



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 3, 1945

AIR MAIL

Dear Commander,

Thank you very much for your letter of March 26 which has just come to hand. I appreciate your sending to me the confidential preliminary memorandum containing your views on certain of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. This will have my most careful consideration and I will want to talk to you about it as soon as you return. I look forward to seeing you on the 14th or 15th.

I am asking the staff to forward to you by airmail, using special naval channels for security reasons if possible, documentation which has been distributed to date, including minutes of the delegation meetings which you have missed.

I hope you have not been unduly disturbed by the recent developments which have been reported by the press. The situation has been a difficult one but I am confident that nothing which has developed to date will endanger the successful outcome of the Conference at San Francisco. For your information I enclose the complete text of a statement which I released to the press at noon today on this matter. This was cleared by the President and discussed with the Delegation.

Looking forward to our association at San Francisco and with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen, Cdr., USNR  
Staff, Commander Third Fleet  
c/o Fleet Post Office  
San Francisco, California

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

APRIL 3, 1945  
NO. 285

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE  
EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

At a press conference on Friday, March 30, correspondents submitted to the Department of State for consideration a number of questions relating to representation in the General Assembly of the proposed United Nations Organization, a matter that was discussed at the Crimea Conference.

The inquiries submitted related to various aspects of several principal questions: whether unpublished agreements had been made at Yalta; why the American representatives at Yalta agreed to support the Soviet proposals for initial membership of two Soviet Republics in the proposed International Organization; whether it was agreed that the two Soviet Republics would have separate representatives at the San Francisco Conference; why the agreements with reference to the proposal for initial membership of two Soviet Republics had not been announced; and whether the agreements on the subject of representation in the General Assembly affected the principle of sovereign equality of peace-loving nations expressed in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

I wish to make the following statement in response to these questions:

Both military and political questions were covered at the Crimea Conference. The military plans agreed to at Yalta and related matters connected with the defeat of the common enemy can be made known only as they are carried out.

Among the other matters dealt with at the Crimea Conference were several open questions left over from the Dumbarton Oaks conversations: the voting procedure in the Security Council; invitations to the United Nations Conference on International Organization; the time and place of the Conference; initial membership in the International Organization; and the possible addition to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals of provisions relating to territorial trusteeship.

The decisions taken at Yalta with reference to the time and place of the United Nations Conference were made public in the communiqué issued at the close of the Crimea Conference. The voting procedure in the Security Council was not announced until after consultations on this subject with the Government of the Republic of China and the Provisional Government of the French Republic. Following these consultations, the voting procedure together with the text of the invitation and the list of nations to be invited to the San Francisco Conference were made public on March 5, approximately a month after the close of the Crimea Conference.

The only other decisions reached at Yalta and not made public in the Crimea Conference communiqué related to initial membership in the International Organization when it meets, and to territorial trusteeship.

The

The Soviet representatives at Yalta proposed that the White Russian and the Ukrainian Republics be initial members of the proposed International Organization. This was a question for the United Nations assembled at San Francisco to consider and decide.

In view of the importance which the Soviet Government attached to this proposal, the American representatives at Yalta, having the utmost respect for the heroic part played by the people of these Republics in their unyielding resistance to the common enemy and the fortitude with which they have borne great suffering in the prosecution of the war, agreed that the Government of the United States would support such a Soviet proposal at San Francisco if made. No agreement was, however, made at Yalta on the question of the participation of these Republics in the San Francisco Conference.

In the circumstances, the American representatives at Yalta believed that it was their duty to reserve the possibility of the United States having three votes in the General Assembly. The Soviet and British representatives stated their willingness to support a proposal, if the United States should make it, to accord three votes in the Assembly to the United States. The President has decided that at the San Francisco Conference the United States will not request additional votes for the Government of the United States in the General Assembly.

Announcement of these proposals was made first to the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference. In order to correct the impression conveyed by partial publication of the facts, public announcement was made prior to a final determination of the course to be followed by the delegation with regard to possible additional representation for the United States.

As to territorial trusteeship, it appeared desirable that the Governments represented at Yalta, in consultation with the Chinese Government and the French Provisional Government, should endeavor to formulate proposals for submission to the San Francisco Conference for a trusteeship structure as a part of the general organization. This trusteeship structure, it was felt, should be designed to permit the placing under it of the territories mandated after the last war, and such territories taken from the enemy in this war, as might be agreed upon at a later date, and also such other territories as might voluntarily be placed under trusteeship. No discussion was had at Yalta or is contemplated prior to, or at, San Francisco regarding specific territories.

