition of UNRRA as the central international organ for coordinating the work of repatriation and for regulating by agreement between the governments concerned the general conditions under which it shall be carried out.

As in the matters of relief, supply and services, UNRRA, in the

matter of repatriation of D.P., will operate only after agreement is reached with the government concerned. However, it is expected that most European governments will sign the agreement. This cooperation is in the interest of both - it will often not be possible to identify the nationality of the D.P. without the help of the representative of the United Nations governments.

The main task will be to establish conditions in which the movement of D.P. can be properly organized. The Allied Military Commander must be in a position to halt a possible stampede, otherwise the movement of D.P. out of Germany will jam military lines of communication. And such a stampede, under the then prevailing conditions in Germany, might jeopardize the life or health of the trekking D.P. themselves. But a commander can call such a halt only if he has something to offer, if he can convey the assurance that safety, shelter and food, and a quick repatriation are available through the assistance of the military and eventually UNRRA.

For this purpose Assembly Centres are planned in Germany as a unit of operation. It is the intention that each of these Centres shall provide for several thousand D.P. - the number varying according to circumstances. These centres are not to be places of detention for forced laborers. They will have to serve as friendly hostels on the road to home and freedom. If possible, they should not be "camps.", they may be simply a collection of billets with a convenient administrative center.

However, nobody is in a position now to know the circumstances under which surrender will occur, or how much destruction may take



place as a result of bombing, military operations or scorched earth policy of the Nazis.

But what we do know is that the task of repatriating the millions of D.P. in Germany and Austria is one that requires manifold talents and gifts: The ability for quick improvisation, resourcefulness and adaptability to difficult and often adverse circumstances, patience, understanding and kindness for people who have undergone terror and suffering and may be embittered toward every one and everything.

This task, however, is a challenge UNRRA will have to meet.

T. Sender/ss  
5 Feb 1945

E-1300

DISPLACED POPULATIONS PROBLEMS

(Extracts from the Report of the Technical Advisory Committee  
on Displaced Populations - October 1943, London)

The Advisory Committee on Displaced Populations was appointed by the Inter-Allied Committee at its meeting on June 10, 1943. The Committee will present periodical reports to the Inter-Allied Committee. It consists of:

Sir Michael Palairat, Chairman	Miss M. Digby, Secretary
M. Stadler - Belgium	Dr. Alf Sewerlin - Norway
Dr. Linz - Belgium	Dr. W. Langrod - Poland
M. A. Delierheux - Belgium	M. Nowrski - Poland
M. M. Buset - Belgium	M. Kostowski - Poland
M. M. M. Ambros - Czechoslovakia	Dr. K. Zaluski - Poland
M. K. Brunlik - Czechoslovakia	Dr. Penrose - U. S. A.
M. A. Morhange - France	M. Kocic - Yugoslavia
Dr. Germanos - Greece	M. M. Mitrovitch - Yugoslavia
M. A. Adossides - Greece	M. Mazuranitch - Yugoslavia
Dr. J. A. F. Van den Belt - Netherlands	J. H. Corvin - Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau
Dr. W. Huender - Netherlands	

The Committee also has the assistance of: Dr. Melville Mackenzie  
(Chairman of the Technical Advisory Committee on Medical Supplies and Services)

Professor Hondelink - (Chairman of the Technical Advisory Committee on Inland Transport)

Sir Herbert Emerson - League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Mr. C. Robbins - ILO

Mr. G. Rasmussen - Danish Legation

Mr. F. F. Hoehler and Mr. R. L. Funkhouser - OPRRO

Lt. Col. A. L. Patrick, War Office (Civil Affairs)

In August 1943, the total number of displaced persons in Europe or of European origin was 21,000,000 (excluding prisoners from Great Britain, British Dominions, U. S. A., U. S. S. R., Germany, Italy; armies of occupation; enemy civil administration personnel; Europeans in the Far East; citizens of the U. S. S. R. displaced within their own country). Of them, 8,000,000 were displaced within their own country (5,360,000 in Poland; 1,350,000 in France; 550,000 in Yugoslavia; 211,200 in Czechoslovakia; 160,000 in Greece). Of the remaining 13,000,000, 8,000,000 are in Germany and 1,600,000 in Poland. The number of deportees from Germany and of German colonists from non-German countries is about 1,000,000.



Any authority which may be set up to deal with the problem should have the power to carry out the following duties:

1. To collect and disseminate information on the subject.
2. To issue preliminary instructions to civilian displaced persons.
3. To secure agreement on a unified system of records, health activities and preliminary identity papers.
4. To send missions.
5. To arrange with transport authorities.
6. To arrange with authority controlling relief supplies.

The Medical Advisory Committee\* which should be at the disposal of the Committee on Displaced Population, will be in need of the following information:

1. Estimates of the numbers of displaced persons, the approximate speed with which it is hoped to repatriate them, the routes by which they would travel, and the form of transportation that would be utilized.
2. Details of the scope of activity and the authority of the organization dealing with the whole question of the movement of displaced persons.
3. The steps it will be possible to take immediately to re-establish machinery for the rapid collection and dissemination of epidemiological information internationally.
4. Authority of medical missions working in a country foreign to their own in connection with the assembly points for returning displaced persons.
5. Reports by individual governments on the procedure envisaged regarding the general control of immigrant traffic and statement which of the three possible procedures of quarantine will be adopted: frontier quarantine, utilization of existing accommodations in cities, or surveillance of individuals.

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\*A special report was prepared for the Technical Advisory Committee on Displaced Populations by the Technical Advisory Committee on Medical Supplies and Services.

Transport Problems\* Provisions should be made for: (a) carrying international missions and repatriation officers to the district where displaced persons are located; (b) the transport of food, clothing, medical supplies, etc.; (c) Transport of displaced persons.

The European Central Inland Transport Office and its Regional and Local Officers would be in charge of all phases of transport. The liaison officer with the National Government should be available to act as intermediary. The National Government's rationing and distribution department will indicate from which sources food, clothing, etc. will be provided. Repatriation officers from the Home Government will be sent to the districts where their displaced nationals are located. If the displaced persons are within the territory of an Allied country, then the Government of that country shall set up the necessary machinery to coordinate the work of its own authorities with that of the foreign repatriation officer. In the use of enemy territory, such steps for coordination should be taken by the appropriate section of the Armistice Commission or Occupation Authority.

The transport of displaced persons to their home countries will be arranged upon consultation with colleagues in the displaced persons' home country by the Regional or Local Transport Officer in whose district the assembly points are situated. This transport must be carried on credit, i.e. on vouchers to be issued by the transport officer. In enemy country this transport should be free of charge. A provision to this end is recommended for insertion in the Armistice terms.

Application for transport will be sent to the Transport Officer by the Repatriation Officer of the home country concerned and the Local Repatriation Officer in the allied territory. All persons to be repatriated should be provided with necessary identification documents. Large transports should be accompanied by a leader appointed by the Repatriation Officers and, when necessary, by a medical staff. The home country's local authorities shall generally be responsible for interior transport within the home country. A Railway Timetable Conference for the scheduling of repatriation trains should be called at the earliest possible date.

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\*A special report on this subject was prepared for the Technical Committee on Displaced Populations by the Technical Advisory Committee on Inland Transport (Appendix IV).



Rehabilitation of Displaced Agricultural Population.\* Two different cases may be distinguished here. The return of displaced individuals to farms which have remained in the possession of their families raises no special agricultural problem aside from the availability of agricultural labor. Where, however, whole populations have been moved from rural areas, the situation will call for special schemes of resettlement (for instance, in Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, etc.)

In the latter case, the following data will be needed: (a) the number of displaced persons; (b) their origin and their present location; (c) the area of their land farmed and type of farming; (d) whether displaced farmers had taken with them any farm implements; (e) whether the land has been farmed since their departure and whether, upon the expulsion of the present occupants, any implements, livestock, sown crops, etc. are likely to remain; and (f) whether the displaced persons are laborers or owners.

Priority as to the return of farmers may depend upon the season (little field work can be undertaken in winter and shelter may be more easily provided at some central camp). Higher priority should be given to farmer owners than to laborers. Before considering the provision of capital domestic goods, it will be necessary to decide whether individual farming should be resumed or whether cooperative cultivation would be more advantageous for the first season, with the people lodged in camps. Provisions for non-agricultural personnel should be made: doctors, veterinary surgeons, mechanics, millers, bakers, carpenters (to be provided with tools if necessary) etc.

Agricultural resettlement units for 1,000 or 2,000 families might be desirable; the national governments concerned might advise regarding the minimum of units required. A list of capital supplies should be drawn up for resettlement units for use in any country.

Identification and Registration. Those in possession of national identity papers should retain them for use after resettlement but would require temporary papers for use pending and during registration. Those without national identity papers would require temporary papers exchangeable for permanent documents as soon as nationality is confirmed. A single document should be issued, the first part of which would be an identity certificate and the latter part a repatriation certificate, covering transport and exchangeable when necessary for ordinary identity papers on the return of the displaced person to his home country. The identity certificate should include medical particulars required by

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\*A special report on this subject was prepared for the Technical Committee on Displaced Populations by the Technical Advisory Committee on Agriculture (Appendix V).



quarantine authorities and some form of temporary ration card. The particulars entered on the identity certificate should also be entered on a report compiled by the repatriation authority for the purpose of re-uniting families. Identity certificates should be international and in two languages: English and the language of the holder.

Particulars should be obtained and recorded regarding claims of displaced persons against enemy nationals in respect to wages due, etc.

The International Red Cross has already compiled in Geneva a Register of over one million names of displaced persons.

Food Requirements for Displaced Populations. For feeding purposes the Allied displaced persons in enemy territory can be divided into the following classes: (a) those in concentration camps; (b) those in organized groups, e.g. assembly centres; (c) those scattered in small groups, mostly engaged in agricultural work; (d) organized groups of women and children.

The following difficulties should be anticipated: (a) communal rations to persons in Assembly centres might be forthcoming, while these persons will not have individual ration documents and the money to obtain food outside; (b) persons not in Assembly centres may find difficulty in getting their ration documents honored; (c) persons who set out immediately for the frontier may have neither ration documents nor money to get food in the places through which they pass (distribution of food at Assembly centres will be a great incentive to restrain unorganized movement.)

Appropriate authorities should include in the conditions of surrender provisions relating to the safeguarding of feeding arrangements for displaced persons and qualified key personnel should be sent into Germany at the earliest moment and without waiting for the full machinery of occupation to be established. At this stage it will be necessary to rely mainly on German supplies for the feeding of displaced Allied nationals. Immediate measures should be taken to bring scattered displaced persons into the Assembly centres and all food relief plans should be considered in relation to (a) assembly centres, and (b) feeding

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\*A report on the feeding problems of Allied displaced persons in Germany was prepared.



the displaced persons during their transit from Germany. Fulllest possible use should be made of the cooking equipment and feeding service organized by the Germans in connection with Allied air attacks. Provisions should be made in the article of surrender that all emergency feeding equipment should be placed at the disposal of Allied authorities. Allied representatives should have power to direct existing German personnel.

It is quite probable that many displaced persons will attempt to make their own way to their native countries. Communal feeding centers may provide a method of collecting such persons and bringing their movement under control. Emergency feeding centers, therafore, should be made available at regular intervals along prescribed routes to the frontiers.

In some cases sealed trains may be necessary in order to prevent persons from descending at selected stations. Boilers for drinking water should be installed in freight cars attached to the train in such cases.

VJTereshchenko/gen  
11 May 1944

POPULATION DISPLACED FROM POLAND AND RUSSIA

Displaced from Country of Origin	Germany and Austria	Poland	USSR	France with Al-Lorand & N. Africa	Spain Portu- gal	Sweden	Norway	Greece and Yugo- slavia	Italy	Hun- gary, Bulg. and Ruman.	Middle and Far East	Amer- ican Con- tin- ent	Unspec- ified Foreign Count- ries	Other Parts of Own Count.	TOTAL
<u>POLAND</u>															
Axis workers	2,000,000												170		2,000,170
Civil prisoners	50,000		42,000											200,000	292,000
Extruded persons			650,000											4,320,000	4,850,000
Intruded persons														160,000	160,000
Prisoners of war	400,000												200		400,200
War fugitives & expatriates				16,500	620	130		500	3,100	39,050	39,510	6,180	8,350	800,000	913,940
<u>Total</u>	<u>2,450,000</u>		<u>692,000</u>	<u>16,500</u>	<u>620</u>	<u>130</u>		<u>500</u>	<u>3,100</u>	<u>39,050</u>	<u>39,510</u>	<u>6,180</u>	<u>8,720</u>	<u>5,360,000</u>	<u>8,616,310</u>
<u>U.S.S.R.</u>															
Axis workers	800,000						30,000								830,000
Prisoners of war	?						15,000			300,000					315,000
War fugitives & refugees								25,000			450,000				475,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>800,000</u>						<u>45,000</u>	<u>25,000</u>		<u>300,000</u>	<u>450,000</u>				<u>1,620,000</u>
<u>BALTIC STATES</u>															
Axis workers	80,000	--	--												80,000
Deportees			127,000												127,000
Intruded persons		130,000													130,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>80,000</u>	<u>130,000</u>	<u>127,000</u>												<u>337,200</u>
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>3,330,000</u>	<u>130,000</u>	<u>819,000</u>	<u>16,500</u>	<u>620</u>	<u>130</u>	<u>45,000</u>	<u>25,500</u>	<u>3,100</u>	<u>339,050</u>	<u>489,510</u>	<u>6,180</u>	<u>8,720</u>	<u>5,360,000</u>	<u>10,573,510</u>

\*Including those in occupied Russia

\*\*Old "Nansen" refugees from last war; they include some in European countries.



# DISPLACED POPULATION IN POLAND AND RUSSIA

IN:	POLAND	RUSSIA	TOTAL
From:			
<u>Baltic States</u>			
Deportees		127,000	127,000
Intruded Persons	130,000		130,000
Total	130,000	127,000	257,000
<u>Belgium &amp; Luxemburg</u> (a)(b)			
Deportees	44,000		44,000
Extruded persons	51,000		51,000
Intruded persons	31,000	3,500	34,500
Total	126,000	3,500	129,500
<u>Bulgaria</u>			
<u>Czechoslovakia</u> (b)			
Deportees	150,000		150,000
Expatriates	50,000		50,000
Refugees & war fugitives		3,600	3,600
Total	200,000	3,600	203,600
<u>Denmark</u>			
<u>France</u> (b)			
Deportees	210,000		210,000
Intruded persons	6,000		6,000
Total	216,000		216,000
<u>Germany</u> (b)			
Deportees	245,000(?)		245,000
Intruded persons	?		?
Total	245,000(?)		245,000(?)
<u>Hungary</u>			
<u>Italy</u> ?			
<u>Netherlands</u>			
Axis workers		2,000	2,000
Deportees	(b) 150,000		150,000
Total	150,000	2,000	152,000
<u>Norway</u>			
Axis workers	200		200
Deportees	1,000		1,000
Total	1,200		1,200
<u>Poland</u>			
Civil prisoners		42,000	42,000
Extruded persons		650,000	650,000
Total		692,000	692,000
<u>Rumania</u>			
Deportees		250,000	250,000
Intruded persons	190,000		190,000
Total	190,000	250,000	440,000
<u>Russia</u>			
<u>Spain</u>			
<u>Yugoslavia</u> (b)			
Deportees	150,000		150,000
Intruded persons	20,000		20,000
Total	170,000		170,000
<b>Grand Total</b>	(b) 1,428,200	1,078,100	2,506,300

- (a) Including foreigners  
 (b) 50% of the deportees in Poland are possibly no longer alive (i.e., about 400,000 persons)

## DEFINITIONS:

Description	Term Used
A. All persons separated from their homes and therefore in need of help.	Displaced Persons
B. Persons who were abroad at the outbreak of war, but enjoying protection of own government.	Expatriates
C. Expatriates for political reasons, unsettled and without protection of government.	Refugees
D. Persons who fled from war areas	War fugitives
E. Persons removed on order from home	Deportees
F. Persons expelled from residence by occupying power	Extruded persons
G. Settlers planted by Axis on occupied or annexed lands	Intruded persons
H. Persons removed from danger area according to plan of defenders or occupants.	Evacuees
I. Persons from occupied territories set to work for Axis with or without own consent.	Axis (organized) workers



1300E

15 December, 1944

To: Frank Weisl

From: Tony Sender

As agreed upon in the discussion in Mr. Menshikov's office, I am attaching summary of and comment to the SHAEF Administrative Memo of Displaced Persons.

Attachment

T.SenderYss



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To prevent uncontrolled movements of D.P.  
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To relieve conditions of want and protect against interference or ill-treatment on the part of the Germans.  
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Comment: It might be advisable to say how this inability is being defined. It may be created only by the stand-still order given by the Military.

ORGANIZATION

- A. In conditions of opposed advance.

Comment: This period probably will not be UNRRA's responsibility. Apparently the term "period of opposed advance" is identical with the term "Military period" used with regard to United Nations

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Military District Commanders will operate through the Displaced Persons Executive (D.P.X.)

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

##### EXECUTIVE

The D.P.X. will become operative as Military Government is imposed in whole or in part. Four categories of the Military <sup>will be</sup> Active. The fifth group are D.P. Staff Officers of the Control Commission (British) and the U.S. Group Control Council, and sixth is UNRRA personnel.

##### INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK

During the Military period SHAEF will exercise control. Chief liaison officers for allied Governments will form part of Supreme Headquarters to advise and assist in administering their D.P. nationals. The Governments of France, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Yugoslavia, and Polish and Danish representatives in London have indicated readiness to cooperate. Greece and Czechoslovakia informally expressed a similar intention.

Discussions are in progress with U.S.S.R. concerning the coordination of activities in the Military zones in Germany.

Comment: It would be valuable for Areas to know how these discussions now stand. It might be useful to clear the question: If a uniform handling by all occupation authorities is desirable and could be effective?

Arrangements for the repatriation of D.P. from the Processing Center in Germany to the Reception Centers in their own country will be made through Shaef, Missions to the Government concerned, or, if there is no Mission, directly with the Governments.



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Comment: Are these documents available?

RESPONSIBILITY

Responsibility of Commanders

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Submit reports on the presence, number, location, and condition of U.N.D.P. for submission through command channels to the United Nations Military or national authorities.

Register U.N.D.P.

Arrange through appropriate channels for repatriation movement of U.N.D.P.

Give opportunity to United Nations nationals to join the armed forces of their country as represented by units in the theatre, or service in labor battalions organized by the Military within the scope of agreements entered into by the Governments concerned.

Comment: Should it not be clarified that these activities ought to be of a voluntary nature?

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They will have to pay for all goods, facilities and services for U.N.D.P., provide the means for shelter, maintenance, medical attention required for U.N.D.P. as a matter of priority over the needs of the German population.

Comment: Does this mean that German doctors will have to be used in in D.P. shelters?

Produce on demand lists of U.N.D.P. in Internment and concentration camps, and lists of political prisoners, and location, character and nature of accommodations.

Disseminate, as directed, Supreme Commander's instructions on U.N.D.P.

Comment: It is to be assumed that, although using the German authorities, one should not rely entirely on them, but make additional investigation.

#### UNRRA

UNRRA has been authorized to undertake the care, relief and rehabilitation of U.N.D.P. UNRRA must also be specifically invited by the Government concerned before it can operate.

UNRRA staff officers will be attached to and form part of Headquarters at which there will be D.P. Staff Officers. Their numbers will be progressively increased as determined by Military Commanders.

Comment: Does a detailed plan exist on this procedure?

UNRRA will provide personnel to take over in whole or in part, the administration and management of Assembly Centers, and will forward personnel when desired by Military Commanders. UNRRA will provide special personnel including medical and welfare officers, and employ secretarial and administrative personnel as requested by the Military.

UNRRA personnel will wear a prescribed uniform and will be provided with identification as non-combatants accompanying the armed forces.

#### Transfer to UNRRA

The proportion of UNRRA personnel at all levels will be increased as rapidly as military and other considerations permit, in order to facilitate the smooth transfer of full responsibility to UNRRA.



In addition, Allied administrative personnel will be made available through the European Regional Office of UNRRA. This personnel will form part of UNRRA and will be used for the care of the corresponding national groups.

