Committee on Special Refugee Problems: Projects
Dear Mr. Joy:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 7, 1944.

We regret that it was found necessary for the Committee on Special Refugee Problems to dissolve. We found the work of the Committee most helpful and we hope that notwithstanding the Committee's action, we will continue to receive the cooperation of its former members, either as individuals or through other organizations.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J.W. Fohle

J. W. Fohle
Executive Director

Dr. Charles E. Joy, Acting Director
Unitarian-Service Committee
22 Beacon Street
Boston 6, Massachusetts
Unitarian Service Committee  
25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass.

June 7, 1944

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

This letter is simply to inform you that the Committee on Special Refugee Problems went out of existence yesterday. A few of us are exploring the wisdom and possibility of setting up another group on an organizational basis, perhaps within the organization of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, which in that case would finance itself. I assume from our recent conversation that you would welcome that kind of an organization, but unless it could combine the various agencies that are now making frequent recommendations and suggestions to you, like the World Jewish Congress, the CIO Committee, and the A.F. of L. Committee, I do not think that it would be worth while. However, if anything develops I will let you know.

Naturally there was some disappointment among the members of the Committee on Special Refugee Problems at our decision to dissolve and some little criticism of the War Refugee Board. I think it would make a very good impression upon our members if you felt inclined to write me a note asking me to convey to the members of the Committee the appreciation and thanks of the Board. I would then send this message out to each of our members.

Of course I understand the situation with which you are confronted and believe that the decision to dissolve was eminently wise but some of our members who were not so familiar with the problem have wondered why it was necessary.
Some time in the near future when I have had opportunity to stand off and look back on the work of this committee with some objectivity, I want to write you my observations upon its work, with the hope that they may be of some value to you in future relations with concerned and well-meaning groups who wish to hold up your hands.

Meanwhile, be assured that I am eager to serve you in any possible way as the acting director of the Unitarian Service Committee and any request from you, or any assignment of problems from you for me to work at, will receive a hearty response.

With kindest personal regards and all good wishes for the success of your important work, I am

Cordially yours,

Charles R. Joy
Acting Director

To: Mr. Pehle

-2-

000054
MAY 30, 1944

Dr. Charles R. Joy,
Committee on Special Refugee Problems,
5th Blooming Street,

Dear Doctor Joy:

Thank you for your letter of May 25, addressed to Mr. Bass.

Although it does not appear possible at the moment for the
Board to send anyone to England, I should like very much to talk
with Mr. Angell. I will appreciate anything you can do in
arranging a conference in Washington, if possible.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) J. H. Pohle

J. H. Pohle,
Executive Director.

JFTR 1944-5/30/44
Mr. Laurence S. Leser  
Assistant Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Treasury Department  
Washington 25, D. C.

May 22, 1944

Mr. Leser:

We will arrange for the meeting with Mr. Wittmann's group at the time and place suggested.

In one of our recent projects we suggest that you send Sir Norman Angell to England. He is now here in New York and I expect to see him in a few days and would like to know how your minds have been working on this suggestion. Some weeks ago when Angell was ill in California Mr. Friedman said to me that you would like to consult with him. Norman Angell the moment he returned to the East. Do you still want me to suggest that he go to Washington to see you and is there any chance of your sending him to England for you?

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Joy

Charles R. Joy
The Polish Underground seems to be very thoroughly organized. The report that it is training now in secret schools 30,000 administrative officers to take over the management of civil affairs after the liberation of the country and that they are only waiting for a signal from Allied headquarters to start a general uprising may be exaggerated reports but are evidence of the strength of this organization. It seems to be adequately armed and already doing much damage through sabotage.

Possibilities of Cooperation on the Part of the Underground

This should not be overlooked by the War Refugee Board. It may be possible for the underground to conceal endangered Jews, to rescue them from death, to guide them to safety, to enlist the able-bodied ones in their ranks, to arm them and advise them in their dire distress.

In view also of the reports that the Russian army in eastern Poland has executed a considerable number of underground leaders either because they were politically obnoxious or because they refused to forewear allegiance to the Exiled Polish Government-in-Exile, the Polish underground might also try to protect from the Russians individuals who might be in danger of death because of the attitude of the Russians towards them.
Importance of Cooperation

It is evident that the War Refugee Board should establish contact with the Polish underground and explore the possibilities of cooperation. This is possible not only through such groups as the Jewish Labor Committee in America but also through the emissaries of the underground who have just escaped from that country.

The Opportunity

These emissaries are now in London and the opportunity to confer with them should not be neglected. They are Stefan Starzakowski, the special delegate of the Vice-Premier in Poland, Symon Barczewski, a member of the Polish National Democratic Party, and Lt. Andrzej Pomian, an officer in the underground army. It is suggested that the War Refugee Board cable at once to Mrs. La Rue-Brown, or any other responsible representative of the War Refugee Board in England, requesting an immediate conference with these men concerning the refugees and possible ways of helping them to survive the present emergency.

Chairman of Special Refugee Problems

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
The strategic position of Bulgaria

A glance at the map will show that Bulgaria, with its long common border with Romania, occupies an important position for the rescue of refugees. It is the bridge between the end of the Europe of refugees and the countries of possible refuge. The friendly cooperation of Bulgaria would have a tremendous importance, for it would enable the rescue of the enemy to be accelerated, the volume of it increased.

The present rate of rescue from Romania

The scarcity of shipping in the Near East is such that only a few thousand refugees a month can hope to escape by boat from Romania. With the delays that will be inevitably encountered even the larger passenger ship recently acquired can probably not make more than one round trip a month, assuming that it can be chartered for successive voyages. Perhaps another thousand a month might come out by rail to Turkey. Three thousand or four thousand people a month would be the largest number we could reasonably hope for by methods of rescue now in vogue.

This, of course, is wholly inadequate. It would take almost a year to rescue even the 45,000 people who, through the influence of the War Refugees Board, were brought back from Transnistria to Romania. The rate of flow needs to be accelerated, the volume of it increased.

Temporary camps in Bulgaria

Bulgaria should be persuaded to open her frontiers to refugees without
limitation. All refugees who are able to cross the Danube or to escape by land from Dobrudja should be received and placed in temporary detention camps set up by the Government of Bulgaria and supported financially by funds from America. The refugees should then be moved as quickly as possible to other camps in Turkey and elsewhere, the War Refugee Board guaranteeing that these people would not be left in the country long. In this way it might be possible to free for some tens of thousands of people to escape quickly from the imminent danger of planned extermination and from the perils incident to military operations on Rumanian soil. It is believed that the establishment of such camps would be an important link in the chain of rescue efforts.

The Approach to Bulgaria

Bulgaria is not at war with Russia. The War Refugee Board could make its overtures through the Russian Embassy in Washington or Ankara or directly to Moscow. The Bulgarian Ambassador could be approached at Ankara. The International Red Cross could be asked to administer these camps.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles N. Joy
Executive Director

Recent events have probably made this suggestion unnecessary. If Bulgaria is occupied, which seems now evident, such approaches may be futile.
Political Zionists

It is not the purpose of this Committee to argue the issues of political Zionism and to adjudicate the conflicting claims of Arab, Jewish and British responsibility for the task of the War Refugee Board which we are trying to assist is much more pressing than that. The Board is set up for the immediate rescue of endangered people, for some temporary solution of their difficulties.

The long-term solution can be left to other agencies to deal with.

It is possible, however, for the War Refugee Board to take advantage of the present situation for the benefit of the Jews, the future created in America by the white paper and the well-supported campaign for its adoption must be very embarrassing to the British. They must view with concern the threat to the solidarity of the United Nations, implicit in the serious deviation of the American people that Britain has made a serious blunder in her handling of the Palestinian people that Britain has made a serious blunder in her handling of the Palestinian problem. Perhaps the time has come when the War Refugee Board can advance its own purposes under the pressure of this situation.

Free Ports in Palestine

It is possible that the British Government might be willing, perhaps eager, to make certain immediate concessions short of the adoption of the white paper as a sop to pro-Jewish sentiment in the United States. These might well take the form of Palestinian free ports where refugees would be settled without immigration certificates and without any admissions or the part of the United States to the British Government that the question of
Government regarding permanent settlement in the land. Britain has already established clearance camps at Ako, Athlith, and elsewhere, in which people are held temporarily before settlement on the land or before their deportation as in the case of the people sent to Mauritius. These and other camps could be utilized as Palestinian Free Ports set up in exactly the same way as the camps we propose to establish in America but infinitely more valuable because of their nearness.

Sir Norman Angell

It is proposed that Sir Norman Angell be commissioned by the War Refugee Board to go as quickly as possible to London to see his close friend Winston Churchill and to interpret to him the feeling of America and to make it clear that the British Government might do well to placate in part at least the conviction of a large portion of the American people by the establishment of these places of refuge. Since this is not a suggestion that the White Paper be abrogated the British Government might very well accede to this request, hoping to postpone the larger issues until after the war.

Other Free Ports

Sir Norman might also be able to convince Mr. Churchill that the prompt establishment of such ports in other places under British control, such as Cyprus, Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, or the promise that such ports would be established when needed, would greatly enhance the prestige of Britain in America and would be hailed as a fine gesture of humanitarianism.

The War Refugee Board, however, should be very cautious in the approach to Sir Norman Angell to the British Government that the question of
Free Ports in North Africa should not complicate the issue on Palestine. It would be very unfortunate if the British Government should seize upon this suggestion as an excuse for doing nothing in Palestine itself. We have assumed that the proposal made to the British Government for camps in North Africa had in mind the possibility of rescuing large numbers of refugees from nearby places like Italy and Yugoslavia. It would be a tragic waste of time and money to attempt to transport Jews from the Balkans to North Africa to say nothing of the less favorable position which the Jews would occupy if brought there.

Consulars on Special Refugee Problems

Charles H. Joy
Executive Director
Unitarian Service Committee
25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass.
TELEPHONE CAPITOL 3460

Dear Sirs,

This may seem like a grandiose scheme. It is!

But the emergency is critical, and requires heroic measures. If the plan would work, that it would not only
make headlines but I believe
achieve results.

Yours truly,

Charles R. D.

May 10, 1944
EMERGENCY MEASURES TO BE TAKEN IN HUNGARY TO PREVENT, IF POSSIBLE, THE COMPLETE LIQUIDATION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION

I. The Plan to Exterminate the Jews

The delayed report in the New York Times printed on May 10 that Premier Sztójay's Government is completing plans to exterminate the entire Jewish population of Hungary, probably 700,000 or 800,000 people, by asphyxiation in gas chambers would be utterly unbelievable if it were unprecedented. Reports from Turkey are not always to be credited but we have every reason to believe this one as it is wholly consistent with the fiendish Nazi policy of getting rid of Europe's Jews whether the war is won or lost. What has already happened to some five million Jews may well happen to those who have hitherto been safe in Hungary. The report should therefore be taken seriously and demands immediate, energetic and courageous action if this mass murder is to be prevented. We propose therefore

II. The Intensification of the Broadcasting Program

Every effort should now be made to reach three important groups in Hungary.

A. The Underground

The underground has not been very strong or very active in Hungary to date. With the changed situation in Europe we may expect to see it become much better organized and much more effective. The movement of organized resistance within the land should be encouraged and supported from without.
both for its value in impeding the Nazi war effort and for its value for helping the Jews and others in danger. Repeated messages to the Underground over the air should urge them to organize, to step up their sabotage program, to establish centers for armed resistance in the forests and mountains, even to begin guerrilla warfare, emulating the heroic example of Yugoslavia.

The underground should also be reminded that we are waging this war for freedom for the right of religious and other minorities to exist, and that the fate of the Jews in Hungary is of vast concern to all the civilized nations in the world. It should be urged to enlist the Jews in their ranks when possible, to hide them, feed them, guide them to places of safety in Yugoslavia, Ruthenia, or within the boundaries of Hungary itself. It should persuade the Jews that if the worst comes they should resist to the utmost as they cannot hope for mercy from the Nazis and their stooges.

In return we should give every possible offer of assistance to the Underground, arms, if the military agree, and money for the work of organization and succor.

