

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

000759

JUN 26 1945

Dear Sirs:

For your information and that of other interested persons, this is to advise you that, in view of the early termination of the War Refugee Board, over-all responsibility for the Emergency Refugee Shelter at Fort Ontario, Oswego, New York, has been transferred from the War Refugee Board to the Department of the Interior.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Florence Model

Florence Model  
Assistant Executive Director

American Jewish Committee  
386 Fourth Avenue  
New York, New York

EBT:inp 6/26/45

000760

*American Jewish Committee*

# The New York Times

FEB 5 1945

## WORLD BAN ON BIAS PROPOSED BY GROUP

Committee Here Would Have  
United Nations Outlaw Public  
or Organized Incitement

The executive committee of the American Jewish Committee adopted yesterday a post-war program in which it accepted the recommendations of a special committee on peace problems composed of forty-seven leaders from every section of the United States.

The meeting of the smaller group in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel was held in place of the canceled thirty-eighth annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee. The post-war program was read by former Supreme Court Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee.

One recommendation called for "the outlawing by the United Nations of public or organized incitement against religious, ethnic and racial groups," which the committee said was "contrary to the principles and interests of world democracy and a danger to the peace and security of the world."

The program endorsed the Dumbarton Oaks proposal to set up a permanent commission of the United Nations to formulate an international bill of human rights. It called also for the abrogation of Nazi legislation and discrimination against Jews in countries influenced by the Axis powers.

A "liberal policy of repatriation" was advocated and an international migration convention as well as a commission on migration were proposed. On all migration matters, it was urged, there should be no discrimination among racial, religious and ethnic groups.

### Trusteeship for Palestine

The committee reaffirmed its previous statements on Palestine, now becomes target number one including one of January, 1934, for anti-Semites throughout the world. We must protect ourselves from any and all attempts to create a separatism that would divide American Jews from other Americans.

Another recommendation was that the United Nations take constructive action on the question of "statelessness and the practice of denaturalization." Creation by the United Nations of a commission on statelessness was advocated.

The committee favored the adoption and enforcement of the policy in regard to the punishment of Axis criminals and their associates enunciated last week by Joseph C. Grew, acting Secretary of State. Additional study was recommended on the questions of restoration or indemnification and kindred problems.

Jacob Blaustein of Baltimore, chairman of the executive committee, reported on the activities of the American Jewish Committee during the last year. He said the organization in all its work here and abroad had emphasized the necessity of "the dignity of the

human being" to the end that "political, civil and religious equality of the citizens of all lands, regardless of creed or ancestry, shall be solemnly recognized."

Former United States Attorney George Z. Medallie, chairman of the overseas committee, said:

"As the greatest Jewish community in the world, American Jewry now becomes target number one for anti-Semites throughout the world. We must protect ourselves from any and all attempts to create a separatism that would divide American Jews from other Americans."

Two new officers and five new members of the executive committee were named to fill vacancies. David Sher was chosen chairman of the administrative committee and Nathan Ohrbach was elected treasurer. New members of the executive committee are Louis Brodsky, Harold K. Guinzburg, Benjamin B. Lazarus, Jerome Udell and Max Warburg, all of New York.

000761

*American Jewish Committee*

NEW YORK  
**Herald Tribune**

FEB 5 1945

## U. S. Jews Ask Allies for Global Bill of Rights

### Committee on Peace Adopts Program Reaffirming Its Statement on Palestine

The peace and post-war program of the American Jewish Committee was set forth in seven recommendations adopted yesterday by the committee's executive body at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

The creation by the United Nations of an International Bill of Rights, "embodying the principles of human rights, fundamental freedoms, religious liberty and racial equality" and a course of procedure for enforcement of the bill were the principle recommendations.

A forty-seven-member special committee on peace problems submitted the recommendations, which were adopted in a closed session. They were the result of a three-day conference, which replaced the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the committee, postponed because of the transportation shortage.

The recommendations called for the outlawing by the United Nations of "public or organized incitement against religious, ethnic and racial groups," and also dealt with the abrogation of racial legislation, repatriation of those displaced by the war, and Palestine.

On Palestine, the recommendations reaffirmed the American Jewish Committee statement of Jan. 31, 1943, calling for "an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations," to safeguard Jewish immigration, to protect the rights of all inhabitants and to provide for eventual self-government.

The special committee which drew up the recommendations, is headed by Joseph M. Froskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee.

100762



*American Jewish  
Committee*

## New York ~~World~~ Telegram

FEB 5 1945

### Jews Ask World Bill of Rights

An international bill of rights "embodying the principles of human rights, fundamental freedoms, religious liberty and racial equality" was urged yesterday in a resolution adopted by the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee at its 38th annual meeting in the Waldorf.

The resolution was offered by a 47-member special committee on peace problems headed by Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee.

The committee's recommendations called also for outlawing by the United Nations of "public or organized incitement against religious, ethnic and racial groups." The committee reaffirmed its Palestine program, requesting an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations.

000763

JUN 22 1945

Dear Miss Hoffenstein:

In response to your request of June 19, 1945, there are enclosed copies of the Executive Order establishing the War Refugee Board and describing its purposes and press releases issued by the Board in connection with its activities.

Very truly yours,

((Signed) Florence Hodel

Florence Hodel  
Assistant Executive Director

Miss Minna Hoffenstein,  
Library Assistant,  
The Library of The American Jewish  
Committee,  
386 Fourth Avenue,  
New York 16, New York.

Enclosures.

ELT

EST:inp 6/21/45

24 ~

100764

THE LIBRARY  
of  
The American Jewish Committee  
386 Fourth Avenue  
New York 18, N. Y.

Murray Hill 5-0181

June 19, 1945.

War Refugee Board  
Dept. of the Treasury Bldg.  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We would be most appreciative  
if you could find it possible to send  
our library any reports which you have  
issued, especially those describing your  
purposes and activities.

Thanking you for your kind  
cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Minna Hoffenstein*  
Minna Hoffenstein  
Library Assistant

000765

NOV 30 1944

Dear Mr. Landau:

I wish to express my deep appreciation for your report given to me in person of your recent trip in Central and South America. Needless to say, your success in obtaining the consent of various Latin-American countries to the admission of European refugees within their borders has been of great help to the War Refugee Board in its efforts to establish havens of refuge for victims of enemy oppression in imminent danger of death. It has in addition served as a striking demonstration of the willingness of nations in the Western Hemisphere to support the War Refugee Board's rescue and relief program.

Sincerely,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Jacob Landau  
American Jewish Committee  
386 - 4th Avenue  
New York 16, New York

mm *[Signature]* 12/1/44

000766



# The American Jewish Committee

300 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK 16, N. Y.  
TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 5-0181  
Cable Address: "Wishcom, New York"

President - JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER  
Chairman Executive Committee - JACOB BLAUSTEIN  
Vice-Chairman Exec. Comm. - MORRIS D. WALDMAN  
Chairman Administrative Comm. - ALAN M. STROOCK  
Treasurer - IRA M. YOUNKER  
Associate Treasurer - NATHAN M. OHRBACH  
Secretary - VICTOR S. RIESENFELD  
Executive Vice-President - JOHN SLAWSON  
Assistant Secretary - HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN

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IRVING LEHMAN, New York  
ABRAM I. ELKUS, New York  
Vice-Presidents  
JACOB J. KAPLAN, Boston, Mass.  
EDWARD LAZANSKY, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
FRED LAZARUS, Jr., Columbus, Ohio  
M. C. SLOSS, San Francisco, Cal.  
HORACE STERN, Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN, Detroit, Mich.

October 23, 1944

Mr. John W. Pehle  
War Refugee Board  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

Believing that the sanctity of the individual is a principle basic to future world order and peace, the American Jewish Committee plans to issue a Declaration of Human Rights, two copies of which are enclosed. We feel sure that the sentiments expressed are not only those of the Committee, but those held by thousands of distinguished and thoughtful Americans of all faiths. We, therefore, urge that you join with us in signing this Declaration.

On the eve of Liberation, we feel a particular urgency for all men of peace and good will to emphasize and reaffirm the godly concept of the dignity of the individual man.

We trust that you will join with us in presenting the Declaration of Human Rights to the American public. To this end, will you please sign and return one copy in the enclosed self-addressed envelope; the other copy we believe you will want to keep for your own records.

Sincerely yours,

*Joseph M. Proskauer*  
Joseph M. Proskauer  
President

JMP:SS  
Enclosures

10/26/44  
Document with Pehle  
who signed it  
just file  
JH

000767

CONSULADO GENERAL DE GUATEMALA  
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA  
NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

No.1.2. 0032

June 16th, 1944.

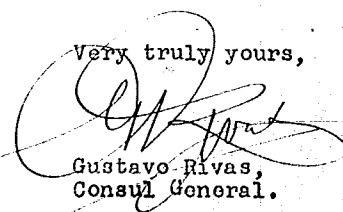
Mr. J.W. Pehle, Executive Director,  
War Refugee Board,  
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pehle :

Please be advised that I have transmitted  
to our Office of Foreign Affairs in Guatemala City your  
application for visas for Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr.  
Jacob Landau, in accordance with your letter of June 13th.

I have requested that the reply be sent by  
cablegram, and as soon as I shall hear from said office,  
I will communicate with you again.

Very truly yours,

  
Gustavo Rivas,  
Consul General.

FP:

000768

CONSULADO GENERAL DE EL SALVADOR  
270 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

No.755

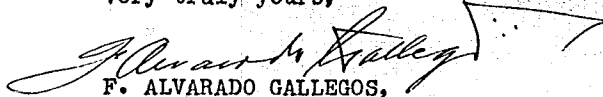
June 15, 1944.

Mr. J. W. Pehle,  
Executive Director,  
War Refugee Board,  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

With reference to your letter of June 13th, wherein you state that Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit El Salvador as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee in order to study certain refugee problems there, and therefore would like to make application for the vise of their respective passports in order that they may enter the Republic of El Salvador, I am transmitting the contents of your letter to the respective department of my Government, and upon receipt of a reply from them, I will immediately communicate with you.

Very truly yours,

  
F. ALVARADO GALLEGOS,  
CONSUL GENERAL.

No. de A: 125.61  
fag/mmh

000769



DIRECCION CABLEGRAFICA  
"CONGENRICA"

CONSULADO GENERAL DE COSTA RICA  
420 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
(AT 43RD STREET)  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEFONO:  
MURRAY HILL 3-2656

June 15, 1944.

Mr. J.W. Pehle,  
Executive Director,  
War Refugee Board,  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

It gives me pleasure to acknowledge receipt of your note of June 13th, with regard to the visa of the passports of two gentlemen who are planning to visit Costa Rica.

This Consulate will be very glad to visé their passports upon presentation, with the required papers, for a temporary stay, up to thirty (30) days from their date of arrival in Costa Rica. However, should they desire a longer stay in the country, it would be necessary for the Consulate to obtain permission from the Secretary of Public Safety of Costa Rica, by air mail, or by cable, at the expense of the interested parties, and such process would require, approximately, one week.

Whether the visa is to be a temporary one, up to thirty (30) days, or for a longer period, the interested party would have to present here, together with his passport, a certificate of good health, a certificate of vaccination against smallpox, and a certificate of good conduct from the police department of their place of residence.

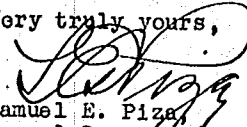
The tourist visa, up to thirty (30) days, on an American passport, is free of charge, but a visa for a longer period has a charge of three dollars (\$3.00).

There is also a fee of three dollars (\$3.00) each for the certification of the certificate of vaccination against smallpox and the certificate of good conduct from the police department.

Please be also advised that if the gentlemen in question are in Washington, this matter can also be arranged through our Embassy there, which is at 2112 S Street, N. W.

With assurances of my highest esteem and consideration,  
I remain,

Very truly yours,

  
Samuel E. Piza  
Consul General

SEP/14

000770





*Consulado General de Nicaragua*  
*Suite 2204-RKO Building*  
*Rockefeller Center*  
*New York*

6/1429/44

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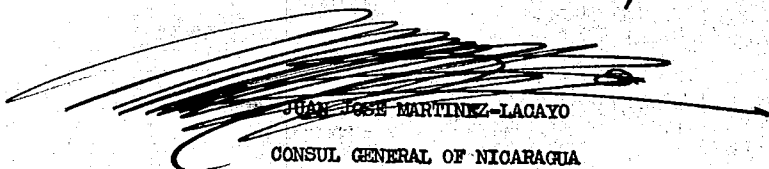
June 15th, 1944.

J. W. Pehle, Esquire  
Executive Office,  
War Refugee Board,  
Washington, 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This noon I received your letter dated the 13th instant, kindly take note that if both gentlemen are not citizen of the United States of America, we must secure a visa permit from the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Managua, Nicaragua. Therefore, if this is the case, kindly communicate with the Nicaraguan Embassy at Washington, D. C.

Cordially yours,

  
JUAN JOSE MARTINEZ-LACAYO  
CONSUL GENERAL OF NICARAGUA

000771

JUN 13 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Nicaragua as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Nicaragua, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Juan Jose Martinez Lacayo  
Consul General of Nicaragua  
Room 2204, RKO Bldg., Rockefeller Center  
New York City, New York

Approved by  
Mr. Lasser

Standish:lc 6-7-44

100772

JUN 13 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Honduras as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Honduras, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Gonzalo C. Carias ✓  
Consul General of Honduras ✓  
17 Battery Place  
New York City, New York

Approved by  
Mr. Lasser

J.  
M Standish:lem 6-7-44

000773

JUN 13 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit El Salvador as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to El Salvador, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Francisco Alvarado Gallegos ✓  
Consul General of El Salvador /  
270 Broadway  
New York City, New York

Approved by  
Mr. Lesser

*[Signature]*

Mitteiln. 6-7-44

*[Handwritten initials]*

000774

JUN 13 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Costa Rica as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Costa Rica, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(SIGNED) J. W. Pehle  
J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Samuel E. Piza  
Consul General of Costa Rica  
420 Lexington Avenue  
New York 17, New York

Approved by  
Mr. Lesser

*[Signature]*

Waldman: 6-13-44

*[Handwritten mark]*

000775

JUN 13 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Brasil as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Brasil, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Oscar Correa  
Consul General of Brasil  
10 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York City, New York

Same letter written to Consuls General of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica.

Approved by  
Mr. Lerner

MS Standish:lem 6-17-44

JW -

000776

JUN 13 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Guatemala as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Guatemala, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.


Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Gustavo Rivas  
Consul General of Guatemala ✓  
Suite 1430 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York City, New York

approved by  
Mr. Lerner

  
MStandish:lcm 6-7-44 JWP ✓

000777

Telephone MUrray Hill 5-0181

CABLE ADDRESS "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

*President*  
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER  
*Chairman Executive Committee*  
JACOB BLAUSTEIN  
*Vice-Chairman Executive Committee*  
MORRIS D. WALDMAN  
*Chairman Administrative Committee*  
ALAN M. STROOCK  
*Treasurer*  
IRA M. YOUNKER  
*Associate Treasurer*  
NATHAN M. OHRBACH  
*Secretary*  
VICTOR S. RIESENFELD  
*Executive Vice-President*  
JOHN SLAWSON  
*Assistant Secretary*  
HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN



*Honorary Vice-Presidents*  
IRVING LEHMAN  
New York  
ABRAHAM I. ELKUS  
New York

*Vice-Presidents*  
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Boston, Mass.  
EDWARD LAZANSKY  
Brooklyn, N. Y.  
FRED LAZARUS, Jr.  
Columbus, Ohio  
M. C. SLOSS  
San Francisco, Calif.  
HORACE STERN  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN  
Detroit, Mich.

June 1, 1944.

Dear Mr. Standish:

You will recall that when you telephoned from Washington yesterday, I stated that I was not certain of the date of Mr. Waldman's birth but I thought it was May 1, 1880. I looked it up in "Who's Who in American Jewry" and see that Morris D. Waldman was born May 1, 1879. Will you be good enough to correct the record accordingly?