Comment: In this connection, the point may be raised: How will the respective financial responsibilities be distributed between the Military and UNRRA?

#### REFUGEES

The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees remains responsible for the resettlement of persons who have been obliged to leave their homes for reasons of race, religion or political belief and cannot, or do not desire to be returned to their homes. UNRRA has agreed to care for these and stateless persons for a period of time agreed upon between UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee. After this period, the Intergovernmental Committee will assume responsibility for those not repatriated or settled.

Comment: Have such negotiations been undertaken, and if so, what is the present stage?

#### ALLIED LIAISON OFFICERS

Responsibility of the Allied Liaison Officers is:

To assist in identification.  
Issue repatriation visas.  
Assist in welfare and health programs.  
Assist in the selection of staff from among their nationals.  
Recommend priority for the repatriation of their nationals.  
Assist in the settlement or documentation of claims for wages, compensation or insurance due to the nationals.  
Assist in the coordination of transport arrangements.

Comment: Has UNRRA any influence in the selection of these Allied Liaison Officers, or is their choice left exclusively to the respective Government?

PROCESSING  
CENTERS

A Processing Center (i.e. an Accommodation Area) may be an Assembly Center, a Reception Center or a Border Control Station.

- A. Assembly Centers are to be established as a Military responsibility. It will not be desirable to billet U.N.D.P. on the German Civilian population.

Comment: The latter provision seems to be reasonable, but at the same time it indicates the probable need for the construction of appropriate shelters for the U.N.D.P.

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Comment: Are there any maps in existence showing the demarcation between the various Military zones?

The document states that the control of all movements out of Germany will be controlled in accordance with letters SHAEF A350.09-4 GBI-AGM dated 12 September and 11 October 1944.

Comment: Are these letters available?

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CLASSES

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NEUTRAL  
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PERSONS

A stateless person, and persons persecuted because of their race, religion or activities in favor of United Nations, including persons of Germany origin, will be accorded the same assistance granted to United Nations Displaced Persons, provided that their loyalty to the Allies has been determined.

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U.N.D.P. arrested by German police will be handed over to Military or Military Government police. U.N.D.P. will be tried in Military courts and not in German courts.

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D.P.X., SHAEF, will administer and supervise repatriation movement.

Comment: Will this Administration through D.P.X. continue during the UNRRA period?

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Comment: Has UNRRA participated in transportation planning, and how does Headquarters Inland Transportation fit in?



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1300E

15 December, 1944

To: Frank Weisl  
From: Tony Sender  
Subject: Contacts with other Agencies on  
Planning for Displaced Persons

In exploring the question, if, and what kind of, planning has been done by American Agencies in Washington, I have contacted the following:

F.E.A.

Mr. Fitzgerald of the Manpower Division of F.E.A., who is, among other matters, in charge of Displaced Persons within the "Economic Institutions" of Liberated Areas. It appeared that no planning, in the proper sense of the word, is done in this division, but only some thinking on the problem. Mr. Fitzgerald is on this job only a short time, since his predecessor, Mr. George Wheeler, has gone to London.

Their ideas and questions go in the following direction:

1. There ought to be the greatest possible speeding up of the repatriation. They view the stand fast order with misgivings.
2. The treatment of any nationals ought to be in accordance with the judgment of their Mother countries, which should have a voice in working out the policy.
3. In the endeavor to give work to D.P. no forced labor should be imposed upon them. Any discrimination against any group ought to be stopped immediately.
4. If camps are needed there ought not to be any kind of treatment reminiscent of concentration camps. Priority should be given over German nationals in medical care, food, clothing, housing.
5. Priority ought to be given also to D.P. with regard to transportation and to paid work for the Military.

X1300 B.



15 Dec. 1944

State Dept.

Eleanor Lansing Dulles of the State Dept, who is also a member of the UNRRA Standing Technical Committee for Displaced Persons (for the U.S.) told me of an Inter-departmental Committee (State, Army, Navy, FEA) that, at an earlier stage, was dealing with the question of D.P. in Germany.

On each European country, two documents were prepared:

- A. a descriptive statement of number, location, etc.
- B. a policy program.

Copies of these documents have gone to London for use by the European Advisory Committee and to SHAEF. Mrs. Dulles could not give me these documents as they are secret, but upon my questions she gave me some information on their content. They deal with:

Registration - discussing the need for priority for special skills.

Food - if the Military sanctioned it, there ought to be a budget for the import of food supply.

Shelter - the document discusses the question whether, for psychological reasons, the D.P. in Germany should not be taken out of barracks; however, this was not assumed as being probable considering the fact that most D.P. will stay only temporarily and that building material was short. Only for a minority another solution might be necessary (stateless, etc.) and in cases where D.P. are living now in a dungeon.

Supply - a minimum amount may have to be sent.

Transportation - the receiving governments will have to negotiate with SHAEF.

15 Dec. 1944

O.S.S.

Dr. O. Weigert of O.S.S. told me that he belonged to a Committee on Displaced Persons in O.S.S. (R & A) but that it met very rarely. After he had talked with Miss Helen Jasci (Manpower & Population) he called me up to tell me that so far no planning was done with regard to D.P. in O.S.S.

He will inform me as soon as he learns of any other office that might be active in this direction. In the meantime, I have learned that apparently a paper had been worked out by Mr. Newman, but has not been accepted.

War Dept.

Upon investigation I found out that Col. Christie was in charge of this question for the War Dept. Contact with him would have to be made by Mr. Aiken of the General Counsel's Office.

Tsender/ss



UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

To: Mr. Menshikov

File 100

The attached is prepared  
for you at your  
request transmitted  
through Mr. Eckhaus.

AAI  
Dec. 13  
3/40 P.M.

The questions indicated  
are those raised in  
the cable.

1300E

UNITED NATIONS  
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

1344 CONNECTICUT AVENUE  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

13 December 1944

To: Mr. Menshikov

From: L. Leonard *ALL*

Subject: Cable #1264 from London - Stateless Persons

- I. Do Resolutions 57 and 60 apply to (a) stateless persons as well as non-United Nations nationals; or (b) non-United Nations nationals only?
  1. These resolutions apply to both stateless and non-United Nations displaced persons.
  2. Resolution No. 57, paragraph 1, authorizes the Administration to carry out operations with regard to displaced persons contemplated under Resolution 10.
  3. Paragraph 5-b of the Atlantic City Displaced Persons Committee Report specifically states that "UNRRA should also assist those nationals of the United Nations and those stateless persons who have been driven as a result of the war from their places of settled residence in countries of which they are not nationals, to return to those places." (p. 157). This paragraph is referred to in Resolution 10, paragraph 3.
- II. Can the foreign exchange resources of the Administration be used to pay the costs of caring for stateless and non-United Nations nationals?
  1. Yes. This is authorized by paragraphs 2-b of both Resolution No. 57 and Resolution No. 60.
- III. Should the Sub-Committee on Ability to Pay be consulted by the Director General before expending foreign exchange resources for stateless and non-United Nations displaced nationals?
  1. This Sub-Committee should be consulted:
    - a. When it is found that the foreign exchange costs involved will be large, or
    - b. If the Director General expects to receive payment from enemy and ex-enemy countries, since the ability

*X1300H* ✓



13 December 1944

to pay will be determined with regard to specific countries. In the case of stateless persons, no country has financial responsibility. In the case of non-United Nations nationals, the only countries from which payment might be obtained, if they were found to have the ability to pay, would be enemy and ex-enemy countries. Only Resolution No. 60 has reference to determination of enemy and ex-enemy countries' ability to pay.

cc - Mr. Weisl  
Mr. Brown

File Personnel  
misc

Dr. Adolf Silberschein Comité "Relico" (Comité d'assistance pour la  
population juive frappée par la Guerre, Genève  
1, Rue du Rhône

Fanny Silberschein Comité International pour le placement des Intellec-  
tuels Réfugiés, Genève, 1, Rue du Rhône  
(International Committee for securing employment  
for refugee professional worker.



INCOMING TELEGRAM

Received in UNRRA  
10:30 a.m., December 12, 1944  
Cypher

FROM: London  
NUMBER: 1264  
DATED: December 9, 1944

The Director General desires your opinion as to whether Resolutions 57 and 60 should be construed to authorize specified operations for stateless persons as well as for non-United Nations nationals or whether these Resolutions apply only to persons who are neither United Nations nationals nor stateless.

Former interpretation has been advanced here and on this basis it is suggested under para (2) relating to payment the Administration would have to make arrangements with appropriate authorities for supply of local currencies before undertaking operations for stateless persons: or at least that Administration should make request to such authorities.

Do you agree with this view?

2. It has further been suggested that if Administration fails to secure local currency from appropriate authority, Sub-section (B.) of para 2 might be construed to permit foreign exchange resources to be used for purchase of such currencies. Do you consider this interpretation feasible?

3. If so would you agree that Director General ought to consult Sub-Committee on ability before incurring such expenditure.

Please advise earliest.

DISTRIBUTION

Lehman	Jackson
Fellen*	Mamshikov
Sayre	Corson
Sokolowski**	Kuo
Salisbury	Hoehler*

\* Responsibility for initiating appropriate reply.

\*\* To note the information or take necessary steps with respect thereto.

DEC 12 1944

file

13 December 1944

To: Mr. Menshikov

From: L. Leonard

Subject: Cable #1264 from London - Stateless Persons

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  1. This Sub-Committee should be consulted:
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Mr. Menshikov

-2-

13 December 1944

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cc - Mr. Weisl  
Mr. Brown

1300 E

7 December 1944

TO: Michail Menshikov

FROM: Frank Weisl

I am submitting herewith a condensed report prepared by Miss Tony Sender concerning initial contacts established with several divisions of UNRRA in order to coordinate activities on displaced persons in enemy territories for the Bureau of Areas.

A report on discussions and contacts established with outside agencies shall follow as soon as possible.

Attachment

cc - Tony Sender



1300E

7 December 1944

To: Frank Weisl  
From: Betty Douglass  
✓ Subject: Report on Standing Technical Committees

1. HEALTH

A meeting of the Committee on Health has been called to consider the drafting of the International Sanitary Conventions as provided by Council Resolution. The meeting, to prepare the final draft, has been called for December 5. Comments on the preliminary drafts approved in principle at the Montreal Conference have been received from various governments and will be considered in preparing the final draft. The French Provisional Government indicated that France will not agree to suspending the activities of the International Office of Public Health. The Dominican Republic specified that it could not ratify the proposed Conventions without signing at the same time the relevant Paris and Hague Conventions. The Government of Egypt indicated that if UNRRA replaces the International Public Health Office, Egypt must be accorded representation corresponding to membership on the Permanent Committee of the former. Reservations were received also from the Governments of India, Australia and New Zealand and general statements of approval from Canada, the Philippines, the U. S. and Peru.

2. WELFARE - Subcommittee for Europe.

The Subcommittee on Welfare for Europe has been drawing up estimates of office supply requirements for information bureaus and Welfare offices in Assembly Centers in Germany and of equipment for feeding persons on an emergency basis.

✓ 3. DISPLACED PERSONS - Subcommittee for Europe.

The Multilateral Agreement regarding the maintenance and repatriation of displaced United Nations nationals in territory of the United Nations is being circulated to the European member Governments for their signature. The Czechoslovak and Russian representatives expressed preference for bilateral agreements.

B. Douglass/ss

X 6000E

1300E

W Douglas

25 November 1944

Ann Miss Sender

TO: Mr. Menshikov  
Mr. Welk  
Mr. Rodnov  
Mr. Weisl ✓  
Mr. Kanthaky  
Mr. Fryer  
Dr. Hostie

FROM: Cicely A. Ryshpan

SUBJECT: Resolutions adopted by the Standing Technical Committee  
on Displaced Persons

Your attention is called to Council II Document 4,  
TDF(44)18, Draft, 28 August 1944, which transmits the resolutions  
adopted by the Standing Technical Committee on Displaced Persons  
relating to the following items on the Provisional Agenda for the  
Second Session of the Council:

Item V  
Item VI, first and second clauses

This document gives statistics on displaced and intruded  
persons by nationality and present place of residence:

1. Displaced European Nationals in Certain Neutral Countries (page 5)
2. Displaced European Nationals in United Nations Territory Never Occupied by the Enemy (page 6)
3. Displaced Persons in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Territory  
(This table shows the present location by provinces in Germany and by countries for other enemy territories of United Nations Nationals by nationality) (pages 10-15)
4. Enemy and Ex-Enemy Nationals in United Nations Territory. (This table shows present location by country of enemy nationals by nationality (pages 18-21).



taken from  
Minutes of Meeting held  
in office of Dir-Gen (ERO)  
Nov. 14, 1944

1300 E.

Among several points to be cleared up:

1. Arrangements for liaison with the Military and extent to which they would accept financial responsibility.

Mr. Hoehler stated, situation on continent extremely confused. Original Army plan (Talisman plan) for handling of D.P. by Military in Germany had proved impractical. Original request for 100 teams to be available Oct. 1st had been cancelled. SHAEF was revising its plans. D.P. and German evacuees were being moved back from the front line areas, but there were no organized arrangements for handling them.

The central problem with respect to D.P. seemed to pivot around equipment. The Military simply has no equipment for D.P. needs. (ambulances, canteens, sound trucks.)

It would be without point to send UNRRA personnel to liberated areas unless they brought with them needed equipment. Mr. Hoehler said there were many excellent people available for recruitment on the continent. It would be possible to recruit and train 50 teams within six weeks.

Mr. Hoehler reported that Mr. Van Zeeland, Belgian Minister of Repatriation had stated he was very anxious that UNRRA should participate in efforts of Belgian Govt in handling D.P. problem.

Mr. Hoehler was impressed with the excellent leadership and initiative being shown by UNRRA personnel now attached to SHAEF. SHAEF contemplated the use of UNRRA as the coordinating agency for the D.P. programme in Germany.

Mr. Hoehler said that SHAEF was anxious that UNRRA/SHAEF Agreement be signed during Dir-Gen's visit, bringing him together with Gen Eisenhower for the purpose and giving it wide publicity.

Dr. Morgan has been active since his arrival in France, and has made good contacts with Health Ministry. He reported that there were doctors who could be recruited for UNRRA but not sufficient nurses for civilian needs in France.

Paris office, ~~accommodating 100~~ at 47 Champs Elysees had been requisitioned for UNRRA by Army. Also a Chateau 18 to 20 miles from Paris to be used for Training School, accommodating 100 to 120 persons.



Mr. Hoehler stated that the offer of a gift of 20 ambulances had been made to UNRRA by Mr. George Washington Tropp. There were now three autos available for the Paris office, with petrol provided by Army.

In response to question by Dir-Gen, Mr. Hoehler stated that in Normandy there were 200,000 to 250,000 D.P. of which less than 50% were in Assembly centres. Balance were not under organized control but were drifting around country.

Discussions are now taking place between the governments concerned and SHAEF for more satisfactory way to handle situation (of D.P. in military zones) The presence of refugees in the military zone has tendency to slow up military operations, and presents a problem of security. There were, perhaps 100,000 refugees when the Allied military thrust first crossed into German territory. More recently the Germans appear to be moving refugees behind their own lines to the east. There is a feeling in military quarters, however, that as the Allied armies reach the Rhine, large numbers of refugees will be left behind. Centres which in the first instance had been set aside as possible assembly centres for D.P. are now being requisitioned by the army for billets, thus accentuating the problem of providing quarters for assembling and taking care of migrant refugees.

In response to a question by Dir-Gen, Mr. Hoehler responded that 50 UNRRA personnel will have completed their training period by the end of the present week and all would be available immediately if necessary.

The Dir-Gen commented that it seemed to him that the problem immediately before us with respect to our taking over any large responsibility for D.P. in France hinged on three matters:

1. The number of UNRRA personnel who could be made available.
2. The manner and quantity in which supplies could be furnished.
3. The whole question of transportation and equipment.

Sir George Reid said that actually at the end of the present week there would be 100 persons available and that thereafter from 50 to 60 persons each fortnight would be ready to proceed to the field.

-- Unrra ready to take over certain limited jobs re: D.P., (In France) which, first of all, be a tangible evidence of UNRRA's desire to help, and secondly that UNRRA personnel so used would thereby acquire experience for the larger programme entailed in our responsibilities subsequent to the military period.



The Dir-Gen. said that, just prior to leaving Wash. he had had a call from Gen. Kirby and Gen. Wickersham of ACC (designate) who had raised with him the possible role of UNRRA insofar as the German situation was concerned.

Mr. Hoehler and Mr. Ward pointed out that the ACC at the moment is purely a planning body. They will start to function as an operating and administrative agency only in the post-military period. Meanwhile, until German collapse and until transfer of authority, SHAEF will be determining body on D.P. in Germany.

The Dir-Gen said he was of opinion that it was good policy to acquire any equipment we might need for continental operations, but insofar as supplies were concerned, we should maintain our position, namely, that this is responsibility first of Shaef and second of the Allied governments.

Sir Frederick Leith-Ross stated that he had been informed that some 20,000 Germans were being helped by the Belgian Red Cross, to which Mr. Hoehler replied that he understood this was so, but that the supplies necessary in this connection were being provided by the military from commandeered German sources.

Mr. Hoehler also commented that there were no German doctors among the refugees. It would appear that all medical personnel are being sent to east by Germans so that they do not fall into the hands of Allied armies. The general policy of the military was to remove the German civilians from the immediate fighting area for security reasons and then, when the war has moved on, to return them to their communities.

Mr. Herbert reported that the equipment for flying squads, as requested by the D.P. Division some weeks ago, could be made available in a week to a month. Suggested that this equipment be acquired and then present request to Army for transport to Continent.

In response to question by Dir-Gen, Mr. Hoehler replied that it was his understanding that Army would provide necessary equipment in assembly centres being set up by Army in Germany. It was suggested that certain civil defence and emergency relief equipment available in U.S. be made available for UNRRA's use, including such items as blankets.

Mr. Scott commented that it certainly would be most desirable if UNRRA could undertake some programme on the Continent in the near future, even a token movement of UNRRA's supplies to the Continent at this time would have a great psychological and moral effect.



See OUTGOING TELEGRAM (In Cable File)

6-1300

UNRRA  
AMEMBASSY  
LONDON  
UNRRA FROM LEHMAN #847

Delivered to State Department  
7:00 p.m., November 4, 1944

Review of materials here relative to plans for Displaced Persons activities to be carried on in collaboration with SHAEF and Governments in Europe does not provide adequate indication of plans or commitments. Impossible to foresee even in most general terms portion of UNRRA's resources to be required for this activity in planning total distribution of financial resources on basis of information available to us. Similarly impossible to mobilize headquarters staff for such assistance as it can render or to inform properly the Central Committee of plans for UNRRA's activities on the basis of reports now available and Scott's verbal reports of developments and plans.

Realize evolutionary character of the situation but consider it essential that Hoehler present in precise terms a full statement of present commitments to SHAEF and to Governments and a full statement of plans for at least next three months. These plans should indicate in appropriate detail nature of activities to be undertaken, support to be provided by military, aid to be given by Governments and operating arrangements. They should be supported by copies of all agreements with SHAEF, written requests from SHAEF or other pertinent correspondence or documents which will indicate character of activities to be undertaken, UNRRA personnel to be used, and UNRRA resources to be required.

Approve tentatively budget of 704 positions as requested for Displaced Persons activities, with anticipation of receipt of information requested. Discussing with Rhatigan allocation between London and Washington of recruitment. Cannot authorize the commitment of UNRRA's resources beyond this point until we have had a full opportunity to review plans and probable costs involved.

Drafted by:  
Corson(Finance & Adm.)  
3 November 1944

DISTRIBUTION

Lehman  
Feller  
Sayre  
Salisbury  
Jackson  
Menshikov  
Hendrickson  
Corson  
Hoehler  
Harris  
Dayton



E-1300

See Incoming Telegram

From: London

Number: 1012

Dated: November 2, 1944  
Received in UNRRA  
10:40 a.m., November 4, 1944

Displaced Persons Sub-Committee at its twelfth meeting on October 20th considered document prepared by Displaced Persons Division Washington concerning displaced persons with whom UNRRA is authorized to deal. (TDP(44)50).....