B. The Jews

Incredible as it seems there are undoubtedly some Jews even today in Hungary who believe that, because of wealth, or place, or business, or influence, or friends, they are probably safe. We should broadcast to them that the danger is imminent and terrible for all, that they must take no chances, that they must leave everything behind them and escape if they can at once. They should be told that it is of utmost importance that all their official records, all synagogue lists and every other document that
can assist the Nazis in their plans for rounding up the Jews should be immediately destroyed.

C. The Oppressors

In our broadcasts it should be emphasized that any such liquidation of the Jews is an affront to the conscience of the entire world, that only soulless brutes could massacre without compunction unarmed and innocent people, that this deed would go down in history as an act of blackest infamy. In conclusion it should be said that there will be a day of dire punishment for all who participate in this hideous purge of helpless people, those who issue the orders and those who obey them alike suffering the severest penalties. There will be no mercy when the victorious armies of the Allies enter the land.

III. Official Bureaucracy

A. The Vatican

The President should be urged to approach immediately Churchill, Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek that jointly they may propose the intervention of the Vatican. If quick action by all four cannot be taken the President should be urged to act alone. He should be requested to propose that the Pope himself proceed at once to Budapest to intervene in the name of the Catholic Church for the Jews of Hungary. Such an act, reminiscent of Jesus, would receive the acclaim of the world. It would be a dramatic deed of courage and vision and Christian charity that would raise the Vatican to new heights of glorious Christian achievement. That journey would go down in the pages of history, whatever the outcome of the war. This is a huge opportunity for furthering the cause of Christianity. If the Pope cannot be persuaded to go, then his Secretary of State or
some other leading Cardinal should be selected, though this would be a poor
substitute indeed for the direct intercession of His Holiness.

B. The Neutral Governments

The Big Four, or the President alone, should be strongly urged to
approach the heads of the neutral nations suggesting that they follow the
Pope's example, and immediately after the Pope's journey proceed in turn on
together to Budapest to request that Government to refrain from such a beastial
act of inhumanity. They should remind the Hungarians that the contemplated
extermination of the Jews would result in the condemnation of all the civilized
people of the world and bring in the end a terrible day of vengeance and
reckoning.

If the heads of the neutral nations cannot be persuaded to go, then
again the most important available officials should be sent.

C. The United Nations

Through the nations that represent them with the Axis Governments every
Allied country should be requested to protest most vigorously in the name of
humanity.

D. The Army Chiefs

From the East, the West, and the South the attack on "Westung Europe"
is to come. The military Commanders-in-Chief of all three areas should be urged
to send a strong warning to Hungary. "It will not be long now," should be the
contents of it, "We are coming with our armies of liberation. If we find that
this beastly act has been perpetrated, certain will be the doom of all those
responsible, from the highest to the lowest. The Russian armies are already at
your gates. Relinquish the diabolical plan before it is too late."
COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles H. Joy
Executive Director
May 9, 1944

PROJECT NO. 25
MIGRATION OF HUNGARIANS TO SWITZERLAND

The large batch of letters, cables, lists, and so on which accompany this memorandum have to do with a project brought to the attention of the War Refugee Board by Dr. Erno Wittmann and referred by the Board to the Unitarian Service Committee. I am, however, now staffing this as a project of the Committee on Special Refugee Problems because if this method of evacuating individuals proves to be in any way successful, the War Refugee Board may wish to take a more general advantage of it.

The Proposal

It was possible not very long ago to secure exit visas from Hungarian and German officials for people in Hungary in return for a definite monetary consideration. It is not known whether this plan will still work but the purpose of the proposal is to test the plan in reference to a named group of about 100 individuals in Hungary who are the relatives or intimate friends of a group of 25 Hungarian nationals or American citizens of Hungarian descent in the United States. It is hoped that through the good offices of the Swiss headquarters of the Unitarian Service Committee and of a distinguished Swiss lawyer, Dr. Otto Peyer of Zurich, Hungarian and German exit visas may be secured. Most of those concerned in Hungary are known to particular individuals in Switzerland and for purposes of security it is planned to send a general cable to Mr. Field and to Dr. Peyer, followed by an explanatory letter sent through the Vatican Post to
the same individuals, followed in turn by cables to the various sponsors in
Switzerland who will be able to give full names and addresses and details of the
friends in Hungary to Dr. Feyer.

The New York group proposes to assume full responsibility for all
legal expenses and for maintenance in Switzerland and if later these friends are
able to leave Switzerland they hope to secure through the War Refugee Board or
the Unitarian Service Committee visas for some country of destination and transit
visas en route.

The manifold details of the plan are contained in the accompanying
documents which are sent to you in duplicate.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
EVACUATION OF YUGOSLAV TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

The Situation

The pre-war University life of Yugoslavia is at a complete standstill. Before the war there were five great University centers. Some of these and others have been occupied by the Nazis and prostituted to their purpose. The Universities have become instruments for the spread of Nazi ideologies but any kind of regular scholastic standard is impossible.

Most of the young people who ordinarily would be at the Universities are now living under strict military discipline and enduring the hardships of guerrilla warfare.

A few students were studying abroad at the time of the German invasion. A few others have escaped since. They are now studying in England and America but their numbers are very small. There are only about ten of them in this country and there cannot be many more than that in the United Kingdom.

Consequences

Yugoslavia will be tragically short of educated young people to take the responsibility for the important task of reconstruction after the war. Qualified teachers to fill posts at Universities and preparatory schools will be hard to find.
The Proposal

We would respectfully urge the wisdom of bringing to America a small group of teachers and students from Yugoslavia. The number might be fifty, possibly twenty-five students and twenty-five teachers. There is plenty of room for them in our half-empty colleges. Educational foundations and other interested groups could probably find funds to finance the visits. It is a relatively easy thing to bring them out of Yugoslavia by methods well established and functioning smoothly.

This will be simply a little gesture of good will but its effects upon international relations would be profound, far-reaching and long-lasting. The Yugoslav members of our Committee, supported by the rest of the group, feel that this is a much more important matter than the small number involved would indicate.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGE PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
April 13, 1944

PROJECT NO. 20

EVACUATION OF CHILDREN FROM YUGOSLAVIA

The fate of the Yugoslav children

The moment Yugoslavia was occupied by the Germans and their partners in crime, the problem of the children arose. As a result of the invasion, the bombardment of Belgrade and other cities, and the fighting in many places, a considerable number of children was left without parents. There was no one to look after them. Then came the massacres of the Jews. Yugoslavia had a Jewish population of about 80,000. Most of these people were entirely exterminated. It is known, however, that many Jewish children were taken in by peasant families.

There were also mass deportations from Slovenia. The country was annexed and placed under a special regime. Every possible effort was made to eliminate the local Slav population. In many districts, especially those that were next to Germany, cruel and barbaric methods were used. Dozens of thousands of Slovenses were forcibly driven from their homes. Many children, thus left without parents, relatives, or friends, perished.

It was reported at the time that about thirty to forty thousand of these Slovene refugees were received in Serbien parts of the country. There were many orphaned children among them.

Almost immediately after the invasion, the underground fight started in various parts of the country, especially in Serbia.
The fighting brought about new calamities and difficulties, especially for the younger generation. In many schools the children were murdered en masse. Others escaped into the villages, bringing additional burdens to a population already in desperate condition. The same thing happened in Bosnia, Dalmatia, Slovenia and Croatia immediately after the landing of General Eisenhower in Sicily and the beginning of the campaign in Italy. The German military command dispatched a number of new divisions to these parts of Yugoslavia and did everything it could to overcome the guerrillas. They were not successful, and the fighting went on with increased violence. Again the children became the worst sufferers.

It is known that in Serbia alone, where conditions for the last year or so have been fairly stable, there are 130,000 orphaned Yugoslav children, who live under dreadful conditions. Some of them are quartered in the so-called children's shelters where conditions are tragic. There is a great scarcity of food, as everywhere else in the country. There is hardly any clothing and most of these children are dressed in rags and newspapers. Similarly bad conditions prevail in all other parts of the country, where the fighting is going on.

About a year and a half ago a group of these orphaned children were sent to Switzerland from Serbia under a special arrangement between the Belgrade Red Cross and the Swiss Red Cross. Upon their arrival in Switzerland these children were photographed and a number of these pictures reached this country. They were pitiful pictures of undernourished, poorly clothed, haggard
Youngsters. Other children have since escaped to parts of Italy under Allied control. There must be thousands of similar cases left in Yugoslavia.

The proposal

It would be a splendid thing if arrangements could be made for 500 Yugoslav children to come to this country. We warmly recommend that the War Refugee Board invite them to come to this country for their education. The visas, we understand, are already available. The negotiations should be made with Marshal Tito's Provisional Government and steps should be taken without delay to reach the Marshal through the American military mission at Bari, Italy. There are always ways by which these children can be brought out of Yugoslavia and into those parts of Italy under Allied control and then from that country to America.

The finances

The United Yugoslav Relief Fund is prepared to contribute money to this enterprise. It is believed that the United States Committee for the Care of European Children may also be eager to help. Homes for the children may possibly found in large numbers among the Yugoslav Americans. This committee will gladly study the details of financing if it is desired. It is of course possible that some of the expenses, perhaps the larger part of them, will have to be borne by the Government.
The consequences

As so often stated already, here is another possible demonstration of serious conviction on our part, not simply in words but in deeds. Mr. del Vayo, just back from Mexico, reports that the Mexican Government is putting us to shame in its generous hospitality to refugees and it is consistently asking, "What is the United States prepared to do itself?"

The gesture would have a profound effect also upon the people of Yugoslavia. The friendly reception granted Serbian refugees by the French people during the first world war had far-reaching effects in establishing cordial Franco-Yugoslav relations. Great Britain also received about 500 boys and educated them in English schools after the first world war and when these boys later returned to Yugoslavia they played a very important part in strengthening British-Yugoslav friendship.

The same effect would be produced if 500 Yugoslav children were brought here for their education. It would be received in Yugoslavia as a friendly move towards a people who have suffered terribly for the cause to which we are committed.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
March 30, 1944

PROJECT NO. 17

In the course of the current American evacuation operations from European theaters of war, it has been observed that occasionally American citizens in Europe find their way to some neutral country from which it is still possible to embark for the United States. Often, because of illness, medical treatment, military and political developments, poverty, or stupidity, they have been unable to, or have been unwilling to take advantage of possible opportunities to escape. Now, when they arrive in Madrid or Lisbon they are always almost penniless. They receive American passports through the American Consulates but no official funds are available for their care and transportation. This is very embarrassing both to them and to the officials concerned and it reflects on the good name of the United States, since practically every other country has made adequate provisions for the repatriation of its own citizens. It seems to us unfair to impose on the private agencies to expect them to do what other Governments do for their nationals as a matter of course. During the past year the Unitarian Service Committee alone has provided the funds and transportation for about one dozen of these people.

The Proposal

It is earnestly recommended that the State Department be requested to provide funds, either by loan or by gift, to such indigent Americans stranded abroad and themselves genuine victims of the war.
There is an alternative possibility. In the summer of 1942 when the Drottningholm came to Lisbon to repatriate some hundreds of such American citizens who had arrived from many countries of Europe, Asia, occupied and neutral, the American Red Cross made some arrangements for making loans to these individuals which they promised to repay in the United States as soon as possible. Some such arrangements made through the Consulates would solve this minor but embarrassing problem.

Committee on Special Refugee Problems

[Signature]

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
MEMORANDUM

Ref: Rescue of Refugees from Hungary

The number of Jews in Hungary has been variously estimated at from 700,000 to 1,000,000. Apparently a fairly substantial number of Jews have been able to escape to Hungary from Poland and perhaps Slovakia.

Until recently the Jews in Hungary were relatively safe since, although subject to persecution and hardship, they were not massacred as in Poland. In view of this fact and the geographical and other considerations involved, the Board has up to the present made no effort to facilitate the evacuation of refugees from Hungary. The recent tightening of German control in Hungary has placed the Jewish community in immediate danger.

In view of the foregoing, the Board intends to explore all possibilities of facilitating the escape of these hapless people. The great obstacles which stand in the way are well known but the Board intends to make every effort.

One of the possibilities of escape which should be explored is the possibility of aiding people to cross the border into Yugoslavia and to proceed through the territory under the control of Marshal Tito to Italy. We have been informed that some Hungarians have crossed the border into Tito territory and that many Yugoslavs have escaped to Italy and that some of them have subsequently been moved on to Egypt.