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Anna Friedman*  
Anna Friedman

Mr. Miles Standish,  
War Refugee Board,  
Washington, D. C.  
AF

000778



EM:BP

CONSULADO GENERAL DEL PARAGUAY  
347 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 29, 1944

Mr. J. W. Pehle, Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D. C.

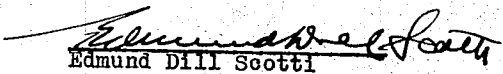
Dear Sir:

In response to your letter of May 24, 1944 I advise it will be necessary for Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau to secure permission from the Minister of Foreign Relations in Asunción Paraguay, (Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores) to enter the country before we can visé their passports.

I would suggest that you cable to Asunción in Spanish giving the citizenship and race of Messrs. Waldman and Landau and the reason for their desiring to enter Paraguay, requesting that permission to visé their passports be cabled to this Consulate.

Yours very truly,

EDS:pl

  
Edmund Dill Scott  
Consul

000780

CONSULADO GENERAL DE CHILE  
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

May 27th, 1944

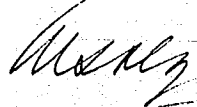
Mr. J.W. Pehle  
Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

Your interesting letter of May 24th  
has had my best attention.

Regarding the proposed trip to Chile  
of Messrs. Morris D. Waldman and Jacob Landau, I would  
suggest that you please get in touch directly with our  
"Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores", Santiago, Chile,  
placing your petition before our Government and giving  
detailed information as to the purpose of the trip by  
the above mentioned gentlemen.

Yours very truly,



Alfonso Grez  
Consul General of Chile

AG:JM

000781



REPUBLICA DE CUBA  
CONSULADO GENERAL  
EN LOS  
ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA  
800 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

May 26, 1944

0816

Mr. J. W. Pehle, Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 24th  
instant in relation to the trip to Cuba planned  
by Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau,  
it is suggested that you write to the Cuban  
Embassy in Washington, D.C. in relation to this  
matter.

Very truly yours,

*Roberto Hernández*  
Roberto Hernández  
CONSUL GENERAL

AS:fh

000782

CONSULADO GENERAL DEL ECUADOR

00987

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK, N. Y.

May 26, 1944

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

In response to your letter of 24 inst., this is to inform you that as soon as the representatives of your board planning to visit Ecuador appear at this Office, it will be a pleasure for me to give them my assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa for my country.

They have to present at this Office, the following documents:

Passport;  
Vaccination certificate;  
Police certificate;  
Health Certificate;  
Round trip ticket certificate, or a letter from Pan American Airways;  
Four photographs.

Very truly yours,

*Armando Pesantes*  
Armando Pesantes  
Vice-Consul.

ap.g.

000783



CONSULATE GENERAL of PERU  
10 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA  
NEW YORK

May 26th, 1944

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Executive Office of the President  
War Refugee Board  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 24th, advising me that Mr. Morris Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau, members of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, are planning to visit Peru for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems.

Although all the laws and regulations relating to visa and passports are very strict at present, I have no doubt that there will be any difficulty in securing a visa for their passports, providing that these two gentlemen are American citizens, travelling with American passports. In such case, and if they already have a ticket covering the return transportation to the U.S., they can very easily obtain a tourist visa which will enable them to stay in Peru for a period of thirty days, time enough to fulfill their purpose.

Therefore, kindly let me know what kind of passport they are holding, and I will then be in a position to give you more accurate information.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours very truly,

*J. Pardo de Zela*  
F. PARDO de ZELA  
Minister Plenipotentiary  
Consul General of Peru

rf

100784

*Consulado General  
de la  
Republica Argentina.*


New York, May 26, 1944.

Dear Sir:

I exceedingly regret that this office is not in a position to issue the visas required by Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau immediately, as present requirements make it necessary for them to make an application of the Argentine Immigration Authorities.

The usual procedure in this cases is to make the application at the Argentine Consular office near the interested party's place of residence. If Mr. Waldman and Mr. Landau prefer to make their applications at the Argentine Consular office at Baltimore, they may very well do so. If they prefer to file it at this office, however, they may also do it through this office. Applications must be filed in person.

Very truly yours,

  
Conrado Traverso  
Consul General

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington, 25, D. C.

000785

MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Uruguay as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Uruguay as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Santiago Rivas, Jr.  
Consul General of Uruguay  
17 Battery Place  
New York City, New York

JS.  
USA JWA  
HStandishlon 5-19-44



MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Cuba as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Cuba, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,  
(Signed) J. W. Pehle

Signed M. C. (pseud.)

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Roberto Hernandez y Garcia  
Consul General of Cuba  
500 Fifth Avenue  
New York City, New York

8.  
RST:adish:lee  
5-19-44  
152. JWA

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MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Chile as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Chile, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Alfonso Grez  
Consul General of Chile  
9 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York City, New York

*Disks*  
MST:mdh:slm 7-17-44

000788

MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Argentina as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Argentina, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle  
J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Conrado Traverso  
Consul General of Argentina  
9 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York City, New York

*J. W. Pehle*  
MStandish:cm 5-19-44

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MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Peru as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Peru as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle  
J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Francisco Pardo de Zela  
Consul General of Peru  
10 Rockefeller Center  
New York City, New York

154 74  
48 Standish, Inc 5-19-44

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My dear Mr. Consul General:

MAY 24 1944

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Panama as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Panama, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Roberto de la Guardia  
Consul General of Panama  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York City, New York

*Handwritten: Pehle 204*  
Standish:lem 5-19-44

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MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

My. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Venezuela as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Venezuela as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle  
J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Eleaner Morrison  
Consul General of Venezuela  
19 Rector Street  
New York City, New York

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# Declaration of Human Rights

Submitted by THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
386 Fourth Avenue, New York City

WITH the inevitable end of Hitler, the struggle begins, not of tank and plane, but of heart and soul and brain to forge a world in which humanity may live in peace.

This new world must be based on the recognition that the individual human being is the cornerstone of our culture and our civilization. All that we cherish must rest on the dignity and inviolability of the person, of his sacred right to live and to develop under God, in whose image he was created.

With this creed as our foundation, we declare:

1. That an International Bill of Human Rights must be promulgated to guarantee for every man, woman and child, of every race and creed and in every country, the fundamental rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

2. No plea of sovereignty shall ever again be allowed to permit any nation to deprive those within its borders of these fundamental rights on the claim that these are matters of internal concern.

3. Hitlerism has demonstrated that

bigotry and persecution by a barbarous nation throws upon the peace-loving nations the burden of relief and redress. Therefore it is a matter of international concern to stamp out infractions of basic human rights.

4. To those who have suffered under the Hitler regime because of race or creed or national origin, there shall be given fair redress.

5. To those who have been driven from the land of their birth there shall be given the opportunity to return, unaffected in their rights by the Nazi despotism.

6. To those who wander the earth unable or unwilling to return to scenes of unforgettable horror shall be given aid and comfort to find new homes and begin new lives in other parts of the world. This must be made possible by international agreement.

Thus, anew, may we justify the ways of God to man. Thus we may take a vital step forward on the long road to which civilization seeks to create a world based upon the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man.

*I approve the sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Human Rights submitted by the American Jewish Committee, and I am happy to add my name to those who will sign this Declaration.*

SIGNATURE

ADDRESS

000793

# Declaration of Human Rights

Submitted by THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
386 Fourth Avenue, New York City

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*I approve the sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Human Rights submitted by the American Jewish Committee, and I am happy to add my name to those who will sign this Declaration.*

SIGNATURE

ADDRESS

000794



SEP 14 1944

Dear Mr. Gottschalk:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of September 5 and the memoranda concerning "The Jewish Communities of Nazi-Occupied Europe" sent under separate cover.

Your cooperation in making this information available to us is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Max Gottschalk,  
Director, Overseas Department,  
The American Jewish Committee  
Research Institute on Peace and  
Post-War Problems,  
386 Fourth Avenue,  
New York, New York.

EBTowler:imp 9/14/44 *74*

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON PEACE AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS  
386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

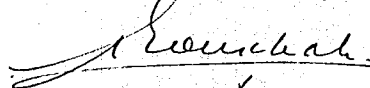
September 5, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

We are sending you under separate cover a collection of memoranda dealing with "The Jewish Communities of Nazi-Occupied Europe."

These memoranda were prepared for a government agency, and we are sending you one of the limited number of sets available, in the hope that it will prove of special interest to you.

Sincerely yours,



Max Gottschalk  
Director, Overseas Dep't.

Mr. John W. Pehle  
Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington, D. C.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
JUL 17 1944  
DIVISION OF  
COMMUNICATIONS & RECORDS

July 15, 1944  
12:30 p m

**CIRCULAR AIRGRAM**

**SUBJECT: AIR PRIORITY FOR MORRIS D. WALDMAN AND  
JACOB LANDAU, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, NEW YORK**

**TO CERTAIN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICERS:**

At the request of the War Refugee Board the Department is interested in facilitating the travel of Morris D. Waldman, Vice Chairman and Jacob Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, New York. Please give consideration to their applications for air priority when presented.

HULL

glw

Send to AMEMBASSY

"	Buenos Aires	Argentina
"	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil
"	Santiago	Chile
"	Bogota	Colombia
"	San Jose	Costa Rica
"	Havana	Cuba
"	Sao Paulo	Ecuador
"	San Salvador	El Salvador
"	Guatemala	Guatemala
"	Mexico, D.F.	Mexico
"	Managua	Nicaragua
"	Panama	Panama
"	Asuncion	Paraguay
"	Lima	Peru
"	Montevideo	Uruguay

Send

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Send to AMEMBASSY  
" American Consul

Caracas Venezuela  
Port-of-Spain Trinidad, B.W.I.

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WRB:GLI:XG  
7/14/44

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JUN 29 1944

Dear Mr. Waldman:

Thank you for your letter of June 23 and its enclosure.

Both Mr. Lesser and I found your article most interesting. Since, however, it deals with matters beyond the Board's concern, further comment would not be appropriate.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Morris D. Waldman  
The American Jewish Committee  
386 Fourth Avenue  
New York 16, N. Y.

*L.S.L.*  
LSLesser:als 6/28/44

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## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER  
*Chairman Executive Committee*  
JACOB BLAUSTEIN  
*Vice-Chairman Executive Committee*  
MORRIS D. WALDMAN  
*Chairman Administrative Committee*  
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Columbus, Ohio  
M. C. SLOSS  
San Francisco, Calif.  
HORACE STERN  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN  
Detroit, Mich.

June 23, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle,

Though the subject matter of the enclosed article (page proof) in the coming issue of the Contemporary Jewish Record is not strictly within the orbit of your official interest, it is not unrelated.

I wonder what you think of my radical approach to the subject of rights of minorities. I shall be glad to have you pass it on to Mr. Lesser.

Sincerely yours,

*Morris W. Lesser*

Mr. J. W. Pehle, Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D.C.

MW  
Encl.

## Beyond "National Self-Determination"

MORRIS D. WALDMAN

ON OCTOBER 6, 1943, a joint Declaration was made by prominent representatives of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths. This so-called *Pattern for Peace* embodied seven points intended to serve as the basis for the postwar world order. The fourth point reads as follows:

The Rights of Minorities must be secured. National governments and international organization must respect and guarantee the rights of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and to political equality.

Pronouncements of this type have been frequently made by other groups, lay and clerical, invariably couched in broad, general terms.

Declarations by heads of leading democratic governments have been made singly or jointly, but usually only in general terms, from the Four Freedoms and Atlantic Charter to the more recent seventeen-point statement of Secretary of State Cordell Hull with respect to American foreign policy.

To Americans and to citizens of other democratic countries, the injunctions of the clergy of the three great occidental faiths, as well as the similar declarations made by statesmen, are so obviously compelling as to be axiomatic. The general principles therein embodied have been taken for granted as the permanent and immutable ideals of our civilization, having been so deeply imbedded in our consciousness as to make us almost unaware of them. It is only the hideous assault upon these ideals during the last few decades that has made us newly recognize the precious value of these treasures and has impelled us, at tremendous cost, to make a supreme and indomitable effort to preserve them.

These declarations are all essentially based on the Judeo-Christian principle of the sacredness and dignity of human personality—a principle which is the very cornerstone of Western civilization.

How are the purposes of these declarations with respect to minorities to be realized?

The problem is not new. It was dealt with twenty-five years ago at the Peace Conference in Paris, where comprehensive measures were taken to realize these objectives. Then, it will be recalled, the Allied and Associated Powers unanimously adopted the doctrine of "national self-determination" which had been particularly emphasized by Woodrow Wilson. In accordance with this doctrine a number of peoples, or, more precisely, ethnic units that had at one time or another enjoyed territorial independence were reconstituted as independent political entities commonly known as states. But because other ethnic elements lived in their midst, measures in the form of so-called minorities treaties were taken to insure the political and civil equality and religious freedom of the inhabitants of these countries who differed from the majority in race, language, or religion. These provisions, as will also be recalled, were incorporated in the respective constitutions of these new or Succession states and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. The official delegates to the Peace Conference, as well as the representatives of private organizations who had been actively promoting the adoption of these treaties, left Paris happy in the conviction that great historic injustices had been rectified, and that in the future all inhabitants of Europe would live in peace and security, protected in the enjoyment of their natural, inalienable rights.

Though the minorities treaties did not provide for recognition of minorities as political entities or parties within the general body politic, the tendency was to carry over the pattern of nationality distinctions that had prevailed in pre-war days so that the ethnic minorities in the several countries virtually assumed the character of political nationalities. These ethnic groups or nationalities were in many cases further split into political parties or blocs. As such they had their own slates in the political elections, the candidates being primarily pledged to protect and promote the interests of their nationality or nationality segment by acting on general political issues from a point of view beneficial to their particular group. Thus, though the minorities treaties were intended to insure the equality of political rights of all individuals, as individuals, and equality in cultural and religious rights only in a group sense, the pre-war separatism nevertheless persisted. For example, the Poles had common political interests as the major nationality of the Polish territory. But there were the minor nationalities—Germans, White Russians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Jews—each of which had its particular interests. These interests were defended by the several nationalities operating as

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political blocs within the general body politic of Poland. There were also economic interests which, though cutting across nationality interests, did not destroy the group integrity of the nationalities.

THE experience of Europe following the First World War proved the minorities treaties to be impracticable. The newly established states, based on racial homogeneity, regarded their ethnic minorities as obstacles to their development into full-fledged nationality-states. The governments of these states felt responsible primarily, if not solely, to the majority-people of their countries and regarded the minorities as quasi-alien and subordinate elements to be assimilated or liquidated or evacuated—the treaties notwithstanding. The safeguards established in the form of League of Nations guarantees proved quite ineffective. Hardly a day after she signed the treaty, *Polonia Restituta* began to restrict the various minorities. The several successive governments preserved the half-feudal character of the country where a rich land-owning aristocracy withheld the ownership of a great proportion of the land from a half-starved peasantry, on the other hand they developed State ownership of basic industries under which exploitation, waste and nepotism flourished at the expense of private industry operated largely by minority elements, especially the Jews. The major burdens of intolerably heavy taxes and other restrictions and discriminations were imposed on them. Poland's unilateral repudiation of the Minorities Treaty at the League of Nations in Geneva and her announced policy of mass evacuation of her Jewish citizens climaxed her postwar record of undemocratic conduct, exposing the pretense of her adherence to the enlightened ideals pronounced in Paris and embodied in solemn official documents.\*

The behavior of Rumania was even more brazen and brutal. Several of her rapidly changing governments actually instigated pogroms against the minorities, chiefly the Jews, just as the Czarist government had done in the benighted country of Russia before the Revolution. Nationality conflicts prevailed in most of the Succession states: Czech-Slovak-Hungarian conflict in Czechoslovakia, Croat-Serb conflict in Yugoslavia, Rumanian-Hungarian conflict in Rumania. Irredentism seethed continuously. Ethnic segments in certain countries clamored for annexation of the territory they inhabited to the neighboring country governed by their kin (e.g., the Germans in Sudeten, the Hungarians in Transyl-

\* The present Polish Government-in-Exile has disavowed the undemocratic policies of preceding governments and has given assurance of genuine democratic practices in the future.

vania and Slovakia, the Ukrainians in Poland, etc.) and were encouraged in this activity by the neighboring countries. This led to serious tensions and contributed measurably to the outbreak of the present World War. Every ethnic group in Europe had been awakened to national consciousness; and some which had never enjoyed territorial independence began to press for a nationality-state of their own. The treaties, the state constitutions and the guarantees of the League of Nations did not solve these problems; on the contrary, they aggravated them.

