Holocaust/Refugee Collection

Additional Materials from the ER Papers
Correspondence with Varian Fry
July 8, 1940

Dear Mr. Fry:

The President has seen your letter of June 27. He will try to get the cooperation of the South American countries in giving asylum to the political refugees.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Varian Fry
Foreign Policy Association
8 West 40th St.
NYC
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 3, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR E.R.

His suggestion may have all the merit in the world but it most certainly cannot be authorized or abetted by the Government of the United States.

In regard to his last paragraph, I will speak about it.

F.D.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1940

MEMO FOR MISS LEHAND:

Please see Mrs. Roosevelt’s note for the President.

"FDR What about this?
E.R."

I.C.T.
June 27, 1940

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

After you left us on Tuesday Mr. Frank and I continued our conversation with Mr. Pickett for another half-hour. We told him that while we were most grateful for his offer of cooperation in the work we are trying to do, we were afraid that very little actually could now be done by accredited agents of the American Friends Service Committee. Since the French government has seen fit to agree to turn over to the German government all German nationals in their territory requested by the German government, what is urgently needed now is a new Scarlet Pimpernel who will go to France and risk his life, perhaps many times over, in an attempt to find the intended victims of Hitler's chopping block, and either provide them with means to keep alive in hiding or, if that is possible, to get them out of France before the French authorities reach them. Mr. Pickett said that he entirely understood the situation and would do everything in his power to find a man to go. He could not himself think of any suitable person but said that he would discuss the whole problem with his Committee in Philadelphia yesterday.

Meanwhile, I wonder whether you or Mr. Roosevelt could help us find a suitable person. I have volunteered to go myself and shall do so if no more suitable person can be found. But there are many reasons why I am not an entirely suitable person. My French and German are both halting, I have published things which have aroused the ire of the German government, and I have had no experience whatever in detective work. The ideal candidate for the job would, it seems to me, be an adventurous daredevil who speaks French and German fluently, can play the innocent American convincingly, understands the political implications of the work he is doing, and is entirely willing to risk his life to see that it is done to the best of his or any man's ability. If you or Mr. Roosevelt can find such a man for us, you will remove the one barrier that still prevents us from bringing effective aid to the German anti-Nazis now trapped in France. We know the names of these men and we have the money to aid them. If more money is needed, we can get it.
If we succeed in finding a suitable person, there will, of course, be the technical problem of accrediting him. There will be no difficulty in getting him a visa: I have the most responsible personal assurances of that. But it is obvious that no one who went to France for the avowed purpose of doing what we want to do would have any success at all. He would either be arrested or requested to leave the country within twenty-four hours. In the circumstances, we may have to set up another committee whose ostensible purpose would be something quite different - such as locating missing Americans. I intend to discuss this whole problem with Mr. George Rublee in a few days. But I felt that I ought to mention it to you now, because it does constitute a further, though perhaps only a slight, complication in our plans.

One other idea has occurred to me, and that is that the assistance of some of the Latin American governments might perhaps be obtained in the work which the State Department is now trying to do. I understand that most, if not all, of the Latin American governments have long adhered to the principle of political asylum, and I should think that a word to them from the proper authority might perhaps be of very real assistance. I am not sure that it would be entirely safe to give them lists of names such as we have given the State Department. For nothing would be more calamitous than to have such lists fall into the hands either of the French or of the German authorities. But a general request to look out for and give asylum to the political refugees might, I should think, produce results.

Sincerely yours,

Varian Fry, Editor
Headline Books

VF:EO
July 23, 1940

Miss Melvina C. Thompson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Thompson,

Thank you for your note.

I am about to go to France on a mission in behalf of political refugees, and had hoped to be able to see Mrs. Roosevelt before leaving. As you know, the subject of political refugees is one in which Mrs. Roosevelt has been interested. I spoke to her about the problem on June 23, and wrote to her about it on June 27. Mrs. Roosevelt acknowledged this letter on July 8.

Yours very truly,

Varian Fry
TELEGRAM
OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

The White House
Washington

Miss Thompson

Would like appointment Mrs. Roosevelt today or tomorrow. Wire reply

Varian Fry
Foreign Policy Association
July 21, 1940

My dear Mr. Frye:

I received your wire, but Mrs. Roosevelt was away and already had all the appointments she could keep over the week end. I am sorry and I wonder if, because she is so busy, you could not write what it is you wish to discuss with her?

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Varian Frye
Foreign Policy Association
New York, N.Y.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON  
July 29, 1940.

My dear Miss LeHand:

Referring to the President's memorandum of July 27 and Mrs. Roosevelt's inquiry regarding a passport for Mr. Varian Fry, I have pleasure in confirming my telephone conversation of Saturday morning by saying that Mr. Fry's passport was put in order and delivered to his representative on July 22, 1940. Mr. Fry wrote to me on July 25, acknowledging the receipt of the passport and making inquiry concerning the addition of Switzerland should he later desire to go there. That has been taken care of and Mr. Welles has sent Mr. Fry a letter of introduction written at the instance of Senator Wagner of New York.

I believe that everything which the Department might properly do to facilitate Mr. Fry's departure has been done.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Enclosures: 
Letter and memo.
Miss Marguerite LeHand,
The White House.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR
MISS RUTH B. SHIPLEY

Will you let me know
what I can tell Mrs. Roosevelt?

F. D. R.
Memorandum for Miss LeHand

To ask the President if he can give a passport immediately. He wants to leave on Sunday.

E.R.
Confidential

July 18, 1940

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Many thanks for your note. I am glad to know that the President is seeking the cooperation of the nations of Latin America in providing political asylum for the refugees whose lives are in actual danger.

Since I wrote you, a large committee has been formed, under the chairmanship of Dr. Frank Kiernan. Known as the Emergency Rescue Committee, it has already raised a considerable sum of money for the relief of the political refugees caught in France.

This committee has asked me to go immediately to France to make a survey of the situation and report back to it on what may be done to bring aid to the victims and intended victims. They wish me also to carry messages (of course, only in my head) to the leaders of the various groups.

General McColl has very kindly consented to give me an extraordinary leave of absence from my duties here. He has also agreed to provide me with credentials from the Foreign Policy Association. Thus I shall go ostensibly for the purpose of making an independent investigation of the refugee situation and the relief needs of Western Europe and the British Isles. As an accredited representative of the Foreign Policy Association, I should have no difficulty in obtaining visas.

What I must have first, however, is a passport. Rather than applying for this through the regular channels, with the possibility of having my request rejected, it has seemed to me that it would be better to have the request come from the highest sources.

I wonder, therefore, if you would be good enough to speak to the President about my mission, and ask him to ask the State Department to grant me a passport immediately? As I shall be going on an errand of mercy, I am sure that there will not be the slightest reason for hesitation on his part. I shall be very grateful indeed if you will do this, and shall look forward to word from you on the next step I am to take. I hope to be able to leave on the Sunday clipper for Lisbon.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]
My dear Eleanor:

The news from Mr. Frank is not quite accurate. The authority to issue visitors' visas for the refugees was limited to October 1 by original order. However, before the expiration of that date it was extended to November 1. Of course it can be extended again depending upon developments there.

We have been giving every attention to the plight of the refugees. However, the French authorities have taken exception to the extra-curricular activities of Mr. Fry and of Dr. Bohn. A situation has developed over there which has been brought to the attention of their principals in this country, and they are asking them to cease and desist those particular efforts and suggesting their return to the United States.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure:
Telegram from Mr. Frank,
September 26, 1940.

Mrs. Roosevelt,
The White House.
TELEGRAM

The White House

9PO. RA. 45- 1:45 p.m.  Washington

Ct. New York, N.Y., September 26, 1940

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

In correcting the hopeful news of my last letter to you I feel obliged to tell you that Fry cables from Marseilles about a new order to the consul to issue no visitors visas after October first. Sincerely yours,

Karl Frank, 8028 Lefferts Blvd.,
Kew Gardens, LI. N. Y.
MEMORANDUM FOR
E. R.

What does seem wrong?

F. D. R.
Dr. Frank Kingdon  
Emergency Rescue Committee  
122 East 42nd Street  
New York City

Dear Dr. Kingdon:

Mr. Bingham telephoned me yesterday to say that he had received your telegram, which is the first indication I had that the news of my "arrest" had reached New York. Since you have learned about it, I feel I ought to explain what happened.

I have been living for a month or six weeks in a villa about 20 minutes outside of Marseille. The house is a kind of boarding house run cooperatively. Every person or family group has a room or rooms there, and takes his meals there. We share the expenses. The thing was organized by a member of my Marseille staff — a Frenchman. The population of the house changes from time to time, exactly as in a hotel or boarding house. I explain all this because it has a bearing on what follows.

As you may have read in the papers (or may not have — I don't know whether it was considered sufficiently interesting for the American papers to carry), Marshal Petain visited Marseille last Tuesday and Toulon last Wednesday. Vast preparations were made for his reception, among them the arrest and detention of possible trouble makers. The rumor is that nearly 20,000 such were put away in Marseille. The extraordinary thing is that among them were Miss Mary Jayne Gold, our Treasurer, and I.

The police — or rather the detectives — came to the house at about 10 o'clock Monday Morning. They came in two cars — an ordinary sedan and a regular "black Maria" — and one of the first things they asked was whether or not someone had come to the house the night before with a suitcase. As a matter of fact, someone had. As soon as the detectives were told that their information was correct, they ordered everyone in the house to come into the dining room. Then, without a warrant to do so, they searched the entire house, finding and confiscating two typewriters, some letters and reports, also a surrealist drawing on which some idiot had written a comment which was taken by the detectives to apply to Marshal Petain.

There followed the long business of making proces verbal for everyone in the house. While this was going on, one of the inhabitants who had been at the Prefecture to inquire about his visa, returned and was arrested with the rest of us. Later the other persons who live in the house returned for lunch; they were arrested too. Finally everybody but the servants, the children, and their mothers, was taken off to the police station. There we were held incomunicado until eleven o'clock at night, when, without any further proceedings, and without being accused of anything, we...
were loaded into a large van and carried to the S.S. Sinaia, a Fabre Line boat of ancient vintage, now tied up in the Marseille harbor at mole G, Bassin du President Wilson.

We were held on the Sinaia from Monday night until Thursday noon, when we were all released with no more explanation than was given when we were arrested. At no time during the detention or since were we permitted to present any arguments or to see anybody of authority. According to French law, you cannot be held for more than twenty-four hours without being either inculpated or released; but we were held for well over seventy-two hours, and we haven't been accused of anything whatever even now.

Naturally, since we have never had the opportunity of talking with anybody who professes to know anything about the affair, we have no certain knowledge of the reasons for this high-handed behavior on the part of the police. But we have gathered certain scraps of information, which, together, make a plausible hypothesis.

In the first place, there is the undeniable fact that a very large number of persons were arbitrarily detained during the Marseille visit. It is said - I can't vouch for the information - that three score boats, four casernes, and three movie houses were used for the purpose in addition to all regular jails and prisons. At the last minute, it is said, people were locked in cafes and restaurants until the parade had passed. Of course, a great many mistakes were made. On the Sinaia, for instance, there were four Americans, all as astonished to find themselves there as we were.