E-1300

See Incoming Telegram

From: Geneva (INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS)  
Number: Unnumbered  
Dated November 1, 1944  
Received in UNRRA  
9:35 a.m. November 2, 1944

Most interested your communication 12 August to our delegate Sollinger just received. Shall answer your questions in full by mail. To gain time beg communicate following. International Committee particularly gratified cooperate UNRRA in sphere investigation dispersed families.

Have already organized Central Cardindex. Regarding relief action civilian populations joint organism International Committee and League Red Cross Chairmanship Carl Burchhardet member International Committee. Its action comprises purchase and distribution in at present or formerly German occupied territories of foodstuffs, clothing, medicaments in manner now applied in Greece, Belgium, Yugoslavia etc.

Purchases made with funds placed our disposal by governments and welfare organizations for specific purposes. Distribution carried out under supervision International Committees and other relief organizations. In 1943 consignments amounted 41 million Swiss francs. Are willing forward consignments from abroad intended for specific invalids etc. Are ready supply you with all particulars regarding requirements which vary according countries and localities and indicate local distributing agencies. Should you intended come Europe should be most glad welcome you Geneva.

DISTRIBUTION

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\*Responsibility for initiating appropriate reply.



E-1500

See OUTGOING TELEGRAM (In Cable File)

UNRRA  
AMEMBASSY  
LONDON  
UNRRA FROM LEHMAN #820

Delivered to State Department  
6:30 p.m., October 30, 1944

Your telegram 973. You may tell the governments that intent of text set forth in our 714 is that government consents that UNRRA may work with military in those tasks relating to displaced persons which military will undertake. Consent by government to such use of UNRRA does not commit government to agreeing to repatriation of any particular persons or any particular detailed procedures. The question of who may be repatriated during period of military responsibility is one for decision as between military and government concerned. We should hope that with this explanation governments could be dissuaded from attaching specific reservations.

Drafted by:  
Feller (General Consul)  
30 October 44

DISTRIBUTION

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Hoehler  
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Sawyer

E-1300

See Incoming Telegram

From: London (To Secretary of State From Winant)

Number: A-1253

Dated: October 16.  
State Department Airgram  
Transmitted to UNRRA  
1:00 P.M., November 7, 1944.

In the course of a debate in the House of Commons on October 11 the Government was asked to give any information it might have as to what steps were being taken by UNRRA to assist in the care of such refugees as could not wish to be repatriated to their own countries.

Replying for the Government, the Rt. Hon. R. K. Law, Minister of State, answered as follows:

"I assume that what my Hon. Friend has in mind is that refugees who either cannot or do not wish to be repatriated to their own countries will require to be maintained until such time as the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees is able to remove them to new places of settlement. The situation is that at the Conference held at Atlantic City last November, U. N. R. R. A. agreed to accept the responsibility for assisting in such maintenance for a reasonable period. I understand that U. N. R. A. A.'s present schemes for care and maintenance of displaced persons provide generally that persons in the category mentioned by my Hon. Friend will receive the same treatment as those who are nationals of any of the United Nations."

DISTRIBUTION

Lehman  
Menshikov  
Feller  
Sayre  
Salisbury  
Jackson  
Kuo  
Hoehler



On December 14 I communicated to Mr. Schachter  
the views of the Bureau of Areas concerning Para. 1.  
of the attached cable.

*EW*

1300 E

14 October 1944

TO: Michail Menshikov

FROM: Frank Weisl

I have read the enclosed memorandum. The displaced persons problem in enemy or ex-enemy territories will probably be the same in the West as in the East. Therefore, in my opinion, the High Command of the Red Army should be informed in the same way as the Combined Chiefs of Staff of the content of the resolutions in question and of their implications.

Attachment



COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

The Council adopted the following resolutions recommended by this Committee:

- (i) A Resolution relating to displaced persons in territories never occupied by the enemy.

This Resolution consists of a statement as a guide to the operations of the Administration with respect to displaced persons in territories never occupied by the enemy. It recommends: 1. that the Administration allots its resources mainly in favour of congregated groups of displaced persons rather than in favour of displaced individuals; 2. that the Administration shall assume responsibility for the care and repatriation only of persons who are necessitous and who lack the resources to return to their homes; 3. that the Administration shall in principle assume responsibility for the care of such displaced persons pending repatriation only in areas where the resources for their maintenance are inadequate or cannot continue to be made available; 4. that the repatriation of such persons shall be carried out in such a way as to harmonise, with the minimum of disturbance, with any general scheme of repatriation, and in particular with any system of priorities which may be evolved as part of such a scheme; 5. that the Administration shall undertake this task only in agreement with the Governments concerned.

- (ii) A Resolution relating to the responsibility of the Administration for the removal or repatriation of intruded persons.

This Resolution provides that in cases where the efficient repatriation of displaced persons to their homes in liberated territory necessitates the prior removal from those homes of persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality who have been intruded, the Administration may undertake to assist in the removal and return of the intruded persons to their country of origin if the recognized authority of the liberated area so desires. All expenses connected with such operations are to be paid by, or ultimately recoverable from, the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

1300E

SEE 8411 -G

Telegram from London dated 7 Sep 44

Re: estimates food requirements Displaced  
Persons, Germany



1300 E

x8410 E

INCOMING TELEGRAM

No. 400

From Cairo (repeated to London)

Aug. 24, 1944

Procurement of supplies from Iran, mentioning beans, cement, dried fruits, goat skins, sheep skins, gun Tragacanth, silk cocoons, timer, lead, etc.

Also mention of Middle East refugee camps (material available for them from Iran)

1300E

1300P

INCOMING TELEGRAM  
No. 17  
from Caserta  
Aug 22, 1944

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In Mid East UNRRA camps have in round figures: in  
East Africa 4,000 Greeks, 22,000 Poles; in El Shatt  
20,000 Yugoslavs; Ethiopia 1,000 Greeks; India 6,000 Poles;  
Katatba 7,000 Yugoslavs; Moses Wells 3,500 Greeks as in  
Persia 8,000 Poles; Nuiserat 10,000 Greeks.

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1300-E

28 September, 1944

To: F. Weisl

From: Tony Sender

Subject: Personnel for Displaced Persons

I have seen Mr. Stauffer of Displaced Persons in order to establish contact between this division and the Bureau of Areas, insofar as our division is concerned.

Mr. Stauffer told me that they have received instructions from London to hire personnel for Displaced Persons operations in Europe including Germany, beyond the 500 persons that will be hired in London.

For the purpose of further clarification of the types of personnel and the tasks assigned to them, he gave me document TDP/E(44)41 with its eight appendices numbered TDP/E(44)50. In these documents policies and practices are explained.

In the first-mentioned document, it is said that the scheme provides for four levels of administration to correspond with the proposed outline of the military government in Germany, and consists of:

- 1) General Head Quarters which may include three Zone Head Quarters (American - British - Russian)
- 2) Eight or Nine Regional Offices
- 3) Approximately thirty-two District Offices to correspond with existing Regierungs Bezirke.
- 4) Approximately one hundred and fifty Assembly Area Offices each to deal with a unit of approximately 50,000 D.P.'s.

It further works out the details of the proposed District Organizations in Germany, in which it is said that on the basis of the documents submitted, a complete plan has been

F. Weisl

-2-

28 September 1944

worked out for the organization of the Repatriation Districts in Germany. In this model, which takes the Province of Schleswig-Holstein as a basis, all the services are outlined, and it is recommended that similar detailed plans should be drawn up for the other districts, which it calls *Regierungs Bezirke* (administrative districts in Germany).

In the appendices 1 to 6, besides other outlines of the organization, a description of the positions is given for every function. If you want me to prepare a more detailed paper on all the personnel plans for all of the functional parts on the care of Displaced Persons, please let me know.

Mr. Stauffer suggested another discussion after my study of the documents he gave me.

TSender/ss  
28 Sept 44



1300 E

X 1300 B  
8510 B  
8590 E

INCOMING TELEGRAM

No. 820

From London

Sept. 22, 1944

Request Crabtree recruitment of sanitary engineer  
for ERO for assignment displaced persons Germany or  
consultant liberated countries.

Should report soon

1300 E

SEE 1350 - E

TDP/E (44) 59  
TWE/E (E.C. 4) 24

WELFARE SERVICES FOR DISPLACED PERSONS IN  
AN ASSEMBLY AREA



X ref  
69600 E  
1300 E

1350 E  
TDP/E (44) 59  
TWE/E (E.C.4) 24

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

WELFARE SERVICES FOR DISPLACED PERSONS IN AN ASSEMBLY AREA

Welfare services of some kind will be necessary for displaced persons however long or short their stay in an Assembly Area. If these services are run efficiently by sympathetic and suitably trained personnel they will contribute greatly toward putting the whole community at ease; the atmosphere of the Assembly Area should be free, democratic and cooperative, and at no point reminiscent of the labour camps or other enemy controlled communities in which the displaced persons may have been living. The Assembly Area will be offering to displaced persons their first experience of a social existence since their liberation. It is most important that this experience should be an encouraging one.

The present memorandum is concerned only with the main welfare services which will be needed in Assembly Areas, i.e. services for people in transit are not included.

1. INFORMATION AND ADVICE

Information and Advice Bureaux should be easily accessible to the whole population of the Area, and should be so staffed as to give service during the necessary hours, even if this means twenty-four hour duty. The bureaux should give information about the operation of the community and the working of the repatriation system, and any general information which the national governments wish to have conveyed to their displaced persons. The bureaux will be linked with the international system for tracing missing relatives and will give information and instructions about this service. They should also be prepared to give, in addition to simple factual information, advice on the use to be made of the information provided. The more difficult personal and social problems should not be handled by the bureau but should be referred to the appropriate technical staff.

2. COUNSELLING: INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY CASE WORK

Counselling services should be operated only by persons who are experienced social workers. Their function is to help individuals who are socially maladjusted or in some sort of personal difficulty, to solve their own problems; or if that proves impossible, to ensure that all the necessary services are organized for their benefit. Unaccompanied children, old and handicapped people, people with behaviour problems, will be some of the groups to be served in this way.

There will, especially among nonrepatriable persons or others who stay for a long time in the Assembly Area, be many social problems arising from difficulty in tracing or communicating with relatives. Case workers will need to concern themselves with these problems also; this will ensure continuity in the effort to unite families or establish the identity of children.

3. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING

The Welfare Officer will not be responsible for procurement or distribution of clothing, but he will assist the distribution officer by drawing attention to special circumstances or needs. Where there is a shortage of clothing the welfare officer will advise on priorities.

4. CANTEEN SERVICE

It will be part of the welfare officer's responsibilities to advise on the setting up of canteen shops for the sale of personal and incidental articles such as cigarettes, writing materials and haberdashery. A snack bar service might be combined with such canteens. An issue of pocket money may be authorized to cover such expenses. In order to ensure equity, a standardized scale should be established with appropriate variation for age and sex groups, and, where necessary, for local price differences.

5. LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

It is hoped that most people will spend only a short time in the Assembly Area; however, the Area will be more permanent than its inhabitants, and facilities for leisure time activities should be a regular feature in the community's organization. Considerable attention should be given to helping the members of the community to develop activities which will be enjoyable and constructive. Activities should be planned for daytime as well as evening periods, and for various age and interest groups. So far as possible leaders for these activities should be chosen from the Area population. Activities might consist of music and drama, films, radio-listening groups, running camp newspapers, indoor and outdoor games, dancing, forums, parties and hobbies. They should be such as to call forth the active co-operation and originality of those taking part. The welfare officer will be in close touch with the publicity service which among other things, will be concerned with the distribution of films and radio programmes.



For children (depending upon age groups), supervised group play and other recreational activity should be provided, and toys should be made out of very simple materials.

#### 6. OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES

There will be some people in Assembly Areas who will not be immediately repatriated and who may need assistance in becoming self supporting. Instructors should be provided to help fit people for useful jobs, or to begin the retraining of those who have lost their skills either through lack of practice or through accident or injury.

The planning for such training should so far as possible bear a relationship to the jobs to be done in the Assembly Area. Training could for instance, be given in carpentry, cobbling and sewing. For girls and women there could be short courses in nursing and child care. It will also be important to consider the kind of work which will be available in the community to which the individual will probably return. The appropriate governments can be helpful in indicating those occupations for which their country has most need, so that training can be directed toward permanent employment.

If there are young persons who have never been trained in skilled work it will be specially important to provide various forms of vocational training for them.

#### 7. WELFARE SERVICES FOR SPECIAL GROUPS

The nature of welfare services required depends essentially on the type of persons concerned and their particular circumstances and problems. Export Commissions are giving attention to all the principal categories, and the standards set by them should apply in Assembly Areas as elsewhere. In most Assembly Areas the principal categories are as follows:

- (a) Infants and children
- (b) Nursing and expectant mothers
- (c) Young persons (14-18)
- (d) Services to meet special problems among young women and girls
- (e) Persons physically or mentally handicapped
- (f) Aged persons
- (g) Those in need of psychological rehabilitation.

8. RELIGIOUS MINISTRATIONS

The services of ministers of religion should be available in the Assembly Area for any people who desire them.

9. PERSONNEL

Each Assembly Area should have a trained Welfare Officer and a Deputy. In addition trained and appointed personnel should be available for the specialist services mentioned above. UNRRA employees will be of every nationality, and in addition many national governments will be providing welfare staff of their own. The necessary assistants should be chosen from among displaced persons and selection should be based upon past training, experience or aptitude. It should be possible therefore for all the people in the Assembly Area to be cared for by their compatriots.



See E-1000

Memorandum

TO: Miss Flexner  
Miss Davis  
Dr. Hostie  
Mr. Chen

FROM: Cicely A. Ryshpan

DATE: 27 July 1944

SUBJECT: Working Party on European Food  
Supplies with two attachments.

- (1) Notes on Population Working  
Party Meeting held on 7 June  
1944, including
- (2) Notes on Population Working Party  
Meeting held on 21 June, 1944,  
including a discussion of:
  - (a) Luxembourg population  
statistics
  - (b) Rumanian population  
statistics

1300 Ew  
File  
JH

26 July 1944

TO: Mr. Rodnev  
Mr. Beenhouwer  
Mr. Franck  
Mr. Konthely  
Mr. Gordon  
Mr. Weisl  
Mr. Franklin ✓  
Mr. Chen  
Miss Flemer  
Miss Davis  
Dr. Hostie

FROM: Cicely A. Rysman

I would like to call your attention to a mimeographed document which was sent to you recently by the Secretariat (Code Number TDP/R(44)20). It contains the draft for a multilateral agreement between the European United Nations concerning the care and maintenance and repatriation of displaced persons.



1300 Em.

25 July 1944

To: Michail Menshikov  
From: Harry Franklin  
Subject: Displaced Persons in Central Europe

We have made a survey of the various studies on displaced persons in Central Europe from two different standpoints:

- a. from the point of view of the country within whose borders the displaced persons are at this time with cross indication of the nationality groups.
- b. from the point of view of the country from which the persons have been deported with cross indication of the country to which they have been brought.

Studies:

1. Kulischer: "Displacement of Population in Europe", 1943 (ILO).
2. Allied Postwar Requirements Bureau, Displaced Population Subcommittee:  
Report prepared in October, 1943.
3. Shaef, 1944

As a sample of these six surveys one of them is attached to this memorandum showing, for instance, the number of displaced persons in Germany as being a total of 7,705,534.

The tables deal with the displaced population from the view point of the countries of the Central European Branch.

Attachment

IMenshikov  
25 July 1944

*Europe*  
*1300 E*

UNITED NATIONS  
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

1344 CONNECTICUT AVENUE  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

20 June 1944

TO: Members of the Staff of the Bureau of Areas  
FROM: Cicely A. Kychan  
SUBJECT: Statistics on Displaced Persons

The Division on Displaced Persons has submitted to the members of the Standing Technical Committee on Displaced Persons a table giving statistics on Displaced European Population as of May 1944. This is Document TDP (44) 12, dated 8 June, 1944.

These statistics should be of interest to you. You can secure this and all other Committee documents from the Secretariat.

GAR:RG

cc: Mr. Moushikoff  
Mr. Cohen  
Mr. Fryer  
Miss Flemer  
Mr. Rodnov  
Mr. Storing  
Dr. Welk  
Mr. Xenithsky  
Mr. Perazich  
Mr. Weis  
Mr. Franklin



UNITED NATIONS  
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

1344 CONNECTICUT AVENUE  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

1300 E.M.,  
~~F. L.~~  
~~Franklin~~  
~~Miss Storing~~  
+ put

20 June 1944

TO: Members of the Staff of the Bureau of Areas  
FROM: Cicely A. Ryshpan  
SUBJECT: Statistics on Displaced Persons

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These statistics should be of interest to you. You can secure this and all other Committee documents from the Secretariat.

CAR:rg

cc: Mr. Menshikov  
Mr. Cohen  
Mr. Fryer  
Miss Flexner  
Mr. Rodnov  
Mr. Storing  
Dr. Welk  
Mr. Xanthaky  
Mr. Perazich  
Mr. Weisl  
✓ Mr. Franklin

1300 E m  
Fdr

MEMORANDUM

22 April 1944

TO: Harry L. Franklin  
FROM: Tony Sender T.S.  
SUBJECT: Information on Displaced Persons

During the time in which I was working for the O.S.S. the matter of the displaced people and especially foreign workers, was one of those I had to deal with.

Among the collaborators who helped me in getting reliable material, the most valuable was:

F.B. Heine  
67 Station Road  
London N W 4

who gave us a vast amount of specific details.

I know Mr. Heine as a serious and very reliable research worker from Berlin. He was used by the United Nations Army for a special mission in North Africa and has since returned to London. He might be useful for our work.



16 November 1945

TO : Mr. Xanthaky

FROM : Oscar J. Falnes

SUBJECT: Applications for Supplementary Supplies for DPs

In Cable No. 5561 from London, ERO deems it inadvisable to invite requests for supplementary supplies for DPs and thinks that the countries concerned will understand from para. 8 of ERO's statement to the Committee of the Council for Europe that UNRRA will consider applications for help in meeting special emergencies. ERO is also apprehensive lest the inviting of requests will mean that UNRRA, or more specifically ERO, will be "asked to provide blankets and feeding equipment, also clothing, notwithstanding the large quantities being provided from the U.S." The cable invites comments by Headquarters.

To take first the general principle involved, it seems to me that this attitude is somewhat negative. It would be better that UNRRA's policy is not hesitant or evasive in matters of applications for relief supplies. All requests for aid, whether they be supplementary or part of general country programs, are checked and evaluated within UNRRA and decisions will continue to be made thereupon as to the degree to which UNRRA will fulfil them. It seems better to entertain all requests and then decide later what to do with them, rather than to formulate instructions in such a way as to discourage requests at the outset, particularly in dealing with so-called paying countries.

The Netherlands authorities have been quite aloof on the matter of asking UNRRA aid. They made no effort to take advantage of UNRRA offers of assistance for displaced persons in January and April 1945. But recently they have asked UNRRA to aid in securing tents and huts for use in connection with displaced persons, perhaps Dutch nationals. The total number of non-Dutch displaced persons handled in reception centres or sent to countries of their choice was only 15,317 as of the 30th July, 1945. However, during coming months a question may arise with reference to the prewar German residents in The Netherlands, whose total, according to one estimate, was well over 50,000. If their return to Germany is delayed, The Netherlands authorities may want to consider supplementary aid for them in some form.

In Denmark, supplies for Allied nationals displaced persons were requested some months ago and have, in large part, been delivered. There is a question, however, about some 200,000 German civilians of whom perhaps half are from Russian occupied areas and will not likely be repatriated at present.

16 November 1945

They are a charge upon the Danish public funds. While their priority would be low in the matter of supplies, it is not to be overlooked that as the winter wears on and the need for some necessities becomes urgent, the Danish authorities may wish to seek supplementary aid in some form on the ground that these German civilians constitute a charge on the United Nations as such, and not on one particular country member.

In the case of Norway, the matter of additional supplementary supplies for displaced persons may come up in two connections. We have reports of food and clothing shortages in some of the Allied Nationals displaced persons' camps. Special problems may arise in connection with the Poles, as of 30th September their figure was given as 16,224, many of whom will not be returning to their own country at present. Then there is the question of the Norwegian nationals who made their way back to devastated Finnmark this summer, of whom 5 to 10,000 must be re-evacuated to the neighboring provinces during this winter.