This disappointing experience demonstrates that there is little hope of effecting a satisfactory solution unless radical and fundamental changes are instituted in the very concepts of nation and state. New means must be devised to protect the rights of those who belong to minority segments of the population.

This is borne out by C. A. Macartney, an outstanding authority on national minorities, who says:

The real root of the trouble lies in the philosophy of the national state as it is practised today in central and eastern Europe. So long as the majority nations which have assumed command of the different states persist in their theoretically absurd and practically unattainable endeavor to make of those states the exclusive instruments of their own national ideals and aspirations, so long will the minorities be placed in a position which no system of international protection can render tolerable. . . . A national state and national minorities are incompatible.\*

A confusing terminology must be clarified. Clear definitions must be given to the words "nation" and "nationality," "nationalism" and "nationhood," "race," "people" and "state." Their distinctive connotations must be made plain. For the sake of clarifying the thesis of this article these terms are used arbitrarily, though, it is hoped, accurately. Anthropologists have discovered no pure races in the civilized world. Yet there are many peoples possessing a substantial degree of ethnic identity, a common history, a common language and a common culture, which, in a practical sense, may be, and are, referred to as races, such as the Scotch, the Irish, the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Serbians, Bulgarians, Germans, Italians, the French, the Chinese, the Arabs, the Jews—to say nothing of the countless other races in the Soviet Union, Asia and Africa, and

\* C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 421-422.

other continents. It would be more accurate to refer to these more or less diluted ethnic groups as "nationalities" whose identity is more strongly characterized by a common language than by blood.\*

The terms "people," "race," "nation," are variously employed. We speak of the American nation, meaning all the people who make up its citizenry. The American people, however, are composed of many races or nationalities. To every American his nation is his country, the U.S.A. To this nation he owes undivided political allegiance. In legal parlance he is a "national" (citizen) of the U.S.A. He belongs, though, to one of a hundred or more nationalities. To these, if he desires, he may maintain a *loyalty*—a loyalty which should never conflict with his political *allegiance* to his country, the U.S.A. The terms "loyalty" and "allegiance" are not synonymous. Our loyalties may be many, to our family, our kin, our club, our college, our association of any kind. Our allegiance is to our country. Allegiance is a political relationship. Loyalties need not be political. In this article the term "nationality" means ethnic group or people or race. It is here used as a noun and not as an attribute or qualification. The term is distinguished from "nation" which here denotes the entire citizenry of a country; while "state" is a legal concept meaning the ruling power of a country.

The doctrine of "national self-determination" (more accurately, nationality self-determination), that is, the idea that every ethnic group has the right to its own territory and independent political life, has proved to be impracticable and unrealistic in territories inhabited by heterogeneous ethnic groups. The sudden collapse during the First World War of the two multi-nationality states, Czarist Russia and Austria-Hungary, seemed to support the soundness of the principle of nationality self-determination. Woodrow Wilson sought to grant the same opportunities of national development to as many European peoples as possible, thus hoping to abolish dangerous tensions. Where nationalities could not be set up as independent countries he sought to protect them against discrimination at the hands of the ruling majority by instituting safeguards for the minorities. But these safeguards proved to be only paper rights.

\* The Jews are a unique people. They are a duality of both people (race in the popular sense) and religion. Yet they have no common language. Yiddish is the common tongue of Eastern European Jews, and Ladino that of the Levantine Jews. Hebrew, the ancient language of the Jews in Palestine before the Christian Era, continues as the language of study and prayer. Only within recent years has it been revived as the vernacular in the Jewish community of Palestine and in Zionist circles outside Palestine.

The universal prevalence of the idea that nationality and territory form a natural synthesis, is reflected in the controversy at present in the forefront of public interest between Soviet Russia and the Polish Government-in-Exile, with respect to the territory east of the so-called Curzon Line that was forcibly appropriated by Josef Pilsudski in 1920. This territory, relinquished by the vanquished Soviets, is now again a subject of conflicting claims. The proponents of the claims of the U.S.S.R. argue that because the overwhelming majority of the population in that territory are White Russians and Ukrainians, the territory properly belongs to Soviet Russia where these peoples constitute republics of their own within the framework of the Soviet federated system. That is a race-state doctrine. This unhappy and dangerous dispute cannot be satisfactorily settled unless the factors of the nationality or race of the population are subordinated to the broader political and economic considerations affecting Eastern Europe and perhaps the entire European continent. In an honest plebiscite the voters will probably be governed less by consideration of nationality-loyalty than by the more natural law of self-preservation—the desire for decent and secure livelihood whether in the city or on the soil. The Treaty of Versailles called for a plebiscite in four districts of Western Prussia and in the southern districts of East Prussia. Although the territory was inhabited by Mazurians, a Slav people speaking a Polish dialect, in the plebiscite held on July 11, 1920, the overwhelming majority voted for Germany because of economic, religious and political considerations.

But the realities may rule out the holding of a plebiscite. The U.S.S.R. will, no doubt, have an important, if not a determining, voice in the ultimate decision because of the dominant position she has acquired and which will probably be enhanced at the end of the war. Her stand will not, however, be governed by racial considerations even though those considerations may be made to appear as the basis for her claims. Says Professor E. H. Carr, an outstanding student of international affairs:

The tradition which makes the drawing of frontiers the primary and most spectacular part of peace-making has outlived its validity. The idea that peace can be established by shifting frontiers in conformity with some fixed principle or set of principles did duty at Versailles, and has failed. To repeat the same process once more on the basis of the same or of other principles would be futile and hopeless. The urgent need now is to alter not the location, but the meaning of frontiers. The drawing of frontiers thus becomes a secondary process, not only in importance, but in time; for it is impossible to have an

intelligent opinion on the question how many frontiers can be tolerated, and where they shall run, until we have first obtained a clear view what frontiers are going to mean.\*

Race loyalties everywhere have from time to time given way to economic considerations and religious or political convictions. Such considerations have prompted millions of people from many countries and of many races to settle in the United States and to become bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of America. A great and powerful country has been built, a whole continent has been populated, precisely because human beings may place the cause of freedom or economic incentive above their folk or nationality-loyalty or racial identity. Our American State is neither a race-state in the Eastern European sense, consisting of a majority nationality and many minority nationalities, nor a state of equal nationalities in the sense of the Soviet example.\*\* One of its most remarkable features is a decided neutrality toward ethnic differences. In the United States the individual and not his nationality is the political unit. And though we would not be justified in arbitrarily attempting to impose the American political conception upon other countries, it is obvious that only some such conception of the state as prevails in our country, as well as in the other democracies in Western Europe and in the Americas, must obtain in the rest of the world if decent human relations are to be insured and permanent international friendship and comity restored.

Those who have had close and active interest in the minorities problem cannot, of course, ignore the powerful race (nationality) will-to-live among the ethnic groups in Eastern Europe—a will-to-live stronger in some ways than the "law of self-preservation" inherent in the individual. Men have been taught and inspired to give their lives gladly for their nationality. But the student of history knows that whereas the individual's will-to-live is instinctive, nationality consciousness and loyalties are the result of education and social compulsion. They become basic

\* E. H. Carr, *Conditions of Peace* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1942), p. 241.

\*\* The Soviet Union is not a race-state. Though the integrity of every one of its many nationalities is safeguarded, no nationality enjoys the prerogative of particular and exclusive identification with the state. The Union has many nationalities but the majority-minorities distinction does not obtain. These nationalities have no real part in the government. The actual government is the Communist Party; its members belong to many nationalities, but the members in no sense represent nationalities, nor does any government official.

elements in the mores of human association, but they are not instinctive and indestructible. It is only in recent centuries that the modern nation-states took form. They succeeded the feudal systems under which those in fief had a personal relation to the feudal lord, which was, however, in no sense a relationship of nationality. Frequently, if not ordinarily, the feudal lord and the people over whom he ruled were not of the same racial strain. The French nobility, even in the days of the monarchy preceding the Revolution, disavowed racial identity with the people of France. The latter were mainly Gallic and Latin, the former were descendants of the Germanic conquerors. Many kings in European countries have been foreigners. This was so even in England, where the monarchy was at one time Norman, more recently German.

Nevertheless, the sense of kinship, enhanced by common suffering and humiliation to which minority nationalities were subjected over long periods of time, has been so strongly developed as to make nationality-states appear as natural and immutable institutions. Because political power in the hands of one large and strong nationality subjugated the weaker nationalities, the latter have naturally sought political power in order to regain their freedom. The internationally sanctioned doctrine of national self-determination reinforced and intensified the nationalist spirit. Moreover, actually there is no such thing as individual freedom separated from association with others, especially those others who have common social and cultural interests. To protect the cultural, religious and linguistic rights of the individual necessarily means that the associated rights of all persons who have a common culture, religion and language must be protected. For these rights mean nothing unless they are enjoyed in association. The problem, then, is to permit the preservation of the integrity of the nationality without investing it with the character and form of a political association. So long as it assumes such form and character, the intolerable majority-minorities structure, with all its injustices, conflicts and dangers to internal and international peace, will continue to exist. The most effective way to nullify the political character of nationality minorities is to tolerate, even foster, their cultural freedom. This will remove the need for, and compulsion toward, political activity.

Switzerland is likely to come to mind as a successful example of a multi-national state. It furnishes a good illustration of the soundness of our thesis, even though in the popular mind Switzerland is erroneously conceived as a state consisting of three political nationalities:



German, French and Italian. It is true that these three nationalities comprise virtually the entire Swiss population. But they do not constitute the Swiss State or Confederation. The Confederation is made up of twenty-two small states called cantons, in most of which the predominating population belongs to one of these three nationalities. These nationalities, however, are not political entities. The inhabitants in each state are Swiss citizens, whose political interests are expressed as individual citizens and not through the nationality to which they happen to belong. The political issues are not determined through nationality action. The representatives in the bi-cameral Parliament are not chosen by the nationalities as such; nor do the seven members of the Federal Executive, including the President and Vice-President of the Swiss Republic, who are named by the Federal Parliament, reflect, in any sense, identification with the three main nationality groups. Switzerland thus provides a useful pattern for other multi-nationality countries. Great Britain, whose population is largely made up of English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish, likewise furnishes a practical pattern. In Switzerland and Great Britain, as in the U.S.A. and other Western democracies where nationalities are less marked, the individual, not the nationality, is the political unit.\*

THE race-state concept of nazism may be considered as the latest and most hideous outgrowth of the more recent history of nationality-states. The core of nazism is nationality self-determination. It is encrusted, moreover, with odious, irrational excrescences manifested in the anti-Christian, anti-Judaic, apotheosis of the state (personified in an infallible symbol called the *Fuehrer*) which destroyed the human personality of the citizen and resulted in even more monstrous abuses of other nationalities within the orbit of its power. The Germans themselves were all made the slaves of the party-*elite* which took over the state. The race doctrine created two categories of slaves—one the higher, the so-called Aryan; the other, the lower, the so-called non-Aryan. The "Aryans" were given a few indulgences denied to the latter; but these were largely fictitious prerogatives. The "*elite*" is the master, not the German people. In the establishment of the nazi race-state, the seething nationalisms of Europe have found increasing justification for their

\* "The existence of a more or less homogeneous racial or linguistic group bound together by a common tradition and the cultivation of a common culture must cease to provide a *prima facie* case for the setting up or the maintenance of an independent political unit." (E. H. Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 62.)

chauvinism and racial bigotry. In the multi-nationality states of Eastern and Central Europe, the state, interpreting "national self-determination" as majority nationality self-determination, not only restricted the participation of the minorities in the administration of public affairs, but oppressed them economically and politically, and, as in the case of Poland with respect to the Jews, frantically sought their evacuation.

The very concepts of "national majority" and "national minorities" imply acceptance of the political theory of the race-state. *If equal rights are to be secured not only must the race-state idea be blotted out, but the very concepts of "national majority" and "national minorities" must also be abandoned.*

Nations and nationalities will, of course, continue to exist, but the doctrine of "national self-determination" must be interpreted anew. The territorial results of historic evolution, crazy-quilted though they be, must be faced as realities. Nationalities will have to remain scattered in different countries. Their culture and religion will have to be ungrudgingly tolerated. But if they continue to possess the form and character of political blocs, the vexatious problem of the rights of those differing from the majority in race, language or religion cannot be solved.

The suggestion covertly made from time to time since the outbreak of the present war to solve the minorities problem by interchange of populations so as to bring all persons of a particular nationality into one country, perpetuating the erroneous idea that the race-state is a natural institution divinely ordained, would result in economic chaos and human disaster. To the Saxon peasant of Transylvania his bit of soil is more precious than the abstract sentiment of his being of German origin. He would regard forced transfer to German soil as a calamity, as would the Polish peasant in East Prussia were he forcibly transplanted somewhere in Poland. The average human being even in Eastern European countries, where nationalisms have been cultivated by propaganda into fanatic frenzy, is, in the final analysis, more concerned with getting food and security. First ordinary men want freedom from want and from fear, then freedom of religion and freedom of speech. Granted these four freedoms, men will not fret much over the fact that the government is in the hands of persons of other nationalities.

The conception of the race-state (nationality-state) has been so deeply embedded in the consciousness of men, that it has become a habit of thought even with such a seasoned statesman as Senator Robert A. Taft, who in addressing the U. S. Senate recently said:



Until a place is found where the unhappy Jews of Europe can go and get a new start in life, free of unreasonable economic sanctions and a blind religious and racial hatred, the fundamental causes for anti-Semitism will continue in Europe.

To imply, as he does, that this people scattered throughout Europe, having no territory of their own, must leave Europe and settle elsewhere in a territory of their own, is a capitulation to the race-state idea. It would lead to an even more revolting result; bad for the Jews and bad for Europe—capitulation to the Nazi theory that Europe must be made *judenrein*. (Bad for Europe because the Jews are an indispensable element in the economy of Europe.) If human rights are to be restored and preserved, Jews, too, must enjoy the status of citizens of the countries in which they dwell in complete political equality with all other inhabitants—as individuals, and not as members of a national minority.

This proposal, to blot out the race-state idea and to abolish the very concepts of "national majority" and "national minorities," will probably be characterized by some "practical" statesmen or even by some students of history and political philosophy as unrealistic. It will be correctly argued that political conceptions and systems of government are the product of long evolution peculiar to each country or region. It will be plausibly contended that the political structures of Eastern Europe cannot and should not be expected to yield to the political conceptions and systems of government in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere. It will not be easy, of course, to bring about such radical changes. But other long established political systems have been changed rapidly, usually by revolution, more or less violent, as for example, by the eighteenth-century revolution in France, the twentieth-century revolution in Russia, and the establishment of fascism in Italy and nazism in Germany, to say nothing of the creation of constitutional governments in former despotic monarchies in all the countries of Europe.

Radical changes in the nationality type of political structure can be effected by the peaceful means of international agreement at the time when the final decisions as to the new world order will be made.\* The

\* "The troubles of our day arise out of the modern conception of the national [nationality or race] state; out of the identification of the political ideals of all the inhabitants of the state with the national-cultural [nationality-cultural] ideals of the majority in it. If once this confusion between two things which are fundamentally different can be abandoned, there is no reason why the members of a score of different nationalities should not live together in perfect harmony in the same state. . . ." (C. A. Macartney, *op. cit.*, p. 450.)

fact that the changes will be drastic should not frighten us. To quote the late Associate Justice Louis D. Brandeis: "If we would guide by the light of reason, we must make our minds bold."

