

MADD, James H.

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CROSS REFERENCE ON MANN, JAMES H.

FOR:

Amendment to this License

Extension of this License

Renewal of this License

Correspondence concerning this application . .

Other (Specify)

FOR REPORT ON PRISON CAMP AT BREEDONCK, BELGIUM REC'D
FROM BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

SEE: GERMAN EXTERMINATION CAMPS (BREEDONCK, BELGIUM) VOL. 2

000786

London, May 10, 1945.

Miss Florence Hodel,
Assistant Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Florence:

This letter is to give you an accounting of the \$10,000 confidential fund placed at my disposal when I came to London last September. The entire sum has been kept on deposit at the Chase National Bank, 51 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1. As of this date I have a balance of \$9,192.25 plus pounds sterling £6.17.2. I have kept the dollars in what is known as a registered account (in order to be able to transfer them out of England if necessary) and have purchased pounds from time to time to meet expenses. There follows an itemized list of transactions in the dollar account:

9/9/44 purchased £100 at 4.03 1/2 (opening account bank did not charge commission)	\$ 403.50
12/20/44 purchased £100 at 4.04 1/4	404.25
(One amount of \$192.37 was inadvertently charged to my dollar account but was subsequently changed by a reversal of the entry which charged my sterling account and credited the dollar account. Bank slips showing transactions are enclosed)	
Total.....	\$ 807.75
Original deposit	\$10,000.00
Less	807.75
Balance	9,192.25

The £200 bought with the above dollars have been spent as follows:

Postage	£ 0.12. 6
Check book (stamps-see receipt)	0. 4. 0
Cables (see receipts)	117. 6. 7
Entertainment	33. 6. 0

*no receipts attached
when need receipts*

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Taxicabs	26.18. 0
Photographs for registration (no receipt)	0. 9. 0
Contributions (Messengers Christmas fund)	3. 0. 0
Registration fee (Alien Registration)	0. 0. 0
Dighton's Diplomatic Guide	0.12. 3
Travelers Checks (400 at .75 per 100 = \$3.00 at 4.035)	0.14. 9
Periodicals	0.15. 0
Telephone calls (see receipts)	0.11. 3
	<hr/>
Total	£184.10. 4
plus balance	6.17. 2
Total accounted for	191. 7. 6
Balance owed Board	8.12. 8

There are enclosed receipts for all cables except the one for February which has been paid but receipt has not yet been obtained. The bills paid have receipts attached. I am also enclosing extra copies of the bills which have attached the cables sent, etc. I felt that such might be needed for accounting purposes. The February bill was paid by enclosing a check payable to WRB for £15.6.3. to the Embassy disbursing officer and giving him a check on the WRB account for £4.16.2. The £15.6.3 check was one received from the Joint Distribution Committee for cables transmitted for them during October and November. Since that time their cables have been billed separately.

I have not listed my taxicabs by trip. However, such can be done if the Board considers it necessary. In my first days here I had considerable taxi fares as I made an effort to call upon most people in London who were interested in rescue work. Public transportation here is so slow and inconvenient that it was not feasible to use it.

The total spent for entertainment is given. However, if necessary I can list the people entertained, time, place, etc. I do not have receipts for the entertainment because it is embarrassing to take someone to dinner and ask for a receipt. Also, there are no receipts given for drinks which are purchased and the receipts thus would not show the actual expenditure. I certify that the amounts spent for entertainment were all spent entertaining people with whom I had official business on behalf of the Board. In most cases the entertainment was by way of repaying obligations. I feel that the Board cannot object to an expenditure of £33.6.0 for entertainment over a period of 8 1/2 months in a city as expensive as London.

I contributed £3 to the Christmas fund for the messengers and for the Embassy childrens party. I felt that I should do this because the messengers have done work for the Board.

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The periodical expenditure represents newspapers, pamphlets etc., which I have bought in connection with Board work. During the first two months here I purchased several newspapers each day and read them for items of interest to the Board. Since that time I have used the Treasury papers.

As shown above I am indebted to the Board in the sum of £8.12.6 or \$34.71. If the Board would like to have this sum refunded now so that accounts are squared before I start on my work in Switzerland, my wife, upon request, will be glad to give you a check for the amount owed.

I believe this letter and the enclosed receipts pretty well account for the sums expended by me during the 8 1/2 months here. Please let me know if you require a listing by trip of the expenditures for taxicabs and if you desire a more detailed statement of the amounts spent for entertainment.

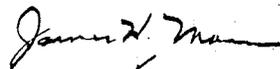
No transportation charges were incurred in my recent trip to Paris since I was able to obtain Army orders for the trip and thus did not have to pay plane fare.

I am enclosing my bank statements up to the end of March. The only subsequent withdrawal is the one mentioned in connection with the February cable bill and receipted for by the Embassy disbursing officer.

The balance of Board funds is being transferred to Switzerland via New York. The method used represents only a delay of 2 or 3 days over direct transfer to Switzerland and has the advantage that I can deal directly with the Swiss bank (Credit Suisse) and obtain francs and will not have to run the risk of transferring dollars directly to Switzerland and ~~running the risk of~~ being unable to convert because of some Swiss exchange regulation. (See letter of instructions to Chase National Bank.)

Please let me have the Board's comments on the above.

Very truly yours,



James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT



AIR MAIL

Office of the Treasury
Representative

Embassy of the United States
London, May 10, 1945

Miss Florence Hodel,
Assistant Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Florence:

I intend to leave for Bern (via Paris) tomorrow and am writing my last WRB letter from London to close up my affairs here, more or less.

For the information and interest of the Board, I am enclosing the following documents:

1. Letter from Matthew Marks forwarding certain documents concerning negotiations for the evacuation of some 2,000 refugees from Switzerland. It appears from conversations with Matthew (who is now stationed here) that the whole matter was undecided when he left Paris around May 1. However, I am sure that McClelland and Katzki have reported recent developments on these negotiations.
2. A report prepared by Dr. Lev Zelmanowitz and Mr. Ben Rubenstein concerning their journey to Sweden.
3. A Survey on the Rescue Activities of the World Jewish Congress 1940-1944 prepared by Dr. A. Leon Kubowitzki.

The World Jewish Congress has recently seen me to ask that the Board intervene with SHAEF and UNRRA to obtain permission for persons representing Jewish organizations to go to centers where displaced persons are held and lecture to Jewish DP's on Jewish problems and give them "spiritual comfort". I reminded the World Jewish Congress that such would not appear to be in furtherance of the Board's duties as outlined in the Executive Order establishing the Board. Accordingly, I could not approach SHAEF on this matter but that I would put it before the Board for its consideration.

We have obtained from O.W.I. one set of pictures of the liberated concentration camps which we sent to Treasury. You

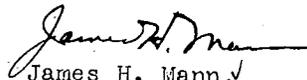
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may care to get these pictures and see the indescribable brutality of the Germans as shown by those pictures.

A few days ago I had lunch with Sir Herbert Emerson who appeared greatly interested in the Board's feeding program. He asked me to advise the Board that he felt that the IGC would contribute funds to this project if such were needed. I told him that I would so advise the Board. I take it that his offer is probably a little too late to be accepted by the Board.

I am writing you a separate letter on finance.

Very truly yours,



James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.

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WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

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The Marchioness of Reading.

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1st May, 1945.

With the Secretary's Compliments.

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CONFIDENTIAL

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
Rescue Department

SURVEY
ON THE RESCUE ACTIVITIES
of the
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
1940 - 1944

Submitted to the War Emergency Conference
Atlantic City
November 26-30, 1944

by

A. Leon Kubowitzki

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NOTE:

The rescue work of the World Jewish Congress is not a closed chapter. Despite the reduced number of surviving Jews in German-held Europe and the apparent exhaustion of openings for rescue, every day brings new problems, new suggestions, and new attempts in this field. Every day the rescue department makes renewed representations, urges continued negotiation, tries new approaches.

The pressure of daily work makes it impossible to submit to the War Emergency Conference a report on rescue activities which would do full justice to the innumerable efforts that were made, or to the achievements which relieve the many failures.

We hope the Conference will be able nevertheless to form an idea of our manifold rescue attempts by studying the documents which are herewith submitted:

1. Program of general measures of Relief and Rescue of Jews, threatened with extermination by the enemy, which was submitted to the War Refugee Board on March 3rd, and which is at the same time an account of a number of past activities;
2. Part I of a Report on Rescue Problems and Activities from July 22nd to September 1st, 1944, which is an attempt to show the scope of the rescue field we have tried to cover; and
3. A Survey on the rescue activities of the World Jewish Congress, 1940 - 1944, which, though fragmentary and incomplete, is an attempt to convey a general idea of our efforts.

The undersigned realizes that it has been impossible to do justice to many activities and many collaborators. His apologies are herewith offered. He hopes that some day he will have a chance to prepare a more complete report of the rescue history, which would be an equitable and objective record and balance sheet.

A. LEON KUBOWITZKI

November 26, 1944.

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SURVEY ON THE RESCUE ACTIVITIES
of the
World Jewish Congress
by
A. Leon Kubowitzki

Rescue, a new
task

1. Formally, the Rescue Department was established in April, 1944. However, the rescue activities of the World Jewish Congress started with the very beginning of the war, and the Executive Committee, the Political Department, the Relief Department, as well as the Department of European Jewish Affairs, devoted their main efforts to rescue long before the actual creation of the Rescue Department.

Of course, the full implications of the plight of the Jews in Nazi captivity did not become evident until some time had elapsed. Even World Jewish Congress leaders, who were among the first to realize the mortal threat to the Jewish people which the advent to power of the National Socialist Party in Germany represented, had to be convinced that the Third Reich had cold-bloodedly resolved to wipe out the Jewish population of Europe -- men, women, children, every last one of them. However, when in September, 1941, the German Government began the systematic deportation of the remnants of German Jewry to forced labor camps and penal reservations in occupied Poland and Soviet territory; when a rigid ban on exit permits was enforced inside the greater Reich and German-occupied countries (Until November 3, 1941, the Germans had allowed sealed trains to bring the Lisbon Jews who had acquired overseas visas); when finally, on the ninth anniversary of his accession to power (January 30, 1942), Hitler declared: "We know full well that the war can end only by the extermination of the Germanic peoples or by the disappearance of Jewry from Europe. Aryan peoples will not be removed from Europe, and this war will see the destruction of Jewry", no doubt was permitted any longer. It became clear that the Germans had resolved to execute their program of biological destruction of the Jewish people of Europe as a whole. Since that time the World Jewish Congress has known no rest in its efforts to engage the various governments and the Jewish people in a bold rescue program which would not be impeded by the cautions and conventional formalities which might have been proper under less pressing circumstances.

The functioning of the World Jewish Congress in the past had depended to a great extent upon the existence of international standards of law and order which the nations had been determined to uphold. This new rescue work, however, was to be carried out in the midst of the wreckage of international order and under war-time difficulties. New ways and means had to be sought to alleviate the unparalleled sufferings of the Jews in Europe.

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Preliminary: Building Outposts. - Learning the Facts.

Disruption of
Congress
Activities

2. Relations with the Jewish communities had become more and more difficult as the Germans increased with tragic speed their occupation of vast European areas. Many of the Congress branches disappeared. Paris, which had been the center of the Congress movement and administration, was in Nazi hands. Outstanding Congress leaders had to be brought to safety in the United States, and the headquarters were established in New York. Outposts had to be rebuilt and contact with them developed and maintained in spite of the disruption of communications, Gestapo vigilance, and rigid enforcement of censorship regulations. The creation of underground channels was not an easy task for a private organization which did not enjoy diplomatic privileges nor benefit from any governmental facilities, while it was confronted with an inexorable enemy powerfully armed with all the resources of modern ingenuity. In addition, the restrictions on money transfers and the rigors of the blockade on the part of the friendly nations added to the almost insuperable barriers raised between rescuers and those to be rescued.

Building out-
posts

3. A first prerequisite for any rescue undertaking was a knowledge of the facts. This task of fact-finding was entrusted to our Geneva office, with Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner as secretary, whose achievements have been of truly historical importance. Through this listening-post we were able to maintain invaluable contacts which were possible only in Switzerland, island of neutrality in the middle of Axis-dominated Europe. The information Geneva conveyed to us was indispensable for an accurate and reliable understanding of the current situation. The next step was to create underground contacts with neutral and occupied countries and with the Jewish and national resistance movements. Dr. Isaac Weiseman of Lisbon became responsible for this undertaking fraught with danger. A third outpost was established in Stockholm with Mr. Hilel Storch as Congress trustee, whose invaluable activities later led to the creation of the Swedish Section presided over by Chief Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis.

In New York, under the direction of Dr. Jacob Robinson, a research body - the Institute of Jewish Affairs - was created in order to receive and digest the authenticated information from the various Congress posts, together with other documentation collected through its contacts with governmental and research agencies.

Learning the
Facts

4. Thus it has been possible for the World Jewish Congress to receive, sift, and bring home to the Jewish people outside of Europe as well as to the governments and public opinion of the free countries the authentic facts of the German program to exterminate the Jews. The Congress built up such a reputation in Europe that persons possessing information relating to the Jews turned naturally to it as the proper agency to receive such news. Through its listening posts - Geneva, Lisbon, Stockholm; through

its European headquarters established in London (Marchioness of Reading, S.S.Silverman, M.P., A.L.Easterman, Dr.N.Barou) and the latter's relations with the various governments-in-exile concentrated in London; through its regular contact with the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem and Istanbul; through witnesses arriving in Palestine and other havens as well as through underground sources, reports of the true situation flowed in a constant stream into Congress headquarters. Carefully weighed and verified, this information was conveyed to governmental agencies and, whenever possible, to the public, and served as a basis for carefully planned programs of rescue and relief.

Reliability
of our in-
formation
services

5. At two critical moments at least, during this latest period of Jewish martyrdom, our listening posts proved to be better informed and more reliable in their judgment than celebrated governmental intelligence services.

By the end of August, 1942, our Geneva office reported that in the Fuehrer's headquarters a plan had been discussed and was under consideration, according to which all Jews in countries occupied or controlled by Germany (some three and a half to four million) should, after deportation to and concentration in the East, be exterminated at one blow in order to solve the Jewish question in Europe once and for all.

On April 4, 1944, Geneva wired that Germany planned to control the economic life of Hungary by establishing in Budapest a special German administration to send workers and foodstuffs to Germany; that special provision had been made for the destruction of the 800,000 Hungarian Jews within six months; that the yellow badge and the registration were preliminary steps which would be followed by arrests and deportations.

In both instances, governments were skeptical. Invaluable weeks passed before they satisfied themselves that our informants had told us the tragic truth.

First Period: Fight against starvation.

Starvation as
weapon of an-
nihilation

6. To exterminate the Jews, the Germans had devised a number of methods: planned starvation, inhuman forced labor, and outright slaughter. Much time went by before it was realized that Germany had made starvation a frightful weapon of annihilation. It even took a long time before it was realized that Germany was engaged in a totalitarian food war and that her scientists had carefully worked out a system of feeding and starving which would result in a radical and permanent shift in the demographic balance of power; that some peoples were to be given enough to survive as helots and serfs of the master race; and that others who were marked for extermination would receive "rations which are but death by another name - slow death, doled out in chunks of fodder-like bread, a pinch of sugar, a few miserable potatoes." Jews in ghettos

received no meats, no fats, no fruits, no vitamin bearing nutriment. Deprived of all protective foods, they must inevitably starve. Shut up in ghettos where disease was taking a terrific toll, the most fortunate among them were those who were kept as forced laborers by the Germans and given short rations of bread and potatoes hardly sufficient to keep them alive.

The result of the starvation rations was a decimation unparalleled in any other group. In the Warsaw ghetto alone, during the year 1941, 47,428 Jews perished, about one out of ten. Spotted typhus and tuberculosis were rampant. Most terrible was the situation of the children. In 1941, the death rate among Jewish children in the Warsaw ghetto was estimated to be thirty times as high as among the Polish children.

A Swedish journalist who visited Warsaw in 1941 wrote:

"Hunger in the ghetto is frightful. The inhabitants seem to be living corpses. Their faces and eyes are sunken Jewish life in ghettos is tragic, gloomy and hopeless. The Jews wait and long for a new Moses."

That starvation was an effective method of mass destruction was later confirmed by the statement of the Polish Soviet Extraordinary Committee for the investigation of crimes committed by the Germans in the extermination camp of Majdanek, from which we quote: (Information Bulletin of the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. October 17, 1944):

"A former inmate of the camp informed the Commission that people were always hungry to starvation. There was a state of general exhaustion among the prisoners, to which many succumbed. The prisoners ate carrion, cats and dogs. Most of them were either walking skeletons covered with skin or unnaturally obese as a result of edema and swelling caused by hunger.

"The starvation regime in the camp was an essential factor in the general system for the extermination of the inmates."

Feeding vs.
Blockade

7. However in 1940, 1941 and 1942 Jews and non-Jews who knew the facts and believed them were few. And those who knew controlled their sympathy for the innocent sufferers lest their feelings help Germany. It should be remembered that public opinion in Great Britain, in the United States, and among many of the Governments in Exile, believed that the blockade was the deadliest weapon in the British arsenal; that every scrap of food sent into Europe directly or indirectly would merely serve to relieve German shortages, and would thereby postpone the day of Hitler's downfall. It was also the conviction of some that Germany would not allow starvation to disorganize the social and economic structures upon which an important portion of the war effort depended. Catholic

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laymen, including six professors of the University of Notre Dame, issued a statement according to which "any attempt to force the British blockade and feed the conquered populations of Europe, is contrary to the best interest of Christianity and America." So did the Unitarian Service Committee. On March 9, 1941, the British Embassy in Washington confirmed the conviction of its Government, first stated by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on August 20, 1940, "that no form of relief can be devised which would not directly or indirectly assist the enemy's war effort." On September 25, 1941, Secretary Cordell Hull opposed the plans to feed the conquered nations in a letter to the Foreign Relations Committee, asserting "that the responsibility and manifest duty to supply relief rests with the occupying authorities."

In Jewish circles opinions were so divided that in July, 1941, the offices of the Agudath Israel of America were picketed by the Joint Boycott Council because of the former's refusal to stop sending food packages to German occupied Poland. The Federation of Polish Jews yielded to the pressure and discontinued sending such parcels.

The Congress acts

8. While these controversies were raging here, our Geneva office, aware of the real situation, did not allow itself to be deterred from what it considered its primary duty. In a cable received here on August 23, 1941, Dr. Abraham Silberschein confirmed that, to his mind, food parcels for Polish Jews were of vital importance and almost the only help possible. Consequently he was sending some 1500 parcels weekly which were being properly delivered.

The services of our Lisbon office were enlisted for the undertaking and the Portuguese Red Cross proved very understanding and helpful.

In July, 1942, the World Jewish Congress established a special food subcommittee, which made a thorough study of the problem, and decided in favor of an all-out action for the feeding of European Jews.

