OF 3186
Political Refugees 1943
My dear Mr. President:

Rabbi Wise has again written me in regard to the suggestion that Jewish refugees be temporarily settled in the Virgin Islands and returned to their own countries after the war. I have replied to him that in view of the depressed economic condition of the islands, and the difficulties of supply arising out of the shipping shortage, this does not appear to be an opportune time to renew the proposal.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD ICKES
Secretary of the Interior.

The President,
The White House.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON
JAN 13 1943

My dear Mr. President:

Rabbi Wise has again written me in regard to the suggestion that Jewish refugees be temporarily settled in the Virgin Islands and returned to their own countries after the war. I have replied to him that in view of the depressed economic condition of the islands, and the difficulties of supply arising out of the shipping shortage, this does not appear to be an opportune time to renew the proposal.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) HAROLD L. ICKES
Secretary of the Interior.

The President,
The White House.
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

In regard to the Jewish children, I wish you would speak with Sumner Welles about it. I think he is definitely planning to accept a certain number of Jewish refugees from France.

F. D. R.

Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, 10/7/42, to the President, in reference to discussion in 1940 about making the Virgin Islands, up to their capacity to support additional people, available for refugees. In this connection, Rabbi Wise suggested to Secretary Ickes that some people are playing with the idea of bringing a thousand Jewish children across if they could maintain them in the Virgin Islands. Secretary Ickes feels it (over)
might be possible, too, to provide a refuge for some adults who, failing this, are likely to be murdered by Hitler's brutes.
The British Government is also interested in the problem.

There has recently been an exchange of notes between the American and British Governments in which it was agreed to discuss the matter between ourselves to ascertain possible ways and means which might be recommended to the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, which in turn was the product of the Evian Conference and which seems an instrumentality already at hand and which might attempt to give effect to practical steps to be of aid to these oppressed people.

While it was contemplated that the preliminary meeting between this Government and Great Britain should be held in Ottawa it has since been decided to hold the meeting in another place, possibly Bermuda, but not in either Washington or London.

It will be proper to designate representatives on the part of the United States to meet with the British and to consider the recommendations which will be made to the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

The President,
The White House.
Considering the intense and widespread feeling on this subject it would seem that an outstanding person with an eminent reputation for vigorous and honest mentality be selected to head the delegation and it seems equally reasonable to suggest that a member of the Senate and a member of the House be named as delegates. The reason for the latter is that the question of expense in dealing with some of these problems may be presented and that the Congressional responsibility in those matters might be party to the decision.

For these reasons I have to suggest for your consideration to represent the United States

Mr. Justice Roberts as head of the American delegation, to be supported by

Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois and

Mr. Sol Bloom of New York.

Mr. Robert Borden Reams, a Foreign Service officer presently acting as Secretary to the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees is indicated as Secretary of the Delegation.

It may be advisable to name one or more additional delegates whom you would probably care to choose from those who have not heretofore active in this particular matter but who might lend weight to calm, deliberate councils and be helpful in a solution of the problem.

I had hoped to suggest the name of Mr. Myron Taylor, but he is so engaged in other matters of great importance in connection with the post-war work and with some other important matters that it hardly seems practical for him to be absent from the scene of his present duties.

I would be glad to be advised of your pleasure.

Faithfully yours,

[Signature]
My dear Mr. Bloom:

A very serious situation exists in many parts of this world because of the policies so viciously prosecuted by Nazi governments to persecute religious, racial and political groups who have incurred their wrath.

The American Government has had an exchange of communications with the British Government in which it has been decided to ask the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to take appropriate steps. Preliminary to that meeting, the American and British Governments have agreed to discuss certain matters which might be presented to the Intergovernmental Committee for its attention and action.

Having great confidence in your ability and integrity as well as in your broad understanding, I desire to name you as one of a small group of delegates to represent the United States in a preliminary conference with the delegates of Great Britain. The meeting will be held in Bermuda in the near future. I know it will be difficult for you to interrupt your duties as a member of the House of Representatives, but the reasons for doing so seem to me adequate and urgent.

May I have the pleasure to receive your acceptance.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

The Honorable
Sol Bloom,
House of Representatives.
Ms. H. L. Miller:
Are you interested in the attached?

[Signature: Miller]
March 29, 1943

My dear Senator Lucas:

A very serious situation exists in many parts of this world because of the policies so viciously prosecuted by Nazi governments to persecute religious, racial and political groups who have incurred their wrath.

The American Government has had an exchange of communications with the British Government in which it has been decided to ask the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to take appropriate steps. Preliminary to that meeting, the American and British Governments have agreed to discuss certain matters which might be presented to the Intergovernmental Committee for its attention and action.

Having great confidence in your ability and integrity as well as in your broad understanding, I desire to name you as one of a small group of delegates to represent the United States in a preliminary conference with the delegates of Great Britain. The meeting will be held in Bermuda in the near future. I know it will be difficult for you to interrupt your duties as a member of the Senate, but the reasons for doing so seem to me adequate and urgent.

May I have the pleasure to receive your acceptance.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Honorable
Scott W. Lucas,
United States Senate.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Attached are letters which you may care to sign to Senator Lucas and to Mr. Bloom requesting them to serve as delegates to the preliminary conference to be held with the British in the near future, now agreed to be at Bermuda.

Enclosures:

To Senator Lucas,
To Mr. Bloom.
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

I wish to express to you my deep appreciation of the honor you have bestowed upon me by indicating your desire to name me as one of a group of delegates to represent the United States in a preliminary conference with the delegates of Great Britain on the subject of the persecution by Nazi governments of religious, racial, and political groups.

I accept this assignment with a deep sense of responsibility. You may rest assured that I shall devote all my energy and ability to the proper discharge of the duty with which you have entrusted me.

Faithfully yours,
April 1, 1943.

Respectfully referred for the information of the Secretary of State.

M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President

March 31, 1943.

Scott W. Lucas,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Copy of letter to the President from Hon. Scott W. Lucas referred to the Secretary of State. Letter in reference to his recent designation to a group of delegates representing the U. S. in a conference with the delegates of Great Britain on the subject of the persecution by Nazi governments of religious, racial and political groups. Accepts the assignment.
The Honorable,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I was made supremely happy and honored by your letter of March 29th designating me as a delegate to represent the United States in a preliminary conference with the delegates of Great Britain, at a meeting to be held in Bermuda in the near future.

Permit me to state, my dear Mr. President, that I accept this designation with sincere appreciation of the honor afforded me, and shall do my utmost to merit your confidence.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Sol Bloom

March 30, 1943.
MR. MILLER:

Please note and then send to Mr. IENDING for his files.

Signed Roberts
My dear Dr. Dodds:

The Secretary of State has informed me of your acceptance of my request that you head the American delegation to proceed to Bermuda to confer there with a delegation from the British Government on the refugee problem. I am very happy to know of your acceptance. Your colleagues will be Senator Scott W. Lucas and Representative Sol Bloom, together with a secretary appointed by the Department of State. The Department is also arranging to furnish you with the necessary technical assistants who will accompany your delegation to the meeting, which is scheduled to begin on April 19.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Dr. Harold W. Dodds,

President of Princeton University,

Princeton, New Jersey.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

April 12, 1943

President Dodds of Princeton University has accepted the invitation to head the American delegation proceeding to Bermuda to confer there, beginning April 19, with a delegation from the British Government, on the refugee problem. Attached is a letter addressed to President Dodds, which you may care to sign, to thank him for his acceptance which was obtained orally in view of the shortness of time.

Enclosure:

To Dr. Dodds.
April 16, 1943

Respectfully referred for the
information of the Secretary of
State.

M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President

Transmitting copy of letter which the President received from Dr. Harold W. Dodds, President, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., 4/15/43, accepting appnt. as head of the American delegation to confer in Bern with a delegation from the British Government on the refugee problem.
Original retained for our files. Mr. Miller has noted.
April 15th, 1943

My dear Mr. President:

I have your letter of April twelfth in which you generously refer to my designation as head of the American delegation to confer in Bermuda with a delegation from the British Government on the refugee problem. I am very happy to accept this appointment.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.
March 18, 1943

The accompanying letter from Mrs. William Prince, President and Mrs. David L. Issacs, Chairman, Palestine Committee, Women's League for Palestine, is respectfully referred to the Department of State for appropriate handling.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT

Let. to the Pres., 3-16-43,

X

Mrs. William Prince, President, and
Mrs. David L. Issacs, Chairman, Palestine Committee,
Women's League for Palestine,
1860 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

Request greeting from the Pres. in connec with Annual Spring Luncheon of the Women's League for Palestine at the Hotel Astor, N. Y., on Mon., April 5th. Tell of opening of 3d refugee center in Jerusalem & enclose pamphlet re the work of the organization.
April 1, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. BRECKINRIDGE LONG:

The following Jewish Members of Congress came as a Committee to discuss with the President the refugee question:

Congressman Emanuel I. Celler; Congressman Adolph J. Sabath; Congressman Samuel Dickstein; Congressman Daniel Ellison; Congressman Sol Bloom; Congressman Samuel A. Weiss; and Congressman Arthur G. Klein.

They were a little critical of the Army, Navy, etc., and the President asked me to contact you and arrange for a committee from this group of Congressmen to meet with the Inter-Departmental Committee. The Congressmen themselves selected Congressmen Bloom, Celler and Dickstein to represent their entire group.

I believe this could be arranged by communicating directly with Congressman Bloom as to time of meeting next week. They are anxious to meet as soon as possible.

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President.

P. S. Incidentally, this meeting with the President today was held "Off the Record", at the request of these Congressmen.
Congressman Celler 'phoned from New York to ask if the President could see him. Congressman Sabath, Pickstein, Blooms, and Weiss, with reference to activities of Inter-Departmental Committee in refugee matters. He says they want no publicity and hope they can come "off the record."
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Saboath - Klein - Café - Weiss
Dickson - Bloom

Ellison -

Certain phrases of refugees question want to talk especially withincident. We ask them to see Dec. Hull
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

GENERAL WATSON TO TAKE UP WITH THE PRESIDENT
TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 30, 1943.

Congressman Celler has telephoned again with reference to his request for an appointment for himself, Congressman Sabath, Dickstein, Ellison, Weiss, Bloom and Klein, to see the President re certain phases of refugee question. I had given them the President's suggestion that they take this up with the Secretary of State, but Celler says they particularly want to see the President, and that there are a few personal matters they wish to take up.
April 2, 1943.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House, Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

In connection with the forthcoming conference on the rescue of victims of Nazi terror, it has been suggested by many quarters that I be made a member of this conference, either as a member of the delegation or as an observer.

I think you are aware of the fact that for many years, as a member and Chairman of the Committee on Immigration And Naturalization, I have made a thorough study of the question of immigration, both as it affects this country and as it affects the problem of world wide immigration and emigration.

I should also be very much favored by the Orthodox branch of the Jewish faith, and I know that my
appointment would please that group immensely.

Assuring you of my appreciation, I am

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL DICKSTEIN, M.C.
April 5, 1943

Respectfully referred to the
Secretary of State for consideration and
preparation of reply for my signature.

W. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

April 2, 1943.

Samuel Dickstein, X
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

In connection with the forthcoming conference on the rescue of victims of Nazi
terror, says it has been suggested in many quarters that he be made a member of
this conference either as a member of the delegation or as an observer; says
he has made a thorough study of the question of immigration both as it affects
this country and as it affects the problem of worldwide immigration and
emigration.
April 19, 1943

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In the absence of Mr. McIntyre I am returning the draft of reply which you prepared for his signature in acknowledgment of a letter from Representative Samuel Dickstein to the President under date of April second.

Mr. Forster suggests that perhaps you will be good enough to reply directly to the Congressman.

I believe you have Mr. Dickstein's letter, since it was not returned with the draft.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Jackson
Acting Secretary to Mr. McIntyre

Honorable Humeckinridge Long, \( \times 2.0 \)
The Assistant Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure: Original draft of reply per attached copy.

JJ
April 17, 1943

My dear Mr. McIntyre:

With reference to your note of April 5, 1943 transmitting a letter from Representative Samuel Dickstein, I enclose a reply to Representative Dickstein which has been drafted for your signature.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Enclosure:

Letter addressed to Representative Dickstein.

The Honorable

Marvin H. McIntyre,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.
My dear Mr. Dickstein:

The President has received your letter of April 2, 1943, in which you offer your services in connection with the forthcoming conference at Bermuda.

The President greatly appreciates the motives which underlie your desire to assist in the solution of the difficult problems to be considered at this meeting. Your long interest and experience in questions of immigration and emigration are well-known and our common sympathies go out to the oppressed peoples of Europe who are suffering under Axis rule. You will have noted, however, from a recent release to the press that the members of the American delegation have already been selected and the President is therefore unable to avail himself of your offer.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable

Samuel Dickstein,

House of Representatives.
April 9, 1943

Respectfully referred for consideration and acknowledgment.

M. H. McIntee
Secretary to the President

Letters to the President:

BENNETT, John, 1826 N. Wolfe St., Baltimore, Md., 4/7/43. A boy of seventeen asking for help in getting into the Marine Corps; he was rejected because of his being color blind. Referred to Navy U.S.C.

BELL, Mrs. Velma, 1298 A. 14th St., St. Louis, Missouri. 4/6/43. Wants allotment from son, William Mack Crosby, of the Navy. Referred to Navy.

VAUGHN, Mrs. Clifford, Route #1, Barnesville, Ga., 4/7/43. Wants to know if her husband can be released if he work on a farm. Referred to War.

JACOBSON, Mrs. M., 16 Bay View Court, Madison, Wisconsin. 4/6/43. Asks that son, Norman E. Jacobson of the U.S. "may be released from guard duty and not be sent into foreign service." Referred to Navy.

HAYES, William E., 42-35 One Hundred Sixty-first St., Flushing, Long Island, New York. 4/6/43. Requests for help in getting into the Navy; he is rejected because of burns. Referred to Navy.

GELBEG, Ruth, 1414 Herrian Ave., Bronx, New York. 4/7/43. Writes re his discussion re post-war planning; favors employment for all. Referred to Treasury. Clipping attached.

DIDOT, Emile P. V., 2244 N. Gratz St., Philadelphia, Pa., 4/7/43. Protests the inequality of the payment made to dependents of men in armed forces. Asks that all be given the equal amount of allotment. Referred to War.

WOOD, Mrs. Hazel M., 17 Margin Court, Cohasset, Mass., 4/7/43. Favors well managed and fair labor unions; also states that absenteeism in our defense plants is mostly the indifference on part of the employees. Referred to War Labor Board.

WHITE, Bessie, Philadelphia, Pa., undated. Submits clippings to be given to the Congressman most in need of the advice; "Wish in this country that we had a few statesmen and fewer politicians." Referred to Treasury. Clippings attached.

Curtis, Mrs. John, Refugee Relief Workrooms, Committee of Nercy, Summit, N.J. 4/6/43. Asks that we feed the people of Europe according to plan of Dr. Howard E. Kershner. Referred to Gov. Lehman.
April 10, 1943

Dear Owen:

I fully understand but I am truly sorry that you cannot go to Bermuda -- especially at the time of the Easter lilies! After my talk with you, the State Department evidently decided (under British pressure) that the meeting should be held at once instead of waiting until June.

However, you can tell the Chief Justice that while I yield this time, I will issue a subpoena for you the very next time that you are needed!

Always sincerely,

(Sgd) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mr. Justice Roberts,
Supreme Court of the United States,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. President:

I took up with the Chief Justice the matter about which we talked last Thursday. He feels that the business of the court is in such shape that I should not leave it until the date of adjournment, which will be about June 1st.

I was about to advise you of this fact yesterday afternoon when Secretary Hull told me that the matter was urgent and that it would probably have to be taken up about the middle of this month. I explained to him the impossibility of my getting a leave of absence from the court and said to him that if it was essential to organize the Commission immediately I felt that you and he would have to pass me by. Secretary Hull stated that he understood the situation and would take the matter up further with you.

I quite understand from the Secretary's statement the need for immediate action and I deeply regret that I cannot be of service in the circumstances.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

The President.
April 14, 1943

My dear Ed:

After your 'phone call last week, asking that Judge Harry Fisher be considered for the Committee on investigating the refugee problem, I made some inquiries pronto. I found that the committee had already been appointed, and dictated a letter to you. The next day, when I started to sign it, I learned that Justice Roberts had not been able to serve and I held it up until I was certain.

In the meantime, Dr. Harold W. Dodds was appointed in Justice Robert's place, and is heading the committee, which consists also of Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and Senator Scott Lucas.

At any rate, the whole story is that the decisions had been made before your suggestion was received.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President

Honorable Edward J. Kelly,
Mayor of Chicago,
Chicago,
Illinois.  

MHM:J
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR MAC:

Tell him the Committee was appointed about two weeks ago and consists of Justice Roberts, Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois.

F.D.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1943

My dear Ed:

I have checked up with reference to your telephonic request of yesterday.

I find that the Committee was appointed about two weeks ago and consists of Justice Roberts, Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and Senator Scott Lucas.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

Honorable Edward J. Kelly,
The Mayor,
Chicago,
Illinois.
MEMORANDUM FOR: The President.

Ed Kelly telephoned from Chicago and said that he understood that a committee was being appointed to deal with the refugee problem and was going to Bermuda on an investigation trip.

He said that, if the committee has not already been formed, he would like to submit the name of Judge Harry Fisher, a very prominent and outstanding Jew in Chicago for membership.

I told him I would be glad to pass it along and find out whether the committee had already been appointed or not.
May 6, 1943

Mr. M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mac:

Upon my return to the office after a little respite in Arizona, I was pleased to find your letter of April 14, outlining the circumstances which made it impossible to include Judge Harry Fisher of this city as a member of the committee on investigating the refugee problem.

I understand the situation thoroughly, and I want you to know how very much I appreciate your interest and helpfulness.

With kind good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Edward J. Kelly
Mayor
MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

May 14, 1943.

In regard to your letter of May seventh, following the Bermuda Conference, I suggest on Page 4 -- Paragraph 1, that we do not give unlimited promises but that we undertake with Britain to share the cost of financing from time to time any specific cases.

As to Paragraph 2, I do not think we can do other than comply strictly with the present immigration laws.

I agree that North Africa may be used as a depot for those refugees but not a permanent residence without full approval of all authorities. I know, in fact, that there is plenty of room for them in North Africa but I raise the question of sending large numbers of Jews there. That would be extremely unwise.
On Page #6 - Paragraph #2, I think we should defray a part of the cost of moving. Can this come out of Lehman's funds?

As to Paragraph #3, I agree with you that we cannot open the question of our immigration laws.

I agree with you as to bringing in temporary visitors. We have already brought in a large number.

I have okayed the telegram, which I return herewith.

F. D. R.

Letter from the Secretary of State, 5/7/43, to the President, enclosing copy of a summary or outline of the recommendations of the recent Bermuda Conference on Refugees, copy of the Report of the Bermuda Conference, and telegram to the American Ambassador at London, dated 4/30/43, which the President approved. Copy of telegram retained for our files, as well as copy of the Secretary of State's letter of 5/7 to the President.
Wants to donate
has avoided
helped neutrals
in neutral
in Europe.
May 29, 1943

My dear Miss Cywiak:

Your letter of May twenty-fifth has been received and I wish to explain that during these critical days, when it is so very important to conserve the President's time for urgent war duties, it has been necessary to refrain from placing before him the numerous requests for donations and other contributions which are received daily.

Let me assure you, however, that this action indicates no lack of interest in the many worthy causes brought to our attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

Miss Ruth Cywiak,
2333 Potomac Avenue,
Chicago,
Illinois.
M. CYWIAK
GROCERIES
2333 Potomac Avenue
CHICAGO

Sir:

I am taking the liberty of writing to you, who is, in my opinion, the greatest living humanitarian. Realizing what a very busy person you are, I'll come directly to the point. I am a member of the Jewish Congress and have always done the best I could for it. Several weeks ago, however, I was at a Congress meeting, and after the address delivered by the president of the organization I was horrified to learn even more than I knew before of the terrible things the people in Europe are facing under the Hitler regime. I came to the realization that the majority of our people do not even know a small part of the actual facts taking place there.

I learned that not only have two million of my people been put to horrible deaths, but that the remaining four million can expect the same fate before this year is over. The president brought to our attention the fact that 4000 children could be emigrated immediately, were it not for lack of funds.