The basis of the San Francisco Conference remains the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. It is for the Conference to decide whether any proposal affecting voting in the General Assembly of the proposed United Nations Organization impairs the principle of sovereign equality, just as the Conference itself must determine the application and interpretation of any general principles enunciated in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

In other words, the San Francisco Conference will doubtless vote on many proposals for the detailed setting up of the United Nations Organization, and there is no way of knowing what the proposals will be. The final organization will be passed on by the United Nations in accordance with their customary procedures and it is hoped and believed that the result will be so clear that this great effort to eliminate future wars will receive practically unanimous approval.

\* \* \*



HES. Personal  
Monday -  
April 9 -

File.  
7 minutes  
Personal

Dear Janie & Lewis -

Harold Stassen expects  
to be in Frisco for the coming con-  
ference and will be joined there by  
his wife, Esther. You will doubtless  
meet him "officially" - but herewith  
is my earnest to you to see him  
and Esther "unofficially" - You  
will enjoy them both I know.

It was swell seeing  
you again - my gal, hope Lewis  
understands about the luncheon -  
head on Leo about that - Meanwhile,  
au revoir & good luck -  
Bice -



Pl6-4/00/(06)

THE UNITED STATES PACIFIC FLEET  
THIRD FLEET

Serial

224

T-58

APR 9 1945

*File  
Faint  
Important  
Personal*

(134875)

From: The Commander THIRD Fleet.  
To : Commander  
Harold E. STASSEN (S), U.S. Naval Reserve.

Subject: Temporary additional duty.

Enclosure: (A) Certified copy of letter from the President of  
the United States dated 28 February 1945.

1. Upon receipt of these orders on or about 12 April 1945, you will proceed by air transportation to a port on the west coast of the United States; upon arrival you will proceed to Washington, D.C., and to such other places in the United States as may be verbally directed for the purpose of carrying out the special assignment of enclosure (A). Upon the commencement of this special assignment you will so endorse your orders.

2. Upon completion of this special assignment you will so endorse your orders and return and resume your regular duties.

3. In performing the above travel government and/or commercial air is directed in order to expedite completion of this duty.

4. For travel by air Priority Class TWO is hereby certified.

5. Total baggage allowance of 75 pounds is authorized.

W. F. HALSEY.

Copy to:  
SecNav  
BuPers  
Cincpac

9 APR 1945

ENDORSEMENT  
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDANT  
14th NAVAL DISTRICT, PEARL HARBOR, T. H.  
REPORTED FOR TRANSPORTATION. PROCEED BY  
TRANSPORTATION ORALLY ASSIGNED. IF YOU DE-  
SIRE PUBLIC QUARTERS REPORT TO THE CAPTAIN  
OF THE YARD.

W. A. GLASSFORD  
BY DIRECTION

Certified to be a true copy.

*H.C. Carroll*  
H.C. CARROLL, Lt. (jg) U.S. Navy.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1945.

My dear Commander Stassen:

I take pleasure in inviting you to serve as a member of the Delegation of the United States to the United Nations Conference which is to meet at San Francisco on April 25, 1945 to prepare a charter for a general international organization along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks. You will understand, I am sure, that the sending of this invitation several days after the public announcement is due to the unavoidable delay in my return to Washington from the Crimea Conference.

I feel certain that this important conference bringing together all the United Nations which have so loyally cooperated in the war against their common enemies will successfully complete the plans for an international organization through which the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples may be directed toward the prevention of future international conflict and the removal of the political, economic, and social causes of war.

I am confident that as a member of the Delegation you would effectively contribute to the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the American people for an international organization through which this nation may play its full part in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

Commander Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.,

Navy Department,  
Washington, D. C.

Certified to be a true copy.



H.C. CARROLL, Lieut.(jg), U.S. Navy.

Personal  
Faint

OK

Wishes to  
back to  
me, please

FILE

A6-4/(06)

UNITED STATES PACIFIC FLEET  
THIRD FLEET

Serial 225


From: The Commander THIRD Fleet.  
To : Commander  
Harold E. STASSEN, (S), USNR.

APR 11 1945

Subject: Classified Mail Courier - Designation of.