In September, 1942, we initiated, in consultation with Czechoslovak Jewish leaders in New York and London, negotiations with the Czechoslovak government in exile in order to obtain its active support for the feeding of Jews in Czechoslovak lands, and in particular in Terezin (Theresienstadt). We succeeded in convincing the Czechoslovak government, which had earlier supported a program of total food blockade, of the justness of our cause. The conversations resulted in the government's decision, taken in February, 1943, to allocate an amount of 6000 pounds for food to be sent to deported and interned Czechoslovak citizens, with the understanding that Jewish organizations in the United States would provide the funds required for feeding the non-Czechoslovak citizens, who, in Terezin, for instance, constitute the overwhelming majority. In March, our Czechoslovak JRC took up this matter with

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the JDC and the latter applied to the Treasury for a license which it was granted about the middle of May, permitting it to ship food parcels to Terezin. Lists of the camp inmates, totalling some 12,000 names, were successively provided by our Czechoslovak JRC with the assistance of Mr. Ernest Frischer, member of the Czechoslovak State Council in London.

Early in 1943, the Institute of Jewish Affairs published "Starvation over Europe", a documentary record by Warhaftig and Shub showing in terrifying detail the officially enforced privation of the Jews in the ghettos.

Program
against
starvation

9. Since July, 1942, we have had innumerable conferences with the blockade authorities, the Board of Economic Warfare, the Treasury Department, and the International and American Red Cross, with a view to convincing them of the need for some system of feeding the victims of Nazi oppression who were unable to leave the jurisdiction and the control of the Axis.

Our action went in three directions:

a. To get the American and British authorities to agree to a program for feeding the Jews in ghettos, internment and labor camps, either as part of a general scheme to feed certain oppressed peoples of Europe, or else as a special program to feed those Jews against whom starvation is employed as an instrument of extermination.

Red Cross food
parcels for
concentration
camps

b. To get Red Cross food parcels for Jews in concentration camps. The British and American Red Cross standard parcels were, in terms of the directions given by the Blockade authorities, reserved exclusively for recognized prisoners of war and civilian internees. It appeared however, that while the Germans refused to recognize the segregated Jews as civilian internees, they would sometimes permit food parcels to be delivered to them in certain camps. We requested that full advantage be taken of this de facto situation tolerated by the Germans, and that Red Cross standard parcels be allocated for the Jews confined in ghettos, concentration, and labor camps. These negotiations were carried on for months and years and lasted until August 1944, when the agreement of the Anglo-American Blockade Authorities were finally secured and the decision made to ship, for a trial period of three months, one hundred thousand 3 kg food parcels a month to inmates of concentration camps. A first shipment of some 15,000 parcels left for Goeteborg about August 20th and was dispatched from there to the camps from September 20th through November 11th.

In September, 1944, the Congress Committee in Stockholm obtained from the Swedish Government a license for the sending of forty thousand 2½ kg food parcels, to Jews in internment camps for which navicerts were secured from the blockade authorities.

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This time no protracted negotiations were necessary. Both the American and British authorities showed deep understanding and extreme good will. Two years earlier this humane attitude might have saved thousands of human lives.

Funds for Red
Cross activi-
ties

c. To get funds for Red Cross activities. It was realized that the only organization capable of reaching the surviving Jews and of bringing them relief, was the International Red Cross. On September 16, 1943, Dr. Goldmann called the attention of Mr. Breckenridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, to the inability of the Red Cross to send food, tonics, medicine, and clothing to the surviving Jews, because of the lack of financial means, and suggested that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain grant the ICRC an adequate sum of money to enable it to conduct its relief work whenever and wherever an opportunity would present itself. On November 26, 1943, Mr. Breckenridge Long reported as follows on this matter in a statement before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives:

"I will give you another incident. One of the Jewish agencies came to us the other day and said they would like to get a clearance from the Treasury to send some money over to Switzerland so that, under the instrumentality of the Intergovernmental Committee, they could have money there so that when the opportunity arose, they could use it through the International Red Cross to buy food to take care of certain remnants of the Jewish populations in parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland; that there were still these remnants and they were going to starve unless they could leave, and would we be willing to endorse it? I said, 'Of course'. They said it would cost about \$10,000,000. I said, 'All right; if you can get the project set up and go before the Intergovernmental Committee with the assurance that the International Red Cross can handle it, so that it does not fall into the hands of the German Government and the supplies sent in there will not be taken by the German Government we will be glad to approve it and to forward it as far as we can, and we will recommend it to the Treasury.'

"They wanted to put up \$2,000,000 and send a first amount of \$250,000. I asked them to make an application to the Treasury, which they have already done. We are supporting the application to the Treasury so as to have money there in cases of necessity which the Intergovernmental Committee can approve. We have agreed to finance half of the cost. It would be \$4,000,000 for each government if we are required to spend as much as \$10,000,000 -- \$2,000,000 from the United States, \$4,000,000 underwritten by the American Government, and \$4,000,000 by the British Government to finance this project."

However, in August, 1944, the matter still seemed to have

made no notable progress. In the cable received by the United States Delegation of the ICRC on August 4, 1944, the complaint was made that for months past the ICRC had in vain requested from the British and American governments contributions and funds for relief activities.

On August 16th we learned from the War Refugee Board that the ICRC had been assured that no lack of funds would hamper its work.

Second period: Breaking the Conspiracy of Silence.

Wall of
silence

10. For years prior to the war and even long after its outbreak, Hitler's repeated declarations of his determination to destroy the Jews were generally regarded as rhetoric and propaganda, which would express itself in increased discrimination, humiliation, and economic persecution, but would never grow into outright wholesale physical destruction. When hostilities broke out and Jews were singled out for unparalleled savageries, a wall of silence enveloped the non-Jewish world in regard to Hitler's war against the Jews. The general public overburdened with the issues and incidences of a world conflict fraught with the gravest consequences, was not receptive to reports which it was ready to dismiss as atrocity stories; besides, the facts which would have convinced it were hidden from it, notwithstanding persistent and repeated endeavors to keep it informed.

Silence of
the St. James
Conference

11. A first attempt to break this conspiracy of silence was made by our British Section during the St. James Conference of January, 1942, when eight governments in exile and the Free French National Committee met in London to confer upon Germany's crimes against Europe and her punishment. On January 13, 1942, the Conference made a declaration branding the "regime of terror" which Germany had instituted in occupied countries "characterized in particular by imprisonments, mass expulsions, execution of hostages, and massacres", and declared its determination to see to it that "those guilty and responsible, whatever their nationality, are sought for, handed over to justice, and judged." The crimes against the Jews were not considered specifically, nor were they referred to in the declaration. The British Section, in the name of the WJC, made formal representations on this subject to the Conference. On February 18th, it submitted to the Conference a memorandum stating that, while "the World Jewish Congress feels sure that the nine Governments participating in the Conference of St. James have had in mind the recognition of the many and special crimes against the Jews committed by the Nazis and their accomplices", it considers it desirable "that the declaration should include a specific statement with reference to these crimes and an explicit denunciation of those guilty of perpetrating them."

On May 9, 1942, General Sikorski, President, and Mr. Potulicki, Secretary General of the Conference, replied that as "the character,

the race or religion of the victim ought not in any case to constitute an element susceptible of modifying the criminal nature of an act or the degree of its illegality, there was no reason explicitly to recall the sufferings endured by the Jews, all the more so as such a reference might be equivalent to an implicit recognition of the racial theories which we all reject."

Our British
Section breaks
the Conspiracy
of Silence. -
Roosevelt and
Churchill
speak up

12. It was the World Jewish Congress' duty not to accept this evasion of the issue, and the decision was taken to make a determined effort to break the conspiracy of silence. On June 29, 1942, the British Section convened a conference of representatives of the press of the free world. The facts of the devastation of European Jewry were placed before them. The response was immediate. For the first time since the beginning of hostilities, the press told the terrible story of the Jewish tragedy. The British Broadcasting Corporation recounted the information; indignant voices were heard in the British Parliament; Twenty-three members of the House of Commons introduced a resolution, expressing "indignation and horror", and declaring that "retribution will be unfailingly exacted." Prelates of all Churches joined in denouncing German bestialities.

In the United States, the American Jewish Congress brought about the collaboration of all organized Jewish forces, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, in a mass demonstration which took place in Madison Square Garden on July 21st. The leaders of the United States and Great Britain utilized this demonstration as the first occasion since September, 1939, to address words of comfort and promise to the Jewish people. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, in his message to the meeting, recognized that "the Jews were Hitler's first victims, and ever since they have been in the forefront of resistance to Nazi aggression," and that "all over the world Jewish communities have made their contribution to the United Nation's cause." He recalled the resolve of President Roosevelt and himself to place retribution for the German "butcheries and terrorism ... among major purposes of this war." This assurance was expressed with even greater force in a message to Dr. Wise by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who stated that "the American people ... will hold the perpetrators of these crimes to strict accountability in a day of reckoning which will surely come." The demonstration proved that the silence of the great statesmen, as well as the obstacles in the way of unified Jewish action could be broken and overcome. What was said by Roosevelt and Churchill established a firm basis for Jewish claims, not only on the "day of reckoning" with the enemy, but also on the day of building the just world order.

Unfortunately, the Germans, convinced that their march toward world domination could not be halted by any power on earth, not only refused to be deterred by these warnings, they even accelerated the pace of the massacres and brought their technique to ghastly perfection.

Third Period: Hitler's extermination program bared. -
Failure of the Bermuda Conference.

Geneva learns
of Hitler's
extermination
order

13. On August 6th, the Administrative Committee of the World Jewish Congress discussed reports received from Europe, which seemed to prove that the Germans were bent upon making Western Europe judenrein, it being too conspicuous a scene for mass exterminations. A special committee was appointed to work out a program of rescue.

Toward the end of August, 1942, our Geneva office succeeded in transmitting to the New York headquarters and to the British Section through diplomatic channels a report from trustworthy sources, according to which in the second half of July plans had been discussed in Hitler's headquarters for the complete annihilation of European Jewry, as the final German solution of the Jewish problem in Europe. The report contained information that the Jews were being deported under appalling conditions to Eastern Europe, where slaughter on a mass scale was already being carried out systematically. While the Soviet Ambassador in London, on the basis of facts and knowledge on the part of the Soviet Government, readily accepted the accuracy of the Geneva information and advised immediate and full publicity, the major allied governments were disinclined to accept the possibility of so incredibly savage a plan as the extermination of a whole people, and were in favor of investigating the facts. Subsequently the investigations made by these governments confirmed the accuracy of the Congress reports, and the Polish government in exile published from its own sources the story of the wholesale slaughter of the Jews in Poland.

The Congress
acts

14. On September 6th, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress, took the initiative of calling a Conference of the leading Jewish organizations in the United States, in order to formulate a common plan of action in face of the threat confronting European Jewry. The meeting organized itself into a Conference on the Jewish Situation in Nazi Europe, and at its request Dr. Wise assumed the chairmanship of the body.

On November 25th, the Congress released to the press, with the approval of the State Department, a collection of authenticated documents which our Geneva office had submitted to the American minister in Bern on October 22, 1942, and which verified the reports of the continuing mass atrocities and the fact that two million Jews had already perished. In the days that followed, the news was made known to the entire world by means of newspaper reports and radio broadcasts. The Geneva documents stated that the annihilation plan had since become a reality by an order of the Fuehrer, confirmed in the latter's speech in the Berlin Sportpalast on September 30th.

At the request of the Chief Rabbinate of Palestine, the Congress called for the observance of a Day of Mourning throughout

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the world on December 2, 1942, while a visit to the President of the United States was arranged for December 8th with the cooperation of the State Department. A delegation of representatives of the leading Jewish organizations in America headed by Dr. Wise - the first such delegation to be received since the outbreak of the war - submitted to the President at the White House a report of German atrocities against the Jews, and a memorandum asking him "to employ every available means to bring solemn protest and warning to the peoples of the Axis countries," and urging "that an American Commission be appointed at once to receive and examine all evidence of Nazi barbarities against civilian populations." The President gave assurance

"that the United Nations will be prepared as the American Government would be, to take every step which would end these crimes against the Jews."

Declaration
of 17.12.42

15. Meanwhile, the British Section in London requested the United Nations, in a series of intensive negotiations, to issue a collective declaration, dealing specifically with the magnitude of the Jewish tragedy. This declaration was issued on December 17, 1942, simultaneously in London, Washington, and Moscow, with the assent and support of all the Allied Governments and of the British dominion. In the House of Commons, the Declaration was read by Mr. Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reply to a Private Notice Question by Mr. S. S. Silverman, MP, at that time Acting Chairman of our British Section. In this Declaration the Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslav Governments, and also the French National Committee (Fighting French)

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

Accelerated
murder

16. As far as Germany was concerned the warnings proved of no avail. The German leaders reaffirmed their determination to destroy European Jewry. In his 1943 New Year's message to the German People, Hitler said:

"And if furthermore I gave assurance that the hope of international Jewry to destroy the German and other European nations by means of a new World War will be the gravest error committed by Jewry, for thousands of years, that it will in any case not destroy the German nation but will exterminate itself ..."

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In his broadcast to the German people on February 18th, Dr. Goebbels made this reference to the protest of the United Nations:

"If hostile foreign countries raise a sanctimonious protest against our anti-Semitic policy and shed hypocritical crocodile tears over our measures against Jewry, that cannot prevent us from doing what is necessary. Germany in any case has no intention of yielding to this Jewish threat, but intends rather to exercise against Jewry our prompt and, if necessary, our complete and most radical suppression".

It became clear that accelerated murder was to be the keynote of the 1943 German campaign against the surviving Jewish population of Europe. Mounting evidence reaching the Congress established that the drive was proceeding at a pace of desperate determination. German mobile annihilation squads were sweeping through the ghettos. Extermination cars were incessantly clearing Jews out of scores of towns and villages. On the Russian front retreating German armies were massacring Jewish men, women, and children, before their flight. In Vichy France "the liquidation of the Jewish problem" was entrusted to German care with the tempo of deportation increasing day by day.

U.S. Jewry mobilized.
The twelve-point program

17. The World Jewish Congress decided that the time had arrived for a public and forthright demand, addressed to the United Nations, for action to save the Jews of Europe. On March 1, 1943, a great demonstration, one of the largest ever held in the United States, took place in Madison Square Garden, at the Congress' initiative and under the joint auspices of the American Jewish Congress, the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, and the Church Peace Union. 22,000 people crowded the great hall, while 15,000 stood outside throughout the evening, listening to the proceedings through amplifiers. The demonstration was addressed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Dr. Wise, Governor Dewey, Senator Wagner, Mayor La Guardia, Mr. Wm. Green and others; The British Section transmitted cable messages from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the late Cardinal Hinsley, whose last public utterance it was before his untimely death a week later. The meeting laid down a Twelve-Point Program for the rescue of European Jewry, prepared by World Jewish Congress experts. The program demanded in its main items that negotiations with the Axis Powers be attempted through neutral countries for the removal to safe places of as many Jews as possible; that arrangements be made with the Germans through neutral countries to permit the feeding of Jews in the ghettos; that support be extended to neutral countries by the United Nations for the maintenance of refugees until their return home after victory, or their emigration to other permanent homes; that the immigration regulations of the United States be adjusted to make it easier for refugees to come here; and that, regardless

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of pre-war political decisions, Great Britain open Palestine to Jewish refugees.

The Bermuda
Refugee
Conference

18. On the following day, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, disclosed that a note had already been sent to Great Britain on February 25th, offering the cooperation of the United States in organizing a Conference for the study of methods to save "political refugees" in Europe. He promised that the demands of the Madison Square Garden meeting would be carefully considered, and stressed the abiding interest of the President in the tragic plight of European Jewry.

However, the proposed meeting, which was to be known as the Bermuda Refugee Conference, rapidly drifted away from its promising beginning to a disappointing end. It turned out that the State Department note to Great Britain, announced opportunely the day after the Protest Meeting in New York, was in answer to a previous communication of the English Government delivered to the State Department more than a month earlier, on January 20th, in which the need for further aid for European refugees had been emphasized. Then the Conference became so narrowed in its scope that nobody expected it to accomplish very much. Scepticism was increased by the secrecy with which the Conference was surrounded, by the emphasis on its purely exploratory nature, by the refusal to admit the attendance of representative Jewish bodies, and by the terms of reference proposed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull in his note to the British. The Secretary suggested that "the refugee problem should not be considered as being confined to persons of any particular race or creed". The problem was thus shifted from that of rescuing the stricken Jews of Europe, to the totally different and much less urgent question of "refugees" in the narrow, technical sense of the word.

The World Jewish Congress, as well as the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs, created at the initiative of the Congress, submitted to the Bermuda Refugee Conference, a program for the rescue of Jews. The WJC spokesmen did not

"hesitate to say that a solemn and inescapable obligation rests upon the Governments of the United Nations to concert measures immediately to save what may still be saved. Four months have elapsed since the existence of this problem was publicly acknowledged in a Joint Statement made by twelve Governments, yet no attempt has been made on an even partially adequate scale to deal with it...The Jewish people have a right to ask...that action on behalf of the Jews who still survive the Nazi policy of extermination, shall be swift, bold, and on a scale commensurate with the gravity and urgency of the situation".

From unofficial reports, it appeared the Conference reached the following conclusions:

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- (1) It rejected the proposal to enter further negotiations with the Axis for the release of the condemned Jews in the Axis death houses;
- (2) It did not consider itself empowered to recommend the shipping of food to the ghettos; and
- (3) It was unwilling to recommend setting up temporary reception centers on an adequate scale for European refugees in British or American held territories, offering as its excuse that such places were all war areas.

Two other conclusions were undoubtedly determined in advance of the Conference; The Governments of Great Britain and the United States agreed that no proposal would be entertained to alter British policy in Palestine, nor would the United States, for its part, be asked to liberalize its administrative immigration policy.

In the final communique issued by the Conference it was stated that

"from the outset it was realized that any recommendation that the delegates could make to their governments must pass two tests: would any recommendation submitted interfere with or delay the war effort of the United Nations, and was the recommendation capable of accomplishment under war conditions?"

No report on the proceedings of the Bermuda Conference and its decisions other than a brief final communique was ever published.

"The only concrete results of the Conference would seem to be certain recommendations concerning help to refugees in Spain, as well as in the Balkan countries, by enabling some of them to proceed to Palestine. Whether any steps have been taken to implement these recommendations and, if so, what are the results, has so far not been made public". (Tartakower and Grossman: The Jewish Refugee).

The following sentence from Jewish Comment of May 14, 1943, accurately reflects the reaction of the Congress to the Bermuda Refugee Conference:

"The truth is that what stands in the way of aid to the Jews in Europe by the United Nations is not that such a program is dangerous, but simple lack of will to go to any trouble on their behalf".

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Fourth Period: Day by Day Rescue Work on all Fronts.

Rescue through
all Openings

19. The failure of the Bermuda Refugee Conference, and the terrifying lack of all sense of urgency it revealed on the part of the two leading western powers, the failure of the Conference above all to establish an appropriate intergovernmental agency with full authority and power to implement a daring program of rescue, confirmed the Congress Executive in its conviction that it could not be satisfied with demands and projects, that it had done well in engaging itself in rescue; that now a program of day by day activities on all fronts had to be started to make use of all possible rescue openings - ordinary or extraordinary - to save those who could still be saved.