Telephone

5/25/43
M. CYWIAK
GROCERIES
2233 Polomac Avenue
CHICAGO

I was so touched that I pledged to bring in far more money than I can see any way of raising, towards this heart breaking cause. For the last few weeks I have been doing everything in my power to reach my goal.

I am appealing to you for some aid for my people because you are the greatest human being alive. For the orphans of those who have been slaughtered, in order that they may be saved from their parent’s fate. Won’t you please help me with a donation towards this cause?

May God bless you with good health in order that you may continue to be as much value to humanity in the future as have been in the past.

With the deepest thanks and the greatest admiration, I am.

Respectfully, your friend,
(Miss) Ruth Cywiaik.
June 11, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you bring this up to date?

I have heard nothing from Winston Churchill who said he would let me know and has done nothing further. I think it is just as well to send this as is. If you approve, go ahead.

F. D. R.

Enclosures

Letter from the Secretary of State, 5/22/43, to the President, with attached mimeographed copy of telegram of 5/17/43 from Hon. John G. Winant, London, received by the Secretary of State, in re Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee, together with draft of a telegram which the Secretary of State
proposes to send to the American Embassy in London, dated 5/21/43, regarding the matter. Copy of Mr. Hull's letter of 5/22/43 to the President retained for our files.
My dear Mr. President:

I recently had occasion to direct your attention to the refugee situation in connection with the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference which proposed a meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee to carry on the work.

As my mind approaches the subject matter to be discussed and the questions to be decided by the Committee which it is now proposed to start in London and to continue in Washington, certain doubts assert themselves.

A meeting of that character would attract world-wide attention. It could not be allowed to fail. Unless the American and British Governments were determined in advance as to the purposes which they would pursue and as to the extent to which they would commit themselves on financial accounts, the Conference could not come to any satisfactory conclusions.

Attached is a telegram directed to London which was prepared after the receipt of your recent memorandum on this matter. The Department has been in telegraphic correspondence with the British Foreign Office and has discussed the matter on several occasions with Mr. Law, Parliamentary Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, now in the United States. Before proceeding further with it the thought occurs to me that its extreme importance from the psychological point of view would probably justify consultation by you with Mr. Churchill.

1. Expressed concretely, refugees who may need attention and protection are found in the following places in the following approximate number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>4,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The President,
The White House.
Spain  
Bulgaria  
France  
Switzerland  
Portugal  

Total  

20,000  
4,500  
10,000  
13,500  
1,400  

73,050

2. It is impractical to estimate accurately the cost of transfer by vessel and maintenance of the individual on a yearly basis, but considering the short haul to some part of Africa, a figure of $2,000 per capita per annum is considered not unreasonable. The moving of all these 73,000 on that basis would cost $150,000, 000. The estimate should include repatriation at the end of the war.

3. The determination is to be made whether it would be possible to limit the Intergovernmental Committee's participation in the plan for the succor and transit of the refugees to a place of temporary refuge where Governor Lehman's relief organization could take up the relief activities during their temporary residence, provided there is legal authority under existing legislation to permit it and provided further that the British join on equal terms.

If you could present this matter to the consideration of Mr. Churchill and arrive at some common decision with him as to what extent our respective Governments could be committed at the suggested Intergovernmental Committee meeting it would seem to be justifiable to proceed with that meeting, with the assurance of achieving some success. Lacking an understanding of the attitudes of our respective Governments it would seem that the Conference could not accomplish a very useful purpose.

Those persons who have escaped from German control or who may escape in the future can be forwarded to places of temporary refuge till the successful ending of the war will assure them the right to return to their homes.

I am attaching a telegram which I would propose to send to London in case it is justified by the conclusions you will reach with the Prime Minister.

Respectfully,

Cordell Hull

Enclosure:

Draft telegram to London.
Telegram
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
April 30, 1943

AMERICAN EMBASSY
LONDON
FOR THE AMBASSADOR

The conference on refugees at Bermuda has now been terminated and the American and British Governments have the recommendations of the conferees. These recommendations require action by and in respect of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. In order speedily to implement the recommendations of the conferees, a meeting should be called of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee to be followed in short order by a meeting of the full Committee.

We wish you to approach Mr. Eden at once and ask him to propose on behalf of this Government to the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee that he convene at the earliest practicable date a meeting of the Executive Committee, at a place to be agreed upon by the Governments' members of the Executive Committee. (In view of the French situation we feel that the sending of any invitation to the French representative should be omitted.) You may inform Mr. Eden that this Government would be agreeable to Washington as the place of both meetings, in which event we would suggest that the Executive Committee meet on May 20, and the full Committee on the following. The Food Conference will open

on May
on May 18 and arrangements being made therefor preclude our arranging for a meeting on refugees here before then. Besides, some time will be necessary to notify the member Governments and to permit them to appoint and instruct their representatives. It is assumed that, in the large number of cases at least, those representatives would be the chiefs of mission here \( \text{for-} \)

\( \text{in-bondary if needed} \) so that the meeting need not long be delayed.

"O.K.

FDR".
My dear Mr. President:

The American and British Delegates to the recent Bermuda Conference on Refugees have unanimously recommended a program of positive action involving a number of specific steps which should be taken in an effort to alleviate the plight of European refugees. I am enclosing a copy of a summary or outline of the recommendations for your information.

You will note that the recommendations fall within two general and distinct categories; (a) those requiring action by the American and British Governments, and (b) those requiring action by all governments through the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, which was organized at Evian, France in 1938. With reference to the first category, the most urgent and important of the items recommended

The President,

The White House.
recommended at Bermuda concerns the evacuation of some 5,000 persons from Bulgaria via Turkey to Palestine. This recommendation has been approved with the understanding that the Government of the United States would contribute half of the necessary expense, the payment of which has been arranged in the amount of several hundred thousand dollars.

Another important recommendation requiring action by the Government of the United States, as well as by the British Government, relates to the movement of some 20,000 refugees from Spain to North Africa, not only to relieve the Spanish authorities of the present burden, but also in order to make it possible for Spain to receive more and more refugees who in turn may be evacuated to North Africa. This raises at once a question of major policy. Temporary refuge in North Africa is not approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The opinion of the Combined Chiefs of Staff has therefore been requested. General Giraud, after discussing the matter with General Eisenhower, has agreed that after the completion of the movement to North Africa of some 14,000 of these refugees, who are French, the remainder, which consists of the so-called stateless Central Europeans,
may be welcome to North Africa where many of them may be able to contribute something to the common military effort.

With reference to the second category of recommendations of the Bermuda Conference, namely, those requiring action by the Intergovernmental Committee which was organized at Evian, France in 1938, I attach a draft of a suggested cablegram to be sent to our Embassy at London proposing that the British Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee call a meeting thereof in Washington or London in the near future in order that the program recommended at Bermuda may be put into effect as soon as possible.

Mr. Myron C. Taylor, who is the American member of the Intergovernmental Committee and of its Executive Committee, and who is no doubt desirable to you as the person to continue the work with which he has been identified, has raised certain questions of purpose and authority to the effect that a meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee, or the Executive Committee thereof, would be futile unless the American and British Governments are prepared to lead the way for the other governments and to make definite commitments regarding
the assumption of our share of the cost of evacuation, transportation, maintenance, and eventual repatriation of a large number of persons, which may run into millions of dollars. We would also be obligated to find not only temporary places of refuge but permanent places of settlement for refugees.

These questions require decisions of high policy, about which I must consult you.

1. The unknown cost of moving an undetermined number of persons from an undisclosed place to an unknown destination, a scheme advocated by certain pressure groups, is, of course, out of the question. However, as a practical matter it may be possible for the Government of the United States to undertake its share of cost in financing from time to time the movement of a specific number of persons from a particular place to a designated destination, as determined upon by the Intergovernmental Committee.

2. The immigration quotas of the United States are sufficient to accommodate a large number of Central European refugees
refugees who are able to qualify individually under the immigration laws. Any attempt to bring refugees into the country without compliance with the immigration laws, or in excess of quota limitations, would be likely to result in throwing the whole refugee question into Congress, where there is a prevailing sentiment for even more drastic curtailment of immigration into this country in time of war when our own citizens are going abroad to lay down their lives, if necessary, for their country.

3. So far as the United States is concerned, admission under the quota includes the privilege of permanent residence. However, it is not believed that places of permanent settlement in other countries would be as readily offered as temporary asylum or refuge. This question was explored and discussed at great length at Bermuda and the conclusion was reached that the desire of refugees to settle permanently must be subordinated to the wishes of the country of asylum if any appreciable number of them are to be saved.

The following questions are therefore posed with respect to the first phase of the implementation of the program drafted at Bermuda:

1. Do you agree that North Africa may be used as a depot
depot for those refugees who can be evacuated from Spain without interference with military operations and with the full approval of the military commanders in that area?

This would approve the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference to save as many as quickly as possible, providing them with temporary asylum in Africa and obtaining commitments for their post-war return to their home countries.

2. Should we undertake to defray a part of the cost of moving these and other particular groups from one place to another from time to time, and if so, what funds will be available for that purpose?

3. I cannot recommend that we open the question of relaxing the provisions of our immigration laws and run the risk of a prolonged and bitter controversy in Congress on the immigration question - considering the generous quantity of refugees we have already received.

4. I cannot recommend that we bring in refugees as temporary visitors and thus lay ourselves open to possible charges of nullification or evasion of the national origins principle embodied in the quota laws.

The above-indicated course would obviate either of these last two possibilities.

May
May I have your directives for determination of the recommendations of the refugee program formulated at Bermuda.

Faithfully yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:

1. Summary of recommendations.
2. Telegram to London.
My dear Mr. President:

Following the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference we have been in negotiation with the British Government to arrive at a method of procedure and have now received from the British Embassy the agreement of the British Government to a proposal made to them in writing by Mr. Myron Taylor after consultation with Mr. Hull. This is particularly gratifying. Among other things it provides for a meeting in London of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee and it is our thought that it will operate under a British chairman with an American as Director of Operations acting under him and with a secretary from some other country, probably the Netherlands.

Mr. Taylor has been so long identified with this work it is hard to think of carrying it on without his continuing participation. I know he has some reluctance to continue active on this account, due largely to his occupation in post-war studies and other activities here.

I discussed the matter with Mr. Hull and we were of the opinion that it would be well if you would ask Mr. Taylor to continue. He need not necessarily devote his personal time and energy to attending meetings for he could designate an alternate and could in fact name the Director of Operations mentioned above. This Director could report through the Department to Mr. Taylor so that he could be generally advised of the movements and developments of the work carried out by the Executive Committee.

The President,

The White House.
If you agree, I wonder if you would not be willing personally to let Mr. Taylor know of your desire that he continue. I think his continuation would be particularly welcome to all of the groups directly interested in this work and I feel that it would likewise assist greatly in the successful completion of the work.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR PREPARATION OF A LETTER

TO MR. MYRON C. TAYLOR.

F. D. R.

Transmitting original of letter from Hon. Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, 6/30/43, a copy of which has been retained for our files.
Mr. Welles suggests the President write letter to Hon. Myron Taylor asking him to continue in his work in connection with negotiation with the British Govt. to arrive at a method of procedure regarding the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Attached is a suggested note that you may care to address to Mr. Myron C. Taylor in connection with the refugee problem.

C 24
x 20

MR. H. L. MILLER:

Please note and then send to Mr. Ingling for his files.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Respectfully referred for
the information of the Secretary
of State.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President
My dear Myron:

You started the work of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees at Evian in 1938 and have been my principal reliance in all of its activities since. It is about to enter a more active phase in connection with the refugee problem created by the enemy powers. I know you are heavily engaged in the counter studies and other duties here and to an extent which might justify your desire to withdraw from the work of the Intergovernmental Committee, but your long experience with it and understanding of its problems constitute the predicate of my real desire that you continue that work.

You need not necessarily devote your personal time and energy to attending meetings. You could designate an alternate and could in fact name the Vice Director of Operations under the revised plan. This person could report to you through the State Department so that you could be generally advised of the movements and developments of the work carried out by the Executive Committee, and I am sure that your continuing identity with the work would be particularly welcome to the groups directly interested in it and would likewise assist greatly in the successful completion of its labors.

So I am asking you to dismiss any thoughts
in conflict with this and to continue to give it the benefit of your active service and guidance.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
71 Broadway,
New York, New York.
July 7, 1943

Respectfully referred for

the information of the Secretary

of State.

M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President

Transmitting copy of letter which the President addressed
to Hon. Myron C. Taylor under date of 7/7/43, asking him to
continue his work on the Intergovernmental Committee on
Refugees. Mr. Miller has noted.
Jul. 31, 1940

Respectfully referred to the
Department of State.

R. W. HOPKINSON
Scrickery to the President

Action Copy
PHILADELPHIA
Foreign Service

Telegram to the President dated 7/30/40.

"We have been at the National Maritime Union and every member of its member unions has been very cooperative in negotiation. He stated that we should welcome this new labor to the field of union work in Mexico."
July 28, 1943

My dear Myron:

I have your letters of July 13 and 16. I am happy to have your acceptance of the request conveyed by my letter of July 7 that you continue to give the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees the benefit of your active service and guidance.

I am glad to give my approval of your designation of Mr. Robert Pell of the Department of State to act as your alternate here in your work on the Intergovernmental Committee.

I am sending this letter to you through the Department of State so that that Department may be informed, as you request, that Mr. Pell is to act as your alternate as indicated above.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Honorable

Myron C. Taylor, x3765
x177423

Care of the Department of State.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

In compliance with the instruction contained in your memorandum of July 16, 1943, there has been prepared a suggested reply for your signature to Mr. Myron C. Taylor's letters of July 13 and 14 to you, regarding his work on the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees. Mr. Taylor's letters are returned herewith.

CH
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Ltr of 7/15/43 to Miss Tully, encl ltrs of 7/13/43 and 7/14 from Myron C. Taylor, 71 Broadway, NYC; re intergovernment committee on political refugees.
July 15, 1943.

Mrs. Fiddy.

Enclosed are replies to the President's recent letter to me regarding Enteopomental Committee. This was
sent enough to make them
for the President.

With many thanks,

[Signature]

[Address]

[Stamp: Buy United States Savings Bonds and Stamps]
July 13 1943

My dear Mr. President,

Responding to your favor of July 7th in respect to the work of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees, I would like to make my position a bit more clear to you than it perhaps now is.

My first concern at this time is to assist definitely as your personal representative to His Holiness Pope Pius XII in the accomplishment of a wise and constructive result of our long labors in achieving peace with Italy.
My second desire is to contribute in a concrete way to the development of the principal U.S.A. post-war policies to aid you in guiding the ultimate negotiations for peace in this war-disturbed world.

Now in regard to the Intergovernmental Committee. I have not been in harmony with much that has taken place, particularly in the recent past, but, even so, I have endeavored through the Secretary, and more particularly through Mr. Breckinridge Long and to some extent with Mr. Welles, to bring to your attention the essentials that must be agreed upon between Mr. Churchill and yourself, lacking which neither conferences nor
any sort of successful action could or can be undertaken.

I believe there is before you at this moment a telegram which, if it contains the essential principles of the recent program (copy attached) which I submitted to the Secretary and Mr. Long and later to Lord Halifax, will enable the Director's Office of the Intergovernmental Committee in London to be reinforced and authorized, as well as financed, to do something definite to help those unfortunate refugees who are scattered along the Mediterranean, so that they
may be taken to some place of temporary refuge and later be able to return to their homes or transported to agreed places of permanent residence. I would like to see the completed telegram, however, before it is sent.

Your wish as expressed in your letter in regard to my further activities will of course be heeded to the fullest extent of my ability.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

The President.
July 14 1943

Dear Mr. President:

Referring to the letter regarding the Intergovernmental Committee, I think that it would greatly forward the work if I did in fact designate Mr. Robert Pell, who has been associated with me in this work from the beginning, as my alternate.

We are casting about for a suitable Vice Director of Operations in London under the revised plan with which you are familiar. I hope shortly to have a name that will appeal to your judgment. This plan will enable both the Department and myself through Mr. Pell, who is a departmental official, to keep in touch with the details of the
situation without too great difficulty.

I believe it would be of first importance if you would write me a letter approving the appointment of Mr. Pell as my alternate and send a copy of that letter to the State Department in order to make perfectly clear Mr. Pell's relationship and authority.

With these steps taken I see no reason why the work cannot go forward if the revised plan in its other aspects is authorized by yourself.

Sincerely yours,

Myron C. Taylor

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
FROM HON. MYRON TAYLOR:

Before your departure I wish to call your attention to two matters.

1. VATICAN. The Apostolic Delegate firmly believes that on any day we may expect the safe conduct message for my visit to the Vatican. No reply to his message proposing safe conduct for my return of June 4th, has yet been received. Events in Italy and the growing breach and final rupture between the King and Mussolini probably prevented earlier action. The Germans have steadily opposed my return.

2. INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE. Following our correspondence, I sought an American Vice Director for the London office, finally selecting Patrick Murphy Maxlin, who has had previous experience in migration and settlement work. He is about forty years of age, in a position to give full time and able to travel where needed. He was elected by the Executive Committee last week and left for London, where he will function under Sir Herbert Emerson, Director. I am considering a trip to London in early September, to meet with the Executive Committee. I also have it in mind to visit Spain to explore the possibility of arranging for the continued temporary residence of about 7,000 refugees now there, rather than to hold them to a tent camp in Algiers or elsewhere. My preoccupation is that if the camp proved to be in any way unsatisfactory, the charge would be made that it was a concentration camp operated by the Allies, and in some respects no better than the German. It would probably be a much cheaper operation to provide for maintenance in Spain, Portugal, or wherever they may be, if in neutral countries. The instability of the Franco Regime might prove to be a reason against this plan, but it needs careful consideration. In due course I would like your approval of these suggestions.

M. C. T.
July 30, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

In connection with the proposed joint statement by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom regarding the Palestine situation, I desire to raise the question whether it would not be well to present the letter of the Acting Secretary of War, Mr. Patterson, a copy of which was sent to you today, to a suitable assemblage of Jews representing especially discordant and vociferous elements. At such time they could be told that unless they are willing to desist from further agitation, this Government will be obliged to make public the letter of the Acting Secretary of War and also to publish the proposed statement of the two Governments requesting that further agitation cease. In any case, it seems to me that we are committed to the British Government to publish the latter part of the proposed statement having to do with British policy in Palestine and our concurrence therein.

Such
Such a Jewish gathering might decide to call off the unfortunate agitation being carried on, especially in this country. If they should refuse, however, this Government would be in the strongest possible position from the standpoint of attack and criticism of the proposed joint action of the two Governments.

In his letter the Acting Secretary of War omits specific reference to undesirable agitation in this country. However, as will be observed from the attached draft of a letter prepared by the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, specific reference is made to such agitation, and that draft represents the views of the military authorities, including, so I am informed, General Marshall's. This draft Judge Patterson used as a basis for his letter. If further steps must be taken, doubtless Judge Patterson would be willing to revise his letter so as to incorporate in it the views of the military authorities, referring specifically to the dangers of further agitation in this country. I say this because the basis for any action rests primarily on military considerations.
July 26, 1943.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

From time to time in the past year there has been an interchange of information between the War Department and the State Department in regard to the situation existing in the Middle East, in which the War Department has had a growing concern from the standpoint of security of actual or contemplated operations in that area.

The Hoakins Report presented a clear picture of the situation which appears to be growing worse rather than better, due to continued agitation in this country on the part of certain groups who desire an immediate territorial and political solution of the Jewish-Arab problem in Palestine. Recent information from the Middle East again brings this question to the front and indicates the
the desirability of immediate action to forestall any further agitation in this country aimed at forcing at this time a political solution to a question fraught with far reaching military implications.

As you know, the Middle East is one of our theaters of strategic maneuver. It may be expected that military activity in the Middle East, which has already exerted so profound an effect upon the war, will continue to be of the utmost importance in the attainment of our strategic objectives. Prior to the successful termination of the Tunisian campaign, the maintenance of the security of our Middle East Theater engaged an enormous proportion of the United Nations' effort. Since the successful termination of the Tunisian campaign, the Middle East has changed from a defensive to an offensive base. The successful use of the Middle East base in the attainment of our strategic goals is essential to our war effort. This war effort cannot be accomplished
to its fullest extent if military forces now intended for offensive use are diverted to the maintenance of order in the Middle East.