Something in the nature of an international bill of rights must be adopted for the protection of all human beings as such rather than their protection as either a majority or a minority, buttressed by international safeguards more effective than the guarantees of the Treaty of Versailles and collateral treaties. An international bill of rights, though a substitute for minorities treaties, would go far beyond the protection of those belonging to minority populations. It would cover the rights of all human beings, as persons, including those belonging to majority populations. National self-determination should give way to human self-determination.

Only an incorrigible optimist can view such a proposal as a simple project. The exchange of an international bill of rights for the "national self-determination" principle and the collateral principle of "rights of national minorities," is beset by many political and juridical difficulties and obstacles. But that should not cause despair. "The difficult is that which takes a little time; the impossible that which takes a little longer" (Fridtjof Nansen).

The traditional, hallowed doctrine of state sovereignty, long since circumscribed by international conventions and treaties, should, by international agreement, yield further to the more exalted ethical-religious ideal of the sanctity of the person, whatever be his racial origin, religion, or political creed.

*Beyond "National Self-Determination"*

MORRIS D. WALDMAN

REPRINTED FROM  
CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD  
JUNE 1944

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## Contemporary Jewish Record

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Published every two months by The American Jewish Committee at 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. 40¢ a copy; \$2 a year; Canadian and Foreign, \$2.50. Entered as second-class matter August 11, 1939, at the post office in New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1944, by The American Jewish Committee. Subscribers should send change of address three weeks in advance. Unsolicited MSS must be accompanied by return postage. Indexed in International Index to Periodicals, Index to Labor Articles, Magazine Subject Index, and Public Affairs Information Service.



## Beyond "National Self-Determination"

MORRIS D. WALDMAN

ON OCTOBER 6, 1943, a joint Declaration was made by prominent representatives of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths. This so-called *Pattern for Peace* embodied seven points intended to serve as the basis for the postwar world order. The fourth point reads as follows:

The Rights of Minorities must be secured. National governments and international organization must respect and guarantee the rights of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and to political equality.

Pronouncements of this type have been frequently made by other groups, lay and clerical, invariably couched in broad, general terms.

Declarations by heads of leading democratic governments have been made singly or jointly, but usually only in general terms, from the Four Freedoms and Atlantic Charter to the more recent seventeen-point statement of Secretary of State Cordell Hull with respect to American foreign policy.

To Americans and to citizens of other democratic countries, the injunctions of the clergy of the three great occidental faiths, as well as the similar declarations made by statesmen, are so obviously compelling as to be axiomatic. The general principles therein embodied have been taken for granted as the permanent and immutable ideals of our civilization, having been so deeply imbedded in our consciousness as to make us almost-unaware of them. It is only the hideous assault upon these ideals during the last few decades that has made us newly recognize the precious value of these treasures and has impelled us, at tremendous cost, to make a supreme and indomitable effort to preserve them.

These declarations are all essentially based on the Judeo-Christian principle of the sacredness and dignity of human personality—a principle which is the very cornerstone of Western civilization.

How are the purposes of these declarations with respect to minorities to be realized?

The problem is not new. It was dealt with twenty-five years ago at the Peace Conference in Paris, where comprehensive measures were taken to realize these objectives. Then, it will be recalled, the Allied and Associated Powers unanimously adopted the doctrine of "national self-determination" which had been particularly emphasized by Woodrow Wilson. In accordance with this doctrine a number of peoples, or, more precisely, ethnic units that had at one time or another enjoyed territorial independence were reconstituted as independent political entities commonly known as states. But because other ethnic elements lived in their midst, measures in the form of so-called minorities treaties were taken to insure the political and civil equality and religious freedom of the inhabitants of these countries who differed from the majority in race, language, or religion. These provisions, as will also be recalled, were incorporated in the respective constitutions of these new or Succession states and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. The official delegates to the Peace Conference, as well as the representatives of private organizations who had been actively promoting the adoption of these treaties, left Paris happy in the conviction that great historic injustices had been rectified, and that in the future all inhabitants of Europe would live in peace and security, protected in the enjoyment of their natural, inalienable rights.

Though the minorities treaties did not provide for recognition of minorities as political entities or parties within the general body politic, the tendency was to carry over the pattern of nationality distinctions that had prevailed in pre-war days so that the ethnic minorities in the several countries virtually assumed the character of political nationalities. These ethnic groups or nationalities were in many cases further split into political parties or blocs. As such they had their own slates in the political elections, the candidates being primarily pledged to protect and promote the interests of their nationality or nationality segment by acting on general political issues from a point of view beneficial to their particular group. Thus, though the minorities treaties were intended to insure the equality of political rights of all individuals, as individuals, and equality in cultural and religious rights only in a group sense, the pre-war separatism nevertheless persisted. For example, the Poles had common political interests as the major nationality of the Polish territory. But there were the minor nationalities—Germans, White Russians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Jews—each of which had its particular interests. These interests were defended by the several nationalities operating as

political blocs within the general body politic of Poland. There were also economic interests which, though cutting across nationality interests, did not destroy the group integrity of the nationalities.

THE experience of Europe following the First World War proved the minorities treaties to be impracticable. The newly established states, based on racial homogeneity, regarded their ethnic minorities as obstacles to their development into full-fledged nationality-states. The governments of these states felt responsible primarily, if not solely, to the majority-people of their countries and regarded the minorities as quasi-alien and subordinate elements to be assimilated or liquidated or evacuated—the treaties notwithstanding. The safeguards established in the form of League of Nations guarantees proved quite ineffective. Hardly a day after she signed the treaty, *Polonia Restituta* began to restrict the various minorities. The several successive governments preserved the half-feudal character of the country where a rich land-owning aristocracy withheld the ownership of a great proportion of the land from a half-starved peasantry; on the other hand they developed State ownership of basic industries under which exploitation, waste and nepotism flourished at the expense of private industry operated largely by minority elements, especially the Jews. The major burdens of intolerably heavy taxes and other restrictions and discriminations were imposed on them. Poland's unilateral repudiation of the Minorities Treaty at the League of Nations in Geneva and her announced policy of mass evacuation of her Jewish citizens climaxed her postwar record of undemocratic conduct, exposing the pretense of her adherence to the enlightened ideals pronounced in Paris and embodied in solemn official documents.\*

The behavior of Rumania was even more brazen and brutal. Several of her rapidly changing governments actually instigated pogroms against the minorities, chiefly the Jews, just as the Czarist government had done in the benighted country of Russia before the Revolution. Nationality conflicts prevailed in most of the Succession states: Czech-Slovak-Hungarian conflict in Czechoslovakia, Croat-Serb conflict in Yugoslavia, Rumanian-Hungarian conflict in Rumania. Irredentism seethed continuously. Ethnic segments in certain countries clamored for annexation of the territory they inhabited to the neighboring country governed by their kin (e.g., the Germans in Sudeten, the Hungarians in Transyl-

\* The present Polish Government-in-Exile has disavowed the undemocratic policies of preceding governments and has given assurance of genuine democratic practices in the future.

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vania and Slovakia, the Ukrainians in Poland, etc.) and were encouraged in this activity by the neighboring countries. This led to serious tensions and contributed measurably to the outbreak of the present World War. Every ethnic group in Europe had been awakened to national consciousness; and some which had never enjoyed territorial independence began to press for a nationality-state of their own. The treaties, the state constitutions and the guarantees of the League of Nations did not solve these problems; on the contrary, they aggravated them.

This disappointing experience demonstrates that there is little hope of effecting a satisfactory solution unless radical and fundamental changes are instituted in the very concepts of nation and state. New means must be devised to protect the rights of those who belong to minority segments of the population.

This is borne out by C. A. Macartney, an outstanding authority on national minorities, who says:

The real root of the trouble lies in the philosophy of the national state as it is practised today in central and eastern Europe. So long as the majority nations which have assumed command of the different states persist in their theoretically absurd and practically unattainable endeavor to make of those states the exclusive instruments of their own national ideals and aspirations, so long will the minorities be placed in a position which no system of international protection can render tolerable. . . . A national state and national minorities are incompatible.\*

A confusing terminology must be clarified. Clear definitions must be given to the words "nation" and "nationality," "nationalism" and "nationhood," "race," "people" and "state." Their distinctive connotations must be made plain. For the sake of clarifying the thesis of this article these terms are used arbitrarily, though, it is hoped, accurately. Anthropologists have discovered no pure races in the civilized world. Yet there are many peoples possessing a substantial degree of ethnic identity, a common history, a common language and a common culture, which, in a practical sense, may be, and are, referred to as races, such as the Scotch, the Irish, the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Serbians, Bulgarians, Germans, Italians, the French, the Chinese, the Arabs, the Jews—to say nothing of the countless other races in the Soviet Union, Asia and Africa, and

\* C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 421-422.

other continents. It would be more accurate to refer to these more or less diluted ethnic groups as "nationalities" whose identity is more strongly characterized by a common language than by blood.\*

The terms "people," "race," "nation," are variously employed. We speak of the American nation, meaning all the people who make up its citizenry. The American people, however, are composed of many races or nationalities. To every American his nation is his country, the U.S.A. To this nation he owes undivided political allegiance. In legal parlance he is a "national" (citizen) of the U.S.A. He belongs, though, to one of a hundred or more nationalities. To these, if he desires, he may maintain a *loyalty*—a loyalty which should never conflict with his political *allegiance* to his country, the U.S.A. The terms "loyalty" and "allegiance" are not synonymous. Our loyalties may be many, to our family, our kin, our club, our college, our association of any kind. Our allegiance is to our country. Allegiance is a political relationship. Loyalties need not be political. In this article the term "nationality" means ethnic group or people or race. It is here used as a noun and not as an attribute or qualification. The term is distinguished from "nation" which here denotes the entire citizenry of a country; while "state" is a legal concept meaning the ruling power of a country.

The doctrine of "national self-determination" (more accurately, nationality self-determination), that is, the idea that every ethnic group has the right to its own territory and independent political life, has proved to be impracticable and unrealistic in territories inhabited by heterogeneous ethnic groups. The sudden collapse during the First World War of the two multi-nationality states, Czarist Russia and Austria-Hungary, seemed to support the soundness of the principle of nationality self-determination. Woodrow Wilson sought to grant the same opportunities of national development to as many European peoples as possible, thus hoping to abolish dangerous tensions. Where nationalities could not be set up as independent countries he sought to protect them against discrimination at the hands of the ruling majority by instituting safeguards for the minorities. But these safeguards proved to be only paper rights.

\* The Jews are a unique people. They are a duality of both people (race in the popular sense) and religion. Yet they have no common language. Yiddish is the common tongue of Eastern European Jews, and Ladino that of the Levantine Jews. Hebrew, the ancient language of the Jews in Palestine before the Christian Era, continues as the language of study and prayer. Only within recent years has it been revived as the vernacular in the Jewish community of Palestine and in Zionist circles outside Palestine.



The universal prevalence of the idea that nationality and territory form a natural synthesis, is reflected in the controversy at present in the forefront of public interest between Soviet Russia and the Polish Government-in-Exile, with respect to the territory east of the so-called Curzon Line that was forcibly appropriated by Josef Pilsudski in 1920. This territory, relinquished by the vanquished Soviets, is now again a subject of conflicting claims. The proponents of the claims of the U.S.S.R. argue that because the overwhelming majority of the population in that territory are White Russians and Ukrainians, the territory properly belongs to Soviet Russia where these peoples constitute republics of their own within the framework of the Soviet federated system. That is a race-state doctrine. This unhappy and dangerous dispute cannot be satisfactorily settled unless the factors of the nationality or race of the population are subordinated to the broader political and economic considerations affecting Eastern Europe and perhaps the entire European continent. In an honest plebiscite the voters will probably be governed less by consideration of nationality-loyalty than by the more natural law of self-preservation—the desire for decent and secure livelihood whether in the city or on the soil. The Treaty of Versailles called for a plebiscite in four districts of Western Prussia and in the southern districts of East Prussia. Although the territory was inhabited by Mazurians, a Slav people speaking a Polish dialect, in the plebiscite held on July 11, 1920, the overwhelming majority voted for Germany because of economic, religious and political considerations.

But the realities may rule out the holding of a plebiscite. The U.S.S.R. will, no doubt, have an important, if not a determining, voice in the ultimate decision because of the dominant position she has acquired and which will probably be enhanced at the end of the war. Her stand will not, however, be governed by racial considerations even though those considerations may be made to appear as the basis for her claims. Says Professor E. H. Carr, an outstanding student of international affairs:

The tradition which makes the drawing of frontiers the primary and most spectacular part of peace-making has outlived its validity. The idea that peace can be established by shifting frontiers in conformity with some fixed principle or set of principles did duty at Versailles, and has failed. To repeat the same process once more on the basis of the same or of other principles would be futile and hopeless. The urgent need now is to alter not the location, but the meaning of frontiers. The drawing of frontiers thus becomes a secondary process, not only in importance, but in time; for it is impossible to have an

## BEYOND "NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION"

intelligent opinion on the question how many frontiers can be tolerated, and where they shall run, until we have first obtained a clear view what frontiers are going to mean.\*

Race loyalties everywhere have from time to time given way to economic considerations and religious or political convictions. Such considerations have prompted millions of people from many countries and of many races to settle in the United States and to become bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of America. A great and powerful country has been built, a whole continent has been populated, precisely because human beings may place the cause of freedom or economic incentive above their folk or nationality-loyalty or racial identity. Our American State is neither a race-state in the Eastern European sense, consisting of a majority nationality and many minority nationalities, nor a state of equal nationalities in the sense of the Soviet example.\*\* One of its most remarkable features is a decided neutrality toward ethnic differences. In the United States the individual and not his nationality is the political unit. And though we would not be justified in arbitrarily attempting to impose the American political conception upon other countries, it is obvious that only some such conception of the state as prevails in our country, as well as in the other democracies in Western Europe and in the Americas, must obtain in the rest of the world if decent human relations are to be insured and permanent international friendship and comity restored.

Those who have had close and active interest in the minorities problem cannot, of course, ignore the powerful race (nationality) will-to-live among the ethnic groups in Eastern Europe—a will-to-live stronger in some ways than the "law of self-preservation" inherent in the individual. Men have been taught and inspired to give their lives gladly for their nationality. But the student of history knows that whereas the individual's will-to-live is instinctive, nationality consciousness and loyalties are the result of education and social compulsion. They become basic

\* E. H. Carr, *Conditions of Peace* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1942), p. 241.

\*\* The Soviet Union is not a race-state. Though the integrity of every one of its many nationalities is safeguarded, no nationality enjoys the prerogative of particular and exclusive identification with the state. The Union has many nationalities but the majority-minorities distinction does not obtain. These nationalities have no real part in the government. The actual government is the Communist Party; its members belong to many nationalities, but the members in no sense represent nationalities, nor does any government official.

elements in the mores of human association, but they are not instinctive and indestructible. It is only in recent centuries that the modern nation-states took form. They succeeded the feudal systems under which those in fief had a personal relation to the feudal lord, which was, however, in no sense a relationship of nationality. Frequently, if not ordinarily, the feudal lord and the people over whom he ruled were not of the same racial strain. The French nobility, even in the days of the monarchy preceding the Revolution, disavowed racial identity with the people of France. The latter were mainly Gallic and Latin, the former were descendants of the Germanic conquerors. Many kings in European countries have been foreigners. This was so even in England, where the monarchy was at one time Norman, more recently German.

Nevertheless, the sense of kinship, enhanced by common suffering and humiliation to which minority nationalities were subjected over long periods of time, has been so strongly developed as to make nationality-states appear as natural and immutable institutions. Because political power in the hands of one large and strong nationality subjugated the weaker nationalities, the latter have naturally sought political power in order to regain their freedom. The internationally sanctioned doctrine of national self-determination reinforced and intensified the nationalist spirit. Moreover, actually there is no such thing as individual freedom separated from association with others, especially those others who have common social and cultural interests. To protect the cultural, religious and linguistic rights of the individual necessarily means that the associated rights of all persons who have a common culture, religion and language must be protected. For these rights mean nothing unless they are enjoyed in association. The problem, then, is to permit the preservation of the integrity of the nationality without investing it with the character and form of a political association. So long as it assumes such form and character, the intolerable majority-minorities structure, with all its injustices, conflicts and dangers to internal and international peace, will continue to exist. The most effective way to nullify the political character of nationality minorities is to tolerate, even foster, their cultural freedom. This will remove the need for, and compulsion toward, political activity.