Contacts with
the O.W.I.

20. First, the fight against the conspiracy of silence had to be continued. It had been broken to some extent as far as the press and public opinion of the Allied and neutral nations were concerned. But there was still another aspect of this particular question: Was the population of Germany proper aware of the facts of the mass exterminations? Since the leaders of the Third Reich did not refer to their policy of annihilation in any terms other than somber circumlocutions, it appeared necessary that the German people be told the facts which apparently were concealed from them by their masters.

Congress spokesmen had conferences on this matter with representatives of the Office of War Information. The policy of this agency was guided by the apprehension that broadcasting reports of the German cruelties to the populations of Germany and German-held territories might fill the latter with terror and thereby serve the German policy of strength through fear. In a memorandum to the OWI we explained that, if this apprehension were justified, the German leadership would not refrain so consistently from revealing these cruelties to their populations, nor would the resistance movements in their underground publications make these facts known. In compliance with our request the OWI decided in September, 1943, to devote much more time in future broadcasts to authenticated material concerning the systematic annihilation of the Jews in Europe, and specified that such broadcasts would make it clear that the perpetrators of the crimes would be sternly punished.

Status of
Civilian
Prisoners
of War

21. Next it was necessary to secure for the Jews confined in ghettos, labor, and concentration camps the status of civilian prisoners of war. Such status would entitle them to the care of the International Red Cross and could spell their physical deliverance. The Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War had been promulgated in Germany, and the Reich had declared that it would be applied by analogy to the civilians who would be interned. The Italian government had also accepted the extension of the 1929 Convention to interned civilians.

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We repeatedly approached the Geneva headquarters as well as the Washington Delegation of the International Red Cross Committee, stressing that it was bound "to carry out the task of relieving sufferings arising out of war, sickness or disaster", and that our suffering people had the greatest moral claim to the assistance of the Committee. We wanted the International Red Cross to approach the German government and to ask for a justification of the distinction it had established between civilian internees and "detained civilians". We further wanted the Red Cross to make at least a public statement, announcing that it considers the Jews confined in ghettos, concentration, and labor camps as civilian internees. We made our viewpoint particularly clear and outspoken in a letter addressed on September 10, 1943, to Dr. Marc Peter, Washington Delegate of the ICRC. Negotiations with a view to inducing the ICRC to act on our suggestions were carried on uninterruptedly in Washington, Geneva, and London; yet the ICRC adhered to its doctrine that it was in no position to bring pressure to bear upon the governments, and that the success of its activities depended on discrete and friendly suggestions. However, we understand that in October, 1944, the ICRC finally decided to take some action along the lines of our repeated representations.

Bulgarian Jews
saved from de-
portation to
Poland

22. Ever since on June 29, 1942, the Bulgarian Sobranje had given the government carte blanche to solve the Jewish problem on a racial basis, we had been on the alert and in constant consultation with the members of our Bulgarian Jewish Representative Committee. In March, 1943, the Sofia government began removing Jews from occupied Greek territory to Poland, which soon resulted in repercussions in Bulgaria proper. We immediately mobilized all contacts and enlisted the influence of every possible factor at our disposal. Representations to the State Department resulted in the intervention of high American officials. We urged the Stockholm Chief Rabbi, Dr. Marcus Ehrenpreis, formerly Chief Rabbi in Sofia, to avail himself of the relations he had maintained with the Bulgarian Metropolitan, and to appeal to the Bulgarian Church to oppose the projected deportation. We were able further to take advantage of the friendly attitude of a number of Bulgarian personalities in neutral countries.

On March 27th the government was attacked in the Sobranje, and news followed that Jews who possessed Bulgarian citizenship would not be deported. This was confirmed in a cable from Dr. Ehrenpreis which we received on April 22nd, and which reads in part:

"Deportation Bulgarian Jews according information temporarily postponed. Observing development, doing my best".

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It soon appeared that the Bulgarian government had so far committed itself to the Germans, that it would be impossible to prevent the expulsion of the Jews from Sofia, and that all efforts therefore had to be concentrated on preventing the deportation of the Bulgarian Jews to Poland. Mr. H. Shoemaker, former United States Minister to Bulgaria, broadcast a strong appeal to the Bulgarian nation. A protest from the Bulgarian-American Committee of New York was repeatedly beamed to Bulgaria. At the request of the World Jewish Congress and the Bulgarian JRC, the Sephardic Communities of Latin America intervened with the Spanish Ambassador and the Papal Nuncio accredited to their governments. On June 21, 1943, we were informed by the State Department that such steps as were possible under prevailing conditions had been taken on behalf of the Bulgarian Jewish community, and on June 30, 1943, Dr. Ehrenpreis informed us that the situation of the Bulgarian Jews had become less alarming. Thus, while it was impossible to save the Bulgarian Jews from expulsion and misery, physically at least they were saved. Instead of being compulsorily transferred to Poland, the Bulgarian Jews were dispersed in various towns and villages in the country itself.

The representations made by our affiliated Sephardic communities to the Spanish diplomats in Latin America, resulted in still another achievement. On July 26, 1943, we received from our representative in Buenos Aires the following cable:

"Spanish Embassy communicated readiness Spain admit all Spanish Jews and permit transit all Jews".

Rescue of
Danish Jews

23. At the end of September and the beginning of October, 1943, the Danish and Swedish peoples reaffirmed the validity and the worth of human ideals in rescuing a large part of Danish Jewry.

The Germans took over direct control in Denmark late in August, 1943. They immediately proceeded to seize the records of the Jewish population in the country, and arrested prominent Jews together with leading non-Jewish Danes. The German purpose with regard to the Jewish population became clear.

The Congress, while watching the situation with growing anxiety, had been for several months in close consultation with the Danish Minister to the United States. On Rosh Hashana night, Mr. Hendrick de Kauffmann, who had received alarming reports on the imminent development of events in Denmark, came to see Dr. Wise to confer with him upon a program of immediate action. It appeared that the Swedish government was prepared to receive the Danish Jews - with or without visas - if the German government would permit them to leave, and that the Danish Minister was ready to guarantee the expenses of their maintenance. It appeared further that the support of the United States government would encourage Sweden in its resolve to rebuke its powerful neighbor,

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in spite of its own precarious political position. On October 1st, Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldmann took up the matter with Assistant Secretary of State, Breckenridge Long. The State Department decided to join in the request addressed to Sweden that it aid in the rescue of the stricken Danish Jews. Sweden protested to Germany against the planned deportations, and offered publicly to receive the Danish Jews in its own territory, if Germany would agree to evacuate them. When the Germans began their round-up of Jews for deportation, hundreds of Danish small craft crossed the sea and brought refugees to Sweden, despite the danger from the German naval and air patrol. Of three German large vessels waiting in Copenhagen harbor to deport the Jews, two were sunk by efficient sabotage. More than six thousand Danish Jews reached Sweden's hospitable shores.

Relaxation of
Financial
blockade

24. The Danish exploit however was an exceptional deed. The rescue of Jews nearly everywhere in German-occupied Europe fell now more and more within the sphere of underground activities; of commando and guerilla warfare; of contacts with Gestapo officials who could be bribed and induced to halt deportation, and extend their protection to already deported or interned Jews.

In Slovakia the expulsion of the entire surviving Jewish community was postponed three times with the help of money; Jews could be smuggled out of Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary with the help of money; and many things could be arranged in Rumania with the help of money.

However General Ruling No. 11 presented a formidable obstacle.

On April 20, 1943, our Geneva Office advised us through the State Department that, provided the necessary funds were available, broad rescue activities would be possible from France and Rumania, and particularly from Transnistria, that Transnistria had appealed most urgently in the last few days for one hundred million lei, and that the greatest part of these funds - about sixty million lei - would have to be spent on equipment and clothing for orphans and children to be transferred to Palestine. Dr. Riegner's request implied that authorization would have to be given to him to communicate with persons in enemy occupied territory and to acquire enemy currency from persons in enemy occupied territory in order to rescue Jews from such territory. We immediately applied to the Treasury Department for an initial license of \$25,000 to be spent for the purposes and under the conditions indicated above. The obtention of this license required eight months of continuous negotiations and representations. While the Treasury was from the outset sympathetic to the proposed action, the State Department was rather reluctant

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to take such an unusual step. Dr. Wise then called in August upon the highest authorities of this country, and obtained their approval in principle. After the State and Treasury Departments had asked for and received further information from Dr. Riegner through the American Legation in Bern, the State Department also decided to act favorably. At this point however the British Blockade authorities raised definite objections, and the decision was delayed once more. The license was finally granted on December 18, 1943, and the Treasury indicated that it would grant sympathetic consideration to all further requests for the remittance of funds as needed, and to any amendments to such license as would be necessary to facilitate the operations contemplated. The license addressed to the World Jewish Congress, and bearing No. W-2115, begins as follows:

"In order to arrange for the evacuation to places of safety of persons in France and Rumania whose lives are in imminent danger and, pending possible evacuation, to sustain and safeguard the lives of such persons, your representative in Switzerland (including such agents as he may appoint) is hereby licensed notwithstanding the provisions of General Ruling No. 11 to communicate with persons in France and Rumania in any manner he deems necessary or expedient and to take all other appropriate action, including the payment to persons in France of French francs and the payment to persons in Rumania of Rumanian lei for goods and services".

The license was considered by the Treasury Department, and in particular by the men who were to become instrumental in the activities of the War Refugee Board, as a very important achievement which might open the way for broad action along similar lines in the future. It was the first license of that kind granted in wartime to a private organization. Once more the World Jewish Congress had paved the way in the sphere of rescue and relief.

Fifth Period. Under the sign of the War Refugee Board (WRB).

Creation of
the War
Refugee Board

25. The innumerable difficulties the Congress had encountered in securing the license, in securing ways and means to carry out an essential rescue undertaking which had met from the beginning with the sympathetic understanding of the highest authorities in the country, convinced large circles in the administration itself that it was necessary to establish a single United States Government agency to deal with all the problems concerning rescue and relief in Europe. At the same time, the repeated appeals of enlightened public opinion and the numerous representations of the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish bodies in favor of the creation of an appropriate intergovernmental agency with full authority and power for implementing a daring program of rescue, finally bore fruit. On January 22, 1944, the President set up a War

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Refugee Board, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of War,

"to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities of Europe - racial, religious, or political - all civilian victims of enemy savagery".

In its motivation, this document states that

"it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war".

Mr. John W. Pehle, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom we had been in constant contact during the negotiations for license W-2115, and who had revealed a deep understanding for the tragedy that was going on in Europe and for the need for a bold program of rescue, was appointed Executive Director of the Board. He asked the Jewish organizations for their suggestions.

Program submitted by the World Jewish Congress to the WRB. Cooperation.

26. On March 3, 1944, the World Jewish Congress submitted to the War Refugee Board a "Program of General Measures of Relief and Rescue of Jews threatened with Extermination by the Enemy". In its introduction the "Program" stressed that

"if the purpose of the War Refugee Board is to be fulfilled, customary procedures must be superseded...On the way to the rescue of the remnants of European Jewry, many a Gordian knot will have to be cut. Any attempt to untie it would be wasting the little time left, and the cost would be counted in human lives which can still be saved".

The "Program" then went on to analyze in detail the political and practical, psychological and diplomatic, public and underground methods, which could still be resorted to in a situation that had

"immensely changed for the worse since the World Jewish Congress representatives in Geneva first acquainted the United States Minister in Bern with the facts relating to the extermination of the Jews of Europe".

The various aspects of the rescue problems were examined and probed in some twenty sections, and suggestions formulated with regard to each one.

It has been possible to establish a steady contact between the Congress and the headquarters of the War Refugee Board in Washington, as well as with the Board's representatives in Geneva,

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Lisbon, and Stockholm. Although it is too early to pass judgment on the Board's policy, its endeavours and its activities, since much is still hidden from the public, sincere tribute should be paid to the fervor, daring, and perseverance of its leading officers and collaborators. It may be regretted that, although one of the purposes of the creation of the Board has been to delegate to a single government agency the power retained by the various departments of the Administration as far as rescue is concerned, it soon appeared that the authority vested in the Board did not always suffice to overcome the cautions and formalities which had previously delayed and obstructed rescue undertakings in certain governmental circles. It may also be regretted that the Board did not consider it advisable to set up some kind of consultative body composed of representatives of the leading rescue agencies, in order to share with them its information and experiences, and to benefit from their knowledge and judgment in regular conferences. It may finally be doubted whether the secrecy in which the Board has screened many of its undertakings even from the anxiety of the leading Jewish organizations has proved a service to the rescue cause. It is, however, the consensus of opinion of all who beheld the Board in its work that, had it been created some two years earlier, it could have spared humanity many sufferings and many, many lives.

The Congress has given the War Refugee Board its full and wholehearted cooperation and has offered it, in the nine months of the Board's existence, an abundance of suggestions, a number of which were accepted and carried out. The gratitude of the Rescue Department goes in particular to those assistants and collaborators of the Board with whom it has been in frequent, sometimes daily consultations: Mr. Lawrence S. Lesser, Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Mr. Paul McCormack, and Mr. I. M. Weinstein.

Psychological Warfare

27. In its "Program" the Congress insisted, as it had done from the outset of the extermination process, on the immense value of solemn, specific and reiterated warnings from the leaders of the United Nations to the Germans, their satellites, accomplices, and agents. It stressed that there had been no specific warning on the Jewish massacres since President Roosevelt's and Prime Minister Churchill's messages to the July 21st, 1942, Madison Square Garden meeting. It recalled that during Dr. Wise's visit to the White House in August, 1943, the President seemed to agree that the time had come for a renewed and emphatic warning.

On March 24, 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt, acting with the knowledge and approval of Great Britain and Soviet Russia, branded "one of the blackest crimes of all history - begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war - the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe..." The statement said i.e.:

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"It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished... That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries".

The warning of retribution was supplemented with a direct appeal to "Germans and others under Nazi domination" to demonstrate their disavowal of the Nazi crimes - and thus prove their right not to be held accountable for sharing "these insane criminal desires" - by specific acts to aid and rescue the victims of German barbarity. Foreign Secretary Eden supplemented this in the House of Commons on March 30th with a promise that, just as criminals would be punished, so the "merciful", including both individuals and governments, will be rewarded.

There is much evidence that psychological warfare has had salutary effects, at least in the satellite countries. Many instances have been reported of acts of hiding and protecting the Jews, and of resisting the anti-Jewish policy, which found their inspiration in broadcasts and leaflets originating from London and New York.

Even in Germany, Deputy Reichs Press Chief Helmut Suendermann found himself compelled to take up twice in his conferences with the foreign press the whole matter of the treatment of the Jews in Europe - on October 8, 1943, and on July 19, 1944. In his explanations, he brazenly contended that the Jews had merely been incorporated "in the European production system in accordance with their professional training" and that "after having been put to work, the Jews are no longer under the control of the State police". In his July meeting, he boasted of German humanitarianism as exemplified by Terezin, which had just been inspected by a Commission of the ICRC, and said that negotiations were "in progress with the Red Cross about the dispatch of food parcels to other Jewish camps also".

Our contacts with the various agencies and departments concerned with psychological warfare have been too frequent and our suggestions too numerous to be told here.

In recent months we concentrated on the use of psychological warfare in order to forestall the slaughter of the Jews by the retreating German armies. We asked for instructions to be beamed to Maquis and resistance movements, adjuring them to make a special effort for the protection of the helpless men, women, and children confined in concentration and labor camps. We also requested that the German military authorities be reminded that all who participate in the murder of Jews will be held accountable for their crimes. In many instances, the WRB made our suggestions its own.

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The most recent warning was issued by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander in Western Europe, on November 7th. At the demand of our British Section we have been urging such a statement on the part of the highest military authorities ever since June 13th.

Hungary -
lost asylum.
The catas-
trophe begins

28. Less than two months after its creation, the War Refugee Board was faced with a crucial test: the rescue of Hungarian Jews.

On March 19th, German armies occupied Hungary, and Hungarian Jewry was struck with a suddenness, speed, and ruthlessness that are unparalleled even in our recent martyrology. The curtain rose on a major tragedy: Hungary had been for some time the only refuge for thousands of Jews who fled the persecutions in Poland, Slovakia, and even Rumania. On November 30, 1943, Dr. Silberschein wrote:

"The flow of escape from Poland to Hungary increases from day to day. It is now already organized. The problems are always merely of a financial character for the arrangements of the escape, and later for the hiding of the people. I established good connections in Hungary with governmental circles, and the refugee questions are gradually being settled there in a way which is even more favorable than in Switzerland".

When the story of the extermination of Hungarian Jews is told, humanity will be amazed by the cruelty and hypocrisy of the chivalrous Magyars. While the Hungarian gendarmery were driving Jews to their death, Hungarian ministers were assuring the world that the extermination or even vexation of Jews was unworthy of Hungarians. Once more the civilized powers had to be convinced by the events that the Germans and their accomplices in many lands were capable of anything. In September, 1943, reports had already reached Washington, saying that Hungarian Jews were apprehensive because of the definite possibility that the Germans would occupy Hungary. A few days after its establishment, the War Refugee Board learned that Hungary was prepared - under German pressure - to deport foreign Jews. However, by the middle of June, American officials were still inclined to think that only foreign Jews would be removed from Hungary, but no Hungarian Jews. Ten days later, the WRB representative in Geneva cabled that 335,000 Jews had already been deported.

In our opinion, the first thing to do was to urge Hungarian Jews to avoid the mistakes which had doomed the Jews in Poland, Holland, and other countries. Consequently, on April 7th, we wrote to the WRB as follows:

"We know from the experience of other countries that the registers containing the lists of the Jewish population,

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and the yellow badges which Jews are compelled to wear, are indispensable instruments for the execution of measures of deportation and extermination. May we consequently suggest that the broadcasts beamed to Hungary should urge the Jewish population to abstain from wearing yellow badges and to destroy all registers which may reveal the identity of Jews who are in hiding or who intend to hide. The broadcasts should, at the same time, urge the Gentile population to assist their Jewish neighbors in their efforts to escape persecution".

We reiterated this suggestion on a number of occasions, and were informed that after careful consideration by several government departments, it had been discarded.

The interventions that brought about Horthy's offer.
The lost opportunity

29. There is no reliable information available on the number of surviving Hungarian Jews. However, at the beginning of November reports from a trustworthy source put it at some 335,000 of whom 100,000 were children, invalids, and aged people in the Budapest ghettos; the others being in various labor camps or engaged (including boys and girls of 14 years and upward) on fortification jobs. They have not been transferred to Poland and death because of the so-called Horthy offer of July 18th, which the Congress has helped to secure by its suggestions and demands.

The relaxation of Hungary's anti-Jewish policy at that time was brought about by four interventions: the United States note to the Hungarian government, the Swedish King's appeal to Horthy, the representations of the Vatican, and the intervention of the International Red Cross.