Palestine is an integral part of this base area. It is common knowledge that this small country is a focus of worldwide controversy despite the fact that its inhabitants, regardless of race or creed, are committed to the United Nations' cause. Because of the size and complexity of the armed forces in the Middle East, and because of the wide zone in which they must operate, widespread disorder in Palestine would affect adversely the situation in the whole area and possibly even the course of the entire war. It is clearly in the military interest that for the duration of hostilities, the situation in Palestine must remain in its present condition, and hence that agitation in regard to controversial questions of a political nature which might lead to unrest and violence in this area must be avoided. Continued agitation
agitation in this country for the immediate establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine constitutes a grave danger to the United Nations' war effort. The military requirements in this area are paramount and must be accorded precedence over the adjustment of any political questions until such time as the military effort to win the war will not be prejudiced thereby.

The War Department would appreciate any action which may properly be taken by the State Department to discourage agitation from any source tending to prejudice the security of military operations in this area.

Sincerely yours,

Acting Secretary of War.
My dear Mr. President:

With your approval, we recently suggested to the British Government the issuance of a statement on Palestine, in order to reduce Arab-Jewish tension. Our suggestion was in the form of a statement by the United Nations, but we stated to the British that we saw both advantages and disadvantages in a United Nations' statement on the subject, and that if the British preferred a joint Anglo-American statement, such would be agreeable to us.

Mr. Eden has now informed our Ambassador at London that the British Government warmly welcomes our proposal and thinks it will be most valuable in preventing any further aggravation of the position in Palestine. The British believe that the disadvantages of a statement by all the United Nations outweigh the advantages, and prefer a joint statement by the United States and British Governments.

Our

The President,

The White House.
Our proposed statement meets with the full approval of the British. However, they suggest an expansion of the concluding sentence to take account of a statement made by Lord Cranborne in the House of Lords on May 6, 1942. They also desire to add that the British Government will not permit or acquiesce in any changes brought about by force in the status of Palestine or the administration of the country, and that we are in full accord with that policy.

We consider that the British redraft is fully acceptable, apart from inconsequential wording due to differences in usage, and we shall have the statement issued here in accordance with American practice. These minor changes have already been cleared with the British Embassy.

Provided you perceive no objection, we shall immediately arrange with the British for simultaneous issuance of the statement in Washington and London at the earliest possible moment. The statement which we intend to issue here is attached.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosure:

Statement.
STATEMENT FOR ISSUANCE BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM REGARDING PALESTINE

The Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom, having in mind the terms of the United Nations declaration of January 1, 1942, are agreed that while public discussions on controversial international questions are in general desirable, in order to promote an informed public opinion and clarification of the issues involved, it is undesirable that special viewpoints should be pressed while the war is in progress to such an extent as to create undue anxiety among United Nations and other friendly governments and peoples.

In this connection, the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom have taken note of public discussions and activities of a political nature relating to Palestine and consider that it would be helpful to the war effort if these were to cease. As in the case of other territorial problems, it is not, in their view, essential that a settlement of the Palestine question be achieved prior to the conclusion of the war. Nevertheless, if the interested Arabs and Jews can reach a friendly understanding through their own efforts before the end of the war, such a development
development would be highly desirable. In any case, the British Government has already stated that no decision affecting the basic situation in Palestine would be reached without full consultation with all concerned, including both Arabs and Jews. But the British Government wishes to make it clear that it has no intention of permitting or acquiescing in any changes brought about by force in the status of Palestine or the administration of the country. The United States Government is in full accord with this policy.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE SECRETARY
June 7, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

There is attached for your approval a draft of a telegram to London regarding a proposed declaration by the United Nations with respect to Palestine. This draft incorporates substantially the phraseology contained in your message to Ibn Saud, which you have already approved.

[Signature]
[Date: 7/22/43]

[Handwritten note]
AMERICAN EMBASSY,
LONDON.

FOR THE AMBASSADOR.

You are requested to inform the Foreign Secretary without delay that this Government is deeply concerned over Arab-Jewish tension in Palestine. Reliable information made available to our representatives, principally by British official sources, in Palestine and neighboring areas is to the effect that both Arabs and Jews are well armed and confident and that each side is merely awaiting what it deems to be suitable provocation before resorting to force in furtherance or defense of its supposed interests.

The serious effects which such an eventuality would have upon the populations of vast areas which are vital to the military effort require, of course, no elaboration. Moreover, Zionist political agitation in the United States and elsewhere has already caused in the Arab countries alarm and political reactions which in turn produce a still higher pitch of Zionist activity. A spiral of increasing tension has thus been created.
which feeds on itself and, unless the tension is abated, disastrous results might well occur in the immediate future. In any event, it would appear that the large amount of attention and energy which is being devoted to the Palestine question is causing serious distraction from the war effort.

It appears to us, and we hope the British Government will agree, that the time has come to deal effectively with the situation. To that end we suggest the issuance of the following statement which is designed to postpone a decision on the Palestine question for the duration of the war. The suggested statement is believed to be in harmony with declared British policy, and the text given below has the approval of the President:

GRAY CODE QUOTE: The United Nations, having in mind the terms of their Declaration of January 1, 1942, are agreed that while public discussions on controversial international questions are in general desirable, in order to promote an informed public opinion and clarification of the issues involved, it is undesirable that special viewpoints should be pressed while the war is in progress to such a degree as to create undue anxieties...
among United Nations and other friendly governments and peoples.

In this connection, the United Nations have taken note of public discussions and activities of a political nature relating to Palestine and consider that it would be helpful to the war effort if these were to cease. As in the case of other territorial problems, it is not in their view essential that a settlement of the Palestine question be achieved prior to the conclusion of the war. Nevertheless, if the interested Arabs and Jews can reach a friendly understanding through their own efforts before the end of the war, such a development would be highly desirable. In any case, no decision altering the basic situation of Palestine should be reached without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. UNQUOTE END GRAY CODE

RESUME SECRET It will be observed that the statement has been drafted for issuance by the United Nations. We feel that there are definite disadvantages as well as advantages in having a statement on the subject by all of the United Nations. For this and other obvious and essential reasons we are seeking the views of the British Government before taking the matter up in any other quarter.
Among the disadvantages are the length of time which would be required to consult the other United Nations; the possibility that one or more of them might not feel able to subscribe to the statement; and the fact that some of them presumably have little interest in the Palestine question. On the other hand, a statement by the United Nations would have great weight.

We are prepared to consider whether, taking things all around, issuance of the statement (with changes of wording to take account of the fact that it would not be issued by the United Nations) might not be preferable on the part of a smaller group of countries such as China, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and the United States.

For your information, we should not object to issuance of a joint statement or of essentially similar and concurrent separate statements by the British and American Governments should the British suggest and show a marked preference for either procedure, in which case you are authorized to so state.
November 30, 1943

Respectfully referred to the

officals of the Department of Justice

for consideration and acknowledgment.

M. M. McIntyre
Secretary to the President

Joseph Freeling
577 Isham Street
New York 34, N. Y.

Letter to Mr. McIntyre, dated 11/28/43.

Re - States that there has been an exodus of refugees from the
city to outlying districts. Asks an investigation of this
change of residence as he believes that some of them might
be enemy agents who have been sent to strategic points.

First copy filed FREELING, Joseph
TO:
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
February 1, 1943

The President allocated the sum of $3,000,000 to the Secretary of State to be expended by said Secretary in connection with emergencies affecting the national security and defense. — In a memo for the President, dated 2/1/43, attached, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget explained re above that this allocation is to provide for advances to the Polish Government for the purpose of providing transportation, reception and care of Polish refugees in Mexico. Mr. Smith stated further that he understands that the President has discussed this matter recently with General Sikorsky. Mr. Smith adds that the funds will be advanced on the basis of specific estimates submitted to and approved by Gov. Lehman's office.

See 79 Authorization - Treasury - No. 42/J-98
RESCUE OF THE JEWISH AND OTHER PEOPLES IN NAZI-OCCUPIED TERRITORY

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
H. RES. 350 AND H. RES. 352
RESOLUTIONS PROVIDING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT
BY THE EXECUTIVE OF A COMMISSION TO
EFFECTUATE THE RESCUE OF THE
JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE

NOVEMBER 26, 1943

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs
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III
RESCUE OF THE JEWISH AND OTHER PEOPLES IN NAZI-OCUPIED TERRITORY

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order. The committee is now in executive session for further consideration of House Resolution 350 providing for the establishment by the Executive of a commission to effectuate the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe, and House Resolution 352 providing for the establishment by the Executive of a commission to effectuate the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe.

The Chairman would like to state that I asked Mr. Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, to appear before this committee and give us information regarding these two resolutions. The Secretary asked me if we were to be in executive session so that he may be able to give certain testimony that up to now it has been considered advisable to hold strictly confidential, and I informed the Secretary that this committee has always kept its word when we were in executive session, and he would be asked to testify, and everything that he testified to before this committee, will be strictly confidential and not go outside of the committee room until released.

Mr. Long, you can testify with the assurance that whatever you say here will be in strict confidence.

Ladies and gentlemen of the committee, I present Mr. Long, Assistant Secretary of State.

STATEMENT OF HON. BRECKINRIDGE LONG, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Long, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I am glad to come before you, and I asked Mr. Bloom about the executive nature of the session because there are certain things which I think you will appreciate, as we get into them, that are for the time being confidential, and if they were not retained within the confidence of this committee and kept from our enemies, the actions contemplated and the operations would not be possible to be carried forward, and it would react against the interests of the people that we are trying to help and are interested in.

You have before you these two resolutions. I think that for a full understanding of them, it would be necessary for you to have an idea of what has happened and something of the history of this whole refugee question. It has never been disclosed, or put together or given to any governmental agency, and with your permission I would like to start at the beginning and carry it through. It will be a long
story. I think that it will be worth while for your fuller understanding.

I came to Washington the day after the war started in Europe. I came here by pre-arrangement on an "if" basis, if the war started. I arrived here on the 2d day of September 1939, and went to work for the Department of State and took charge of a division called, for the want of a better name, the Special Division, which in itself was a basket in which were put all the emergency problems growing out of the war affecting the United States, for which there was no other agency existing in the Department to handle them.

The first thing that we had to do was to get American citizens back home, and through our efforts—directly and indirectly—more than 100,000 American citizens were safely returned to the United States from enemy territory.

ADMISSION OF REFUGEES INTO THE UNITED STATES

About October or November, Mr. William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, came to see me one afternoon, and he depicted this situation:

There were in Lithuania a number of persons who had fled from Germany and fled from Poland who were heads of the trade unions in eastern and central Europe. He thought that they were going to be destroyed and that the trade union movement would be dealt a vicious blow by the Fascist governments because the leaders of the movement were going to be killed. Four or five of these men had been arrested, separated from their families or were held incommunicado. He asked me if we could do something to help them. We sat there and discussed the general principles involved, and among other considerations, we went back over the functions of the Department of State. Up to that time the Department of State had been the agency of the American Government to protect solely the interests of United States citizens abroad. If an American citizen got into a difficulty abroad and his rights were being infringed, the State Department immediately intervene in his behalf. He, as an American citizen, had a right to the protection of his Government. Furthermore, if he owned property in other lands and that property was confiscated by law or some damage done to its physical being, the State Department immediately intervened and tried to secure for him reparation. Up to that time, the State Department had never intervened or undertaken movements on behalf of persons who were not American citizens, but as he and I discussed it that afternoon, we came to the conclusion the trade-union movement in the world was of interest to the United States and was a system that had its counterpart here and was a vital part of American economic and social life, and on that account it would be a legitimate activity for the Department of State to intervene in behalf of these persons who were threatened, as Mr. Green had portrayed.

We immediately took up the matter. Lithuania was then an independent government and we had a Minister there. The name of these men I forget.

We succeeded in getting them released from confinement. Each of these men and each of the members of their families were given visas to come to the United States. Two of the men took advantage of our help and accompanied by their wives and children came, but two of them sent their families and decided to stay behind.

Actually, this was not the first action of the State Department to rescue persecuted persons because we had admitted to the United States, as refugees from persecution in Germany, Austria, and other places, several hundred thousand of these people in the period from 1933, when the Hitlerite government began its efforts, until 1939. At that time we found ourselves at the outbreak of the war, but we had been active and had given refuge in the United States to several hundred thousand of them.

When the war began and Germany invaded Poland, there was a mass of people frightened to death. They had been frightened by the broadcasts emanating from Germany. The Germans tried to terrorize the neighboring people of those countries, and when the destruction started, and the airplanes and the big guns and the big tanks rolled through Poland, the people were frightened, and literally several million of them moved eastward in front of the German armies. The roads were filled with people walking and riding with donkeys and horses and carts and automobiles. The people that did not have any conveyance were traveling on foot, the young and the old and the weak and the sick and the women and the children, and as they went east they were eventually dispersed over various parts of Russian territory and found themselves behind the Russian lines. Some of them died at the roadside. Some of them were sick. Some of them were killed by machine guns of the Germans. Some of them rested where they were. Some of them, their shoes worn-out and their feet bleeding, were in a terrible state of affairs. Hundreds of thousands of them finally settled in Siberia. About 100,000 of them trickled down east of the Caspian Sea, and crossed into Iran, and we subsequently picked them up there. The British took the able-bodied men and organized them into fighting units and amalgamated them with what they called the Middle East Command.

The women, the children, the young, the old, the sick, were given attention through the instrumentality of private organizations. We and the British took care of about 40,000 of these people. A few of them are still in Iran. Thousands of them are in Africa where places were vacated. The question arose of where to put these people, how to clothe them, how to feed them, and how to transport them. Our ships were busy taking supplies to the British in the Near East, and the British ships were busy reinforcing their own forces there and carrying supplies and ammunition to them, and it was difficult to find transportation to move them away from there. It was impractical to move them across deserts and walk them 600 miles from there to Palestine.

The United States contributed I don't know how many dollars to feed and succor these people. The Red Cross did yeoman service and it was one of our first big-scale activities. Some of these people got to Karachi, India, and were taken care of by the British Government. We arranged with the British Government to take many prisoners of war held by the British and thus permitted the cantonments which they had built for these prisoners of war in East Africa to be used by these poor refugees. We continued to send them relief supplies. Others of them came to us and through the allotments from the President's emergency fund, which the Congress voted him to use in his discretion, he agreed to pay the expenses of bringing some
thousands of them to Mexico which country had promised to give them refuge.

Many of those people are in Mexico and others of them have not yet arrived, but arrangements have been made and they are on the way.

Now, that was the eastern movement. There was a northern movement. People fled from Poland, northern Poland, and from northeast Germany and fled north to Lithuania, Estonia, and Russia. Subsequently, the war in the west had started. Germany invaded France and the Low Countries, and when she attacked Holland and Belgium, the migration started westward. It was a worse migration and more complicated migration than that which had occurred in the hegra eastward. This hegra westward preceded the onslaught of the German armies, and the German airplanes flew over the roads and strafed these people. The roads were so crowded that sometimes there was no movement on them. Automobiles would break down, tires would get punctured, carts would break, and the people that were in them could not move. There was no opportunity for repairs. The roads were clogged and literally millions of people went from northern France westward, and from Holland and Belgium westward, until they got in the neighborhood of Paris, and then converging on Paris. They went through Paris and around Paris as the German armies approached. They kept on going. All of them wanted to come to the United States as a haven of refuge. Our consulates were swamped. We then had consulates all through France. Some of the consulates were closed temporarily because of the war and some of them were burned, and the personnel had often to go into shelters just as the other people did. Some of our consulates were destroyed, but except for those interruptions, both before and after, our consulates were busy granting visas to these refugees as they applied to come to the United States. As the Germans occupied the territory which later became known as occupied France, they left temporarily free and partially untrampled this region known later as unoccupied France, and we found ourselves in the position where, still having relations with Germany, we had our consulates and our diplomatic officers in northern France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and for a while we had them in Poland. We granted visas to a great many of the Polish people so that they could get out. Then Germany autocratically closed our consulates in Poland and we were unable to give visas to persons unless they could get to some consulate outside of Poland, and the Germans made it very difficult for people to travel so that they could get to an American consulate. Nevertheless, our consulates in Austria and in Germany, and in all the other occupied territories, were busy granting visas.

Then, finally, in June 1941, Germany notified us that our consular offices would have to be removed from all of Germany and from occupied territory and the exercise of the consular function would have to cease as of the 30th of June of that year. So on that date we no longer had agencies within that territory to grant visas to these people, and we could not take care of persons and give them visas unless they got out of Germany, or out of control of Germany. There was no way by which they could reach our consuls, or by which our consuls could get to them because Germany had autocratically said, "You will have to get out by June 30," and we did have to get out, and we did get out, and the consulates were closed as of the evening of June 30, 1941.

The situation that developed outside of the occupied territories was such that some of them could get out and elude the authorities, and a great many of them did, and our consuls during this period of migration, during the westward hegra, were literally swamped. There were lines a half mile long every day, all day. It was not possible to give the proper attention to the people and comply with the requirements of law quick enough to take care of them, and besides that, we were bound more or less by the limitations placed upon us, bound by the limitations and by the law in regard to the granting of immigrant visas, and we exercised at that period a very generous and I think humane attitude toward the granting of visitors' visas which I will relate to you in some detail.

We found that some people got down as far as Marseilles, they got to Barcelona in Spain, and there were so many people that they got on boats and went across to north Africa to Casablanca and places in north Africa where we had consulates. They trickled down through Spain and across the Pyrenees, and down to Barcelona and cities in Portugal where we had consulates, and in every one of these places our consuls were just so busy, busy as they could be for months and months and months, with the constant demands of the most horrifying personal experiences of these people.

Literally, the records of the reports of the consular officers to the Department of State form one of the most thrilling and one of the most harrowing and awful pages of our humanitarian history.

One man tried to kill himself right in front of the consul because he was ineligible to a visa to the United States under the immigration laws. Another man fell down and grasped the knees of the consul and begged, another would fall down and kiss their feet and pray for a visa. Others that were able to and were in a different status and of some little means would slip in the passport a sum of money. They resorted to every expedient and manifested every form of human expression of a desire to get a visa to come to the United States. Under those circumstances, we found ourselves in a situation that the quotas that were established in the territories from where the people originated, and under our law, a man who is born in Germany comes under the German quota irrespective of where the man finds himself. If he is born in Germany he is under the German quota and the countries from which these refugees originated—Germany, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium, northern France, Austria, and so on, have relatively small quotas. The total quota for that area is about 57,000. Well, 57,000 visas were just insufficient to express the humane desire of the American Government and the American people to try and save these persons. During the 12 months which ended in June 1941, enough visas were granted to physically save 135,000 of these people, and in the period from 1938 to 1942 a total of over 307,000 visas of all kinds were granted to persons coming from enemy or enemy occupied territory.

Before I get into the home situation, I want to give you something more of the problem to the north, the northern hegra. It was not the same hegra because they did not have a chance to move. The people had moved out of Lithuania and Poland and out of northern Germany into the territory lying immediately north. They found themselves
under the jurisdiction of the Germans, and immediately thereafter, under the jurisdiction of the Russians, and then those States were incorporated into Russia. I received a delegation here of haredo Yrabbis who came from an area to which I now refer, that is, Lithuania, northern Poland and northern and eastern Germany, and East Prussia, and they said that there were in those areas groups of rabbis, rabbinical colleges, persons who were the light of the church and who carried the torch of truth and the essence of the Jewish religion.

They were the cultural exponents of Judaism in these rabbinical colleges. These young men were being educated by the best minds of the Jewish people in that area. These young boys had been collected, and their teachers were trying to educate them to carry on the religious leadership of their people. Could I help them? I said that, of course, we would do everything we could. So they gave us lists of names on which there were hundreds of those people. We telegraphed those lists to our Embassy in Moscow with instructions for the Ambassador to communicate with each one of those persons and tell him that a visa would be given to him if he appeared at the American Embassy in Moscow and identified himself. A great many of them came. The news got around that visas were to be had at the American Embassy in Moscow. Thousands of those who had not received notices and whose names had not been given to us also went to Moscow.

Many of them got visas, but many of them who were entitled to visas under our arrangement did not get them. They got on the trains and went on through to Siberia, down to Korea, through Korea to Manchuria, and finally to Japan. Some of them got to the United States. The names of others we telegraphed to the Embassy in Tokyo, saying, "If these people appear, you are free to give them visas." We did the same thing through our Embassy in China, which was then at Nanking.

Then transportation across the Pacific Ocean ceased. We got in the middle of the war. All shipping stopped, and there were thousands of these people in Tokyo. The Japanese Government allowed them to stay there for several months and then ordered them to move on further. They could not move, so the Japanese loaded them onto ships and took them down to Shanghai. They are now at Shanghai.