The Board is anxious to determine the feasibility of sending several people, perhaps Hungarians and Yugoslavs, to Yugoslavia and thence to Hungary to organize the work of rescue. In order for this to be possible, it is clear that the cooperation of various military agencies is necessary. The Board is anxious to know whether such cooperation can be obtained and whether the plan is practicable. If it were possible to send people into Hungary it is expected that there can be obtained lists of various people in all strata of Hungarian society who may be helpful, as well as the names of many democratic leaders, mostly Jewish, who might be rescued.
April 3, 1944

Dear Mr. Friedman,

The enclosed project seems to me very urgent. Can you get an immediate decision from your Board? Every day means lost lives. I could give you the names of those who were killed or deported yesterday. Please act at once.

Sincerely,

Charles R. J.
April 5, 1944

The Present Situation

The German occupation of Hungary immediately endangers some hundreds of thousands of Jews who have been hitherto comparatively safe and many others who have taken refuge in that country. The situation is critical and demands immediate attention if any of these people are to be saved by the War Refugee Board. As many as two hundred of the refugees were killed by the Hungarian Minister in late March. It is reported that five large concentration camps have been filled with Jewish people preparatory to their deportation to Poland, where they will be either exterminated or employed at such hard labor that they will ultimately succumb to it. The Arrow Cross is intensely Fascist. During the last six months, certain terrorist organizations have been formed. We may certainly expect instances of frightful brutality on the part of the groups which are supporting the Nazis and groups that are anti-Semitic.

The number of Jews in Hungary has been variously estimated as from 700,000 to one million; these numbers are probably exaggerated. In 1941, 13,000 Jews were deported from Hungary. Since then the war has gone against the Germans and other Jews have been permitted to enter or have been permitted to remain after illegal entry. The Government, however, has favored emigration and about fifty Jews each month have gone to Palestine. The Minister of Interior admitted not long ago that 3,100 Jews had entered the country illegally. Probably more than this officially attested number entered. The number may be as large as 15,000 although no one knows exactly. 3,000 of these people were placed in camps, but old men, women and children were not interned. There were also 20,000 Poles registered in Hungary after the Polish collapse in 1939. Some of those have left. On the other hand, there
The hatred of the Hitler regime has not turned weaker with the years. One sign of it is the resignation of all the Hungarian Ministers. Total political and economic devastation has caused much suffering, not only in Hungary, but in the neutral countries of Europe. In one sense this may be likened to rats leaving a sinking ship, but in another sense it is clear that they represent the general temper of the common people and some of the influential, conservative, land-owning groups, who have had no animosity for the United Nations and no friendship for the Germans. (It should be noted that the military attaches of the British and American legations have remained in office and obey their orders.) We may certainly expect local, sporadic reactions against the Germans now. Even some of the 'organized terrorist groups' may eventually turn against the Nazis. The Social "Debates and the Trade Unionists, which numbered about 500,000 members in 1938, have been brought to justice, but many still live underground. They will now be driven underground by the Gestapo. There are, however, a lot of other people who are our friends, and we are, at the moment, comparatively safe.

Certain liberal Catholic leaders may also be counted on and since they will probably be unable to offer the Hungarian Jews the services of their religion, they will probably not be molested. We can reach some of our friends through them.

Many people, too, can be of assistance to Hungary. The American people, for instance, have already changed a number of Hungarian units through the purchasing of provisions and the sending of clothing, and they will be of great assistance to Hungary.

The Way out of Hungary

A good many people have already escaped to Tito's headquarters.

Tito's troops are preparing an assault on the German forces in Budapest. Hungarian units have joined him though not in large numbers. It is reported that tomorrow the whole of Budapest will be evacuated.
that 40,000 Czechs and Austrians have moved over the frontier but this is probably exaggerated. Probably not more than 400 or 500 have arrived. Other Hungarians have also escaped during the last month. A few days ago the report was heard that 1000 had come over.

This process can be expedited. As a matter of fact, it is not easier to rescue people from Central Europe than it has been for some time in the past and much easier than it is now in the Balkans. We should lose no time in taking advantage of it.

The frontier between Hungary and Yugoslavia has practically disappeared. Tito's forces are so distributed that it should not be difficult not only to get people out of Hungary but even to get them out of Austria. The Partisans are frequently raiding across the frontier.

Every day ships ply between Bari, Italy, and Partisan ports in Yugoslavia. It would not be difficult to rescue people provided we set up at once the machinery for underground railroad, and make it known over the radio that there will be a cordial welcome to all those who are able to escape by their own ingenuity. Marshal Tito has already managed to transport some 40,000 of his own people from Yugoslavia to Italy. About 20,000 of these have been moved on to Egypt. These, of course, are Yugoslavs, and the problem of starting a stream of Hungarian refugees flowing in the same way to Italy and beyond is a bit more difficult.

Plan of Rescue

We are ready to offer the War Refugee Board the services of four or six competent people. Two or four of them would be Hungarians and two would be Yugoslavs who are ready to proceed at once with the approval of the War Department and the Office of Strategic Services and with the consent of Marshal Tito to Yugoslavia, the Hungarians then to cross over into Hungary to organize the work of rescue. To prepare the way for this mission a cable should be sent at once by
the War Department or the OSS to the British, American and Yugoslav Commission at
Bari in Italy asking their permission for our men to proceed to Tito's headquarters
where the best way of going into Hungary will have to be discussed.

We have detailed frontier maps available and lists of names for Hungary.

Some time ago a list of names of prominent Nazis and anti-Nazis was turned over to
the OSS. Other names in considerable number are now available, that may be more im-
portant for our present purpose. These are the names of less prominent individuals
whose democratic convictions are known to us: young socialists, young Catholics, young
Liberals. These individuals are more likely to have escaped detection and imprisonment.

We have the names of unsuspected aristocrats and conservatives who can be used, and
the names of liberal Catholic leaders. We have also a list of about 500 people,
mostly Jewish, important democratic leaders and others in immediate danger, who should
be rescued if possible. We have an intimate acquaintance with the terrain and have
studied the best route of escape.

All this is at the disposal of the War Refugee Board, if the plan is
acceptable. The costs of the plan will have to be borne by the War Refugee Board
or some other government agency. We need to know how many refugees the Board is
prepared to assist to safety and to provide for.

Consequences

It is hardly necessary to point out that such a plan as this is not simply
a humanitarian plan by which we hope to save many of the endangered Jewish people and
the important democratic leaders but also a utilitarian plan of considerable im-
portance to the war effort itself. Trained Polish, Hungarian and Austrian officers
and soldiers may be evacuated. Every individual who escapes will bring information
concerning the enemy that will be useful to our intelligence service. The prestige
of the United States will be greatly enhanced and much needed good-will will be engendered. It should not be forgotten that the way can be opened not only into Hungary but into Austria as well.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
Monarachus

Steering Committee
April 6, 1944

To: Mr. J. B. Friedman
From: Mr. Charles R. Joy
Ref. Project No. 11

Personal in the centers

My Committee would like to make three more suggestions to you for
personal in key centers:

1) The Vice-Chairman of our Committee, Sir Norman Angell, dis-
tinguished British author and lecturer and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize,
is ready to go to England as your special emissary to talk with the British
Government about the objectives of the Board and the practical form of co-
operation they take. I do not need to inform you of his ability or his achieve-
ments, but it is important perhaps for you to remember that he is in very in-
timate terms of personal friendship with Winston Churchill.

It seems to us that if you take advantage of his willingness to go,
which probably will have to be at your expense, his visit should be carefully
planned. If he could call on the Prime Minister a day after Mr. Roosevelt has
made a further proclamation to the effect that refugees will be welcomed to
America whenever it is possible for them to reach those shores, he might be
able to induce the Government of Mr. Churchill to change the official British
policy regarding Palestine. He could also interpret the American reaction to
the White Paper. He could urge the British Government to cooperate with the
War Refugees Board in a broadcasting program and in other special ways which
you might discuss with him in advance. You would not find, of course, anywhere
a more acceptable delegate than he is. 

2) One of the very few qualified and experienced persons for your kind of work abroad is Mr. Varian Fry, the former editor of Living Age, then a member of the staff of the Foreign Policy Association, from 1940 to 1942, the representative in France of the Emergency Rescue Committee and now Executive Secretary of the American Labor Conference on International Affairs. Mr. Fry, as you know, has had invaluable experience in rescuing refugees under exceedingly difficult circumstances. In the course of his work he naturally became unpopular with the collaborationists of Vichy and unpopular also with certain representatives of the State Department abroad, who at that time were following a policy of Vichy appeasement. Mr. Fry was finally expelled from France by Vichy and returned to America. We do not consider that justifying your action or Mr. Fry is now willing to go abroad again with the proper support and under the proper authorities. We have talked the matter over in our group and feel that he could probably be most useful to you as the official representative in Algiers, but if that is not possible, then he is willing to go to London where he would be very useful to you in relations and negotiations with the Governments in Exile. Conditions here may be a little difficult regarding his passport, but in view of the fact that almost no one else has the experience that he has had it would seem to us advisable to push hard for his validation. While the methods he uses are sometimes unconventional, he is indefatigable and knows how to get large results.

3) One of the very few qualified and experienced persons for your kind of work abroad is Mr. Varian Fry, the former editor of Living Age, then a member of the staff of the Foreign Policy Association, from 1940 to 1942, the representative in France of the Emergency Rescue Committee and now Executive Secretary of the American Labor Conference on International Affairs. Mr. Fry, as you know, has had invaluable experience in rescuing refugees under exceedingly difficult circumstances. In the course of his work he naturally became unpopular with the collaborationists of Vichy and unpopular also with certain representatives of the State Department abroad, who at that time were following a policy of Vichy appeasement. Mr. Fry was finally expelled from France by Vichy and returned to America. We do not consider that justifying your action or Mr. Fry is now willing to go abroad again with the proper support and under the proper authorities. We have talked the matter over in our group and feel that he could probably be most useful to you as the official representative in Algiers, but if that is not possible, then he is willing to go to London where he would be very useful to you in relations and negotiations with the Governments in Exile. Conditions here may be a little difficult regarding his passport, but in view of the fact that almost no one else has the experience that he has had it would seem to us advisable to push hard for his validation. While the methods he uses are sometimes unconventional, he is indefatigable and knows how to get large results.

4) Our group believes very strongly as it has previously expressed itself to you, that in every key center you need, in addition to your own official attaché, an unofficial worker connected with some relief organization and able to do things quietly that your official representative will be unable
The Unitarian Service Committee received some time ago an invitation from the Minister of the Interior in the French Comité National de Libération asking if the Rev. Howard Brooks and Dr. Robert G. Dexter could go to Algiers to discuss with the Comité some problems of post-war relief in France. Dr. Dexter, who was then leaving for America to report to his Committee was unable to accept this invitation and while he is probably back in Lisbon by this time still feels that he should not leave for Africa in the near future.

Meanwhile the French visa for Mr. Brooks has arrived. In addition to that General Wilson, commanding that area, has cabled his authorization and Mr. Brooks has received the laissez passer for Algiers. To the surprise of the Committee, however, Mrs. Shipley, writing for the passport division in Washington has stated that the reasons given are not sufficient to justify the validation of Mr. Brooks's passport to North Africa, although she had said to Dr. Dexter that the matter was in the hands of the military authorities. The Unitarian Service Committee is greatly disturbed over this fact as it seems to indicate that the State Department has still not changed its opinion or its methods in dealing with the relief agencies concerned with refugees. It seems to me that the matter has now assumed an importance in relation to the general problem far exceeding its original significance. In the minds of the Unitarian Service Committee and the Committee on Special Refugee Problems this would be a kind of test of the influence and power of the War Refugee Board, and as we believe that Mr. Brooks could be of great assistance to you in working out plans with the French underground we should like to urge you to ask the passport division of the State Department to reconsider its decision and validate Mr. Brooks's passport.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
Mr. J. B. Friedman
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Friedman:

The following suggestions really fall under Project II which is concerned with personnel at key centers, but is not submitted in a formal fashion as it is only an effort towards a partial solution of that problem.