Switzerland is likely to come to mind as a successful example of a multi-national state. It furnishes a good illustration of the soundness of our thesis, even though in the popular mind Switzerland is erroneously conceived as a state consisting of three political nationalities:

German, French and Italian. It is true that these three nationalities comprise virtually the entire Swiss population. But they do not constitute the Swiss State or Confederation. The Confederation is made up of twenty-two small states called cantons, in most of which the predominating population belongs to one of these three nationalities. These nationalities, however, are not political entities. The inhabitants in each state are Swiss citizens, whose political interests are expressed as individual citizens and not through the nationality to which they happen to belong. The political issues are not determined through nationality action. The representatives in the bi-cameral Parliament are not chosen by the nationalities as such; nor do the seven members of the Federal Executive, including the President and Vice-President of the Swiss Republic, who are named by the Federal Parliament, reflect, in any sense, identification with the three main nationality groups. Switzerland thus provides a useful pattern for other multi-nationality countries. Great Britain, whose population is largely made up of English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish, likewise furnishes a practical pattern. In Switzerland and Great Britain, as in the U.S.A. and other Western democracies where nationalities are less marked, the individual, not the nationality, is the political unit.\*

THE race-state concept of nazism may be considered as the latest and most hideous outgrowth of the more recent history of nationality-states. The core of nazism is nationality self-determination. It is encrusted, moreover, with odious, irrational excrescences manifested in the anti-Christian, anti-Judaic, apotheosis of the state (personified in an infallible symbol called the *Fuehrer*) which destroyed the human personality of the citizen and resulted in even more monstrous abuses of other nationalities within the orbit of its power. The Germans themselves were all made the slaves of the party-*élite* which took over the state. The race doctrine created two categories of slaves—one the higher, the so-called Aryan; the other, the lower, the so-called non-Aryan. The "Aryans" were given a few indulgences denied to the latter; but these were largely fictitious prerogatives. The *"élite"* is the master, not the German people. In the establishment of the nazi race-state, the seething nationalisms of Europe have found increasing justification for their

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chauvinism and racial bigotry. In the multi-nationality states of Eastern and Central Europe, the state, interpreting "national self-determination" as majority nationality self-determination, not only restricted the participation of the minorities in the administration of public affairs, but oppressed them economically and politically, and, as in the case of Poland with respect to the Jews, frantically sought their evacuation.

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Nations and nationalities will, of course, continue to exist, but the doctrine of "national self-determination" must be interpreted anew. The territorial results of historic evolution, crazy-quilted though they be, must be faced as realities. Nationalities will have to remain scattered in different countries. Their culture and religion will have to be ungrudgingly tolerated. But if they continue to possess the form and character of political blocs, the vexatious problem of the rights of those differing from the majority in race, language or religion cannot be solved.

The suggestion covertly made from time to time since the outbreak of the present war to solve the minorities problem by interchange of populations so as to bring all persons of a particular nationality into one country, perpetuating the erroneous idea that the race-state is a natural institution divinely ordained, would result in economic chaos and human disaster. To the Saxon peasant of Transylvania his bit of soil is more precious than the abstract sentiment of his being of German origin. He would regard forced transfer to German soil as a calamity, as would the Polish peasant in East Prussia were he forcibly transplanted somewhere in Poland. The average human being even in Eastern European countries, where nationalisms have been cultivated by propaganda into fanatic frenzy, is, in the final analysis, more concerned with getting food and security. First ordinary men want freedom from want and from fear, then freedom of religion and freedom of speech. Granted these four freedoms, men will not fret much over the fact that the government is in the hands of persons of other nationalities.

The conception of the race-state (nationality-state) has been so deeply embedded in the consciousness of men, that it has become a habit of thought even with such a seasoned statesman as Senator Robert A. Taft, who in addressing the U. S. Senate recently said:

#### BEYOND "NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION"

Until a place is found where the unhappy Jews of Europe can go and get a new start in life, free of unreasonable economic sanctions and a blind religious and racial hatred, the fundamental causes for anti-Semitism will continue in Europe.

To imply, as he does, that this people scattered throughout Europe, having no territory of their own, must leave Europe and settle elsewhere in a territory of their own, is a capitulation to the race-state idea. It would lead to an even more revolting result, bad for the Jews and bad for Europe—capitulation to the Nazi theory that Europe must be made *judenrein*. (Bad for Europe because the Jews are an indispensable element in the economy of Europe.) If human rights are to be restored and preserved, Jews, too, must enjoy the status of citizens of the countries in which they dwell in complete political equality with all other inhabitants—as individuals, and not as members of a national minority.

This proposal, to blot out the race-state idea and to abolish the very concepts of "national majority" and "national minorities," will probably be characterized by some "practical" statesmen or even by some students of history and political philosophy as unrealistic. It will be correctly argued that political conceptions and systems of government are the product of long evolution peculiar to each country or region. It will be plausibly contended that the political structures of Eastern Europe cannot and should not be expected to yield to the political conceptions and systems of government in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere. It will not be easy, of course, to bring about such radical changes. But other long established political systems have been changed rapidly, usually by revolution, more or less violent, as for example, by the eighteenth-century revolution in France, the twentieth-century revolution in Russia, and the establishment of fascism in Italy and nazism in Germany, to say nothing of the creation of constitutional governments in former despotic monarchies in all the countries of Europe.

Radical changes in the nationality type of political structure can be effected by the peaceful means of international agreement at the time when the final decisions as to the new world order will be made.\* The

\* "The troubles of our day arise out of the modern conception of the national [nationality or race] state; out of the identification of the political ideals of all the inhabitants of the state with the national-cultural [nationality-cultural] ideals of the majority in it. If once this confusion between two things which are fundamentally different can be abandoned, there is no reason why the members of a score of different nationalities should not live together in perfect harmony in the same state. . . ." (C. A. Macartney, *op. cit.*, p. 450.)

fact that the changes will be drastic should not frighten us. To quote the late Associate Justice Louis D. Brandeis: "If we would guide by the light of reason, we must make our minds bold."

Something in the nature of an international bill of rights must be adopted for the protection of all human beings as such rather than their protection as either a majority or a minority, buttressed by international safeguards more effective than the guarantees of the Treaty of Versailles and collateral treaties. An international bill of rights, though a substitute for minorities treaties, would go far beyond the protection of those belonging to minority populations. It would cover the rights of all human beings, as persons, including those belonging to majority populations. National self-determination should give way to human self-determination.

Only an incorrigible optimist can view such a proposal as a simple project. The exchange of an international bill of rights for the "national self-determination" principle and the collateral principle of "rights of national minorities," is beset by many political and juridical difficulties and obstacles. But that should not cause despair. "The difficult is that which takes a little time; the impossible that which takes a little longer" (Fridtjof Nansen).

The traditional, hallowed doctrine of state sovereignty, long since circumscribed by international conventions and treaties, should, by international agreement, yield further to the more exalted ethical-religious ideal of the sanctity of the person, whatever be his racial origin, religion, or political creed.

MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Paraguay as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Paraguay as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. William Wallace White  
Consul General of Paraguay  
347 Madison Avenue  
New York City, New York

*J.*  
*W. Pehle*  
WStondish:lem 5-19-44

000221

MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Colombia as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Colombia, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Luis Tamayo  
Consul General of Colombia  
21 West Street  
New York City, New York

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JW  
MStandish/ica 5-19-44

000222

MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General;

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Ecuador as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Ecuador, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Sixto Duran Ballen  
Consul General of Ecuador  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York City, New York

*Handwritten:* 15/1 JWA  
KSTandish:lem 5-19-44

000223

MAY 24 1944

My dear Mr. Consul General:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau are planning to visit Mexico as representatives of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of studying certain refugee problems. Mr. Waldman is Vice Chairman and Mr. Landau a member of this Executive Committee.

Their trip to Mexico, as well as to certain others of the American republics, has the approval of the War Refugee Board, and the Board would be deeply grateful for your assistance in expediting action on their applications for a visa to your country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

Mr. Ricardo G. Hill  
Consul General of Mexico  
70 Pine Street  
New York City, New York

*S. Ash*  
MSandish:lcw 5-19-44

000224

Telephone MUrray Hill 5-0181

ABLE ADDRESS "WISCOM, NEW YORK"

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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San Francisco, Calif.  
HORACE STERN  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN  
Detroit, Mich.

May 17, 1944

Mr. David White  
War Refugee Board  
387 $\frac{1}{2}$  Treasury Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Enclosed herewith are the clippings you asked for last week. Sorry about the delay, but it has taken some time to compile these. If you have no further use for them when they have served your purpose, we should be glad to have you return them to us. However, if you wish to keep them, it will be quite all right.

Very truly yours,

*B. A. Gerstenfeld*

Secretary to Richard C. Rothschild

BAG  
Encl.

*Deliver Mr. White  
file*

000225

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

NEW YORK POST

Date

Title

Date

February 28, 1944

Title

Gen. Winchman named WSB Aide.

X

✓ February 26, 1944

Wash. Memo.

X

March 13, 1944

How U.S. Ports to Aid Refugees, etc.

X

✓ April 12, 1944

Wash. Memo. Europe's Jews.

April 18, 1944

By: William O. Player, Jr.

X

✓ April 19, 1944

Wash. Memo.

000226



NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

	<u>Date</u>		<u>Title</u>
X	February 22, 1944	-	Ira Hirschmann named WEB Aide.
X	April 18, 1944	-	
X	April 19, 1944	-	Free U.S. Ports to Aid Refugees, etc.
	April 20, 1944	-	The Rescue of Europe's Jews.

000027

NEW YORK TIMES

Date

Title

W. ARTHUR KRAMER, SYRACUSE

February 20, 1944 -

"Refugee Aid Chief At  
Work In Turkey".

April 1, 1944 -

"40,000 Refugees Escape  
to Rumania".

April 11, 1944 -

(British Exile)

April 19, 1944 -

"Free Ports" To Admit  
Refugees May be Set Up  
Under U.S. Plan".

90

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20

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170

5/9/44

000228

7 ARTS FEATURE SYNDICATE

- 103 Park Ave  
New York 5-2550

Date

March 23, 1944

Title

(Nathan Zyrin

100229

FORWARDS

175 E. Bway

<u>Date</u>		<u>Title</u>
February 22, 1944	-	(Ankara date line 2/21)
March 5, 1944	-	Boris Smoler article
March 15, 1944	-	Jerusalem 3/14 J.T.A.
April 3, 1944	-	40,000 Refugees escape to Rumania.
April 14, 1944	-	

000230

DAILY JEWISH COURIER

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title</u>
February 21, 1944 -	(Ankara date line 2/20)
February 24, 1944 -	Editorial
March 23, 1944 (No. 59) -	Arrangements to save Jews from Balkan Lands must be kept secret.
March 27, 1944 -	
March 30, 1944 -	"Rescue Echoes"
April 12, 1944 -	Gestapo raids Jewish offices in Rumania.
April 16, 1944 (Sunday)-	One-fourth of Jewish Race Exterminated.
April 19, 1944 -	

100231

J.T.A. DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title</u>
✓ March 13, 1944	
✓ March 14, 1944	
✓ April 12, 1944	
✓ April 18, 1944	(pg. 4 bot.)
✓ April 19, 1944	(pg. 2)
✓ April 27, 1944	(pg. 4)
✓ May 5, 1944	(?)

000232

NEW YORK DAILY P.M.

Date

April 24, 1944

Title

The Path Through Stamboul

000233

OK

NEW YORK POST

<u>Date</u>		<u>Title</u>
February 26, 1944	-	Wash. Memo.
March 13, 1944	-	
April 12, 1944	-	Wash. Memo.
April 18, 1944	-	By: William O. Player, Jr.
April 19, 1944	-	Wash. Memo.

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NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM

Date

Title

April 19, 1944

-

Refugee "Free Ports"  
Considered by U.S.

125 Barclay

Revised

U.S.A. DAILY NEWS BULLETIN  
U.S.A. DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

Date

Title

March 13, 1944

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March 14, 1944

(Nathan Syrin

April 12, 1944

April 18, 1944 (pg. 4 bot.)

April 19, 1944 (pg. 2)

April 27, 1944 (pg. 4)

May 5, 1944 (1)

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7 ARTS FEATURE SYNDICATE

Date

March 23, 1944

Title

The Field Marshal (Nathan Zyrin)

000237

NEW YORK DAILY P.M.

Date

Title

April 24, 1944

The Path Through Stamboul

March 23, 1944

April 12, 1944

April 15, 1944

April 18, 1944

Good News

By William H. Pinyan, Jr.

Good News

000238

NEW YORK POST

Date

Title

April 17, 1944

Re: "The White House"  
Continued by W.S.  
Wash. Memo.

February 26, 1944 -

March 13, 1944 -

April 12, 1944 -

Wash. Memo.

April 18, 1944 -

By: William O. Flayer, Jr.

April 19, 1944 -

Wash. Memo.

000239

NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM

Date

Title

April 19, 1944

-

Refugee "Free Ports"  
Considered by U.S.

000240

NEW YORK TIMES

Date

Title

February 20, 1944 -

"Refugee Aid Chief At  
Work In Turkey".

April 1, 1944 -

"40,000 Refugees Escape  
to Rumania".

April 11, 1944 -

"Free Ports" To Admit  
Refugees May be Set Up  
Under U.S. Plan".

April 19, 1944 -

000041

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

<u>Date</u>		<u>Title</u>
February 22, 1944	-	Ira Hirschmann named WRB Aide.
April 18, 1944	-	
April 19, 1944	-	Free U.S. Ports to Aid Refugees, etc.
April 20, 1944	-	The Rescue of Europe's Jews.

000242



# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE

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Columbus, Ohio  
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San Francisco, Calif.  
HORACE STERN  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN  
Detroit, Mich.

May 17, 1944

Mr. I. M. Weinstein  
War Refugee Board  
253 Broadway  
Room 801  
New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Weinstein:

In accordance with our conversation on the phone a few minutes ago, I am sending to you herewith three lists of distinguished Americans who have at various times identified themselves with causes of this sort. These lists have been printed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and I am sure you will find them useful for your purposes.

Very truly yours,

*Richard C. Rothschild*  
Richard C. Rothschild  
Director of Public Relations

RCR:BAG  
Encl.

*Indep. Mr. Weinstein  
file*

100243

# A STATEMENT BY 103 MEN OF GOOD WILL

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, holding diverse political, social and religious beliefs, at this time make common cause in commending the American people for their continuing resistance to all attempts to divide them along lines of race and creed.

"WE BELIEVE that national policy should be subjected to the widest possible debate. Equally, we believe that in such debate any attempt to pit religion against religion, race against race, is a betrayal of the treasured traditions of our democracy. We have seen clearly the result of such tactics in other democracies, where intolerance has been used to create confusion and chaos.

"WE, THEREFORE, urge Americans to continue their repudiation of appeal to prejudice wherever and by whomsoever made."

JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL ✓  
ROGER W. BAUDWIN  
BRUCE BARTON ✓  
MARY McLEOD BETHUNE  
LOUIS BROMFIELD ✓  
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY  
FRANZ BOAZ  
EDDIE CANTOR  
JAMES B. CAREY  
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT ✓  
REV. HENRY SLOANE COFFIN  
RABBI HENRY COHN  
ARTHUR H. COMPTON ✓  
THE RT. REV. WALLACE E. CONKLING  
MRS. JAMES P. CUMMISKEY  
BETTE DAVIS  
THOMAS E. DEWEY  
WALTER DISNEY  
WILL DURANT  
DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR.  
RABBI JULIAN FIEBELMAN  
MARSHALL FIELD ✓  
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER  
RABBI LOUIS FINKELSTEIN  
MRS. JOHN FRENCH  
LLOYD McKIM GARRISON  
VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE  
REV. L. W. GOEBEL  
RABBI SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON  
RABBI HERBERT S. GOLDSTEIN  
FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
WILLIAM GREEN ✓  
CARLTON J. H. HAYES  
HELEN HAYES  
WALTER HEAD

RABBI JAMES G. HELLER  
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
THE RT. REV. H. W. HOBSON  
REV. HOMER B. HENDERSON  
FANNIE HURST  
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
HUGH S. JOHNSON  
RABBI LEO JUNG  
FRIEDA KIRCHWEY  
LOUIS E. KIRSTEIN  
WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN  
REV. JOHN LaFARGE, S.J.  
F. H. LaGUARDIA  
ALFRED M. LANDON  
HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
RT. REV. MSGR. LUIGI LIGUTTI  
RABBI JOSHUA L. LIEBMAN  
LUCIUS LITTAUER  
HENRY LUCE ✓  
HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN  
RABBI EDGAR F. MAGNIH  
MINNIE S. MAFFET  
THE RT. REV. WILLIAM T. MANNING  
KIRTLEY MATHER  
MRS. RAYMOND MASSEY  
MILDRED McAFEE  
BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL  
KATRINA McCORMICK  
ARCHIBALD MacLEISH  
GEORGE MEANY  
ROBERT I. MILLIKIN ✓  
PHILIP MURRAY ✓  
WILLIAM ALLEN NEILSON  
THE VERY REV. M. J. O'CONNELL  
BASIL O'CONNOR ✓

THE REV. J. HUGH O'DONNELL  
CLARENCE PICKETT  
LILY PONS  
A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH  
PAUL ROBESON  
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT  
THE RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN A. RYAN ✓  
LEYERETT SALTONSTALL ✓  
REV. W. A. SCHULLENBERGER  
F. A. SEIBERLING  
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
BISHOP A. FRANK SMITH  
ROBERT GORDON SPROUL  
HAROLD EDWARD STASSEN  
EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.  
ROGER W. STRAUS  
HAROLD W. SWIFT  
RAYMOND GRAM SWING ✓  
NORMAN THOMAS  
R. J. THOMAS  
DANIEL J. TOBIN  
DOROTHY THOMPSON ✓  
REV. ERNEST FREMONT TITTLE  
LAWRENCE TIBBET ✓  
THE RT. REV. HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER  
ROBERT F. WAGNER  
WALTER WANGER  
THOMAS J. WATSON ✓  
LUTHER A. WEIGLE  
ERNEST WEIR ✓  
WM. WESLEY WAYMACK  
WALTER WHITE  
WENDELL L. WILLKIE ✓  
MARY WOOLLEY

*"We Have Clearly Seen  
The Result In Other Democracies--"*

This statement signed at the invitation of The  
National Conference of Christians and Jews,  
381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

000245

"We believe in one God, Creator and Sustainer of the Universe. Though we have varying views as to the nature and content of God's more direct revelation, we hold that He also manifests His being, power, wisdom and love through His works and especially in the mind, will and personality of man.

"We believe that the mind of man reflects, though imperfectly, the mind of God, and we reject, as a betrayal of human dignity, all attempts to explain man in merely material terms.

"We believe that God's all holy will is the ultimate sanction of human morality and that man's true freedom and happiness depend on his obedience to the will of God as known to him. We reject all deterministic interpretations of man and all reduction of his moral duties to mere custom or social adjustment.

"We believe that recognition of man's dependence upon God is essential to the progress of true civilization; that nations, as well as individuals are bound to acknowledge this; and that education or social theories which would state man's duties, standards and happiness without reference to God are doomed to failure.

"We believe that God's fatherly providence extends equally to every human being. We reject theories of race which affirm the essential superiority of one racial strain over another. We acknowledge every man as our brother. We respect and champion his inalienable rights, and are determined to do all in our power to promote man's temporal and spiritual welfare as necessary consequences of our duty to God.

"We believe the republican form of government to be the most desirable for our nation and for countries of similarly democratic traditions. Any political forms, however, can bring liberty and happiness to a society only when moral and religious principles are accepted and practiced.

"We believe, with the founders of this republic, that individual rights are an endowment from God, and we reject, as certain to result in the enslavement of man, all denials of this principle."

Among the national signers are:

REV. HORACE F. HOLTON,  
President, Massachusetts Council of Churches

BISHOP EDWIN HOLT HUGHES,  
Methodist Church

REV. EDGAR DeWITT JONES,  
Detroit, Mich.

FATHER JOHN LaFARGE, S.J.,  
Associate Editor of America

HON. ALF. M. LANDON,  
Topeka, Kans.

ALBERT D. LASKER,  
New York City

RABBI FELIX A. LEVY,  
Chicago, Ill.

RABBI JOSHUA LOTH LIEBMAN,  
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Princeton Theological Seminary

PRES. DANIEL L. MARSH,  
Boston University

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Albright College

RT. REV. WM. T. MANNING  
Bishop, Episcopal Church

FRANCIS P. MATTHEWS,  
Knights of Columbus

RAYMOND MASSEY,  
New York City

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL,  
Methodist Church

PRES. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN,  
Yesser College

ERNEST J. MILLINGTON,  
Ex-Pres., Northern Baptist Convention

HENRY MONSKY,  
President, B'nai B'rith

PRES. JULIAN MORGENSTERN,  
Hebrew Union College

PRES. FELIX MORLEY,  
Haverford College

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON,  
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LOUIS MOSS,  
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PRES. JOHN W. NASON,  
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New York City

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American Friends Service Committee

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Christian Endeavor Society

RABBI DAVID deSOLA POOL,  
New York City

REV. WILLIAM BARROW PUGH,  
Stated Clerk, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

200246

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

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Theological Seminary of Evangelical & Reformed Church

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JAMES N. ROSENBERG,  
New York City

FATHER J. ELLIOT ROSS,  
Charlottesville, Va.

RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN A. RYAN,  
Catholic University of America

GOV. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,  
State of Massachusetts

RT. REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT,  
Bishop, Episcopal Church

WILLIAM J. SCHIEFFELIN,  
New York City

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD,  
New York City

PRES. GEORGE N. SHUSTER,  
Hunter College

MRS. HARPER SIBLEY,  
Rochester, N. Y.

REV. THOMAS GUTHRIE SPEERS,  
Baltimore, Md.

FATHER EDWARD V. STANFORD,  
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ROGER W. STRAUS,  
Co-Chairman, National Conference

MRS. ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER,  
New York City

CHARLES P. TAFT,  
Cincinnati, O.

FATHER JOSEPH F. THORNING,  
Mt. St. Mary's College

REV. ERNEST FREMONT TITTLE,  
Evanston, Ill.

RICHARD M. TOBIN,  
San Francisco, Cal.

MAYOR MAURICE J. TOBIN,  
Boston, Mass.

HON. MATTHEW J. TROY,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

BISHOP RAYMOND J. WADE,  
Methodist Church

RT. REV. BENJAMIN WASHBURN,  
Bishop, Episcopal Church

ERNEST T. WEIR,  
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RABBI JONAH B. WISE,  
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DEAN LUTHER A. WEIGLE,  
Yale Divinity School

MARY E. WOOLLEY,  
Westport, N. Y.

PRES. HENRY M. WRISTON,  
Brown University

RT. REV. MSGR. PETER M. H. WYNHOVEN,  
President, Catholic Press Association

## BASIC CONVICTIONS

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, from its beginning in 1928, has upheld the principle of religious liberty, with the right of individuals and groups to differ, and in all their associations with one another to express their full religious faith.

The conference does not seek uniformity of religious beliefs or any least common multiple of faith. It does not believe that its goal of justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews can be reached by weakening the distinctive loyalties and beliefs of its members. It does not hold that "one religion is as good as another."

Emphasis upon differences, however, and the right to differ, may easily obscure the breadth of the area of agreement among the three faiths in those religious principles upon which American institutions rest.

Victory for our American way of life demands that we preserve intact the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition.

The statement that follows, signed by several hundred clerical and lay leaders of the three faiths across the country and issued in February, 1942, reaffirms the loyalty of the signers to their distinctive religious convictions, but emphasizes also "certain basic convictions" which they share in common.

"We, the undersigned individuals of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, viewing the present catastrophic results of Godlessness in the world and facing the fact that our country is at war, realize the necessity for stressing those spiritual truths which we hold in common. We therefore affirm the following fundamental religious beliefs. We believe these convictions are important to every religious person, and are the spiritual foundation of our national life.

"As Catholics, Jews and Protestants, we assert again our abiding loyalty to our respective religious convictions. We recognize differences in many important beliefs. The following statement is, therefore, not a profession of faith to be considered sufficient or complete by any of us, but an expression of certain basic convictions which we share.

TO : Mr. Berle✓

FROM : J. W. Pehle

SUBJECT: Proposed Tour of Latin America by Morris D. Waldman and Jacob Landau of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee.

The Board understands that Mr. Morris D. Waldman, Vice-Chairman and Mr. Jacob Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, have applied for the validation of their American passports to permit their travel to the other American republics, except those in Central America. The purpose of the trip is to study the situation of Jewish refugees in these countries with the aim of assisting them to adjust themselves to their new surroundings, and it may, therefore, prove of value to the Board in its work of saving refugees.

The intended itinerary of Messrs. Waldman and Landau includes: Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Cuba. They would like to begin their travel, which will be of three to four months' duration, just as soon as their passports, visas, and permission to leave the United States can be obtained.

I should greatly appreciate any assistance you can give toward expediting the issuance of their passports and their permits to leave the United States.

(Initialed) J. W. P.

*J. W. P.*  
MSStandish/MSargoy:lem/dh 5/11/44

700248

To American Diplomatic and Consular Officers  
in the American Republics:

Sirs:

This will introduce Mr. Jacob Landau, a representative of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. The Board has approved his tour to the American republics and hopes that you will lend him all appropriate assistance in the conduct of his mission.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

8. ksh jfh  
MStandish:jfh 5-10-44

000249

To American Diplomatic and Consular Officers  
in the American Republics:

Sirs:

This will introduce Mr. Morris D. Waldman, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee and a representative of the American Jewish Committee. The Board has approved his tour to the American republics and hopes that you will lend him all appropriate assistance in the conduct of his mission.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Pehle  
Executive Director

*js* ASH *74*  
MStandish:jfh 5-10-44

100250



LATIN AMERICAN CONSULATES IN NEW YORK

Consul General

Address

ARGENTINA

Conrado Traverso.....9 Rockefeller Plaza

CHILE

Alfonso Grez.....9 Rockefeller Plaza

COLOMBIA

Luis Tamayo.....21 West Street

CUBA

Roberto Hernandez y Garcia.....500 Fifth Avenue

ECUADOR

Sixto Duran Ballen.....30 Rockefeller Plaza

MEXICO

Ricardo G. Hill.....70 Pine Street

PANAMA

Roberto de la Guardia.....30 Rockefeller Plaza

PARAGUAY

William Wallace White.....347 Madison Avenue

PERU

Francisco Pardo de Zela.....10 Rockefeller Center

URUGUAY

Santiago Rivas, Jr.....17 Battery Place

VENEZUELA

Eleazar Morrison.....19 Hector Street

000251

May 4, 1944

Passport Division  
Department of State  
Winder Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Mr. Morris D. Waldman and Mr. Jacob Landau respectively Vice Chairman and member of our Executive Committee have been requested to visit a number of Latin-American countries for the purpose of studying the situation of refugees, victims of Axis terrorism, and also advise with the local responsible Jewish organizations in those countries on their philanthropic educational and religious problems.

The countries they desire to visit are as follows:

Mexico, Panama, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile,  
Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Venezuela and Cuba.

They hope to complete the task within three months but are prepared to remain an additional month if necessary. They plan to start on their trip on or about May 24th.

We shall appreciate your early approval of their application for passports.

Respectfully yours,

John Slawson  
Executive Vice-President

100252

Telephone Murray Hill 5-0181

ABLE ADDRESS "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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*Chairman Executive Committee*  
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*Vice-Chairman Executive Committee*  
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*Secretary*  
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*Executive Vice-President*  
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*Assistant Secretary*  
HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN



May 4, 1944

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Columbus, Ohio  
M. C. SLOSS  
San Francisco, Calif.  
HORACE STERN  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN  
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Mr. Standish:

Mr. Landau and I found it necessary to cut our visit to Washington short. We had no opportunity to read the papers you were kind enough to entrust to us until we got on the train. We found them exceedingly interesting though not very encouraging. Your own memo is a keen appraisal of the situation and a sound constructive proposal. We herewith return them with our hearty thanks for being permitted to see them.

We have both filed our application for passport and will appreciate your keeping me informed of progress. We are prepared to spend a good part, if necessary the whole of next week, in the necessary follow-up.

With many thanks for your very helpful and generous cooperation, I am

Faithfully yours,

*Isidor Feinstein*

Mr. Miles Standish  
War Refugee Board  
U.S. Treasury Building  
Washington, D. C.

Enc.

100253

Telephone MUrray Hill 5-0181

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## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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*Chairman Executive Committee*  
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Columbus, Ohio  
M. C. SLOSS  
San Francisco, Calif.  
HORACE STERN  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN  
Detroit, Mich.

March 24, 1944

Dear Mr. Lesser:

I was extremely sorry not to have been able to talk to you when you called this morning.

I want to thank you for the effort you have made in our behalf and hope you will keep us informed on future developments.

Sincerely yours,

*Max Gottschalk*

Max Gottschalk  
Director, Overseas Dep't.

Mr. Lesser  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D. C.

MG:RS

000254

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER  
*Chairman Executive Committee*  
JACOB BLAUSTEIN  
*Vice-Chairman Executive Committee*  
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*Assistant Secretary*  
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*John D. [unclear]*  
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**Ans. [unclear]**  
**Ho. Ans. [unclear]**  
**Initial**  
**Date**

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Columbus, Ohio  
M. C. SLOSS  
San Francisco, Calif.  
HORACE STERN  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
HENRY WINEMAN  
Detroit, Mich.

March 23, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle;

In view of the recent developments in Hungary, the American Jewish Committee sent a telegram to Secretary Hull today, a copy of which is enclosed.

In the same connection, I wonder if it would be possible for you to tell us to what extent you have been able, through neutral channels, to negotiate with the Nazis for the release of the Jewish populations in the occupied territories.

Sincerely yours,

*Max Gottschalk*

Max Gottschalk  
Director, Overseas Department

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D. C.

MG:RS  
Enc.

1000255

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK

March 23, 1944

HON. CORDELL HULL  
SECRETARY OF STATE  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE RECENT AND CONTINUING NAZI INVASION ACTIVITIES IN HUNGARY HAVE PUT ALMOST ONE MILLION JEWS IN IMMINENT DANGER OF EXTERMINATION. THE MOST IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE METHOD OF PREVENTING OR LESSENING TYPICAL NAZI MASS MURDERS IS TO INSTILL AMONG THE NAZIS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS THE FEAR OF POST WAR RETRIBUTION FROM THE VICTORIOUS UNITED NATIONS. WE THEREFORE RESPECTFULLY AND URGENTLY ADVISE THE ISSUANCE OF A JOINT STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL AND PREMIER STALIN EMPHATICALLY REAFFIRMING PREVIOUS PLEDGES OF FULL PUNISHMENT FOR ALL THOSE GUILTY OF INITIATING OR PARTICIPATING IN INHUMAN TREATMENT OF CIVILIANS. WE EARNESTLY FEEL THAT SUCH A STATEMENT MAY SAVE MANY HUMAN LIVES IN HUNGARY, LAST REMAINING LARGE CENTER OF JEWISH POPULATION IN EUROPE.