I have just recently had a supplication from another group of rabbis who are interested in one of the rabbinical colleges which started from northern Poland, went through Lithuania, all the way through Russia, and is today intact in Shanghai. There are 464 persons in this particular group. The rabbis want to bring them over here. They wanted to bring them on an exchange ship. I had to take the position that we could not accommodate them on an exchange ship, because that was for American citizens, and for every non-American who got on board, it would be necessary to leave an American citizen in a Japanese internment camp. I did not think we were justified in leaving Americans over there and bringing other persons out of there.

That is a faint impression, a very hurried painting with a very big brush, of the disturbances in central and eastern Europe, that precipitated these people, like the fragments of a bursting bomb, east through the Urals, south through the Indian Ocean, north through the Arctic, and south again through the Mediterranean and western ports of Africa, one of the most terrible and tragic experiences any man ever had to go through. I have sat and wrestled with the different problems that grew out of this, gauging the capacity of the American Government to do it, the instrumentalities that could be used, and the moneys available. It is difficult to make a promise that we are going to help half a million people if you have not money with which to help them—and you cannot get money in 15 or 20 minutes or 2 weeks. Sometimes these problems do not wait that long for solution, and I will take up a few of them later, when I come to specific problems in connection with some of these activities.

That was the position in Europe, generally speaking, as we here, back home looked at it. We were bound by laws—immigration laws. We could do certain things; certain things we could not do. We did every legitimate thing we could do, and we observed the laws of the United States. The President set up what is called the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, headed by Mr. McDonald, of New York, and the acting secretary of which was Mr. George Warren, capable, able, industrious, intelligent gentlemen, each of whom had considerable experience in refugee work.

That committee was trying to save particular persons who were worthy to be saved in the cause of humanity—intellectuals—that is, authors, painters, orators, statesmen, political leaders, and publishers of newspapers, men who had, because of their race, religion, political beliefs, and opposition to the Nazi regime, incurred the enmity, animosity, and violent opposition of that regime, and who would be killed. That committee considered those people and submitted lists to the State Department, and we tried to help everybody that they recommended to us. They would receive from other sources the names of persons, and they would investigate them and recommend to us the issuance of visas to them in order that they might be saved. They did a very good work. We had some difficulty, of course, in meeting all of their desires, because from time to time we ran up against the problem of the security of the United States. Since I have been in supervisory control of this activity for the Secretary, I have never lost sight of the security of the United States. I might say, too, that we finally came to realize that it would be necessary to take a little different step, different measures, in order to protect the security of the United States, because we found that Germany was putting its agents in the guise of refugees in some of these migratory movements and that the idea was to have them get visas, come to the United States, and here engage in a pernicious activity against the United States. I think the records of the F. B. I. will show that there was quite a good deal of that at one time and that there were in this country certain persons from these persons were under instructions to report when they arrived here. So when that developed, we decided that it would be to the advantage of this country, and easier for the refugees, to handle the refugee problem if we set up in the State Department a control commission through which these persons would have to be screened. So we did. It took a little time to get it set up, but it was set up, and it has been functioning ever since; and more fortunately, it was functioning 6 months before we entered the war, and the screens through which these applications had to go, served to prevent entry into the United States of many agents who otherwise would have been here.
It has not interfered with the flow of refugees under the law. Of course, in 1941, shipping across the Atlantic stopped. When we got into the war, there was no neutral shipping. In December 1941 most neutral shipping disappeared from the seas. Prior to that there had been neutral shipping, and some American ships had been running; but as of that time there was practically nothing. There were too few Neutral and too few Spanish and a few little Portuguese vessels which are coming in here, and the State Department continues to issue visas to refugees. We are issuing visas to the extent of about 100 a week. Perhaps it is a little under, perhaps it is a little more; but it is in the neighborhood of 100 a week. They are all carefully screened, and they are persons in whom I think the people of the United States can have entire confidence.

But the point is that the historic attitude of the United States as a haven for the oppressed has not been stopped. The Department of State has kept the door open. It is carefully screened, but the door is open, and the demands for a wider opening cannot be justified for the time being because there just is not any transportation. There are vacancies on the list of quotas, and any wholesome, proper person who appears and applies for permission to enter the United States, under the laws and under the direction of the Department of State, enter the United States.

Mr. MUNRO. The limitation of 100 per week is now imposed by the shipping limitations rather than by any limitations of the State Department as to the number of visas available?

Mr. Long. The movement of people has stopped. You cannot move anywhere in the world today except in the United States. You can go from the United States to Canada, you can go from the United States to Mexico, you can go from the United States to Cuba. This is the only place in the world where you can move. Anywhere else you have to get exit permits to go even across rivers. Everything is under military control throughout Europe. There is not one town in Europe today from which you can leave to go to another town in Europe without military control or some supervision or some permission. This is the only country in the world today which admits alien enemies by nationality into its intimate midst as citizens if they care to come—the only country in the world.

This is roughly—very roughly—the situation that appeared in the United States and the situation that existed in the United States. I have used the word 'screening.' I mean by that that there is a procedure set up in the State Department. It is an interdepartmental activity. Representatives of the War Department, Navy Department, Department of Justice, and Department of State sit, and through this committee persons are examined. If there is a negative decision, there is a right of appeal to a review committee which sits and holds public hearing. If there is a negative decision there, it goes above to two men, one of whom is former Senator Buckley, of Ohio; the other member unfortunately died recently, Mr. Frederick Keppel, former Assistant Secretary of War. Those two gentlemen served as a board of appeal. They were appointed by the President and were not subject to the control of the Department of State.

They could exercise their discretion in the admission of persons who had been denied admission below. Mr. Keppel, after a very long
readily agreed. We then tried to cast about for a method of cooperation with other governments. The first suggestion made was that the United Nations be the body and that they do this themselves. However, after considering that suggestion we came to the conclusion that that would be inadequate, because there were the countries who were neutral and who were contiguous to the territory in which these people were being persecuted, and they would not be available as avenues of egress if they were not included in the movement. Then the idea was to get some of them or all of them, if possible, identified with us. When we had considered that, we came to the conclusion that it probably would be difficult to get some other countries to join a new organization during the war.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

So we considered a little further, and then we chose the product of President Roosevelt's suggestion back in 1938, when he called the Evian meeting to consider the plight of the refugees and persons who had been persecuted by this oppression. There had grown out of that what was called an intergovernmental committee. Thirty-two nations belonged to that committee, neutrals and belligerents; but Germany did not belong, of course, because at that time this action was aimed more or less at a program which was being carried on by Germany. Likewise, Austria and the little satellite countries did not belong. But the other governments did.

Mr. MUNIR. Did Russia belong?

Mr. LONG. No; I do not believe Russia ever belonged. Thirty-two nations did belong. Here is a list of them, and I shall be very glad to read them: The United States of America, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, United Kingdom, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Columbia, Cuba, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Paraguay, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, and Venezuela. That is 29. There were three others who belonged—Costa Rica, Panama, and Guatemala—but they have not yet joined in the present movement. They have been invited along with 17 additional countries and if all accept it will mean a membership of 49 nations on the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees.

We decided that the thing to do since we had already a number of governments parties to this, was to revitalize it, reform it, invigorate it, hitch up the horse to the old surrey, and go down the road with it. That was the best instrumentality that we had at hand. We could not form another one because some might not join. It was carefully considered at the White House and the State Department. Mr. Myron Taylor, in whom the country has confidence, was the American member of the executive committee, and still is. He takes a very great interest in this whole thing. We confer every week. Sometimes two or three times a day we have talked about this.

BERMUDA CONFERENCE ON REFUGEES

So it was decided that we would do that, but it could not be done except with the cooperation of the British Government. Other governments were not as interested as we were, and along with the British Government in this activity, we thought we could induce the other nations to come along, because several of the units of the British Empire were members of the organization as well as of the United Kingdom. So we asked the British Government if they would confer with us to see what we could do along this line, and they said they would. We did not want a meeting here or in London, and when the British Government learned of it, it said, "Let us meet at Bermuda; it is half way across." So we said that was all right; we would go to Bermuda. At Bermuda we conferred.

This is a part of the record that is going to be extremely confidential from now on, until it is released, and I must ask you, gentlemen, to respect the whole of it, because it is difficult to pick out this part and that and say that one is more confidential than the other.

The conference at Bermuda came to some very definite findings and recommendations. While this goes on the record, I am asking the committee to consider it most confidential for the time being.

The CHAIRMAN. What you have stated here today is strictly confidential. We are in executive session, and you need not be afraid that anything will leak out, because it is all confidential.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BERMUDA CONFERENCE

Mr. LONG. We have reached the point in my rather rough, rambling narrative of the refugee movement where we have tried to get an intergovernmental body to do the job which the United States had for so long been doing. We came to an understanding on the following recommendations of the Bermuda Conference: That the United States and the United Kingdom Governments should consult together with the view toward immediate action to obtain the use of neutral shipping for the transportation of refugees, this duty to be assumed by the Intergovernmental Committee after a revision of its mandate. Its charter did not provide for some of the activities which we considered it would be necessary to engage in. So we proposed to the British Government and have urged the member nations to enlarge the scope of their activity.

Another point was that the United States and the United Kingdom should continue their efforts for the release from Spain of the French refugees and other allied nationals; if this should be unsuccessful, then both categories would be referred to the Intergovernmental Committee. There were in Spain at that time about 30,000 people who had come across the Pyrenees. There were French citizens, there were German refugees, there were all manner of people who had escaped into Spain. The Spanish Government had placed them in internment camps. Before we got to Bermuda, before this was engaged in, we engaged in an effort to try to get these people moved, and we had the cooperation of the British Government. Eventually it became necessary to get the cooperation of the Portuguese Government and the French National Committee in north Africa, because it was to French territory that we were planning to take these people, part of them for permanent residence, and part of them for temporary residence. But today the movement has been so successful that there are remaining now in Spain only a few thousand of these allied nationals. Of the stateless refugees who found their way in, there are remaining today only about 1,200. Provision has been made to transfer them—and the movement is now current; it has all been agreed to by the governments concerned, and the French Committee—to a place of residence temporarily in north Africa. About 600 or 700
people who escaped from France into Spain have in the regular course of procedure been given visas and have come to the United States. The British Government is trying to take some of the Jews in case they cannot be temporarily located in north Africa. Many of them have visas for Palestine, and the rest of them will be taken care of in north Africa until such time as permanent arrangements can be made for them. That was one of the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference, and it is being carried out.

Another Bermuda proposal was for the arrangement of temporary residence in north Africa subject to military considerations, and the necessity for considering General Eisenhower’s opinion on the movement of its inhabitants. The United Nations, and the military if necessary, to allow these people, if they desire, to return home.

The Governments of the United States and Great Britain and Russia alike have agreed on that post-war condition. It takes some time to get governments to agree on solemn matters, but we have agreed.

The next conference recommendation is that the Intergovernmental Committee be invited to revise its mandate. That mandate was not sufficient to allow these activities. We and Great Britain have agreed on the revised mandate and the whole thing is under way.

The next recommendation is that the membership of the Intergovernmental Committee be broadened to include any nations which desire to participate in the work, and to invite other nations to do so.

The next is that provision be made for the procurement of public and private funds adequate for the work of the Intergovernmental Committee. The funds of the Intergovernmental Committee are to be provided. The United States and Great Britain each pay one-half of the cost of the entire project which the Intergovernmental Committee decides upon as being possible of execution, and which is recommended and acceptable to both of our Governments. Nobody knows what the cost of those projects will be or where the activity will be.

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The next recommendation was that the staff of the Intergovernmental Committee be increased and a management committee created; that is, to revitalize it and give it an executive committee with an executive secretary. Mr. Patrick Malin, who is well known in the United States—he is a member of the Quakers, and their relief societies, and has had much experience in relief and refugee work—thus became the vice-director under Sir Herbert Emerson, the director.

Furthermore, the Bermuda Conference stated that the following points be referred to the Intergovernmental Committee for its urgent consideration immediately subsequent to the ratification of its mandate; the possibility of finding countries of asylum for Polish refugees in Persia, for whom no destination has hitherto been allotted. Those are about 6,000 or 8,000 who still remain as a remnant of that mass migration, of which something over 100,000 got into Iran.

The next recommendation is the admission of refugee children of France through any neutral country. We tried to save children from France and offered to accept in this country about 5,000 of them. We made arrangements with the French Government to do so. The German Government refused to sanction the agreement.
were about 200 of them who entered the United States instead of 5,000. The German Government absolutely and positively refused to agree to it but went on record as stating that it did not desire to have those children leave and would not permit it. Another recommendation is a provision to feed and finance refugees in neutral countries—Switzerland, Spain, Turkey—if they get there. I will speak of Sweden and Switzerland in a few minutes.

Another Bermuda recommendation was to ascertain the possibility of the reception of refugees into various overseas countries.

So much concerns the Bermuda recommendations. Now, as regards feeding and financing refugees in neutral countries, since that time Switzerland has had an influx, like Sweden, except very much greater than Sweden—perhaps about 60,000 of them, if my figures are correct. About 60,000 persons have sought refuge in Switzerland since the debacle in Italy. Not all of them are Jewish people. Some of them are military; they are from the Italian Army and wanted to quit and get out. Some are American citizens who were living in northern Italy. Many are Jewish people from northern Italy, and some are Jewish people from that part of France which was under Italian occupation. Then, there are various other categories of persons making up the total of approximately 60,000.

Switzerland is confronted with a situation where she has to have some help. She cannot take care of 60,000 people when she is living on a ration. We ration Switzerland, Germany rations Switzerland as to the food she can import and the things she needs and what things she can export in return for it. Switzerland cannot just say, "Come in; there is a turkey for dinner"; there is no turkey. So there is under consideration by our governmental authorities the making of an allowance to the Swiss economy in order that she may be able to feed these people.

Another situation developed in Sweden, with reference to refugees who went there. Sweden graciously opened her doors and admitted somewhere between 8,000 and 9,000, of whom about 6,000 were Jewish. There were 6,000 registered Jews in Denmark, and about 8,000 people fled and about 80 percent of them were Jewish and arrived in Sweden, so practically all the Jews in Denmark were saved. There were two small boatloads which we understand—not authoritatively, for it is hard to get information as to what exactly goes on in Germany—but we understand there were two small boatloads taken from Copenhagen to Gdynia and put to work there. Germany is looking for labor. She has got all her own German men in the army, and she wants labor back home. She is making the people work as hard as she can for long hours and under hard conditions. It is forced labor. She has done it with a million French prisoners of war that she has and with the Italians that she has induced to go to Germany and with all the people she can drag out of Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and all surrounding countries, that are not German, and she makes them go into the German productive machinery and work 15, 16, or 18 hours a day.

Now, those were the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference. They constituted evidences of agreement between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on this general refugee problem. Since then, as a result of that, this committee set up in London is actually there at work today. There are proposals being made to it today and every day. It has regular stated meetings.

These are the recommendations which the conferences at Bermuda considered feasible to make at that time. It should be remembered, however, that the Bermuda Conference considered many other questions not covered by these recommendations. The conferences in whom the British and American Governments had and have the greatest confidence considered every possible phase of the refugee question and particularly the tragic situation of the Jewish people of Europe. They examined every possibility for their rescue and relief no matter how remote it seemed at that time. It should also be remembered that the conferences, while not competent finally to pass upon the military considerations involved in many of these questions, had nevertheless to keep them constantly in mind.

**UNITED STATES SUPPORT OF ADDITIONAL REFUGEE PROJECTS**

I have here another memorandum. I think I can take up the things that have the support of our Government irrespective of projects that we have discussed in the Intergovernmental Committee program and the results of the Bermuda Conference.

The first is the question of an assembly center in north Africa for the refugees from Spain, which since its institution has been carried on by the United States and British Governments independently of the Bermuda Conference, although it was initiated by the Bermuda Conference, and it has actually borne fruit in that the larger committee have actually now given their formal consent to the camp and everything. Arrangements are presently being made for the transportation of the remaining 1,200 stateless persons out of Spain into Africa. I might also mention in this last transaction Portugal graciously answered our request to let them go through Portugal to Portuguese ports on the Atlantic, there to take ship down to Africa.

We have had also—we still have—the program for refuge for Jewish children in other neutral countries. In one case the neutral Government asked the German Government to let her take persons that would be selected for her somehow by some charitable or proper organization in Germany—20,000 Jewish children—and take them out of Germany and into its own territory, and that she would take care of them there and that we would contribute to their expense. The neutral Government was unable to get any favorable response from the German Government. The original inquiry is still in process. The German Government, the request having been made some time ago, has not indicated that it will accept; nevertheless, we are trying to get the neutral Government to continue its activities.

Mr. Voyna. Are there more than 20,000?

Mr. Long. There are 20,000 children in addition to other refugees. Then we are going to support the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in its efforts to send food from Turkey, through the International Red Cross Committee, to the Jews in Transnistria. It is hard to get things. We have been trying to help the J. D. C. get food supplies, but the food supplies must be obtained within the blockade. The blockade military officers and the blockade authorities will not permit food to be shipped through the blockade to German-occupied territory or to Germany. I think that, with every assurance of success, this arrangement will be concluded.
There is the maintenance of Polish refugees in Mexico, which I mentioned on several occasions. It is not necessary to refer to that now except to say that that movement is still current. Only about 2 weeks ago another boatload arrived, and there are other boatloads expected. It is a question of finding ships that can carry people, even coming back from the front today, coming back across the ocean.

Then there is the offer to Switzerland of assistance in caring for refugees escaping from Axis-held territory into that country. We offered to help Switzerland and as far as our economy permits.

Then, there is the project of cooperation with the British Government in an endeavor to evacuate refugees from the Balkans to Palestine through Turkey. That has not been successful in the past. We had tried various schemes at the time of the Bermuda Conference. There was a proposal that two ships would be chartered; they would leave a port on the Black Sea and go to Turkey, from where the refugees would go directly to Palestine. They would carry 5,000 Jewish children. When they called me one morning, we could not find money to underwrite this. It is an expensive proposition when it comes to moving a lot of people and paying for their transportation and their keep en route. The estimated cost was about a half million dollars for this one trip. In the course of the day I could not secure funds. I approached the White House and got an allocation of $300,000 or so much as might be necessary to defray the expenses on the part of the United States, which would be one-half. Unfortunately, although we had the money and were ready, the project could not be accomplished because the German Government, in the last analysis, got wind of it and stopped the movement of ships and told the Rumanian Government she was not to be a party to any such movement.

Then there was a joint warning with Great Britain, through the Swiss Government, to Balkan authorities against the mistreatment of the people under Nazi oppression. I wish I had that document with me so that I might read it to you. I think it is the strongest one that the State Department ever sent.

The CHAIRMAN. You might put it into the record.

Mr. Long. No; I understand that we cannot put it into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you wished you had it here, and I was wishing that we had it.

Mr. Long. But it was without effect. Telegrams sent to these people are not going to be given any attention.

Then there is the offer of assistance to Sweden in connection with her reception of Jews and other people from Denmark. We offered to do our part in making generous contributions, but she said she did not think it was necessary; she thought it was an obligation on the Swedish Government. She did not even want to receive contributions from the Danish Government in exile; that she would endeavor to advance all the costs necessary herself, and that some settlement could be made if any was deemed proper in the future.

There is a request for the International Red Cross to endeavor to investigate and report on Jewish atrocities in Poland, which has not been permitted by the German authorities. We have tried to get the Red Cross to act as an agent in order to get an authentic story, but the German authorities have absolutely prevented the Red Cross from taking any steps concerning the activities going on in Poland.

There is maintenance, in cooperation with British authorities, of refugees in Spain and the provision of means for their evacuation by intercession with the Spanish Government. It is still going on and about to be completed.

Then there is the support of the plan for removing children temporarily from Axis-held territory to neutral countries in varying numbers up to a maximum of 100,000 for rehabilitation in those countries where they could get food and where we would put the food where the children could be nourished and brought back to something like a normal state of physical well being and, after they had been there for 2 or 3 months and had gotten strong, they would go back home and some other children would come in.

Then there is the agreement with the British Government to underwrite costs of approved refugee relief projects put forward by the intergovernmental committee. The British Government and ourselves will each underwrite half of that expense. It is expected that other member governments will make contributions toward these expenses.

Now that, briefly, is the picture of Europe as it was, the United States as it was, and the present activities in which we are now engaged and the instrumentality which we set up, which was done after very careful consideration and deliberation in the setting up of this intergovernmental committee and revitalizing it and amplifying it with funds and authority and everything we had to give it.