Mr. Bolivet brought word back from Washington that you desire to find some capable Brazilian to go to Switzerland, if possible. We should like to suggest to you the name of Dr. Octavio Mangabeira. He is the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and the former Minister of Finance. He was in the Government for thirteen years but as an opponent of President Vargas he is now an exile from his country. He is, however, extremely respected by all who know him. He speaks Portuguese, French and English all quite fluently.

Dr. Mangabeira is now making $500.00 a month translating the Reader's Digest into Portuguese and also translating another magazine of a technical nature into the same language. He has a passport and would probably have no difficulty in reaching Switzerland. He has, however, a large family and will probably expect to receive about $400.00 or $500.00 a month in addition to his traveling expenses.

If a Brazilian is not wanted it would be possible to get a democratic Argentinian. We would suggest Professor Sergio Bagu of the University of Buenos Aires who is now in this country. Concerning the whole question of Latin American affairs we need here the counsel of a well informed expert and we wonder whether it would be possible for you to make available to us the services of Mr. Enrique de Losada, former Professor at Williams College and former special advisor to the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. He was for some time, as you know, the confidential agent of the Bolivian Government and resigned because he did not want to continue in any Government unfriendly to the United States. He speaks English, Spanish and French. He has the very best connections through all of Latin America and, as an advisor to the Coordinator, is fully aware of the many delicate and complicated problems involved. We would like to suggest that you make him available to us on a temporary basis for a period of two months during which he would be expected to give us one half or a little more of his time. It would probably cost $200.00 or $250.00 a month.
Mr. J. B. Friedman

March 21, 1944

We should be grateful if you would let me know at your earliest convenience if these ideas commend themselves to you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Joy

March 21, 1944

Charles R. Joy
May 31, 1944

PROJECT NO. 9

THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

In our opinion, it is necessary that children, it is informed, now enjoy the same rights to protection and humane treatment under the Geneva Convention of 1929. The International Red Cross should be constantly

Gamine for Children

Certain members of our Committee do not believe that the Nazis have really exterminated as many Jews and others in Europe as the reports would indicate. They believe that the Germans have deliberately spread these rumors in order to convince the world how tough and uncapable they are and that in the end they may help the Jews and other minorities as hostages and demand favorable terms, threatening to do what they have already done the world they are capable of doing, liquidate them all. Some of our friends say there is no evidence yet that any gas-chambers have been used in Hungary. They say that the Germans are more squeamish than we suppose, one evidence being that they have not killed the Jews in any wholesale fashion in Germany itself but have sent them to Poland to be killed there.

In my case we know that there are many thousands of children still left in Poland, Lithuania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary and France—and some of these are Minced Children (hostages are responsible for them) and cannot be moved. Others are hiding in the countries concerned.

Germany has not been willing to permit children to leave France and certain other countries. They agree, however, that the International Red Cross should support such children at camp at our expense. It might not be possible to remit the International Red Cross. That camp for children should not be set up in Poland, Hungary and so forth, perhaps with guaranteed visas, transportation costs for America and elsewhere if this would strengthen the hands of the International Red Cross.

000043
The War Refugee Board is of course aware that civilians, if interned, have very definite rights to protection and humane treatment under the Prisoners of War Convention of 1929. The International Red Cross should be constantly reminded of this fact and urged to make repeated representations to the Germans in this behalf. All other agencies, the Vatican and the neutral countries, should also be asked to intercede on this basis. Whenever new instances of wholesale detention occur, the occasion should be taken to raise again the old issue.

For example, the Hungarian Jews are being assembled in concentration camps. We urge Mr. Frischmann can ask the International Red Cross to request the Hungarian Government to consider this fact with a proposal from the Red Cross referring to a request of this sort. As President of the Hungarian Red Cross is dominated by Hungarian aristocrats, a Hapsburg Catholic Duchess, the Vatican might be asked to take these people under its special protection.
March 10, 1944

Mr. J. B. Friedman
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Friedman:

I am enclosing herewith a proposal from the Unitarian Service Committee for the evacuation of refugees from Portugal. It is in the listing of my new office here in New York as Project 88. It has the endorsement of the group here as a matter of urgent importance. Upon the willingness of the United States to make some such gesture as this, I believe, the whole future success of your planning will depend.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Joy

Enc.

P.S. I have signed this for the U.S.C. because I understand you prefer some special sponsorship. The U.S.C. will gladly sponsor it if I have no desire to push the U.S.C. into the center of the picture, or do this, if you prefer.
Removal of Refugees from Portugal to the United States

The Problem

There are at the present time about 800 or 900 refugees from enemy occupied countries (mostly Germany and Austria) in Portugal, not including an indeterminable number of Loyalist refugees from the Spanish Civil War, most of them in hiding. About two-thirds of them are Jewish. Most of them are adult, few children being left. Some are simple people without any special competence, others are highly capable in special vocations. Many of them have been in Portugal for two and three years, and almost all of them are now utterly destitute, dependent for support upon the three refugee committees that operate in Portugal. A few of them are in prison for illegal entry or some other infringement of the regulations, but most of them are in “residences forces.” None is allowed to engage in any gainful occupation, even of the simplest kind. Nor are any allowed to study at institutions of learning. They are all living in the most demoralizing inactivity.

Practically all of them have striven for many long months to secure visas for other lands, and have failed because they lack money, influence, friends and relations to provide the necessary affidavits and guarantees. The committees that have tried to serve them are finding it increasingly difficult, almost impossible, to help them to leave the country. In a few cases applications for United States visas have been disapproved for various reasons, generally not reasons of security.

They do not constitute a large group of people but they have clogged the exit from Europe. Except in the cases of a few fortunate ones who are still able to secure a transit visa through Portugal because they already possess visas...
for countries beyond Portugal, and have passage provided, no new entries to Portugal are permitted by the International Police there. The stream of refugees which flowed so rapidly through Portugal in 1940 and 1941, has become stagnant.

The Proposal

If we are to facilitate the escape of other refugees from France, and Spain to Portugal and beyond, then we must clear the door to freedom by removing these hundreds of refugees so long interned in Portugal. It will not serve to move them to Camp Marshal Lyautey, even though the consent of the Comité de Libération can be secured. Except for the unhappy and sometimes fatal effects of long continued and enforced idleness, most of these refugees are now more fortunately situated in Portugal than they would be in French Morocco.

Moreover to move them to North Africa does not offer the demonstration of good faith on the part of the United States that the program of the War Refugee Board now demands.

It is therefore proposed that

1. As an earnest of its good faith the United States provide an asylum at least for the duration of the war to all refugees now in Portugal not otherwise provided for, the arrangements for their exodus to be entrusted to the private agencies already working there. It is suggested that these refugees that the security examination should be brought to America under rigid control, should be conducted on this side, and that the refugees agree to accept internment on American soil, if the results of this examination are unfavorable or doubtful. If these refugees cannot be accepted within the present quota law, visitors' visas might be granted, or some other provision made for them - but this contingency is unlikely.
2. The three private relief agencies now operating in Portugal should be requested to make an immediate survey of all refugees, to discover how many are ready to accept this proposal, and to take all necessary steps preparatory to their evacuation.

3. It is not anticipated that any difficulty with transportation will be encountered, since Portuguese passenger steamers are not now crowded. But it is believed that the private agencies may need some help with travel costs, if a considerable proportion of the refugees accept this offer.

4. In America, such organizations as the American Committee for Christian Refugees, the Hias, and others, are capable of receiving these refugees and assisting them with all the problems arising from their transplanting, although financial aid might have to be given.

5. Before, or after, these refugees are removed from Portugal, the Portuguese Government should be asked to provide hospitality to an equal or larger number of refugees, perhaps women and children, to be brought out from France by arrangements to be made by the Portuguese Government on the one hand, with the Vichy Government and the German occupation authorities on the other. The maintenance of these refugees in Portugal and efforts to secure for them in turn destination visas – an easy task for children with both Ireland and the United States open should be the task of the existing American private agencies now in Portugal.

The Consequences

The value of this proposal is self-evident. Unless some such plan is adopted the War Refugee Board will be immediately discredited in the eyes of their peoples. If it is adopted, we may expect other countries in the world to follow our example, as they will have been convinced that the plans of the board include something more substantial than eloquent exhortations to other nations to open their
For the most part refugees should be received in countries close to the lands from which they escape, but we shall have to help these adjacent countries if we expect any large success. The people of Portugal are friendly and kind-hearted. It is probable that they will permit refugees to enter their land even without proper papers, if the United States promises to assist them with the problem.

The success of this program would make it possible for the private agencies in Portugal who are now bearing the entire burden of refugee relief, to use their limited funds to assist other refugees to escape from occupied lands and to maintain them in neutral and allied countries.

For the Unitarian Service Committee

Charles R. Joy
Acting Executive Director
March 14, 1944

Mr. Friedman

Re: Refugees from enemy occupied countries presently in Portugal; Project No. 8 of Unitarian Service Committee.

From the facts set forth in the memorandum of March 10, 1944, describing Project No. 8 of the Unitarian Service Committee, it would appear that there are presently in Portugal about 800 to 1,000 refugees from enemy occupied countries. About two-thirds of them are Jewish. This group is evidently exclusive of Spanish Republicans. While a few of them are in prison, most of them are under residential surveillance. The Unitarian Service Committee proposes, rather than to transport them to the Refugee Center at Camp Harochal Lyautey in Morocco, the United States provide an asylum for these refugees for the Duration. Apparently, the Unitarian Service Committee does not consider that all of them will be interned in this country.

Unquestionably the most desirable thing which we could do, both from humanitarian and propaganda standpoints, would be to endeavor to make arrangements for these refugees to come to the United States. However, it would appear that it may be some time before we will be in a position to announce the adoption of a program under which refugees will be admitted to the United States. Meanwhile, as pointed out by the Unitarian Service Committee, the presence of these refugees in Portugal has resulted in a reluctance on the part of the Portuguese authorities to admit additional refugees from occupied areas. Time seems to be of the essence.

It would be my feeling that we should take immediate steps to make the facilities of camp Harochal Lyautey available as a temporary asylum. It seems to be that this is presently susceptible of more expeditious accomplishment than attempting to evacuate the refugees to the United States. Furthermore, when the camp project now under our consideration is approved, we could either change our plans and bring them to the United States directly from Portugal or, in the event they had already arrived in Africa, we could transport them from there to the United States. The Unitarian Service Committee indicates that Portuguese passenger steamers will probably be available for transportation, although we may be required to cooperate with the private agencies involved, in defraying transportation costs.
If possible, it would be most desirable to follow the line of Unitarian Service Committee’s, that, before these refugees are removed from Portugal, the Portuguese Government should be asked to provide a haven for an equal or larger number to be brought from France pursuant to arrangements between the Portuguese Government, on the one hand, and the Vichy or Nazi Governments on the other.

Until we know definitely how many refugees are expected to be removed to Africa from Spain, it will be difficult to ascertain whether an additional 600 to 800 from Lisbon would exceed the 2,000 limit which the French have set. As I understand it, it probably would not, since there appear to be somewhat less than 3,000 refugees to be evacuated from Spain.

The most feasible approach, it appears to me, is to call this matter to the attention of Governor Lehman with a view toward his asking one of his people to undertake this evacuation project as soon as possible. It would probably not be too difficult to correlate it with the program presently afoot in Spain. In this connection, I have discussed this matter with Miss Laughlin. She says she is acquainted with someone in UNRRA who might be able to give this project more sympathetic and helpful treatment than others we have dealt with in these matters.

3/14/44
April 27, 1944

Mr. Laurence Lesser
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Lesser:

I am enclosing the agenda for the May 3rd meeting. You will notice that your name appears twice on it. At the beginning of the meeting I think it would be very well for you to tell us anything that you wish about the plans and activities of the Board and at the end of the meeting it would be very helpful to you if you set before us the problems that the War Refugee Board would like our counsel upon.