It may be assumed that the American demarche has been the most effective. It was an unprecedented action, and was the result of a suggestion the Congress made to the War Refugee Board on May 31st and confirmed by a memorandum which concluded as follows:

"We therefore submit that the United States Government address, through a neutral power, to the Hungarian Government, a formal note asking for a statement of its intentions with regard to its Jewish population, since all the preparations in which it is engaged, the segregation and concentration of Hungary's Jews, permit the horrible suspicion that the Hungarian Government is scheming their annihilation.

"We also submit that the note should request the Hungarian Government to give proof of its intention to limit its measures against the Jews to segregation, concentration, and elimination from economic and public

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life by inviting the International Red Cross to delegate representatives who should regularly visit the Jews in ghettos, labor, internment, and concentration camps, and care for the food and health of the inmates".

The United States Note Verbale was delivered to Hungarian officials on June 26th, and was worded in the strongest terms possible. Two versions are known of the answer which was received from the Hungarian government: a lengthier one, which arrived late and which is mainly an elaborate justification of the Hungarian anti-Jewish policy; and a short one, dated July 18th, which declared that Hungary would permit the departure of all Jews who have entry permits to another territory, Palestine included, and that the German government would permit their transit through occupied areas.

Regarding the Swedish King's appeal to Horthy, it would appear that Chief Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis and Professor Hugo Valentin of our Swedish Committee were instrumental in securing it. Later, Horthy claimed that only through the King's letter had he learned the whole truth about the treatment of the Jews.

Our views were also given consideration in the Vatican's intervention. In our conversations with the WRB we stressed that to our mind new representations by His Holiness could be effective only if made publicly (we suggested a personal radio address to the Hungarian Christians), and if they would remind the faithful of the spiritual consequences of their acts. We understand that our suggestions were accepted in their essence.

On July 15th, the Apostolic Delegate in London wrote to our British Section:

"At this moment I have a telegram from the Holy See. The Holy Father has appealed personally to the Regent of Hungary on behalf of your people, and has been assured that the Regent will do all possible to help".

Finally, the action of the International Red Cross was also to a large extent the result of our persistent representations. It has been our conviction since the beginning of the war that the ICRC could play a decisive role in the protection and rescue of our people. On April 28th, we instructed our Geneva office to take up the Hungarian problem with the ICRC with the utmost vigor and determination. Between June 23rd and July 4th, our spokesmen in Geneva, Dr. Riegner and Professor Guggenheim, had a number of decisive conferences with ICRC representatives, stressing the responsibility resting with the Committee, the distress in Jewish circles because of the Committee's failure to speak up on behalf of the Jews, and its inescapable obligation to explain its position.

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at the end of the war. On July 6th, the ICRC president, Professor Max Huber, sent by special messenger a handwritten letter to Horthy. On July 18th, the Associated Press wired from Bern that the Regent had promised the ICRC that no more Jews would be "transported forcibly out of Hungary".

It seems that the large-scale deportations were really halted.

On August 17th, the State Department announced that the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States

"have accepted the offer of the Hungarian Government for the release of Jews, and will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and also that they will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety".

Thus a full month passed between the reception of the Hungarian answer and the State Department's announcement. The delay was due to differences of opinion between the United States and Great Britain concerning the implementations of the offer if it was accepted. One cannot help wondering whether, had bold and immediate action taken advantage of the Hungarian offer before the Gestapo could recover from its surprise, thousands would not have been saved. During the first two weeks following the offer, informed circles had been rather optimistic. For this, and other aspects of the Hungarian catastrophe, we refer to our "Report on Activities from July 22nd to September 21st" (pp. 12 - 41). This section (29) has been included in this survey for the sake of completeness only.

Eleven-point
program sub-
mitted to the
Intergovern-
mental
Committee

30. On August 15th, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees met in London. Our British Section had been instructed by us to submit to the Committee the following 11-point program concerning the rescue of Hungarian Jewry:

- (1) That the governments of the United States and Great Britain proclaim that Jews surviving in occupied Europe are under their protection and all who abuse their physical safety will be held accountable as if American or British citizens were concerned.
- (2) That the International Red Cross issue a statement that it considers all Jews deprived of freedom of movement in occupied Europe to be civilian internees entitled to benefit, by analogy, of the 1929 Convention on prisoners of war.
- (3) That the International Red Cross and the Churches make every effort to obtain for the surviving Jews in occupied Europe the said status of civilian internees.

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(4) That the United States and Great Britain declare that territories under their administration are open to all Jews who can be rescued, and that they are responsible for the maintenance and for the post-war settlement of all Jews granted asylum in any European country.

(5) That the neutral countries declare their doors open to Jews escaping from occupied Europe.

(6) That the governments of the United States and Great Britain demand of Hungary through the protecting powers to repatriate her Jews already deported and establish machinery for the care and protection in Germany and Poland of the already deported Jews until their repatriation.

(7) That the International Red Cross increase its representation in Hungary so that at least one permanent delegate will be established in every important center.

(8) That the funds pledged by Great Britain and the United States for the relief work of the International Red Cross be put at the disposal of this organization, so as to permit it to carry out its work in behalf of Hungarian Jews.

(9) That said governments work out forthwith a program of implementation regarding the evacuation of Hungarian Jews especially children, special consideration being given to Palestine as a country of refuge and Turkey as a country of transit.

(10) That the food program for civilian detainees agreed to by the said governments and the International Red Cross, give proper attention to Jewish internment, labor, and extermination camps.

(11) That immediate measures be adopted to destroy the murder installations and facilities of the extermination camps.

Our Geneva office communicated this program to the ICRC, and urged its special attention for points 2 and 3.

Other activities for Hungarian Jews

31. The American-British acceptance of August 17th arrived at a moment when the Gestapo again had the upper hand, and seemed resolved to prevent all Jewish emigration, except for ransom. Germany refused to grant exit permits and transit visas to groups of Jews who were already provided with Spanish and Swedish entry visas.

Additional measures had to be considered. A few of them are briefly summed up here:

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a. In June Sweden had sent to Hungary a special mission, authorized to grant letters of protection to Hungarian Jews and to shelter their beneficiaries in annexes to the Swedish Legation. We urged the Swiss and Spanish governments to devise a similar procedure. We suggested further the dispatch of an Irish Red Cross mission for identical purposes. Our requests were received in a spirit of understanding and charity. It seems that the Swiss protection papers are generally being recognized by the Szalasi regime, which is not always the case with the passports issued by the Swedish Legation.

b. The Congress did not write off the deported Hungarian Jews. On August 2nd, we suggested to the War Refugee Board that Hungary be requested by diplomatic note to state what action she has taken and intends to take to ensure that the "Jewish manpower" which she has placed "at the disposal of the Reich" will be treated decently. The Board agreed, and the American Minister in Berne was instructed accordingly on August 19th. The Hungarian government replied, on September 26th, that the Labor Office at the Hungarian Legation in Berlin has to take care of all workers of Hungarian nationality, regardless of their religion or race. We are following up this matter.

c. We organized a special service to register applications by Jews in America for Palestine certificates in favor of their relatives living in Hungary. The War Refugee Board consented to forward the lists of applications through the facilities of the State Department to the Jewish Agency in Istanbul. By November 1st, Istanbul had acknowledged the receipt of 20 lists, comprising 2026 families with 8037 individuals. Confirmations of the granting of Palestine certificates were dispatched to the parties concerned. To illustrate the importance of such confirmations, it will suffice to report that in August, the Turkish government agreed to admit into Turkey, without referring to Ankara, any refugee arriving without a Turkish visa at the Turkish land frontier at Svilengrad, provided he can produce a letter from Mr. Barlas or Dr. Goldin of the Jewish Agency Office in Istanbul certifying that he had been granted a Palestine immigration certificate.

Destruction
of the death
installations

32. Outside of the Jews who are known to be in Hungary, Slovakia, and Theresienstadt, and the Jews in hiding, the only Jews left in Germany, fascist Italy, and German-occupied lands are in labor and concentration camps which are for the most part also extermination camps. Oswiecim and Erzesinka (Birkenau) are the most tragically famous. There are definite reports that Himmler is bent upon the prevention of another Majdanek mistake. Instructions have been issued that everything be in readiness to have the inmates of these camps wiped out and all the buildings razed. The preparations have been made; it will suffice that

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Himmler issue the final order. Since June, the Congress has been adding representation to representation to representation in this matter. Its spokesmen have said to all whom it might concern: History will never understand that there have been death factories organized to kill human beings at a speedy pace, and that nothing was done to destroy these installations so as, at least, to slow down the tempo of the slaughters. We have asked that the instruments of annihilation - the gas chambers, the gas vans, the death baths, the crematoria - be attacked in force either by the underground or by Allied paratroopers. While the New York headquarters were conferring with the War Refugee Board, the War Department, and the Soviet Embassy, Mr. E. Frischer, Mr. A. Reiss, and Dr. I. Schwarzbart engaged in conversations with the Czechoslovak and Polish governments respectively. Our London friends were in favor of the precision bombing of the extermination chambers, which they thought possible.

One of the results of these various demarches has been the already-mentioned warning by General Eisenhower (27), issued at the request of President Roosevelt and in which the British government concurred. It reads as follows:

"Germans, attention: You have in your midst many people in concentration camps and labor battalions. My orders to you Germans are to disregard any order that you may receive to harm these people, no matter what their religion or nationality. The armies of the Allies are well established on German territory already. They expect to find these people alive and unharmed as they come upon them in the Allied advance. Severe penalties will be inflicted on any directly or indirectly responsible for mistreating such people. Warning is hereby given to those now in authority".

Rescue of
children

33. It seems fitting to conclude this survey with two items of particular significance.

On November 30, 1943, Marc Jarblum member of our Executive Committee, who had remained in France until the Germans had overrun the southern part of the country, reported from Switzerland:

"I am really happy that I succeeded in achieving good, concrete results in the field of real rescue, especially with regard to children...In France, in Belgium and a little farther, real rescue work can be done: escape, hiding, etc... Much has been done and much can still be done".

On September 2, 1944, Jarblum and Riegner sent us an interim balance sheet in a few terse, modest lines, glowing however with epic achievement:

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"...the following has been done with respect to France: since October 1943, 1350 children and young people up to 20 years of age both with and without parents or relatives have reached Switzerland; 70 children have reached Spain while some 700 have been hidden in France. Further, some 700 young people have been evacuated to Spain as well as 200 parents accompanying their children. Our people in France have aided in hiding four to five thousand adults. Such rescue work is necessarily linked with illegal activity of all sorts especially the procurement of permits, baptismal and birth certificates monthly. Considerable expenditure has been necessitated by appropriate equipment for armed convoys to the frontiers. At the present moment, it is impossible to separate the rescue of children from that of adults according various funds used as action was organized as a whole by our people using all available means. Our own participation amounted to more than 18 million French francs".

Our French Jewish Representative Committee made a special effort to provide Jarblum with part of the means he needed, through a special campaign headed by Baron Edouard de Rothschild, which brought in an amount of some \$80,000.

Work in
Lisbon

34. On October 24, 1944, Robert C. Dexter, War Refugee Board representative in Lisbon, wrote to Mr. Weissman:

"I wish to take this opportunity, on the eve of your departure for America...to tender to you and to your organization my sincere appreciation of all that you have been able to do here in Lisbon. If you had not been here, there would have been no jail delivery and the many refugees, both Jewish and Christian, who have been and are now in Ericeira, would have still been in prison or in hiding. Then, too, it was largely, if not entirely, through your initiative that the beginnings were made in bringing both children and adults out of France into Spain and Portugal. It is not your fault that this number was not vastly greater, but the hundreds who did come through, whether under the auspices of your organization or in any other way, owe you and the World Jewish Congress a deep debt of gratitude. In view of the difficulties under which you have been laboring here, your accomplishments have been of an unusually high order".

Tentative
conclusion

35. A great number of endeavors which have required much study and much effort and have yielded some results have been omitted from this survey, some for the sake of discretion, most for reasons of brevity. The Jewish tragedy of our time has innumerable aspects, and we have resorted to innumerable attempts.

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We have no right to relax our vigilance. Through day by day representations, requests, initiatives, through the exertion of all our ingenuity, we must try to achieve. We will know later to what extent we have been able to achieve. One instance out of many will illustrate this expectation. Some time ago, a Greek refugee reported that he had been saved by Greek partisans who told him they had been instructed by radio appeals to rescue the Jews. These appeals may have originated from our action. On October 10, 1943, our Cairo representative, Leon Castro, cabled as follows:

"Received reliable information deportation remaining Jewish population in Greece imminent stop Contacted your name Greek Government and British Ministry of State here suggesting them give radio or secret instruction Greek population help Jewish compatriots view prevent deportation stop Please support my steps contacting Greek and British Embassies Washington".

We alerted the Administration, the Greek Embassy, our London friends, the appropriate agencies. The appeals were broadcast, and somewhere in the mountains of Greece guerillas heard these exhortations and a number of Jews were saved.

We have no illusions. With regard to the survival of the remaining Jews in German-occupied Europe, we rely mostly on the will of our people to live, on their ingenuity, on the human solidarity of their Gentile neighbors, on the heroism of our youth, of which we have received so much heartening evidence in recent months. But our duty is to go on. The task of the Rescue Department will end with the last Jew to be saved from German barbarism.

My appreciation is herewith expressed to my collaborators, Kurt R. Grossman and Charlotte Weidenfeld, respectively assistant and secretary to the Rescue Department, who gave it the essential contribution of their unlimited devotion.

A.L.K.

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT



Office of the Treasury
Representative

Embassy of the United States

Paris, April 26, 1945

Mr. James H. Conn,
U.S. Treasury Representative,
London.

Dear Jim:

I have finally succeeded in obtaining the famous
memoranda of the conference which you attended with Katzki
and McClelland, and of a subsequent conference held on
April 15. As you will note from my memorandum of April
26, the situation has apparently changed once again.

I am also enclosing a memorandum of my conference
with Mr. Resnikoff of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Sincerely yours,

Matt

Matthew J. Marks,
U.S. Treasury Representative.

Enclosures

P.S.: I am sending a copy of the minutes and of my
memorandum of April 26 to Roswell McClelland.

H.J.M.

000227

April 26, 1945

Memorandum for the files:

Reference is made to my memorandum of April 11, 1945, concerning my attempts to obtain the minutes of a meeting held on March 28, 1945, regarding displaced persons.

On April 25 I spoke to Captain Clark at SHAEF Mission who advised me that there had again been radical changes in the plans since the second meeting which was held on April 14. Captain Clark stated that the War Refugee Board has undoubtedly been advised of these changes, the principal one being that the refugees will probably not go to Philippeville.

Matthew J. Marks,
U.S. Treasury Representative.

000228

April 25, 1945

Memorandum for the files:

Subject: Request of Dawid J. Sealtiel of the Jewish Agency for Palestine for War Refugee Board's support in arranging for his transportation to Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald.

On April 23, 1945, Mr. Sealtiel of the Jewish Agency for Palestine requested an appointment to see either Mr. Katzki or Mr. Mann. Mrs. Walker, who took the call, advised Mr. Sealtiel that Messrs. Katzki and Mann were no longer in town, but that I might be able to be of assistance to him.

Mr. Sealtiel stated that he desired to proceed to the liberated camps of Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald as soon as possible in order to be able to take a census of the liberated Jews there so that arrangements could perhaps be made for their ultimate removal to Palestine. He indicated the tremendous hope and spiritual surge forward that such a visit would mean for the liberated Jews, particularly those from Poland and the stateless Jews who, notwithstanding their liberation, still have little hope for the future. Mr. Sealtiel stated that he had already cabled the representative of the Jewish Agency in New York requesting him to obtain whatever official support he could for the proposed journey.

I advised Mr. Sealtiel that due to the limited terms of reference of the Executive Order establishing the War Refugee Board, it was highly improbable that the Board could support officially a request for his transportation to the liberated concentration camps. I added, however, that inasmuch as I was not a representative of the Board, I could not speak officially in a matter of this type. I stated that I would communicate with Mr. Mann in London and would advise Mr. Sealtiel of Mr. Mann's answer. I suggested to Mr. Sealtiel that inasmuch as the obtaining of the actual transportation to Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald would be entirely a military matter, he should lose no time in contacting the Displaced Persons Branch of G-5, Versailles, and request their aid.

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I then spoke to Mr. Mann in London who advised me that the Board could not sponsor a request for transportation to a liberated area, although, of course, the Board was much interested in Mr. Sieltiel's proposed trip.

On April 25 I called Mr. Sealtiel and advised him of what Mr. Mann had said. Mr. Sealtiel informed me that he had contacted Mr. Keith of the British Embassy who had agreed to support Mr. Sieltiel's request to the military authorities for transportation. Mr. Sealtiel asked whether he could state to the military, whom he had apparently already contacted, that the War Refugee Board similarly supported his request. I stated once again to Mr. Sealtiel that since this was outside the Board's jurisdiction, it could not officially support his request.

Matthew J. Marks,
U.S. Treasury Representative.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
G-5 Division
Displaced Persons Branch

Gen. Counsel - James H. Moran
DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of JCS

Letter, 7-5-72

By SUR Date MAR 13 1973
14 April 1945

SHAEF/G-5/DP/2714

SUBJECT: Conference on Evacuation of Hungarian Jews and Other Jews ex Switzerland.

TO : See Distribution Below.

1. On Tuesday 10 April 1945, a conference was held at SHAEF Mission (France) on the above question. The following persons attended:

Lt. Col. Carroll - SHAEF Main G-5, Displaced Persons Branch.
Capt. de Haas - SHAEF Main G-4, Movements and Transportation
Capt. Clarke - SHAEF Mission (France), D.P.R. & W. Section
Mr. Arthur Greenleigh - Joint Distribution Committee.
Mr. R. B. Resnik - Joint Distribution Committee.
Mr. P. H. Malin - Vice Dir. Inter Governmental Committee.

2. Capt. de Haas reported that the number of persons to be evacuated immediately is 2,080.

3. Capt. de Haas also reported that efforts were being made to avoid the necessity of housing these people at Marseilles by arranging for direct transfer from train to boat although accommodation can be arranged if necessary. The target date for the move is contingent on the prompt arrival of nominal rolls from Switzerland as indicated para. 4.

4. Capt. Clarke read a letter dated 26 December 1944 from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Prisoners, Deportees and Refugees, which outlined the conditions under which approval for transit through France and stay in Philippeville would be given by the French Government. Capt. Clarke reported that at a conference with Mr. Gay, of the Ministry of Prisoners, Deportees and Refugees, the letter stated:

a. that the French Government would require that a list of all persons to be evacuated, be furnished in advance to the appropriate French officials. This list should give name, age, birthplace nationality and place of usual residence

b. that the Allied authorities should make all provisions necessary for the care of these people during the movement, and

c. that the French Government would expect that sufficient precautions would be taken to prevent these evacuees from leaving the movement while en route. It was agreed that SHAEF Main would cable Mr. McClelland, War Refugee Board, regarding the necessity of obtaining the above list of passengers. It was also agreed that a signal would be sent to Allied Force Headquarters stating that approval in principle has been given by the French Government. Lt. Col. Carroll agreed to cover both items.