There were several French businessmen who had come up from Nice especially to see the parade and who were arrested and transported to the boat within an hour of their arrival in Marseille. There were five doctors. There was a surgeon who had several important operations to perform on Tuesday morning and who was eventually allowed to go to his hospital - under guard. There was a man who claimed to be the correspondent of the Baseler Neuste Nachrichten. There were two young Syrians who claimed that they had walked out of a restaurant to run into the driver of a police van who said: "Il reste deux places; montez!" There was an Englishman and his Egyptian-born brother who had their papers examined in a restaurant and found satisfactory. When they left the restaurant, according to their story, they ran into another detective who asked them for their papers. When they explained that they had just shown their papers to his colleague he replied "Some of your lip. Get in the Wagon," and drove them off without further ado. There were two other Englishmen, whom I happened to know, whose only fault was apparently that they live in a room giving into one of the squares where the Marshal was to pass. There were even Dutch and Danish businessmen well known in Marseille. Everybody in this category was as surprised and as indignant as we were. But it wasn't any user; you weren't allowed to send messages to anybody, and the gendarmes in charge knew nothing.

Then there is the history of the house we live in - unknown to us until after we had been released. Evidently, eight or nine years ago, there was a bombing there. The Marseille-Nice railway runs through the property at a distance of 800 meters or more from the house. Eight or nine years ago, the owner tells us,
someone put a bomb on the railroad there and made three wagons jump, of which one rolled into the meadow. The occasion was the visit of some celebrity — the owner can't remember who. Anyway, no one was killed. But the police never discovered who placed the bomb.

Our suspicion is that the suitcase was connected with the ancient bombing. We imagine the porter who carried the suitcase up to the house making a few extra francs by informing. We then imagine the detectives getting out their dossiers, and finding that (a) there had been a bombing of the railroad eight or nine years ago; (b) a strange woman arrives with a suitcase after dark, two days before the Marshal's visit; (c) the Marshal's train is due to pass through the property on Wednesday on his way to Toulon; (d) the house was vacant until six weeks ago, when a group of French and Americans unknown previously in Marseille moved in.

Conclusion, obvious.

So far as we know, the incident is closed — except for the apologies which I am demanding. But I wanted to report it to you in case you might have heard of it in some garbled version. Above all I want you to know that it had nothing whatever to do with the Centre. In fact, the detectives were obviously surprised and a little embarrassed to find me in the house. They told me that they wanted me to go to the police station as a witness, and that I would be released within an hour. It is quite possible that they just forgot.

Since you inquire, I should like to tell you that I am planning to fly back to New York as soon as I get a French aller et retour visa and a Spanish visitors' visa. The business of getting a French aller et retour visa is very complicated, as you first have to have a carte d'identite. When I was in Vichy, I hoped to obtain a renewal of my old aller et retour visa, but this was impossible since I had no carte d'identite. When I got back to Marseille I immediately made an application for the carte d'identite. As soon as I receive it I shall request a French aller et retour visa, and Mr. Pullerton, the American Consul General here, will support my demand. I do not want to leave here without my aller et retour visa as I believe I will have to come back and will then have to wait a long time to receive my retour visa. Our Secretary, Miss Marian Davenport, went to Yugoslavia with a simple sortie visa, and is now having great trouble in obtaining her retour visa, although this was promised her before she left.

While I am in Spain I want to see what I can do for the prisoners there and this makes it necessary for me to get a Spanish visitors' visa, as a transit visa does not make it possible for you to stay beyond the first train or plane leaving out of any one point. Mr. Weddell, the American Ambassador at Madrid, has asked for this visa some time ago, but, so far as I know, he has not yet received any reply.

If you can hasten both of these visas to Washington, I shall be very grateful.

Mrs. Margaret Guggenheim is joining the Committee and I am asking her to become Vice-President. We expect to be working very closely
artists from her headquarters in Grenoble. Edith Segnitz (Mrs. Paul Segnitz) has also recently joined the Board of the Committee. Mrs. Guggenheimer replaces Mrs. Sharp, who resigned when she left France.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Varian Fry.
REPORT ON CONVERSATIONS WITH MINISTERS OF LATIN AMERICA

AT VICHY, Nov. 17th - November 23rd.

ARGENTINA is especially interested in practical scientists and not in poets and novelists. The Minister agrees to send dossiers of practical scientists to his Government. He has no provisions for granting 'titres de voyage'. Argentina does not accept Jews.

BRAZIL is especially interested in practical scientists, doctors, engineers, etc. The Ambassador will send dossiers of such persons to his Government for its reply. He has the authority to grant 'titres de voyage' to those to whom visas are to be accorded. Brazil does not accept Jews.

CHILE. Unlike the other Latin American countries, Chile is especially interested in French savants, for whom the Ambassador has a 'grande facilité'. Chile cannot take Nazis or Fascists, but is definitely interested in all other intellectuals, regardless of politics. The Ambassador will transmit dossiers to his Government. Chile cannot accept Jews, except in very rare cases.

The Chilean Ambassador has already authority to issue visas to the following:

Professor Langevin
Louis Aragon
Profes. Henri Wallon
Gustave Regler
Jacques Moritain
Marcel Ray

Andre Malraux
Jean Richard Bloch
León Rosalbac
Alex. Arnaud
Romain Rolland
Jean Cassou.

COLUMBIA is interested in peasants, tillers of the soil. It is also interested in mining and agronomic engineers. The Minister will transmit the dossiers to his Government. In each case the nationality and race (i.e. nationality of origin) should be given. Religion is of no importance. There is no bar against Jews as such.

MEXICO. The Mexican Minister can issue visas to Spaniards at once but must refer all other requests to Mexico. He has had no refusals. Dossiers should give full information. Mexico is interested in all kinds of intellectuals, practical and impractical.

PERU. Is especially interested in specialists concerned with raw materials - agriculture, mining, etc., but the Peruvian Minister, who happens to be the brother of the novelist García Calderón, will be glad to consider our whole list of intellectuals. In each case the confession and nationality of origin should be given.

URUGUAY is especially interested in applied sciences, above all in agricultural subjects. There is, however, a possibility also for engineers and perhaps also for doctors and other scientists. Dossiers on airmail paper should be sent to the Legation at Vichy.
Marseille, November 20, 1940

REGULATIONS CONCERNING FRENCH

VISAS DE SORTIE

Vichy, Nov. 17th - Nov. 23rd, 1940

The French Government may give visas de sortie freely to all persons except Germans, Austrians, Sudeten Germans and Italians. Requests of Italians must be approved by the Italo-French Armistice Commission. Those of Germans, Austrians and Sudeten Germans who were in internment camps at the time the Kunitz Commission visited them and who were not claimed by the German authorities under Article 19 of the Armistice Agreement, may, if they have overseas visas, be transferred to the Camp des Billes (near Aix-en-Provence) where they should be able to obtain sortie visas. Those Germans, Austrians and Sudeten Germans who were not in internment camps at the time the Kunitz Commission visited them, must have their applications approved by the German-French Armistice Commission. Unfortunately this last procedure takes a long time.
Marseille, November 30, 1940

MEMORANDUM ON CONVERSATION WITH THE
MINISTER OF PORTUGAL

Vichy, November 22nd, 1940.

According to the Minister of Portugal, the recent change in the Portuguese regulations governing transit visas is due to the fact that there are now 125,000 refugees in Portugal with no place to go. The Minister told us that all sorts of tricks have been used to get to Portugal and that persons have even bought Ocean passage to obtain their visas and then sold their tickets when they got to Lisbon, using the proceeds to live on. The Minister himself has nothing to do with visa questions, which are a matter between the Consulate and the International Police in Lisbon. He therefore suggests that we take the question up again with the Portuguese Consul here and also with the American Ambassador in Lisbon.

I asked him whether it would be possible for his Government to authorise the Consul to grant immediate transit visas to persons whose passage from Lisbon to New York or some other port was paid in full, and who had a definite reservation on the boat. (This concession has already been made for American citizens). The Minister said that he was afraid it would not be possible to do so, as the question was one of available rooms in hotels. He explained that the exception could be made in the case of American citizens because they are so few, but not in the case of the others, because they were so many.

[Signature] Varian M. Fry
Marseille, November 30, 1940

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
WITH THE MINISTER OF SWITZERLAND

VICHY, November 22, 1940

The Minister of Switzerland was not very encouraging. He said that his Government could consider very special cases, but he held out very little hope for favorable action. In any case he said that there was no point in sending dossiers to him. Applicants for Swiss visas must obtain forms from the nearest Swiss Consulate, fill them out and return them to the Consulate, which will send them on to Berne. My impression is that there is very little hope, but that we might try a very few very special cases nevertheless.

I have since learned that Mr. & Mrs. Max Oppenheimer, dit Ophuels — naturalised French — are now in Switzerland. A few weeks ago they were in Aix-en-Provence screeching for American visitor's visas. In view of this fact I feel even more inclined than before to recommend a certain number of clients to apply for Swiss visas just to see what happens. Unfortunately the Swiss Minister was not able to give us any indication of the sort of people who were most likely to obtain favorable action. I gathered however, that they must be exceedingly prominent and wholly devoid of any connection past or present which might make their presence in Switzerland in any way embarrassing to the Swiss Government, i.e., they must be completely unpolitical. They must also, of course, not only be in a position to support themselves, but to contribute in some important way to the welfare of Switzerland.
Airmail November 30, 1940

Emergency Rescue Committee
12E East 42nd Street
New York

Dear Sirs,

I am enclosing herewith brief reports on my conversations in Vichy. I went to Vichy primarily to learn the new regulations governing the visas de sortie and to try to obtain a certain amount of executive clemency for certain persons who are interned in camps. I presented particularly the cases of:

Dr. Paul Westheim
Dr. Hermann Heimann
Dr. Peter Pringsheim
Mr. Ernst Busch
Dr. D. Goldmann.

While I did not obtain any immediate action, I made a number of very useful contacts and received a number of promises, which I hope will soon be made good. I intend to continue calling to the attention of the authorities particularly worthy cases, as they come to my attention.

More fruitful perhaps than my discussions with the French authorities were some of the conversations I had with Ambassadors and Ministers of Latin American countries. There appear to be some distinct possibilities for intellectuals in Latin America. We have already sent a very large number of dossiers and shall continue to send more. I hope that you will also contact the Latin American Ministers at Washington and call their attention to the importance of finding a refuge for some of these people. You might particularly draw their attention to cases we have referred to you, but for which there is no hope in the United States. Certainly we should not limit our efforts to obtaining United States visas when there are 20 other countries in the Western Hemisphere each capable of taking a certain number of intellectuals of value.

While I was in Vichy, I also informed myself on the subject of the Italians. As you doubtless know, there is no clause in the Italian Armistice Agreement similar to Article 19 of the German. Nevertheless requests for exit visas for the Italians are referred to the Italian Armistice Commission, which has been known to refuse such requests in certain cases. An Italian journalist with whom
November 30, 1940

I spoke in Vichy suggests that you obtain an appointment with the Italian Ambassador in Washington to discuss the problem with him, and that you also ask the State Department to have the American Ambassador in Rome take the subject up with the proper authorities there. This man felt that if the case of those Italian refugees who have already received American visitors' visas were properly presented both to the Italian Ambassador in Washington and to the Italian authorities in Rome, there was a very real possibility that the attitude of the Armistice Commission toward requests for exit visas might be changed.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Varian M. Fry
I

Bern, January 10, 1941

After a month's investigation here and in North Africa and discussions with Spanish groups and Mexican Legation which is so able defending their interests, I know why refugees aren't leaving and what can be done. I am aware that in Washington there exists a will to help these unhappy people so I am venturing to make a proposal for a quick easy action by our government as quid pro quo for the credit, yet not in any way engaging responsibility on the part of the United States or any American refugees or relief organization.