I am suggesting the latter to you because of our conversation the other day in Washington when you said that you had a number of questions you would like to submit to us.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Joy

Charles H. Joy
AGENDA
of meeting May 5, 1944

1. Report from Mr. Laurence Lesser of the War Refugee Board

2. Report from Mr. Ira Hirschman, official attaché of the War Refugee Board at Ankara

3. Report of the Executive Director
   a) Old Projects
      1. Project 5. Use of the Radio
      2. Project 11. Personnel at key centers
      3. Project 13. Problem of Hungary
   b) New Projects
      1. Project 17. Repatriation of American Citizens
      2. Project 18. Cooperation of Latin America
      3. Project 19. Evacuation of children from Greece
      4. Project 20. Evacuation of children from Yugoslavia
      5. Project 21. Spanish Underground
      6. Project 22. A mission to Latin America
      7. Project 23. Evacuation of Yugoslav teachers and students

4. Suggestions for other Projects
   a) From Mr. Lesser
   b) From the Committee members
The War Refugees Board should take advantage of the presence of Professor
Sergio E. Bass in the United States to consult with him concerning cooperation to
be secured with Argentina. Professor Bass, whom we have already previously called
to your attention, has been a professor at the University of Buenos Aires and is
now in this country at the invitation of the State Department.

In dealing with Hitler and his people we should never forget that we
are dealing with psychopathic problems. We should not expect them to act like
reasonably consistent individuals. Old proposals already rejected might lose
entirely different responses if brought forth again from a new quarter or in a
new way. In the queer logic of the Nazi's anything is possible.

I have heard Germany once said: "We will gladly let the Jews go but nobody wants
them." The rest of the world dislikes them as much as we do. We did not offer
at that time to take these endangered people and when recently we have tried to
do so Germany has been in another mood and it has refused to cooperate. It is
however, still possible that approaches by some other countries might bring
better results." That alone argues for the United States to contribute to
these efforts. We need to make sure that the United States is not
left behind. Our interest in the fate of German Jewry is the same as ours in the
fate of the Jews in Eastern Europe. The United States should be on the same
 footing, financially speaking, to make sure that the United States is not
left behind. Our interest in the fate of German Jewry is the same as ours in the
fate of the Jews in Eastern Europe. The United States should be on the same

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

June 1, 1944

CHARLES H. JOY
Executive Director
June 1, 1944

Despite great difficulties, the spoils of war are not the same with the Baltic
Scandinavia and Baltic countries

The Position of Sweden

Sweden is obviously the key to rescue efforts in the Scandinavian and
Baltic countries. At the present moment her leadership among these countries
is being tested. We are very conscious that after the war she is going to be asked
by her now suffering neighbors: "What did you do for us? What did you do for
humanity?" Clearly Sweden is required to explain what she will do in the
interest of her neighbors.

In Sweden, as in Norway, thousands of refugees have escaped to the
neighboring countries, which now are being fought over by the

The problem is the same as in Norway. While some thousands of
Jews and others have escaped from Denmark, there seems to be no official way of
encouraging this movement. Sweden will do everything she can for those who can cross
the Kattegat, but could hardly hope to have an appeal to Germany for the release
of refugees favorable received. The relations between Germany and her neighbors
on the one hand and

The case may be summed up as follows: the relations of Sweden, Norway and Denmark on the other hand is a political and a strategic question and
the influence now being exercised through Finland to Poland.
blistering practices are involved. This, however, is not the case with the Baltic countries to the East of Sweden.

Sweden, then, is in Lithuania still a third group who belong to neither of the two main parties but do not question patriotism and nationalism. They are

Finland

The relations between Soviet and Finland are very close and friendly. The street signs in both are in Russian as well as in Finnish. Many of the Social Democratic leaders in Sweden are strong supporters of the Finnish people. Many of the half-starved Finnish children have been taken to Sweden for a temporary sojourn, restored to health and then sent back again. There is, however, no activity in this direction. The reason is that the present official proposal to Sweden that there is a need for receiving Finnish refugees at the moment. There are about 1000 Jews willing to emigrate to Sweden who have found no support at the moment. It is hoped that the Finnish government will take up the matter with the Soviet government as soon as possible.

Estonia

In Estonia a kind of civil war is now on between the supporters of the Katari and the partisans of the Soviets. The situation is complicated by the recent terror drive reported in this country which seems to indicate that the Katari must have launched the drive and are no longer trusted amongst their own adherents. In view of the confusion now existing in Estonia it ought to be possible to facilitate the escape of refugees from this country to Finland and a small number have already escaped in this direction.

Latvia

The same civil war referred to above is in process there also but few if any refugees from Latvia have escaped through Estonia to Finland.
Lithuania

In addition to the division between supporters of the Nazis and the Soviets, there is in Lithuania still a third group who belong to neither of the various parties but consider themselves patriots and nationalists. They are mostly intellectuals who are conserving their strength and waiting for the opportunity which may come later. Again few, if any, refugees have escaped from Lithuania to Finland and the other republics of the United States and the two with their other responsibilities to welcome deportees to become refugees. The forces of the underground are those still.

The War Refugees Board might consider an official proposal to Sweden that in addition to taking children from Finland for temporary rehabilitation, Sweden offer to take refugees from Finland who might escape there from the Baltic countries. She might offer in particular to take Jewish children from the Baltic countries and from Poland (there are many Polish refugees in these countries). The War Refugees Board might have to make the same guarantees to Sweden that it has made to Switzerland. The Poles might be happy to cooperate also for the sake of more good will in the United States. It may function as an experiment.

This could not be done openly without German approval but Germany might find it difficult to refuse if Sweden asked. Some political and domestic questions are not involved there.

[Signatures]

Charles H. Joy
Executive Director

Committee on Special Refugee Problems

[Note: The text is not clearly legible due to the quality of the image. For a more accurate transcription, please refer to the original document or provide a clearer image.]
The Problem

As the opening of the second front in Europe becomes imminent, the problem of refugee rescue becomes increasingly difficult for the War Refugee Board. The Allied armies and navies and the other agencies of the United Nations are too busy with their major responsibilities to welcome suggestions that they help to rescue refugees. The forces of the underground are themselves engrossed in the hazardous business of organizing resistance and are increasingly concerning about refugees. Even the refugees themselves are in many cases less interested in their rescue than previously unless the peril they face is evident and immediate. They hope that perhaps they will ride out the storm until the day of liberation has arrived. This is particularly true in places like Spain and Portugal.

It is obvious to everyone that the War Refugee Board and the private agencies will be unable to bring out more than a tiny fraction of the endangered people. Therefore a strenuous effort should be made to save people where they are and, if possible, devise new methods of doing so. Among the methods already employed by the War Refugee Board are:

1) The sending of food into occupied countries;
2) The sending of money by underground channels for the purchase of food and protection;
3) The broadcasting through the Office of War Information of warnings to those guilty of persecutions.
There is still another method which might have careful consideration.

**A Suggestion**

We wish to commend for most careful consideration the suggestion already made by Dr. Stephen Sugar of our Committee directly to Mr. Lesser, that something in the nature of bounties be offered to those who will shelter refugees or guide them to safety. The amount of this compensation should be carefully pondered. It should be offered not as a reward to those who protect refugees but as compensation for incidental expenses.

**The Disadvantages**

There will be difficulties of administration in this scheme and possibilities of abuse. It would have to be determined whether this money should be paid over by the officials of the AMG or by some other agencies named by the War Refugee Board. It will have to be determined also at what rate of exchange the money should be paid, whether in gold or in the national currency at some in determined value. Collusion for the claims for money would undoubtedly appear. The areas in which the offer would hold good should be carefully delimited. Neutral countries should, of course, be excluded and perhaps other countries like Hungary where other methods of rescue have been set in motion.

This proposal does not have the unanimous approval of those who have considered it on our Committee. Some strong objections are raised to it. It has even been suggested that such an offer, if made, might become a great historic joke. It might be considered by some as an attempt to set a value on humanity and sacrifice. It might be thought insulting to those whom we ask
to risk their lives. Those critics think that such an offer would have no effect whatever in France, Holland, Belgium and perhaps not in Germany itself. The objectors, however, do not feel as certain that it would not have a beneficent effect in other parts of Europe.

The Possible Advantages

The beaming of the news that the United States is prepared to pay out large sums of money to those who will succor refugees would be a continued proof that this is indeed a major policy of the United Nations and both the oppressor and the oppressed might heed. The message would be heard in areas otherwise quite beyond the reach of the War Refugee Board and might save a small number at least in Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and so forth. Even if the offer failed the psychological effect of it might be large. We ourselves could take at least some small satisfaction in that we had tried by every conceivable method to save our friends.

The last desperate effort by the Nazis to make Europe "Judenrein" regardless of the outcome of the war seems to be almost here. Only desperate methods will avail to halt it.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
MEMORANDUM

Re: Evacuation of Yugoslav teachers and students.
(Project No. 23, Committee of Special Research Problems)

Granting the truth of the representations made in the proposal for bringing Yugoslav teachers and students to this country to continue their studies so that Yugoslavia will not be completely devoid of educated citizens after the war, this problem does not appear to be within the scope of the War Refugee Board's mandate, since the persons under discussion do not appear to be "in imminent danger of death" any more than is true of all Yugoslavians. It is clear however that under Title 8, Section 204 USCSTA, Students under 16 years old, accredited to recognized scholastic institutions in this country, may be admitted on a non-quota basis, and this might afford a means of evacuating at least some persons over whom the Board wishes to exercise jurisdiction, without having to meet the usual immigration requirements.

The project unquestionably has merit but since it is advanced as a matter primarily of education, it would seem to fall more within the scope of the Division of Science, Education, and Art of the Department of State.

William H. Dennis, head of that Division, as recently as April 4, 1944, published a pamphlet designed to be of assistance to foreign students studying in this country. Whether or not this Division has either funds or facilities available for actually assisting prospective students to come to this country is not clear from the data available. The same is true of the United States Office of Education, although of the two the former seems to offer more possibilities.

So far as the Yugoslav instructors are concerned, Mr. Alvin Johnson of the New School for Social Research in New York City has been active over a period of several years in aiding the escape of outstanding scholars in Europe. This work has been done through the financial cooperation of the Rockefeller and other foundations. Some of the scholars thus evacuated, numbering in all well over a hundred, have combined to form the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science. The group does not include any Yugoslavians and it is possible that there are no scholars in that country who meet the requirements and scholastic standards of this particular organization. In the interest of education in Europe generally, however, they might
be interested in a project of this sort or in the alternative might suggest ways and means out of their own experience.

The International Confederation of Students formed in Stockholm some time after the last war, and which was in many years a leader in the program for the exchange of students between European and American Universities, might be urged to continue their work on a bilateral basis, it is not known, however, whether for this time being. There is any division of that organization existing in this country, or what facilities and resources are at its disposal.

Several colleges and universities in this country are known to have particular emphasis upon this field of international education and one or more of them may be interested in starting a program of the kind suggested. Oberlin, the University of Wisconsin, and Iowa State are among those mentioned by Dennis in his pamphlet referred to above. He could undoubtedly, upon request, furnish a complete list. It is also known that Columbia University has interested itself in the problem of post-war rehabilitation and has sponsored a number of the training in the use of men trained in such administration through the use of men trained in such administration through the outbreak of the war.

Dr. Edgar J. Fisher of New York is also apparently interested in the field and might have suggestions. As interested in this field and might have suggestions, he is Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education, 2 West 46th Street, New York City, and Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Department of State on the Adjustment of Foreign Students in the United States.

Regarding the problem of the Italian and the like, there are no specific suggestions at this time. There has been no way to have the children of this kind to give them proper care. They should not be covered by the laws which protect the children whose parents are not resident.
Memorandum

Re: Evacuation of Children from Yugoslavia
(Project No. 20, Committee on Special Refuge Problems)

The Committee discussed at great length the condition of children in Yugoslavia who after being subjected to one blow after another are in deplorable straits. A great number of these children, many of them Jewish, are orphaned and it is estimated that there are 130,000 such in Serbia alone. It is proposed that 500 be brought to this country to be included under the 5,000 visas recently made available for children. Such children would be evacuated through Nazi, Italy with the cooperation of the Fascist Government.

Some of this group were sent to Switzerland about a year and a half ago under the Swiss plan for rehabilitation conducted by the Kinderhilfe Organization. On March 10, 1944, that organization, meeting with KFW and representatives of this Government and the Intergovernmental Committee, reported that their program was terminated in 1942, chiefly because it was impossible because of transportation difficulties to get children to Switzerland. There was a secondary objection that parents of children otherwise available for this program were reluctant to permit their children to take the risks which would be encountered in transit. The Swiss however are ready and willing to continue on an even larger scale than heretofore (the figure of 50,000 was mentioned) and are prepared to approach the Germans concerning the necessary transportation.