In view of these special circumstances in each country, it would be a wrong approach, it seems to me, for UNRRA to refrain from inviting applications for supplementary supplies. It may be well to suggest to ERO that the Mission Chief in Norway and the chief UNRRA representatives at The Hague and at Copenhagen, sound out the authorities in their respective capitals to see what may be their reaction on this matter. This should provide information at the source on what may or may not be expected from these countries in the way of requests for supplementary relief supplies.

The action copy on Cable 5361 is sent to the Bureau of Supply. I suggest that we send a memorandum to this Bureau in which we suggest that their answer to this cable include the proposal to have the Mission heads make inquiries about supplementary supplies for displaced persons.

OJFalnes:ww



R E S T R I C T E D

Ad Hoc Committee  
on Policy

COUNCIL III Document 122  
Ad Hoc/P 12  
17 August 1945

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

THIRD SESSION OF THE COUNCIL

COMMITTEE ON POLICY

Draft Resolution Relating to Displaced Persons

(Proposals Suggested by the Representative of Yugoslavia)

2 (e) of original Draft Resolution to be renumbered 2 (e).

To be added under paragraph 2 (b) of the Draft Resolution (Council III, Document 117):-

2. (c) In each Camp a commission should be set up including UNRRA officials and representatives of the Governments of the nationals concerned, to which those who do not wish or cannot return should individually and in writing submit their case within 30 days of their arrival at the Camp.
- (d) Full publicity should be given to UNRRA activities concerning those who do not wish or cannot return. The Administration should inform each month the national governments concerned of the names and all particulars of such persons receiving relief, stating also the amount of money spent on their support. The Government concerned should have full rights to ask for further explanations, and in case of disagreement, appeal to the Central Committee.
- (f) Those who do not wish or cannot return should be given support only if living in UNRRA camps, and no person living outside the camps should be authorised to receive assistance from UNRRA. Those persons should be prohibited from partaking in all political activities hostile to the political institutions of their own country during the time they are receiving UNRRA's help.

E X T R A C T

CABLE 3987

FROM ERO

DATE 19 September

Sets forth new agreement for displaced persons operations.



*General - D. P.*

R E S T R I C T E D

Subcommittee on Welfare  
for Europe

TWE/E(45)31  
11 August 1945

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WELFARE FOR EUROPE

Psychological Problems of Displaced Persons

The attached Report has been prepared for the Welfare Division by an Inter-Allied Psychological Study Group and is circulated to members for their information.

E. M. WELLWOOD  
Secretary

170a, Great Portland Street,  
London, W.1.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF DISPLACED PERSONS

A Report prepared for the Welfare Division of the European  
Regional Office of U.N.R.R.A. by an Inter-Allied Psychological  
Study Group.

JUNE, 1945

Issued for the use of Members of the Staff of U.N.R.R.A.  
and of Organizations cooperating with it.

NOT FOR SALE.

U.N.R.R.A.  
European Regional Office,  
11, Portland Place, London, W.1.



## HISTORY OF THE REPORT

The Welfare Division of the European Regional Office of U.N.R.R.A. in planning the handling of displaced persons realized it was of primary importance to consider certain characteristics of the people concerned, their background, what they had been through and the psychological problems confronting them on repatriation.

In August 1944 an Inter-Allied Psychological Study Group was formed to advise on these matters. The Group consisted mainly of Psychiatrists, and also contained Sociologists and Social Workers. All of them had experience of various aspects of repatriation.

The Group prepared a summary of the aspects to be considered for a paper on "Psychological Problems of Repatriation of Displaced Persons"; and individual members of the Group submitted papers on specific aspects. These various papers have now been grouped together, collated and edited by Dr. John Rickman, (late Major, R.A.M.C.), Editor of "The British Journal of Medical Psychology" and are presented in the following report.

The following people have contributed to the report :

Lt. Col. A. M. Meerloo	Medical Corps. Royal Netherlands Army.
E. Popper, M.D.	Consultant in Psychiatry to the Czechoslovak Forces in Great Britain.
Lt. Col. H.W. Dicks )	Royal Army Medical Corps
Lt. Col. G.R. Hargreaves )	Directorate of Army Psychiatry
Lt. Col. A.T.M. Wilson )	Great Britain
Dr. E.A. Shils	Asst. Professor of Social Science, University of Chicago.
Miss Bradford	Welfare Division, U.N.R.R.A.
Miss G. Chesters	Advisor on child psychology to U.N.R.R.A.

## SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

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United Nations Administration are not only concerned with provision for material needs but also amelioration of psychological and social suffering (1); human beings the most important single constituent of environment (1); four important human strivings (2); the emergence and main attributes of personality and the beginning of social relationships (2); differences in national groups (2 and 3)

### (B) CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF DISPLACED PERSONS (3)

The high importance of the need to be loved and valued and the effects of deprivation of this need (3); the meaning of comfort and security (3); rehabilitation is a regaining of independence and a tolerance of certain deprivations (3); psychological hindrances to the refugees' and repatriates' re-assimilation (4); the way in which refugees banish painful memories (4) some reasons for break-down of self control (5); bitterness and touchiness (5); the greediness of the embittered (5); undercurrents of hostility (5); the reason for egotism (5); the effects of guilt-feelings (6); depression (6); self-destructiveness (6); forced pleasure-seeking (6); demoralization and immorality (6); Summary (6)

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(c) those who are displaced out of their own country: (i) prisoners of war (9); (ii) deportees (9); (iii) those in labour camps (9); (iv) those in the satellite armies (9); (v) quislings who get moved abroad to escape the vengeance of their own nationals (9); the compulsory prostitutes (10); (vii) adolescent girls in military brothels (10); Jews (10); those who know why they suffer and the thoughtless ones (10).

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ii.

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(E) WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN THROUGH (15)

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The offices and the officers of the Church should not be pushed upon these people lest unrecognised guilt be roused before self-confidence to face it be achieved, let the Church be sought voluntarily (21), self-forgiveness must precede all other forgiveness (21). The key to treatment is patience and sincere human relations, the reward to the welfare worker is a new recognition of the deep roots of morality and of human need (21).

#### (G) THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DISPLACED PERSONS (21)

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#### (H) THE WAY HOME (24)

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manifested in outbursts of temper or suspiciousness (30). Relief workers and the Governments they represent will be judged by their deeds not their words (30), therefore let first words be few and the deeds practical (30). Refugees want to see their own country showing up well in practical and constructive understanding action, they have surfeited of soulless efficiency (30). Importance of Atmosphere (30) therefore if possible "contact personnel" should have experienced the problems at first hand (30). Organisation should be manifestly different from the much hated model they have suffered under (31) and use made of existing trusted organisations (31). Re-establishment of self-respect and a sense of purpose (31); refugees must feel their talent has group-value (31). Examples given (32). "Strong Leadership" at first contact if not maintained may lead to reaction of apathy (32), the force of constructiveness must be revived in themselves (32). In education and preliminary 'performance test' will help to grade the pupils so that the backward are not shamed by their backwardness (32). Home news and discussion about home will be sought for, Relief Workers should not misjudge the Refugees critical attitude (32). Relationship between the sexes (33) Conclusions (33).

#### (I) GOING HOME (34)

All desire this, but many are anxious (34), sometimes return home is a compulsive force (34) which depends on the duration of absence; after 3 years apathy may have set in (34). Mounting impatience curbed by anxiety (34) and aggravated by delays is best met by provision at the assembly centres of good human relationships and satisfaction of essential needs (35). Rumours must be repeatedly and patiently dealt with (35), example of typical misinterpretation (35). Anxieties over their reception at home (35) must be seen in the light of their "compensatory phantasies" during exile (35), which "splint the mind" injured by the violent separation from security and loved ones (35). The wish that home should be just the same means that personal relations will not have altered (36). Their relatives and friends too have changed, often without realising it (36), refugees should be tactfully lead to discuss this problem (36) and friends and relatives in the home country should do the same (36). List of Hints found useful for repatriated prisoners of war (37). The Arrival and Reception at Home if not exactly as pictured may be disappointing (37). Anxieties about health frequent (37), transient alterations of physiological function are more disturbing than they need be (38). Bitterness and suspicion to unreasonable degree are frequent, compare the reaction of homeless children and jealousy of those who have stayed at home with loved ones (38); arguments do not dispel these anxiety-ridden attitudes, time and goodwill heal in most cases (38). Repatriates often think those at home have not taken the war seriously enough (39). The moods of refugees tend to swing to extremes (39). Can repatriates and refugees be "spoiled" by being given too much help? - Yes, if it is materials help only, not if the aim is by understanding to aid in restoring self-respect (39-40). Conclusion (40).

#### (J) RECOVERY (41)

Effective repair depends on understanding the nature of the damage done (41); imaginatively used material welfare can aid the recovering individual to reacquire team spirit (41). Food provides calories, the sense of being wanted gives the appetite to eat and to live; the hunger for security of food



to be distinguished from the physiological hunger for food (41); food that reminds of home is more 'satisfying'; foodgrumblers cannot be counter-challenged with calorie tables of their diet, discontent may be a social discontent using - but unwittingly - the menu; similarly thieving of food may come from emotional insecurity (42). If Food and Authority are coupled in the mind, then different and biased attitudes to each make for administrative difficulties - best solved by messing being partly in hands of D.P.'s. (42). Entertainment: it is hard to be amused in an unfamiliar world, the D.P. is groping his way back through strange new events; re-orientation helped by showing to us old entertainment films and documentaries (43). Avoidance of boredom: a passive attitude to entertainment gives place to active participation in group activities 'owned by' the group, but the progress cannot be forced (43). The D.P. needs to learn what is going on in the world before he can feel himself fully back in it - newspapers and wireless are essential (44). Group meetings of 8 to 30 should be frequent, be given status but conducted informally and must have a purpose (evident to members) related to action (44). Work also lessens boredom but not enforced work (45). Re-establishment of Personal Care and Cleanliness: Poor personal habits are a symptom of social maladjustment: remedies (45-46). Political Attitudes: their recent disturbing social experience makes their social participation erratic and at times violent; they should not be judged on standards made for those whose lives are not chaotic: democracy may have to be re-learned - the troubles of re-learning are here discussed (46-49).



A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Administration is concerned not only with Relief - that is with making provision for material needs - but also with Rehabilitation - that is with the amelioration of psychological and social suffering and dislocation. For man does not live by bread alone. We are social animals, and are only content if our various strivings are harmonised with each other and with the interests of the group in which we live. To deal effectively with the great problems of resettlement in Europe and elsewhere, an understanding is necessary of the basic human needs and strivings (sometimes called instincts or drives) and of the various ways in which people seek to deal with the anxiety and despair which are the inevitable accompaniments of war.

Although we are all familiar with the effects of the force of gravity and with the results of utilizing electro-magnetic waves in, for example, radio, none of us has seen "gravity" or "electro-magnetic waves". These are, in fact, concepts which have been invented by scientists in order to explain the phenomena of the physical world. Similarly no one has ever seen an "instinct" or a "need". They are concepts of psychological theory invented to account for the observed phenomena of human behavior, both in the internal working of the individual mind and in the relations of human beings to each other. Many people are familiar with biological theories which stress the relationship of individuals to their environment, and it must be emphasized that other human beings are the most important single constituent of the "environment". Human needs and drives and motives are very real phenomena, and a knowledge of the part they play in inter-personal relations is as important for understanding and planning for human beings as is the corresponding knowledge of physical theory to an engineer. There is one important difference. If we were dealing with a subject within the realm of physical science, then we could be reasonably sure that those who wrote this paper and those who read it were in agreement over the fundamental laws which govern physical and chemical action, or alternatively that those who read it and were not versed in these matters would have an open mind prepared to learn from those who had made a special study of the subject. This is not the case with psychology, for in our daily life and, though usually without recognizing it, we each of us have definite ideas about human nature and about the relationship between human thought and feeling and human conduct. More important still, we each possess a practical day-to-day system by which we judge or interpret the conduct of others and make assumptions as to the probable motives and feelings which lie behind their actions. Each one of us, then, is something of a psychologist in the sense of possessing a very concrete view of human life. The difficulty is that not all of us are aware of this, and the practical application of the science of psychology tends to suffer from the confusions which arise from this situation.



In addition to the concept of "needs", there is a second basic idea which is essential for an adequate understanding of human affairs. This is that the composition of the mixed needs or drives which prompt or guide us towards a given course of action is partially or even completely unrecognized by the individual concerned, although it is often less difficult for others to detect the real nature of the psychological pressure behind his behavior. Allied to this is the well-attested fact that the explanations of our conduct which we give to ourselves and often to others may be rather more than inadequate and are sometimes quite obviously designed to avoid damage to self-esteem, to our own ideals, or to morality.

For practical purposes we may group human strivings under four headings:-

- (a) The drive towards self-preservation.
- (b) The drive for power or mastery over the environment.
- (c) The need for love, including the need to give and the need to receive affection.
- (d) The drive towards reproduction (i.e. sex which some would include in the concept of love under (c)).

Those drives emerge and mature at different phases of the child's development and they are subject to refining processes and regroupings. A little later there is developed the special human capacity to think, and to employ thought and reason more or less well in helping to satisfy or control the promptings of the fundamental instinctual strivings whose presence and pressure is usually indicated by characteristic feelings or emotions. Gradually, feelings and certain enduring attitudes are built up which together constitute the character or personality of a man. This process of building up attitudes towards internal and external affairs does not happen in the void nor quickly, but gradually through contact with other human beings - originally parents, brothers and sisters, and later friends and colleagues. There is now an adequate volume of data to show that to a much greater extent than at first appears to be the case the adult social attitudes of the individual are formed by these early childhood relationships. Experience at this important early stage of development creates in us certain fundamental feelings and notions about the world and builds up certain individual ways of overcoming losses and hurts, of responding to advances and of tackling difficulties.

National groups differ in the stress they lay on various virtues, strivings or failings (i.e. in what they regard as "good" or "bad"), thus creating somewhat different mental climates or cultural patterns which are unconsciously absorbed by children as tradition, or as "things which go without saying". Geography and history have played a large part in building up such differences. Nevertheless, the main attributes of human personality - conscience and guilt, love and hate, rivalry and friendship, self-esteem and inferiority are found to be surprisingly constant. These attributes are hammered out in the experimental workshop of the family - the primary social group - in the clash between the individual needs and the responses of other people, or, to put it the other way round, by the impact of



society on the raw material of human nature. The way we live in adolescence and in adult life, in the larger groups of the school, the factory or the community, are to a great extent conditioned by our earlier experience. In daily life, we unconsciously tend to take towards certain people attitudes which originally related to members of the family as we knew it or imagined it to be. For example, judges, policemen or teachers may stand for the "authoritarian" aspect of our parents, while colleagues and fellow workers are often regarded in ways which are only completely explicable in terms of our past experience of brothers and sisters. Further, certain types of social situations may remind us - and it is important to note that they may do this without our being aware of it - of some similar events or situations in our childhood and in this way evoke often unreasonably pleasant or painful responses in ourselves. This unrecognized coloring of our attitudes as a result of past experience is not controlled by our insight and awareness or by our intellectual powers, which in these circumstances tend to the simple self-deception of inventing "reasons" for our feelings as we do.

#### B. CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF DISPLACED PERSONS

The need to be loved and valued - to have a place in a family and a community - and to possess affectionate relationships with friends, is perhaps the deepest of all human needs. For this reason deprivation of affectionate ties with others is perhaps the most damaging emotional hurt which a human being can receive. One point of major importance in rehabilitation emerges here. As children, we are totally dependent on the care and nurture we receive from others and our demands in this respect are without limit at this early stage. The baby is enabled to give up its complete dependence primarily because the affectionate relationship to the parents normally makes tolerable the frustration of being weaned from dependence to increasing independence. This point is important in relation to situations which commonly arise with refugees and with all people who have been displaced from their social background. Such people, in their relationship to authority, tend to return, at least in part, to the dependent attitudes of childhood. The rehabilitation process by which they regain adult independence must therefore be based to a very large extent, as it originally was in childhood, on the existence of respect and affection for the authority which controls their lives. Where authority is regarded with respect, the necessary process of weaning and the imposition of tasks and responsibility is accepted; and independence and self-control can then be regained without difficulty. Where there is no respect for authority - and such respect can only be earned and cannot be commanded - then there is at best a transient unwilling acceptance of discipline, but no development of that self-control essential for return to a civilized community.

One more rather complex angle on every day affairs should be borne in mind. This too originates in childhood. Food, warmth, and security from physical danger are not merely essential to satisfy bodily needs. Their presence are for most of us, a reassuring significance as indication



that the world is not entirely against us, and indeed approves of us. When people have undergone real privation in the physical sense, they often tend to feel that this in some way means more than appears on the surface, and to regard experiences of this kind as overwhelming evidence that the world is a permanently hostile place. Also in children, and in the deeper parts of the mind of adults, physical danger and privation tend to be interpreted in another way which appears very strange to those unfamiliar with those aspects of the human mind. It is a basic fact in working with refugees and expatriates that many of their attitudes and much of their behavior can only be understood if we assume that they feel themselves to have been exposed to the harshness and insecurity of life because they have somehow proved unworthy of the affection and tolerance of friends. Examples of this mechanism at work were frequent among evacuated children in England in 1939-40. Devoted parents who had evacuated their children to protect them from air raids after found that on return the child interpreted the evacuation as a sign of being unwanted and because of being unworthy to remain in the family. In consequence, the child is at once anxious to be reassured of its place in the family and angry over the humiliation of having been "cast out", which behavior is naturally very disturbing to the average parent.

Most expatriates, when they are contacted by the welfare organizations will unwittingly feel themselves to be very much in the position of the child who returns to its family, or at least to a family after enforced separation. It may be helpful to recognize some of the ways in which people are likely to react to their deep, unreasonable sense of having been cast out of society, hence of being suspect and unloved by their own community. Various types of well-marked reactions can be seen. They are the result of psychological processes which are not recognized by the individual concerned, but which have for their main object relief of the mental pain produced by the sense of isolation and of unworthiness. In expatriates, therefore, there is very commonly in the depths of the mind a hidden conflict between the primitive need for affection on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the dread of further rejection by a world which has already shown hostility.

Before we go further it is important to discuss in more detail the way in which painful emotional conflicts are banished from the mind. The process is known as repression and works automatically, that is without the knowledge or will of the individual. Its effect can be compared to the closing of a lid over a set of ideas or feelings. Repression, a primitive process, is at its height in the early childhood years before voluntary control is possible. It seems designed to save children from feelings which are too strong for them to bear. Through repression many powerful strivings and memories become "sealed off" from direct expression and control; but they do not thereby cease to exist. It is a special feature of human development that these repressed forces are always seeking new forms of outlet and that, in civilized life, their direct expression or experience is constantly barred. Psychological theory suggests perhaps that it is this process which creates the restless dynamic which has built our civilization, our culture and our art, and that they are the result of our instinctual forces seeking expression through new paths because of heavy internal resistances.



With the evidence of war before our eyes, it is obvious that under the crust of "civilized" psychological control there still smoulder the original unmodified primitive urges, which given occasion, sweep away the barriers that have been raised by external authority and the development of conscience. There are limits to the processes by which repression in the interests of society and of our own self-respect can exercise control over our impulses. When authority - first the parent, then the "state" or "world order" - is regarded by the individual with respect, then the equilibrium between instinctual pressure and control is fairly easily maintained. When this authority fails in benevolence or becomes actively hostile, then the mainstay of self-control breaks down, that is, acceptance of prohibitions through respect and affection for authority and for others ceases to be effective. This is, no doubt, the reason for the deterioration of all forms of civilized restraints during the war and on any occasion of great danger, for at such times the edifice built on the assumption of the benevolence or, at the worst, the neutrality of the world, is undermined. In these circumstances primitive or infantile behavior emerges. Physical danger of death or starvation produces massive outbursts of fear - the voice of self-preservation. Many decencies are swept away and rivalry, jealousy and greed, the scramble for privileged shelter and such manifestations of "stealing safety", as looting or black-marketing emerge in great strength. Such primitive behavior is often accompanied by heightened aggressiveness. In a world of which one is uncertain or of whose hostility one has had experience, the impulse to personal power is inevitably increased as a guarantee of safety through mastery of the situation. If aggressively lawless or self-seeking behavior does emerge, it is important to recognize that it is a reaction to frustration and indicates the need for some feeling of security, some conviction that the world is not entirely hostile.