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, PRESIDENT

GEORGE Z. MEDALIE, CHAIRMAN  
OVERSEAS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

100256

Telephone MUrray Hill 5-0181

ABLE ADDRESS "WISHCOM, NEW YORK" 336

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

*President*  
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER  
*Chairman Executive Committee*  
JACOB BLAUSTEIN  
*Vice-Chairman Executive Committee*  
MORRIS D. WALDMAN  
*Chairman Administrative Committee*  
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*Treasurer*  
IRA M. YOUNKER  
*Associate Treasurer*  
NATHAN M. OHRBACH  
*Secretary*  
VICTOR S. RIESENFELD  
*Executive Vice-Presidents*  
JOHN SLAWSON  
*Assistant Secretary*  
HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN



W. R. B.

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Vice-Presidents

IRVING LEHMAN

AM. I. ELKUS

New York

Date

Vice-Presidents

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Boston, Mass.

EDWARD LAZANSKY

Brooklyn, N. Y.

FRED LAZARUS, Jr.

Columbus, Ohio

M. C. STOSS

San Francisco, Calif.

HORACE STERN

Philadelphia, Pa.

HENRY WINEMAN

Detroit, Mich.

March 15, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

It is only because I am now engaged in discussing the question of post-war repatriation of refugees that I take the liberty of asking you to be kind enough to answer the letter I addressed to you on that subject on February 15, a copy of which is enclosed.

I realize how busy you are but I hope you will be able to let me have the desired information.

Sincerely yours,

Max Gottschalk  
Director, Overseas Dep't.

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D.C.

mg:lh  
enc.

100257

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
200 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK

February 15, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

From recent statements I understand that the United States Government has given a guarantee to Switzerland and Sweden that the refugees now in these countries would not remain there after the war. May I ask you for the text of this agreement.

Would it mean that Germans would be compelled either to return to Germany, or if they came from France, for example, where they had found previous refuge, would they be permitted to return to France? If so, has there been any agreement with countries like France to that effect?

I should appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

(sgn) Max Gottschalk

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D.C.

mg:lh

100258



WAR DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

W. R. B. 345  
Filing Authority  
To: Files *Noted*  
3. R. *Not* *ENR*  
3/21/44

MAR 9 1944

Mr. John Pehle,  
Assistant to the Secretary,  
Treasury Department,  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

Inclosed, for your information, is a copy of a  
letter dated March 4, 1944, from Mr. Jacob Blaustein,  
Chairman of the American Jewish Committee, and reply  
thereto prepared on the basis of a telephone conver-  
sation between your office and the Civil Affairs  
Division on March 7, 1944.

Sincerely yours.

*Elizabeth C. Neary*

Miss E. C. Neary,  
Personal Secretary to  
the Secretary of War.

2 incs.

- Incl 1 - cy of ltr, 3-4-44  
from Mr. Blaustein  
Incl 2 - reply to Mr. Blaustein



100259

CAD  
CPB  
73158  
tvr

March 8, 1944.

Mr. Jacob Blaustein,  
Chairman, American Jewish Committee,  
American Building,  
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Mr. Blaustein:

I have your letter of March 4th in which you ask permission to quote in the next issue of the American Jewish Committee's bulletin Colonel Stimson's letter to you of February 19th with reference to the creation of the War Refugee Board.

I have talked with Colonel Stimson about your request and, while there is no objection to the publication of anything contained in his letter to you, he feels that such publication would nevertheless lead to numerous similar requests which should not be granted at this time when the program of the War Refugee Board is still in the formative stage. For this reason he would prefer that you refrain from quoting his letter in your bulletin.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss M. E. Nease  
Personal Secretary to  
the Secretary of War

Secretary to the  
Secretary of War.

cc: Mr. John Pehle,  
Acting Executive Director,  
War Refugee Board.

MEMO FOR RECORD: Mr. Pehle was contacted by 'phone 7 Mar 44 to ascertain if there would be any objection on behalf of the War Refugee Board to quoting the subject letter in the American Jewish Committee Bulletin. He stated there were no objections if the Secretary of War was favorable to the request.

eon/dls

700260

JACOB BLAUSTEIN

March 4, 1944

Miss E. C. Neary, Secretary to  
Hon. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War,  
War Department,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Neary:

It has been quite a while since I last saw you, and I hope all continues fine with you.

As you undoubtedly know, Colonel Stimson replied on February 19, 1944 to my letter of February 12th in which I expressed the gratification of the American Jewish Committee at the creation of the War Refugee Board and the fact that he is a member of it.

My associate officers of the Committee appreciate the Secretary's broad approach to the situation and would like to quote his reply in the next issue of the Committee's Bulletin.

While Colonel Stimson in all likelihood will have no objection to this, I nevertheless want to take the precaution of first checking, as neither he nor I had it in mind when we wrote each other. And that is the purpose of this letter.

Please be good enough to let me know as soon as you can whether it will be agreeable to Colonel Stimson for the Committee to quote his letter. I think it would serve good purpose all around. On the other hand, if he would rather this not be done, it, of course, will not be.

Sincerely,

/s/ J. Blaustein

100261

FEB 25 1944

In reply please  
refer to: 195

Dear Mr. Stimson:

Enclosed for Mr. Stimson are two copies of a letter from Jacob Blaustein, Chairman of the American Jewish Committee, Baltimore, Maryland, and your reply to him.

Thank you for your letter of February 19, 1944, transmitting copies of a letter from Jacob Blaustein, Chairman of the American Jewish Committee, Baltimore, Maryland, and your reply to him.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Pehle  
(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director

Honorable Henry L. Stimson,

Secretary of War.

EBH  
RBHutchinson:agr 2-23-44

000262

WAR DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON

FEB 25 1944

FEB 25 1944

In reply please  
refer to: 195

Dear Mr. Blaustein:

Your letter of February 12, 1944, to the Secretary of War concerning the new War Refugee Board has been referred to this office.

Your interest in the President's new program of help to the persecuted minorities of Europe is gratifying. I assure you that every effort will be made to realize the objectives of our Government in the establishment of the Board.

The cooperation and proffered assistance of your organization in the work of the Board are sincerely appreciated.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director

Mr. Jacob Blaustein,  
Chairman,  
American Jewish Committee,  
American Building,  
Baltimore, Maryland.

EBH RBH Hutchison:agr 2-23-44

1000263

WAR DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON

FEB 19 1944

195

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ANS. ....

NO ANS. REQ. ....

INITIAL ....

DATE .....

Mr. John Pehle,  
Assistant to the Secretary,  
Treasury Department,  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am pleased to inclose a copy of a letter dated  
February 12, 1944, from Mr. Jacob Blaustein, Chairman  
of the American Jewish Committee, tendering the ser-  
vices of his organization and of himself to the War  
Refugee Board. For your information, I also inclose  
a copy of my reply to Mr. Blaustein.

Sincerely yours,

*Henry L. Stimson*  
Secretary of War.

2 Incls.

Incl 1 - Cy of ltr 2-12-44  
fr Mr. Blaustein

Incl 2 - Cy of reply to Mr.  
Blaustein

100264

FEB 19 1944

Mr. John Pehle,  
Assistant to the Secretary,  
Treasury Department,  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am pleased to inclose a copy of a letter dated  
February 12, 1944, from Mr. Jacob Blaustein, Chairman  
of the American Jewish Committee, tendering the ser-  
vices of his organization and of himself to the War  
Refugee Board. For your information, I also inclose  
a copy of my reply to Mr. Blaustein.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON

Secretary of War.

2 Incls.

Incl 1 - Cy of ltr 2-12-44  
fr Mr. Blaustein  
Incl 2 - Cy of reply to Mr.  
Blaustein

FEB 18 1944

100865

COPY

JACOB BLAUSTEIN

American Building  
Baltimore, Md.

February 12, 1944

Honorable Henry L. Stimson,  
Secretary of War,  
War Department,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Col. Stimson:

The creation of the War Refugee Board by the Executive Order issued by President Roosevelt is, in my opinion, the most constructive step yet taken in the direction of rescuing Jews and other persecuted minorities from Nazi-dominated areas -- and I am happy, indeed, that you are a member of that Board.

As you may know, I am Chairman of the American Jewish Committee which is the oldest and I believe, the leading organization in this country dealing with world-wide Jewish questions. If there is anything the Committee or I can do to further the plans of the War Refugee Board, please let me know. We are eager to cooperate in every possible way.

I hope you are in fine health, and with continued admiration for the great job you are doing,

Sincerely,

/s/ Jacob

RECEIVED  
FEB 17 1944

100266



Mr. Jacob Blaustein,  
Chairman, American Jewish Committee,  
American Building,  
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Jacob:

Thank you for your friendly letter of February 12, 1944. Your kind comments on my recent appointment as a member of the War Refugee Board and the generous offer of the American Jewish Committee and yourself to be of all possible assistance to the Board in accomplishing its mission are deeply appreciated.

As a member of the Board, I want to assure you that every effort will be made, consistent with military necessity, and the policy of unconditional surrender, to alleviate the hardships and sufferings of all innocent victims of the war and to take all practicable measures for the relief of inhabitants of territory now occupied by the enemy.

At the present time the work of the War Refugee Board is still in the formative stage. It is hoped that we will soon be enabled to turn to good use the proffered services of such organizations as yours with their world-wide interest in the relief of all oppressed peoples. I have no doubt that the practical experiences of the American Jewish Committee will prove of great benefit to the War Refugee Board. In the meantime, I am pleased to hand your letter to Mr. John Pehle, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury and Acting Executive Director of the Board.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON

Secretary of War.

FEB 19 1944

000267

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FEB 23 1944

Dear Mr. Slawson:

Your letter of February 18, 1944, enclosing a copy of the joint memorandum to the Bermuda Conference has been received.

I appreciate receiving your thoughts on a program for the War Refugee Board and I assure you that the matters mentioned in your letter will receive prompt consideration.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director

Mr. John Slawson,  
Executive Vice-President,  
The American Jewish Committee,  
386 Fourth Avenue,  
New York 16, N. Y.

JW ✓ KLB  
FHodel:hd 2/22/44

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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NEW YORK 16, N. Y.FILING AUTHORITY  
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VICTOR S. RIESENFELD New York, N. Y.

JAMES H. BECKER Chicago, Ill.

MONTE M. LEMANN New Orleans, La.

JESSE H. STEINHART San Francisco, Cal.

February 18, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

We welcome your invitation to submit a statement to help you in formulating a program of activity for the War Refugee Board.

In April 1943 the American Jewish Committee, as a constituent body of the then existing Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs, actively participated in drawing up a memorandum for submission to the Bermuda Conference. The principles and program of that Joint Emergency Committee memorandum are still valid, and they still represent our views.

The potential role of the Nazi-satellite countries is, however, perhaps greater today than it was a little less than a year ago. There are some indications that Hungary, for example, has been attempting to lay up a treasure of good works against the day of reckoning, when she hopes to be able to mitigate the severity of her treatment by proof that while still in the war as Germany's ally she gave asylum to Jews fleeing Poland and Slovakia. It is, therefore, possible that pressure on the satellite countries may now be exercised to good advantage.

The American Jewish Committee was organized in 1906 largely "to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world." We are in fairly close contact with similar organizations abroad, especially the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Jewish Colonization Association in England, the Alliance Israelite Universelle, now in Algeria, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. For the future, we expect our relations with the Alliance Israelite Universelle to be particularly profitable. Its location, tradition and personnel, René Cassin and René Mayer of the French National Committee of Liberation are officers - lead us to expect that the Alliance will be able to furnish especially valuable information.

100269

Mr. J. W. Pehle

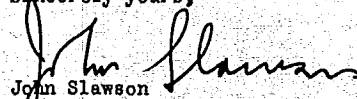
- 2 -

February 16, 1944

We are also in touch with leading members of the Jewish communities in South America and other parts of the world. It was such sources of information that told us about the few thousand Jews of Turkish nationality and Jews with Paraguayan passports still in France, who could be saved from deportation by having the Turkish and Paraguayan governments recognize their nationality and the validity of their passports, respectively. This situation was brought to the attention of the State Department before the creation of the War Refugee Board. You have our assurance that we shall immediately communicate to you whatever of interest that we learn.

We thank you for your invitation to discuss matters of common interest whenever they may arise. On your part, please do not hesitate to call on us again whenever you think we can help.

Sincerely yours,

  
John Slawson  
Executive Vice-President

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D. C.

JS:RS

P.S. For your information, I am enclosing the joint memorandum submitted to the Bermuda Conference.

000270

*Program*

---

For The Rescue of Jews  
*from*  
Nazi Occupied Europe

---

*Submitted to*

*The Bermuda Refugee Conference*

*by the*

Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs

*of*

American Jewish Congress

B'Nai B'rith

American Emergency Committee  
for Zionist Affairs

Agudath Israel of America, Inc.

American Jewish Committee

Jewish Labor Committee

Synagogue Council of America

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of  
America

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April 14, 1943

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## PROGRAM FOR THE RESCUE OF JEWS FROM NAZI OCCUPIED EUROPE

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The systematic mass extermination of Jews in Nazi-occupied territories as a program of German state action was revealed as early as September, 1942. The authenticity of the extermination program was established by the directed investigations of consular agents of the United Nations in neutral lands.

By the end of 1942, it was estimated that more than two million Jews had been killed. The extermination program of the Nazis was achieved through mass deportations in caravans, where the victims died of suffocation or starvation; through extermination centers where the victims died of asphyxiation by gas in gas chambers; by fumes from sulphur mines; by carbon monoxide from army trucks; through mass cremation; through mass machine gunning; through planned starvation.

Five months ago, in response to the appeals of an aroused humanity, to which the voices of great leaders of religious thought and statesmen of vision gave their support, the United Nations issued a denunciation of the Nazi policy of mass murder, and pledged themselves to take practical measures. Since that declaration was issued, months have passed, and its implementation has yet to be achieved.

But the holocaust of murder continues unabated. As the failure of Total War is driven home to Nazi leadership, the frustration of their hope of world conquest turns them in fury to the murder of all Jews who are helpless in their grasp. In addition to the Jews who already have been done to death, total extermination threatens all those who remain in Nazi-occupied Europe.

Our deepest sympathy goes out to all peoples suffering from the hardships of Total War, and especially to those peoples of all denominations suffering under the heel of the Nazi oppressors. But it is our duty to point out that *of all the peoples who have suffered and are suffering under the oppression of the Nazi aggressors, the Jews are the only people who have been singled out and marked for total extermination by Nazi Germany.*

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The daily accounts of mass murders accumulate in all their heart-rending details. These accounts have shaken the Jewish community to its depths.

Those who linger in helpless captivity, awaiting the dreadful call for departure to ghetto or concentration camp where death awaits them, are thrown into the depths of unutterable despair by the thought that they are regarded as merely the wastage of a cruel world, that they are unclaimed and unwanted, that their kinsmen from afar are unable to aid them, and that there seems to be no shadow of hope for them anywhere.

The threat of retribution after the war and the exhortation of their horrible deeds have not served to turn the Nazi leaders from their determined policy of mass murder. The condemnation of the civilized world has not arrested the mounting tragedy. It is submitted, therefore, that the United Nations cannot afford to close their eyes to this appalling situation.

So far as is known, the United Nations have as yet taken no decisive action to rescue as many of the victims marked for death as could be saved. Public opinion is far ahead of Government decision. The moral indignation of great American communities, of their religious and labor leaders, was climaxed by an appeal for action by the United Nations on March 1, 1943, in New York, at a mass demonstration.

At this meeting, a detailed program of rescue was submitted and approved and forwarded to the Government of the United States. What was registered at the meeting on March 1st was endorsed by similar demonstrations which followed in other cities. The American press and assemblies of Christian religious organizations have joined in the demand upon the Government for action. Elsewhere throughout the democratic world the public clamors for immediate action.

The Bermuda Conference was in a measure prompted by all these public manifestations of humanitarian interest. It is submitted, therefore, that it becomes the duty of the United Nations to turn to a planned program of determined action, looking toward the release of a substantial number of Jews from Nazi Germany, the creation of Sanctuaries for them in Allied and neutral countries, and the feeding under appropriate guarantees of those who are compelled to remain imprisoned within Nazi-occupied countries.