The children are fed and clothed and kept for a period of three or four months and the only test employed in selecting them is their need for care. There can be no doubt that the Yugoslav children would qualify in mass. The only difficulty discussed at the conference was one of language, but it was not stated that this difficulty is insurmountable, nor was it leveled at any nationality in particular. Since in a typical case there are no parents to be consulted, the only real obstacle is lack of transportation, and it is possible that in their dire need, the children in question might be able to proceed across Italy under their own power supervised and sustained by the Red Cross if they could be guaranteed safe conduct by the Germans. They would certainly be covered by the test adopted by the conference, namely, "Children whose parents are not in a position to give them proper care."

00:10:13
Particular attention of the Swiss should be directed to the plight of these children, and every effort should be made to incorporate as many as possible in the program since it seems inevitable that the greater portion cannot be evacuated.

There appears to be no good reason, however, why a great many cannot be included in the general program for the evacuation of European children, and brought either to this country or to other countries who have signified their willingness to cooperate. There exists one great advantage in numbers, willingness to cooperate. There exists one great advantage in numbers.

Since they could be admitted to this country under the child rescue visa plan, troop ships returning to the United States could be employed in removing them from Italy. United States could be employed in removing them from Italy.

Once in this country the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, which is still in existence and which was prepared to take on large numbers of French children prior to the occupation of Southern France, could be very helpful in locating these children either for adoption or for care for the duration.

At a time when tremendous obstacles seem to block every attempt at rescue work and when both this country and the Board are subject to criticism on the ground that they have not actually accomplished much, it would seem wiser to use a substantial number of the 5,000 children's visas in this project and hope to get more when and if necessary, then to sit back and wait for French children who may never succeed in escaping.
SUBJECT: Project No. 19 from the Committee on Special Refugee Problems

As an indicator of the project, we have decided to request
points from the United States Committee for the United
States, and the work of the project is described below.

This project deals with the evacuation of children from
Greece. The facts, as stated in the project, are substantiated
by the reports that we have received from the American Consul
General at Istanbul, Turkey. The proposed plan recommends the
evacuation of 500 children from Greece either via neutral ships
or the vessels now, or to be, employed for the evacuation of
refugees from the Balkans. Neither of these two types of vessels
is available for the purpose suggested. The Committee proposes
that an effort be made to persuade the occupying authorities
to release the 500 children and permit them to embark on those
ships for the United States. In my opinion, this is not practicable.

We know, however, that the Greek underground end the
British and Greek Government-in-Exile (Jointly) have highly-
organized escape services which could be called on to evacuate
the children.

As a slight variation on this project, I suggest that an
effort be made to evacuate children from Greece and that they
be brought to the United States for education and training and
subsequent return to Greece. It is possible, and might even
be practical, to bring selected children to this country to
train them to become the future leaders in various walks of
life in Greece.

The Greek quota allows the admission for permanent resid-
ence of only 307 persons per year. The training aspect of such
an evacuation program would, therefore, be important because
children over 15 years of age could then be brought in as
students under Section 24(e) of the Immigration Act of 1924.
Even this would require certain waivers of existing regula-
tions by both the Departments of State and Justice. As the
regulations now stand, students must be coming into the United
States to attend an accredited school. Waivers could be obtained
if the United States Committee for the Care of European Children,

1. Mr. Lesser: global financial expansions would give the

2. Miss Sanders: would require considerable evaluations under I-3 would

3. Mr. Martin: would require considerable evaluations under I-3 would
In addition to giving financial guarantees, would give the Department of Justice further guarantees regarding the education the children would receive. Children under 15 would require section 3(2) visas as temporary visitors and similar guarantees could be obtained.

As indicated in the project, the Greek American Community could approach the United States Committee for the Care of European Children and work out these guarantees with them. In this way, I believe that the commendable objectives of the project would thus be served.
PROJECT NO. 19
EVACUATION OF CHILDREN FROM GREECE

The situation in Greece

The plight of Greece, since the days of its heroic resistance to the Italian and Nazi invaders has been particularly tragic. About 18,000 refugees fled to Egypt and the Middle East where they have been cared for by MERRA. 6,000 of them were sent from Egypt to the Belgian Congo. Others are scattered through many communities in Turkey in conditions of deplorable distress.

In the homeland the suffering has been fearful. The Bulgarians took advantage of the helpless prostrate land to further their national ambition of securing an outlet upon the Aegean. Many thousands of Greeks have been killed by them in Macedonia and Thrace and Bulgarians have been settled in their place. About 200,000 Greeks have been forced to leave their homes in these districts and have gone to southern Greece where the people were already starving.

In spite of shipments of food sent into Greece by the International Red Cross (recently increased from about 19,000 tons a month in all categories to about 31,000 a month) hunger rages throughout the land. This is not difficult to comprehend. The soil of Greece is poor and produces little. Under normal circumstances Greece needs about 950,000 tons of wheat a year, 40% of which is

April 14, 1944

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL
Imported from the latest increase she is receiving only about 20,000 tons a month and a possible yearly maximum of 250,000 tons, while the production in the country has dropped to less than half of the normal. The seriousness of the food situation is enhanced by the fact that the former additional supplies of meat, fish, proteins and so forth are now almost completely lacking. She is well aware that in the past it has never been a physical condition of the children in very bad and the long continued malnutrition is having its effect in a mounting death rate and a prevalence of deficiency diseases. There are many orphaned children and abandoned children. The general situation is such that the very future of this country is imperiled.

If the War Refugee Board desires, all this can be documented with statistical documents and International Red Cross reports. If based on these claims for the United States, 1.000,000, plus, these possibilities must be made available, if ships which were chartered. It is said to be no anti-Semitism.

There are 300 of the 12,000 Jews in Athens because the rest were carried off and concealed by the civilian population, and the guerillas. Many of the non-Jewish children are in no less precarious a condition. To bring some thousands of these children out and care for them would mean the unbounded gratitude of the Greek people and would increase immeasurably the good will in which we are held throughout occupied and neutral Europe. There seems to be a possibility of saving these children.
The Proposed Plan

A fleet of neutral ships, mostly Swedish, is playing the children into the case of the passengers to the United States in order to bring them to Canada. The ships go to Greece heavily laden and leave Greece empty;

Once or twice each month they dock in Canada to take on a cargo of wheat.

South and Hospitality

The undersigned is well aware that in the past it has never been possible to secure the enemy's assistance; for since the ships are available and already chartered, probably the ships which were carrying Red Cross supplies to France at that time could take on a load of refugees for the return trip, but a reasonably small group would not be expensive. The United States these children would be quickly accommodated in the present possibilities and we are living in a new day. It is

The Greek War Relief. The Greek action, in 200,000 a week, a list proposed that some effort be made to persuade the occupation of Finland ready and able to take care of these children could be

Image: A black and white image of a page with text written in English. The text is a proposal for using neutral ships to transport refugees, specifically mentioning Swedish ships and Greece as destinations.
and request them in turn to ask the German Government to release these children into the care of the Commission Mixte of the International Red Cross in order to bring them to America or to other countries.

Upon these proposals we are assured that the funds available by the State Department have not been enough.

Costs and Hospitality

The expenses for this evacuation should not be very large. It is estimated that 50% of the ships to be offered since the ships are available and already chartered. Probably the additional costs of equipping them for the transportation of children in reasonably small groups would not be excessive. Upon arrival in the United States these children would be quickly accommodated in the homes of Greek-Americans. The Greek colony is 300,000 strong. A list of families ready and eager to care for these children could be started at once. Mr. Basil Vlavianos is ready at any time to start a campaign for such homes in the Greek National Herald which he edits.

It is possible that such an organization as the United States Committee for the Care of European Children would provide the equal costs of transportation if the plan proves feasible and would cooperate actively with the International Red Cross in the evacuation plans. If it is desired this office will take up the matter with these private agencies.

The consequences of success.

As we have pointed out again and again, it is this sort of evidence good faith that the other nations need. It is to be expected that
they would emulate our example and offer similar hospitality to children.

Visas

In making these proposals we are mindful that the 5000 visas made available by the State Department have not been exhausted by the offer of 4000 visas for European children in Switzerland. It is suggested that 500 of these visas be offered to Greek children. This Committee has a further suggestion about the remaining 500 visas.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director
April 7, 1944

PROJECT NO. 18

THE COOPERATION OF LATIN AMERICA

The Problem

The Latin American countries will follow the lead of the United States in accordance with their resources, but we cannot expect them to set the pace for us. At the very outset the Committee on Special Refugee Problems stated its firm conviction that little could be done in Latin America unless the United States set the example by some generous gesture of hospitality. The Latin American countries are not to be fooled by fervent exhortations from Washington that other peoples should help the refugees.

The response of these nations to your overtures proves this point. They seem to have in essence, "Tell us what you are prepared to do and we will do our share." This is a cagey reply but it was to be anticipated and is wholly justifiable in the circumstances.

It will not suffice to speak to them of visas granted to children who may come to Switzerland, whose visas to be honored at some later date by the United States. Some of the Latin American republics may follow suit, but that we really need in order to impress both friends and enemies with the fact that the rescue of refugees is now a major policy of the United Nations is some determination that we ourselves are ready to resolve into the United States a large number of refugees. Thereupon the Latin American countries may be expected to open their doors widely also, and the effect upon the Nazi
world will be tremendous. We must not forget that there was a time when
the Nazis rebuked our efforts to intercede for the Jews in Europe by the
retort, "All right, you take them, then."

Again we urge upon you the crucial importance of some offer of
American hospitality if you wish to encourage similar action in Latin
America.

Opportunities For Immigration In Latin America

These opportunities are limitless and many of them are closely
connected with the war effort and our own future welfare. Let me give you
some instances of this.

a) Ecuador. Undoubtedly Mr. Freedman is acquainted with the
Ecuadorian Development Corporation (Corporacion Equatoriana de Fomento),
popularly known as La Fomento. This corporation was established in June, 1942,
for the encouragement of agriculture in Ecuador. The importance of its work
is now magnified by a loan of ten millions of dollars by the United States
through the Export and Import Bank of Washington, popularly known as the
Exim. Its purpose is to increase the production of food and certain raw
materials essential to the prosecution of the war. It is governed by a
board of six - one half Americans and one half Ecuadorians. All the capital,
$50,000, is furnished by the Ecuadorian Government. The General Manager is
Mr. Edwin R. Kinnear, from the United States Department of Agriculture, and
some of the best brains that America has produced are on the staff.
The Fomento has acquired a large tract of land on the Palangue River in the Province of Los Ríos on the coastal plain, or litoral, just at the foot of the Andes. It consists of about 45,000 hectares. Already rubber plants, cinchona, cacao, babassu, corn, castor beans, soya beans, sesame, rubber, cinnamon, raphia palm, ginger, and tung oil have been set out.

This project, backed by American money and brains, promises to become a most important undertaking for the future of Ecuador and the post-war program. This part of Ecuador is largely unpopulated and inaccessible, yet it has what is said to be the richest soil in the world, several meters deep. There are sanitary problems to be solved, malaria to contend with, but the Americans in charge are enthusiastic about it and believe that the place can be made as healthy as American genius has made the Canal Zone.

There is one thing only that endangers the project: the shortage of labor. The Fomento is willing to provide livelihood and employment to as many capable workers as we can import and it will not be difficult to get Ecuadorian visas for anyone willing to work under the Fomento. Participation in this organization would not only provide new opportunities for refugees, but would also mean direct assistance to the Ecuadorian and United States Governments in experimental and constructive work that may well revolutionize the economy of a little developed country.

b) Porto Rico. There is on this island a Porto Rican Development Company sponsored by the insular government and organized for the purpose of expanding the industrial activity of the island. This Company has recent-
homes for Europeans. Countries like Columbia, where any kind of climate desired may be found in a few hours if you have a mule and a thermometer, will offer a better chance than tropical countries like the Dominican Republic where the fate of refugees has often been a very unhappy one. One of these days President Trujillo will make a magnificent offer of 100,000 visas for refugees. When that day comes please remember that some of us are at this moment busy rescuing people not from Europe but from the Dominican Republic.