Allied to the sense of unworthiness and increased lawless aggressiveness there are other common reactions, of which perhaps the most obvious are bitterness and touchiness. Once this state of mind is established nothing that is done even by helpful people is regarded as genuine or sincere. This feeling is based on the unrecognized psychological argument that since the world is a violent and hostile place, patronage and help must have an ulterior motive. From another angle it can be said that suspicious counter-hostility to the world arises in individuals whose need of understanding and affection is so great that neutrality is interpreted as hostility. Such peoples' demands become insatiable like a greedy baby's.

It will be perhaps difficult for those who are not acquainted with the deeper workings of the mind to follow the processes outlined above merely by reading of them. But their existence will become painfully obvious with experience in handling displaced people. It will be found that, coupled with their gratitude and welcome, there will be a curious undercurrent of hostility and suspicion which may surprise us unless we realize that we are dealing with "hurt children" whose world has let them down, adults whose sense of security and confidence has been shattered, who regard all authority as tainted with ill-will, and who may try to restore themselves by excessive egotism.



These deep feelings of guilt or inferiority or of hostility may result not only in increasing the strength of the processes outlined above, but in a generalized and embittered withdrawal from social relationships which is known as depression and which may indeed be so profound as to lead to suicide. Suicide is perhaps the final form of embittered, despairing counter-attack on what is felt to be an impossibly hostile world. Against such self-destructive trends people may struggle by forced pleasure-seeking in the form of unaffectionate sexual promiscuity or of alcoholism, which are intended as pain-drowning indulgences, an attempt, to that extent, at self-healing. It is interesting to notice that the process of losing effective social contacts is often referred to in everyday language as "demoralization". Most immorality arises not from any deterioration in the individual deep-seated ethical standards of the people concerned, but from the emotional results of social isolation which destroys "morale" that is the sense of being worthwhile and of "belonging".

To sum up. The effective defences which civilization has erected within man against his crude instinctual drives rest almost entirely upon the feeling of being loved and valued by his fellows. In the realms of human feeling, distress, danger and privation are commonly interpreted as an active withdrawal of affection by one's own community. In these circumstances a set of primitive defence reactions, designed, so to speak, for childhood consumption, steps in and dominates the scene with the aim of making good the damage to self-respect and self-confidence and of removing the intolerable sense of isolation and guilt. These defence reactions often appear unreasonable and difficult, and may often tend to hurt the feelings of those who work with and for them, but if we bear in mind that our task is to help "that great orphan - Humanity," this may help us to bring to the task the requisite understanding and patience.

#### C. CATEGORIES OF DISPLACED PERSONS - ADULT

[ This section was supplied by a physician of Dutch nationality who had spent two years in a German Concentration Camp. ]

I shall not endeavor to give anything like a complete and exhaustive survey of all the different categories of those to whom the title of this short essay actually refers. I shall restrict myself to the few, who are to my mind the most important of the groups whom ill-fate and unspeakable tragedy have made what they are now - displaced persons. I shall further confine myself more or less to Europe with its vast numbers of displaced persons. I shall not do much more than enumerate some of these groups, adding here and there some of their causal and basic problems. The psychological conclusions to be drawn from the differences in those various groups - though they cannot of course be more than conjectural - are to be dealt with in other sections of this memorandum.



(a) First let us deal with those still within their own countries! Indeed a great many of those who never left their own homes can be called displaced, at least mentally and morally. You will soon see what I mean and what justifies me in dealing with them in a short study like this. It will illustrate how terrific are the future problems which social psychology and rehabilitation will have to face, and how many more are affected by what has happened than merely those who had to leave their countries, whether voluntarily or compulsorily.

In each occupied country I think you will find the following five groups:

(i) A comparatively small group of active collaborators, quislings and the executioners' jacks. Perhaps not more than 10% of a population. They operate more or less openly, apparently fully agree with the suppressors, and even may try to surpass them in infamy and brutality. They silence their conscience, guilt and anxiety and drown them in hatred and aggression [Vide, "The Psychology of the Traitor" by Meerloo].

(ii) The "half-quislings", the sympathisers, those "who don't mind" or are actually quite satisfied with the course things have taken; amongst them are the opportunists, profiteers and other kinds of "carrion kites". There might be more of them than of those who in a way are at least, however sad, a group of unconcealed "warriors of the devil".

(iii) The bulk of the population, a psychologically, especially "psycho-politically" amorphous mass, overtaken by the fury of events in their sleep, as it were. They go on, for a time at least, unchanged, unconcerned, unmoved, trying to make life a "business as usual". But many of them do wake up later and often very much so. And for many of those it is a most horrid awakening.

(iv) The stubborn and silent resisters, who do anything they can to hinder the enemy in his intentions and work, and here you might find all shades from the man who powerlessly gnashes his teeth and clenches his fists in his pockets but still cannot rise to active opposition, up to the man whose hand, at first only in his pockets sooner or later in real fight has the dagger and revolver prepared, and who then becomes the man who joins the fifth group.

(v) The active underground fighters and saboteurs, who wait only for the day to carry on "above ground" what up till then has had to be hidden in the dark.

It is clear, I think, that all these people are more or less "displaced", certainly particularly so Groups 1 and 5. The often hitherto unknown Mr. Smith or so-called nobody, suddenly switches from say green-grocery (with all apologies to the honorable trade) into active politics, either discovering he has pro-Nazi feelings finds himself in office and "dignity", or at the other extreme the silent little man who almost to his own amazement becomes the real hero, hourly defying torture and death.



But all of them, even the indifferent mass, is affected: hardly anyone continues to live his former psychological life, almost all of them are emotionally and morally displaced, hence the justification of this new, perhaps unexpected application of the term "displaced" to these people "at home". They no longer feel free to think, to speak, to act. They have to bow to new gods and to accept ideas as foreign as possible to what they were taught or believed before. They are forced to do so under unceasing threat and fear, with the headman's axe hanging over them and ready to fall upon their necks at any minute. You might become a "hostage", the victims of silly or perfidious denunciation. When you go to bed you never know whether you will get up in the morning and have your nice, all be it frugal, breakfast in your own home, or whether you will have to leave your flat at dawn, not the milkman but the "devil's knaves" knocking you up so mercilessly early out of your sleep, which night by night has become more and more restless. You are cut off from free reading, from objective information, from the outside world, from learning, and from whatever pastime leisure and pleasure you used to like. And more and more of your friends and relatives are taken from you, or have just disappeared. In the end there is hardly a family left who has not lost someone of their beloved ones, one way or the other.

There are many kinds of mental displacements with different roots and sources but they are all bound to produce in varying degrees psychological consequences and ill effects. The five categories discussed above seem to present certain aspects more clearly than other categories of persecution and misery may do. (In all this social mess the position of the Jews is of course particularly disastrous but I shall not dwell on that here).

(b) Let us now turn to the people still within their own countries but nevertheless physically "displaced". They may be (i) refugees, owing to destruction of their homes, with all the problems of homelessness and destitution. (ii) refugees, fugitives in their own land, hiding from persecution, sleeping in open fields or forests, or spending night after night somewhere with one of their brave friends, but hardly more than one night in the same place, (iii) many who are imprisoned, waiting for trial or death without trial, cases I know of held for months or years, without sentence or even investigation, and yet, under some "obvious" accusation kept under most tormenting prison conditions (iv) Finally those who have not been so "honored" as to be treated as law-breakers or enemies of the new order, or "hostages for a good cause", but are just "parasites" who were not found worth killing ("even a rope is too good for you") but put into concentration camps - a Hitlerite invention of living death. (v) Yet another kind of problem arises concerning those who voluntarily or compulsorily have been pressed into labour camps, where conditions may be the same as in those labour-camps "abroad". For many it might be an easing, for others an aggravating factor that they are in their own home country, so near to their families, though treated as slaves. You will find amongst them the indifferent ones, who often volunteer, also the stupid ones who will go anywhere in order to find a living, particularly when they can follow some of their friends. But there are also volunteers of "belief", that is collaborators, just as you may find suspected but not yet convicted "enemies of the new order", whom the enemy may think to be under sufficient control in those



camps where their energies are put to best use as sheer man-power until exhaustion and death frees the Nazis from one more enemy. And there are also the "geniuses", the specialists and gifted ones who under promise or pressure, are brought to render valuable service to their new masters.

(c) Next there are the groups outside their own countries, the ones more likely to come under UNRRA's psycho-sociological care. A brief preliminary survey may help to give perspective to the problem.

(i) I only in passing mention the prisoners of war, whose psychological problems are special ones. They have been fighting for their country, are still treated as soldiers, even when in the enemy's hands, and after their release come first of all under the care and responsibility of their original military authorities. Some of them, at least, will feel that they still are and will remain soldiers after their return home until they are demobilized under a general demobilization-scheme.

(ii) The various groups of deportees, placed in concentration camps in other countries, mostly under harder conditions and with less hope of friendly help or final release than those detained in similar places "at home".

(iii) Inhabitants of Labour Camps where there is all the brutal tendency to kill people's minds and use them as brainless working apparatus. Consider the position of the young who have not yet developed a resilient but tough inner life to fall back on, whose inner resources of moral strength, knowledge and experience are still immature; of the intellectuals, cut off from all intellectual life and activity, and turned into physical work-automata; and there are those camps where people are physically not too badly treated, indeed are well fed, in order to keep the stock of slaves fit and physically living but are subjected to propaganda and other "educational" influences which often entail mental torture of a particularly cruel kind.

There are those who are pressed into those labour camps as an alternative to punishment, owners who, under the force of some order or rule, are, soldierlike, conscripted for this work, but there are also those who, indifferently volunteered simply to find "well paid work" or even as supporters of the new world-order.

(iv) A similar psycho-genetic grouping will be found in the Satellite and even in the German Army, and many of the "Rommel-boys" will immediately, when taken prisoners, discover patriotism or claim it unaltered and undiminished and say that they served in the Forces only to escape from immediate danger, intending from the beginning to desert as soon as a possibility arose. The experiences some Allied armies have made with those "prevented patriots" cannot be discussed in this place.

(v) I must mention those quislings and traitors who have left their home countries for Germany or another Nazi occupied territory in order to escape from their own nationals, or hoping to live under conditions where they can be freer, and live more easily as treachery or opportunism dictates. There are many of them, though not all so "famous" as "Lord Haw-Haw" and his sort - certainly a most complicated mixture of hatred, guilt and anxiety.



(vi) A few words about the special problems of those women who have had to suffer not only a similar fate to the men, but in addition - the unspeakable horror of compulsory prostitution and all the wild and bestial sex-abuses in mixed camps, where the main or frequently only literature, (this sponsored by the German camp authorities) is pornography, including photos and pictures of that sort. Think of mothers, deprived of their children and in unceasing fear about their fate. Think of women, raped in the presence of their camp mates, giving birth or trying to exert abortion (on each other) in the same "publicity". Think, apart from all these unimaginable things merely of the particular effects slavery and hard labor is bound to have upon women and they generally suffer more than men from lack of privacy and the entire absence of even the most elementary requirements of bodily hygiene and personal care.

(vii) A special problem more sad, if gradations or comparisons are at all possible, than all the preceding ones, concerns those young girls aged between thirteen and eighteen, who in their early puberty were commandeered into soldiers' brothels, and whose sexual life has been broken beyond imagination, before it ever had a chance to develop. Will they ever recover?

But amongst these female cases will be found the same shades and gradations and groupings as amongst the displaced males, including "volunteers" of all categories.

Again I will only mention the Jews, kept in separate camps, and surviving while still of any use for the hardest, or the most dangerous, or most disgusting labor, merely a last stage before being sent to the real death camps.

In conclusion I should like to point out that there is a fundamental difference between those who know why they suffer, and feel their sufferings as a martyr's thorny crown, and those who not only believe that their suffering is unmerited, but who have no ideal worth suffering for, the difference between the politically minded and those who live naively or thoughtlessly, like silly infants. But this is one of many subjects it is quite impossible to discuss here adequately. I am fully aware that I have written but a patch-work, hardly more than a hint, but perhaps even so it may help you to understand somewhat better how the different psychological problems, to be discussed in later articles have arisen among the various categories of displaced peoples according to their particular relation to social groupings.

#### D. DISPLACED PERSONS

Displaced children in any area will have one major experience in common. They will all have suffered the lack of a normal steady background to their lives. In some instances they will have experienced the breaking



up of a familiar home life; in others they will as yet have had little or no home life. The psychological significance of this lack of a settled background is great. If a child is to feel at home in the world he needs to live in a background which feels to him to be safe, steady and dependable. It is the people in the background that matter most to him, and he needs to grow up amongst people who are familiar to him from his earliest years. His mother, his father, his brothers and sisters, familiar relatives and friends are all of value to him. Gradually he becomes less physically dependent on them, but the steady preservation of his confidence depends in large part on his feeling that support is still available, and that there are the earlier friendly people to whom he can turn when necessary. A child deprived for one reason or another of a dependable background to his life tends to feel unequal to his experience and particularly to new experiences and to be anxious and insecure. The effects of this anxiety in turn show themselves in various kinds of disturbed behavior.

The children we are considering have behind them little in the way of a dependable background, or of steady reassuring experience. They have in most instances suffered great dislocations in the conditions of their lives. Those who have spent their earlier years in the country and home where they were born and then have been separated from them will have suffered much anxiety. Some may not have lost all that is familiar, they may have left home as refugees with their parents, relatives or friends. According to the state of mind of the grown-ups by whom they are accompanied, and to their subsequent experience, they may not feel themselves to have lost everything. They will, however, tend to cling anxiously to the little that is familiar in their new surroundings. Children accompanied by anxious, shattered grown-ups will be feeling that there is nothing trustworthy about life, and will in consequence be uncertain and insecure. Those who are entirely separated from all that is familiar to them will be the more anxious. They will have suffered the bewilderment and fear of finding themselves suddenly without support, surrounded by what is strange and often feeling themselves threatened by uncontrollable circumstances.

Children who have been born in an alien country will in many instances inevitably have been unwelcome to their mothers. They will have had little of the normal warmth of feeling which helps a baby to get a good grip on life. Even where the mother has had real warmth of feeling for her baby she will usually have been feeling considerable anxiety on other accounts; and a young baby is quick to sense anxiety in its mother and to respond to it with an insecure feeling. These children may also have had little in the way of steady care from their mothers and may have had little continuous care from any particular grown-up. Rarely will there have been a father in such a child's background to give the confidence normally provided by the protector of the family, and the facilities are lacking for the normal development of the child's emotional life through the deflection of his feelings towards his father, towards others and to the building of a good relationship to both parents together as the nucleus of the family. Insecurity of feeling will have been considerably reinforced by the mother's doubts as to the future and life can hold little that feels in any way certain. Illegitimacy would prove an added difficulty. Some children, particularly those born in Germany, will have been taken away from their



mothers and will have suffered not only the anxiety of that separation and the loss of what little security they have known but will have experienced careful and deliberate efforts to destroy their allegiance to the mother and all that she represents; and many of these will have struggled to achieve some feeling of safety through the anxious acceptance of the standards of those who have replaced their mothers. For many children the very fact of change in return home from the alien background to which they have become accustomed may be an added difficulty. The actual behavior of the children who suffer insecurity may take a variety of forms. Some of them will be obviously unhappy, anxious and afraid, others may appear apathetic and backward. Some of them will be troublesome, defiant and difficult to manage, if not actually delinquent and some may show more specific behavior disorders.

For all of these children, the first consideration will be how to restore to them something of a safe and secure emotional background. In most cases if possible, they should remain with their mothers and certainly live in a group whose language is their own and where there is someone they already know. They should have their meals with their mother, sleep near her, and spend their time where they know she can be readily at hand. But it may be found that some mothers are themselves in such an anxious state that their anxiety acts as a severe handicap to the child, and in such cases it may be more helpful for him to spend clear periods of time away from his mother in a nursery group or occupation centre so that he may regain some assurance that there is safety and friendliness somewhere in the world. For children without a mother and without familiar friends some form of secure family life must be constituted as soon as possible even in places where children are expected to remain only for short periods. This will mean putting children to live in small family groups and in the care of confident, friendly grown-ups. It may also mean giving them additional help during their waking time in the form of nursery groups and recreation or occupation centres. Good planning for the use of their time will be another effective means of helping to restore their sense of security, for well-planned time gives a feeling of reliability to life. Care will, however, be needed in many cases to avoid overstrain, since the great need of many children may be for rest, and those who are ill-nourished as well as anxious may tend towards exertion beyond their strength. As few changes as possible should be made in their background once they are settled. They should be able to regard a definite place as "home" and they should remain in the care of the same grown-ups.

Over and above the difficulties of general dislocation and insecurity, many children will have suffered other severe experiences. They may have suffered prolonged hunger and lack of shelter. Where it has been impossible to find any sure means of satisfaction and protection, anxiety will be deep, and children may seem depressed, dreamy or more or less oblivious of what is going on round them. They may show intense greed, which will demand the greatest care and kindness, since it may be necessary in the face of their anxiety to seem to frustrate them still further in regulating the amount and kind of food they can for the time being be given. Others of them will have found it possible to survive by stealing and since it will have been a matter of great merit to steal enough to keep oneself and one's companions alive, such behavior must not suddenly be labelled as delinquency. These



children will need to be given difficult and thrilling jobs of some kind if they are to be helped to relinquish their primitive way of getting their living.

Some children may feel themselves to be the victims of persecution for racial and other reasons, and may have witnessed violence against their relatives and friends, and experienced it in some degree themselves. They will tend in consequence to be frightened and distrustful, to regard other people as enemies, and to tend to hit out first in case some harm befalls them. In some instances, they may in consequence be liable to outbursts of rage and violent behavior. In others, they will at first appear cowed and anxious.

Bombing and battle conditions may have been the experience of some children. Those who have had the good fortune to be in the care of relatively confident grown-ups during such times will not usually have been seriously affected by what has happened, particularly if they are young children. Older children and those without grown-up help or in the care of frightened panic-stricken adults will have suffered severely. Some of them will be protecting themselves from their anxiety by outbursts of violent behavior. Others of them will find satisfaction of a different kind in being in violent scenes, for there is something in the nature of these violently destructive happenings which coincides with their own feelings of primitive aggression. In consequence, some children will suffer the added anxiety of feeling themselves in part responsible for these dreadful happenings, and at the same time involved in them and in that case their fear of retribution in the form of similar and other disasters will be great. They have frequently a compulsive need to provoke anger and to run foolish risks in order to go on finding that in spite of everything they will survive. Great care will be needed in their control. Evidence of shock may also manifest itself in apparently frightened and timid behavior.

There will be girls who have suffered rape or may already have become prostitutes, and there may also be boys whose sexual behavior is unduly precocious or difficult. In many such children there will be strong feelings of guilt, even in those who were in no way responsible for what has happened to them. Some of them will feel themselves to have been in some way spoilt and destroyed and will have experienced the terror of being utterly defenceless. Others of them may have become accustomed to their experience and have begun to accept life as they have found it. There will be for all of them the problem of regaining a reasonable level of self-respect without suffering too great a weight of guilt and depression on their way to recovery. Otherwise recovery may prove impossible for them, either because they remain acutely depressed or do themselves harm. The proper handling of their feelings of guilt so that they are not taken too seriously nor yet made light of will be a matter of great skill. The more directly sexual behavior of children will similarly require good care if it is to be redirected without producing yet other difficulties in the children.



In helping all these children (as with those discussed previously) we shall have to rely largely on giving them as steady a background as possible wherever they may be, and for however short a time. We shall at the same time find that one of the great sources of help for them lies in what they can do for themselves. The normal function of play activities at any age is in large part the constant maintenance and restoration of the child's balance. It is possible for him to relieve stress and tension within himself largely through his own activities. He can put his ideas into some form, express his problem, reduce it to a manageable size and deal with it. And having done this, the stress from which he suffers is relieved and he is at ease within himself. While he is busy mending himself he needs someone who will keep his behavior within reasonable bounds, and see to it that he is restrained from damaging the things round him, from damaging other people and from damaging himself. It is no cure simply to allow him to do as he pleases; but within these limitations he can be allowed to use his materials in his own way for the solution of his problems.