1. You are hereby designated a courier for classified matter. In your possession is official matter, packaged as described below, which is exempt from censorship and customs inspection.

<u>Package No.</u>	<u>Originated by</u>	<u>Addressed to</u>
661 (Briefcase)	Com3rdFlt	Com3rdFlt
662 (Handbag)	Com3rdFlt	Com3rdFlt

  
H.C. CARROLL,  
By direction.



In reply refer to Initials  
and No.

NAVY DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS  
WASHINGTON

*File  
Fountain*

14 April 1945

Received from Commander Stassen, this date, 1 April 1945  
Pacific Fleet Electronics Requirements Report.

*A. J. Spriggs*  
A. J. Spriggs  
Captain, USN  
Director of Electronics

# REPUBLICAN

## County Central Committee

O F S A N F R A N C I S C O

210 POST STREET  
SAN FRANCISCO, 8

April 13, 1945

### 19th District

MILTON ATERGUT  
ALBERT A. AXELROD  
FRED S. HERRINGTON  
EDWARD N. JACKSON  
SAMUEL J. JONES  
EDGAR C. LEVEY

### 20th District

ALVIN R. CAMPBELL  
RUTH R. CUNEO  
PETER JERICOFF  
THOMAS A. MALONEY  
HENRY J. ROGERS  
SAM YOUNG

### 21st District

W. LINDLEY ABBOTT  
ERNEST C. HUETER  
MILTON MEYER  
WILLIAM J. TRANER  
ERNEST L. WEST  
ALBERT C. WOLLENBERG

### 22nd District

WILLIAM BUTCHER  
JOHN HAMMOND CRABBE  
PETER J. CRANN  
STEPHEN MALATESTA  
WALTER MARDORF  
CLIFFORD A. SMITH  
OLIVER B. WYMAN

### 23rd District

GEORGE A. ENGELHARDT  
EDWARD R. JACKSON  
LOUIS LALANNE  
LEONARD B. SCHMITT  
GEORGE SOUZA  
GEORGE A. WALKER  
HARRY L. WINTERSGILL

### 24th District

BYRON ARNOLD  
MERVYN E. BAILEY  
ELWOOD CARPENTER  
JEREMIAH F. COLLINS  
CLAYTON W. HORN  
FRANK O. MERRITT  
HAROLD ROPERS

### 25th District

JOHN H. BEHR  
RAYMOND W. BLOSSER  
JULIA F. BODE  
NORMAN H. ELKINGTON  
HERBERT HANLEY  
JAMES J. McDONALD

### 26th District

MARY A. COGHAN  
ROBERTA B. ELLIOTT  
JOSEPH G. GALLAGHER  
C. JOSEPH MITCHELL  
JOSEPH T. MONTELEONE  
JOHN L. SILVEY

Comdr. Harold E. Stassen  
Mayflower Hotel  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Comdr. Stassen:

I would like you to make your choice of the following three office set ups:

1. The firm of Bronson, Bronson & McKinnon, Attorneys at Law, Mills Tower, 220 Bush Street, have offered space consisting of two private offices on the fifteenth floor of the Mills Building. This firm occupies the entire floor with the elevators entering directly into their suite of offices. Your phone calls would be handled through their switchboard or if necessary, we could arrange to have separate telephone exchange installed for you. These two offices are spacious executive offices, very completely furnished, fully carpeted, etc. I am enclosing statement from the Biographical Section of the 1945 issue of Martindale-Hubbel law directory. Incidentally, Mr. Harold Ropers who appears as an associate is now a full partner. Mr. Ropers is a member of our Republican County Central Committee of San Francisco.

2. Space in the Crown Zellerbach Building, 343 Sansome Street, twelfth floor, consists of three offices. These are small offices, are furnished by the Crown Zellerbach Corporation and are a part of their executive setup; the office numbers are 1215, 1216 and 1217.

3. Office space in the Butler Building, 135 Stockton Street, Suite 514, 515, 516 and 517. This is a separate office building and would be an entirely separate independent arrangement for you and would be handled by our Republican County Central Committee without ties. We have arranged to have the offices furnished, telephones installed, typewriters, etc.