5. Capt. de Haas reported that the Swiss have agreed to furnish rolling stock and to ration the train but require payment for this. It was agreed that Capt. de Haas will check to determine responsibility for the payment of train transportation, food, and boat transportation. (Through Mr. Milan).

6. It was agreed that G-4 will provide medical supplies for the train movement.

7. Representation of J.D.C. reported that 5 welfare workers can be provided for the trip from Marseilles to Philippeville by the American Joint Distribution Committee. It was further reported that medical and nursing personnel can be supplied by the Swiss Red Cross as far as Marseilles, and by UNRRA Mission in Italy from Marseilles to Philippeville. It was agreed that a cable will be sent by Lt. Col. Carroll to Mr. McClelland asking how many nurses and physicians there are in the group to be moved.

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C O M M

8. There was agreement that Col. Gill of Com Z should be contacted by Lt. Col. Carroll in order to secure the opinion of the Provost Marshal on the type and number of guards which are required for this movement.

9. For record purposes, copy of notes of meeting held 28 March 1945 are attached. It will be noted that certain items have since been amended.

F. L. Carroll

F. L. CARROLL
Lt. Colonel,
Chief, Repatriation Section.

Incl: As above.

DISTRIBUTION:

- 3 - Lt. Col. Carroll - SHAEF Main G-5, Displaced Persons Branch.
- 5 - Capt. de Haas - SHAEF Main G-4, Movements and Transportation.
- 3 - Capt. Clarke - SHAEF Mission (France), D.P.R. & W. Section.
- 2 - Mr. Arthur Greenleigh - Joint Distribution Committee.
- 5 - Mr. R. B. Resaik
- 2 - Mr. P. H. Malin - Vice Dir. Inter Governmental Committee.
- 1 - Major D. V. Beard - SHAEF Main Office - Chief of Transportation.
- 1 - Capt. A. T. Alderson - SHAEF Main Office - Chief of Transportation.
- 1 - Mr. James Mann - War Refugee Board.
- 1 - Mr. Roswell Mc Clelland - War Refugee Board.
- 1 - Mr. Herbert Katski - War Refugee Board.
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Ednison - Chief UNRRA Liaison Officer.

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By Authority of JCS

letter, 7-5-72

By SLR Date MAR 13 1973

Conference on Evacuation of Hungarian Jews ex Switzerland.

1. On Wednesday 28 March 1945, a conference was held at the American Embassy, on the problem of evacuating Hungarian and other Jews from Switzerland. The following persons attended this conference:

Major D. V. Beard	SHAEP Main Office - Chief of Transportation.
Capt. A. T. Alderson	SHAEP Main Office - Chief of Transportation.
Capt. A. H. de Haas	SHAEP Main G-4 Movements & Transportation.
Mr. Benj. E. Youngdahl	SHAEP Main Processing Center Section - UMRRA.
Capt. Geo. J. Clarke	SHAEP Mission (France)
Mr. James Mann	War Refugee Board
Mr. Roswell McClelland	War Refugee Board
Mr. Herbert Katski	War Refugee Board

2. Mr. McClelland, presented the following information regarding this proposed movement:

a. Approximate statistic on the various groups of refugees at present in Switzerland who are to be evacuated as promptly as practicable presumably to UMRRA camps in North Africa and Italy.

GROUP I Consisting of Jewish refugees originally from Hungary who arrived in Switzerland during August and December 1944 having passed through the concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen in Germany. In general it can be said that this group of approximately 1,670 persons are in fair to good health. The breakdown of this group as far as nationalities are concerned is as follows:

HUNGARIANS	860
RUMANIANS	350
CZECHOSLOVAKS	250
YUGOSLAVS	75
POLES (Former)	70
EX-AUSTRIANS	5
UNCLASSIFIED (Stateless)	60
Total	1,670

N.B. The great majority of these refugees are Zionists who are very anxious to get to Palestine as directly and rapidly as possible.

GROUP II. Consists of approximately 1,200 Jewish refugees who entered Switzerland early in February of 1945 coming from the German ghetto of Theresienstadt in the "Protectorate". This group breaks down nationally roughly as follows:

EX-GERMANS	760
DUTCH	335
CZECHS	105
Total	1,200

N.B. The Czech & Dutch Governments are both very anxious that their nationals not be moved from Switzerland if possible.

GROUP III. Consists of about 10 persons who for reasons of health were left behind in Switzerland at the time of the American-German exchange in late January 1945. These persons are Jewish refugees of various nationalities holding Latin-American passports who have been classified as exchangeable in category "T".

b. This group will consist of approximately 40% women and children.

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of JCS

Letter, 7-5-72

By SLR Date MAR 13 1973

3. It was agreed that: a) the target date for this movement should be changed from 15 April 1945 to 1 March 1945; b) that this movement consists of 2 trains, each providing for approximately 1,000 persons; c) that a ten-day notice be given in advance of the departure of each train.
4. Plans will be made for a 36 to 48 hour train run to Marseilles, and the first train will consist of persons going to Philippeville, and the second train of persons being sent to Italy, and the balance of those en route to Philippeville.
5. It was agreed that the offer of the Swiss to provide rolling stock and locomotives for this movement be accepted. G-4 will make arrangements to provide coal requested by the Swiss, and Mr. McClelland will secure information on how much is needed and the point to which it should be sent. Mr. McClelland will also determine the number and type of cars (coaches) which will be available, and whether or not kitchen cars can be secured.
6. It was further agreed that administrative arrangements should be made for one person to be appointed in charge of this group movement with authority to enforce necessary order during the trip, and that a sub-leader be appointed to carry out instructions in each car.
7. There was considerable discussion in the question of the necessity of providing personnel to act as guards during this movement. It was agreed that the representative from SHAEF Mission (France) would ascertain what conditions the French Government would make in giving permission for transit of this group through France.
8. Mr. McClelland agreed to learn what personnel is available in Switzerland to accompany this group during the complete trip and will notify Mr. Youngdahl.
9. On the question of food supplies, it was agreed that a 2-day ration will be provided for each person. G-4 will assume responsibility for these rationing arrangements. Mr. McClelland will determine whether the Swiss can provide a one-day supply of rations in advance, and arrangements will be made if possible for this to be returned in kind.
10. It was agreed that Capt. de Haas would check with G-2 in the question of the plans for "screening" the people included in this movement.
11. Capt. Clarke, SHAEF Mission (France), stated that the Ministry of Prisoners, Deportees and Refugees has indicated a willingness to make available facilities at Marseilles for a stop over which may be necessary there, and that an officer from the Mission was presently at Marseilles investigating the accommodations which are available there.
12. It was agreed that the representatives of the War Refugee Board would be responsible for making arrangements regarding the following items:
 - a. Internal Organization, assembly and entrainment of the group.
 - b. Selection of accompanying personnel; medical, nursing and social welfare.
 - c. Discussions with Swiss Railways on type of equipment and facilities in railway cars.
 - d. Relaying information re this movement to War Refugee Board at Washington, UNRRA officials at Rome and Philippeville.
 - e. Preparation and submission of list of persons who are included in the movement. Mr. McClelland will advise SHAEF through Mr. Youngdahl of arrangements made in Switzerland.
13. Capt. de Haas suggested that all Allied Force Headquarters signals be sent by SHAEF (Main).

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of JCS

Letter 7-5-72

SUR

Date MAR 13 1973

14. SHAEF G-4 will assume responsibility for all technical transportation arrangements.

15. It was suggested that all baggage be placed in baggage cars which are to be sealed and sent through in bond.

16. Capt. de Haas agreed to check in the necessary arrangements for medical supplies to be provided for the train movement.

DECLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Authority of JCS

letter, 7-5-72

SLR

Date MAR 13 1973

MAR 9 1944

Mr. Edward R. Stettinius

J. W. Pehle

this morning I would appreciate
your confirmation of the follow-
ing

Confirming our ~~XXXXXX~~ conversation/~~the~~ arrangements
with respect to Mr. James H. Mann: ~~XXXXXX~~

1. Mr. Mann will remain on the State Department rolls but will be assigned to the War Refugee Board. His basic salary will be increased from \$5600 to \$6500 per annum as soon as possible and the War Refugee Board will reimburse the State Department in full for this expenditure.

2. Mr. Mann's occupational deferment will be continued indefinitely.

Attached is a suggested memorandum to Mr. Warren concerning his working relationships with Mr. Mann.

(Signed) J.W. Pehle

WStewart; pdk 3/9/44

WJ

April 11, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

At James Mann's request, I telephoned Captain Clark at SHAEF Mission (Ext. 165) and asked him what had become of the minutes of the meeting which he had promised to have forwarded to Mann through the Treasury Office in Paris.

Captain Clark explained that since he lacked authority on his own to forward the minutes to Mann, he had sent them to Col. Carroll at SHAEF, with the request that he forward them. Meanwhile, however, a number of changes had occurred which required a complete revision of the former minutes. Captain Clark outlined the principal changes as follows:

1. After the meeting at which Mann, McClelland and Katzki were present, Captain Clark finally received a copy of a letter dated December 26 in which the French had apparently established a series of conditions precedent to their consent to authorizing the transit across France of refugees en route to Philippeville. The stringency of these conditions was apparently unexpected and included requirements such as the furnishing to the French of lists of the refugee passengers, together with information with regard to their identity. After a telephone conversation with M. Gau at the Ministry of Prisoners, Deportees and Refugees, it was decided in a meeting held yesterday to draft a letter to the French requesting certain relaxations of their conditions.

2. It has been decided to look into the possibility of skipping the stopover at Marseilles.

Captain Clark has been requested by his superior to write a revised set of the minutes of the earlier meeting, taking into account the situation as it now is. As soon as they are written, Clark will send a copy of these revised minutes to Col. Carroll at SHAEF with the request that they be forwarded to James Mann. I mentioned to Captain Clark that Mann would be interested in receiving also a copy of the earlier unrevised minutes. Captain Clark stated that he would suggest to Col. Carroll that both sets of minutes be forwarded to Mann through the Treasury Office in Paris.

Matthew J. Marks,
U.S. Treasury Representative.

copy to: James H. Mann
Roswell D. McClelland

000237

April 3rd, 1945.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS,
BRITISH SECTION.

On the instructions of the British Section of the World Jewish Congress, Mr. Ben Rubenstein, Treasurer, and Dr. Lev Zelmanovits, of the Relief and Rescue Department, visited Stockholm from 7th to 22nd March, 1945, to confer with the Swedish Section on measures of relief and rescue and other questions affecting the position of Jews in German occupied Europe.

Mr. Rubenstein and Dr. Zelmanovits reported to the executive of the British Section, as follows:

I. Jewish Repatriates on the Drottningholm.

Opportunity was taken, on the arrival at Goeteborg of the exchange ship Drottningholm to visit the 137 Jews on board who, by reason of their Turkish nationality, had been released from German concentration camps, under exchange for German nationals, and who were being repatriated.

It was ascertained that most of these Jewish repatriates do not possess any documents of nationality or personal identification papers, and the spokesmen of the group expressed fears that the Turkish authorities would not recognise the Turkish nationality of the majority of the repatriates. For the most part their parents or grandparents were Turkish subjects, but they themselves had lived for many years in Europe without formally renewing their Turkish nationality in accordance with Turkish law. They had succeeded however in satisfying the German authorities of their Turkish nationality, but the Turkish authorities might not accept their status.

These fears were confirmed by the representative of the Swiss Government as Protecting Power, who accompanied the Drottningholm to Liverpool where he was seen by Mr. S.S. Silverman M.P. and Dr. L. Zelmanovits, on behalf of the British Section. He endorsed the view that the Turkish authorities might decline to accept the Turkish nationality of many of the cases, for purpose of exchanges. In that event, there was the danger of the Jewish repatriates being refused disembarkation.

The Drottningholm is due to arrive in Turkey about April 6th or 7th and it is most urgent that appropriate representations be made immediately to the Turkish authorities to secure that these Jewish repatriates be permitted to disembark, that they be accepted as suitable for exchange with Germans and that arrangements be made for their maintenance and resettlement.

II. Rescue Measures.

Consultations on measures designed to secure the release of Jews from Germany and German-occupied territories and their transportation to Sweden, were held with:

- The British Ambassador, Sir Victor Mallet.
- The Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Moller.
- The Swedish Minister for the Interior, Mr. Asserson.
- The General Secretary of the Swedish Cabinet, Mr. Angzel.
- The Head of the Legal Department of the Swedish Foreign Office.
- The American Ambassador, Mr. Herschl Johnson.
- The Charge d'Affaire of the Russian Embassy in Stockholm, Mr. Vinogradov,
- The Czechoslovak Ambassador, Dr. V. Kucera.
- Representatives of the War Refugee Board, Swedish Red Cross, International Red Cross, and the Netherlands

Repatriation Commission in Stockholm.

From these conversations it appeared that, during recent months, the Germans had modified their attitude towards the Jews, and were even releasing some Jews from the concentration camps, chiefly from Bergen-Belsen. The Germans were making no demands in the way of compensation. The motive seemed to be a desire to create for themselves some sort of goodwill and, perhaps, the possibility of asylum in Sweden. The release on February 7th last, of 1210 Jews from Theresienstadt to Switzerland was regarded, in Stockholm, as an indication of this development. At the beginning of February information reached Stockholm that 3000 Jews from Bergen-Belsen would be released on condition that transport facilities for them would be provided by the Swedish authorities.

Subsequently the Swedish Foreign Office was informed by the Swedish Legation in Berlin that the release of the 1210 Jews from Theresienstadt and their transport to Switzerland was carried out on the instructions of Himmler, and without the knowledge of Hitler. He learned of the matter from the foreign press which gave great prominence not only to the release of these Jews, but also to the means by which it was achieved. Hitler, the report stated, reacted by a characteristic outburst of fury and a serious conflict developed between him and Himmler. As a result, all plans for further release of Jews were abandoned. No further transports reached Switzerland nor could the release of the Jews from Bergen-Belsen be put into operation. The report ended, however, with the statement that there were still hoped that Jews might be released in the near future, but now only against compensation. Clothing and

blankets for bombed-out civilians were indicated as acceptable compensation but no details were given about quantities. The Swedish Foreign Office agreed to make enquiries, through the Swedish Legation in Berlin, as to the extent of compensation required. No information was available as to the result of these enquiries up to the time when Mr. Belmanovits and Mr. Rubenstein left Stockholm on March 22nd.

III. Protection Areas for Jews in Germany.

Count Bernadotte, representing the Swedish Red Cross, visited the German authorities at the end of February last to discuss the possibilities of the release of Norwegian and Danish civilian internees from Germany and German occupied territories. No positive results appear to have emerged from these discussions but Count Bernadotte succeeded in obtaining the agreement of the German authorities to the establishment of a new camp near Seimar in which all Norwegian and Danish civilian internees in Germany should be concentrated. It was agreed that this camp should be placed under the protection and administration of the Swedish Red Cross, which should also provide the necessary food and medical supplies. To effect the transport and concentration of the internees, a number of Swedish buses with Swedish personnel were sent to Germany.

The proposal was made to Mr. Gunther, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, that similar assembly areas for Jewish internees might be arranged and that the Swedish transport facilities might be utilised for this purpose also. It was suggested that such assembly areas would perhaps be most suitable in the North, in the region

of Luebeck and in the South near the Swiss frontier, preferably near Lake Constance. These suggestions were also submitted to the representatives of the Swedish Red Cross, Overstolofthant Ewen J. Rydman, Friherre Erik W. Stjernstedt.

Mr. Gunther and the representatives of the Swedish Red Cross considered these suggestions favourably and stated their willingness to enter into negotiations with the German authorities. As, however, such a scheme as applied to Jews involved persons of various nationalities, they (Mr. Gunther in particular) stressed the necessity of securing the prior consent of the British and American governments, and urged that the World Jewish Congress endeavour to obtain their assent. Should the scheme be put into operation, there is reason to believe that the Swedish authorities would grant the use of their buses and personnel now operating in Germany for the benefit of Norwegian and Danish subjects, to carry out the plan in respect of Jewish internees.

IV. Food Parcels to Jewish Internees in camps in Germany and German occupied territories.

For several months past the Relief Department of the Swedish Section of the World Jewish Congress has been engaged, with the approval of the British and American authorities, in despatching food parcels to a number of Jewish camps in Germany from Stockholm, notably those at Bergen-Belsen, Theresienstadt and Ravensbrueck. It is important to note that the Jewish representatives on the Brettnigholm confirmed the safe receipt of food parcels, especially at the Bergen-Belsen and Ravensbrueck camps. They pointed out that the food parcels were often the only means by which starvation was

avoided. They further stated that parcels addressed to particular individuals were, with the consent of the camp authorities, transferred to other Jewish internees, if the addressee were no longer in the camps.

On this information the Relief Department of the Swedish Section of the World Jewish Congress has submitted to the Swedish authorities an application for a new licence to despatch further supplies. The War Refugee Board and the American Red Cross have also agreed to release to the World Jewish Congress 40,000 kosher food parcels of 3 klg. each, from their stocks at Gosteborg, for transmission to the Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrueck and other camps.

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

**INCOMING
TELEGRAM**

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

*Wor Ref Ad
(O. Decker)*

ALH-1367
Distribution of
true reading only by
special arrangement.
[REDACTED] W)

London:

Dated May 2, 1945

Rec'd 12:30 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

4423, April 2, 2 p.m.

X
FOR O'DWYER FROM MANN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CONTROL COPY
MAY 2 1945
DC/L
LIAISON OFFICE

Instructions have been received from Treasury designating me United States representative in Bern Switzerland. I plan to leave on this assignment shortly. I assume that you will want me to assist McClelland on WRB matters insofar as possible. Please advise urgently and instruct whether WRB confidential funds should be remitted back to Washington or transferred to Switzerland.

WINANT

BB

WARNING
For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 8 1972

000244



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT



AIR MAIL

Office of the Treasury
Representative

Embassy of the United States
London, March 28, 1945.

Miss Florence Hodel,
Assistant Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

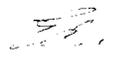
Dear Florence:

1/ I am enclosing for your information a leaflet
put out by the Labour Press Service dated March 21, 1945.
The declaration of prisoners of war and deportees which
appears on the bottom part of the last page may be of
interest to the Board.

2/ I am also enclosing for further forwarding by you
a letter addressed to Mr. Paul Baerwald of the American
Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

As you probably know Jim Mann asked me to pinch hit
for him here in his absence. So far nothing of any con-
sequence has arisen. One problem that comes up, however,
is that of signing correspondence with persons in Great
Britain. Although I have written no letters on behalf of
the Board as yet, it seems probable that some routine
correspondence will have to go out before Jim returns.
It is my present intention of signing any letters as
"Representative of the War Refugee Board". Please let
me know if you feel that this is the correct procedure.
I rather imagine that confusion would arise in the minds
of the recipients of the Board's letters if the signatures
were either "U.S. Treasury Representative" or "Ensign,
U.S.N.R.", the only other alternatives open to me.