Briefly, the situation is this: there are ninety thousand Spanish Republicans in Free France and North African possessions (for the sixty thousand in occupied France little can be done at the moment). For the former there are about thousand refugees whose functions under the Republic or activities in its defence, or their membership in some Protestant or Masonic group, have made Franco's police exceedingly anxious to lay hands on them. There are many thousands more who, if sent to Spain would be in grave danger, but I am purposely limiting this proposal to the thousand and their families who are in utmost danger.

These people are unable to leave France in spite of the fact that the Mexican government has offered them asylum and has prepared evacuation for thousands for the simple reason that the Spanish government has asked the French to refuse them exit permits; I suggest that as a quid pro quo for our assistance, Madrid be asked, privately of course, to withdraw objections to the departure of these people and so inform Vichy, which will then gladly grant exit permits. Of this fact I have been assured everywhere.

With exit permits (visas de sortie) they can cross immediately with funds supplied by the Mexicans to North Africa by regular passenger services and assemble in Casablanca where the Mexicans will arrange support as they have here and transportation across. This itinerary Franco should be asked to agree to, and also, which is most important, to agree not to invoke the Spanish-Franco agreement of 1936 regarding the
policing of the Spanish-French Moroccan zone which gives either country the right to
ask surrender of people supposed to be dangerous to public order in either zone.

Of this ninety thousand Republicans in Free France, 40,000 are in camps and
50,000 at liberty. The Mexican legation here by the terms of the French-Mexican
agreement of August 29, 1940, has them all technically under its protection, and in
collaboration with all Spanish groups has been preparing their evacuation with great
efficiency. The difficulty of obtaining ships from Marseilles is considerable, but
when seemingly solved new difficulties arose. Vichy, under pressure from Madrid, began
to refuse visas de sortie. Then suddenly began a series of arrests at the instigation
of the Spaniards, notable Largo Caballero, aged 71, and the Spanish Gompers, who is
in prison in Albi with a broken arm, Portola Valladares, former Rightist premier who pre-
sided over the elections of 1936, and who, during the war, made one visit to Republican
Spain, Mariano Anso, Moderate Republican Mayor of Pamplona and Minister of Justice during
the war for a time, Alonso Mallol, director of Security in the Republic before the Civil
War. Those with visas de sortie were deprived of their documents. In some cases the
French police, cooperating openly with Franco police, threatened to send prisoners
back to Spain, but there is no sign yet that Vichy has any intention of granting the
extradition Franco wants. The Mexican Minister assured me Petain's government honored
the French-Mexican agreement to the letter but no one knows what the future, even the
immediate future, holds for the entire set-up. Franco wants these people and has support
from Germany in enforcing his demands. In my mind there is the great urgency that at
least a thousand of the most compromised in the eyes of Madrid leave immediately for
North Africa, which everyone here agrees is the only solution left. Vises de sortie
are being revoked and new applications refused which shows what Madrid intends to do to
these Republicans.

To ensure a just and careful selection of the thousand the Mexican legation
here, which is highly efficient, and has the confidence of all Spanish groups, shuld
be asked to prepare a list.

 Might I suggest that asking this an quid pro quo we would be saving very little; simply that the Generalskino desist from hampering the evacuation to distant lands of people in whom he is interested in only a very special way (I refer you to his executions by garrote of liberal leaders like Company). This is surely very little in comparison with the evacuation from Madrid of thousands of Fascist Spaniards who at the outbreak of the war took refuge in embassies and legations from which they conducted Fifth Column activities. These people were removed from the capital to the coast with the permission and collaboration of the Republican governmen and were sent abroad without a life being lost, though among them were many who played a great role on the other side. With such a precedent there is no reason why Madrid should't be asked to allow Republicans to cross Spain in a sealed train under Red Cross auspices.

What I suggest is simpler, merely that Madrid be politely requested not to hamper their departure from France via Algeria and Morocco. This is the very minimum that must be asked if Madrid is to be called upon to show some kind of decency in return for our help. It is the minimum our science can accept. Incidentally, we incur no obligations whatsoever, as the Mexicans are capable of doing everything else.

Herewith the names of some people we would be helping to a fate: the widow of Azana; ex-President Zambra's son, a staunch Republican; Portela Valladares, Conservative Prime Minister before the Popular Front; Nicolau Dolwaer, ex-Minister of Economy and President of the Bank of Spain before the war, also distinguished Hellenist, now arrested in Vichy; Largo Caballero ex-Prime, Minister of the Socialist Trade Union, arrested; Corpus Barge, author, journalist, ex-editor of Lus, the Madrid daily; Gustave Pittaluga, composer; Victorio Lant, director of prisons in the first year of the Republic; Pedro Rico, Mayor of Madrid before the Republic; Honrado de Castro, scientist; Carmen Iones Rivas Chelis, wife of the author and producer now in Prison in Madrid and sentenced to death, and she ex-instructor of Spanish in Wellesley; the widow of Company, Catalan President recently garroted; the widow of Marcelino Domingo, Minister of Education in the
First Republican government: Pablo Casals; Luis Rubio Hidalgo, journalist, ex-director of Republican censorship; Crus Salido, son of the journalist recently executed in Madrid; Juan Garcia Morales, Catholic Priest; General Herrera, aeronautical engineer; and Luis Alvarez del Vayo, financial expert and brother of the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mendesibal, Catholic writer now confined in a village in the Pyrenees; Jose Semprun, Catholic Republican diplomat. Some of these are in the occupied zone, and the Germans have apparently agreed to transfers to the unoccupied zone.
December 16, 1940

My dear Sumner:

Thank you for your very prompt reply to my note about Varian Fry. I am glad that the situation is not serious.

Very sincerely,

[Signature]

Hon. Sumner Welles
December 11, 1940.

My dear Eleanor:

Responding to your note about Varian Fry, I hurry to write you that he was arrested in Marseille along with Mary Jane Gold and several aliens who were connected with his local organization, that is, the Emergency Rescue Committee. They suffered no physical hardship other than the confinement and it was thought possible that he was rounded up, along with various others, immediately before the visit of Marshal Petain to Marseille in the efforts of the various authorities to render it safer for the Marshal by holding under detention foreigners whom they did not know.

I caused a telegram to be sent immediately requesting that the Consul be permitted to visit him and take what steps were necessary and possible in the circumstances.

The fact is that Mr. Fry had been directed by his principal in this country to leave France. This order was sent to him some weeks ago but he continued in his activities there. His activities brought him into contact with various persons whom the French police had on the suspect list and he was in company with some of those persons when arrested. He was released but his colleagues, except Mary Jane Gold, were retained in custody. He had been at liberty to leave as he was in possession of a French aller et retour visa which was valid until December 3. He was arrested December 2 and released on the 5th.

The Chargé d'Affaires at Vichy advises that he has not at any time requested the Embassy or the Consulate General at Marseille for any assistance in connection with his departure from France.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]

Mrs. Roosevelt,
The White House.
December 11, 1940.

My dear Eleanor:

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Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]

Mrs. Roosevelt,
The White House.
December 26, 1940

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I should be interested to have your reactions to the suggestions made by Mr. Varian Fry in the enclosed letter of November 15, from Vichy.

Very sincerely yours,

MacDonald
January 10, 1941.

My dear Eleanor:

You wrote me under date of September 9 about Varian Fry who went to France to help certain refugees. I replied thereto on December 11 giving the circumstances of his retention by the French authorities and subsequent release.

There have since been some letters written by Mr. Fry and we have just received from the Embassy at Vichy a despatch on that general subject. I thought you might get a clearer picture of it all if I sent you a copy of this despatch and I am therefore enclosing it herewith.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Enclosure:
From Vichy, no. 56, November 30, 1940.

Mrs. Roosevelt,
The White House.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have examined closely Mr. Varian Fry's letters, telegram and memorandum regarding the refugee situation in France which you attached to your letter of December 26, 1940. I note that Mr. Fry makes the following recommendations: (1) that this Government intervene with the Governments of France, Spain and Portugal so that those persons who have been granted American visas may receive French exit permits and Spanish and Portuguese transit visas in order that they may proceed to countries of final settlement; (2) that this Government negotiate with the other American Governments an agreement setting up a form of "Nansen Passport" for stateless persons; and (3) that this Government and other American Governments in exceptional cases confer on the most distinguished stateless persons "honorary citizenship" and grant them immediately full diplomatic protection.

You will be interested to learn, I am sure, that we have anticipated Mr. Fry's first recommendation, particularly as regards the French Government, by drawing repeatedly to the attention of the French Embassy here the

Mrs. Roosevelt

The White House
the plight of persons who have received American visas but cannot obtain French exit permits. Moreover, we have in a recent formal note to the French Embassy laid special stress on this anomalous situation. I quote pertinent sections of this note:

"10. It is noted in this connection that many persons who have fulfilled the requirements for admission to the United States and have received visas have not been able to leave French territory owing to the fact that the French Government has been unwilling or has failed to grant the required exit permits with the consequence that these persons have not been able to proceed to the United States and remain on French territory where they must be cared for and fed.

11. It is the impression of this Government, moreover, that the other American Governments are likewise receiving persons in substantial numbers who can qualify for admission to their respective territories under their laws and practices and that persons qualifying for admission to these other American countries have, too, encountered difficulties in receiving exit permits from the French Government and, as a consequence, remain to be cared for and fed on French territory."

I am afraid that persons who receive the American visas and the French exit permits will still encounter difficulties in passing through Spain and now Portugal has also adopted stringent measures of control. However, if assurances are given in advance to these Governments that the expenses of the persons desiring transit facilities are guaranteed and that
passage to countries of resettlement has been paid, that, in short, the refugees will not constitute a problem while in their respective territories they may make some concessions.

Mr. Fry's second recommendation, that the American Governments mutually recognize a "Nansen Passport", is not a new suggestion and has been before the Intergovernmental Committee time after time since 1938. Most of the American Governments have indicated that they would not be prepared to recognize a passport of this sort. However, a majority, including this Government, are prepared to recognize as travel documents for visa purposes papers of identification instead of passports. Nothing would be gained in consequence by the establishment of the Nansen Passport which would be recognized by only a few Governments, and would have no greater weight with other Governments than normal papers of identification. I can assure you that the possibilities in this field were thoroughly explored by the Intergovernmental Committee, and that the decision was definitely in the negative.

Mr. Fry's third proposal that "honorary citizenship" be conferred on certain distinguished refugees, would, in this country and in most other American countries require legislative
legislative action. In some American countries the Chief Executive has the right to grant honorary citizenship but this practice has unfortunately lead to abuse, and in some instances to the bartering and sale of citizenships on public market. The general consensus among the American Governments is that the practice should be discouraged.

I believe that, despite some critics who are not aware of the facts, the machinery which we have set up to deal with the emergency refugee problem is functioning effectively and well. As you probably know the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees is serving as a conduit for submitting the names of refugees to the Department accompanied by the required papers; the Department acts promptly on the Committee's recommendations in informing Consuls; and the Consul give those persons recommended by the Committee an immediate hearing. Refugees are moving to this country in large numbers and the other American countries are also receiving a great many people. I am hopeful that the congestion which has existed at Lisbon, the point of departure from Europe, will soon be completely eliminated and that refugees will move in a fairly even flow from the danger zones to places of refuge and settlement.

Enclosures:
From Mr. Fry, November 18, 1940, with enclosures.

Yours very sincerely,
January 2, 1941.

My dear Eleanor:

The answer to your question presents quite a difficulty. Some of these people are in unoccupied France and some are in Switzerland. I assume that all, with the possible exception of one, have received visas and I assume that that one will receive his in due course.

The difficulty is not with the visas but with traveling through hostile territory in which the Gestapo is active; in getting permits to cross frontiers; and in getting over borders and through lines which are controlled by the military authorities.