The offices of Bronson, Bronson & McKinnon from the physical standpoint would be the most ideal layout for your purpose. However, this firm of attorneys represents the Schenley Distributing Corporation. This liquor connection should be considered in making your decision. The offices of Crown Zellerbach Corporation are good but it might be construed that you that you are tied in with the Crown Zellerbach Paper Company

Comdr. Harold E. Stassen  
April 13, 1945  
Page #2


and this matter should be given consideration. It is my recommendation that the entirely separate setup be used at 135 Stockton Street. You are obligated to no one and it could not be construed that you are making any ties. However, I leave the decision in your hands.

As your Executive Secretary I would like to suggest Mr. John Warren Dooley. Mr. Dooley is now employed by the San Francisco office of Merrill, Lynch Pierce, Fenner & Beane, Stocks and Bonds. He is presentable, has been active in our San Francisco Republican Party, has good connections and a nice manner of handling people. I am enclosing a short biographical sketch of Mr. Dooley.

I have been attempting to obtain a medically discharged veteran who has seen combat service and would meet your requirements. As yet, I have not been successful. I have talked with George Cameron, Bartley Crum and a few others. It is my understanding that Paul Smith who is a 1st Lieutenant in the Marine Corps and formerly editor of the San Francisco Chronicle might be available. He would seem an ideal choice and I will let you know progress. While we are awaiting the results on the service man, either I or one of our County Committeemen could assist Mr. Dooley.

When you make your decision, I would appreciate it if you would phone me so that tag ends may be attended to. Our phone number is Exbrook 0402.

Sincerely yours,

  
HERBERT HANLEY, Chairman

HH:E  
Enc.

AIR MAIL  
SPECIAL DELIVERY



BRONSON, BRONSON & McKINNON\*  
MILLS TOWER  
220 BUSH STREET  
SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA

General and Trial  
Practice  
Corporation and  
Insurance Law

Telephone:  
Garfield 7200  
Cable Address:  
"KINBRO"

MEMBERS OF FIRM

Roy A. Bronson, born California, July 20, 1889; admitted to bar, 1914, California. Preparatory education, University of Santa Clara (A.B.; M.A.); legal education, University of Santa Clara (LL.B.). Member: San Francisco, California State and American Bar Associations.

E. D. Bronson, born California, May 6, 1893; admitted to bar, 1922, California. Preparatory education, University of California (A.B.); legal education, University of California. Member: San Francisco, California State and American Bar Associations.

Harold R. McKinnon, born Eureka, California, October 21, 1894; admitted to bar, 1916, California. Preparatory education, University of Santa Clara (A.B., 1914); legal education, University of Santa Clara (LL.B., 1915). Member: San Francisco, California State and American Bar Associations.

Kirke La Shelle, born New York, N.Y., March 24, 1901; admitted to bar, 1925, Arizona; 1928, California. Preparatory education, University of Arizona; legal education, University of Arizona (LL.B., 1925). Member: San Francisco and California State Bar Associations.

Lawrason Driscoll, born San Francisco, California, June 19, 1908; admitted to bar, 1934, California. Preparatory education, Stanford University (A.B., 1930); legal education, Stanford University (LL.B., 1933). Fraternity: Phi Delta Phi. Member: San Francisco and California State Bar Associations. (With Armed Forces)

C. W. Dickenson, born Ely, Nevada, November 6, 1910; admitted to bar, 1934, California. Preparatory education, Santa Barbara State College; legal education, University of California, Hastings College of Law (LL.B., 1934). Member: San Francisco and California State Bar Associations.

ASSOCIATES: Harold Ropers; Arthur L. Shannon; Charles R. Wayland; Lloyd G. Howard; Sam J. Anderson; Frederick A. Potruch; Rogers P. Smith (On Leave); Donald V. Smith; George K. Hartwick (With Armed Forces); W. H. Hoogs, III (On Leave); Joseph Gans.

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ATTORNEYS FOR: Aluminum Co. of America; Cresta Blanca Wine Co., Inc.; Grosjean Rice Milling Co.; Henry Cowell Lime & Cement Co.; Hercules Equipment & Rubber Co.; International Metals Development, Inc.; Market St. Railway; Niagara Duplicator Co.; Palace Hotel Co.; Roma Wine Co.; Rathjens Bros., Inc.; San Joaquin Properties Co.; Schenley Distillers Corporation; Sterling Motors Corporation. INSURANCE CLIENTS: Allstate Insurance Co.; Loyalty Group; Federal Life Insurance Co.; Continental Casualty Co.; Fireman's Fund Indemnity Co.; General Accident Fire & Life Assurance Corporation, Ltd.; Glens Falls Indemnity Co.; Lloyds Underwriters of London; St. Paul Mercury Indemnity Co.