Sincerely,


Edwin P. Rains,
U.S. Treasury Representative.

Enclosures.

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LABOUR PRESS SERVICE

and INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT

Issued by the Labour Party Press and Publicity Department,
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Editor: W. W. HENDERSON

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" "—Wall Charts on Government

INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT

- Page 4—Conference of European Socialist Parties

No. 1,213

MARCH 21, 1945

THE COMING APPEAL

MR. CHURCHILL'S speech at the Tory Party Conference was not the full-blooded clarion call to electoral battle which many of his followers had hoped to hear. But it contained nevertheless clear indications of certain propaganda lines along which will be developed later the Tory attack against Labour.

If he could have his way Mr. Churchill would keep an all-Party Government in being. He knows that is impossible. The Labour Party has made it clear that it will withdraw from the Government when victory over Germany has been won. The Liberal Party has similar intentions. That being the recognised position, it is quite obvious from Mr. Churchill's speech that this resumption of liberty of action is to be represented as breaking national unity. In other words, Labour will be accused of putting Party before the country. It is an old tactic. We met with it in 1931. The alternative would, of course, have to be a "coupon" election. That is carefully left unsaid. No sensible democrat would advocate the continuance of the present ten-years-old House of Commons for a single day longer than is necessary. Unless the General Election is to be a fraud and a frustration of effective democracy it can only take the form of a "full clash of Party principles and Party interests inseparable from an appeal to the judgment of the people." It is little use prating about government of the people, by the people, for the people, or invoking the will of the people, or claiming the consent of the governed, unless the people are given the opportunity through the normal processes of a free election to express their will and give their consent. The Labour Party will stand justified before the nation as a Party which insisted on the full and free exercise by the people of their democratic political rights. Even the criticisms and denunciations of the Tories will be proof of this.

Another line of attack against the Labour Party is to be on the question of nationalisation. Here, again, we shall have nothing to fear. It is no use Mr. Churchill

pretending to believe that a majority Labour Government after the General Election would nationalise "all the means of production, distribution and exchange." Maybe he would be much happier as leader of the Tory Party if that were Labour's election programme. No doubt we should then have from the Tories revised versions of "Bolshevism Run Mad," the "Red Menace," and "Safety First." Mr. Churchill rightly stresses the need for mental toil and physical sweat to cope with the problems that will face us, but then insists that real solutions based on Socialist principles must be left over until the public can consider them at their leisure. If we had approached war problems in that spirit we should not have won the war. There must be vital economic reorganisation. The problems of coal mining and transport, to cite only two examples, are urgent. Their proper organisation and efficient operation are essential to the post-war economic health and good standards of the nation. There has already been far too much delay in dealing with the coal industry, and further delay is not to be won by the Tory Party seeking to relegate the issue to some future period of national leisure.

The area of public enterprise has wisely been greatly extended for war purposes. Without State enterprise, controls and direction over essential parts of the nation's war economy and production, our war effort would have fallen far short of what was required and this country would not have written some of the greatest chapters of achievement in the history of our people. We need to approach the post-war future in the same spirit of resolute determination and be equally ready to adopt whatever bold measures of public ownership and controls are necessary for the economic security and social welfare of the nation in peace. Here, indeed, Mr. Churchill has placed his finger on the central issue of the coming fight: Public enterprise for public service versus private enterprise for private profit. The Labour Party will see that the electorate have a chance to decide.

POPULATION AND PROGRESS

BRITAIN is faced to-day with a serious population problem. The falling curve of our nation's birth-rate poses questions as to Britain's future status in the comity of nations which no one can answer at this moment. But it is vitally important that every aspect of the question should be investigated and conclusions drawn, and the Royal Commission on Population is now undertaking this task.

The Commission has received valuable evidence from the Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations, representing 2,000,000 working women. This organisation, with its direct, first-hand contacts with working mothers, is in an excellent position to enumerate some of the obstacles which keep down the size of families. These obstacles include, says the Committee, the shortage of houses; lack of maternity hospitals; and lack of domestic help.

But the Committee is quick to point out that these difficulties alone are not the only ones that prevent

people from rearing large families. Their main theme is that population policy cannot be separated from general economic and social policy. What is wanted, in fact, is a world fit for children to live in.

It must be a world in which the Four Freedoms operate to a far greater extent than they have done in the past. A Britain free from the horrors of a peace where millions go in want, as well as the more obvious dangers of war. Young people everywhere must be able to look forward to conditions where their children will have some opportunity of health, happiness, and the minimum decencies of civilised existence.

These things will not come at once. But the Standing Joint Committee is right to emphasise that an "expansionist" economy is an essential prerequisite. There must be no return, as the Labour Party has declared in its "Full Employment" policy, to the restrictive financial policies of successive Conservative Governments which held the nation in thrall during the years between the wars. That way lies race suicide.

000246

LABOUR WANTS A STRAIGHT FIGHT

LABOUR wants a straight fight between the Tories and the Labour Party," declared Mr. Arthur Greenwood, in commenting on Mr. Churchill's Conservative Party Conference speech, at Oldham on Sunday, March 18.

"I can assure Mr. Churchill that the best men of our Party are not joining 'coalitions easily,'" he added.

The Labour Party would never agree to a coupon election. Such an election was a fraud on the electorate.

It meant that the people who had got views about the future were going to be hamstringed and given no real opportunity of expressing them. The people of Britain were swindled in 1918 because of the coupon.

Every man and woman elector must have unfettered right to express their views. Although the Prime Minister might regret Labour's decision not to have a coupon election it had to be taken in the interests of democracy. Labour had proved itself in this matter the custodian of democracy.

When the war ended Labour was not going to offer the people the world on a plate. It was not going to lead them up the garden, nor make promises it could not fulfil if given power. But its ultimate policy was the nationalisation of major production, distribution and exchange.

He described as "mischievous-making" Mr. Churchill's suggestion that there was some disagreement among Labour leaders about nationalisation. It was an attempt to sow dissension where none existed.

When he spoke at Failsforth on March 17, Mr. Greenwood said that controls which had proved their value in war-time would be necessary in peace-time as part of the permanent organisation of this country. "I make a present of that to the

Tory Party and we will fight on it if they want to fight on it," Mr. Greenwood declared.

Last week's Tory Conference got somewhat excited about controls. Of course, the Conservatives didn't like controls. But there were controls of various kinds. There were restrictions on personal liberties which ought to go at the earliest moment.

All were in favour of that. There were other controls, however, which we should have to keep. There were restrictions on personal liberties which ought to go at the earliest moment. All were in favour of that.

There were other controls, however, which we should have to keep. These became vital for war purposes because certain materials were in short supply. Unless we rationed them fairly the well-to-do would have everything and the poor nothing.

So long as there were shortages, so long must control continue if the working people were to get a fair share. Labour had never yet been trusted with government, and the working-people themselves were to blame.

Mr. Shinwell also dealt with Mr. Churchill's speech when he spoke at Plymouth on March 18. "I am fairly certain that the Labour Party will decline to associate with the Tories when the European war is over," he declared.

"We are not going to walk into Mr. Churchill's parlour to make a tasty dish for the Tory Party. Why should Labour accept Mr. Churchill's offer when we have a great opportunity of gaining a clear majority at the next election. Nor do I believe that any prominent member of the Labour Party will feel disposed to join a Tory Coalition after the Prime Minister's declaration that the Tory Party is wedded to private enterprise, and that Labour gets its policy from foreign lands and alien minds.

"Labour's policy is a British product, and we require no assistance from foreign sources, from Mr. Churchill, or the Tory Party."

TORY REMAND HOME LIES ARE NAILED

CERTAIN Conservative politicians and publicists have tried—and failed—to unearth "scandals" in the administration of the Remand Homes run by the Labour-controlled London County Council.

These mischievous efforts, all with an obvious political purpose, have failed nationally. But now, it would appear, concerted Tory attempts are being made to plant similar inspired suggestions and innuendoes in the local Press. A typical instance, which could be repeated in other areas, particularly in the North, was a recent letter to the Editor of the "Stockport Express."

The many inaccuracies in this letter have drawn a vigorous reply from Mr. Reginald Stamp, a member of the L.C.C. and prospective Labour candidate for Stockport. In view of the fact that this question is cropping up in such a remarkably concerted fashion in other areas, we are quoting part of Mr. Stamp's reply herewith.

Mr. Stamp, dealing with the Hammersmith Remand Home case, where the L.C.C. was accused of putting a girl of seven into a home with girls suffering from venereal disease, quotes the report of the Committee of Inquiry to prove conclusively that neither the child in question nor any other children had any contact with V.D. cases.

Mr. Stamp also quotes the report as follows on the publicity given to this case: "Mr. Watson and Mr. Henriques incurred responsibility for a type of publicity which caused much undesired distress to the workers in the Homes and to the girls

themselves and their parents. The general effect of the statements in the Press, and, therefore, the public mind, was that a 'scandal' had been unearthed, and we do not regard this as a just description of the Marlesford Lodge arrangements."

Summing-up, Mr. Stamp comments: "Tory politicians and their Press, discredited on their past records and devoid of any effective policy with which to face the post-war world and its problems, or being unable to defeat the growing power of Labour, are concentrating on this Remand Home case and searching for other scandals."

"Relying upon incomplete and misleading Press reports, stooping to questionable tactics, whether by libelling brilliant, qualified, and honourable public persons of impartial views like the two members of the inquiry committee, or in sacrificing the unfortunate young girls in Remand Homes by unsavoury publicity, they hope to draw the minds of the people from discussion of real political issues during municipal and Parliamentary elections."

"It would be naughty of me to express the hope that the Committee of Inquiry, set up by the Home Secretary to investigate the care of delinquent children and Remand Homes in the rest of the country, might do its work with speed and report before the elections. From some knowledge of the conditions in the provinces, I believe we may even find that Tory-controlled councils are dealing with young delinquents and unfortunate children in a disgraceful manner, never tolerated by the L.C.C."

WORKING WOMEN'S VIEWS ON POPULATION

THE views of Co-operative, Trade Union, and Labour women on Population Problems were submitted to the Royal Commission on Population by the Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations, and supplemented later by oral evidence on March 16, by Mrs. Cecily Cook (Co-operative Women's Guild), Mrs. E. Martin (N.U.D.A.W.), and Miss Sutherland (Secretary).

The Standing Joint Committee emphasised the importance of informing the public fully and unsensationally about the nature of the population problem, and the consequences of the net reproduction rate continuing over a long period of years below replacement level.

To the question "What are the motives for family limitation" put by the Royal Commission, the Committee says that it is impossible to give clear cut, categorical answers. "The motives are complex—personal, psychological, ethical, social, and economic—and they vary from individual to individual, and from one generation to the next."

The many factors, material and less material, which operate, are discussed at some length, and attention drawn to a number of obstacles which at present help to keep down the size of families, for example, shortage of houses, lack of necessary amenities, refusal of many landlords to let houses to families with

children, inadequate provision for maternity, lack of domestic help for mothers of families.

On population policy it is emphasised that population policy cannot be separated from the whole social and economic policy of the country. It is not possible to get people to have children by paying them to do so. Even a generous scheme of family allowances will not stimulate the birthrate if we return to mass unemployment and the precarious economic and international conditions of the inter-war period. "The real issue is one of confidence. We believe that young people will be willing to have more children if they have confidence in the future, confidence that the nation will need their work in peace as in war; that there will be security against ill-health and other contingencies; that the influence of their country, as one of the leading world powers, is being faithfully used in defence of peace and law; that their own personal and civil freedom will not be arbitrarily interfered with."

Given these conditions, the Committee agrees that it will still be necessary to take steps to remove practical difficulties which stand in the way of bringing up families; suggests a number of measures on children's allowances, housing, care of maternity, health of mothers, domestic help, care of childhood, education, recreation and holidays, nutrition; and points out that the work of the housewife and mother in the home has a social value as great as much of the work done outside, and must be given a better status than in the past.

ARMY SHOULD GET MORE PUBLICITY

Mr. Jack Lawson, speaking for the Labour Party in the Commons debate on the Army Estimates on March 15, urged that greater publicity should be given throughout the world to the great exploits of the British Army in the various theatres of war.

He said that the Army was rivalling the Navy as the Silent

Service, but this kind of thing could go too far. It was strange that the news had to come from Canada that the greater part of the Forces of the 1st Canadian Army were British troops.

"There is no reason for this kind of thing. We all know about the need for security, but that is not the reason why the world is not getting to know the facts about the battle operations of the British Army," Mr. Lawson declared.

The silence about the units and the numbers of British troops that were fighting on the battlefield had become almost criminal:

RESOL

RESOLUTIONS on a wide Housing and Town Planning Labour's General Election Policy Service and ex-Service Conditions Air Authority, Colonial Police controls, have been submitted for discussion at the forthcoming

Of the 25 resolutions on Housing express great dissatisfaction with policy. Leyton Trades Council post-war Master Plan for ownership and control of all standard of accommodation of good health and family life must be within the normal (d) that the necessary Labour

A resolution from the Cambridgeshire Federation of failure of the Government of building Britain," calls for the in the same way as the air expanded in 1940.

Central Leeds D.L.P. resolutions have priority over all other there should be a veto on insurance buildings, and other hinder the housing of work

Vardley D.L.P. resolution the Government to insist on materials; (b) the granting of rities for housing schemes; land necessary for complete building contractors and but press for the appointment tackle the housing problem.

International Policy

The treatment of Germany and UNRRA, the Unconditional and Race Guilt, are among tions on International Policy

A number of the resolutions to dismember Germany—the so-called solutions—the division of Germany; the comp one State to another; (b) on need for working towards the tion of Socialist States.

A resolution from New against the "lethargy of UN liberated countries, and calls mittee to press for a more ex

A resolution from the Fir acclaims the Crimea Confer

Monopolies and Cartels

Of a number of resolutions of national and internation

NO

FURTHER biographical Parliamentary candidate Committee at its last m

Mr. Ernest Popplewell (E years' membership of the L National Union of Rail

Mr. James Harrison (Eas and a member of the Nation 45 and has been a member of

Miss Marion Graeme Bill and a member of the Halld She is 42 and has eleven ye Labour Party.

Lieut.-Col. David R. Rees- tising solicitor, is now chief overseas. He is 41 and a m

Mr. C. R. Bence (Hants with twenty years' membersh member of the National Union

Mr. D. P. Chesworth (W is now serving in the R.A.F. Society, Fire Brigades' Un Council.

Mr. W. T. Paling (Dewsbu ship of the Labour Party. Paling, M.P.

Major D. W. Healey (P straight from Oxford to the years in the Labour Party.

Mr. C. E. Thomas (Blac Forces and a W.E.A. tutor.

WALL CHARTS

Two admirable wall charts Government and British Loc of excellent service to local L discussion groups, have just Leicester.

The charts give a vivid, and functions of our Parli

1000247

RESOLUTIONS FOR ANNUAL CONFERENCE

RESOLUTIONS on a wide variety of vital issues, including Housing and Town Planning, Monopolies and Cartels, Labour's General Election Policy, the International Settlement, Service and ex-Service Conditions, Education, an International Air Authority, Colonial Policy, and Public Ownership and Controls, have been submitted by affiliated organisations for discussion at the forthcoming annual Labour Party Conference.

Of the 25 resolutions on Housing and Town Planning, many express great dissatisfaction with the present Government's policy. Leyton Trades Council and Labour Party, calling for a post-war Master Plan for Housing, declares that (a) national ownership and control of all land will be necessary; (b) that the standard of accommodation must be such as to meet the needs of good health and family life; (c) that the rents, including rates, must be within the normal capacity of working-class incomes; (d) that the necessary labour must be made available.

A resolution from the Cambridgeshire T.C. and L.P. and the Cambridgeshire Federation of Labour Parties "deploring the failure of the Government to make proper preparation for rebuilding Britain," calls for the unification of the building industry in the same way as the aircraft industry was reorganised and expanded in 1940.

Central Leeds D.L.P. resolution urges that housing should have priority over all other schemes of reconstruction and that there should be a veto on the building of palatial cinemas, insurance buildings, and other forms of construction that would hinder the housing of working-class people.

Yardley D.L.P. resolution calls upon the Labour Ministers in the Government to insist on (a) complete control of all building materials; (b) the granting of loans, interest free, to local authorities for housing schemes; (c) the requisitioning of all vacant land necessary for complete housing; (d) conscription of all building contractors and building concerns. Other resolutions press for the appointment of a Minister of Cabinet rank to tackle the housing problem.

International Policy

The treatment of Germany, War Criminals, "the lethargy" of UNRRA, the Unconditional Surrender formula, Atrocities and Race Guilt, are among the subjects dealt with in the resolutions on International Policy.

A number of the resolutions express concern at the proposals to dismember Germany. Govan D.L.P. calls for (a) rejection of the so-called solutions—the dismemberment and de-industrialisation of Germany; the compulsory transfer of populations from one State to another; (b) opposition to Power Politics, and the need for working towards the establishment of a World Federation of Socialist States.

A resolution from Newcastle-under-Lyme D.L.P. protests against the "lethargy of UNRRA" in relieving distress in the liberated countries, and calls upon the National Executive Committee to press for a more expeditious policy.

A resolution from the Fire Brigades' Union whole-heartedly acclaims the Crimea Conference decisions.

Monopolies and Cartels

Of a number of resolutions expressing concern at the activities of national and international monopolies and cartels, one from

Worthing D.L.P. urges "immediate war on vested interests by demanding the holding of a public inquiry into the ramifications of national monopolies and international cartels."

Canterbury D.L.P. resolution asks the N.E.C. to investigate the development of monopolistic practices in trade and industry and to prepare a report setting out the Labour Party's policy for protecting the public from exploitation by the use of such practices.

Education

A number of the resolutions on Education urge the quickest possible implementation of the 1944 Education Act; rejection of the Fleming Report recommendations; and continuance of the War-time Day Nurseries.

Wimbledon, Merton and Morden D.L.P. proposes that men and women demobilised from the Forces should be given facilities to complete their educational training at the expense of the Government.

Labour and Post-Election Government

East Fulham D.L.P. resolution proposes that if as a result of the next General Election the Labour Party does not secure a clear majority, they shall not either form a Government or participate in any Coalition.

Public Ownership and Controls

Resolutions on this subject call for the speedy nationalisation of Transport, the Banks, the Land, and Fuel and Power should a Labour Government be returned to power.

Ogmore D.L.P. resolution urges that the nationalisation of the mines, with compensation, along the lines of the Labour Party and T.U.C. plan, be Labour's main item in the General Election programme.

Finance

Opposition to any return to the gold standard or restrictive financial policies is urged in a number of resolutions.

King's Norton D.L.P. resolution asks the Parliamentary Labour Party to press for the retention of controls on imports, exports and finance, and the extension of methods of international trade based upon modern experience of barter and lease-lend between the countries of the world.

Old Age Pensions

A number of resolutions press for an immediate increase in Old Age Pension rates. Banbury D.L.P. resolution urges that Old Age Pensions should be made up to 30s. a week for each person over 60 years of age, with the abolition of the supplementary administration test.