You are faced now with a resolution which "urges the creation by the President of a commission of diplomat, economic, and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action designed to save the Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany."

Everybody that I know, everybody in the Department of State, and everybody that I have come in contact with is interested, and a lot of them have been active in endeavoring to save the Jewish people from the terrorism of the Nazis.

The State Department has had from the beginning quite an organization, which has been the agency of the Government which has been in charge of it. Acting for the Secretary of State, I have been in supervisory control and direction of its movements. Under me, as advisers and assistants, are three gentlemen who serve more or less as a council—Mr. Brandt, Mr. Travers, and Mr. Reams.

Mr. Brandt is my executive assistant and is concerned with all the activities of my office.

Mr. Reams is in the European division and brings to the conferences an understanding of the political situations developing in Europe and the benefit of his advice generally concerning the European theater.

Mr. Travers is chief of the visa division which, from the beginning, has been active and which is the chief organ of the Department of State through which all of these movements above enumerated have been carried on. That is, the visa division is large, well staffed, and competent, and has been the working nucleus, the working ganglia in the Department which has functioned and is part of the organization which is carried on.
In that division also is the machinery for examining and screening the persons who come into the United States. They originate abroad and they come out of the same situation as the refugees abroad. So, naturally, it has been part of the same movement in two different sections of the Visa Division: one concerning refugees abroad and one concerning immigrants entering into this country.

That organization has been functioning, now, for 4 years and it has been very active in each of the phases of all this movement.

I have described the Intergovernmental Committee and the way in which it was set up and the fact that neutrals might not be induced to join a new movement the activities of which would be directed against what Germany would consider to be its interests.

There has been an agency of the American Government actually attending to these affairs for a little more than 4 years. There is now an international agency set up at the instigation and cooperating with the United States Government; and I think your committee will desire to consider whether any step you might take would be construed as a repudiation of the acts of the executive branch of your own Government, or whether any action on your part would be interpreted as a repudiation of the cause of the Jews—which would be very unfortunate or whether the action which you might take would constitute a reflection upon the actions of the Intergovernmental body and the other governments, members of that body, which have been associated with the American Government in its activities and which are currently very actively engaged in these matters. I think you will have very pointedly to consider that the Jewish people are entitled to every encouragement and expression of sympathy, and that you certainly would not care to make a statement or pass a resolution, now that one has been introduced, that would fail to include some very definite statement about the interest of the American Government in the Jews, because the Government has been interested in them. They have not been the only refugees we have been interested in. We have been interested in refugees; and I think there has been some indisposition on the part of some officers to accept the thought that the American Government ought to specialize and make it particularly direct that we are interested only in the Jews. We have felt from the start that we could not exclude other persons from our governmental and official activities.

I have thought many times of the very definite and pertinent fact that there is no man or woman in this room that I know of whose ancestors were not refugees. Mine were, every one of them. So far as I know, the ancestors of almost all of my friends came here because conditions abroad, and some of them were conditions of persecution—some from France, some from Sweden, some from England, Scotland, and Ireland. I know that a great many Germans came here after the movement of 1848, and their descendents are some of the very best citizens that we have here. We all run back, sooner or later, by nearer or farther degree, to a refugee who was our original ancestor; and nobody can think of the United States except as being a government composed of the descendents of refugees and interested in saving those who are in danger of their lives or their liberties because of religious, racial, or political persecution.

Members of the committee, I think I should bring my statement to a close and leave it on that basis.
possible to take while we had diplomatic representatives and consular representatives within German territory, but when we got into a state of war with Germany, and prior to the state of war, when they excluded our consular officers, we were unable to carry on that function in Germany. We have been trying to get back into Germany since, but have not yet succeeded. I hope the day will be soon.

Mr. Johnson. I think that most of the witnesses who appeared in support of this resolution have agreed that the specific thing that they think might be accomplished by the resolution would be to find places for the Jewish and other refugees to go. They say that they think it is possible for refugees to escape from Germany and the occupied countries if they had any place to go. So they seem to think that if this new commission should be set up it would be able to get countries to say, "You can come here and we will give you a place to come."

This joint committee has been doing that very thing, has it not?

Mr. Long. Yes; and the United States Government, incidentally, and its representatives on that committee.

Mr. Johnson. So, if we had a new commission set up there would simply be two committees trying to do one and the same thing? Am I right in that conclusion?

Mr. Long. I do not like to state that categorically, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. I see your position. Your position is that we would want you to give this committee all of the facts in reference to what has been done and what is now being done, and then let the committee draw its own conclusion. In other words, you do not like, as a representative of the State Department, to tell this committee what you think ought to be done; you want us to exercise our own independent judgment. Is that right?

Mr. Long. I will say this, Mr. Johnson, that the State Department has always been, during the 4 years I have been connected with the matter, and is today ready to receive any suggestion from the Congress, from any Member of the Congress, or from any interested public official, and we will do the best we can to carry out any suggestion that is feasible.

Along the line of that thought may I read the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee?

Mr. Johnson. I wish you would.

Mr. Long (reading):

The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee is hereby empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or allied states or organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain, and transport those persons displaced from their homes by their efforts to escape from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion, or political beliefs. The operation of the Committee shall extend to all countries from which refugees come, as a result of the war in Europe, or in which they may find refuge. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to receive and disburse, for the purposes enumerated above, funds both public and private.

In other words, they are given plenary authority to do whatever they can, within and without Germany and the occupied territories. I believe that is all I care to ask, Mr. Secretary.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chipperfield?

Mr. Chipperfield. Mr. Long, I want to compliment you on your statement. I think you have done a splendid job, and I think you are doing everything that can be done. From the testimony which you have given, it is obvious to me that a great deal of the negotiations must be secret, because, as you stated, there was one movement out of Germany that the Germans learned of, and then it was not successful. Under those circumstances, if we were to vote this resolution down, I wonder if the statement that we might give out to the press should be very carefully drawn, and I am wondering if it would be within your province, if this committee did draw up some kind of a statement and asked for your approval, for you to give it to us.

Mr. Long. I think it would be very dangerous to vote it down, very unwise, in a way. It is on the table, and receiving the consideration of the members of the committee. I think this is a very important moment in the history of this refugee movement, and I think the Jewish people are looking forward to this action and the decision of the committee, and I think that if entirely negative action were taken here it would be misconstrued and might react against the Jewish people under German control.

Mr. Chipperfield. I certainly would not want that to happen. Is it your suggestion that we pass the resolution?

Mr. Long. I am glad to give my advice and counsel, but I hesitate to assume the responsibilities devolving upon the committee in its deliberations.

Mr. Chipperfield. We all want to be helpful.

Mr. Long. Yes; I am sure of that.

Mr. Chipperfield. It is simply a matter of the best way to accomplish the result.

Mr. Long. You may come to that decision in your deliberations. If you are finished with me, I should be glad if you would allow me to retire.

Mr. Chipperfield. That is all, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Burgin?

Mr. Burgin. I do not know that I have any questions. I want to tell the Secretary, of course, how I appreciate his coming here and telling the committee about his activities in connection with this matter. I did have in mind asking you if you thought it would be advisable or necessary to pass a resolution that would implement your efforts.

Mr. Long. I will have to leave that to the committee. I can tell you what the circumstances are and what the history of the movement has been and how we have participated and how we have organized to handle the situation, but I must allow the committee to draw its own conclusion.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys?

Mr. Vorys. Mr. Secretary, after hearing your statement I am not very much disposed to take any action which would be in the nature of saying, "Call a policeman," or that I would simply say to the President and the Secretary of State, "Why don't you do something about this?"

There are two things I wondered about. Possibly you have not covered them in your earlier statement. One was that we have before us another resolution urging action with reference to feeding of children with an attempt to have this committee and the Congress make a gesture toward breaking the blockade to that extent.
Would you care to give us your view on that?
Mr. Long. Yes; I would be very glad to, Mr. Vorys. The fact is that those matters, in the last analysis, were decided by the blockade authorities, and there has been imposed an absolute prohibition against the importation of bulk foodstuffs into occupied territory through the blockade. They have permitted and have even permitted and encouraged the purchase of foodstuffs within the blockade for distribution in Turkey, Spain, and Portugal; and we have even generously construed Portugal as being within the blockade, to include sardines and other fish which she goes out of the blockade to catch. But we have considered that as within the blockade, and not penetrating the blockade. This goes only to neutral countries or to Red Cross agencies. The neutral countries get allowances further under the Board of Economic Warfare's negotiations carried on under the supervision of the Department of State on economic matters, and they are allowed to import and to buy in exchange for certain exports and certain political actions certain quantities of food and material to carry along their economic life.

As regards the Red Cross activities, the imports consist of food and clothing. The food is in the form that goes to prisoners of war and consists of packages of about 11 pounds weight, of which every American soldier gets one package per week. It consists of concentrated foods and one thing and another, and there are great warehouses and places where we reserve supplies shipped in advance so that they will always be allowed to have it, but they get and in Sweden, and they are actually delivered to the persons for whom they are intended and receipts are received. Clothing goes to prisoners of war and to our allied prisoners of war. We have allowed our allies under lend-lease and by direct purchase clothes which the Board of Economic Warfare has permitted. The clothes have to be marked and made distinguishable. They are not military uniforms, but stripes are woven into the material so that the Germans cannot get and use the things. They include caps, coats, underclothes, pants, shoes, and also medical supplies. For instance, there is now being sent to France 20,000,000 units of insulin for distribution to the people in France, the general population.

Mr. Vorys. We have been told that the Germans would be willing to relax the blockade sufficiently to permit food for children to go through. There have been experiments to do this, and it is a contribution to the welfare and the fighting strength of the German Army, because that much food is released for the German Army.

Mr. Long. The blockade authorities, Mr. Vorys, have two points of view in mind. The first is the fact that if you send a week's supply of food, and supply it each week to a family in Antwerp, the German Government uses the food that the family would otherwise use; and irrespective of whether this food reaches that family, it is a contribution to the welfare and the fighting strength of the German Army, because that much food is released for the German Army.

The second is that we have tried time and again to get the consent of the German Government to have an organization go into it and have direction and control of the articles in question, and we have not succeeded in obtaining the consent of the German Government, except in certain matters of the Red Cross under the Geneva Convention. Everybody except the Japanese were parties. I think the Russian Government was not a party either.

Mr. Vorys. One further question. Two or three of the witnesses have stated to the committee that either the direct or the ultimate purpose of this resolution is to open Palestine to the Jews.

Mr. Long. I do not consider it as concerned with the Palestine question.

Mr. Vorys. Some of the witnesses have said they did not consider it as concerned with it. Others have said they considered it as concerned with that question; and one said it was the only solution to any commission which would be created. So we have had a good bit of discussion about that matter before us. Would you care to give us the facts as to that situation?

Mr. Long. I cannot give you the facts; I can only give you my own reaction. I have not heard that point of view expressed, and the thought had never occurred to me that it had any relation to Palestine except that accidentally persons who were going out of Africa might go to Palestine if there was opportunity; and I understand there is continuing opportunity.

The Chairman. I have a letter from the British Government saying that it is a continuing opportunity. The British Government wrote me a letter to that effect. I will read it afterward to the committee.

Mr. Long. I am glad that Mr. Bloom is able to make that statement. Heretofore the Department of State has been unable to talk about it.

Mr. Vorys. One witness said that what was necessary was to break down any of the regulations which were preventing any of the 4,000,000 Jews of Europe that could get away from getting into Palestine, and that therefore that was what we should follow in this resolution. Other witnesses disagreed entirely with that. But that matter was injected into the hearings on this resolution very vehemently by two or three of the witnesses.

Mr. Wadsworth. May I interrupt there?

Mr. Vorys. Certainly.

Mr. Wadsworth. That is emphasized in a page advertisement in the New York Times.

Mr. Rogers. This resolution was specifically drawn up to eliminate Palestine. Any time that you inject that into the refugee situation it reacts to the harm of the refugees.

The Chairman. I would like to have the clerk read a letter received today by me from the British Embassy.

The Clerk [reading]:

Hon. Sol. Bloom, Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Congressman: You may recall that I telephoned to me on November 12 the permission which the British Government has taken to permit Jewish immigration into Palestine after the end of the White Paper period, if the quota is not filled up then, as it probably will not be. The substance of the conversation was telephoned to Mr. Law who has asked me to thank you for your kind message. He would see no objection at all to your telling your friends that you did raise this point during the general discussion on Palestine assistance to refugees which was
held during the Bermuda Conference, and that you had ascertained that the question was already receiving attention from the British authorities concerned.

Mr. Law asks me to give you his most friendly greetings.

The CHAIRMAN. The British Parliament has already acted upon this and has extended the time of the thirty-odd thousand that are permitted to enter Palestine according to the white paper, which expires on March 31, 1948. They have extended the time, so that any Jew that can present himself at Palestine up to thirty-odd thousand will be permitted at any time.

Mr. Johnson. What is the amount?

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is 54,000 under the white paper. There were 75,000 permitted to enter Palestine, and there are thirty-odd thousand remaining, I believe, or around that figure.

Mr. Johnson. The quota is not filled?

The CHAIRMAN. No. But in answer to Mr. Rogers and Mr. Wadsworth, we have a copy of the advertisement that was in the New York Times the other day, and also in the New York Sun, and that question was specifically mentioned in the advertisement.

Mr. Voris. If I could bring my question back before the Secretary: Of course, this resolution does not exclude such action as the advertisement and the three witnesses have stated it included. We have had three witnesses and a lot of advertisements arguing not for a continuation of the white paper quota, but arguing that this committee should go into the matter of creating a Jewish home in Palestine. One witness said that if this commission were created, he and his colleagues would expect immediately to bring pressure on the new commission to take action toward creating a Jewish home in Palestine.

I wonder whether you could give us any of the diplomatic or military situation which might be involved if such actions were started.

Mr. Long. I cannot add much to what your knowledge already is, if I can add anything. Of course you realize that Palestine is operated under a mandate of the League of Nations granted to the British Government and that we were not parties to the authority which created the mandate. We made a treaty subsequently with Great Britain so as to give us a right under the mandate to protect the rights of American citizens in Palestine. But the question of Palestine has a larger significance than just the authority which created it, and we have always been interested, and I think Mr. Bloom's communication this morning constitutes additional evidence of the fact that the American Government is not entirely obtuse about Palestine or is not disinclined in the situation that is developing there. We have been interested and we will continue to be interested from the point of view of the larger aspects of world security and of world peace, as well as the rights of humans and humanitarian sympathies and the religious sentiments involved.

Mr. Voris. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge Eberharter.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Secretary, I join with the other members of the committee who have previously thanked you for your splendid statement which you have made, and I agree wholeheartedly.

Some witness here made the statement that one of the difficulties in regard to the rescue of these Jewish people is because of some of the countries, practically all the countries contiguous to the Nazi-dominated territories, have the same prejudice against Jews, to a certain extent, that the Germans have, and that for this reason they are not so sympathetic toward any attempt to rescue the Jewish people. In other words, we tried to leave the impression with the committee that the Jews were entitled to separate treatment and special efforts on our part because this prejudice against the Jews is not only in the Nazi-dominated countries, and that therefore they are not given as much kindly treatment and not as much effort has been put forth to rescue the Jews as has been put forth to rescue refugees of other religions and nationalities.

Have you in your experience come across anything like that, or any attitude like that?

Mr. LONG. No, Judge. I have not seen any evidence of any prejudice in any of the neutral states in Europe or in any of the governments outside of the satellites of the Axis authority. Hungary has acted, I must say, generously, compared with its satellite associates, toward the Jews. Rumania has been very bitter. Bulgaria has responded to the whip of Germany; and Germany itself forced Italy into anti-Jewish activity. But except for the German Government and the sphere of its immediate powerful influence over governments within its Axis framework, I have seen no evidence of actual antipathy or opposition. We have had sincere cooperation at every turn—with the Swiss Government, the Swedish Government, the Spanish Government, the Portuguese Government, and the Government of Turkey.

As regards Turkey, I was informed that the statement that in some of the early negotiations we were trying to get the Jews out of Rumania into Palestine by rail instead of by the boats. The Turkish Government took the position that these people could go in transit through that small part of Turkey which lies between the Straits and Bulgaria. It would give them access to Istanbul, and that was the way we happened to get into this kind of transportation; but finally the German Government heard about it and interfered and prevented it.

The answer to your question, in short, is "No."

Mr. EBERHARTER. If a commission were formed, Mr. Secretary, any intended action they had in mind would necessarily, for practical purposes, be kept secret, the same as the actions of the Intergovernmental Committee?

Mr. LONG. That I do not know.

Mr. EBERHARTER. If they were to be effective?

Mr. LONG. If there was another committee I would not know what methods it would use.

Mr. EBERHARTER. If a commission were formed under this resolution do you think they could act alone and independently of your Interdepartmental Committee?

Mr. LONG. It might; I do not know.

Mr. EBERHARTER. From the very nature of things, do you not think, Mr. Secretary, that the new commission would probably get in contact with the Interdepartmental Committee and want to cooperate with them and advise with them, and perhaps it would end in embarrassment and annoyance in connection with the actions of the Interdepartmental Committee?

Mr. LONG. I am not prepared to say that I do, Judge. I do not know. It would depend upon the course of action which the Commission would follow.
Mr. EBERHARTER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me, Mr. Richards. I did not notice you sitting down there. I will call on you after Mr. Stearns.

Mr. RICHARDS. I just wanted to say to the Secretary that I think every member of this committee fully realizes the difficulties that the Intergovernmental Committee has been operating under, and has every confidence in the action that has been taken so far. I do not have any questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stearns?

Mr. STEARNS. I am very grateful to the Secretary for his statement. I have been more or less in touch since the Special Division was set up, but I have never had such a good picture before as has been given to us today, and I am very grateful for it.

There is just one question that I would like to have cleared up in my own mind. You stated that you felt that the neutral governments would not want to cooperate in going into a new organization. Do I understand that the neutral governments are now cooperating definitely?

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes. I have read the list of them here.

Mr. STEARNS. I mean, when new measures are being proposed they are continuing to cooperate?

Mr. LONG. They are.

Mr. STEARNS. That is all I wanted to know.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gordon?

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Secretary, I am very grateful for hearing your statement. I have one question, however. You mentioned that some 8,000 refugees were shipped into the northern part of Africa. Does that include just the one race, Jews? Are there not Poles going into the northern section of Africa?

Mr. LONG. Into north Africa, from Spain?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. LONG. It includes portions of all categories. It was more than 8,000. I think it was close to thirty thousand. A great many were Jewish people, but they were not the stateless variety of Jewish people whom it is very difficult to move because of passport regulations and one thing and another; and it was that category, of which 1,200 remain. A number of them have come to the United States, about 600. England has given 600 of them visas for Palestine of the 1,200 who still remain. Even after the 600 visas for Palestine were taken out there were still about 600 of them, and provision has now been made to take care of 1,200 temporarily in north Africa; but the whole number in north Africa is above 8,000.

Mr. GORDON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mmidt?

Mr. MUNDT. In arriving at these figures and discussing them you used two different terms. You said that the quotas of these various nations had been filled and then you also spoke about some coming in under temporary visas. Do you mean that the total of 580,000 of the permanent quota of 580,000 have come in as permanent entries under quotas and how many have come in under temporary visas?

Mr. LONG. Most of them came in under the quota; and in that year of that I have mentioned in which the 135,000 came in we used all the quota visas for that area during that year, but that was inadequate to meet the situation, and then during the period mentioned we issued visitors and transit visas, which would probably cover 85,000. The difference is between the quota limitation and the actual entries into the United States, which was about 135,000. In other words, 85,000 to 90,000, or somewhere along there. I can say only roughly.

Mr. MUNDT. Under the terms of those temporary visas it is quite possible that if the war runs along the lines that terminate. Then what happens?

Mr. LONG. They are here illegally after a certain period and are deportable. During the period many of them will probably take advantage of an opportunity to apply for a change of status and reenter the country as permanent immigrants under the quota. They will have to leave the United States and go somewhere else. A number of them have taken advantage of that opportunity. They have gone to Canada, Mexico, and Cuba and have applied for reentry to the United States. The purpose of it, Mr. Congressman, was, in an emergency that was unparalleled in history, to save the lives of human beings. Many of these human beings were brilliant, able leaders of thought. Some were not considered anti-Fascist, but were persecuted. There were literary people and leaders of thought and religious movements and cultural movements; professors in universities, doctors. They were not only the educated leader type, but a lot of people who were just plain human beings and were going to be shot because they had engaged in some kind of activity, or because of their religious beliefs.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like, for the benefit of Mr. Mmidt and the committee, to say that when they come here as visitors and reapply to become immigrants or to be here permanently, they would have to make an application, and that is tried by the Interdepartmental Committee, and if the Interdepartmental Committee finds that they cannot pass all the requirements, after investigation by five members of each committee, State, War, Navy, and Intelligence, then if they are granted an application to reapply they must come in under the quota. None of these people come in permanently as immigrants.