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\*This is copied from page 137 of the biographical section of the 1945 issue of Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory.



# REPUBLICAN

## County Central Committee

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210 POST STREET  
SAN FRANCISCO, 8

### 19th District

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EDGAR C. LEVEY

✓ Herbert Hanley

210 Post Street

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PETER JERICOFF  
THOMAS A. MALONEY  
HENRY J. ROGERS  
SAM YOUNG

John Dooley

221 Montgomery Street

✓ Alvin R. Campbell

559 Front Street

✓ Wm. J. Traner

2320 Chestnut Street

### 21st District

W. LINDLEY ABBOTT  
ERNEST C. HUETER  
MILTON MEYER  
WILLIAM J. TRANER  
ERNEST L. WEST  
ALBERT C. WOLLENBERG

✓ H. R. Gaither

President, Pacific Nat'l  
Bank - 333 Montgomery Street

✓ Harold Zellerbach

343 Sansome Street

✓ A. P. Giannini

300 Montgomery Street

### 22nd District

WILLIAM BUTCHER  
JOHN HAMMOND CRABBE  
PETER J. CRANN  
STEPHEN MALATESTA  
WALTER MARDORF  
CLIFFORD A. SMITH  
OLIVER B. WYMAN

Philip Ehrlich

Russ Building

John Manning

Fresno, California

### 23rd District

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LEONARD B. SCHMITT  
GEORGE SOUZA  
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HARRY L. WINTERSGILL

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JAMES J. McDONALD

### 26th District

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ROBERTA B. ELLIOTT  
JOSEPH G. GALLAGHER  
C. JOSEPH MITCHELL  
JOSEPH T. MONTELEONE  
JOHN L. SILVEY

*File  
Furnment*

Funeral Services

OF

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Late President of the United States

APRIL FOURTEENTH, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIVE

AT FOUR O'CLOCK P. M.

THE EAST ROOM

THE WHITE HOUSE

## CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

1220

## SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LC=Deferred Cable

NLT=Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AKA26 NL PD=C NEW HAVEN CONN 16

1945 APR 17 AM 6 02

HAROLD E STASSEN=

MAYFLOWER HOTEL WASHDC=

24 YEARS OLD. GRADUATED FROM YALE SUMMA CUM LAUEE 1942. PHI BETA KAPPA. GORDON BROWN PRIZE FOR BEST SCHOLAR ATHLETE. SNOW PRIZE FOR SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT. VARSITY HOCKEY. LITERARY MAGAZINE. MAJORED IN HISTORY AND ENGLISH. JOINED MARINES NOV 1942. COMMISSIONED 2ND LT. OVERSEAS MAY 1943 TO SEPT 1944. IN ASSAULT BATTALIONS AS MACHINE GUN OFFICER IN THE MARSHALL ISLANDS KWAJALEIN AND ENIWOETOK AND IN THE MARIANA ISLANDS GUAM. WOUNDED AT GUAM LOST LEFT EYE. RECEIVED PURPLE HEART. COMMISSIONED 1ST LT FEB 1944. NOW AT YALE LAW SCHOOL. INCLUDE ALL THESE SIMPLY SO YOU CAN PICK WHAT YOU WANT. WILL BE RETIRED FROM MARINE CORPS JUNE 1ST. CAN BE RETIRED IMMEDIATELY IF NECESSARY=

CORD MEYER JR.

24 1942 1942 2 1943 1944 1 1944 1..

SUMMA CUM LAUEE SNOW

FS APR 17 AM 7 45

## CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION<sup>1</sup>(54)

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

## SYMBOLS

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NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

CA314 DL PD=CHICAGO ILL 16 145P

COMMANDER H E STASSEN=

1945 APR 16 PM 2 55

MAYFLOWER HOTEL OR STATE DEPT WASHDC=

HAVE DEFINITE ASSURANCE JOHN WILL BE GIVEN FURLOUGH TO  
ATTEND SANFRANCISCO CONFERENCE IF YOU DESIRE HIM AS AIDE  
STOP CAN BE AVAILABLE TWENTY FIFTH OR BEFORE STOP HOPE HE  
MEETS YOUR REQUIREMENTS STOP WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CALLING  
OR WIRING ME COLLECT CARE BLACKSTONE HOTEL CHICAGO=

J CAMERON THOMSON.