Other subjects dealt with in the resolutions include Workmen's Compensation, India, National Health Service, Industrial and Military Conscription, reorganisation of local government and affiliation of the I.L.P.

NOTES ON THE NEW CANDIDATES

FURTHER biographical details of the remaining prospective Parliamentary candidates endorsed by the National Executive Committee at its last meeting are as follows:

Mr. Ernest Popplewell (*Edge Hill, Lanes.*) is 44 and has 22 years' membership of the Labour Party. He is a member of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Mr. James Harrison (*East Notts.*) is a railway engine-driver and a member of the National Executive of the N.U.R. He is 45 and has been a member of the Labour Party for fifteen years.

Miss Marion Graeme Bilson (*North Croydon*) is a solicitor and a member of the Haldane Club and the Fabian Society. She is 42 and has eleven years' membership of South Croydon Labour Party.

Lieut.-Col. David R. Rees-Williams (*South Croydon*), a practising solicitor, is now chief legal instructor at a Military H.Q. overseas. He is 41 and a member of the Fabian Society.

Mr. C. R. Bence (*Handsworth*) is a 42-year-old toolmaker with twenty years' membership of the Labour Party. He is a member of the National Union of Scale-Makers and the A.E.U.

Mr. D. P. Chesworth (*Warwick and Leamington*) is 22 and is now serving in the R.A.F. He is a member of the Fabian Society, Fire Brigades' Union and the Birmingham Trades Council.

Mr. W. T. Paling (*Dewsbury*) is 51 and has 30 years' membership of the Labour Party. He is a brother of Mr. Wilfred Paling, M.P.

Major D. W. Healey (*Pudsey and Otley*) is 27 and went straight from Oxford to the Army in 1939. He has been seven years in the Labour Party.

Mr. C. E. Thomas (*Blackpool North*) is a lecturer in the Forces and a W.E.A. tutor. He is 46.

Flight-Lieutenant C. S. Hilditch (*Blackpool South*) is a schoolmaster now serving in the R.A.F. He is 38.

Councillor Henry Hynd (*Central Hackney*) is a member of the Railway Clerks' Association and has been in the Labour Party for 24 years. He is 44, and the only Labour member of Hornsey Town Council.

Mrs. R. F. Chamberlayne (*Chichester*) has been for many years active in the Fabian Society and its International Bureau. She is 53 and hon. secretary of South Uckfield Labour Party.

Mr. A. B. Mackay (*Palloch, Glasgow*) has long been active in Labour politics in Scotland and is a former chairman of the Scottish Council of the Party. He is 62.

Mr. John Timmons (*Bothwell*) is 53 and a checkweigher.

Mr. G. S. Woods (*Moatley*) is at present M.P. for Finsbury. He is running as a Co-operative candidate in association with the Labour Party.

Mr. Percy Daines (*East Ham North*) is a Labour councillor and a C.W.S. Insurance Society employee. He has 25 years' membership of the Labour Party. He is also a Co-operative Labour candidate.

Mr. William H. Shackleton (*Newcastle North*) is 44 and vice-president of Newcastle Trades Council. A Co-operative-Labour candidate.

Mr. J. C. Forman (*Springburn, Glasgow*) is a member of Glasgow Corporation and has many years' service in the Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative Movements. A Co-operative-Labour candidate. He is 59.

Mr. David Dunwoodie (*Dumfriesshire*) is 44 and a member of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. A Co-operative-Labour candidate.

WALL CHARTS ON GOVERNMENT

Two admirable wall charts in colour on British Parliamentary Government and British Local Government, which would prove of excellent service to local Labour Party and Women's sections discussion groups, have just been published by Pictorial Charts, Leicester.

The charts give a vivid, at-a-glance outline of the structure and functions of our Parliamentary and Local Government

Institutions, and are issued complete with sets of authoritative notes and references.

Among other things the charts illustrate clearly the various stages which led to universal suffrage in Britain and the present-day strength of the Parties in both Houses of Parliament.

The charts and reference notes may be had, price 5s. complete, from the University of London Press, Ltd., Malham House, Bickley, Kent. Single charts are 2s.

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INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT

International Department

CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PARTIES

A Conference of European Socialist Parties was held in London on March 3, 4 and 5, 1945. There were delegates representing Great Britain, France, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Norway, Poland, Iceland, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Palestine. Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.P., presided.

We print below two of the Conference declarations. Other declarations will be published in subsequent issues.

I—DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

AFTER five years of struggle and of sufferings that defy description the world is still at war. The first thoughts of the Socialists meeting in London go to the innocent victims of the conflict provoked by Hitlerite Germany and to the heroic Allied fighters, who can now see the hour of victory approaching. International Socialism proclaims the determination of the peoples to pursue the struggle inexorably to its ultimate end, the collapse of German and Japanese resistance and the unconditional surrender of these two countries.

The war has been waged by the peoples for their complete liberation; it must end in a peoples' victory and a peoples' peace.

A Peoples' Victory

Fascism must be rooted out everywhere, not only in its most monstrous form, Hitlerism, but equally in all its camouflaged forms, including the autocratic régimes of certain neutral countries. Democracy must be assured everywhere of the opportunity to flourish in its triple form, political, economic and social. Governments of countries still occupied are expected to take positive steps towards the restoration of the constitutional democratic institutions immediately after the liberation. War criminals must be punished and no country must be allowed to invoke the right of asylum in order to offer them refuge.

A Peoples' Peace

Our sacrifices would have been made in vain were we not convinced that an effort is being everywhere made to-day to open new paths in the field of organised international relations. More than ever before Socialism remains faithful to its old belief in the trinity of arbitration, security and disarmament. We must seek to establish rules of law binding upon all; the foundation of any international organisation can be no other than the solemn renunciation by every member of all acts of aggression and their undertaking to place the whole of their forces at the service of resistance to aggression, the aggressor having been accurately defined in advance. This undertaking might well receive solemn and formal expression in the following ways:—

- (1) By the acceptance by each country of a *charter of the rights and duties of nations*, which would define in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter the fundamental liberties that each country undertook to respect and would outlaw all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex, colour, race or creed.
- (2) By the insertion into the constitutions of member States of an undertaking to respect the charter and accept all the obligations of the international organisation.
- (3) By the elaboration in the domestic legislation of each country of a penal procedure applicable to all those found guilty of violating international decisions.

The Socialist Movement believes that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, as modified at Yalta for submission to the consideration of the countries assembled at San Francisco, constitute a considerable achievement in this matter; it welcomes the agreement ultimately reached, which brings together in the search for collective security all the nations to-day engaged in the struggle for freedom, and in particular the Soviet Union and the United States, whose presence is essential to the building of peace. It believes that the proposals as a whole can form the basis of a new security organisation, but is nevertheless of the opinion that the structure and procedure of the new organisation may be capable of further improvement.

Structure

- (1) The effectiveness and power of the Assembly, of the Councils, and of the other bodies to be created, will depend on the representation of the Member nations, and on the active support of public opinion. This, in turn, must depend in great measure on the publicity given to the proceedings, but there are other questions of representation, including the extension of the principles of the constitution of the I.L.O., which require further consideration. The Conference agrees to proceed with this consideration without delay.

II—DECLARATION ON PRISONERS OF WAR AND DEPORTEES

The Conference of European Socialist Parties gave consideration to the problem of relief for prisoners of war and deportees following their liberation from the hands of the enemy. Whilst it was recognised that this problem is part of the larger problem of relief and succour that Europe will urgently need after the defeat of Germany, the Conference considered that practical steps should be taken now to prepare stocks of food and medical necessities, so that, from the day that Germany lays down arms, concentration camps and prisoners-of-war camps can, without delay, be supplied in the most effective way.

It was the view of the Conference that, to save the lives of

- (2) The Economic and Social Council, or, preferably, the two Councils, one economic and the other social, whose members will be elected by the Assembly and directly responsible to it, are, in our view, organs of primary importance; while the Security Council will seek to avoid conflicts, their task will be the positive organisation of peace.

It is essential that the Assembly shall constitute the final court of appeal in all economic and social questions, able to take majority decisions and becoming the international forum through which all important matters can be submitted to the judgment of public opinion.

- (3) The present composition of the Security Council, and in particular the provision for election for only two years of the representatives of small nations, carries with it the risk of some instability; this could be remedied either by prolonging the period of office or by making it possible for States belonging to particular regions to form groups nominating joint representatives, who should be re-eligible; International Socialism looks with favour upon any such regional arrangement or grouping, on conditions that groups shall not be set up or act in opposition to each other and that all remain within the framework and under the supervision of the international organisation.

Procedure

- (1) We rejoice to note that at Yalta the participating countries were able to agree on the principle of majority decision in the case of demands for arbitration; we recognise that in matters calling for sanctions it may be inevitable in the initial stage that the great military Powers, who bear special responsibilities, must be unanimous in their decision, but we remain convinced that peace will be finally and solidly established only when all States, great and small, submit to decisions taken by an adequate majority; we note, moreover, that these problems of decision by majority or by unanimity will lose much of their importance as the definition of aggression becomes more precise and as the mechanism of sanctions begins to function automatically, in accordance with solemn undertakings entered into by members of the organisation.

- (2) We cannot remain satisfied with the provisions whereby the application of military sanctions is made to depend upon special agreements for the placing of Armed Forces at the disposal of the international organisation; such agreements must be specifically provided for in the document setting up the organisation; it is, moreover, important to make provision both for the immediate setting up of machinery for the international control of the private and public production of armaments and for the rapid constitution of the first nucleus of an international police force, to be stationed in danger zones, and including, as a minimum, international air squadrons and armoured (mechanised) and airborne forces. Finally, it would appear essential, as was agreed in the Moscow Declaration of the American, British and Soviet Governments of November 1, 1943, to include in the Charter of the organisation itself proposals for the reduction of national armaments progressively with the development of international institutions and the reinforcement of the nucleus international police force voluntarily recruited among all member countries.

This organisation, however, will function only in so far as the nations associated in it remain determined and able to respect their undertakings and to take in time all the risks that may be necessary to stop aggression as soon as it is threatened; they can do this only if they are supported by an educated public opinion, conscious of its responsibilities. It is, therefore, in the last resort upon this public opinion that the future peace of the world depends. Peoples of the world, the victory of the United Nations gives you the opportunity to achieve your own liberation and to ensure peace once and for all; it is for you to seize this opportunity to build a true Democracy within the boundaries of every nation.

deportees and prisoners of war, it is necessary to intensify the Press campaign, in order to arouse public opinion, and to bring pressure to bear on Inter-Allied opinion as well as on allied Governments, so that the whole world shall face Germany with her responsibilities. The story of the treatment of Russian prisoners after the Stalingrad victory stresses the need for this to be done.

This problem calls for a special Conference of representatives of the four Great Powers—U.S.A., Britain, U.S.S.R., and France. Fifteen million deportees and prisoners of war are in peril in Germany. All their hopes of life, liberation and relief are reposed in the unity of action of these powers. We must not fail them.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
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E. F. Rains, London.

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300

AIR POUCH

Miss Florence Hodel,
Assistant Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D.C.

VIA AIR MAIL

000249



AIR MAIL

Office of the Treasury
Representative

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD



Embassy of the United States
London, March 23, 1945.

Miss Florence Hodel,
Assistant Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Florence:

I have just received the telegram instructing me to proceed to Paris and from thence to Bern. I plan to leave tomorrow and needless to say I am forced to leave in such a hurry that many WRB matters here are left in the air. Accordingly, it is essential that I return to London soon. I have thought it possible that I might be able to dash back to London for a day or so at the end of the negotiations in France before proceeding on to Bern.

You recall that I have cabled many times concerning the \$75,000 which was made available to Guigui. I am now informed that Neumeyer and Bothereau state that the C.G.T. is not able to utilize the funds under the terms of the existing license and are holding them awaiting further instructions. They say that it is most unfortunate from their point of view that the funds cannot be used for the relief of families in liberated France, of French workers who have been deported, shot or wounded by the Germans. I am advised that there are many cases of this nature requiring assistance. They have urged that this matter be pointed out to the War Refugee Board and the Board and donor of the funds might consider using the money in liberated France.

In connection with this matter I have just received from our office in Paris certain documents which purport to concern the expenditure of the funds in question. Since I do not read French very well and in view of the fact that I haven't time to study the matter, I am sending the documents on to you for such action as may be required.

I am continually seeing in the cables that General O'Dwyer plans to go to Switzerland. When his plans become definite I would appreciate your advising me. Please give my best regards to all.

Very truly yours,


James H. Mann

Enclosures.

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**Fédération Générale
du Travail**

213, Rue Lafayette - Paris

TÉLÉPHONE : BOTZARIS 86-50 A 86-54

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE : CONFÉDÉOC-PARIS

CHÈQUE POSTAL : PARIS 62-84



PARIS, le 1er mars 1945.

*Send to
Jim Mann
DAS*

Monsieur Michael HOFFMANN
Représentant Trésorerie Américaine
Ambassade des Etats-Unis
PARIS.

Cher Monsieur Hoffmann,

Comme suite à notre dernière entrevue, je m'empresse de vous remettre ci-joint copie du rapport que j'ai fourni à M. Paul E. Anderson, de l'American Relief for France, 29, rue Saint-Didier à Paris, après la visite qu'il a bien voulu faire à la Confédération Générale du Travail avant son départ pour les Etats-Unis.

Veuillez croire, cher Monsieur Hoffmann, à mes meilleurs sentiments.

Le Trésorier confédéral,


P. Neumeier

Pièces jointes.-

- 1°) Lettre à M. Paul E. Anderson ;
- 2°) Lettre de M. Guigui du 6 nov. 1944 ;
- 3°) Circulaire de la C.G.T. du 10 nov. 1944.

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PARIS, le 27 février 1945.

Mr Paul B. ANDERSON
American Relief for France
29, rue Saint-Didier
P A R I S 16°

Monsieur Anderson,

Comme suite à la visite que vous avez bien voulu faire à la C.G.T. le samedi 24 février, nous avons l'honneur de vous donner ci-après les renseignements que vous nous avez demandé de vous faire connaître par écrit et que nous vous avons fournis verbalement lors de notre entretien.

C'est par la lettre du 6 novembre de notre camarade GUIGUI à Londres, et dont vous trouverez ci-joint une copie (pièce n° 1) que nous avons été avisés de l'offre du War Relief Fund.

Presqu'en même temps, notre camarade GUIGUI arrivait à Paris et, à la suite d'une conversation que nous avons eue ensemble, il fut convenu que, notre territoire étant à cette époque presque entièrement libéré, nous proposerions d'utiliser les fonds qui seraient mis à notre disposition en faveur des familles de nos nombreux fusillés et déportés politiques.

GUIGUI nous faisait en effet connaître qu'il avait reçu une communication du représentant du N.W.R.F. auprès de l'Ambassade américaine à Londres, et de laquelle il résultait qu'elle modifiait momentanément la clause restrictive de la licence et que nous étions autorisés à utiliser les fonds en France jusqu'à la limite du 31 décembre 1944 ou à celle de la capitulation allemande, si elle se produisait avant cette date.

Ayant reçu cette dernière information, nous envoyâmes, le 10 novembre, au nom du Bureau de la C.G.T., à toutes nos Unions Départementales, une circulaire dont vous trouverez également ci-joint copie (pièce n° 2).

Le 16 novembre, nous recevions de GUIGUI, de Londres, un premier chèque de 3.700.000 francs, GUIGUI ayant conservé par devers lui la somme de 12.871 francs pour maintenir son compte ouvert et faciliter les opérations ultérieures.

Le 17 novembre, nous lui en accusons réception en le priant

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de renouveler nos bien sincères remerciements aux dirigeants du War Relief Fund et de leur préciser les modalités suivant lesquelles il sera procédé à la répartition de cette première somme.

Mais le 3 décembre, GUIGUI nous écrivait de Londres qu'après avoir renseigné l'Ambassade américaine de Londres, il avait reçu, le 27 novembre, de M. MANN, de cette Ambassade, un appel téléphonique. Dans cet appel, M. MANN traduisait son émotion, notre décision de secourir les familles de nos victimes et déportés contrevenant aux dispositions constitutionnelles du N.W.R.F. et il nous demandait d'arrêter aussitôt la distribution.

Nous répondîmes sans plus tarder à GUIGUI que nous nous conformerions aux recommandations formulées par M. MANN, l'assurant que les 3.700.000 francs reçus resteraient bloqués à notre compte en banque, au Crédit Municipal, où ils resteraient à la disposition du N.W.R.F.

Nous continuâmes, bien entendu, à recevoir de nos Unions Départementales de nombreuses réponses à notre circulaire du 10 novembre et encore de plus nombreuses listes de familles de fusillés et de déportés.

A l'heure actuelle, avec les documents reçus et en limitant notre enquête à nos organisations syndicales, nous comptons déjà plus de 7.000 familles de fusillés et plus de 8.000 familles de déportés politiques.

Nous avons, d'ailleurs, mis toute cette documentation sous vos yeux ainsi que sous les yeux de M. HOFFMANN, de l'Ambassade des Etats-Unis à Paris.

Sans vouloir insister sur toutes les épreuves matérielles et morales qu'ont connues et que connaissent encore ces nombreuses familles, vous pouvez apprécier combien celles-ci seraient sensibles à recevoir de votre organisation américaine ce secours qui serait une modeste compensation aux sacrifices consentis par les fusillés et les déportés en faveur de la Résistance à l'envahisseur nazi.

Nous nous étions proposés de faire la répartition en tenant compte des charges de famille (enfants et parents à charge). Cela représente plus de 30.000 personnes à charge, soit, sur les 3.700.000 francs accordés par trimestre, environ 120 francs par personne à charge par trimestre.

Et nous sommes sûrs que le nombre des familles de fusillés et de déportés déjà recensées sera certainement dépassé. De nouvelles listes nous arrivent presque tous les jours.

Pour être complets dans nos informations, nous croyons devoir

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ajouter que le 9 février, le Ministère de la Santé Publique à Paris a reçu de Madame COMBEMALE, remplaçant actuellement Madame PIEVEN, Secrétaire Générale du Bureau de Coordination des Oeuvres à Washington, le télégramme suivant :

" Afin de permettre National War Relief Committee obtenir permission National War Fund de distribuer aux familles des fusillés et déportés en Allemagne dollars 75.000 déjà transférés, veuillez faire envoyer approbation officielle par autorités françaises des trustees pour la France : Pierre Neumeyer et Robert Bothereau. Albert Guigui et Charles Laurent vous donneront tous détails. "

Quelques jours après, c'est-à-dire le 19 février, M. Robert M. Taylor, Consul américain à Paris faisait savoir que

" L'approbation du gouvernement français est nécessaire pour l'emploi des fonds de secours. Il faut désigner de nouveaux garants pour débloquer les fonds. Câbler à l'Ambassade de France en Amérique et confirmez-nous. "

Nous allons donc engager les démarches nécessaires auprès du gouvernement français pour nous conformer à ces dernières instructions et nous mettre en règle avec les autorités françaises au cas où le W.R.F. nous autoriserait à disposer des fonds américains.