These people cannot reach a port from which they could embark to the United States unless they travel through Spain and into Portugal. The Portuguese Government has been very considerate in granting permission to enter that country. For a while they stopped people coming into their country because there were so many trying to get in that there were no physical accommodations for more and the food supply would be insufficient for them. Since then, however, they have made concessions to persons who hold visas to come to the United States. However, it is impossible to get to Portugal unless you go through Spain and it is our information that an agent of the German Government (presumably a Gestapo officer) sits at a desk of the Spanish Government in Madrid. To him are referred the names of persons desiring entry permits into Spain or transit visas across Spain. He has power to grant or withhold permission to enter the country. The question does not seem to concern the French authorities nor the Portuguese authorities.

I would be glad to take up these cases with the French Ambassador if his Government had any independent voice in the matter, but I am sure that that is not the case. In a few exceptional cases we have interceded with the Spanish Government and with varying success.

Mrs. Roosevelt,

The White House.
success.

With an agent of the German Government in control of the situation in Madrid it seems rather hopeless, and there is also an element of danger to the people whom we would help, as you will readily recognize, by reason of the fact that furnishing their names and addresses to the German agent in Madrid might mean, as is no doubt the case with several names on this list, giving the definite address of persons whom his Government would like to apprehend and whose apprehension would be facilitated by more detailed and specific knowledge as to their identity and present whereabouts.

All of the names which you submitted have not been recommended by the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees. Mr. McDonald's committee has jurisdiction over refugees in the territory in which these people now find themselves and it is customary for the Department to give special attention to those recommended by the committee and that has been done to the names which it has recommended.

I am marking in blue pencil on the list which you submitted the names which have not been recommended by the committee.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]

Enclosure:

Original list returned.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter I have just written to the Honorable Cordell Hull, together with copies of a telegram and a report mentioned in that letter.

Knowing of your great and abiding interest in the fortunes of Europe’s Political Refugees, I trust you will take an early opportunity to discuss my suggestions with Mr. Hull and the President. Having worked for more than three months with the Political Refugees in France, I feel that the measures I have suggested are perhaps the only means now available for effectively alleviating their sad plight.

I should like to take this opportunity also to tell you that the statement which His Excellency Ambassador Henry-Haye is reported to have made to Mr. James G. MacDonald on October 9th - namely that the French Government will grant exit visas to political refugees who have entry visas to or through countries of the Western Hemisphere - does not appear to be exact. According to information I have just obtained from the highest sources in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior and the Cabinet du Maréchal Pétain, the French Government is now at liberty to grant exit visas to those persons who were in internment camps at the time the mixed Kundt Commission visited them, and who are not claimed by the German authorities in accordance with the Armistice agreement. Such persons, if they possess entrance or transit visas to or through countries of the Western Hemisphere, are to be transferred to the Camp des Milles, near Aix-en-Provence, there to await their visas de sortie and transit visas through Spain and Portugal. For all those nationals or former nationals of Germany and the countries absorbed by Germany, who were not in internment camps at the time the Kundt Commission visited them, the situation remains unchanged, that is, their requests for French sortie visas must be referred to the Armistice Commission at Wiesbaden. So far as we know, the Armistice Commission has never given a favorable reply to such a request. At least
it seems certain that the inquiries into the political past of the applicants, required by the German authorities, are so searching that they demand several months. We know of a number of persons who requested their sortie visas more than three months ago and who have so far received no reply whatever, favorable or unfavorable. Among these persons is Alfred Neumann, the German novelist, a man who has never had any political activities or written on any political subject. Mr. Neumann requested his sortie visa on August 3rd and is still awaiting the answer. I could cite many similar cases which seem clearly to deny the assurances which Mr. Henry-Hayes is reported to have given Mr. MacDonald, but it is not necessary for me to do so, as I have certain information from the highest authorities here that Mr. Henry-Hayes’s statement, as reported in the New York Times of October 9th, does not conform with the facts.

In short, the position of the Political Refugees who had sought asylum in France, remains at least as perilous as it appeared to be on the day the Armistice terms were announced. Since our Government has so nobly sought to aid these innocent victims of Germany’s military victory by granting them special visitors’ visas, I hope with all my heart that it may now seem fit to take whatever steps remain to be taken to ensure an effective issue to its good intentions. Surely it would not be in accordance with our best and most humane traditions to abandon the fight in mid course.

Very truly yours,

Varian M. Fry
Director

encl.
Vichy, November 18, 1940

The Honorable Cordell Hull
The Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Secretary,

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a copy of the telegram which I sent you last week. In doing so I wish to take the occasion to direct your attention particularly to the tragic plight of the many thousands of human beings who have lost their nationality in recent years through the action of the German Government.

Deprived of all hope of diplomatic or consular intervention in their behalf, hundreds of these new stateless are confined in the concentration camps of France and Spain, with little or no prospect of obtaining their release. I am sure that you are only too well aware what such confinement means, but I take the liberty of enclosing nevertheless a copy of a report on the camp of Argelès in the Department of Basses Pyrénées, prepared by one of my collaborators who visited that camp the week before last.

To this camp, already overcrowded and clearly unfit for human habitation, additional hundreds are at this moment being directed. The conditions of life in many other French concentration camps are little better. Those in the concentration camps of Spain are said to be even worse.

Recently the Spanish Government has seen fit to adopt the policy of refusing transit visas to persons without national or Nansen passports. Thus, those former German nationals who are still at liberty in France and who have been fortunate enough to obtain American visas and French visas de sortie are now virtually without the possibility of emigrating. Denied the right to work, cut off from their sources of income, and with their funds, if any, in other countries effectively blocked, they too face destitution and ultimate internment.

With very few exceptions, the nationals of countries absorbed by the Third Reich face an equally bleak future. According to information which I have just obtained in Vichy, the lot of all foreigners in France, already very hard, threatens to become worse from day to day. I am enclosing a copy of a circular issued by the Ministry of the Interior and addressed to all Commandants of Military regions and to competent civil authorities, which makes this only too clear.
Is this not an occasion for the United States and the other nations of the Western Hemisphere to take extraordinary measures? Cannot the Government of the United States intervene in behalf at least of those upon whom it has seen fit to confer its visas, so that they may be released from the concentration camps, be granted French sortie visas and Spanish and Portuguese transit visas, and then be able to proceed on their way to liberty and the opportunity to rebuild their shattered lives? Cannot the Government of the United States invite the Governments of Latin America to join with it in a convention enabling them to grant a new kind of Nansen passport to these unfortunate victims of Europe's latest catastrophe. In exceptional cases, cannot we and our Latin American neighbors confer honorary citizenship upon the most distinguished members of this company of the new stateless and immediately grant them full diplomatic protection?

In my view any one of these steps would shine as one of the noblest acts of human kindness in modern history. I sincerely hope that you will give my suggestion your very earnest consideration.

Yours very truly,

Varian M. Fry
Director
NLT CORDELL HULL SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

PERMIT US CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO PLIGHT NEW STATELESS STOP THOUSANDS FIND THEMSELVES IN PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF EUROPE WITHOUT HOPE OF RELEASE BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO GOVERNMENT TO REPRESENT THEM STOP RECENTLY SPAIN AND TO A LESSER EXTENT PORTUGAL HAVE BEEN REFUSING THEM TRANSIT VISAS ON GROUND THAT IF THEY GET INTO DIFFICULTIES THERE IS NO COMPETENT AUTHORITY ACT THEIR BEHALF STOP THIS EVEN THOSE NOW FREE IN FRANCE FIND IMMIGRATION VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE STOP YEARS AGO WHEN RUSSIAN REVOLUTION FIRST PRESENTED WORLD WITH PROBLEM OF STATELESS THE NATIONS MET IN PART BY CREATION NANSEN PASSPORTS STOP PROBLEM OF NEW STATELESS IS FAR MORE VAST AND FAR MORE TRAGIC THAN THAT OF RUSSIANS STOP CANNOT UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS SUCH AS CREATION NEW NANSEN PASSPORTS AND EXTENSION OF AT LEAST LIMITED DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION HOLDERS OF THEIR QUESTIONMARK IN ADDITION CERTAIN ESPECIALLY DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF COMPANY OF NEW STATELESS MIGHT BE GRANTED HONORARY CITIZENSHIP AND REAL NATIONAL PASSPORTS WITH FULL DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION STOP BUT EVEN A LESS RADICAL SOLUTION OF PROBLEM WOULD SHINE AS ONE OF GREATEST ACTS OF HUMAN KINDNESS IN MODERN HISTORY

VARIAN M FRY

Varian M. Fry, 60, rue Grignan, Marseille, November 10, 1940
Coûté américain de Secours
60, rue Grignan, Marseille

LE CAMP D'ARGELES

Situation et Organisation

Le Camp d'Argelès, comme d'ailleurs ceux de St. Cyprien et du Barcarès, est construit à l'endroit le plus inhospitalier de la Catalogne Française.

Il se compose de baraques en planches, toile goudronnée et toile ondulée - il n'existe aucun bâtiment permanent - construites à même le sable, en bordure de la mer, à une dizaine de kilomètres de l'extrémité orientale des Pyrénées, sur une plage absolument plat, exposé à tous les vents et aux inondations.

A la fin du mois d'octobre le camp presque tout entier a été recouvert par les eaux de la Nesse et du Tech en crue, ce qui, bien entendu, y a rendu l'existence encore plus précaire et a désorganisé les relations d'ilot à ilot.

Il y a actuellement environ 15 à 20.000 internés, ce qui fait du camp d'Argelès la deuxième ville des Pyrénées Orientales et loin devant la troisième.

Il n'a pas été possible d'obtenir communication du chiffre officiel des prisonniers et les estimations varient suivant les personnes consultées, mais quand elles appartiennent à l'État-major du Camp ou à la Préfecture. Le nombre des Espagnols donné ci-dessous est donc sujet à réserve.

Il y a 3 camps d'Espagnols, internés civils, entrés en France en février 1939 avec la retraite de l'armée de Catalogne, à peu près 12.000 hommes; un camp de travailleurs Espagnols, comprenant un nombre variable de compagnies (celles-ci quittant le camp pour effectuer des travaux dans la région, puis le réintégrant) au 9 Novembre ils étaient environ 2.500.

Dans l'avant camp sont garés peut-être 2.000 femmes et enfants en presque totalité Espagnols.

Il y a en outre 309 réfugiés de pays neutres (Bulgares, Roumains, Russes, Serbes etc.) provenant de la liquidation de St. Cyprien le 30 octobre (les internés des pays belligérants ayant été transférés à Gurs):

300 réfugiés sans ressources arrêtés dans la région ces derniers temps et qui pour un certain euphémisme administratif sont considérés comme des "Bullénistes".

10.11.40

Strictement confidentiel
Un certain nombre de romanciers venant d'Alsace Lorraine.

Enfin 1 300 anciens combattants des brigades internationales de la guerre d'Espagne qui ont passé de camp en camp depuis l'été 1939. Ils sont de toutes nationalités : 193 Italiens, 189 Polonais, 178 Autrichiens, 127 Allemands, 81 Yougoslaves, 66 Ukrainiens, 52 Bulgares, 34 Roumains et Tchèques, Hongrois, etc.

Le camp est commandé par un Colonel assisté d'officiers subalternes Français, d'un commissaire de Police Spécial. Le garde du camp est assuré par les Gardes Mobiles qui ont remplacé dernièrement les Tirailleurs Sénégalais.

Ces gardes n'assurent d'une façon générale que la police extérieure du camp, ils en surveillent les issues, contrôlent les sorties, rétablissent l'ordre à l'intérieur en cas de tracas et s'occupent du "camp spécial" qui est l'enclos réservé aux punis.