Commander Harold E. Stassen announced the appointment of his two aides for the San Francisco Conference.

Lt. Cord Meyer, Jr., of New York. Enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1942. Commissioned 2d Lt. overseas in May, 1943. Served as machine gun officer in the assault battalions on Kwajalein, Eniwetok and Guam. Wounded at Guam. Lost left eye. Awarded the Purple Heart. Graduated from Yale summa cum laude 1942. *Majored in History + Government*

Sgt. John Thomson of Minneapolis. Served overseas with the Army, attached to S. H. A. E. F. and seriously wounded in January, 1945, in Germany near Aachen.

Recently discharged from the Army Hospital at Spokane, Washington. Graduate of Blake School with high honors. *Majored in Political Science*

Both have majored in History and Governmental subjects and both are continuing their education. Both have demonstrated a keen interest in government in general and international affairs in particular.

John Warren Dooley, age 39, was born November 15, 1905 at Bloomington, Illinois. He was educated in the public schools of Bloomington, and graduated from Bloomington High School in 1923. After two years of pre-legal work at Illinois Wesleyan University he moved to Washington, D. C., and attended George Washington and National Universities, graduating in 1928 with an LL B degree.

From 1925 through 1928 he served as secretary on the staffs of United States Senators William B. McKinley and Charles S. Deneen, both of Illinois.

His business career began with one of the predecessor firms of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane, by whom he was employed from 1929 to 1941 as a branch office manager and security analyst in its underwriting division.

In July of 1941 he re-entered government service in the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency as an examiner, later transferring to the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco as an analyst of Regulation V Loans to war industries.

In May of last year he returned to his former employment with the San Francisco office of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane.

#### References:

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.  
William D. Hassett, Secretary, White House, Washington, D. C.  
Irwin D. Wright, Chief National Bank Examiner, San Francisco.

ARCHDIOCESE OF SAINT PAUL  
244 DAYTON AVENUE  
SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

April 20, 1945.

My dear Governor Stassen:

On the occasion of our last interview you expressed a wish to have information concerning conditions inside Europe and I replied that if any facts became available I would send them to you.

You will find herewith enclosed a confidential report submitted by our representative on UNRRA to our meeting of the Administrative Board which I attended in Washington last week. It deals with the problem of some ten million displaced persons.

At that meeting we drew up a statement which you will find in the enclosed copy of our diocesan paper which was published today.

I am asking Archbishop Mitty of San Francisco who is a member of our Administrative Board but who could not come to Washington to use his kind offices to see that you receive this communication.

Wishing you and Mrs. Stassen a pleasant visit at the Golden Gate, I remain

Very faithfully yours,

  
Archbishop of Saint Paul.

The Honorable Harold E. Stassen,  
Member of the United Nations Conference,  
San Francisco, California.

## MEMORANDUM

RE: FREEDOM OF CHOICE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

One of the most disquieting outgrowths of this war is the confusion regarding the final disposition of the displaced persons in Europe. When the slave labor and prisoners of war inside Germany are liberated, more than ten million persons will become the care of the occupying powers. These include:

Poles	3,000,000
French	2,000,000
Russians	2,000,000
Czechs and Slovaks	1,000,000
Belgians	600,000
Dutch	500,000
Yugoslavs	40,000

The number of Austrians and Hungarians is not listed, although there are known to be considerable numbers in the Reich. The number of Lithuanians is likewise not listed, although it is known that between 300,000 and 500,000 are within the borders of Germany. The displaced persons from Holland, Belgium, France and Russia will be returned to their homelands through the Repatriation Commissions of their own governments, with the aid of SHAEF and UNRRA. On the other hand, those nationals from countries now in the sphere of Russian influence fear for their personal security and liberty on their return to their homeland.

Because of the redrawing of frontiers without the consent of the people, because of the incorporation of smaller countries into larger powers against their will, because of the imposition of totalitarian governments on various countries which have entered the sphere of an eastern power, many people will refuse to return to what was their homeland. They will refuse because they fear reprisals in the form of deportation and the loss of civil and religious rights. If these people are shipped back en masse to their former homelands without having an opportunity to express their own wishes, and are given no freedom of choice, the democratic principles for which this war was fought will have been completely nullified.