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In the belief that it may contribute to such a program, the following proposals are respectfully submitted:

I. The United Nations should approach the German Government, and the governments of the states it now partly dominates or controls, through the Vatican or neutral governments like Switzerland, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Argentine, with a view to securing their agreement to the release of their Jewish victims and to the emigration of Jews to such havens of refuge as may be provided.

II. The United Nations should, without delay, take steps to designate and establish a number of Sanctuaries in Allied and neutral countries to accommodate substantial numbers of Hitler's victims and to serve as havens of refuge for those Jews whose release from captivity may be arranged for, or who may find their way to freedom through efforts of their own.

III. The procedure that now prevails in the administration of the existing immigration law in the United States, which acts as a deterrent and retardation of legal immigration under the established quotas, should be revised and adjusted to war conditions, in order that refugees from Nazi-occupied territories, within such quotas, may find Sanctuary here.

IV. Subject to provisions for its national security, England should be asked to provide for receiving a reasonable number of victims escaping from Nazi-occupied territories and to provide for their accommodation for the duration.

V. The possibilities in several British territories, both in Africa and in the Caribbean, should be explored without delay. Sanctuary has already been afforded to thousands of refugees in these territories and there is room for many more, if not for permanent settlement, at least for the duration.

VI. The United Nations should urge the Republics of Latin America to modify such administrative regulations that now make immigration under the law extremely difficult, and to endeavor to find temporary havens of refuge for a substantial number of refugees.

VII. Overriding pre-war political considerations, England should be persuaded to open the doors of Palestine for Jewish immigration and the offer of hospitality made by the Jewish Community of Palestine should be accepted.



VIII. The United Nations should provide financial guarantees to all such neutral states as have given temporary refuge to Jews coming from Nazi-occupied territories and to provide for their feeding and maintenance and eventual evacuation. The neutral states should be guaranteed that the refugees will not become a public charge and that they will be transferred to permanent Sanctuaries as soon as possible.

IX. In order to do away with the lack of identity which many stateless refugees present, and to give them sponsorship and protection, an arrangement similar to that which existed under the League of Nations should be established and the Stateless refugees should be given identification passports analogous to the "Nansen" passports.

X. In view of the fact that mass starvation is the design of the Nazi regime, the United Nations should take appropriate steps without delay to organize a system for the feeding of the victims of Nazi oppression who are unable to leave the jurisdiction and the control of the Axis.

XI. It is submitted that the United Nations undertake to provide the financial guarantees that may be required for the execution of the program of rescue here outlined.

XII. The United Nations are urged to establish an appropriate inter-governmental agency, to which full authority and power should be given to implement the program of rescue here outlined.

In support of these proposals an appendix is attached.

In the name of humanity and of the ideals which the Armed Forces of the United Nations have arisen to defend, we respectfully submit this appeal in the hope that effective action will be taken without delay.

JOINT EMERGENCY COMMITTEE  
FOR EUROPEAN JEWISH AFFAIRS

of

American Jewish Congress

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APPENDIX TO THE PROGRAM  
FOR THE RESCUE OF JEWS FROM NAZI OCCUPIED EUROPE

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A.

THE RECORD OF EXTERMINATION

The total extermination of the Jewish population of Europe is now proceeding at a rapid pace. Through deportations to Eastern Europe, forced labor, planned starvation, and outright murder this clear-cut Nazi program had already taken at least 2,000,000 Jewish lives by November 1942, it is reported. In the five months that have since passed, it is believed several hundred thousand Jews have perished at Axis hands. Today there still remain perhaps 3,500,000 Jews in Axis-occupied Europe. The fate that awaits them is no secret. In every public address since last summer Hitler has reiterated his threat to destroy them completely. That threat is being carried out day by day. The statistics that are available prove that unless drastic steps are taken immediately, Hitler and his lieutenants will achieve their goal.

*The Need for Evacuation*

Of the still surviving Jews in Axis Europe, it may be assumed that some 600,000 are children. Of these, about 380,000, it is believed, are less than 11 years of age, and the remainder between 11 and 15. Some 230,000 of these children, it is estimated, are now in Polish ghettos; about 130,000 are in occupied Soviet territory; nearly 100,000 are in Axis Hungary; about 55,000 are in the Balkan Peninsula, and the rest are scattered throughout occupied Europe. All face imminent death unless immediate, forthright action is taken to save them. Civilized society's duty to check the mass extermination of 600,000 children and of several million adults as well is clear. Their only hope for life lies in evacuation. Those who can be evacuated in time must be evacuated and sanctuary must be provided for them. The aged, the infirm and all others who cannot be removed from Axis Europe must be fed now before starvation destroys them.

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B.

SANCTUARIES

1. A number of neutral countries have already expressed their willingness to do their part to save some of these human beings. Tiny Switzerland has earned the undying admiration of all freedom loving peoples by providing haven for thousands who escaped deportation from France to annihilation centers in Eastern Europe. Switzerland has done this despite her precarious position as an oasis of liberty within Axis Europe and, it is believed, would be ready in addition to accept thousands of children for temporary asylum. In Sweden, a committee of prominent Christian leaders has been established to help save Jews from deportation, starvation and death. In the words of a prominent Swedish churchman, spoken in connection with the deportation of Jews from Norway:

"Sweden cannot remain silent when such things happen close to our frontiers. If we keep silent, the very stones will cry out to high heaven."

Effective action on the necessary scale is, however, quite impossible without the concerted and resolute efforts of the United States and Great Britain, as the leaders among the United Nations. They and they alone are powerful enough to secure the evacuation of Jews from Axis Europe and to establish and maintain the necessary havens of refuge for the victims of Axis terror. They and they alone possess the moral force to stir other countries to action.

2. Great Britain, which has already given aid to thousands of refugees, has found them to be useful in war industry, in scientific research directly connected with the war, and in many other branches of the war effort. Its hospitality could be further extended to its own advantage as well as for humanitarian reasons. Furthermore, such action on the part of both Great Britain and the United States would at once have favorable repercussions elsewhere.

3. A number of countries have formally and informally indicated that they are prepared to receive children. Among these, in addition to the United States and Great Britain, are Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Paraguay and Chile. Needless to say, Jews of Palestine are most anxious to receive as many as pos-

sible. Probably other neutral and friendly countries such as Australia and Cuba, as well as other Latin American states, could be prevailed upon to admit Axis victims, and especially children.

This temporary sanctuary could be assured where governments are given adequate guarantees that (a) the children and others whom they admit will remain for the duration only, and (b) that the necessary food and financial assistance will be forthcoming during the war. The leading United Nations, and primarily the United States and Great Britain, should be willing in this tragic emergency to furnish these assurances.

4. In the United States, the present method of administering the immigration procedure is a serious deterrent to the admission of many thousands of persons legally admissible to the United States under the quota. It is a matter of common knowledge that the failure to take prompt action and the present high percentage of rejections on purely technical grounds have left many worthy and admissible emigrants to the mercy of the Nazis. Under the present procedure only a small fraction of the 153,000 persons admissible to the United States annually by quota actually enter this country. For the fiscal year ending June, 1942 only 39,389 persons were admitted. Although the quotas for Nazi dominated countries within the total of 153,000 are relatively limited, the relaxation of the present administrative procedure would permit the lawful admission of many thousands now facing death. It would undoubtedly lead to the liberalization of the immigration procedures of Latin American countries.

5. Palestine is the country closest to Europe which is eminently suited to serve as a haven of refuge. It has already proved its ability to absorb large numbers. It assures to Jewish victims of the Axis the most hospitable reception, and it is close enough to the scene to reduce transportation problems to the minimum. For the Jews of the Balkans particularly it is the closest sanctuary. It is possible to provide for the transit of Jews from Poland and Southwestern Europe, via Bulgaria and Turkey to Palestine, both by rail and by Swedish, Turkish or other neutral ships. In Palestine employment possibilities directly connected with the war effort are available for those adults who are admitted, and adequate care is assured for children.

A substantial number of refugees now in Spain and Portugal can be evacuated to Palestine, provided transportation facilities are made available beyond Lorenzo Marques.

6. Additional numbers can readily be moved to North Africa. Facilities exist there for their reception and for their employment.

The evacuation of refugees from Spain and Portugal to North Africa and elsewhere would make room in these countries for admission of others now trapped in France. It is estimated that there are now between 14,000 and 15,000 refugees of all nationalities and faiths in Spain.

7. Camp Gibraltar, Jamaica, is another haven with immediate facilities to accommodate several thousand persons, provided additional food is sent there.

#### *Transportation Facilities*

It is of the utmost urgency that the United Nations explore every possibility to make available shipping facilities to rescue hundreds of thousands of human beings from death. In this connection it would appear that many neutral vessels of Swedish, Turkish, Spanish, Portuguese, and other registries, might be utilized. In addition, there are thousands of cargo vessels returning from Europe with empty bottoms. If safe conduct is provided, these ships, flying neutral flags or the emblem of the Red Cross, could do the job that must be done as the only alternative to the mass extermination of the Jewish people.

#### C.

##### STATUS FOR THE STATELESS

Victims of Axis terror who are stateless or deprived of documents of identity must be provided with the necessary protection through the issuance of identifying and travel documents, similar to those created in 1922 and known as the Nansen passport. Experience with the Nansen passport for stateless persons and with the 1935 Convention which gave similar documents to early victims of Nazi terror, has proved these are effective.

#### D.

##### FEEDING

Jews who cannot be removed from Axis Europe face imminent death from starvation. Under the present German rationing system they receive only a small fraction of the food allotted to other subjugated peoples.

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They are expressly denied all meat, fish, milk, vegetables and fruit. They are not permitted to buy any unrationed foods. They are limited almost entirely to a pound of bread per week and a few potatoes, it is reported. The present diet of the Jewish population concentrated in the ghettos of Poland yields only about 400 calories a day, or about one-sixth of the required minimum, and about 200 calories a day less than the starving population of Greece. As a result of planned starvation, the 1941 death rate in the Warsaw Ghetto was nearly 10 times as high as in Holland; more than 7 times that of the Czechs; nearly 7 times greater than in Belgium; and more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times that of the neighboring Polish population of Warsaw. The Jewish death rate in Vienna between June 15 and September 15, 1942, was 10 times as high as for a comparable three months period before the war.

Both the British Government and our State Department have expressed their willingness to allow limited quantities of food indigenous to neutral European countries to be sent to Jews in the Polish ghettos. But if we are to prevent the complete extermination of the Jewish people, action on a different and enlarged scale is necessary. The experience in the case of Greece, to which considerable food supplies were sent by the United Nations, and where effective supervision was introduced to keep the Germans from appropriating these supplies for their own use, is proof that there is an answer to German organized starvation. Medical supplies, emergency medicinal and concentrated foods could be obtained for this purpose in the United States and South America and perhaps elsewhere.

The International Red Cross or the Red Cross Societies of several neutral countries should be entrusted with the supervision of the distribution of such food and supplies, as in the case of Greece.

#### E.

#### JEWS AS PRISONERS OF WAR

Jews who remain in Europe are *de facto* prisoners of war. They are confined in ghettos and penal labor colonies under the pain of death. They are imprisoned in "Jewish towns" (Poland), reservations (Terezin, Czechoslovakia and Roumanian occupied "Transnistria"). Within these concentrated areas, Jews are prisoners of war to all intents and purposes, and, therefore, should be entitled to the Red Cross aid which goes to war prisoners.

The jurisdiction of the International Red Cross should, therefore, be broadened to empower it to render to Jews in ghettos and similar concentration areas the same services as are rendered to prisoners of war. The victims should, therefore, be permitted to receive food packages sent from belligerent or neutral countries.

F.

MACHINERY FOR PROGRAM OF RESCUE

The existing machinery for rescuing the victims of Axis oppression is wholly inadequate. The tragic circumstances are so overwhelming, the need so imperative, that it is believed indispensable to confer large powers upon an intergovernmental committee. Furthermore, the present Intergovernmental Committee is not an organization of the United Nations. It is, therefore, essential that an agency should be established by the United Nations, vested with full power to carry out the necessary program of evacuation and rescue.

G.

FINANCING RESCUE PROGRAM

The financial obligations necessarily arising in connection with the evacuation of these victims of Axis persecution must come from the governments of the leading United Nations. Private organizations are in no position to meet the full burden involved, although they are ready to continue to contribute up to the limit of their resources. Maintenance for those who are evacuated in countries of temporary asylum whose own resources are limited must be guaranteed by the leading United Nations.

COPY

February 19, 1944

Mr. Jacob Blaustein,  
Chairman, American Jewish Committee,  
American Building,  
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Jacob:

Thank you for your friendly letter of February 12, 1944. Your kind comments on my recent appointment as a member of the War Refugee Board and the generous offer of the American Jewish Committee and yourself to be of all possible assistance to the Board in accomplishing its mission are deeply appreciated.

As a member of the Board, I want to assure you that every effort will be made, consistent with military necessity, and the policy of unconditional surrender, to alleviate the hardships and sufferings of all innocent victims of the war and to take all practicable measures for the relief of inhabitants of territory now occupied by the enemy.

At the present time the work of the War Refugee Board is still in the formative stage. It is hoped that we will soon be enabled to turn to good use the proffered services of such organizations as yours with their world-wide interest in the relief of all oppressed peoples. I have no doubt that the practical experiences of the American Jewish Committee will prove of great benefit to the War Refugee Board. In the meantime, I am pleased to hand your letter to Mr. John Fehle, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury and Acting Executive Director of the Board.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Henry L. Stimson

Secretary of War.

200282



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

WAR REFUGEE BOARD

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



OFFICE OF THE  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

In reply please  
refer to: 145

Dear Mr. Gottschalk:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of  
February 15, 1944.

Although I am not aware of the existence of  
any guarantee by the United States Government that refugees  
now in Switzerland and Sweden will not remain there after  
the war, a study is now being made of the possibility  
of adequate assurances being made to Switzerland in that  
regard.

Very truly yours,

*Substance of Tel. Conversation  
with Gottschalk through his*

J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director

Mr. Max Gottschalk,  
The American Jewish Committee,  
386 Fourth Avenue,  
New York, 16, N. Y.

*Secretary  
(he had laryngitis)  
3/24/44  
R.S.L.*

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In reply please  
refer to: 145

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J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director

Mr. Max Gottschalk,  
The American Jewish Committee,  
386 Fourth Avenue,  
New York, 16, N. Y.

*For R.S.L. JCD*  
LSLesser:lab 3/22/44

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# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

145

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February 15, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

From recent statements I understand that the United States Government has given a guarantee to Switzerland and Sweden that the refugees now in these countries would not remain there after the war. May I ask you for the text of this agreement.

Would it mean that Germans would be compelled either to return to Germany, or if they came from France, for example, where they had found previous refuge, would they be permitted to return to France? If so, has there been any agreement with countries like France to that effect?

I should appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

*Max Gottschalk*

Max Gottschalk

Mr. J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Washington 25, D.C.

mg:lh

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### Jews in the World, by Countries

The American Jewish Committee estimated the Jewish population of the world in 1939, as follows:

	<u>Millions</u>
World total	15.7
Europe	9.0
Africa	.6
Asia	.8
The Americas	5.3

The distribution by enemy-occupied countries in Europe was as follows:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Jews</u>
Poland and Danzig	3,125,000
Romania	900,000
Hungary	445,000
Czechoslovakia	357,000
France	240,000
Germany	240,000
Austria	192,000
Netherlands	157,000
Lithuania	155,000
Latvia	94,000
Greece	73,000
Yugoslavia	69,000
Belgium	60,000
Bulgaria	49,000
Italy and Albania	48,000
Denmark	6,000
Estonia	5,000
Luxembourg	3,000
Finland	2,000
Norway	1,500

A summary of the principal changes in the Jewish population of these countries is being prepared and will be sent to you shortly.

WFO:IMB/jm  
1/18/44

Or. and copy to Mr. Pehle