To this end, we must see to it that he has time every day for his own pursuits, and we must see that he has useful things to play with. Children of every age should be able to get at water, whether for pouring, filling up jars or floating things in, or for use for more definite purposes such as cleaning up and washing clothes. (Water is best used out of doors, but it must also be available indoors, and there must be a definite understanding that using water does not mean swamping the floor or drenching other people). They also need to have the use of earth, mud, clay and sand, and growing food and flowers is part of children's work with earth. Dough when possible is a valuable play material, and from the age of two or so onwards, some sort of cooking should be possible. Older children should feel themselves thoroughly well able to provide food for themselves. Paint, crayons, pencils and paper are also needed, as are simple tools, wood and nails, and material to build with - at first, blocks, tins and logs, and later wood and branches of trees for making huts. Older children are capable of real building with cement, stones or bricks. Things for dressing up and acting and dolls for children of every age are valuable.

It will be realized that normally children make use of most of these materials throughout their childhood and most of their adolescence. Cooking, gardening, cleaning, washing, woodwork, building, painting, drawing, modelling and acting are all of them activities which continue. They have a particular value in dealing with these children in that they allow constantly for the using up of aggressive feeling with its anxious need to be destructive, violent and messy, in properly constructive work. Anxious children of every kind find great relief in being thus able to make a legitimate use of their aggression, though it is still for the grown-up to limit the expression of aggression to the actual job in hand.

Other activities of value include in particular vigorous muscular play and work. All children need the use of space and there must be something interesting within the space, e.g. humps and hollows, trees, bushes, rocks, the trunk of a felled tree, boxes, logs, barrels, cans, tyres, rope, planking, balls. It will usually be found that as the children grow beyond their early childhood they form themselves into gangs.



In the circumstances envisaged, these gangs may tend to become somewhat wild and violent. They must in consequence have definite standards and rules that control them, and without undue interference the grown-up must see that the leaders formulate their rules and teach the gang; and they will need to give unobtrusive supervision to the activities of the gangs. It will also be necessary to get their cooperation in taking part in definite expeditions and games, and in doing definite jobs. The thrill of the spontaneous lawless play must somehow be preserved by finding interesting and exciting things to do, and children also need to master genuinely difficult jobs. With the older ones, considerable periods of time should be spent in constructive work of a practical kind which is directed towards what is needed for providing for the feeding, clothing and shelter of the children themselves and for the rest of their group.

The successful management of the children will depend largely on the quality of the activities allowed them. But over and above this there will be the need for control. This should be a gradually changing combination of grown-up control and reliance on the child's self-control. At first the adult may have to exercise considerable influence, though from the start the children should be given responsibility for helping with the practical managing of their lives. A fuller form of self-government will gradually become possible, though care must be taken not over-strain the children through expecting too reliable a degree of steady independence. Children can feel over-burdened by having to make too many decisions, and they can be very vicious towards one another. They need a grown-up as a friendly reference in the background. One other point - they find it easier to be law-abiding if they can have things of their own to possess. Over and above these general forms of care, it should be possible to give more special care to particular children. All children, will, however, be helped greatly in their recovery by a steady background in which they can feel welcome, loved and protected, and where they can find the opportunities they need for working out for themselves their difficulties and feelings.

To sum up, the displaced children will present us primarily with problems of insecurity and anxiety, and in addition there will be troubled feeling and behavior related to other difficult experiences. There may be great numbers of these children, fortunately they have great powers of recovery, but they will need the most helpful conditions possible if they are to be restored to a normally stable state.

#### E. WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN THROUGH

It is extremely difficult to understand the effects of displacement on its victims. The victims themselves are seldom able to understand in any effective way the nature and ramifications of their own misery. They merely feel miserable and they are not often inclined or able to communicate to an outsider even what they do understand of their difficulties. But in spite of these obstacles we must, if we are to help them with their problems, make every endeavour to realize how they have come to be as they are now.



The first general factor which underlies so much of the unhappiness and psychological difficulty of these displaced persons is the condition of being abruptly cut off from family ties and from family, community and national connections. Prisoners of war, slaves, prisoners in a concentration camp all who are displaced for whatever reason, are cut off suddenly from the ties on which they have depended for affection and support (whether they have realized their dependence or not) and they only appreciate their real value when they have lost them. Happiness depends on being able to give affection and receive it from others, on self-respect and on a sense of autonomy. The achievement of these is difficult under coercion in a totally strange environment. Men cannot be transferred to another community without a strain being put on the personality. The loss of ties with the primary group, i.e. with family, friends, clubs and agreeable working colleagues, undermines the sense of security of the individual. The family is the main source and prototype of all affection, the focal point of every culture; furthermore, it provides a series of basic routines which organize and help to give meaning to life of the individual. In the new environment of the displaced, there was loneliness, homesickness and depression. The church's hold became weaker, cynicism and disbelief increased, moral standards and personal conscience deteriorated. There was a discontinuance of confession, especially by Catholics. In the new savage surroundings many became completely atheistic or regressed to a primitive magical interpretation of the old religious symbols.

But all this is intensified a thousand times when the loss of social ties is coupled with the tremendous menace to life itself. The enemy waged biological war against the population of the occupied territories. He wanted to influence the population trends of Europe in such a way that Germany would always be supreme and, even if defeated in this war, could return to pre-eminence through another war. He wanted to affect the hereditary quality of the population and to that end he attempted actual extermination - one need only think of the Jews and the Poles. He employed many means to maintain a constant threat of physical destruction, - starvation, constant food anxiety, slave labor beyond all human endurance, physical tortures in the camps, arbitrary and brutal punishment for trivial infractions, constant physical and mental torment, piling of fear upon fear. We need only use as an illustration the constant fear of death of the foreign laborers who were compelled to carry on during the Allied bombardments. In Hamburg during one of those air attacks 1,500 foreign laborers were killed in half an hour. Only years after the war will one be able to draw the balance-sheet of what this has meant in terms of increase in psychological illness, in suicide rates, in delinquency, in the falling-off of the power of resistance against such diseases as tuberculosis, diphtheria, scarlet fever and in the spreading of venereal disease. Most serious of all, the younger generation will bear the marks of all this for many years to come and perhaps for life.

Indeed, however great the physical devastation caused by German policy, the moral and psychological disturbance is probably greater. This policy has created in young people a wall of cynicism and brutishness which will require years of both mass and individual psychotherapeutic or social treatment to put right. The victims of forced prostitution are the most



obvious illustrations of this. Young girls and women have been forced into prostitution by the usurper, led behind the fronts by force and debased into mechanical lust-gratification machines. Young men have been dragged to Germany and forced to impregnate German women. They have all been forced into a world where there can be no feeling of affection or responsibility towards the object of erotic interest. They were humiliated, robbed of their ideals as well as becoming physically diseased. And for those who were not pushed to this extreme, there was the constant threat that they might be. As a further aggravation of this situation there was the loss of or at least separation from former objects of affection. Other expatriates were forced by the circumstances into a state of celibacy or one in which the satisfaction of erotic impulses had to be unaccompanied by affection; a loneliness deepened by anxiety about the far away loved ones. That anxiety frequently grew into an obsession, a morbid suspicion, an ever growing jealousy, though often it remained an unfulfilled desire, an exaggerated homesickness, a feeling of being deserted by everybody.

Uncertainty about family and friends was only one of the many uncertainties, not least of which was what form the bullying might take tomorrow. An ordinary prisoner knows the duration of his term of punishment, the displaced person is certain about almost nothing, about the duration and nature of his torments, about his food, about his country's fate, about the fate of his family. Will he have any chance after the war? Will there ever be a possibility of achieving his ambitions? His career has been suddenly disrupted, he has been put into kinds of work entirely different from those into which had gone his previous energy and interest. Every moment that he worked below his skill-level, his disgust and hate and anxiety grew. All his quills of defence were on end as it were, he had to be on his guard all the time and was reduced to a constant state of touchiness. The trivial routines of work in slavery made him think more than was good for him, embittered him and thus created new fear and anxiety.

Another painful deprivation was the loss of privacy. The displaced person was no longer able to enjoy even a few hours a day with persons whom he has chosen, he was constantly in the crowded presence of persons whom he had not chosen and probably would not have chosen, as companions. He had no longer opportunity to be alone or to reflect upon things as a private individual. He was driven back to a crowd existence in the camp where he became a victim of all mass-emotions and rumours. His need of individuality and distinction was entirely repressed, and this often produced severe melancholia. Such an emotional reaction is not merely the result of harsh discipline - it is largely the result of discipline imposed by an authority to which one had not consented and towards whom one felt no respect. Hatred so fills one's life that it begins to color one's affection, or what was left of it. It is this situation which produces severe depression in the technical sense. Of course, the boredom, the monotony, the dullness and the sterility of life all played a degenerating part. The enslaved workers who were forced to work, were often the more fortunate, as however humiliating this may be, it did mitigate the degeneration of boredom.

As a last point one should mention the loss of contact with all real information about what was happening in the world. The ex-patriated had



no newspapers or broadcasts from home. They could have no confidence because they heard only enemy news and propaganda, for the special newspapers for foreign workers in Germany were of course written by Germans or by their hirelings. Even those who tried to resist the effects of this Nazi propaganda sometimes succumbed unwittingly to some of its arguments. Without the stimulus of hope, however distant, the mind of men cannot live. Those who were unable in some clandestine way or other to re-establish contact with trustworthy sources of information became lost in dull apathy. Thus the enemy undermined the self-reliance and resisting power in his victims.

#### F. DEMORALIZATION, PROMISCUITY AND PROSTITUTION

No specific discussion has so far been made of the problems of women ex-patriates and repatriates. It is unfortunately clear, however, that the Nazis have adopted a systematic policy of utilizing the demoralization of the ex-patriate for their own needs, in this particular instance by encouraging between women forced workers, men forced workers, and soldiers the development of types of sexual relationship which are likely to have serious psychological and social repercussions. Largely through the existence of the "double moral standard", it is particularly in the women concerned that the damage to self-respect and the enforced separation of affection and erotic interest is likely to result in outstanding difficulties.

If we define "morale", for our present purpose, as "the possession of a sense of 'belonging', of an agreed sense of purpose and of satisfaction over achieving one's purpose", then we can see that forced workers are a group in which morale, in this sense, is low. In these circumstances, in armies, slum areas, and among ex-patriates, various inevitable human reactions tend to occur. Alcoholism, delinquency and promiscuity, for example, are common; for they are usually the most easily available ways of mitigating the painful emotional tension of low morale situations, the sense of isolation from a friendly community, and the sense of futility of these circumstances have been to many forced workers an emotional burden which has had somehow, to be borne for many years.

The only unusual points in the situation of the forced workers in this connection is the Nazi policy of encouraging these symptoms of demoralization. It is therefore probable that among ex-patriated workers the common human ways of dealing with emotional problems of this type will exist to a very considerable extent, and probably to a greater extent than exists in such relatively organized groups as, for examples, armies overseas.

Recent psychiatric studies, it should be stressed, show very clearly, the point made above: the real motive forces behind true promiscuity vary considerably but investigation shows little sign of any mature sexual or "biological" urge arising so to speak as a by-product of good health. Predominantly, true promiscuity can be seen to be for the most part a despairing attempt to introduce some element of warm human feeling into a life which recurrently or acutely possesses little of comfort or of hope and much of anxiety and despair. In effect it is as foolish to consider



alcoholism as a specific form of "thirst" as it is to consider promiscuity as a specific form of "sexual" interest. In both cases the "physiological need" is very much secondary to the need to deal with what is felt to be an intolerable mental pain. Quite apart from the forced workers, in whom regressive attitudes towards both affection and sexuality are largely inevitable, attempts to evade a sense of despair, of futility and, not uncommonly, of guilt and unworthiness, are to be seen among those whom the war has bereaved, even although they may not have been ex-patriated. Compulsive hedonism, in fact, is clearly one of the commoner features in the late phases of war and in the insecurity of post-war years.

To return to the forced workers, in practice the problem there will be divided into two parts. In the first instance there will be those people who have known mature adult family and personal relationships and in whom the altered attitude towards sexual relations is largely a reaction to their situation from which, in time, recovery can largely be expected. Secondly - and a more difficult problem - there are those young people who have never known such family and personal relationships in adult life. In these, the process of recovery involves redevelopment of a sense of value over erotic feeling, and secondly, the formation of ideals and the controlling powers necessary to ensure and maintain the essential fusion between the two aspects of human interest in the opposite sex - that is - affection and erotic interest.

#### Nature of the Problem

Psychiatric studies further show that in the case of people who have been unwillingly seduced, or raped, the main problem which arises is not the relatively superficial and transient emotional disturbance - the assault on social status - but the deeper and usually unrecognised problem of guilt and shame in the individual. In other words, however unreasonable it sounds, the problem is to persuade or help the victims of such assaults to forgive themselves in relation to the very real but quite unreasonable sense of guilt which they possess over the incidents concerned. It is important to stress that although it is sometimes held that promiscuity must be approached by the imposition of prohibitions and the attempt to develop a rigid external morality, experience shows that this approach offers little hope of success. Most of us are probably a good deal more moral than we think or fear; and whether it is over the taking of life or the breaking of sexual taboos in an attempt to evade despair, there is a prolonged process of self-reproach which presents the real problem of help and treatment.

#### Ways of dealing with it.

In approaching women, therefore, who have been leading what would be commonly called an "immoral", but which would be better described as a "demoralized" life, it will be important to be aware beforehand of the existence of a deep sense of guilt in these people, whatever their superficial attitude or behavior may appear to be like at first glance. (The overlap between "chronic" prostitution, mental defect and psychosis should, however, be borne in mind). Secondly, it is particularly important to



approach them neither in an aggressively cheerful manner which will appear to them as not beyond suspicion of collusion in salacity; nor on the other hand in a moralistic frame of mind which will be to them a guarantee of inability to understand. In the simpler example of the man who in despair turns to alcohol it is obviously important that his rehabilitation should not be attempted either by a fellow drunkard or by a violent teetotaler; of the two the fellow drunkard has the better chance of exerting influence. The best results, however, are obtained by those who are able to see, beyond the symptoms of alcoholism, to the reality of the emotional problem which lies behind it. Similarly, with demoralized people, the slow development of rapport and the provision of an opportunity for some sort of affectionate human relationship will be the first step towards helping these people to begin to forgive themselves and to regain self-respect.

Women who have become prostitutes for bread for their children are rather in a separate category. Although the reactions outlined above will inevitably exist, it is probable that bitter resentment of their situation will to some extent color the picture, and since an altruistic motive was a main feature of their situation, to that extent guilt may be replaced by anger against a world which forced this situation on them.

Experience suggests - it might be wiser to say, "insists" - that it will be useful to issue a warning against the extent to which sexual problems attract individuals unsuited to this field, and lead to enquiries and discussions in which the motives of the would-be helpers and investigators are clearly far from objective. The connection between extreme aggressivity and violent pacifism and that between pathological religiosity and pathological sexuality are fairly well known examples of this kind of difficulty.

Although there are many excellent moral welfare organizations, this field of social work is more handicapped than any other by the existence of "self selected unsuitables", whose failure to recognise the mixed nature of their own motives is a constant source of surprise to their colleagues.

It is possible that in trying to achieve a return to previous social status, or, in the case of younger people, to build up ideals and attitudes suitable to an adult, many women ex-patriates will wish to evade the intensification of guilt likely to result from return to their home environment. The next best thing will be to return to their own country, so to speak, incognito. This impulse can be clearly seen in repatriated prisoners of war, in some of whom there exists a homologous problem of unrecognized guilt albeit from a different source. They too desperately want to get home but in some instances find it extremely difficult to tolerate the emotional tensions generated by a return to their own family and their own community. Those women who so desire it should, therefore, be given any available opportunity to return to their own country, away from their own home, and to take up work which will enable a self-respecting frame of mind to be achieved before facing the inevitable tensions of meeting their own families.



The case of the younger people, it has been said, presents a more difficult problem, and in their case it will be wise to arrange for social contact with young people of their own, and the opposite sex, and with groups of young people in whom effective attitudes and customs are already developed in relation to sexual relationships. This is a problem for youth leaders, and for carefully selected members even among those.

With regard to religious attitudes towards these problems, it is clear that religious services will be available near most assembly centres; but there are reasons why it will probably be unwise to invite the attention of the clergy specifically to the problem. In many cases there will undoubtedly be excellent results from, for example, attendance at Church; but against this it is clear that in view of the harsh ethical views in relation to sexual affairs rightly or wrongly attributed to Churches in general, contact with the clergy by demoralized women, except on their own volition and in their own time, will be likely to bring about an increase of guilt in individual instances, has been known to bring about a wave of depression, delinquency and even suicide. The problem is not to arrange for the forgiveness of these people but to persuade them to forgive themselves. In this matter the opportunity of taking up religious observances, whenever the individuals themselves feel they can do so, is probably as far as we can safely go in this direction.

The essence of this whole matter lies in patience, and in trying to arrange for the development of sincere human relations which contain elements of genuine affection and tenderness. This must be done against a serious internal barrier in the women concerned; but if and when this can be overcome, recovery is likely to happen to an extent and to a degree which may well be surprising to those not accustomed to considering the problems of human behavior in terms of the unrecognised morality and needs of human beings.

#### G. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DISPLACED PERSONS

Assisted by our knowledge of what has been inflicted upon these people we must try to see them as human beings, as personalities, who react to the events of life in varied ways. Knowing something of these reactions beforehand, it will be much easier to judge their needs and to help them. However, it is almost impossible to predict with certainty what any particular person's reactions will be since they vary in accordance with the structure and stability of the character and with the nature and intensity of the deprivations which have been inflicted.

The most characteristic personality change of people under circumstances of severe emotional straining is regression. By regression we understand a falling back to earlier more primitive and for example infantile habits. The acquired forms of civilization easily vanish and the loss of cultural decorum is one of the first symptoms one can observe in displaced persons. They do not restrain themselves any more; the brakes have been taken off.



An additional factor in this process is the fact that various hygienic amenities and customs of civilization are no longer possible since the physical means are lacking. The means of cleanliness decline; people do not take any interest in hygiene. They wash themselves less, they do not look after their own clothes, they appear more ragged than need be under the circumstances. Traditions and forms are neglected, the sense of shame disappears. Finally, their behavior becomes both rougher and more childish. Language assumes more primitive forms of expression and interest flags. Conversation degenerates into quarrels and scoldings. Apathy towards most objects of mature interest decreases while touchiness and quarrelsomeness about trivialities increases.

This general regression is coupled with an increased restlessness. Intellectual activities are no longer possible, though there is enough leisure time. The feeling of responsibility towards the community disappears, and there is no longer respect for discipline and for authority. The constant emotional mobilization tends to make men more unrestrained, they are more apt to blurt things out, they become cruder and often even more unreliable towards one another. In these circumstances, there is "social splitting" and small cliques and gangs may be formed which terrorize the others. Regression is really human degeneration resulting from a psychological strain which proved to be too heavy. Fortunately spontaneous recovery may take place, in the course of which people recover their former spirit and resilience.

Among those primitive forms of reactions the most difficult and the most dangerous one to the victims themselves is the complete apathy, the loss of all interest and the complete paralysis of every psychological defence. Many people have been afflicted and stunned to such an extent that they think themselves incapable of any spontaneous life. Resigned as they are, they simply await their terrible fate without an attempt to resist. People who have suffered physical starvation often cannot be induced even to the activity of fetching and consuming their own food and not uncommonly this picture of misery ends in suicide. The "security of death" is preferred to the uncertainty and colorlessness of the future. Others begin to worry about personal faults, whether they displayed cowardice in the way they surrendered to the enemy, fearing reproach which may be addressed to them later. They fear that they have not shown enough initiative, and lack self-respect. All forms of self-accusation may occur, which have only the slightest foundation.

There are, of course, all possible gradations, from the completely apathetic and passive to the almost normal. Social workers will need to help in the fight against this loss of initiative. "The welfare committee should take care of us" - so the victims say, "for we are incapable of doing anything for ourselves". Or they are aggressive towards the social workers and feel that they are not kind enough. This lack of initiative and trust can result in identification with the enemy to such an extent that they put themselves on the same mental level. They even become a prey of the enemy's propaganda, by means of which he arouses the hidden criminal instincts in them.