Mr. LONG. You are right.

The CHAIRMAN. They must come in here, and then in order to do so.

Mr. LONG (interposing). They would be given a temporary refuge.

The CHAIRMAN. And then they can come back as immigrants.
Mr. Long: They might go to Mexico for the duration of the war, and then go on home. They are here as temporary persons.

Mr. Munds: How often can their stay be extended?

Mr. Long: It has to be actually extended, and it is always within the discretion of the Government to refuse additional extension, at which time the person becomes illegally here.

Mr. Munds: You stated that the Nazi Army within the last 6 months had gone into Poland and shot down people and killed them off, and had stolen their homes and houses. Is that shooting and killing limited to Jews only?

Mr. Long: No. They were not Jews at all. They were Polish citizens who were non-Jewish. That information was given to us formally by the Polish Ambassador.

Mr. Munds: Does the fact that Russia is not on this Intergovernmental Committee serve as a handicap in any way to the successful escape and evacuation of Jews trapped in Nazi countries?

Mr. Long: Russia has been cooperating with us, long before there was an Intergovernmental Committee, and it was partly through her collaboration that people came over the Caucasian Mountains, and she has made homes for them and has really treated them very well. Of course there have been limitations upon Russia's ability to treat them with the same hospitality as other countries. She has been engaged in terrible experiences during most of the course of the war, but she has been receptive to them and has offered them such hospitality as she was able to give.

Mr. Munds: In the beginning of the war there was a large number of political refugees in France. What happened to them?

Mr. Long: It is hard to say. A good many of them have got over into Africa. A good many have gone into Mexico.

Mr. Munds: Are there any manifestations of anti-Semitism in Spain?

Mr. Long: I do not know what the attitude of that Government is; but their cooperation with us has been, I would say, very generous. I think that may be the wrong word, but they have collaborated and permitted the entry into Spain and their residence in Spain under assurances that we were trying to take care of somewhere else.

Mr. Long: I say that they should have the right to return to their homelands after the war.

Mr. Munds: The thing I was speaking about was this, that after the war, after a lot of people's minds have been poisoned, I do not think you have solved the Jewish question if it came to the reason why these Palestine movements have gotten into these hearings to the extent they have. There has to be some community acceptance, and it is going to be pretty hard by a treaty of peace to return them and say, "Treat them right," because there are many ways that you can discriminate against them in peacetime.
Of interest along that line I might state two things. It has been proposed that the Intergovernmental Committee establish agencies of its own abroad and we have sent that proposal to the Intergovernmental Committee with our endorsement that they do so, which will bring the direct gangua of this organization into wider fields.

Mr. MUNDT. Another statement made by a witness before the committee this week, of which I was somewhat skeptical, was this. He said that this resolution was necessary in order to force the admission of the Jews to Palestine after they had escaped from Europe, and the Chairman and he had some controversy about that. But he said there was a shipload of Jews from Turkey to Palestine that had been turned back, and after they were turned back the ship struck a mine or was hit by a torpedo, and all on board were murdered. Do you have any record of that?

Mr. LONG. There was a ship in 1941 which approached Istanbul. I do not know whether it ever got there or not. The boat was rerouted back, and something happened in the Black Sea, and I think the boat was destroyed and there was only one survivor.

Mr. MUNDT. Why was it turned back?

Mr. LONG. I do not remember now all the details of it. I could look it up, Mr. Mundt, and have you advised. It never passed Istanbul.

Mr. MUNDT. The chances are the boat was turned back?

Mr. LONG. It never got to Palestine. It never got through the straits.

Mr. MUNDT. Was the boat simply trying to get to Palestine?

Mr. LONG. It was trying to get out of the Black Sea through the straits, the Dardanelles.

Mr. MUNDT. In other words, the failure of the boat to arrive safely at some port was in no way due to the failure of the Intergovernmental Committee?

Mr. LONG. No; it was before the United States got into the war and before the Intergovernmental Committee was very active. The boat was blown up in the Black Sea, east of the Dardanelles. It was a terrible thing to happen, but it was one of those things that do happen.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain for the benefit of Mr. Mundt and the committee the geographical location, so that we will all have an idea of it?

Mr. LONG. The Dardanelles separate Turkey into two parts, one very small part in which Istanbul is located. The other portion of Turkey is in the continent of Asia. Turkey retains jurisdiction over those straits. She owns both sides of them.

Mr. MUNDT. The witness led us to believe that a commission such as would be formed by this resolution would prevent that kind of thing. I do not see how it possibly could.

Mr. LONG. It could not prevent a boat hitting a mine or a hostile submarine from shooting it. The boat exploded; I do not think anybody knows why. I remember the incident. There may be other incidents that I do not know about, but I do remember that one.

Mr. MUNDT. With reference to the negotiations which have so far failed, but which I believe one of your associates said are still going on in an effort to have 100,000 children rehabilitated by taking them to neutral countries, namely, Switzerland and others, and to feed them and treat them well for 2 or 3 months and then return them back to occupied Europe, are those 100,000 children to be selected exclusively from Jews, or are they to include children who are French and Dutch, for instance?

Mr. LONG. They are children of all groups and nationalities to be selected because of their physical condition. The Nazi children would not be included. It would not include German children. The Germans have taken food from those other countries and their children have it.

Mr. MUNDT. I appreciate your reticence in offering suggestions to the committee in connection with this resolution, and I think it is judicious. But we have got this hot poker on the table and we must dispose of it in the most diplomatic and effective manner. Simply to pass it as such, I infer from what you stated earlier, might be considered a criticism of the efforts which have been made to date, and simply to turn it down might be an implication to the Jews of Europe and this country that this committee is cold-hearted in its consideration of the problem.

I have in mind offering an amendment, Mr. Secretary, to this resolution, which would make it applicable to all refugees and persecuted peoples in groups, regardless of nationality, and I wondered if, from the standpoint of the State Department, you would find any objection to such a proposed amendment.

Mr. LONG. Mr. Mundt, the State Department has maintained that attitude all through, but the situation has come to a state of publicity today where I think the Jewish interests have emphasized the fate of the Jews as such; and while the Department has maintained all along the policy which you state, and, I think, must continue to maintain the policy, as far as the Department is concerned, unless the Congress directs otherwise—of course we will conform to whatever law Congress passes—the State Department's policy I think must be that we cannot exclude persons from our sympathy and our sympathetic attention if they are not Jews. I think we must treat all persons, irrespective of their race, religion, or political beliefs, in the same way; but I do think that the situation has arrived today, as evidenced by the fact that this committee is considering this matter formally, where something definite ought to be said concerning the Jews.

Mr. MUNDT. I gather from your very splendid discourse on what the committee has been doing that it has operated regardless of creed or religion, straight down the line, which I think is splendid. I have this confidence, Mr. Long, and if I am wrong I want to be straightened out on it. As a general policy for this country it is not good practice for us to establish a precedent, or if the precedent is already established, to emphasize it, whereby we pass legislation which singles out groups of people by their religion, or by their color or their faith, or their political affiliations, either for special consideration or for special penalty. It seems to me that that would be treading a pretty dangerous path. It is sort of doing the Hitler thing in reverse. The repercussions at home, at least, are bound to be insidious if we engage too much in that sort of thing. For that reason I have studied long

RESOLVE OF JEWS AND OTHERS IN NAZI-Occupied TERRITORY
and studiously on this resolution to see whether it could not be couched in such language that it would avoid what I believe is a dangerous practice. If I am utterly wrong in that, I should be happy to bow to your more mature experience in that connection; but I would like to know why I am wrong, and have you explore my conviction if it is erroneous.

Mr. Long. Mr. Munde, I appreciate the compliment you pay me.

Mr. Johnson. But—

Mr. Long. No, not "but." It is "and"—I appear here as an officer of the Department of State, appearing before your committee. If I were just Breckinridge Long you probably would not invite me to come up.

The Chairman. I would.

Mr. Long. Well, I appear before you as an officer of the Department of State, and I belong to the executive branch of the Government. We do not try to tell the Congress of the United States what its policy should be. Congress fixes policy. Laws are the definition of policy.

Mr. Munde. But as a representative of the Government we are in the legislative branch, and we are not so far removed that we could not advise one another. We certainly welcome your counsel on a diplomatic question like this, which I think also has the possibilities of a long-range effect at home as well as abroad. We are all trying to do the thing that is best in this job.

Mr. Long. I think I might repeat the words I used a little further back, when I said that this was a very serious moment in the history of the refugee movement, in the deliberations of your committee and my office.

Mr. Richards. Do you consider that the passage of this resolution would help the plight of the Jewish refugees? Do you think so personally?

Mr. Long. That is a very difficult question to answer. I am sure the resolution was introduced with the intent of being of assistance. I am sure the Department of State has viewed this whole refugee problem from the point of view of being of assistance. I am sure that we all have the same thing in mind. It is only a question of the instrumentality to be used in effectuating the purposes of humanity. It is only a question of the choice of instrumentality.

The Chairman. Is that all, Mr. Munde?

Mr. Munde. Not quite. We are approaching the termination of it. In work of this kind I think your Department and your committee has done a perfectly grand job. I am gratifyingly surprised in what you have accomplished, because witnesses had certainly led me up to now to think that Congress should step into the breach. It seems to me now that you are doing everything possible and feasible in that connection, and that the President's statement and Mr. Hull's statement in this document are vindicated by the evidence. It seems to me, also, that if the work is to continue successfully, the less we advise the Nazis about what our plans are the more likely are to succeed. I wonder if you can see any possibility that the passage of a resolution of this kind and the establishment of a formal commission specifically instructed, as it has been in this resolution, to set up havens of refuge to aid people to escape from Europe, might not just serve as a sort of advance notice to the Germans that if they intend to exterminate the Jews they better intensify their efforts and go right on with the job. It may redound to the disadvantage of the Jew instead of to his advantage. Is there such a possibility?

Mr. Long. That is one of the theories that you have to follow and eventually reach a decision. You must keep in mind the consequences of the action of this body.

Mr. Munde. Is it a plausible theory?

Mr. Long. That I do not know. I would be very glad if I could say yes or no, Mr. Munde. It might do good; it might do serious harm.

Mr. Munde. I have only one other question, and it is another attempt to get from you an evaluation of the situation.

After I had suggested in open committee at our last meeting that I intended offering such an amendment as I have discussed previously, a committee of people who had been witnesses here called upon me and said, "I wish you would not offer that amendment, for this reason. Every persecuted group in Europe today has an official body of representatives some place among the United Nations. There is a refugee government in Poland; there is a refugee government in Norway," and so forth and so forth. And they said, "The Jewish people have no official governmental body or refugee government representing them; and this resolution would establish an official Jewish representative body"—which, it seems to me, must imply that that group we are to succeed.

Mr. Richards. Do you consider that the passage of this resolution would help the plight of the Jewish refugees? Do you think so personally?

Mr. Long. That is a very difficult question to answer. I am sure the resolution was introduced with the intent of being of assistance. I am sure the Department of State has viewed this whole refugee problem from the point of view of being of assistance. I am sure that we all have the same thing in mind. It is only a question of the instrumentality to be used in effectuating the purposes of humanity. It is only a question of the choice of instrumentality.
stateless Jews, who are deprived of their citizenship in the countries in which they live. However, those persons are being taken into other countries, and if they desire they can become a part of other countries and become citizens of other countries. They can be here. They have an opportunity to be here just like anybody else is here, through regular and due processes of the law. They can become citizens of the United States as such, and even without being citizens of the United States they can confer with you and with any member at this table, and they can make known their beliefs, their notings, their desires. They can contribute to the formation of policy. They can contribute to the election of Members of Congress and make known their views through the representative system. I cannot answer for other governments, but I am sure that I speak the situation as it exists in this country.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rogers?

Mr. ROGERS. I want to thank you very much, Mr. Secretary, for your statement. I came into this room rather recently, but I know some of the work that you have done. There has been an impression around that the State Department and the Intergovernmental Committee had not been active; and I think that is false and fallacious. I think a statement such as you have just made, if it could be printed, and in those parts which you feel could not be said openly, should be deleted, but some part of it could be known to the general public; it would do a great deal toward allying fears. I think it is an excellent statement and an excellent record and one which you and this country should be proud of and one which, if you feel it can be said openly, should be published. I do not envy you your position. I know that it is very difficult. When people get frantic they go to all sorts of extremes. Their friends or relatives, they feel, are under the machine guns and they bring all sorts of pressure to bear. It seems to me you have been doing your best and the people here have certainly been doing their best; and it is unfortunate that pressure should exist between those that you are trying to save and people that are doing their utmost to save them.

I would like to correct a few impressions if I can about this resolution. It was introduced to be helpful. It is in no sense to be construed as being critical of past actions. It was simply that I and others felt that with the imminent collapse, we hope, of Germany the satellites would be more willing to cooperate now than they were before; that our prestige with the neutrals must be greater now than it was before; that there was a possibility for redoubled action, and a chance that if any request was made it would be thoroughly in keeping and in line with the idea that everything that had been done in the past was all that should have been done.

But now we have additional opportunity. It may be false, but it did appear to me that there was a chance for additional effort both to get people out and to take additional steps.

The work of the Intergovernmental Committee has been excellent. Of all that you have said I was most pleased, I would say, with the fact that they are going to establish offices and that there is hope or possibility of the establishment of offices. That has been one of the difficulties. We have never known in the past exactly where to go. There is no regular Intergovernmental Committee with an office, or none that I know of. In England, when I was there, they were just beginning to set it up. I think if there was one particular place through which all these frantic efforts could be canalized, one place that you could show them, and if there were branch offices, it would be a great forward step.

About some of these questions, especially that Mr. Mundt spoke of, in my opinion—and I wish you would correct me if I am wrong—those are post-war problems. The Rehabilitation Commission is going to have a difficult task. One of their jobs is going to be to take the resettlement of the Jewish and non-Jewish. I do not envy them that job, but I do not think that is a function of the Intergovernmental Committee at all. Am I correct in that?

Mr. LONG. If the Rehabilitation Administration was not doing it the Intergovernmental Committee probably would.

Mr. ROGERS. But it is assumed that the Rehabilitation Administration will eventually take it over in the future, just as it was assumed and hoped that it would take over the function of this little commission. As I understand it, when a refugee has escaped he comes under the jurisdiction of the Intergovernmental Committee. If he gets across the border and the Intergovernmental Committee can help him, it will. If he happens to be a refugee a year or so after the war is over and he comes under the jurisdiction of the Rehabilitation Administration, the function of this Commission was to try to get him out before he could come under the normal jurisdiction or notice of the Intergovernmental Committee.

It may be that if the Intergovernmental Committee does set up these offices it can actually start to take such steps as we would envision with this Commission, and it may be that that might not be necessary if the Intergovernmental Committee will have sufficient authority and power to try and save people in advance of becoming refugees.

But another one of the difficulties in treating with the Jewish problem is that they are not exactly refugees; they are potential refugees, and it is difficult to deal with them because they are not yet outside of the country.

There are really no questions that I want to ask. I just thought that your statement was a fine and brilliant exposition of a very complicated subject, and I do commend for your consideration the thought of having a part of the story printed, certainly as regards the set-up of the different organizations. I think that would be most helpful.

I would like to again express the fact that this resolution is not in any sense critical of past actions. I do not think it should be interpreted as being critical of past actions. It was introduced with the idea of supplementing past actions at a time when we thought future action would be possibly more helpful than it would have been 6 months ago.

Do you feel that there is a better chance? Is this supposition correct, that as we get nearer to winning the war there is a better chance of getting people out?

Mr. LONG. There is no apparent disposition on the part of the German Government to let anybody out.

Mr. ROGERS. How about the satellite governments?

Mr. LONG. They are not permitted by the German army. German control is exercised throughout all those countries. They are not
of the Jewish opportunity arose they could use it through the International Red Cross to buy food to take care of certain remnants of the Jewish population in parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland; that there were still extant these remnants and they were going to starve unless they could leave, and would we be willing to endorse it? I said, "Of course; they said it would cost about $10,000,000. I said, "All right; if you can get the project set up and go before the Intergovernmental Committee with the assurance that the International Red Cross can handle it, so that it does not fall into the hands of the German Government and the supplies sent in there will not be taken by the German Government we will be glad to approve it and to forward it as far as we can, and we will recommend it to the Treasury." They wanted to put up $2,000,000 and send a first amount of $250,000. I asked them to make an application to the Treasury, which they have already done. We are supporting the application to the Treasury, so as to have money there in case of necessity which the Intergovernmental Committee can approve. We have agreed to finance half of the cost. It would be $4,000,000 for each government if we are required to spend as much as $10,000,000—$2,000,000 from the United States, $4,000,000 underwritten by the American Government, and $4,000,000 by the British Government to finance this project.

Mr. Rogers. Is there any office of the Intergovernmental Committee any place other than in London?

Mr. Long. No. That is the seat of the committee.

Mr. Rogers. They have no branch office?

Mr. Long. They have not up to now, but we have made that proposal to them.

Mr. Rogers. How many members are there that are active on it?

Mr. Long. I know there must be some.

Mr. Long. There are 29 members that are active. The executive committee is composed of a smaller number. I might as well give you the names, just to show you that it is not a fly-by-night organization.

Mr. Rogers. Do any private contributions come to the Intergovernmental Committee?

Mr. Long. They can. I will give you another incident. One of the Jewish agencies came to us the other day and said they would like to get a clearance from the Treasury to send some money over to Switzerland so that, under the instrumentality of the Intergovernment Committee, they could have money there so that when the opportunity arose they could use it through the International Red Cross to buy food to take care of certain remnants of the Jewish population in parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland; that there were still extant these remnants and they were going to starve unless they could leave, and would we be willing to endorse it? I said, "Of course; they said it would cost about $10,000,000. I said, "All right; if you can get the project set up and go before the Intergovernmental Committee with the assurance that the International Red Cross can handle it, so that it does not fall into the hands of the German Government and the supplies sent in there will not be taken by the German Government we will be glad to approve it and to forward it as far as we can, and we will recommend it to the Treasury." They wanted to put up $2,000,000 and send a first amount of $250,000. I asked them to make an application to the Treasury, which they have already done. We are supporting the application to the Treasury, so as to have money there in case of necessity which the Intergovernmental Committee can approve. We have agreed to finance half of the cost. It would be $4,000,000 for each government if we are required to spend as much as $10,000,000—$2,000,000 from the United States, $4,000,000 underwritten by the American Government, and $4,000,000 by the British Government to finance this project.

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Mr. Rogers. I think Mr. Malin is an excellent man and a very fine, high-class person. Is he the only paid person on the executive committee?

Mr. Long. I am not sure of that. There are several others.

Mr. Rogers. Just one last word about Switzerland. I have spoken to some people about Switzerland, and they felt that if it were possible to have a committee constantly in Switzerland it would be very very helpful. Switzerland has more refugees than she can afford. If we can get Switzerland the assurance that after the war these refugees will no longer be a burden on her, and if we had some committee to cooperate with her—

Mr. Long (interposing). We are giving assurances to Switzerland, and did not only before the war, but during the war and offering her assistance. How are we going to send a committee into Switzerland?

Mr. Rogers. You can fly in.

Mr. Long. I do not think you can.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. Jonkman. I want to thank you, Mr. Secretary, for your very fine, comprehensive statement. I want to say that it has only driven home a conviction which I have felt that this committee is on the horns of a dilemma that Mr. Mundt has referred to as a hot poker. Mr. Rogers tells us, and I believe him absolutely, that the Palestine question is in everyone's mind in connection with this resolution, and three witnesses who appeared before us apparently, from their testimony, did have it in mind. So I do not think we can get away from the fact, and I think you have intimated that, that if we pass this resolution we are putting a club in the hands of certain people to accomplish something that was not intended by the resolution.

Mr. Long. I have not intimated that. I am sorry, but you are not attributing that to my statement, I hope.