A l'intérieur des îlots les groupes de barraques sont commandés par des internés, nommés par l'administration, sauf en ce qui concerne les "Internationaux" qui, arrivés en groupe constitué, ont une discipline ferme, et décidés à se faire respecter, ont élus leurs responsables.

Chaque îlot est séparé des autres par un réseau de fil de fer barbelé et l'ensemble du camp est entouré d'un double réseaux. Les communications d'un îlot à l'autre sont donc rares, même pour les ménages qui se trouvent séparés.

L'organisation qui a été bouleversée par les suites de la défaite était parait-il meilleure avant le mois de juin et il existait alors un camp familial où les familles étaient groupées.

**Conditions Matérielles**

Elles sont littéralement affreuses. Les barraques sont posées à même le sable sans aucune planche, aucune n'est complètement étanchée et le sable soulevé par le vent pénètre par les fissures. Encore de notables améliorations ont-elles été apportées par les internés durant leur séjour prolongé dans le camp. La lumière entre parfois difficilement par ses ouvertures bouchées par du treillis ou blanchi par du treillis huilé. Il n'y a aucun autre moyen d'éclairage et tout activité cesse donc, en hiver, avant la tombée de la nuit. L'électricité n'est installée que dans les barreaux de l'état-major et les lampes à essence, très difficile à approvisionner, sont une curiosité du camp.

Aucun moyen de chauffage, sauf aux internés, quelques très rares poêles réutilisent de bois de conserve et de fil de fer.
Le très grande majorité des internés, hommes, femmes et enfants, couchent à même le sable.

Au camp spécial les prisonniers, après les inondations, couchaient sur le sable encore tout humide.

Les internés qui sont, de loin, les mieux organisés et les plus confortablement installés, couchaient sur de solides lits faits de quatre poteaux enfoncés dans le sol et tendus de toile à sac, ou de fils de fer à grosses mailles, sur des planches, des bancs ou des plques de tôle enduites artificiellement a cope de cresson et aux bords relevés en forme de boîte, mais, encore une fois, ceci est exceptionnel et il s'agit pour chaque amélioration (obtenir des planches ou du treillis) bâtiiller avec l'administration du camp.

En cas de refus les internés se servaient eux-mêmes, étant obligés de voler le bois aux pelissières des habitations voisines ou abattant des branches. C'est pourquoi toute nouvelle augmentation du mobilier est interdite.

Pas de paille, pas de fourrures, pas de couvertures, pas de couettes, pas de ces articles qui sont interdits.

La plupart des internés n'ont comme vêtements et équipement que ce qu'ils avaient avec eux en entrant en France. Il y a près de deux ans : leurs vêtements de corps et quelques-unes un vête-

LAURENTIENNE

M. C. DE SOUZA

Je me suis assuré personnellement de ces conditions de la-

Je ne suis assuré personnellement de ces conditions de lo-

Les Tchéques de la Brigade Internationale ont été retirés du camp au début de la guerre pour être versés à la Légion Tchécoslovaque servant sur le front français. À l'issue de la guerre, ils ont été réintégérés au camp pour représenter la région qu'ils avaient aidée, bien que plusieurs d'entre eux aient été blessés. Ils n'ont pas reçu de cette participation à la guerre que l'avantage d'avoir une pailleuse pleine de vermine et de conserver quelques affets militaires.
La nourriture est très insuffisante. Voici quelles étaient en moyenne au mois de Septembre, les proportions par jour et par homme à la brigade internationale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comestible</th>
<th>Quantité</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Viande avec os</td>
<td>150 gr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pain</td>
<td>400 &quot;</td>
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<td>Tomates</td>
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<td>Sel</td>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Graisse</td>
<td>20 &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pois chiches</td>
<td>53 &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riz</td>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aubergines</td>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sucre</td>
<td>11 &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Café</td>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
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</tbody>
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Pois de terre très rares, pas de vin.

Mais ces proportions ont été depuis diminuées de 20% et davantage encore pour la viande (60 gr. trois fois par semaine) encore celle-ci n’est-elle généralement bonne qu’à être versée dans la soupe.

Le plupart des internés mangent 2 fois par jour une mixture de soupe et 350 grammes de mauvais pain en tout, trois fois par semaine un mélange baptisé cafet, eaux et sans sucre. Alors que la proportion moyenne de calories par jour doit être de 2000, elle n’a jamais dépassé 1.300 au camp.

Il arrive souvent que certains prisonniers récupèrent les déchets de cuisiniers trop dégoutés et s’en servent après les avoir fait bouillir.

**Situation sanitaire**

Rien n’a été désinfecté depuis l’arrivée des rescapés de l’écou abandonnant beaucoup avaient la gale. Les puce abondent et les rats (qui sont mangés parfois) sont nombreux.

L’hygiène est rudimentaire par suite de la pénurie d’eau et du défaut d’installations de lavage. Le drap confectionné par les internationaux se compose d’un abri en toile oualée, au toit percé de trous, surmonté d’une sorte de réservoir où l’eau verse de l’eau froide. Le sel est pollué par les eaux grasses et sales, les déchets (dont heurt, une bonne partie est "recupérée") sont simplement enterrés sur la plage.

L’eau potable trouble mais jaunâtre n’est promue que par de très rares poches (1 pour 2.000 hommes dans un fût).
Le genre de vie et l'insuffisance de nourriture précipitent à la mort tous les internés, surtout les femmes et les enfants.

J'ai visité l'infirmerie des internés, c'est une baraque comme les autres avec seulement un plancher et un toit, les médicaments manquent, il est impossible de faire suivre un régime aux malades dont la plupart restent couchés dans leur baraque habituelle. Extrêmement peu de litière.

Aucune napoule n'est possible en raison du vent qui fait voltiger le sable par tous les interstices du boisage serré.

Rien que pour la Brigade Internationale (1.300 hommes) qui compte 180 invalides de guerre il y a actuellement 45 tuberculeux en traitement à Pérpignan et à l'Infirmerie Générale du camp et 30 à 40 malades chroniques.

La situation sanitaire va naturellement en empirant avec l'hiver et l'encadrement de la résistance physique consécutive à l'internement prolongé dans de belles conditions. Il y a de nombreux cas d'amélioration et de pré-tuberculose.

Les malades graves sont évacués sur l'hôpital S. Louis à Pérpignan (c'est un hôpital-prison où les conditions d'internement sont à peine atténuées. La nourriture est légèrement plus substantielle mais les malades préfèrent retourner au camp, où, du moins, ils ne se sentent pas aussi isolés). Enfin les indemnisations ont amené dans ou à proximité du camp des détritus de toute sorte et des animaux crevés qui n'ont certes pas assaini l'atmosphère.

**Conditions Morales**

Les internés et les œuvres charitables qui sont un rapport avec eux s'accordent pour reconnaître que le colonel commandant le camp est un homme de bonnes intentions. Les officiers sous-ordonnés sont aussi, dans l'ensemble, plutôt portés à la bienveillance mais ils ont à faire face à une situation tragique et sont sous censur pour y résoudre sensiblement. Les gardes mobiles sont relativement bien disposés quand on ne leur causer pas de dérangement; c'est à dire qu'un ne proteste pas et qu'on se satisfait passivement des conditions de l'internement, mis quelques uns se montrent parfois brutaux. La surveillance qu'ils exercent autour du camp leur fait souvent entrer de la main sur un prisonnier qui veut "prendre l'air" et l'arrestation n'est pas toujours exempte de brutalité. Ces voies de fait se multipliant, parait-il, plus souvent au camp spécial où sont enfermés les punis. Les prisonniers internés qui se plaignent que les Sénégalais étaient préférés à la maison française.
La population est favorable aux internés et leur témoigne sa sympathie quand elle en a l'occasion. Les rapports seraient encore meilleurs si quelques habitants du voisinage n'avaient à se plaindre de vols commis chez eux par les prisonniers que les circonstances obligent à ces lourds, de bois principalement.

Les internés ne se livrent à aucun travail, de mais ils n'y sont pas contraints et ne s'occupent que s'ils le peuvent et le veulent bien. S'ils le peuvent, car ils n'ont aucun matériel. Mais ils arrivent encore tout à réaliser des produits. Au marché des internationaux que j'ai visité en détail, chaque groupe national a un atelier organisé avec des moyens de fortune. Les outils sont rudimentaires : limes à angle, couteaux, papier de verre, poignons, torches fabriqués avec de vieilles roues de bicyclettes, des couroises en morceaux d'étoupe et des segments de bouches. Les ateliers sanitaires sont encore plus rudimentaires : os de bœufs, ventre surtout de la cuisine, débris de brosses à dents, morceaux de ferrailles, etc. Une vieille auto enfoncée dans le sol a fourni à ces artisans l'aluminium du carburateur, le cuivre des tuyauteries, le porcelaine des bougies, plaques de tôle, caoutchouc, malgré cela, des petites ferrailles sortent des ateliers : avions miniatures, briquets, cendriers, jouets, bagues, petits tableaux, jouets de dominos et déchets. Les incantations ont appris des débris de meubles qui ont orienté certains artistes vers la scierie (boîtes à cigare, statues, sculptures...). Ces objets sont venus à l'extérieur du camp par les rares privilégiés qui peuvent avoir une telle journée de liberté ou par ceux qui sortent en fraude, risquant 15 jours de camp spécial pour gagner quelque dizaines de francs qui servent à améliorer le menu, acheter des médicaments, ou apprendre la cantine (chaudrons à griller par exemple). Un atelier de tailleur s'est installé, qui a eu de nombreux accords pour se procurer les vêtements militaires à la comédie.

Il y a aussi un corsetier qui, n'ayant pas de feuilles de cuir pour le ressouagement, en est réduit à réparer les chaussures avec des morceaux préludés sur de vieux souliers abandonnés sur les trépieds ou sur la plage.

Les "centres de culture" sont nombreux aussi, tant chez les Espagnols, que chez les Internationaux. On lit des livres de classe rudimentaires avec un programme scolaire disciplinaire et intéressant : Histoire, géographie, Langues étrangères, grâce auquel l'alphabétisation a été presque entièrement rétablie. Tout ceci se passe, bien entendu, en l'absence de l'administration qui ne s'occupe plus de la vie intérieure des camps, sauf pour y rétablir l'ordre et y maintenir la discipline.
Les permissions sont très rares, courtes (journée ou deux jours) et seulement pour la région immédiatement voisine. On peut dire que chaque interne sort une fois tous les deux mois. Le Colonel en accorde quelquefois davantage, et une amélioration est en vue mais de toutes façons ce régime est plus qu'insuffisant. Même pour les démarches de visas les autorisations de sorties exceptionnelles sont fort rares et je connais le cas d’un Brésilien qui depuis deux mois et demi n’a pas pu sortir du camp, bien que les démarches pour son visa soient en bonne voie et qu’il ait reçu plusieurs convocations télégraphiques de son Consulat à Marseille.

Le moral est évidemment très bas. Les internationaux qui ont conservé une organisation remarquable, une cohésion et un courage exceptionnel qui forcent le respect, grâce à leurs occupations et à leur charité, sont exceptionnellement favorisés sous ce rapport. Mais les Espagnols qui n’ont pas tous un long passé de militant derrière eux, plus éprouvés que les autres par les privations, ouvriers, paysans, ayant combattu dans l’armée républicaine mais en état non plus de résistants plutôt arriérés politiquement et culturellement sont très démotivés.