Expert Assistance

Concerning the whole problem of Latin America I should like to remind you again of our suggestion that if we are to go further in this direction we need the temporary assistance of some expert like Mr. Enrique de Lozada, former Special Advisor to the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. I would refer you again to my letter of March 31 dealing with project number eleven where a proposal to this effect is made.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Charles B. Joy
Executive Director
March 29, 1944

It is our understanding that already the War Refugee Board has made some arrangement for the dispatch of messages concerning refugees through the pouch and the State Department telegraphic cable. It is important, however, that we should know exactly what these arrangements are, and to what private agencies you want information about these matters to be conveyed.

There are certain aspects of the problem which may not have occurred to you. Hitherto we have been forbidden by Government regulations to send cables or letters to Portugal, Spain and Switzerland asking about people whose addresses were unknown to us; even when we had heard rumors or reports that these people had escaped from occupied territory to neutral countries.

The Director of the Unitarian Service Committee in Switzerland has requested that we should not send such inquiries through the open mail to Switzerland as such inquiries, passing through the German censorship, might give information concerning people who are in great danger.

This is only an illustration of the difficulties that all the relief agencies working abroad have encountered.

It seems to us important that reputable private agencies registered with the President's War Relief Control Board should have every possible facility in their rescue work. They should be permitted to send coded messages to any of their agents through any American diplomatic office. They should have the use of the diplomatic pouch for the same purpose. They should not be forbidden to make inquiries about refugees even though these refugees are in enemy or occupied territory.
If arrangements of this sort can be made or have been made we need to be informed about the method by which such communications can be dispatched. Is there a way, for instance, of sending from Lisbon directly to Geneva coded telegraphic messages or written pouch messages? 

Committee on Special Refuge Problems

Charles R. Joy
Executive Director

Establishment of the Unitarian Service in Athens

To Mr. Fonté, Gen. L. Warren,
Chairman of the Unitarian Service

1st Premise: With respect to relief and rescue of refugees.

2nd Premise: To aid through heir fund, Portugal

Reception of American refugees from Spain and France (1931)
**FOR:**

- Amendment to this License
- Extension of this License
- Renewal of this License
- Correspondence concerning this application
- Other (Specify)

**For Project #15 re: Establishment of the Unitarian Service committee in Spain**

Memo 3/20/44 from Mr. Fehle to Mr. Geo. L. Warren, State Dept., re: Establishment of the Unitarian Service Committee in Spain

**SEE:** PROGRAMS WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF AND RESCUE OF REFUGEES:
  - EVACUATION TO AND THROUGH SPAIN (AND PORTUGAL)
  - (EVACUATION OF REPUBLICAN REFUGEES FROM SPAIN AND PORTUGAL [USC])
Mr. Laurence F. Lesser
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lesser:

Dr. Joy has been unexpectedly called out of town and will not return until the end of this week. Enclosed I am sending you project No. 14, entitled "Official Approaches to Russia", which he dictated last Friday but has had no opportunity to read or revise.

I have asked Mr. Wittmann to get in touch with Dr. Sator and Mr. Mitsukawa in connection with their conference with you on May 30. He promised to let me know today whether such a meeting can be arranged. As soon as I hear from Mr. Wittmann I shall write to you again.

Sincerely yours,

Eloa Aninger
Secretary to Dr. Joy

enc.
The Appeal to Stalin from the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe

The recent cabled request to Marshal Joseph Stalin, signed by forty distinguished Americans representing the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, is an important document and its specific proposal that Hungarian Prisoners of War in Russian hands might be exchanged for 55,000 Jewish refugees from the western Ukraine now living in Hungary, under the express condition that neither country would use the returned nationals for combat service, might prove to be a fruitful suggestion.

The Official Approach

Russia is a wholly unpredictable entity, however, never bound by protocol and official convention, sometimes dealing through official channels and often dealing also in a somewhat irresponsible fashion with individuals and private agencies. It can never be certain that Russia will heed a private approach even when it is made by so important a group as those who signed the above document. We respectfully urge, therefore, that the War Refugee Board approach the Russian Government through official channels with the same sort of plea made by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe. This at least would assure careful official consideration.
Amplification of this Appeal

1. It is, in fact, the present situation that makes the appeal so pressing. The danger to the Jews is acute in this latter country, and the situation is critical and had to be considered as such. The problem of the Jews in Russia is severe, and many thousands of Russian Jews may be expected to flee to other countries. In this respect, as in others, the assistance of the United Nations is needed. The United Nations can help in many ways to alleviate the suffering of the Jews in Russia.

2. The appeal is made in the belief that the United Nations can be of great service in the relief of the Jews. The United Nations can provide the necessary assistance in the form of financial aid, food, clothing, and other supplies. It can also provide a means of transportation for those who wish to leave Russia.

3. The United Nations can also play a role in the formulation of the future of the Jews in Russia. It is hoped that the United Nations will be able to work with the Soviet authorities to ensure the safety and well-being of the Jews in Russia.

4. The appeal is made in the belief that the United Nations can be of great service in the relief of the Jews. The United Nations can provide the necessary assistance in the form of financial aid, food, clothing, and other supplies. It can also provide a means of transportation for those who wish to leave Russia.

5. The United Nations can also play a role in the formulation of the future of the Jews in Russia. It is hoped that the United Nations will be able to work with the Soviet authorities to ensure the safety and well-being of the Jews in Russia.

6. The appeal is made in the belief that the United Nations can be of great service in the relief of the Jews. The United Nations can provide the necessary assistance in the form of financial aid, food, clothing, and other supplies. It can also provide a means of transportation for those who wish to leave Russia.

7. The United Nations can also play a role in the formulation of the future of the Jews in Russia. It is hoped that the United Nations will be able to work with the Soviet authorities to ensure the safety and well-being of the Jews in Russia.

A Word of Caution

The appeal is made in the belief that the United Nations can be of great service in the relief of the Jews. The United Nations can provide the necessary assistance in the form of financial aid, food, clothing, and other supplies. It can also provide a means of transportation for those who wish to leave Russia.

The United Nations can also play a role in the formulation of the future of the Jews in Russia. It is hoped that the United Nations will be able to work with the Soviet authorities to ensure the safety and well-being of the Jews in Russia.

The appeal is made in the belief that the United Nations can be of great service in the relief of the Jews. The United Nations can provide the necessary assistance in the form of financial aid, food, clothing, and other supplies. It can also provide a means of transportation for those who wish to leave Russia.

The United Nations can also play a role in the formulation of the future of the Jews in Russia. It is hoped that the United Nations will be able to work with the Soviet authorities to ensure the safety and well-being of the Jews in Russia.

The appeal is made in the belief that the United Nations can be of great service in the relief of the Jews. The United Nations can provide the necessary assistance in the form of financial aid, food, clothing, and other supplies. It can also provide a means of transportation for those who wish to leave Russia.

The United Nations can also play a role in the formulation of the future of the Jews in Russia. It is hoped that the United Nations will be able to work with the Soviet authorities to ensure the safety and well-being of the Jews in Russia.
going Demoorat. Yet he is realistic in facing the present situation and knows
that neither his country nor other countries in Central and Eastern Europe can
escape the necessity of coming to some sort of terms with the Soviet Union. Mr.
Masaryk, who is in very close sympathy with the War Refugee Board and its pur-
poses, has suggested quite confidentially that the War Refugee Board might ask
Mr. Hasselsmith in Mexico City to approach the Russian Ambassador there. Mr.
Cumaneky, in order to explore with his ways in which the Soviet Union
may cooperate. The reason for this suggestion is that the Russian Ambassador
in Mexico City is a stronger and more experienced man than the Russian Ambassador
in Washington. Of course, the War Refugee Board, because of its official posi-
tion, may not be free to detour around the Washington representative of the
Soviet Union, but this was Mr. Masaryk's suggestion.

Mr. Masaryk expects to be in London in a week or ten days. He has
promised me that he will talk with the Russians in London to explore the situa-
tion there. He agrees with our suggestion in project No. 29, "The Cooperation
of Bulgaria" and promises to talk over with the Russians the possibility of
some approach to Bulgaria that she may open her frontier to the refugees. He
believes that Russia could have a very salutory influence upon the general situa-
tion by sending a strong warning to the Hungarians that they will be held ac-
countable for the persecution of the Jews. The Hungarians at the moment are
reported to be amused by warnings from America. They would not be amused by
threats from Russia which now stands poised not far from Hungarian frontiers.
There are other ways in which Russia might be able to help to facilitate
the escape of refugees from Poland, the Baltic states, Hungary and Bulgaria, and
these ways Mr. Masaryk promised to explore.
Incidentally, I take Mr. Hasary's promise very seriously as he has been for some years exceedingly friendly to the Unitarian Service Committee in gratitude for the relief work we did just before and during the Munich episode. His interest in the fate of the refugees and his intercession with the PW representatives of the Soviet Union in London cannot but have an excellent effect upon the whole situation.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS
Charles R. Joy
Executive Director

Eva Atninger
per E. Atninger, Secretary to Dr. Joy

Dictated but not read.
Memorandum

To: Mr. J. B. Friedman
From: Mr. Charles Davia

April 4, 1944

Project No. 1

Work in and through Romania

The situation in Romania is now such that anything may happen within a few days or even within a few hours. If the Russians sweep through Romania to the Bulgarian frontier, the problem of the refugees in that area will still be solved in one way or another by the events. If, on the other hand, the German defense is stabilized on the Carpathians and the Balkans line, then it will still be possible to get refugees out from southern Romania and we can count.

I think upon the cooperation of the Romanian Government to assist to the utmost degree as far as it has any freedom left to operate.

We have been told that 66,000 Jews have been brought back from Transnistria into Romania. If they are now in southern Romania, they can still be shipped to Turkey, if transportation and costs are provided. Many refugees will be able to travel across Romania by road as the distance from the mouth of the Danube, where revolting Russian troops are said to be now operating against the Germans, to the Bulgarian frontier is only about 200 miles. In the case of the stabilization of the German lines, somewhere north of the Bulgarian frontier it is desperately important that the Jews be rescued as quickly as possible before the typical process of extermination begins.

For these reasons our committee feels that it is even more important then before that Mr. Charles Davia proceed as quickly as possible to the Near
East in order that the authorities involved be stimulated to do their utmost in the earliest possible time. Possibly Mr. Hirshman will be here within a few days to advise the Board but our feeling is that preparations for Mr. Davila's trip, if he has the approval of the War Refugees Board, begin at once that there may be no delay. In all these matters we have a disturbing sense that time is not on our side.

COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEES PROBLEMS

Charles R. Joy, Chairperson
Executive Director

The War Refugee Board had a comfortable interview with the War Refugee Board. We have every reason to believe that their plans are sound and that they are proceeding with them vigorously. The War Refugee Board has recommended that Mr. Green draft an order of protection immediately for Mr. Davila and also the two other cases. The War Refugee Board has recommended that Mr. Davila should be nominated for the War Refugee Board. We have no doubt that he would be an able and effective member of that Board.
March 17, 1944

PROJECT NO. 5

THE USE OF THE RADIO

The Previous Proposal of the Unitarian Service Committee

The undersigned, while acting for the Unitarian Service Committee before
the organization of the New York group, submitted in the name of that Committee a
proposal for broadcasting over WRL.

The following plan is on a somewhat broader basis and may possibly
supplant the Unitarian Service Committee proposal. At the moment, however, it
may be wiser to let the negotiations between the Unitarian Service Committee and
WRL proceed. Later we can determine whether or not to abandon the Unitarian
Service Committee plan.

The Element of Time

At the very moment of writing this memo, the people we wish to help are
dying. Every day of delay in instituting any promising method of rendering aid
means the sacrifice of life. The reason for submitting the following earnest rec-
ommendations and requesting immediate action upon them is that the Unitarian Service
Committee program may have to wait upon the perfection of some arrangement for
underwriting expenses.

O.N.I.

1. It is recommended that Mr. Minor Davis be asked to appoint imme-
   diately a man to cooperate with the New York group. Mr. Stanley Silverman, Director of
   the Special Events Division of the Overseas Department of the O.N.I., is suggested
   as one who would be eminently fitted for the task, although the New York group has
no particular preference.

2. It is recommended that the O.W.I. provide at its expense the necessary time, script writers, typists, and supervision, and cover all expenses incident to the program.