Mr. Jonkman. No, not that part, but the situation is there. I think it is also true, if you read the resolution, that while that also is disclaimed, it might be read as a repudiation or criticism of work that has already been done by the Administration. There are a number of things against the resolution, in my mind, and yet I think you also said that it would be difficult for us to turn it down, and with that I agree. I was inclined to go along with Mr. Mundt and see if we could not make it somewhat broader by taking in the other oppressed peoples. It seems to me that would in itself amount to a repudiation.

Personally, I feel that what we need here is diplomacy, at which you and your associates are experts.

Suppose, under the second paragraph of the resolution, we say:

Whereas under the American tradition of justice and humanity, all possible means, under existing facilities, have been employed to save from this fate

And then, as the last paragraph—

Resolved, That the House of Representatives recommends and urges the consideration of the creation by the President of a commission of diplomatic, economic, and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action designed to save the surviving Jewish people.

Do you think that would be acceptable to the State Department and to the administration?

Mr. Long. I have not consulted my colleagues, but it seems to me it is simply putting the problem into the President's lap in a way which is just asking him to consider it.

Mr. Voris. It is in a way.

Mr. Jonkman. It seems to me that would meet the objection of those who are sincerely for this resolution, and it would seem to me it would not put the administration into an uncomfortable position. In other words, instead of recommending and urging the creation of a commission, we are recommending and urging the consideration of the creation of it.

Mr. Long. It is a question for the committee. It is a legislative matter.

Mr. Jonkman. I am aware of that, but I was just trying to get your reaction. I have only had one, and that was that we were passing the buck.

Mr. Long. I did not use that language. But that would not be coming to a decision by this committee. Of course that is the status in which it has been all along up to this morning, when I have related to the members of the committee all of the history of the matter in brief. But the Department of State, acting under the direction of the President, has carried on this activity, and the movement has not come to the Congress heretofore. It has been purely a matter of administration activity. Now the attention of the Congress is focused upon another proposal, and it is a question of whether that proposal would be considered a criticism or repudiation of all of the things which the Executive has done, or if it does not take the steps indicated in the resolution, will it somehow reflect upon our Jewish friends whom we have been trying to help, and making it more difficult for them by being practically a repudiation of their cause.

Mr. Murphy. I can go along with your reasoning there, very well, Mr. Secretary, but the passage of the resolution in its present form, in conjunction with the hearings, would certainly lead the critics of the administration and many impartially minded people to consider it an indictment or criticism or repudiation of the administration's efforts heretofore. I cannot follow the rest of the suggestion, however, that that being true, if we pass it or if we do not pass it, we are throwing cold water on the hopes of the Jewish people. I would think we could write into it some such language as that after hearing various witnesses, including the distinguished representative of the State Department now before us, the committee feels that the establishment of additional machinery is unnecessary, and everything feasible to be done is being done, and in that way there would be neither criticism of the administration nor throwing cold water on the hopes of those particularly interested in the problem.

Mr. Long. I was not speaking from the political point of view. It was only the possible harm it might do to the persons who would be the beneficiaries.

Mr. Murphy. If I thought it would be purely a matter of politics I would be for it a hundred percent.

Mr. Long. I take it that the members of the committee can work something out in the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that that can be left to the committee in executive session.
Mr. WADSWORTH. I hope, Mr. Secretary, that we have not tired you out.
Mr. Alfange, the first witness in support of this resolution, in a
cautiously prepared statement read in a public hearing, made it perfectly
plain that he regarded the failure of the Government of the United
States in this field to be disgraceful. That was the general tenor of
his remarks. I think the efforts of our Government are to be highly
commended, and I am glad to hear the story.

Notwithstanding the alleged embarrassments, perhaps I do not take
them quite as seriously as some other people; but let us assume
that there are some embarrassments here. You read to the committee
a few moments ago, Mr. Secretary, the terms of the mandate of the
Intergovernmental Committee. I think you took about a minute,
did you not?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will you read it again? It was the document
which you denounced as the mandate.

Mr. LONG. That is part of the document which has been under the
agreement with the British Government considered secret.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will you read it again?

Mr. LONG. I will read from it (reading):

The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee is hereby em-
powered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral and Allied
states and organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve,
and maintain, and transport those persons displaced from their homes by their efforts
to escape from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of
their race, religion, or political beliefs. The operation of the committee shall
extend to all countries from which refugees come as a result of the war in Europe
or in which they may find refuge. The Executive Committee shall be empowered
to receive and disburse for the purposes enumerated above funds both public
and private.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Is that secret?

Mr. LONG. It is secret.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I regret it.

Mr. LONG. I am sorry that it is, and perhaps we can arrange to get
it released. This new mandate is being circulated amongst the sub-
scribing governments. We have agreed, the British have agreed.

Mr. WADSWORTH. If it is signed by a considerable number, a clear
majority of the member governments, to me it is a complete answer to
this whole problem, so far as the action of the Congress of the United
States is concerned. It is a complete answer. Whether or not the
executive branch of the Government and the representatives of other
governments would believe that a thing of that sort should not be
made public to the world, I do not know. I realize that a good deal
of this work in rescuing these people must be under cover, in view of
the ironclad obstinacy of the German Government where many
people are doing their best to prevent people to escape; but it must be
a matter of common knowledge that there is an Intergovernmental
Committee and it must be a matter of common knowledge that the
only function of that Intergovernmental Committee is to help refugees.

I think the expressions used in that mandate are so clear, so definite,
so vigorous that, if made public it would bring reassurance and do
away with all these embarrassments that we sit here and talk about.

Mr. LONG. Mr. Wadsworth, if it would comport with your idea I
would be glad to initiate this afternoon, by telegram, the question of
the release of this document to make it public as soon as we have
agreement with the essential governments.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In my judgment, Mr. Secretary, such action, if
it could be brought about, would clear this table, and our committee,
in my humble judgment, could rest its case for failure to act affirma-
tively on any specific resolution upon the declaration which you have
read to us.

Mr. LONG. The committee might paraphrase its understanding of
the contents of the document.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes. We might write a report which would be
substantially submitted to you and the appropriate officials of the State Department,
and it might throw further light on this matter.

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly.

Mr. VORYS. It seems to me it would be a great pity if our embar-
rassment because of some resolution should require the making public
of some statement which I can well see many good reasons for keeping
secret. I can see repercussions in this country at the publication of
the mandate which would not be altogether helpful. I can see many
reasons why it has been far better to keep the deliberations and
activities secret since the Bermuda Conference, in addition to military
reasons, and I would question whether we would help those situations
by urging the other governments to make public any statement at
this time.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is something that our own State Depart-
ment can do. The other governments can decide for themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I am a member of the Bermuda Conference, and
the Secretary will bear me out in this. It was specifically under-
stood down there that nothing should be given out by any govern-
ment until it was agreed upon and given out simultaneously by the
other governments.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we have to contend with. Nobody
knows what the Bermuda Conference has done. I agree with Mr.
Wadsworth that if it could go out, if that statement were made
public, it would answer the entire question.

Mr. JOHNSON. It strikes me, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth has the floor.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have nothing further.

Mr. JOHNSON. It strikes me that Mr. Wadsworth's position is
sound, but I cannot agree with Mr. Vory's suggestion that there
might be adverse effects by giving publicity to this. That is basic,
of course, upon the assumption that Mr. Long can get permission to
release it. I understand that all agreements that are pending are not
released until the governments involved pass upon them.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. Could not this committee draw the conclusion
that powers had been given to this committee without making a
quotation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that could be done. I wanted the country
of India to know that the very purpose sought to be accomplished by the
commission here proposed to be created is already being carried out by
an agency of not only the United States but 31 other countries, and
that is the most effective way in which to deal with it. The very purpose of this mandate is to try to do the job by eliminating entirely the question of the necessity for legislation.

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I make one more statement. I can well understand your hesitancy in making any affirmative suggestions as to the wording of the resolution or the deletion of phrases. Obviously your hesitancy is well founded. But may I say to you that in our contacts with other representatives of the State Department there have been exchanges of views as to phraseology and expressions across the table in executive session, the representatives of the Department indicating that some of our suggestions were worthy of consideration and perhaps, in their judgment, subject to further study and should be inserted in the instrument. An outstanding case of that was a long conference around this table with Dean Acheson and Mr. Sayre, in which we were shown the then secret draft of the international agreement for relief and rehabilitation. We discussed nearly every sentence in it. We made certain suggestions. No votes were taken. Before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate a similar discussion was held, and many weeks afterward the final draft was agreed upon by the State Department and others interested, and it was brought to us and shown to us, and several of our recommendations had been incorporated, and it was going out to all nations for signature.

I cite that, Mr. Secretary, to indicate that this committee—and I am sure I am speaking the truth—is anxious to cooperate closely with you and the State Department.

Mr. LONG. That is what I like.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. May I ask the Secretary whether it is not correct that our State Department participated in the phrasing and wording of the mandate which he read at the suggestion of Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I want to say, in connection with my proposed amendment and my series of questions to you, that I am highly gratified by the wording of that mandate, which it seems to me excludes entirely the things which I stated I had convictions about and feared as an American policy of singling out individual groups. It seems to me that that phraseology, that wording, completely covers all the subject matter of this resolution, and that there cannot be any possible adverse repercussions. I want to join with Mr. Wadsworth in saying that I hope you will initiate telegrams and see whether the other countries will agree to use the words and the phrases of that document. I entirely disagree with my good friend here that that could have any serious repercussions if they all agreed to publish it. I think that is a perfect answer to the dilemma in which we all find ourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I knew that the members of the committee would be very glad if the Secretary could give a little information.

We thank you very much for appearing here, and I am very sorry that we have taken up so much of your time.

I also want to thank the gentlemen who came with you, Mr. Brandt Mr. Travers, Mr. Reams, and Mr. Kupinger. All of those gentlemen are very much interested in this refugee problem. If you gentlemen do not know them you ought to go up and get acquainted with them.

Mr. LONG. I would like to thank the members of the committee for their long-suffering courtesy, and I would like you to feel, collectively and individually, that I am always at your service, and I would like to feel, as Mr. Wadsworth says, that we are on the same team.

(Whereupon, at 2:05 p.m., the committee adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)
RESCUE OF THE JEWISH AND OTHER PEOPLES IN NAZI-OCUPIED TERRITORY

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

OCTOBER 30, 1942.

In commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of the Balfour Declaration by the British Government on November 2, 1917, a memorandum was presented to the Secretary of State by a group of rabbis. Secretary Hull observed that the Balfour Declaration had aroused wide attention in the United States, and that this country had followed with interest and sympathy the work which had been done under it, in which American citizens have played a useful part. He added:

This country was shocked and outraged when tyranny and barbarity again commenced their march, at the brutality which was inflicted on certain races, and particularly on the Jewish populations of Europe. Apparently no form of abuse has been too great, and no form of torture or oppression too vile, to be meted out to these populations by the Nazi despots. And, in taking this attitude towards the Jewish race, they have made it plain by concrete acts that a like attitude would be taken towards any other race against whom they might invent a grievance.

The Jews have long sought a refuge. I believe that we must have an even wider objective; we must have a world in which Jews, like every other race, are free to abide in peace and in honor.

We meet today when the battle for freedom is being carried on in the East and in the West and our every effort is concentrated on a successful issue. We can with confidence look forward to the victory when liberty shall lift the scourge of persecution and the might of the United Nations free mankind from the threat of oppression.

Of all the inhuman and tyrannical acts of Hitler and his Nazi lieutenants, their systematic persecution of the Jewish people—men, women, and children—is the most debased. The fate of these unhappy people must be ever before us in the efforts we are making today for the final victory; at the moment of triumph under the terms of the Atlantic Charter the United Nations will be prepared not only to redeem their hopes of a future world based upon freedom, equality, and justice, but to create a world in which such a tragedy will not again occur.

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DECEMBER 17, 1942.

The attention of the Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslav Governments and also of the French National Committee has been drawn to numerous reports from Europe that the German authorities, not content with denying to persons of Jewish race in all the territories over which their barbarous rule has been
extended, the most elementary human rights, are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe. From all the occupied countries Jews are being transported in conditions of appalling horror and brutality to eastern Europe. In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughter-house, the ghettos established by the German invaders are being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for war industries. None of those taken away is ever heard of again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to death in labor camps. The infirm are left to die of exposure and starvation or are deliberately massacred in mass executions. The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women, and children.

The above-mentioned Governments and the French National Committee condemn in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination. They declare that such events can only strengthen the resolve of all freedom-loving peoples to overthrow the barbarous Hitlerite tyranny. They reaffirm their solemn resolution to insure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end.

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**DEPARTMENT OF STATE,**  
**Washington, March 3, 1943.**

The following is the text of a note delivered to the British Government by the Secretary of State on February 25, 1943:

**FEBRUARY 25, 1943.**

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the British Ambassador and has the honor to refer to the British Embassy's aide memoire of January 20, 1943, relating to the situation of persons fleeing from persecution for religious, racial, and political reasons and to the necessity for intergovernmental relief action in their behalf.

It is evident that the problem of the refugees in question cannot be solved in a satisfactory manner by any one of the governments of the United Nations group nor of the neutral countries. It has been, and is, the traditional policy of this country to seek every available means by which to extend to oppressed and persecuted peoples such assistance as may be found to be feasible and possible under the laws of the United States. In pursuance of that policy, this Government has been and is taking steps to extend assistance in a large measure to those European people who have been subjected to oppression and persecution under the Hitler regime. The measures of assistance afforded have assumed several forms, as follows:

1. Joint and several declarations of official attitude of condemnation of the policies and acts of the Axis Governments and their satellites in oppression or persecution of religious, racial, and political minorities;

2. The appropriation and expenditure of large amounts of public and private funds for the relief of persons in need as a result of oppression and persecution because of their racial origin or religious or political beliefs;

3. The application of the immigration laws of the United States in the utmost liberal and humane spirit of those laws;

4. The calling by the President of the United States of the first Intergovernmental Conference at Evian-London in 1938 for the purpose of seeking a solution of refugee problems. There may be repeated here the statement made in that conference by the Honorable Myron Taylor on behalf of this Government, as follows:

In conclusion, I need not emphasize that the discrimination and pressure against minority groups and the disregard of elementary human rights are contrary to the principles of what we have come to regard as the accepted standards of civilization. We have heard from time to time of the disruptive consequences of the dumping of merchandise upon the world's economy. How much more disturbing is the forced and chaotic dumping of unfortunate peoples in large numbers. Racial and religious problems are, in consequence, rendered more acute in all parts of the world. Economic retaliation against the countries which are responsible for this condition is encouraged. The sentiment of international mistrust and suspicion is heightened, and fear, which is an important obstacle to general appeasement between nations, is accentuated.

The problem is no longer one of purely private concern. It is a problem for intergovernmental action. If the present currents of migration are permitted to continue to push anarchically upon the receiving states and if some governments are to continue to toss large sections of their populations lightly upon a distressed and unprepared world, then there is catastrophic human suffering ahead which can only result in general unrest and in general international strain which will not be conducive to the permanent appeasement to which all peoples earnestly aspire.

At the Evian-London Conference and through the intergovernmental committee which grew out of that conference, this Government exerted its earnest efforts to persuade the various countries represented to provide asylum for as many refugees from the Axis countries as the laws of the several countries would permit. This Government has also approached other countries for the purpose of finding places of settlement for refugees with funds of the United States origin being made available.

5. As shown by the records of the Department of State, from the advent of the Hitler regime in 1933 until June 30, 1942, 547,775 visas were issued by American diplomatic and consular officers to nationals or nationals of the various countries now dominated by the Axis Powers, the great majority of which persons were refugees from Nazi persecution. Of this number 228,964 were issued in the war years 1939-42. Many more than that number of visas were authorized during this latter period, the aliens in whose behalf such authorizations were given having been unable to depart from their places of foreign residence to reach the United States. Yet, of the number actually issued practically all of this statement has sought the friendly assistance of the Government of Switzerland to effect the release from France of such of these children who have not been permitted to leave France for entry into Spain where visas may be issued to them by the American consular officers.

6. Over 5,000 visas were authorized for the admission into the United States of the children or permanent residence here of refugee children coming from France, Spain, and Portugal under arrangements with certain private persons and organizations in the United States for their care. Visas were also authorized for the parents accompanying these children. This Government has sought the friendly assistance of the Government of Switzerland to effect the release from France of such of these children who have not been permitted to leave France for entry into Spain where visas may be issued to them by the American consular officers.

7. Since the entry of the United States into the war, there have been no new restrictions placed by the Government of the United States upon the number of aliens of any nationality permitted to proceed to...
this country under existing laws, except for the more intensive examination of aliens required for security reasons.

8. Considerable sums of money have been made available by the American Red Cross and from other American sources to the American Ambassadors at Madrid for the care of refugees now in Spain pending their evacuation. A number of these refugees have already been removed to north Africa. The continuation of this movement and its extent are dependent upon military considerations.

9. The American Red Cross and other American organizations have provided assistance for refugees who have been able to reach other neutral countries, such as Iran, and have undertaken extended feeding among children, including refugee children, in France.

10. In evacuating refugees to neutral areas, the full influence of the United States diplomatic and consular representatives has been from time to time invoked, not only with the oppressor nations but with any government concerned, on behalf of the refugees.

This Government understands that, in addition to the refugee classes under immediate consideration, the United States has certain undertakings for the care of British evacuees and of prisoners of war. Likewise the Government of the United States has certain similar undertakings, as follows:

1. For the successful prosecution of the war and for hemispheric safety, the Government of the United States has offered to receive dangerous Axis nationals from a number of the American Republics where facilities for the internment or close safeguarding of such Axis nationals do not exist. A considerable number of such Axis nationals have thus been brought to the United States and arrangements are being made for the receipt of more of them.

2. This Government has a number of camps in the United States and more camps are under construction or planned for the internment or detention of civilian enemy aliens. There are being maintained in these camps thousands of such aliens.

3. This Government has also established other camps for prisoners of war which are now in use and in which, by arrangement, there will also be placed large numbers of United Nations prisoners. The accommodation of these prisoners in the United States will leave available abroad considerable quantities of food, clothing, etc., for refugees there which would otherwise be used by those prisoners abroad, while on the other hand, the maintenance of the prisoners in the United States will result in a considerable reduction of supplies available here.

4. There have been set up in the United States a number of relocation centers where approximately 110,000 persons of the Japanese race are being housed and maintained at public expense after removal from vital military areas.

The Government of the United States fully shares the concern expressed by the British Government for the situation of the refugees. It feels, in view of the facts set forth above, that it has been and is making every endeavor to relieve the oppressed and persecuted peoples. In affording asylum to refugees, however, it is and must be bound by legislation enacted by Congress determining the immigration policy of the United States.

The United States is of the opinion that further efforts to solve the problem may best be undertaken through the instrumentality already existing, the executive committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. To this end it may be considered advisable in order to facilitate action by the committee that a preliminary exploration of ways and means be undertaken informally by representatives designated by the Government of the United States and the British Government. Such exploration might be undertaken along the following lines:

A. The refugee problem should not be considered as being confined to persons of any particular race or faith. Nazi measures against minorities have caused the flight of persons of various races and faiths, as well as of other persons because of their political beliefs.

B. Wheresoever practicable, intergovernmental collaboration should be sought in these times of transportation difficulty, shipping shortage, and submarine menace, to the end that arrangements may be determined for temporary asylum for refugees as near as possible to the areas in which those people find themselves at the present time and from which they may be returned to their homelands with the greatest expediency on the termination of hostilities.

C. There should accordingly be considered plans for the maintenance in neutral countries in Europe of those refugees for whose removal provision may not be made. Their maintenance in neutral countries may involve the giving of assurances for their support until they can be repatriated, which support will necessarily come from the United Nations augmented by funds from private sources. It may also involve the giving of assurances in all possible cases by their Governments in exile for their prompt return to their native countries upon the termination of hostilities.

D. The possibilities for the temporary asylum of the refugees, with a view to their repatriation upon the termination of hostilities in countries other than neutral, and their dependencies, should be explored, together with the question of the availability of shipping to effect their movement from Europe.

It is suggested that the British and United States representatives might meet at Ottawa for this preliminary exploration.

[5. Con. Res. 9, 73rd Cong., 1st sess.]

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the American people view with indignation the atrocities inflicted upon the civilian population in the Nazi occupied countries, and especially the mass murder of Jewish men, women, and children; and

Whereas this policy of the Nazis has created a reign of terror, brutality, and extermination in Poland and other countries in Eastern and Central Europe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That these brutal and indefensible outrages against millions of helpless men, women, children and children should be, and are hereby, condemned as unworthy of any nation or any regime which pretends to be civilized.