Ils n’ont jamais aucune issue à leur insoutenable situation, et n’ont pas des horreurs de la retexample de Catalogne suivi à une longue période de privations à un internement de deux ans (encore plus éprouvant normalement après la défaite) dans un pays qu’ils croyaient nul. Lourds souvenirs de protestations pour obtenir une amélioration à leur sort ou de meilleurs traitements se sont souvent terminés par l’envoi direct en Espagne de tout un groupe de protestataires. Allégé calme, nombreux sont ceux qui, à bout de force et de résistance, finissent par demander leur rapatriement, surtout parmi les femmes et les enfants. Même les internationaux ont demandé pour la plupart leur retour dans leur pays d’origine, sauf les Allemands. Ils ont la certitude qu’ils ne seront pas plus traités qu’ils ne le sont ici. Le prisonnier mieux que le camp et je ne pense en effet pas qu’aucun camp de concentration puisse avoir un régime pire que l’Argelès. Du moins seront-ils chez eux et pourront-ils avoir des rapports avec leurs proches.

L’assignation est très difficile et les sorties, pour ceux-ci, ont été refusées presque systématiquement. Enfin les démarches sont rendues impossibles ou presque à cause du défaut de permissions de sortie.
Les Compagnies de Travailleurs Espagnols sont plus favorisées. Leur régime est celui des prestataires. Ils gagnent 0 Fra.50 par jour et sont généralement mieux logés et nourris, mais leur liberté est tout aussi surveillée.

Les œuvres qui s'occupent des internés sont peu nombreuses et ont trop peu de ressources pour soulager tant de misères.

Les Quakers ont distribué des vêtements, des vivres des couvertures et des livres, mais il reste beaucoup à faire.

Un comité incarqué sous les auspices du grand rabbin de Toulouse vient de se constituer à Perpignan.

Le Croix Rouge a envoyé quelques médicaments.

Enfin, l'initiative privée soulage quelques cas, mais tout cela est fragmentaire et de peu d'importance au regard de ce qu'il reste à faire, surtout auprès des pouvoirs publics pour améliorer les conditions générales de l'internement et la situation matérielle.

Ce qu'ils devoient:

1) Une aide médicale sous forme de médicaments, lait condensé, coton hydrophile etc....

2) Des vêtements, chandails, couvertures, souliers.

3) Une aide culturelle sous forme de livres, revues, journaux de toutes langues.

4) Des sorties plus fréquentes notamment pour les détenus de visites.

5) Qu'on envisage la possibilité de leur permettre de recevoir de l'argent ou des colis de leurs familles à l'étranger, certains ayant une situation de fortune plutôt au-dessus de la moyenne, mais étant ici, totalement démunis de ressources.

6) Qu'on leur permette de vendre les objets sortant des ateliers dans les villes importantes, soit par l'octroi de permissions assez larges aux vendeurs, soit par l'organisation de stands dans certains magasins ou bureaux d'œuvres de bienveillance.
À Noter qu'Argelès doit recevoir dans les jours à venir tous les étrangers sans ressources arrêtés en zone libre et qui sont "hébergés" par mesure de sécurité publique et pour qu'ils ne soient pas à l'charge des budgets locaux.

Cette manière de procéder dans un pays neutre avec les internés d'un pays belligérant ne peut se justifier par aucune loi, ni aucun précédent dans le droit international. Il a toujours été d'usage de traiter les internés de guerre avec un minimum d'égards et d'humanité. Il n'y a pas d'exemple d'un pareil traitement, ni en Suisse (en 1871 et 1940) ni même en Allemagne (1914 et 1940)- traitement qui assimile les internés à des criminels de droit commun. Et il importe également de souligner la carence des organisations telles que la Croix Rouge Internationale qui n'ont pas cherché à obtenir pour les Espagnols et Internationaux des camps de France les garanties élémentaires d'humanité qu'on impose aux belligérants pour leurs adversaires prisonniers.

D.B.

MARSEILLE
10, Novembre 1940
ANNEXE AU RAPPORT SUR LE CAMP D'ARGELIES

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LETTE REÇUE AU BUREAU DU COMITÉ AMÉRICAIN DE SECOURS
le 11-11-1940

Le 10 Novembre 1940

304 personnes malheureuses vous adressent un vibrant appel dans leur grand désespoir. Il s'agit d'un groupe qui a été séparé parmi les internés civils du Camp St. Cyprien, pour la plupart des Italiens et des ressortissants de pays neutres. Les Allemands et Autrichiens ont été transférés au Camp d'Internés de Gare, tandis que notre groupe fut amené au Camp d'Argelies-sur-Mer.

Nous avons trouvé ici des conditions en comparaison des- quelles celles de St. Cyprien doivent être considérées comme idéales. Nous avons des conditions de St. Cyprien ont été constatées comme insuffisantes. Des baraquées à moitié démolies en toile, ne protégeant point contre le vent et les intempéries. Une seule baraque a un plancher en bois, dans les autres on n'a du sol humide avec toutes sortes de saleté et d'ordures.

Le question de nourriture est catastrophique. Pendant des journées, ni café, ni autre déjeuner le matin, à midi et le soir une soupe qui n'est à peine autre chose que de l'eau chaude, presque sans sel, car le sel manque, avec une nourriture nulle, car la gravité fait défaut, et seulement un tout petit peu carottes ou betteraves dans le potage, pas de légumes. La viande est absolument insuffisante et pour la plupart la tripaire. Pour préparer la tripaire il faut toujours faire des collectes pour avoir un peu d'œufs et du sel. Avec une nourriture pareille, nous affirmons avec certitude que nous allons périr. Le seul aliment qui soit réellement insuffisant pour notre physique déjà fort affaibli après 6 mois d'internement.

Ce que nous vonsons de vous dire, ce n'est pas une façon de parler de quelqu'un qui introduit une demande, mais ce n'est rien que la vérité, confirmée également par la signature du médecin de notre camp.

Il faut ajouter que la plupart parmi nous n'avons plus rien pour nous habiller, car chacun possède seulement les vêtements et linge que l'on portait lors de l'arrestation en Belgique. Dans ces loques, on n'est plus que protégé contre le froid des nuits et des orages dans les baraquées à moitié ouvertes.

Dans notre grand désespoir, nous nous adressons à vous avec les demandes suivantes :
Envoyez-nous des vêtements chauds, des bas, des chaussettes, du linge, etc. s'il ne s'agit pas d'objets neutres.

Examinons notre situation juridique, on nous considère ici comme réfugiés et plus comme internés civils et dites-nous si il vous plaît, les droits que nous avons de ce côté.

Ne prênez pas notre cri de désespoir comme une lamentation de quelqu'un qui fait une demande ! Les soulignes, hommes du camp de toute confiance ont tout fait auprès des autorités françaises pour l'amélioration de notre sort. On n'a trouvé beau-
coup de compréhension pour notre situation, mis en nous a ex-
pliqué qu'une amélioration serait artificielle impossible, comme en manquant du tout : on manque de denrées alimentaires,
des légumes secs, du bois pour tous les fumeurs, de la peau
tout le seiple et à l'intérieur des baraques. Récemment, il n'y a pas question de lumière, de chauffage, du vin pour ren-
plicer l'eau qui ne répond aux conditions hygiéniques et à ce
que nous avons au Camp Saint Cyprien.

Nous vous supplions instamment, ne tardez pas ! Sortez la
présente lettre de votre courrier quotidien de demandes indivi-
duelles, puisqu'il s'agit de la vie de centaines d'hommes !
Jusqu'à présent, il nous était possible de citer nos camarades et d'inviter des crises de ponction, on les assurant que vous ne
manquerez certainement pas de nous accorder une assistance in-
adite. Nous espérons que vous nous donnerez tout ce que vous n'avez pas nous abandonner.

Écrivez-nous, s'il vous plaît, immédiatement. Envoyez-nous
un délégué pour faire les enquêtes sur place, mais surtout,
ne tardez pas. Agissez de suite et envoyez-nous la nécessité.

Nous vous adressons cet appel plein de désespoir et vous
prions de croire à notre reconnaissance devancée.

Agréez, Messieurs, l'expression de nos sentiments très
dévoués ;

(Suivant 304 signatures)

Extrait d'une lettre reçue d'un interné au Camp d'Argelès :


On nous donne maintenant si peu à manger
que la viande de porc est devenue un act de choix.
Ressortissants allemands de 17 - 65 ans:

Par ressortissants allemands, il faut entendre Allemands ou nationaux des pays absorbés par le Reich avant l'ouverture des hostilités.

Les hommes, y compris ceux qui demandent leur remise aux autorités allemandes, doivent être dirigés sur le Camp des Milles à l'exception des catégories suivantes, qui doivent être libérées à condition qu'elles aient des ressources et un domicile en zone libre:

1. anciens légionnaires
2. individus ayant femme ou enfants français
3. individus dont le père ou le fils a été mobilisé sous les drapeaux français
4. Autrichiens, reconnus loyaux par le préfet ou B.C.R.

Les femmes, vieillards et enfants doivent être présentés à la Préfecture.

Anoter que les sujets déchus de la nationalité allemande par l'Allemagne ne doivent être considérés commeapatrides et entrent dans la catégorie des "ressortissants allemands".

Engagés volontaires étrangers:

Ils sont démobilisés à condition d'avoir un domicile en zone libre et un certificat de travail ou des ressources. Sinon, ils sont dirigés:

1. Ceux provenant des régiments français, sur le camp des Milles
2. Ceux provenant des régiments de marche étrangers, sur le camp de Septfonds/

Prestataires allemands et autrichiens:

Doivent être dirigés sur le Groupe 304 à Langlade (Note N°309 h/17 du 2 Octobre de la XVe Région).

Travaillleurs Espagnols:

isolés, doivent être dirigés sur le Groupe 128 à Miramas.

Les travailleurs espagnols inaptes physiquement doivent être dirigés sur le Camp d'Argelès.
Militaires ou travailleurs tchécoslovaques:
doivent être dirigés sur Agde (Note n° 309 h/L du 1 Octobre d.l.
XVe Rég.).

Etrangers de toutes nationalités déclarés dangereux pour l'ordre
général par arrêté préfectoral: doivent être dirigés sous escorte de
Gendarmerie:
- les hommes sur le Fort St. Hyperlith
- les femmes sur le Camp de Hieucros.

Etrangers de toutes nationalités n'appartenant pas aux catégories
mentionnées: à laisser en liberté s'ils ont une autorisation de
séjour, à laisser passer s'ils se rendent dans un pays autre que
le pays d'origine, en transitant par le Camp de départ, aménagé à
cet effet dans les Bouches du Rhône.

S'ils sont déclarés en surnombre dans l'économie nationale par arrêté
préfectoral, ils doivent être dirigés sur le camp d'Argelès, munis
d'un sauf conduit modèle 8-ter délivré par la Gendarmerie (Circ.n°43
du 10 Octobre de la Direction de Police du territoire et des étrang-
gers VIIe Bureau).

Militaires polonais non encore démobilisés régulièrement par
l'autorité française: doivent être dirigés sur le Camp de Carpiagne.

Les Militaire polonais démobilisés et non libérés:
c'est-à-dire n'ayant pas de ressources, pas de domicile en zone libre,
pas d'autorisation de séjour de moins d'un an, doivent être dirigés
sur le camp de côte, Martène (Bd; Ph.) à l'exception des déserteurs
des Groupes 801 à 806 qui doivent être dirigés sur le Camp de
Garigues.

Les officiers polonais démobilisés non employés à l'encadrement des
travailleurs: ont une résidence obligatoire assignée sur le territoire
de la région.

Militaires allemands ou italiens déserteurs:
a faire incarcérer à la Maison d'Arrêt, rendre compte immédiatement
à la subdivision.