3. It is recommended that we begin at once with two languages, expand as rapidly as possible to four, and then to six languages. About thirty minutes per day, seven days in the week, would suffice.

The Program Emphasis

The purpose would be wholly non-political, solely humanitarian. It would be the purpose for which the War Refugee Board was organized. It would appeal to the officials and peoples of the Axis and occupied countries to assist the oppressed minorities wherever possible. Again and again the emphasis would be made that this is now a major policy of the Allies, that cooperation within and without the countries to which the programs are directed would be appreciated and remembered, while continued maltreatment of refugees would be recorded and punished. The program would be both general and specific - general in dealing with the broader aspects of the problem - specific in addressing directly possible benefactors or actual malefactors. Generals, prefects, gauleiter, Gestapo officials, camp commandant would be named, appealed to, admonished. All programs would naturally be submitted to regular government censorship. One or two sample scripts will be submitted, but it is hoped that an immediate favorable decision can be reached on the plan itself so that there may be no delay.

Sponsorship

The sponsorship of the program should be decided in consultation with the O.W.I.
It is hoped that the valiant efforts of the War Refugee Board to secure the establishment of temporary camps of refuge in America may soon be crowned by success, but the failure of the United States to set the much needed example which the rest of the world is waiting for will convince others of our utter insincerity when we set up a War Refugee Board should not discourage us to make every effort to persuade other nations to open the doors which we ourselves decline to open.

One of our most distinguished Senators, answering a letter from me in which I urged upon him the importance of the Free Port plan, wrote:

"At the moment, it seems to me that our best result might well come from assisting in the direction of refugees toward areas other than our own even though this may indicate a lack of willingness on our part to provide the full cooperation which you suggest. It is my impression that under the present circumstances it is quite appropriate for many nations, perhaps including ourselves, not to cooperate through the acceptance of refugees except under extremely limited circumstances whereas other nations which are in need of additional population and ready to accept it would be the ones who would be selected to receive these refugees and would be encouraged to do so. The resistance of those nations where the refugees would be a substantial
hazard and detriment to them would help to make the movement toward the other
possibly less desirable points more effective. It seems to me that it is im-
portant to consider the interests of the established nations, including our
own, quite as much as the interest of the refugees."

While I dissent vigorously from this conclusion and will do my best
to persuade the Senator that he is wrong, I do not fail to recognize the grain
of truth in this paragraph, namely that there are other nations much more in
need of additional population than our own. The War Refugee Board should not
be hesitant, therefore, in pointing out with discreet courtesy to these other
nations that the distress of the refugees at the present moment and their pro-
bable future needs for lands to settle in, provide them with a golden opportunity
to assure the future of their own countries by relaxing the immigration laws.

The Address of Percy J. Clarke

The President of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions in an
address before the International Labor Organization on May 4 stated very clearly
that Australia, with a territory as large as the United States, could easily
support a population of 150 to 200 millions, instead of the seven millions now
living in the land. He stated that Australia would find it very difficult to
defend herself against aggression in the future with so small a population,
especially if the United States were not then in a position to come to their
aid.

Dorothy Thompson commented favorably upon this statement and reminded
us that the British Commonwealth of Sovereign Nations includes not only Australia
but also New Zealand, South Africa and Canada with 7,500,000 square miles of
Land and climate favorable to European settlement while it is today populated in Teeswater in Northern Australia. The land could presumably be sparsly populated by only 31,000,000. New Zealand with its ideal climate has an area of 115,000,000 square miles and a population of 1,800,000 and may be contrasted with the equivalent area of Kansas and Indiana and their population of 5,200,000.

While the latter would have to be regraded with caution and discrimination, a similar policy might be made to New York. Australia has the opportunity for immigrants. One can be unargued a vast portion of the United Kingdom could absorb many millions of immigrants. Outside the United Kingdom it has an area by times that of the United States and a population thinly populated. Europe possesses a variety of climates and not all of them as one-fourth of one part. The best is considered suitable for Europeans. While modern problems, however, there can be no doubt also that these countries of the British Commonwealth can live healthfully in the eastern and the entire inter-European wealth would greatly benefit by a reconsideration of the present policy of strictly limited immigration. The greatness of the United States and of all the countries of the British Commonwealth, Canada and other South America nations is the direct result of a liberal immigration. There are many who warn that a willingness to accept immigration policy, if Australia, New Zealand, and Canada and especially the first nations of refugees after the war, one of the advantages to New York State, wish to proceed to a similar degree, they might well follow suit.

The need for a greater reserve of man-power to meet the dangers of the end of hostilities. Europe or itself that would be an appropriate future is evident now to the wise leaders in Australia like Mr. Clancy, because this other nations still follow, especially there warning that the War Refugee Board could take advantage of that opportunity to urge new nations to the cause of dollars and open means to refugees upon these nations, an open door for European Jews and other refugees for the Colonies of Special European Refugees, economic development of the marvelous resources of these countries and for a greater future security.

Charles R. J. Smiley
Executive Director

The Freeland League

There is an existence the Freeland League, the purpose of which is to facilitate the establishment of an agricultural community of Jewish refugees in
in Kimberley in Northwestern Australia. This League would presumably be eager to cooperate in any colonisation scheme.

**Ecuador**

While the matter would have to be approached with caution and discretion, a similar suggestion could be made to Ecuador. Ecuador lost in her recent war with Peru because she was so weak. Immigration would supply her with potential fighters for her army. She had to surrender a vast portion of her eastern wilderness at the headwaters of the Amazon because it was so thinly populated. Ecuador possesses all varieties of climates and not all of the land is considered suitable for Europeans. With proper precautions, however, Europeans can live healthy lives in the tropics and the whole Inter-Andean Plateau is quite temperate in its climate.

If the countries of the British Commonwealth, Ecuador and other South American lands should now make it known their willingness to accept large numbers of refugees after the war, one of the objections to the Free Port plan would disappear, namely that there might be no place to move the refugees to. Furthermore, this would be an encouraging example that other nations might follow, especially those nations which are nearer to the scene of distress and more accessible to refugees.

**COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGE PROBLEMS**

Charles E. Jay  
Executive Director

*Chairman of the Committee*
AGENDA
COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL REFUGEE PROBLEMS
March 30, 1944

1) Report of the Secretary
2) Report on Election of Officers
3) Report on Special Projects
   a) Radio
   b) Evacuation of Spanish and non-Spanish Republicans from Spain
   c) I.L.O. Conference in Philadelphia
   d) Hungary
   e) Evacuation of non-Spanish Refugees from Spain to the U. S.
   f) Personnel at key centers
   g) Evacuation of refugees from Hungary
   h) Establishment of the United Service Committee in Spain
   i) Repatriation of American Citizens
   j) What the International Red Cross can do
   k) The Problem of Russia
4) Suggested New Projects
   a) The Cooperation of Latin American countries
   b) Evacuation of children from Yugoslavia
   c) The Problem of Yugoslav refugees in Egypt
   d) Cooperation of French Underground
   e) Other suggestions
5) The President's statement
6) Additions to the Committee
7) Future meetings of the Committee.
March 8, 1944

Mr. J. Friedman
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Friedman:

Enclosed please find the complete information regarding the labor movement. These messages are very urgent because most of the delegates will be leaving very soon.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Louis D. Solleveld

P.S. Dr. Joy, who is out of town for a day, is, as you know, devoting his full time to this matter and I trust that you will make full use of his availability.
PROJECT NO. 4

ASSISTANCE OF LABOR MOVEMENT

I. The Services Which the Labor Movement Can Render

The labor movement, through the International Federation of Trade Unions, and through its other connections abroad, is in a position to render service of the utmost importance to the War Refugee Board. It can

1. Provide a wealth of information concerning conditions in the neutral countries, the occupied countries, and the Axis countries;
2. Establish essential contacts with those countries;
3. Help to organize the rescue of endangered groups and individuals;
4. Help to administer relief through its relief organizations abroad.

II. Neutral Countries

1. Switzerland. Cables, signed by J. Stolz, should be sent at once in code (suggested texts are attached) to the following individuals:
   a. E. F. Rimensberger, Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund, Mombijoustrasse 61, Bern.
   b. Robert Bratschi, President of the Union of Railwaymen, Effingerstrasse 19, Bern.
   c. Mrs. Kögi-Puchmann, Schweizerische Arbeiterhilfe, can be reached through Swiss Trade Union center, Mombijoustrasse 61, Bern.
   d. H. Grundbacher, Langstrasse 85, Bern, Secretary International Typographers Union, has relatively the best contacts with occupied countries.

Note: It may be advisable for the representative of the W.R.B. to establish contacts, rather than to send the cables direct.

7. **Hungary.** Contacts through Swiss and Swedes (see names above) with Willem Bohn, former leader of the Union of Metal Workers in Hungary.

8. **Italy.** Contacts through Jacobus H. Oldenbrook (see Holland.) A delegation of the International Transport Workers' Federation has been in Italy recently.


10. **Countries Where Labor Movements Can Not Help.**
    a. **Bulgaria.** Labor organization completely destroyed.
    b. **Denmark.** No suggestions.
    c. **Romania.** No contacts.
    d. **Turkey.** No suggestions.
    e. **Yugoslavia.** No news from the labor movement there.

**IV. International Labor Conference in Philadelphia.**

Three weeks beginning April 21, 1944.

1. **Importance.** As an opportunity to confer in person with foreign delegates this conference will have very special importance to the War Refugee Board.

2. **Delegates.** The following delegates will probably be present:
    a. **Belgium:** Joseph Bondas
    b. **Czechoslovakia:** Jan Becko
6. Holland. Contacts through Jacobus H. Oldenbroek, Secretary of

7. Hungary. Contacts through Swiss and Swedes (see names above)
with Wilhem Bohm, former leader of the Union of Metal Workers in Hungary.

8. Italy. Contacts through Jacobus H. Oldenbroek (see Holland.)
A delegation of the International Transport Workers' Federation has been in
Italy recently.

9. Norway. Contacts through Olaf Hindahl, formerly Secretary of
Trade Union Center in Norway, Minister in the Norwegian Government, Kingston
House, Princess Gate, London, S.W.7. Also with Konrad Nordahl, chairman of
Norwegian Trade Union Center in London, Central House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.

   b. Denmark. No suggestions.
   c. Romania. No contacts.
   d. Turkey. No suggestions.
   e. Yugoslavia. No news from the labor movement there.

IV. International Labor Conference in Philadelphia.

Three weeks beginning April 21, 1944.

1. Importance. As an opportunity to confer in person with foreign
delegates this conference will have very special importance to the War Refugee
Board.

2. Delegates. The following delegates will probably be present:
   a. Belgium: Joseph Bonges
   b. Czechoslovakia. Jan Becko
-4-

- C. England. A large delegation.
- E. Holland. Jacobus H. Oldenbroek (Italy).
- G. Russia. Probably someone.
- H. South America. Almost all countries to be represented.
- I. Sweden. Hunar Anderson (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.)

5. **Special Meeting.** It will be important to gather all foreign delegates, who have information or important contacts, together with representatives of the War Refugee Board, in a meeting to be arranged in connection with the Philadelphia conference. This office will make such arrangements, if desired.

**Note:** The suggestions and information in this memorandum have come from Mr. J. Stoltz, 1775 Broadway (Room 606), New York City. Assistant Secretary I.F.T.U.

Charles R. Joy

144 Bleecker Street
New York 13, N.Y.

March 8, 1944
SUGGESTED CABLE

A War Refugee Board consisting of Secretaries State War Treasury
has been appointed by President United States to save endangered refugees
all parts world. John Peile director. This inaugurates entirely new
policy and offers facilities saving thousands lives. Labor movement the
free world. The Unitarian Service Committee other humanitarian organizations
cooperating to full. We need your assistance in securing information about
conditions and in organizing rescue machinery in neutral and occupied countries.
All necessary funds will be provided. Please give warmest reception to those
who will approach you. They will give you further information. Establish
contacts other lands. Secure cooperation our friends everywhere, send
immediately comments and suggestions. If delegates coming to international
Labor Conference provide them with fullest information. Communicate with me
through person who will contact you. We have message that
Treasury Department Washington we are counting on you in final vigorous
effort to save many lives.

J. Stolz