The following facts indicate the almost hopeless position in which these unfortunate people find themselves.

1. Four hundred Lithuanians who fled from Soviet-occupied Lithuania to Sweden have been declared Soviet citizens by the Swedish Government, and Soviet Commissars have been allowed to inspect the camps of these trapped people.



2. Yugoslav refugees who are not in sympathy with the dictatorship imposed by Marshal Tito were ordered to report to Tito's Consul in Cairo, and there they received a command to return to Yugoslavia. Almost all refused, because they said they were in fear for their lives.
3. The Moscow-sponsored government of Poland has ordered all soldiers fighting with the Allies on the western front, and their families, to return to Poland, where they would undoubtedly meet the same fate as was meted out to some members of the Home Army, who were incarcerated, deported and, in some cases, executed.
4. Other Polish refugees in Mexico, the Middle East, Africa and India have no homes to return to, since Russia has incorporated the eastern part of Poland into her own borders. These Poles, scattered in camps in the areas mentioned above, were among the million and a half deported to Siberia by the Russians, and it is very doubtful that they will return to a Poland under the influence of Russia. They are, in fact, stateless, since their homeland was transferred to another power in their absence.
5. Many Austrians have stated quite frankly that they will not return to an Austria in which Russia has anything to say, and the same is true of many Hungarians and Roumanians.

Almost all these people, whose homes and homelands have changed hands or whose governments do not offer them any safeguards of life and liberty, are Catholic. The Poles are predominantly Catholic; the Lithuanians are almost 90% Catholic; the Austrians are in the majority Catholic; the Hungarians are almost 70% Catholic; and the Slovenes and Croats of Yugoslavia are in great majority Catholic.

Certain pronouncements made recently by top-ranking officials in governmental and inter-governmental agencies have given rise to grave fears concerning the physical and spiritual welfare of millions in Europe whose homelands have been brought under a new sphere of influence: -

1. On March 6th a spokesman for a governmental agency said that people such as Lithuanians, who were fugitives from one of our Allies, should not be helped with American funds, and that war relief agencies with a national background would not be allowed to send out personnel to Europe. (This would affect such agencies as Polish War Relief, United Lithuanian Relief, etc.).
2. On March 7th, at a meeting of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies, a spokesman for UNRRA stated that those Poles who did not wish to return to their homeland would not be allowed to declare themselves stateless (sometimes the only safeguard against a hostile embassy or consulate) and would have to return immediately.

3. On another occasion a representative of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees stated that because of the Political implications involved, and because of the fact that America and England had to approve any relief project, it would be impossible to help many groups of people, and the only course open would be to interpret to them the necessity to return to their homelands. This is a most unusual statement, coming from a representative of an agency whose sole function is to take care of non-repatriatable persons.

More recently a representative of a governmental agency which must establish policy on this matter stated that the solution of the problem of non-repatriatable refugees now rested with the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees. This Committee has neither the staff nor the budget to do the work. Late in March a top spokesman for UNRRA stated that UNRRA would not force any refugee to return to a country to which he did not wish to go, but since UNRRA was working under SHAEF the final decision regarding the disposition of refugees rested with SHAEF.

No one knows the policy of SHAEF on this matter, but it is known that while SHAEF planned in 1944 to evacuate all Poles to northern France in order to give them a chance to decide on their future, a different decision apparently has been reached since the Yalta Conference. Now SHAEF plans to keep all refugees, whether repatriatable or non-repatriatable, in Germany, and it is assumed that later they may be shipped back to their homeland.

Would any American want his government to be partner to a policy which means the forced return of millions of people to homelands where their personal security and human rights are in jeopardy, or to deny the ancient right of asylum to innocent people? The danger is that America could become party to such coercion of human beings by inaction and lack of a positive stand. The whole problem is the right of a refugee or displaced person to freedom of choice as to his status and residence when hostilities have ceased in Europe. Such freedom of choice cannot be achieved without the definite assistance of the United States Government, and its realization on the practical level would involve the possibility of a change of policy on the part of SHAEF. The protection of the rights of these displaced people would give rise to a group of stateless or virtually stateless people, numbering possibly several millions, and would require the active cooperation of our State Department in the solution of the problem of resettlement and the opening of doors for emigration to various countries.

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