Resolved further, That the dictates of humanity and honorable conduct in war demand that this inexcusable slaughter and mistreatment shall cease and that it is the sense of this Congress that those
The conference also submitted a plan for an expanded and more efficient intergovernmental organization with increased authority to meet the problems created or likely to arise under war conditions, and which are now being put into effect and others, it is hoped, will soon be possible. It is therefore believed that the practical results of the recommendations submitted by the conference will soon become apparent.

MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE ADDRESSED TO DR. MAX LERNER, CHAIRMAN, PANEL ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, JEWISH CONFERENCE, HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 26, 1943

In reply to your telegram of July 15, 1943, asking a message to the Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe, I am glad to transmit a message from the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, which has my full concurrence. You are aware of the interest of this Government in the terrible condition of the European Jews and of our repeated endeavors to save those who could be saved. These endeavors will not cease until Nazi power is forever crushed.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONVENTION OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

September 9, 1943.

As the delegates to this conference assembled to consider means of alleviating the suffering of the Jewish populations of Europe, I cannot but express my horror at the cruelties visited upon innocent peoples by the Axis authorities in the territories they occupy. The attitude of this Government in regard to these atrocities was ably expressed by the Secretary of State in the statement issued on October 30, 1942, and I wish to emphasize that all feasible measures are being adopted to lessen the sufferings of the persecuted Jews of Europe. I am
confident that the helpful contributions made by American citizens toward the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine will be continued.

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**STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT**

**October 15, 1943.**

I have been informed that the Argentine Government has suspended the publication of Jewish newspapers some of which have been in existence for many years. While this matter is of course one which concerns primarily the Argentine Government and people, I cannot forbear to give expression to my own feeling of apprehension at the taking in this hemisphere of action obviously anti-Semitic in nature and of a character so closely identified with the most repugnant features of Nazi doctrine. I believe that this feeling is shared by the people of the United States and by the people of the other American republics. In this connection I recall that one of the resolutions adopted at the Eighth International Conference of American States at Lima in 1938 set forth that "any persecution on account of racial or religious motives which makes it impossible for a group of human beings to live decently, is contrary to the political and judicial systems of America."

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**DECLARATION OF GERMAN ATROCITIES**

The United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union have received from many quarters evidence of atrocities, massacres, and cold-blooded mass executions which are being perpetrated by the Hitlerite forces in the many countries they have overrun and from which they are now being steadily expelled. The brutalities of Hitlerite domination are no new thing and all the peoples or territories in their grip have suffered from the worst form of government by terror. What is new is that many of these territories are now being redeemed by the advancing armies of the liberating powers and that in their desperation, the recoiling Hitlerite Huns are redoubling their ruthless cruelties. This is now evidenced with particular clearness by monstrous crimes of the Hitlerite on the territory of the Soviet Union which is being liberated from the Hitlerites, and on French and Italian territory.

Accordingly, the aforesaid 3 Allied Powers, speaking in the interests of the 32 (33) United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of their declaration as follows:

At the time of the granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for, or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres, and executions, will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of those liberated countries and of the free governments which will be created therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all those countries having regard especially to the invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece, including Crete and other islands, to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, and Italy.

Thus, the Germans who take part in wholesale shootings of Italian officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian, or Norwegian hostages or of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in the slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in territories of the Soviet Union which are now being swept clear of the enemy, will know that they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged. Let those who have hitherto not imbrued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied Powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.

The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of the major criminals, whose offenses have no particular geographical localization and who will be punished by the joint decision of the governments of the Allies.

(Signed) **ROOSEVELT.**

**STALIN.**

**CHURCHILL.**

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**EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS OF HON. CORDELL HULL, SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE JOINT MEETING OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER 18, 1943**

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The Conference also served as an occasion for a solemn public declaration by the heads of the three governments with regard to the perpetrators of the bestial and abominable crimes committed by the Nazi leaders against the harassed and persecuted inhabitants of occupied territories—against people of all races and religions, among whom Hitler has reserved for the Jews his most brutal wrath. Due punishment will be administered for all these crimes. * * *
RESCUE OF JEWs AND OTHERS IN NAZI-OCCLUDED TERRITORY

APPROPRIATIONS FOR REFUGEE RELIEF

($85,000,000 has been appropriated for refugee relief, of which $60,000,000 has been expended up to the present time)

[Public Resolution—No. 88—76th Congress]
[Chapter 432—3d Session]
[H. J. Res. 541]
JOINT RESOLUTION

Making appropriations for work relief and relief, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941

* * * Sec. 40. (a) The President is hereby authorized through such agency or agencies as he may designate to purchase exclusively in the United States and to transport, and to distribute as hereinafter provided, agricultural, medical, and other supplies for the relief of refugee men, women, and children, who have been driven from their homes or otherwise rendered destitute by hostilities or invasion. When so purchased, such materials and supplies are hereby authorized to be distributed by the President through the American Red Cross or such governmental or other agencies as he may designate.

(b) There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $50,000,000, to be available until June 30, 1941, for carrying out the purposes of this section, including the cost of such purchases, the transportation to point of distribution, and distribution, administrative, and other costs, but not including any administrative expense incurred by any nongovernmental agency.

(c) Any governmental agency so designated to aid in the purchase, transportation or distribution of any such materials and supplies may expend any sums allocated to it for such designated purposes without regard to the provisions of any other Act. * * *

Approved, June 26, 1940.

[Public Law 150—77th Congress]
[Chapter 273—1st Session]
[H. R. 5166]
AN ACT

Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes

REFUGEES RELIEF

* * * The unexpended balance of the appropriation of $50,000,000 for relief of refugees rendered destitute by hostilities or invasion contained in section 40 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1941, is hereby continued available until June 30, 1942. * * *

Approved, July 3, 1941.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOREIGN WAR RELIEF

* * * To enable the President through such agency or agencies as he may designate to purchase exclusively in the United States and to transport, and to distribute as hereinafter provided, medical, agricultural, and other supplies for the relief of men, women, and children, who have been rendered sick or destitute as a result of hostilities or invasion, fiscal year 1942, $35,000,000, including the cost of such purchases, the transportation to point of distribution, and distribution, administrative and other costs, but not including any administrative expense incurred by any nongovernmental agency: Provided, That when so purchased, such materials and supplies are hereby authorized to be distributed by the President through the American Red Cross or such governmental or other agencies as he may designate: Provided further, That any governmental agency so designated to aid in the purchase, transportation, or distribution of any such materials and supplies may expend any sums allocated to it for such designated purposes without regard to the provisions of any other Act. * * *

Approved, December 17, 1941.

[Public Law 645—77th Congress]
[Chapter 476—2d Session]
[H. R. 7292]
AN ACT

Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, and for other purposes

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOREIGN WAR RELIEF

* * * The unexpended balance of the appropriation of $50,000,000 for relief of refugees rendered destitute by hostilities or invasion, contained in section 40 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1941, and the appropriation of $35,000,000 for foreign war relief, contained in the Third Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1942, are hereby consolidated and made one fund effective as of December 17, 1941, which fund shall be available until June 30, 1943, for all the objects and purposes of such consolidated appropriations. * * *

Approved, July 2, 1942.
[PUBLIC LAW 132—78TH CONGRESS]
[CHAPTER 218—1ST SESSION]
[H. R. 2714]
AN ACT
Making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations
for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for prior fiscal years, and for
other purposes.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOREIGN WAR RELIEF

* * * The appropriation "Foreign war relief" contained in the
Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1942, is hereby continued
available until June 30, 1944. * * *
Approved July 12, 1943.

(H. Res. 352, shown below, is similar to H. Res. 350 and S. Res. 203.)

[H. Res. 352, 78th Cong., 1st sess.]
RESOLUTION
Providing for the establishment by the Executive of a commission to effectuate
the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe

Whereas the Congress of the United States, by concurrent resolution
adopted on March 15 of this year, expressed its condemnation of
Nazi Germany's "mass murder of Jewish men, women, and children",
a mass crime which has already exterminated close to two million
human beings, about 30 per centum of the total Jewish population of
Europe and which is growing in intensity as Germany approaches
defeat; and

Whereas the American tradition of justice and humanity dictates
that all possible means be employed to save from this fate the surviving
Jews of Europe, some four million souls who have been rendered
homeless and destitute by the Nazis: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives recommends and
urges the creation by the President of a commission of diplomatic,
economic, and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of
immediate action designed to save the surviving Jewish people of
Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany.
HUMBERTO, Licenciado Alberto
ANAYA, Ing. Norberto
PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE: ASSEMBLY AGAINST
NAZI-FASCIST TERROR
Mexico City, Mexico
Feb. 6, 1943.

Translations attached: Luis Noya, Mexico City, Mexico; Antonio Mije,
Deputy last Spanish Parliament, Mexico City, Mexico; Gómez, Nezami, Jover, Cepeda,
Durán, Antonio Galindez, Ciudad Trujillo, L. A. Request that thousands of
Spanish Republican refugees and international combatants who are in prisons and
concentration camps in North Africa be set free; protest the consultation of
Franco Govt. in re matter.

Referred by memo, 2/11/43, to the Sec'y of State.

SER: 4706  
ilo
ATENEO REPUBLICANO ESPAÑOL
Bogota, Colombia
Feb. 7, 1943.

Tel. to the President, urging him to authorize the liberation of Spanish Republicans confined in concentration camps in North Africa. — On 2/16/43 memo for the State Dept.: "To handle. F. D. R."
Wise, Dr. Stephen S.,
American Jewish Congress,
New York, N.Y.
March 4, 1943

Wrote to the President re tragic fate which has overtaken the Jewish people in Nazi-occupied Europe. Encloses copy of "Resolution Adopted at 'Stop Hitler Now' Demonstration, Madison Square Garden, March 1, 1943". On 3/8/43 the President transmitted the above by memo to the Under Secretary of State for preparation of reply. On 3/22/43 Mr. Welles wrote to the President, submitting the requested draft of reply, and in this connection enclosing a copy of the State Department's press release of March 3, 1943, quoting the text of a note delivered to the British Government by the Secretary of State on Feb. 25, 1943. On March 23, 1943 the President wrote to Dr. Wise re above. He acknowledged receipt of Dr. Wise's letter advising of the recent meeting in New York and of the proposals there formulated as to action which may still be undertaken by the United Nations to rescue the Jewish people remaining in Nazi-occupied Europe. The President stated, in effect, that the whole history of our country in extending refuge and offering succor to suffering peoples is substantial testimony to the spirit of humanity prevailing among our citizens. He adds that in that tradition this Government has moved and continues to move, so far as the burden of war permits, to help the victims of the Nazi doctrines of racial, religious and political oppression.

See P.P.F. 5029
MC

PRESIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR THE
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
Mar. 8, 1943.

The President said - "To read and return for my files." - The President forwarded (as per brief) Letter from Bishop Joseph F. Gaunina, D.D., Washington, D. C., 2/24/45, to the President, urging that Polish children, at least, be released from Russia, and brought to the U. S. or to other safe countries. States there are still two million Polish people in Russia.

See - 463-A
Honorable J. A. Brophy,
Secretary of State,
State of New Jersey,
Trenton, New Jersey.

Communication to the President, no date. Ack'd. 3/19/43 by M. H. McIntyre.
Resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of New Jersey petitioning the President, Congress and the Secretary of State "to prevail upon leaders of United Nations to establish havens of refuge for those few unfortunates who manage to escape the Nazi oppressor and to facilitate the passage and travel of said refugees to havens of refuge."

Referred to the Department of State, 3/20/43.

SEE - BROPHY, Honorable J. A.
FOR THESE REASONS:

Now taking every possible step of a protective nature to find a safe and proper refuge.

I have been assured that this government has been and is anxious

The President states, in part: "I think you will agree that it would appear inadvisable to submit this on 4/7/67 to the President, on 4/7/67, to the President, in accordance with requested draft or letter.

In such a letter, I approved, in accordance with requested draft or letter.

It may be sent to the Department of State for presentation of a letter for the President's de

President approved the Department in this country, as if I were acting in that capacity. If, in draft of the Roosevelt Foundation Fund, who is going to London to launch the President's program to the President.

Writ seen 25. 4/7/34.
New York, N.Y.
April 3, 1934.

P.S.

REPRODUCED FROM DOCUMENT AT THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY.
STASSEN, Gov. Harold E.
St. Paul, Minnesota
April 13, 1942.

Tel. to the President, urging that press should be allowed to attend forthcoming food and refugee conferences of the United Nations at Hot Springs and Bermuda.

Referred by case, 4/11/42, to Sec'y of State for attention.
TAYLOR, Myron C.
New York, N.Y.
File date: May 18, 1943.

Let. to the President, asking for appt. to discuss with him the coal miners situation, the Italian situation and the refugee situation. Attached memo states that the Pres. directed Miss Tully to phone Mr. Taylor and say he was sorry he could not see him at this time and suggest he take up coal miners situation with J. Byrnes. Asks Mr. Taylor to send memo to the Pres. on the Italian and refugee situations.

SEE: PPF 423
LEHMAN, Hon. Herbert H.
Director of Office of Foreign
Relief and Rehabilitation,
Department of State
July 1, 1945.

Wrote the President enclosing a copy of a letter he received from the
Polish Ambassador, thought the President would be interested in reading this letter.
- - -Copy of Letter to Hon. Lehman from Ambassador J. Ciechanowski, 6/29/45, expressing
his sincere thanks and gratitude on behalf of the Polish Government and the
Polish people to the Government and people of the United States and to the Government
and people of Mexico for aiding the Polish refugees, who had been deported to Russia.

See - 5175
COY, Hon. Wayne
July 2, 1943.

Sends memo for the President attaching letters to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the President's signature transmitting reports of the Treasury, Agriculture, and War Depts. and the American Red Cross, covering activities under appropriations for Foreign War Relief totaling $85,000,000 consolidated and extended to June 30, 1943, by the Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1942. Says although there is no requirement that a report be submitted at this time, it is thought desirable to continue the annual submission of reports. Mr. Coy recommends that the President sign the attached letters.—(Report deals with refugee and foreign war relief operations from July 1, 1940 to April 30, 1943)

Copy for Senate and copy for W.H. Files held at office. R.F. — Copies to Budget 7/7/43
PRESIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR THE
STATE DEPARTMENT
July 7, 1945.

The President said "Will you be good enough to reply to the enclosed letter from Mr. Felix Gouin?" - The President forwarded (as per brief) Letter from Mr. Felix Gouin, Vice-President of the French Socialist Parliamentary Group, Counsel for Leon Elum at the Rion Trial, 3 St. James's Square, S.W. 1, London, 6/15/45, to the President, asking that steps be taken in common, both American and Great Britain, with a view to address a stern warning to Hitler, in case the Nazis were to make an attempt on the life of Leon Elum. - - - Attached - Memo. for Miss Tully, July 2, 1945, from Mr. Summerlin - Attached - Copy of Air Mail letter from American Embassy in London, June 18, 1945 to the Secretary of State from W. J. Gallman.

See - PPF 5155
TO: THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
July 14, 1943

The President allocated the sum of $530,000 to the Department of State to be expended by the Department of State in connection with emergencies affecting the national security and defense for relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation in territories liberated from Axis occupation by the armed forces of the United Nations and for relief abroad of refugees from territories occupied or controlled by the Axis. The President stated that the funds hereby allocated shall be consolidated with the funds referred to in the letter of May 12, 1943 (42/3-130).—Attached is a memorandum to the President, 7/13/43 from Hon. Wayne Coy in which he explains that above allocation is for Expenses of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations from July 1 to September 30, 1943. He further explains that the Department of State submitted a budget estimate for the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation for the fiscal year 1944 and subsequently, in view of the prospect of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, submitted a quarterly estimate for the period July 1 to September 30, 1943.

See 79 Authorization - Treasury - No. 44-8
TO:
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
July 17, 1943

The President allocated the sum of $500,000 to the Department of State to be expended by the Department of State in connection with emergencies affecting the national security and defense. -- Attached is a Memorandum for the President, 7/17/43 from the Director of the Budget explanatory of above allocation in effect that the funds are to implement the agreement entered into with the British Government incident to the resettlement of certain refugees now located in Spain.

See 79 Authorization - Treasury, No. 44-15
Wise, Dr. Stephen S.,
President, American Jewish Congress,
New York, N.Y.
July 23, 1943

Writes to the President referring to his visit of the previous day with the President, and his gratification at the President's understanding sympathy with Hitler's victims, and his welcome of the proposal which is now before the State and Treasury Departments to permit funds to be forwarded to Switzerland by Jewish organizations of our country, which funds will be held in escrow until after the war. Dr. Wise urges that the President once again, and for the last time, utter a solemn warning to the representatives of the Nazi regimes in the Hitler conquered territories with respect to the crimes committed against civilians, especially Jews. He asks if the recent announcement of the Commission on the Crimes in the Fascist countries is not a suitable occasion for such warning as is likely to have a deterrent effect, especially upon Nazi officials within the satellite states.—On 7/30/43 the President referred the above letter by memo for Hon. Henry M. Morgenthau, Jr., for preparation of reply.—In accordance with reply submitted on 8/11/43 by Secretary Morgenthau, the President, on August 14, 1943, wrote to Dr. Wise, re the proposal of the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress for the evacuation of Jewish refugees from Rumania. The President said he spoke to Sec'y. Morgenthau re Dr. Wise's letter, and that the latter said he had also received "a letter from you" re the matter. The President is informed that the matter is now awaiting a further exchange of cables between the State Dept. and our mission in Bern regarding some of the details.

See 76-0
TO THE PRESIDENT
August 13, 1943

Mr. President:

It is my opinion that the time approaches when a decision re
Soviet demands will have to be taken, and appeals to the President to consider
very seriously the position of Poland. Expresses concern re serious danger con-
fronting the people of Poland because of Soviet activities on Polish territory.--
On 8/23/43 the President referred the above letter by name to the Secretary of
State for preparation of reply for his signature.--In accordance with requested
draft of reply, submitted, 9/13/43, by Sec'y Hull, the President, on 9/14/43,
wrote to Congressman Konkiereds. He appreciates the Congressman's concern re the
matter, and states that since the unprovoked attack on Poland by the Nazis he has
followed with interest and concern the plight of the valiant people of Poland in
their courageous struggle; refers to several discussions he has had on the subject
with the late General Sikorski, and indicates that he is currently following all
developments re the Polish matter. He refers to the fact that this country has sent
considerable food, medical and clothing supplies for the use of Polish refugees
inside the Soviet Union as well as for the 50,000 or more of these persons who have
proceeded abroad from the Soviet Union. He also refers to the magnificent resis-
tance of the Polish Armed Forces against their Nazi oppressors, and assures Cong.
Konkiereds that he will do everything in his power to bring about a just and lasting
peace based on mutual understanding and respect.

See 463-A
Mr. & Mrs. Robert
Flushing, N.Y.
August 25, 1943.

To the President, stating they are Austrian refugees, parents of 2/Lt. Eric Neushul, Flying Fortress Bombardier, whose name will be released on casualty list Saturday as missing in action over Germany. This boy was garrison fighter against Nazis in Austria and his exploits were carried in N.Y. newspapers several months ago. They fear Nazis will take drastic reprisals if he is a prisoner and his name and record are published. Ask that their son be protected by ordering his name struck from Saturday's casualty list.

Referred by memo, 8/26/43, to War Dept. for attention.

See: 25-Misc.
SUMMERLIN, Hon. George T.
Dec. 17, 1943.

Miss Tully, by memo., asked him to prepare reply to the attached communication -
Letter from Eugene Spiro, NYC., N.Y. dated Dec. 7th, 1943, to the President. This
refugee from Nazi-Germany, 71 years old, offers to send the President a 10"x12" portrait
of Mr. Churchill; encloses personal history with attached pictorial digests.-------
The Hon. George T. Summerlin, Dec. 22nd, sent memo. to Miss Tully transmitting suggested
reply.--Miss Tully, Dec. 22nd, wrote to Mr. Spiro saying the President had received his
letter and he has been reluctantly compelled to adopt a policy of declining gifts of this
character, and that in fairness to all, he cannot make an exception in this case. Miss
Tully said the enclosures to Mr. Spiro's letter were being returned. Enclosures: Personal
history sheet of Mr. Spiro, and photostatic copies of 3 articles which appeared in the
New York times of 2/12/43, The Art Digest of 3/1/43 and Art News of March 1-14, 1943, re-
turned to Mr. Spiro.