7 Novembre 1940.
February 21, 1941

Memorandum for Mr. Sumner Welles

Mrs. Marian Fry talked to me on the telephone and told me you could not see her and that you made an appointment with Mr. Long for her. Will you please look into this situation yourself and let me know?

E.R.
Send a memo from Mrs. Roosevelt to Mr. Sumner Welles

Mrs. Varian Fry talked to me on the telephone and told me you could not see her and that you made an appointment with Mr. Long for her. Will you please look into this situation yourself and let me know?

Just sign E.R. as initials and send over.
Dear Eleanor:

I have just received your memorandum of February 21 with regard to Mrs. Varian Fry.

I was sorry not to be able to see Mrs. Fry myself but since I had every minute of the day already filled up, I asked Mr. Long to see her in my place.

For your information I am enclosing herewith Mr. Long's memorandum of his conversation with Mrs. Fry. As soon as a final decision in this case is made, I shall be glad to let you know.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosure.

Mrs. Roosevelt,
The White House.
Memorandum of Conversation

DATE:
February 21, 1941.

SUBJECT: Passport for Mr. Varian Fry

PARTICIPANTS: Mrs. Varian Fry and Mr. Long

COPIES TO:

At the request of Mrs. Roosevelt and by reference from Mr. Welles, Mrs. Varian Fry came in by appointment at her request to ask that her husband, Varian Fry, now in France as a representative of the Emergency Rescue Committee be given a passport. His passport expired on January 22. He is now without a passport.

I reviewed with Mrs. Fry some of the activities of her husband which I said had been, from the point of view of the Department, of doubtful wisdom. She said that those particular extralegal activities were no longer being prosecuted and that he was now in Marseille giving relief in the form of small sums of money to persons of Jewish or foreign nationality or who
who had lost their nationality through the decisions of the German or Russian Governments and who were unable to secure employment in France. Were it not for the small sums of money they would starve. His activities were limited entirely to relief measures of that nature and he spent between $10,000 and $15,000 a month on these people and he acted as an agent of the Emergency Rescue Committee.

I asked Mrs. Fry if the Emergency Rescue Committee would request us to issue him a passport for that purpose. She said that she was sure they would. I asked her to secure such a letter and said that in the meantime I would cable Vichy and ask if there was any reason why a passport should not be issued to Mr. Fry and when the answer came from Vichy and the letter arrived from the Emergency Rescue Committee that I would correlate them and would consider the matter in connection with the European Division and the Passport Division and that we would come to a fair decision in the matter.

B. L.

A-L:BL:SRW
May 15, 1941

Dear Mrs. Fry:

Miss Thompson gave me your message and I am sorry to say that there is nothing I can do for your husband.

I think he will have to come home because he has done things which the government does not feel it can stand behind. I am sure they will issue him a passport to come on even though it means that someone else will have to be sent to take over the work which he is doing.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Varian Fry
56 Irving Place
NYC
Emergency Rescue Committee
Incorporated
122 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 3-4590

November 21, 1941

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It was very pleasant to see you again the other evening and to talk with you, even so briefly, about my experiences in France.

I am planning to go to Washington the beginning of next week and should very much like an opportunity to tell you more about some of the things that I learned there.

Do you suppose you could find a half-hour for me in one of your busy days?

I shall be in Washington on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and possibly also Thursday.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

[Initials]

VMFlmb
September 12, 1942

Dear Mr. Welles:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me, before she left Washington this week, to send you the enclosed copy of a report she has received from Mr. Varian Fry, which she wishes kept confidential. Her question to you is: "Could we protest and may I mention in my column?"

Very sincerely yours,

Administrative Officer
Social Correspondence

Honorable Sumner Welles
Under Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.
Fifty Six Irving Place
NEW YORK

August 27, 1942

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The refugees in France now face the greatest danger which has come their way since the armistice of June 1940. I am enclosing a memorandum based on reports just received by the Joint Distribution Committee and the Emergency Rescue Committee. The information in this report is unimpeachable, but neither organization cares to be quoted in connection with it for the reason that the information reached them by underground routes.

My own feeling is that we ought not to seem, by official silence, to condone such brutal and barbaric treatment of defenseless men, women and children. I hope that you will agree with this and that you will use your influence to get the State Department to make a vigorous public statement. I also hope that you will mention these events in your column.

Don't answer this letter. I don't expect a reply.

Sincerely yours,

Varian Fry
Vichy has agreed to deport 16,000 foreigners and French Jews from the occupied zone and 10,000 foreigners, believed to be both Jewish and Gentile, but so far no French, from the unoccupied zone. 3,600 persons have already been deported from the unoccupied zone to an unknown destination in eastern Europe, including 1,000 from the camp at Gurs, 700 in the camp at Vernet, and 700 from the camp at Les Milles. According to one report, the entire camp of Vernet has been taken to the demarcation line and handed over to the Gestapo. Men, women and children are being arrested in the streets of Marseille, Toulouse, Lyon and other population centers to make up the quota. In the unoccupied zone children over five years of age are being deported with their parents, in the occupied zone children of two years or more. Children under these ages are being left behind, but their parents are being sent, thus making the children virtual orphans.

People are trying to escape over the frontiers into Spain and Switzerland, and the Spanish and Swiss authorities have been turning them back. This is the significance of a cable from Bern in the New York Times of August 25, according to which, under pressure of Swiss welfare organizations, the Swiss federal government has decided not to deport refugees that succeeded in eluding the authorities and entering Switzerland illegally before August 13th. There have been 300 suicides in France since the deportations began. All French exit permits have been stopped without distinction of race or nationality.

Among those who have already been deported are General Mieczyslaw Borstein, a Pole who had a Canadian visa and a United States transit visa which arrived too late to do him any good; Erich Jacobi, a German intellectual, Karl Bordek, an Austrian Social Democrat, and Hermann Bieber, a German Social Democrat, and his wife. The last two had had so-called "emergency"visas, but the visas had expired and had not been renewed in time.

According to a Washington source, the agreement to deport the refugees is the result of an attempt on Vichy's part to obtain more food. Laval is
said to have complained to the Germans that they were taking too much food from France. To this the Germans are reported to have replied somewhat as follows:

"Get rid of your Jews and foreigners first and then perhaps we will talk about giving you more food – if you still need it."

August 28, 1942
September 28, 1942.

My dear Mr. Welles:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for your letter of September 22nd in which you advise her concerning the matter mentioned in the report sent to her by Mr. Varian Fry.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Hon. Sumner Welles
Under Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D. C.
Dear Eleanor:

I have Mr. Magee’s memorandum of September 12, 1942 enclosing a copy of a report which you have received from Mr. Varian Fry with respect to the mass deportation of foreign Jews in France. We have protested not once but several times to the head of the French Government against this inhuman program. Heads of our relief organizations in unoccupied France have protested to Marshal Petain. Representatives of other civilized states have followed suit. All this, however, has made no impression on Laval who is apparently determined to carry out his original plans to return these unfortunate people to their oppressors.

While the attached report appears to be basically correct, we cannot, of course, vouch for the names of the individuals or the figures mentioned, nor do we have any confirmation of the reasons, reported by Mr. Fry, for the French Government’s action.

I see no objection to your using this material in your column.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure: Report returned.

Mrs. Roosevelt,
The White House.
Vichy has agreed to deport 16,000 foreigners and French Jews from the occupied zone and 10,000 foreigners, believed to be both Jewish and Gentile, but so far no French, from the unoccupied zone. 3,600 persons have already been deported from the unoccupied zone to an unknown destination in eastern Europe, including 1,000 from the camp at Gurs, 700 in the camp at Vernet, and 700 from the camp at Les Milles. According to one report, the entire camp of Vernet has been taken to the demarcation line and handed over to the Gestapo. Men, women and children are being arrested in the streets of Marseille, Toulouse, Lyon and other population centers to make up the quota. In the unoccupied zone children over five years of age are being deported with their parents, in the occupied zone children of two years or more. Children under those ages are being left behind, but their parents are being sent, thus making the children virtual orphans.

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Among those who have already been deported are General Mieczyslaw Bortenstein, a Pole who had a Canadian visa and a United States transit visa which arrived too late to do him any good; Erich Jacobi, a German intellectual, Karl Bordet, an Austrian Social Democrat, and Hermann Bieber, a German Social Democrat, and his wife. The last two had had so-called "emergency" visas, but the visas had expired and had not been renewed in time.

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"Get rid of your Jews and foreigners first and then perhaps we will talk about giving you more food - if you still need it."

August 26, 1942
February 10, 1944.

My dear Mr. Fry:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to thank you so much for the publications. She is glad to have them and appreciates your kindness in sending them to her.

Mrs. Roosevelt is further appreciative of your offer to send the Occasional Papers also, and will be very glad to have them.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Varian Fry
Executive Secretary
American Labor Conference on International Affairs
9 East 46th Street
New York (17), New York.
American Labor Conference on International Affairs

February 7th, 1944

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here are some of our recent publications. I am not sending you everything we have gotten out, because it makes a pretty sizable quantity altogether, and I'm afraid you would not have time to read it. But I am sure you will be interested to know that we are publishing not only a quarterly review, but also a bi-weekly news service for the labor press and various series of Occasional Papers.

I see that you are already on the mailing list of the News Letter, and I am putting you down on the mailing list of the quarterly. If you would like to have them, I shall be very glad to send you the Occasional Papers also.

It was very pleasant to see you again and to have an opportunity to talk to you about my work.

Sincerely yours,

Varian Fry
Executive Secretary
February 16, 1944.

My dear Mr. Fry:

I have your note of February 14th and Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you so much for your kindness in placing her name on your general mailing list.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.
American Labor Conference on International Affairs

William Green
Chairman
David Dubinsky
Treasurer
Varian Fry
Executive Secretary

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February 14th, 1944

Miss Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Thompson:

Thank you for your note.

Will you tell Mrs. Roosevelt that I am putting her name down on our general mailing list, so that she will receive everything we publish in the future?

Sincerely yours,

Varian Fry
Executive Secretary
Through the courtesy of the Treasury Department, I am able to send you today a copy of the Joint Statement by Experts on the Establishment of an International Monetary Fund of the United and Associated Nations.

This statement will be made the basis of the discussions at the International Monetary Conference now being held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire.

Varian Fry
Executive Secretary
Joint Statement by Experts
on the Establishment of an

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
OF THE
UNITED AND ASSOCIATED NATIONS

April 21, 1944

U. S. TREASURY  WASHINGTON, D. C.
For more than a year, the technical experts of the United and Associated Nations have been considering tentative proposals for post-war international monetary cooperation.

A preliminary draft of a proposal for an international stabilization fund, prepared by the technical staffs of the Treasury and other Departments of this Government, was sent by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Finance Ministers of the United and Associated Nations for study by their technical experts. The Finance Ministers were also invited to send representatives to Washington for informal discussions with the technical men of this Government.

As a result of discussions among the technical experts of more than 30 of the United and Associated Nations, the conclusion was reached that the most practical method of assuring international monetary cooperation is through the establishment of an International Monetary Fund. The experts have issued a Joint Statement setting forth the principles which they believe should constitute the basis for this fund.

The Joint Statement of the experts has been published in Washington, London, Moscow, Chungking, and in the capitals of other United Nations. It is, of course, a document representing only the views of the technical experts of the United and Associated Nations. No government is in any way bound by the Joint Statement.
FOREWORD

By Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury

The publication of the Joint Statement of the recommendations of the experts on an International Monetary Fund is concrete evidence that the United Nations can and will cooperate in establishing a peaceful and prosperous world.