The social worker must realize that active collaboration cannot be expected at once. A great and sullen suspicion has arisen towards all authority. No one is trusted any longer. Hate has hardened these people and the feelings of impotence of all those years during which they have had to restrain themselves may result in aggression bursting out in a wrong direction, often against their own government. A non-conformist attitude has come into being, strengthened by the sabotage-attitude, during years of non-cooperation. Such an attitude requires a long time to melt away. The aggressive fire smoulders and can degenerate into a kind of "beserk" reaction. (The author of this article has himself experienced those entirely unreasonable outbursts of aggression in such a camp). Alongside of these reactions which are on the verge of being switched over to acts of reprisal, one can recognise the increased desire for affection, for some words of praise and some ordinary kindness. There is a childish pleasure in everything. A grasping for sweets and admiration, the wish to be petted and carressed is always present. The sense of reality has become enfeebled, and there is a tendency to revel in fantasies about the return home, and about the well-remembered family festivities, which are idealized to an extraordinary extent. Such thoughts tend to lead into a dream world. Thus those who are full of fear escape reality. More and more the mechanism of thinking is dominated by fantasies. Nothing must get in the way of the world of dreams, and if disturbed men start quarrelling with their comrades. When a letter from home does not arrive, a man's suspicion is roused. Jealous delusion trickles in his brain, and all sorts of supposed unfaithfulness form part of the fantasies in which he indulges. A general restlessness arises, making the adaptation to the forced community of the camp increasingly difficult.

Finally, in cases of utter despair, comes the onset of serious melancholia. Being unable to cope with the chaotic conditions in the world, nor with those in his own brain, the end is sought in suicide. Even after the war one has to take account of latent suicidal tendencies. Despair arising from German torture seems sometimes to be postponed, but at the first ray of dawn, even when hope is near, depression can no longer be held back and various types of physical and mental reaction, caused by fear and the painful mobilization of the mind and spirit over many years come to the fore.

This is not the place to discuss psycho-somatic reactions but one must realize clearly that the body too participates in the battle against misery and that the body often cannot cope with its task. The power of imagination dominates the organism almost completely. All sorts of physical conversion-symptoms can be seen, though often almost indistinguishable from physical afflictions caused by the ordinary physical hardships. A wave of hypochondriacal complaints may call for the attention of the welfare physicians. Symptoms of the heart and stomach will come to the fore. The sorrow that consumes one keeps the stomach and the bowels in a constant spasm. All mental harm one has had to sustain, and all the love one has had to do without are concentrated, symbolically, round the heart, which "aches" as a result. There was a time when the doctor neglected in an off-hand manner those complaints. They are, however, as important in point of fact as any common physical disease and they often require even more care and devotion.



The younger generation has particularly suffered, but not merely from the various deprivations inflicted on already formed personalities such as has been described above. The formative processes which youth ordinarily experiences in an orderly family and community - training the experience of conscience, of interest in work and achievement, of preparation for sexual experience in maturity - all of these have been broken off before their culmination. Thus we can expect to find greater aggressiveness in youth than under ordinary circumstances, a greater disposition to use violence, less sense of political responsibility and greater willingness to rob and to disregard the law. The general disrespect for authority in the younger generation will be very marked, and the young people who have grown up in this war, will be one of the most difficult problems of the future.

#### H. THE WAY HOME

Most of the matters discussed below are so obvious to experienced social workers that some apology is required; but experience shows that much of our knowledge of human beings is held in the mind at intuitive levels. In consequences, "putting it into words" is not without value, particularly when the problems to be tackled are new or have a setting which is unfamiliar.

"Foreigners" The inevitable difficulties of making effective intimate contact with the expatriated tend to be increased for example when the two parties to an interview possess the different cultural backgrounds of different national groups. This would matter less if it were usual for members of national groups (for example, British and Americans) to start off from scratch at first meetings. Unfortunately, each possesses of the other an internal picture, technically referred to as a stereotype, which has been built up from quite inadequate information. Its inaccuracy, however, does not destroy its reality and it may be a very real source of difficulty, even with increasing experience of contacts.

Study of the particular case of Anglo-American relations makes clear another point of general importance to European Welfare workers. The fact that these two groups share a common language leads to many misconceptions, and in particular to the unfortunate assumption that this particular fact necessarily implies a large measure of common background and common values in any given individual. This problem is likely to be exaggerated where welfare worker and displaced person - as will often be the case - are both forced to employ a foreign language of which they may know the words but employ them in a very different implied context.

Lastly - and most obvious - the "typical" member of any group is a statistical concept who has no more real existence than the "average man". The fact that people belong to a particular national group does not necessarily mean that they will correspond in any way to what one inevitably has in mind as a typical individual of that group. Similarly,



there will be no typical "forced worker" or "ex-collaborationist" or "unmarried mother". It will be necessary to restrain oneself from the inevitable tendency to "label" these people as a way of diminishing the mental energy required to make contact with them, to understand them, and to help them. The similarities between displaced people and social workers lies in their human needs and interests despite the great difference in recent experience and hence in outlook.

"Rehabilitation" A haze of mysterious benevolence hangs round this word, and, indeed, this subject. Before attempting to define "rehabilitation" it may be useful to look at three familiar groups of phenomena in which processes of recovery can be seen.

In the case of "physical" illness, - cerebro-spinal fever, for example, - when the infective process has been arrested the patient has obviously lost strength through the bacterial poisoning; it is less clearly realized that he has suffered other and equally important losses which are the result of leaving his usual way of life, his family and his community. Lying in bed in hospital, he finds himself forced to be a relatively passive member of a special community in which initiative and responsibility on his part are minimal. His family responsibilities remain, but he can do little or nothing about them. In the case of a patient with the sort of illness we are discussing, rehabilitation involves recovery of specific function in the diseased parts of the patient's body, and of general function of the body as a whole. It means also a recovery of technical skills - but the list is still incomplete. It means the reversal of the inevitable psychological changes of illness and return to a responsible place both in the family and in the community. It is, perhaps, unwise that the single word "rehabilitation" should be employed to cover this very complex process.

A second example suggests that the process of "recovery" of an individual may contain still deeper and certainly rather different elements. The process of mourning - that is, the natural process of recovery from a serious emotional loss - is perhaps one of the best examples of a process of rehabilitation. It is not uncommon for people who have suffered such severe losses to say that at the end of their period of acute depression, they pass through a phase of selfishness and irritability and end by being less selfish and more altruistic than they were originally - that is, the regression and the social withdrawal of their illness has been followed by a movement on to a more mature level of social integration.

The third example relevant to this discussion is that of expatriates who return to their native country, not in time of war, but in time of peace. Very obvious and, in a few cases, severe emotional and social difficulties are sometimes experienced by those who return to this country, for example, from colonial service overseas. In these cases overseas life and indeed life at home on return has presented no material problems and may indeed have been relatively luxurious. Nevertheless, such repatriates may complain of marked psychological disturbances and in particular of feelings of unreality, of restlessness or apathy or irritability, which last until they have settled down.



The psychological difficulties experienced by repatriated prisoners of war are an exaggerated and complicated form of the problem of "resocialization" and may contain elements homologous with all three of the examples just given.

If we abstract from these three types of recovery the common features which may guide us towards a definition of rehabilitation, it seems clear that physiological or nutritional phenomena do not form a central core of the problem, even where there has been illness or malnutrition. On the contrary, the process of rehabilitation is essentially psychological and sociological and if we are to describe, or if possible define it, the terms employed must lie primarily within these fields. The main processes involved in "rehabilitation" are recovery from losses - of health, skills, of valued personal relationships and of social connections. As a planned process, "rehabilitation" in practice means the provision of an atmosphere and opportunities where the careful and graduated use of incentives leads to graded satisfactions over efforts. These satisfactions arise from the redevelopment of initiative and the realization that satisfaction, contentment or even happiness are in fact inevitably bound up with use of initiative and with the acceptance of responsibility. As a last phase in rehabilitation the individual, having accepted or returned to this mature point of view is able to leave behind the necessarily protected atmosphere of early psychological and social recovery and can step forward on his own feet to a new social and psychological adaptation.

From the psychological point of view this process is not unlike an "elongated" form of the process of "waking up" from the regression of sleep; and it resembles, equally, a very much condensed form of the stages by which an infant can be assisted successfully to grow out of its passive existence, to overcome the problems of individuation and socialization of the protected phases of childhood and adolescence; and finally to reach adult integration where flexibility of interests will be adequate to meet the demands of adult life.

Planning Rehabilitation. The task of planning rehabilitation for an individual or a group places a number of important duties on those concerned; - first, the need to estimate the phase of regression or recovery in which the "patient" happens to be at the moment; secondly, provision of an atmosphere suited to that phase (i.e. the active benevolence one must show to an infant, the firm understanding and emotional security one must try to give to a child, and the provision of opportunities and ideals necessary to an adolescent). Thirdly, to provide incentives - if necessary by personal influence - so as to start and maintain the recovering individual on a graded and progressive course of activities bearing a relatively high reward in satisfaction of creative and constructive interests. (The adjective "creative" should be read to cover the meaning "reparative" and "expiatory", since "making good" and "returning good for evil" seem often to play a part, strange as it may seem, not only in the recovery phase of mourning but also in recovery from, e.g. loss of a limb or the loss of social connections which is the burden of expatriates).



Lastly, it will be necessary to provide a very special type of atmosphere in which there is neither anxious cheerfulness nor colorless apathy but a minimum of social tension - an atmosphere in which emotional security is the aim and in which little experiments in initiative, however bizarre, may be conducted by each individual without comment from others and without criticism or demand for applause.

"Discipline" and "Cheerfulness". No other concepts conceal so much misunderstanding and inefficiency in relation to any process of recovery.

The discipline which should be encouraged in handling processes of recovery, whether in invalids, expatriates or, for example, delinquents, is a self-discipline arising from mutual respect between the individual and the community. Respect can be built up; it cannot be commanded. During recovery phases the false discipline of force may be essential in periods of crisis and must then be used without anxiety, but with full awareness that it postpones and does not remove or resolve hostile, critical or rebellious attitudes.

People who have suffered and are mourning are not really helped by false cheerfulness. Sincerity and understanding will bring real cheerfulness in due course and the way to recovery is more often through an outburst of tears and a phase of solitude than through laughter which is out of harmony with the real mood of the individual.

Phases in the growth of a community. The stages of recovery described above for the individual should ideally be reflected in the social structure of the communities or groups in which they live. In these there should be a slow move towards increasing self-government and away from the relatively firm benevolent central authority necessitated by the passive dependence of early days. There are good reasons for believing that this process of accepting responsibility should begin with responsibility for making and cooking food, and for domestic arrangements in general. Quite apart from the deeper psychological reasons for this, there is very good practical support for it in that in most "temporary" cultures, criticism and hostile attitudes seem to grow up predominantly round the question of food; and it is in this field that a majority of practical day to day contacts are made with members of the centre staff of sufficiently humble status to permit of early experiments in self-assertion and in expression of aggression.

The Relief Worker through Refugee Eyes. In previous sections something of the characteristics of the displaced person have been described. It will not be long before the arrival at the Assembly Centre before the reality of these psychological phenomena will become evident. From the point of view of welfare the characteristics likely to be particularly important will center around confusion, disorientation, suspicion and fear of authority, the anxious greed and inevitable selfishness of some, and the willingness to help of others. It will be not only unprofitable but dangerous to evade the inevitable demand for repeated reassurance and information. It is important to put oneself in the place of any new arrivals. Their experience of benevolent authority has been short or in some cases non-existent.



They can hardly be other than envious of the status of relief workers whom they are likely to put in the category of "plump returning emigres" who evaded the war, but nevertheless have successfully acquired a place among the victors. Patience and tact, and even a certain humbleness, will not be out of place in those who deal with others who have been lucky. Sympathy, however, will invite open or concealed resentment.

Registration and Form Filling. Quite "unreasonable" and very conflicting emotions will accompany the process of registration in many displaced persons. This will be the first formal contact with an authority which does not belong to "the enemy". It is, in fact, the first contact with the community to which one desires to return. It will be an occasion on which there will certainly emerge hopes and fears of a type likely to drive the administrator to despair. Welfare workers may very well be of great assistance in undertaking, before registration begins, to take discussion groups explaining the reasons for it. These will help the refugees to verbalize their fears and suspicions and to accept as much reassurance as can be given before the actual administrative procedures start. It would also be useful for a welfare worker to be present during the actual process of registration, so that particularly anxious or difficult individuals can be taken off to one side and avoid holding up others. On the registration form questions which will appear entirely innocuous to the trained administrator are certain to arouse deep suspicion in the minds of the refugees and it would be wise to deal with this sort of point in preliminary discussion with them - a discussion with question and answer, and not merely a lecture.

Sortings. Some Medical Points. The circumstances of transport and the other factors controlling repatriation, make it practically certain that the returning groups who arrive at assembly centers will be composed of individuals with very different experiences who will need to be reintegrated in their communities by very different channels and over very different periods of time. The sorting of repatriates into different groups is an extremely difficult problem. On the one hand there is the need for speed in order to avoid destroying confidence, and on the other there are the difficult medical and psychiatric problems of contagious and infectious diseases, of "screening out" of individuals whose frame of mind is unsuited to immediate return home without risk of damage to their emotional stability. Lastly, there is the problem of breaking up groups of friends who may represent to each other the only solid point in a chaotic world.

To strike a balance between these different factors will present very serious problems for those in charge of reception. For instance the need for quarantine must not blind us the anxiety, mistrust and flagrant disobedience or even breaking out which is likely to take place. Also there are medical aspects of this other than risk of contagion which are worth bearing in mind, e.g., the fact that medical examination is often asked for by repatriates as a technique of reassuring themselves that their experiences have not damaged them beyond recovery. In such cases it is important for the doctor concerned to realize that the underlying purpose of examination is as much to reassure the patient about his own health, as to help the doctor over his responsibility for that of the camp.



One further point may perhaps be touched on here. The feeling of having been damaged in health, which is so common in repatriates, has deep psychological roots which are largely independent of physical illness and malnutrition. In many cases this anxiety over health and vigor takes the specific form of anxieties over sexual potency or fertility. This problem has a deep relation to the altered emotional emphasis of war-time life and of unisexual communities.

It is perhaps worth saying that any such alteration of physiological function - whether it affects the sexual life of the individual or, for example, dietary habits - is almost invariably a transient phenomenon from which full recovery can be confidently predicted.

Relationship to the Community. Leaving aside the underworld of sabotage and intrigue it may be worth saying that a majority of displaced persons have led what is in fact a compulsorily parasitic existence. As forced laborers their initiative and responsibility have been markedly diminished during their lives as relatively isolated individuals or units living in a hostile community. Traces of this situation and its related attitudes are bound to persist in the community of the assembly center, and may well appear in the form of unthinking selfishness and lack of consideration for others. It is of little use to order people to love their fellow men, and any attempt in this direction is unlikely to be fruitful. On the other hand by example and by patience it is possible to make clear the enormous practical value and personal satisfaction which group activities can bring. This desirable end will not, however, be reached without the passage of time.

Clique Formation. Displaced people are forced to live in groups bound mainly by the common difficulties of their situation and widely separated from their home community, not only by space, but in many cases by guilt over real or imagined "collaboration with the enemy". Unless they receive active understanding and cooperation, repatriates may tend to form small, selfish groups whose main characteristic, to the outside observer, is their hostility to other groups of the same kind, and their unwillingness to cooperate with central authority or with the community as a whole. The most extreme example of this situation is to be found in the nomadic bands of refugees, sometimes children, who own no allegiance to the country in which they find themselves. These are, in the sociological sense "gangs" whose formation is the result of inability or unwillingness of their community to absorb them or to satisfy even a minimum of their physiological or psychological needs. They are a result, more than a cause, of social difficulty. More usual are similar "cliques" among men and women from prison camps. It might have been thought that common experience would have made these groups friendly towards each other, and this is partly true; but it must be said that their relationship to each other often resembles that of the more extreme religious sects. In both cases, the common emotional problem and the alleged common aims do not permit of easy cooperation since the basic common problem is the disposal of frustration, bitterness and hostility. Further, in the case of displaced people of all types, the need to acquire self-respect and social status, and the anxiety connected with this, leads to the formation of what is usually referred to as a "pecking order" - that is, the almost tacit formation of a graded "caste" system in



which one group will bitterly envy or bitterly despise another. Personnel management may need to take account of these attitudes, however unreasonable they are. Cliques and castes will only be broken down when there has been achieved a certain minimum level of "social security" in the emotional sense.

Self-respect and self-reproach. Behind many of the different psychological phenomena of displaced persons there lies a peculiarly thorny problem which is usually sufficiently painful to evoke the psychological mechanism of repression, that is, unrecognized and unwilling suppression of feelings and views. This is the result of real or unreasonable guilt or self-reproach over having left one's native country, with or without force, in order to live among the enemy and so, in some curious way become associated with a hostile group. This problem is very often most extreme in people in which it is most unreasonable and, for this reason, psychological opinion tends to the view that the phenomenon is homologous to a situation easier to see in children. In their case, as in the prisoner of war or the expatriate forced laborer, the feeling of being "unwanted", left out or cast out or, in any case, separated, leads in rather a complex way to the conviction that this situation is somehow a punishment. Some concept of this sort will be found to supply the only effective means of understanding and of handling the curious difficulty in achieving self-respect which is such a problem to the expatriate. To people in this frame of mind, even a slight diminution in the amount of attention or interest displayed in them can produce an outburst of great violence, similar to those familiar as "paranoid" reactions and almost equally unapproachable by reason. It has been pointed out that the need for affection of such grossly bitter and suspicious people is so great and so desperate that even neutrality in the environment is interpreted as hostility. This mechanism is important in all expatriates.

Needs, Not Words. It is extremely difficult in planning to avoid making some statement which cannot, to some extent, be rendered inaccurate by events. In view of this it has proved helpful to avoid making statements to repatriate groups before the administrative status and competence of authority has been demonstrated by efficient planning. The first impressions are of extra-ordinary importance and slips made during the early hours of contact may so destroy confidence that it is almost impossible for it to be regained. It is worth bearing in mind that repatriates are actively anxious for their own people or "their side" publicly to do well on international occasions. Confidence and trust in authority can be built up - or damaged, almost beyond repair - by the presence or absence of intelligence and understanding, rather than soulless efficiency, in the first contacts with repatriates.

Importance of Atmosphere. No matter how an organization is designed, it is clear that the way in which it functions - how things are done - will depend largely on the personal qualities of the personnel concerned. Whenever possible, therefore, it is extremely helpful to select those people beforehand with very considerable care, and to ensure that we include in the "contact" personnel a considerable proportion of those who have personal experience of the problem concerned and who have, in fact, passed through



the phases of difficulty and readjustment. The staff of assembly or reception or transit camps, on the whole, should not be entirely composed of those who have passed through the same experience as those they are going to help. It is best that returning expatriates should feel that the controlling authority contains effective representatives of their point of view, without feeling, on the one hand, that they are being handled by people who have no personal experience of the problem or, on the other, that they are somehow a group under separate control and independent of the main body of the community.

Planning and Administration. In addition to the point about personnel just mentioned, it is important in planning administration that one eye should be kept on the need to be manifestly different in organization and administrative technique from the much-hated model of, for example, prison camp authorities. It may even be necessary to organize a relatively inefficient method of dealing with some of the problems of repatriation simply in order to avoid "doing what the Nazis did".

Secondly, it is helpful to consider how far use can be made of organizations which are trusted by repatriates, for example, the Red Cross by prisoners of war, to handle them during phases of difficulty or in circumstances in which mistrust has developed. It is probable that the community organizations or representatives which can be trusted to handle problems of expatriates and repatriates will vary from one culture or another, e.g. the standing of various churches, of various institutions, professional groups and of various branches of government, is likely to vary considerably between national groups.

Occupation and Education: Self-respect and the Sense of Purpose. It has been repeatedly pointed out by international relief workers that the provision of a sense of value and of purpose, restoration of self-respect and social status is a primary function of such work. The organization, atmosphere and opportunities of a camp or assembly center may assist or prevent its occupants moving from the phase of being passive recipients of rapidly-dwindling relief into active participating members of a hopeful and integrated community. The growth of participation and the sense of "belonging" to a community is clearly related to the delegation of responsibility and the development of graded self-government; while the hopefulness of the community will depend to some extent on its capacity to relate its tasks and its atmosphere to the future of its members. An assembly center can never be a completely contented community, for it is a transitional culture. On the other hand, it can possess two different forms of discontent, one hostile and one hopeful. No doubt these will alternate in the same community and in the same individual. But in planning for a balance of hopeful activity, educational work must take a leading part.