It is a matter of gratification that the agreement of the experts on principles for international monetary cooperation was reached in harmony with the best traditions of democracy. Tentative proposals prepared by the technical experts of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada were published and widely distributed. In this country, the representatives of the Treasury and of other Departments discussed the tentative proposals with interested groups in Washington, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York, and other cities. Out of these meetings came helpful suggestions, many of which were incorporated in the Joint Statement. In the meantime, exploratory discussions were going on between the technical representatives of the United States and the technical representatives of more than 30 other countries. As a result of these discussions, an agreement was reached by the experts recommending the establishment of an International Monetary Fund as the most practical method of assuring international monetary cooperation.

The tentative proposals that have been under discussion by the experts are part of a broad program for cooperation on international economic problems among the United Nations. The objectives of this program are the expansion and development of international trade, the revival of international investment for productive purposes, the establishment of orderly and stable exchange rates, and the elimination of discriminatory exchange practices that hamper world trade. The attainment of these objectives will go far toward preventing serious economic disruption in many countries during the critical decade after the war.

The discussions up to now have all been of a technical nature and exploratory in character. What has been done represents the views of the technical experts of this country and other countries that have been studying the question. The United States will not in any way be committed until Congress takes action.
JOINT STATEMENT BY EXPERTS
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Sufficient discussion of the problems of international monetary cooperation has taken place at the technical level to justify a statement of principles. It is the consensus of opinion of the experts of the United and Associated Nations who have participated in these discussions that the most practical method of assuring international monetary cooperation is through the establishment of an International Monetary Fund. The principles set forth below are designed to constitute the basis for this Fund. Governments are not asked to give final approval to these principles until they have been embodied in the form of definite proposals by the delegates of the United and Associated Nations meeting in a formal conference.

I. Purposes and Policies of the Fund

The Fund will be guided in all its decisions by the purposes and policies set forth below:

1. To promote international monetary cooperation through a permanent institution which provides the machinery for consultation on international monetary problems.

2. To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to contribute in this way to the maintenance of a high level of employment and real income, which must be a primary objective of economic policy.

3. To give confidence to member countries by making the Fund's resources available to them under adequate safeguards, thus giving members time to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity.
I. PURPOSES AND POLICIES OF THE FUND

4. To promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements among member countries, and to avoid competitive exchange depreciation.

5. To assist in the establishment of multilateral payments facilities on current transactions among member countries and in the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade.

6. To shorten the periods and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the international balance of payments of member countries.

II. Subscription to the Fund

1. Member countries shall subscribe in gold and in their local funds amounts (quotas) to be agreed, which will amount altogether to about $8 billion if all the United and Associated Nations subscribe to the Fund (corresponding to about $10 billion for the world as a whole).

2. The quotas may be revised from time to time but changes shall require a four-fifths vote and no member’s quota may be changed without its assent.

3. The obligatory gold subscription of a member country shall be fixed at 25 percent of its subscription (quota) or 10 percent of its holdings of gold and gold-convertible exchange, whichever is the smaller.

III. Transactions With the Fund

1. Member countries shall deal with the Fund only through their Treasury, Central Bank, Stabilization Fund, or other fiscal agencies. The Fund’s account in a member’s currency shall be kept at the Central Bank of the member country.

2. A member shall be entitled to buy another member’s currency from the Fund in exchange for its own currency on the following conditions:

   (a) The member represents that the currency demanded is presently needed for making payments in that cur-
III. TRANSACTIONS WITH THE FUND

rency which are consistent with the purposes of the Fund.

(b) The Fund has not given notice that its holdings of the currency demanded have become scarce in which case the provisions of VI, below, come into force.

(c) The Fund’s total holdings of the currency offered (after having been restored, if below that figure, to 75 percent of the member’s quota) have not been increased by more than 25 percent of the member’s quota during the previous 12 months and do not exceed 200 percent of the quota.

(d) The Fund has not previously given appropriate notice that the member is suspended from making further use of the Fund’s resources on the ground that it is using them in a manner contrary to the purposes and policies of the Fund; but the Fund shall not give such notice until it has presented to the member concerned a report setting forth its views and has allowed a suitable time for reply.

The Fund may in its discretion and on terms which safeguard its interests waive any of the conditions above.

3. The operations on the Fund’s account will be limited to transactions for the purpose of supplying a member country on the member’s initiative with another member’s currency in exchange for its own currency or for gold. Transactions provided for under 4 and 7, below, are not subject to this limitation.

4. The Fund will be entitled at its option, with a view to preventing a particular member’s currency from becoming scarce:

(a) To borrow its currency from a member country;

(b) To offer gold to a member country in exchange for its currency.

5. So long as a member country is entitled to buy another member’s currency from the Fund in exchange for its own currency, it shall be prepared to buy its own currency from that member with that member’s currency or
III. TRANSACTIONS WITH THE FUND

with gold. This shall not apply to currency subject to restrictions in conformity with IX, 3 below, or to holdings of currency which have accumulated as a result of transactions of a current account nature effected before the removal by the member country of restrictions on multilateral clearing maintained or imposed under X, 2 below.

6. A member country desiring to obtain, directly or indirectly, the currency of another member country for gold is expected, provided that it can do so with equal advantage, to acquire the currency by the sale of gold to the Fund. This shall not preclude the sale of newly-mined gold by a gold-producing country on any market.

7. The Fund may also acquire gold from member countries in accordance with the following provisions:

(a) A member country may repurchase from the Fund for gold any part of the latter’s holdings of its currency.

(b) So long as a member’s holdings of gold and gold-convertible exchange exceed its quota, the Fund in selling foreign exchange to that country shall require that one-half of the net sales of such exchange during the Fund’s financial year be paid for with gold.

(c) If at the end of the Fund’s financial year a member’s holdings of gold and gold-convertible exchange have increased, the Fund may require up to one-half of the increase to be used to repurchase part of the Fund’s holdings of its currency so long as this does not reduce the Fund’s holdings of a country’s currency below 75 percent of its quota or the member’s holdings of gold and gold-convertible exchange below its quota.

IV. PAR VALUES OF MEMBER CURRENCIES

1. The par value of a member’s currency shall be agreed with the Fund when it is admitted to membership, and shall be expressed in terms of gold. All trans-
IV. PAR VALUE OF MEMBER CURRENCIES

actions between the Fund and members shall be at par, subject to a fixed charge payable by the member making application to the Fund, and all transactions in member currencies shall be at rates within an agreed percentage of parity.

2. Subject to 5, below, no change in the par value of a member's currency shall be made by the Fund without the country's approval. Member countries agree not to propose a change in the parity of their currency unless they consider it appropriate to the correction of a fundamental disequilibrium. Changes shall be made only with the approval of the Fund, subject to the provisions below.

3. The Fund shall approve a requested change in the par value of a member's currency, if it is essential to the correction of a fundamental disequilibrium. In particular, the Fund shall not reject a requested change, necessary to restore equilibrium, because of the domestic social or political policies of the country applying for a change. In considering a requested change, the Fund shall take into consideration the extreme uncertainties prevailing at the time the parities of the currencies of the member countries were initially agreed upon.

4. After consulting the Fund, a member country may change the established parity of its currency, provided the proposed change, inclusive of any previous change since the establishment of the Fund, does not exceed 10 percent. In the case of application for a further change, not covered by the above and not exceeding 10 percent, the Fund shall give its decision within 2 days of receiving the application, if the applicant so requests.

5. An agreed uniform change may be made in the gold value of member currencies, provided every member country having 10 percent or more of the aggregate quotas approves.

V. Capital Transactions

1. A member country may not use the Fund's resources to meet a large or sustained outflow of capital, and the
Fund may require a member country to exercise controls to prevent such use of the resources of the Fund. This provision is not intended to prevent the use of the Fund’s resources for capital transactions of reasonable amount required for the expansion of exports or in the ordinary course of trade, banking, or other business. Nor is it intended to prevent capital movements which are met out of a member country’s own resources of gold and foreign exchange, provided such capital movements are in accordance with the purposes of the Fund.

2. Subject to VI below, a member country may not use its control of capital movements to restrict payments for current transactions or to delay unduly the transfer of funds in settlement of commitments.

VI. Apportionment of Scarce Currencies

1. When it becomes evident to the Fund that the demand for a member country’s currency may soon exhaust the Fund’s holdings of that currency, the Fund shall so inform member countries and propose an equitable method of apportioning the scarce currency. When a currency is thus declared scarce, the Fund shall issue a report embodying the causes of the scarcity and containing recommendations designed to bring it to an end.

2. A decision by the Fund to apportion a scarce currency shall operate as an authorization to a member country, after consultation with the Fund, temporarily to restrict the freedom of exchange operations in the affected currency, and in determining the manner of restricting the demand and rationing the limited supply among its nationals, the member country shall have complete jurisdiction.

VII. Management of the Fund

1. The Fund shall be governed by a board on which each member will be represented and by an executive committee. The executive committee shall consist of at
VII. MANAGEMENT OF THE FUND

At least nine members including the representatives of the five countries with the largest quotas.

2. The distribution of voting power on the board and the executive committee shall be closely related to the quotas.

3. Subject to II, 2 and IV, 5, all matters shall be settled by a majority of the votes.

4. The Fund shall publish at short intervals a statement of its position showing the extent of its holdings of member currencies and of gold and its transactions in gold.

VIII. Withdrawal from the Fund

1. A member country may withdraw from the Fund by giving notice in writing.

2. The reciprocal obligations of the Fund and the country are to be liquidated within a reasonable time.

3. After a member country has given notice in writing of its withdrawal from the Fund, the Fund may not dispose of its holdings of the country's currency except in accordance with the arrangements made under 2, above. After a country has given notice of withdrawal, its use of the resources of the Fund is subject to the approval of the Fund.

IX. Obligations of Member Countries

1. Not to buy gold at a price which exceeds the agreed parity of its currency by more than a prescribed margin and not to sell gold at a price which falls below the agreed parity by more than a prescribed margin.

2. Not to allow exchange transactions in its market in currencies of other members at rates outside a prescribed range based on the agreed parities.

3. Not to impose restrictions on payments for current international transactions with other member countries (other than those involving capital transfers or in accordance with VI, above) or to engage in any discrimi-
tory currency arrangements or multiple currency practices without the approval of the Fund.

X. Transitional Arrangements

1. Since the Fund is not intended to provide facilities for relief or reconstruction or to deal with international indebtedness arising out of the war, the agreement of a member country to provisions III, 5 and IX, 3 above, shall not become operative until it is satisfied as to the arrangements at its disposal to facilitate the settlement of the balance of payments differences during the early post-war transition period by means which will not unduly encumber its facilities with the Fund.

2. During this transition period member countries may maintain and adapt to changing circumstances exchange regulations of the character which have been in operation during the war, but they shall undertake to withdraw as soon as possible by progressive stages any restrictions which impede multilateral clearing on current account. In their exchange policy they shall pay continuous regard to the principles and objectives of the Fund; and they shall take all possible measures to develop commercial and financial relations with other member countries which will facilitate international payments and the maintenance of exchange stability.

3. The Fund may make representations to any member that conditions are favorable to withdrawal of particular restrictions or for the general abandonment of the restrictions inconsistent with IX, 3 above. Not later than 3 years after coming into force of the Fund any member still retaining any restrictions inconsistent with IX, 3 shall consult with the Fund as to their further retention.

4. In its relations with member countries, the Fund shall recognize that the transition period is one of change and adjustment, and in deciding on its attitude to any proposals presented by members it shall give the member country the benefit of any reasonable doubt.