The types of activity most likely to produce the desired results are those which demand an effort just within the capacity of the individual or the group. The best are creative and give a result which can be both seen and utilized in the life, or in the future life, of the camps and its members. For this purpose the type of equipment required is to some extent homologous to what is known in industry as machine tools, that is, the



purpose is to supply people with apparatus which will enable them to undertake productive tasks with an obvious group value.

Apart from the obvious fields of making clothes and equipment, it is important to plan with one eye on the future. For this - and, no doubt, for other reasons - printing presses seem to be peculiarly satisfactory. The translation and printing of standard technical and other works, and of newspapers and journals, in foreign languages is likely to be a peculiarly rewarding activity for intellectuals, particularly if the process can be carried right through to the production of a bound book. In the same way, musical instruments with the development of technique, knowledge and regular performances are far from being a waste of time, if they are used by those whose more obvious psychological needs have been met.

The difficulty about all these welfare activities is not in starting things going but in keeping them running, and it may do no harm to remark that "powerful" leadership given at the start may carry with it the penalty that the activity concerned will cease when that leadership is withdrawn. It is very difficult to have patience while people learn the awkward first steps in organizing their own activities; but in this connection, patience and some degree of applause for what has been achieved will yield in the end a much better dividend than overactive "pushing" in the early stages. On the other hand, the anxieties and uncertainties of a transitional life may well mean that initiative must necessarily be supplied from without in some groups or individuals.

With regard to literacy, the study of illiterate children suggests that the part which is played in this problem by the differences in the level of inborn capacities to learn is not always fully recognized. These differences exist in all cultures and before undertaking an extensive assault on illiteracy it may be wise to discover by means of rough performance testing just how far in any one individual, it is the result of mental backwardness. On the other hand, even most backward individuals are often deeply ashamed of illiteracy and are only too glad to learn anything they can. For this same reason, some test is needed in approaching this problem. In education in general the importance of assessing the inborn capacity to learn lies in the help it gives in judging into how low a gear the educational process must be put.

The uncertainties of assembly center life are likely to prove a factor which makes prolonged educational projects difficult and it will probably be wise to plan educational projects in small sections which can stand the stress of change much better than more highly organized courses.

Importance of News and Discussion of Home Affairs. Apart from broadcast news, expatriates are usually very anxious to hear all sorts of details about life at home, and possibly to discuss such news as they receive. Properly conducted, such discussions have an immense - and, indeed - a determining value in building mutual respect and hence both morale and discipline. It must be recognized, however, that the tone of such discussion will at all times be critical, and it is important to grasp that it is in fact a main function of these discussions that criticism



should be made in public and should either be given as much of an answer as possible or alternatively should be accepted as a correct view. For example, it is clear that many are likely to be highly critical of the events which led up to their leaving home. From the psychological point of view such criticism is healthy since the only choice is whether the bitterness of the expatriate is blown off in private, where it cannot be discussed, or in public, where it can be, to some extent, accepted or neutralized. The latter is certainly by far the better course.

The Relationship between the Sexes. Experience suggests that uneasiness over possible complications in the sexual lives of expatriates and repatriates is generally in excess of <sup>the</sup> facts. It may be worth noting that detailed individual investigation - in British soldiers, it is true - shows that the drive to true promiscuity, in the literal sense, shows little trace of any "physiological" need, or indeed, of anything except the need to escape from some intolerable emotional situation by a method which has a similar background to the acute alcoholism with which it overlaps to a great extent. In the Army, "disciplinary" action and "ethical" appeals make little inroad on either of these, for the real problem falls into the field of morale. The provision of easy access to the comfort of a friendly discussion with a "parent surrogate" of the opposite sex and the provision of both opportunities and encouragement for active mixed groups in both work and recreation are the main lines of hope in tackling a difficult problem.

In this field of inter-sex relations the community must necessarily develop its own rules but care should be taken to see that neither harsh emergency regulations nor customs prevent that widespread growth of effective social contacts between the sexes which is both a main factor in the integration of a community and a basic measure of it.

General Conclusion. The extent to which polar opposites, paradoxes and contradictions exist in the psychological situation and attitudes of expatriate groups makes enormous demands on the patience and objectivity of the welfare worker. On the other hand it must be said that only minor demonstrations of objectivity and sincerity are needed in order to produce a quite unusual degree of cooperation. The important thing is not to be put off, on the one hand by anxious gratefulness which conceals hostility, or, on the other, by overt hostility which conceals the need for understanding. During early contacts with welfare workers, expatriates are unlikely to declare their true (and conflicting) feelings on any given topic. They are more likely to await demonstrable proof by the welfare worker that the latter possesses the necessary understanding. This is a process which will certainly take time.



## I. GOING HOME

It requires no deep insight into human nature to realise that during the whole of their stay in the assembly center the feelings, thoughts and actions of displaced people are likely to revolve very steadily round the central theme of when and how they will find their way back to their old or new community, and of what it will be like when they get there. The anxieties connected with such matters may, however, affect some individuals to an extreme degree and lead to many "irrational" actions and reactions.

The compulsive need to return home. The strength, or even violence, of the expatriates drive to get home is often surprising to those who have not themselves been separated from home for a long period in difficult circumstances, but it may be remembered that study of British evacuee children showed that, on the average and short of death, separation from parents produced at last as much disturbance in "psychological" and physiological health as did exposure to relatively prolonged and severe air raids.

Examples of the compulsion to get home are to be found in the return of evacuees to dangerous areas; and the unwillingness of people in combat areas to leave their home. Particularly in rural communities the attachment is extremely powerful and the results of separation all the more difficult to deal with.

There is reason to believe that there is very much more than a mere proportionate difference between absences of one year and those lasting two or three years. On the other hand, after three years the emotional situation has often so deteriorated that apathy becomes an obvious feature and the individual's outlook may appear very similar whether he or she has been away for three, four or five years.

The fact that expatriates will not find everything plain sailing on their return home - and that caution is therefore desirable - is not an argument likely to carry very much weight with them. Their desire is not so much for geographical replacement as for a return to an emotional security which they may, or may not as a matter of actual fact, have known. Fact, however, plays a smaller part than fantasy and there are few repatriates to whom fantasies are not an essential factor in maintaining emotional stability. It is sometimes suggested that after so many years away from home a few minutes or days can make very little difference. It is not likely that expatriates will see things in this light. In general, the nearer home, the greater the anxiety, and in many cases this amounts to acute mental pain.

In these circumstances, it is obvious that rumors of movement or of delay will abound, and there will be a recurrent tendency to interpret changes and events in the camp in terms of this constant preoccupation with return. Further, once any form of moving has been mooted or started, if there is to be any delay, special arrangements will be required to explain the whys and wherefores and to diminish the breaking of the ranks which is certain to occur in these circumstances.



The only possible factor which can minimise a strong compulsive desire to return home is the provision in the assembly center of human relationships and the highest possible degree of that satisfaction of the emotional needs which are the real basis for this drive of the expatriate. It will, therefore, be helpful if repatriates see, feel, and are, in fact, convinced by the actions of the camp staff that they are devoted to speeding up return in every way possible. Naturally this does not exclude a realization of the need to await effective arrangements for reception and assimilation in the home community.

This preoccupation of the entire population of a camp may lead to the necessity to explain even the obvious, and to deal - over and over again - with rumors. An example may illustrate this point. In a military camp in Egypt, there was a blaze of publicity regarding the building of two new cinemas in a large static camp. The materials for these were seen by the troops who realized that "permanent" buildings of cement were intended. The fact that no other materials were available was not made generally known, and a wave of gloom spread over the camp, since this type of building was interpreted as clear evidence of a prolonged stay.

Anxieties about Reception. Alongside the strong desire to return home there lies very considerable anxieties over "what it will be like". In most cases unwilling expatriates have over a period of years built up and maintained a picture of how they will be received or what they will do on return. These long cherished fantasies usually become a very important feature of the mental life of such individuals and especially when they are dangerously far away from reality, very great care must be taken over the inevitable emotional shock of breaking into them. It is certainly true that in the end it pays to break bad news to expatriates at the earliest possible moment; but equally it must be said that, to a much greater extent than in the usual run of such work, care and tact will be required if it becomes necessary to break the news of the disappearance of a previously valued friendship, or family, or even, as may occur, of a complete community. In many cases the emotional balance of expatriates is only maintained by these compensatory fantasies of what things will be like or rather, of how they would like them to be, on their return. In these circumstances, to mis-time the process and attempt to take off the "splint" of fantasy before the "fractured" social relations are adequately repaired may be an unfortunate business. Conversely, of course, the social capacities of an individual may atrophy if he lives too much or too long in the world of fantasy. Between these two extremes, expatriates can be helped to modify their needs, and hence their expectations, by discussions conducted with great gentleness by a social worker who is content to await the development of mutual respect and confidence before approaching the question of what the future will actually be like. Public announcements and written instructions to expatriates concerning their future should be scrutinized from this point of view. Whenever this is practicable, serious announcements should be preceded and followed by individual interviews and group discussions. The "public relations" of the camp authorities and representative committees are a crucial matter in maintaining morale and discipline.



The demand of expatriates to feel that things at home will be "the same as they were before" is not in essence a demand that houses, streets, work and play should be the same. Indeed, if they are the same, the repatriates will often remark bitterly that the war has apparently been fought for nothing. That part of life which the expatriates would like to feel will be "just the same" is the emotional security which they knew or fancy that they knew. Obviously, therefore, they need to feel that, on the one hand, things will be just the same as far as human affairs and relations are concerned, and on the other that the community or the world has somehow learned something or gained something from their loss, their pain, their sacrifices and their efforts. News of reconstruction achievements and even- if discussed with care - more plans for the home community may play a helpful part. It has been found in the case of soldiers that community affairs, with a personal bearing, are more useful than news of large-scale national activities.

The Preparation of Friends. Those who have remained behind in the repatriate's native country not unnaturally tend to feel that, although they may have suffered seriously, they have not been changed in any way. They feel this mainly because familiar landmarks and certain features of their personal lives have, in fact, remained relatively unchanged, but actually in occupied countries, although those who remained behind under occupation have not been expatriated in the ordinary sense, it is clear enough that the conditions under which they have lived during the occupation has been so different from the ordinary lives as to represent, so to speak, a form of "cultural" expatriation. In other words, those who remain behind, even though they do not recognise it, are likely to be to some extent in exactly the same position as repatriates returning from foreign countries. In some cases, experience suggests, having shared a common fate at the hand of the Nazis may produce facilitation of personal relations with the return of repatriates. As against this, it is clear that such reunited groups or individuals often find it very difficult to tolerate each other, precisely because both possess pressing psychological problems of very similar type. The fact that both a husband and wife, for example, are suffering badly from the bitterness and deprivations of four years under Nazi control may very well make resumption of their relationship a very difficult matter. It is clearly important that people in the home country should be made aware of the fact that they have changed and that they should be given some sort of help in recognising the change, both in themselves and in the repatriates who return to them.

One way of doing this is by discussions which contrast life before occupation with that during occupation, pointing out the similarities of such changes to that undergone by the expatriates. In any case, all experience suggests that although knowledge that one possesses emotional problems does not immediately resolve them, it does make such a resolution possible. Inability, or unwillingness, to recognise a problem in oneself may be of a temporary help; but it can hardly be said that, on a journey through strange country, the blind are likely to be better off in the end. They may fail to see dangers; but they will also be forced to miss opportunities. In the reconstruction phase, there will be at least as many



opportunities as dangers; and those who are best aware of their own emotional situation are likely to be the most useful to their country and to humanity.

Here is a practical list of hints which have been given, apparently with some success, to the relations of repatriated British prisoners of war.

- (1) Take care not to overdo the welcome (that is, too many friends, too-prolonged a spree). He may find meeting people strange and difficult for a bit.
- (2) Let him take things slowly. Try not to hurry him or to worry yourself.
- (3) Be ready with information about local rules and regulations about rationing, and anything else that's happened since he left; but don't foist it on him.
- (4) Be careful over remarks such as "You weren't there, so you won't know." Remember this may be a painful point.
- (5) Ask his help and advice as much as you can, or even more than you need - its encouraging to be asked about things and you may be surprised at the amount of cooperation you get.
- (6) If he has "moods" leave him alone, don't worry about it.
- (7) Try to think of him as someone who has been away and not someone who has changed.
- (8) Remember you've changed about as much as he has, although you may feel it less; but if you do feel "different" be patient. It takes time to get back the "same" feeling.

The Arrival. It may be illuminating to remark that it is not unknown for British repatriated soldiers to resent the fact that their wives meet them at the railway station and not, as in the long-standing dream, at home or by their own firesides. Letters home often described such plans; but where they do not it is probably better to arrange for first meetings, if they are of an affectionate nature to be in private rather than in public. It may be that this is to some extent an English problem of less importance in those countries where fear of emotion is less general.

Acute worries and anxieties are likely to flood the mind of both repatriates and those who receive them. One of the most poignant is where men or women feel that they have been so changed or so damaged in health as to make return to loved ones a gamble with the odds against them. Sometimes this anxiety is directly felt in relation to sexual potency.



Any alteration of physiological function - whether it affects the sexual life of the individual or, for example, dietary habits - is almost invariably a transient phenomenon from which full recovery can be confidently predicted. Worries of this type are not uncommon in relation to feelings men have that on return they "must" or "ought" to demonstrate at this level the reality of their affection for their wives; and in many cases an initial failure completely to return to the relationship which obtained before separation is taken as something almost final. In fact, there are many reasons why repatriates and their wives are anxious. They should recognise this before, if possible, and realise that a period of time - days, weeks or even months - may be necessary to establish their emotional relationship or, in the specific instance under discussion, to re-establish erotic intimacy.

Repatriates and those at home. Alternating with and accompanying the anxious friendliness towards people at home, there is not uncommonly to be found in expatriates and repatriates bitterness, hostility and suspicion which are logically inconsistent but emotionally inevitable. It is common to use children as examples in the emotional field because it is usually thought that feeling is less concealed in them; but it should also be said that adult vanity prevents clearer thought about ourselves and that we have less difficulty in acknowledging the existence of "unreasonableness" in children. To some extent the experience of war may have produced in many of us an increased awareness of the importance of emotional factors and some growth in the capacity to grasp that the irrational is not therefore unreal. These points are made because repatriates show to a marked degree emotional phenomena which do not surprise us in homeless children. They are equally inevitable in expatriated adults. It may be helpful once more to consider the situation of an evacuated child. If an evacuated child's foster home is less than a complete success and particularly if it is a very unhappy affair, the child inevitably feels acute jealousy and a corresponding hostility in relation to siblings and parents who are felt to have retained their hold on the emotional security of the home and the community and to have "cast out" the evacuee. The fact that life at home may have been almost completely changed by war conditions has little effect on this feeling of resentment.

In dealing with the corresponding bitterness which may be so obvious in the repatriate, arguments and reason are of little help. Understanding and objectivity are alone likely to prove effective during the long period of time which will be necessary to restore in the repatriate full respect for others and the essential confidence in the emotional security of his family, which leads to a decrease in anxieties over other social relations.

"Scape-Goat" Phenomena. It has been noted earlier that partly or completely unrecognised guilt related to "being out of things" and to separation from home is an almost universal phenomenon in prisoners of war. It is easy to see that in forced workers, in whom the pressure to enter the enemy's territory was in general slightly less than in the captured soldier,



feelings of this kind are likely to be equally serious. They will be more difficult to deal with in such workers; for in some cases they will be founded on acceptance of enticements rather than a failure to resist threats. Repatriated prisoners of war often feel that people at home are not taking the war with anything like adequate seriousness. It may well be said that this is always true of combatants who return to the parent civilian community and that it is factually correct. On the other hand, it is easy to see in repatriated prisoners of war that the extent to which they complain about this phenomenon is obviously related to their own feelings of guilt over futile lives spent in enemy hands. In other words, the civilian community is to some extent used as a scape-goat and criticisms of it are to some extent a technique of evading self-criticism by the repatriate who has been forced out of the fight - the sole reason for his being a soldier in most cases - and on to the side-lines. These phenomena are not likely to be absent in civilian repatriates; but in cases where people return to what has been enemy-occupied territory the matter is complicated by the existence of a very similar situation in those members of the civilian community who were not able for one reason or another, to take an active part in underground activities or who did not choose or have an opportunity to escape and return with the Allied Forces. It is obvious that tensions on this matter already exist between emigres who may have made adventurous escapes and those who remained behind to tackle the enemy by active or passive resistance. Each group feels the other to have evaded the dangers of war and in both cases one must recognise that, critical depreciation of others and self-applause are both related to self-respect which has been for some reason damaged by the self-reproach - whose nature has been outlined above. It is not difficult to see that the repatriate forced worker may well be regarded as a natural scape-goat for such feelings of hostility and resentment and that in such people, behind a defensive facade of counter-hostility, there may well be an internal emotional "fifth-column" which agrees with such criticism and self-reproach. The practical point which emerges from this situation is that very high tension and much bitterness is likely to exist not only inside repatriated groups on return but between different repatriated groups and the home community. "Forgiving and forgetting" will take some time in many countries. Such topics are unlikely to be assisted by discussion except in individual cases where there occurs the opportunity of doing this in a full psychotherapeutic manner.

Alternating Moods. The emotional situation of the repatriate is full of paradoxes and anomalies basically derived from the mixture of needs and wants, and of guilt and bitterness, with which they find themselves burdened. For this reason, on returning home the same individual may display the demanding attitude which is commonly described as that of a "spoiled" child and on another occasion the self-depreciation and drive to expiation of one who feels himself to be unworthy of affection and respect.

It is sometimes suggested that to give a great deal of attention to repatriates may be dangerous in that it will produce a conviction that they have a right to special treatment which may lead to later difficulty in accepting responsibility and in making a contribution to the community as a whole. The picture of the selfish "spoiled child" which is commonly used as an example of this situation and may with advantage be clarified.



From the psychological point of view "spoiling" occurs, not when a parent is too interested in a child but mainly when the parent-child relation is poisoned as it were, by a large quantity of interest and affection of poor quality. The spoiled child is the psychological homologue of the over-fat child which has been fed on a carbo-hydrate diet which is deficient in protein and usually one might add, in satisfaction. It is not possible to give a child too much interest and affection of the right type. Children need to be individuals, to be left alone when they are content to be so, and to receive emotional security and opportunities rather than material gifts and anxious fussing. The result is to make a child able to stand on its own feet and be independent. Similarly, if the quality of the understanding and attention given to repatriates is adequate, it can help them to become self-supporting and effective members of the community. On the other hand, if the help given is of a purely material kind or is accompanied by that anxious (and guilty) benevolence which is not uncommonly behind "good works" there will be subsequent difficulty. One measure by which the success or failure of social work may be graded is the resulting attitude of the helped towards the helper. Recurrent effusive gratitude and a repeated return for further assistance is a sign of failure. Forgetfulness is a sign of success.

Conclusion Understanding of the emotional problems which lie behind repatriation, together with capacity to express such problems in words, and to discuss with one's colleagues and with repatriates, may not bring about a solution of the problem, but it does at least help us to employ our energies in the right direction. To discover that somewhere in the world there exists a person who understands the nature of his emotional difficulties may in itself have an astonishing effect in relieving the desperate need of these people that they are understood. Only too often, unfortunately, they find that, as one said, "we receive first sympathy, then pity, and finally irritation".

Administrators are sometimes accused of forgetting that they are planning not for bodies but for human beings. They must not let the pressure of relieving material needs obscure the fact that psychological understanding is not only a humanitarian theory but also a practical necessity. Unless social planning is based on some understanding of the specifically human problems of the people concerned, good results are likely to be rare, and disturbingly temporary.

In social welfare work there is always much that is disappointing or even disheartening. Nevertheless, as we may be without results, we shall at least learn something about the practical handling of human problems. In the application to human affairs of the determined if only relative objectivity of modern psychology and sociology there lies the possibility of improving the quality of human relationships, between individuals and between groups. Perhaps we may thus find some hope of minimizing these human discontents which lead to the massive tragedy of modern war.