Nous répétons que les garants seront ceux déjà indiqués :

Pierre NEUMEYER, Trésorier de la C.G.T.,
et Robert BOTHEREAU, Secrétaire de la C.G.T.,

et la répartition se ferait éventuellement suivant les modalités envisagées dans notre circulaire du 10 novembre déjà citée.

Nous restons à votre disposition pour tous renseignements complémentaires et attendons avec confiance votre décision, vous remerciant d'avance et de tout coeur de ce qu'il vous sera possible de faire en faveur de nos malheureuses familles de fusillés et de déportés.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma respectueuse considération.

Le Trésorier de la C.G.T.,

Pierre Neumeyer

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C O P I E
- - - -

Paris, 6 novembre 1944

Monsieur P. NEUMEYER
Trésorier de la C.G.T.
PARIS

Mon cher Neumeyer,

Etant donné le caractère financier de l'affaire qui fait l'objet de cette lettre, il m'a paru que ta qualité de trésorier de la C.G.T. te qualifiait plus particulièrement pour la recevoir et la soumettre à la plus prochaine réunion du Bureau confédéral.

Voici brièvement exposé de quoi il s'agit :

Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, pour remédier aux inconvénients de toute nature et pour assurer un contrôle de l'usage des fonds recueillis auprès du public, a créé, avec le concours de grandes associations comme les Y.M.C.A., la Croix-Rouge, les deux grandes Centrales syndicales, les Comités de secours particuliers, etc... une institution nationale qui a pour nom "National War Relief Fund" (Fonds National de Secours de Guerre). Le N.W.R.F. est placé sous la présidence personnelle du Président ROOSEVELT; il est administré par un Bureau de contrôle formé des Ministres des Finances, des Affaires Etrangères et de la Guerre, et par un Comité exécutif dans lequel figurent les représentants des grandes associations sus mentionnées.

Les fonds qui alimentent le N.W.R.F. sont collectés par prélèvements sur les bénéfices, salaires, traitements, etc... Ils constituent en quelque sorte une contribution obligatoire de solidarité nationale.

Les ressources financières ainsi recueillies ont pour objet essentiel de maintenir aux Etats-Unis et partout où la guerre disperse les citoyens des Etats-Unis, l'état de santé des gens et leur bien-être et d'assurer leurs loisirs. Les villes et communes américaines reçoivent des fonds pour leurs foyers de soldats, pour leurs institutions d'aide aux familles, de protection de l'enfance, etc... Reçoivent également des fonds les institutions s'occupant de soulager le sort des prisonniers de guerre américains, et celles qui travaillent sur tous les théâtres d'opération de guerre à l'amélioration de la condition du soldat, du marin, de l'aviateur.

Etant donné qu'il existait aux Etats-Unis des associations spécialement constituées pour venir en aide à des misères hors des Etats-Unis, par exemple, l'aide aux enfants de Chine, aux persécutés

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des régimes totalitaires, etc... une partie des fonds recueillis par le N.W.R.F. est destinée à poursuivre l'oeuvre commencée. A cette occasion, les deux grandes Centrales syndicales, l'A.F.L. et le C.I.O. ont réclamé et obtenu le bénéfice du N.W.R.F. pour les populations ouvrières d'Europe sous domination nazie. Elles ont constitué un Comité commun qui a pris nom Labor's War Relief Program.

Les attributions de fonds sont soumises à des conditions sévères, et selon un mécanisme assez compliqué. Pour chaque pays appelé à profiter de ces fonds, il doit être constitué aux Etats-Unis un organisme légalement reconnu responsable vis à vis de la Trésorerie américaine. Pour la France, c'est le French Relief Fund Incorporated New-York qui, en quelque sorte, ventile les fonds octroyés dans les différentes catégories bénéficiaires. Nos amis américains sont donc nos introducteurs et nos répondants à la fois auprès de la Trésorerie américaine et du French Relief Fund. D'autre part, la Trésorerie américaine entend qu'il y ait pour chaque catégorie deux mandataires (trustees) personnellement responsables des fonds et de leur utilisation selon les règles prescrites. C'est pourquoi la licence de la Trésorerie m'a été nommément accordée, ainsi qu'au camarade ROUS.

Tu trouveras ci-inclus une traduction de la licence en question. A la lecture tu noteras la restriction qui nous impose l'utilisation des fonds en territoire ennemi ou occupé par l'ennemi. Au moment des premières négociations, cette clause ne nous gênait aucunement puisqu'aussi bien nous aurions pu aider nos camarades traqués, les familles des emprisonnés et des exécutés. Malheureusement, le premier et unique versement de 75.000 dollars n'est parvenu à Londres que le 7 septembre, c'est-à-dire après la libération d'une grande partie de la France. Et encore le versement était accompagné d'un télégramme des représentants de l'A.F.L. et du C.I.O. ainsi conçu : "Somme transmise pour usage exclusif en France occupée comme prescrit dans la licence de la Trésorerie. Aucune action de secours autorisée dans zones libérées."

J'ai aussitôt entrepris des démarches auprès de l'Ambassade américaine à Londres pour essayer d'assouplir la clause restrictive et pour n'avoir pas à restituer le fonds aussitôt reçu sans pouvoir en disposer. Devant l'impossibilité de faire modifier ce qui est une règle fondamentale du N.W.R.F., j'ai fait les suggestions suivantes :

- a) nous permettre de préparer et d'exécuter l'évasion de notre camarade LÉON JOUHAUX;
- b) de venir en aide à nos compatriotes déportés en Allemagne, c'est-à-dire vivant précisément en territoire ennemi.

Mes suggestions furent transmises à Washington, qui répondit

.....

000256

favorablement. Mieux encore : j'ai reçu une lettre de l'A.F.L. en date du 9 octobre qui m'informe que non seulement le représentant de la Trésorerie avait accepté mes propositions, mais que mes conversations avec l'Ambassade de Londres avaient modifié complètement les vues du Bureau du N.W.R.F. sur le sujet et qu'il admettait maintenant que les fonds pourraient servir à aider les nationaux des puissances en guerre contre l'Axe aussi longtemps qu'ils seraient détenus en Allemagne. La décision définitive appartient au Comité exécutif du N.W.R.F., mais l'A.F.L. m'assure être convaincue que la décision sera favorable. D'autre part, l'A.F.L. pense que les négociations pour l'octroi dans un avenir prochain de subventions utilisables en France même s'en trouvent facilitées. Comme conséquence, on m'annonce que le Fonds tient à ma disposition une nouvelle somme de 150.000 dollars avant la date ultime du 31 décembre, à la condition que le premier versement soit transféré et utilisé.

J'ai télégraphié pour qu'on envoie immédiatement les 150.000 dollars, ayant assuré que le transfert des premiers 75.000 dollars avait bien été opéré.

En effet, j'ai transféré de Londres à Paris le premier versement. Dans quelques jours, je pourrai disposer de la somme de 3.712.871 francs 60 - Il s'agit maintenant d'utiliser cette somme pour les objectifs désignés. Il appartient au Bureau Confédéral de prendre les décisions et les dispositions utiles. Si au 31 décembre -- ou avant la reddition de l'Allemagne -- nous n'avons pas utilisé cette subvention et aussi celle qui viendra incessamment, il faudra rendre les fonds au Trésor américain.

Etant données les clauses 3 et 4 de la licence, qui imposent aux mandataires, sous leur responsabilité nominale et personnelle, de tenir l'ambassade américaine au courant des opérations financières et de lui fournir des rapports périodiques relatifs aux opérations engagées, je te prierai de me tenir pleinement informé de toute décision prise en cette matière.

Je reste bien entendu à la disposition du Bureau Confédéral pour toute information complémentaire.

Bien fraternellement tien,

Albert GUIGUI.

Pièce jointe:

traduction licence de
la Trésorerie américaine n° W. 2216.

000257

CONFEDERATION
CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL
213, rue Lafayette, Paris (10°)

Paris, le 10 Novembre 1944

Circulaire : A. 2

AUX UNIONS DEPARTEMENTALES

Chers Camarades,

Le gouvernement des Etats-Unis a créé, avec le concours de grandes associations comme les Y.M.C.A., la Croix-Rouge, les deux grandes Centrales syndicales, les Comités de secours particuliers, une institution nationale dénommée :

Fonds National de Secours de Guerre
(National War Relief Fund)

placée sous la présidence du Président Roosevelt.

Cette institution, d'abord destinée à maintenir l'état de santé et le bien-être des citoyens des Etats-Unis atteints par la guerre, a étendu ensuite le bénéfice de ses secours aux populations ouvrières d'Europe qui ont été sous la domination nazie.

A ce titre, nous allons recevoir d'ici le 31 Décembre une somme d'environ 10 millions que nous avons à répartir, sous notre responsabilité, après entente avec les autorités américaines et sous leur contrôle, entre les familles des fusillés et des déportés politiques.

Afin d'effectuer au plus vite ce travail, qui doit être terminé avant le 31 Décembre 1944 ou avant la date de la capitulation de l'Allemagne, si celle-ci se produit avant le 31 décembre, le Bureau confédéral a décidé ce qui suit :

1°/ La répartition sera préparée, sous la direction de chaque Union départementale, par un comité de cinq membres, trois désignés par l'U.D., deux désignés par le Comité départemental de Libération. Bien entendu, il sera tenu compte des charges actuelles de chaque famille, en écartant de ces propositions les familles qui sont dans une situation matérielle aisée. A notre grand regret, il nous faut les limiter ainsi, si nous ne voulons pas réduire à peu de chose les allocations à distribuer.

000050

2°/ Ces propositions nous seront aussitôt adressées, au plus tard le 1er décembre, en précisant les noms et adresses des bénéficiaires éventuels;

3°/ Un Comité, constitué sous la direction de la C.G.T. par trois membres de la C.G.T. et deux membres du C.N.R., arrêtera les sommes à attribuer à chaque famille. Elles seront aussitôt adressées aux U.D. et un état d'émargement nous sera envoyé en double expédition, dont l'une sera destinée à l'ambassade américaine.

Ci-dessous un modèle de l'état à nous fournir.

Recevez, Chers Camarades, mes salutations bien fraternelles.

Le Trésorier Confédéral,

P. NEUMEYER

Etat d'émargement

Nom & Prénoms	Adresse	Situation de famille	Personnes à charge	Moyens d'existence	Observations
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:

000259

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT
Embassy of the United States
James H. Mann
London
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Miss Florence Hodel
Assistant Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

VIA AIR MAIL

100260

MAR 16 1945

Dear Jim:

First of all, I want to apologize for not having written you in some time but the resignation of John Pehle and the appointment of General O'Dwyer to succeed him has kept me terribly busy.

We are now concentrating all of our efforts on the problems centering in Switzerland. We are sending Katzki who just returned from Turkey over to help McClelland on the program to get relief into enemy-controlled territory and to evacuate refugees on returning relief delivery trucks. Transportation equipment is the bottle-neck at the moment and we have high hopes that this will soon be conquered.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed copies of cables on the question of evacuating the refugees from Switzerland, on the development of our food program and on the now famous Musy negotiations. For your information, we have regarded as secret all of these documents.

General O'Dwyer planned to go to Switzerland himself the end of February and I was to accompany him. However, so many problems developed here that he felt that his attention was required in Washington. The results obtained to date proved that he was right in this decision. You will be interested to know that he was able to convince Governor Lehman and his staff that refugees coming into Switzerland from Germany are wards of UNRRA on the theory that they are in transit to UNRRA-controlled camps. UNRRA has agreed to make supplies available at the request of the War Refugee Board to the International Red Cross for the maintenance of such refugees in Switzerland until they can be moved to UNRRA camps. This naturally strengthens our hand in dealing with the Swiss on the question of caring for refugees who might be brought to Switzerland. UNRRA is also willing to take any refugees we may want to send to Philippeville or camps in Italy.

000261

- 2 -

We shall try to keep you informed of all significant developments.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Florence Hodel

Mr. James Mann,
% American Embassy,
London, England.

Enclosures.

JA
FH:hd 3/16/45

000862

FEB 5 1945

Dear Jim:

In view of John Pehle's resignation and in view of the fact that General O'Dwyer is out of town for a short while, I am taking the liberty of replying to your letters of January 13 and January 19, 1945.

In connection with the World Jewish Congress' criticism of Olsen, I wish to assure you that the Board feels that you handled this matter very well and the Board agrees with the views set forth by you. Full reports concerning Olsen's activities have been submitted to the Board and we are convinced that he did the best job possible on the Baltic rescue program.

In connection with the food parcel program from Sweden for camps in occupied countries, the World Jewish Congress representatives approached the Board along the same lines as they raised with you. For your information there is enclosed a copy of a cable which was sent to Olsen at the request of the World Jewish Congress. You will note that we propose to take no action whatsoever until we receive Olsen's recommendations and report.

Concerning the Dutch, Belgium, Luxembourg projects, Abramson has been in touch with the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. committees here. The latter groups are somewhat concerned over Abramson's dissatisfaction but this appears to be a purely internal matter. Both the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. committees have assured us of their complete satisfaction with the way the funds have been handled.

With respect to the Polish funds and your suggestion that the Polish license might be revoked, the interested groups here have urged that the basic license not be revoked but that control be exercised if a request is received for a license to remit more money. If such a request is received, the Board will cable you for advice before it recommends action on the application for the license.

Through the British Information Service in Washington, we were able to obtain a copy of the report on German atrocities at

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Breendonck, Belgium. We have been able to photostat the first twelve pages of the report and send you herewith a copy. We will be very interested however in having for our files a full report if you have been able to obtain such from the Foreign Office.

On the matter of war crimes, you have undoubtedly seen the recent publicity on the Pell resignation. You will be interested in the enclosed copy of the memorandum sent by Mr. Pehle to Mr. Stettinius on January 22, and in the statement issued by Acting Secretary of State Grew on February 1, 1945. We are following this closely and General O'Dwyer intends to pursue the same policy followed by Mr. Pehle with respect to pressing the State Department for appropriate action.

With respect to the War Refugee Board food parcel program, there are enclosed for your information copies of a recent exchange of cables with McClelland in which you will note the Board has taken the position that the packages be distributed on an equitable basis. You will also be interested in the enclosed photostatic copy of a report which McClelland forwarded and which he has requested that we keep confidential. We are not showing the list to any organizations. Kubowitzki and other representatives of the World Jewish Congress have constantly approached the Board in connection with the distribution of these parcels to Jews in concentration camps. The Board is well aware of the problem and has not failed to make its position clear with Inter-cross. The representatives of interested organizations may be so advised.

There is enclosed for your information a copy of a confidential cable received from McClelland which will be of interest to you. The matter of trucks raised by McClelland in that cable is presently being discussed with the War Department. It looks doubtful at this point whether approval will be granted.

The enclosures sent with your letter of January 13 were of great interest to the Board. Enclosure No. 6 is being translated and a copy will be sent to you for your files.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Florence Hodel

Florence Hodel
Assistant Executive Director

Mr. James H. Mann,
% American Embassy,
London, England.

Enclosures.

FH:hd 2/3/45

000264



AIR MAIL

Office of the Treasury
Representative

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD



Embassy of the United States
London, January 19, 1945.

Dear John:

Reference is made to my letter of January 13 in which I discussed among other things the Polish Funds. I am now in receipt of WRB 38 (Department's 353 January 16, 4 p.m.).

As I pointed out in my above-mentioned letter, I feel that the whole matter of sending Polish relief through the channels which are being used should be reconsidered. It is even possible that the Board may wish to revoke the Polish license. As you know, it has always been questionable as to just how much good could be done by sending money into Poland. I feel that we have made no mistake in the past in sending this money because it was something that had to be done. It was our only way of aiding the Jews and other intended Nazi victims there. However, now that the Russian offensive has liberated Warsaw and gives promise of liberating most, if not all of Poland, I think it extremely unwise to put funds in the hands of the London Poles, granted that they may be honest and upright gentlemen, for them to send to "their" underground. By permitting them to send funds into Poland through their channels the possibility exists that such funds might be used for political purposes. Such is a chance which I feel that the Board should not take in view of the present circumstances. It is a possibility which, if considered likely to occur, should be controlled by license.

In view of recent military events I feel that the Board may wish to give consideration to revoking the Polish license and telling the donor of the funds that such may be used in liberated Poland if sent through channels approved by the Treasury. I think it most unlikely that the \$200,000.00 has arrived or will arrive in time for use in occupied Poland. I shall await instructions from the Board before taking further steps with regard to this matter.

Mr. John W. Pehle,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

000265

1/ As of possible interest, I am enclosing a clipping from the "Daily Express" of January 18, 1945.

*"German Exp Camps"
Breitbeck Vol 2*

With reference to the Board's telegram No. 35 of January 8, I am advised that the report prepared by the 21 Army Group on German atrocities in Belgium has now been forwarded to the Foreign Office which will decide whether such report is to be made available to the public at this time. The newspaper stories, I am told, were based on extracts from the report. My newspaper friends who have attempted to get such extracts for me have been told that there are no more copies for distribution but that there is a copy at the Ministry of Information available for reading. As soon as the Foreign Office has arrived at a decision on this matter I shall advise you further.

2/ There is also enclosed a document in German which should be associated with enclosure No. 6 of my letter of January 13, 1945.

Very truly yours,

Jim
James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.

Enclosures.

000266

EMPIRE 'MAY DECLINE'

—Because of Palestine

Major-General Sir E. L. Spears, until recently British Minister to Syria, said in London yesterday that Britain might lose the respect of Arabs and her position in the Middle East, through policies in Palestine and the Levant.

"If we do," he added, "historians will date the decline of the Empire from the time it happens."

The Arabs in Palestine must be guaranteed against unlimited Jewish immigration.

Speaking of French policy in the Levant, General Spears said:—

"The French people would be greatly shocked if they knew of some of the things that have been done in their name."

Daily Express — 1-18-48

000267

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Embassy of the United States,

James H. Mann

London

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

VIA AIR MAIL

Please deliver to:

Mr. John W. Pehle,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

000268

January 26, 1945

Mrs. Klotz

Miss Hodel

In connection with your recent request for a copy of the reports issued by the British army concerning the German prison camp at Breendonck, Belgium, you will be interested in the attached excerpt from a letter we received from our representative in London, together with the clippings he forwarded from the leading newspaper articles appearing in the British press.

As soon as the report is received from Mr. Mann we shall send it to you.

FH:hd 1/26/45

000869

Excerpt from a letter dated January 16, 1945, from
James H. Mann, War Refugee Board Representative
in London

"The London newspapers of January 4 carried detailed accounts concerning the British army report of Nazi atrocities in Belgium. I clipped the leading newspaper articles on that date and immediately tried to find the basic reports in question. Thus far I have been unable to get either the report or the photographs. I am informed that such are not available. However, the British Foreign Office has very kindly consented to attempt to obtain these for me. You may be assured that as soon as such reports are received they will be forwarded to you by airmail. In the meanwhile, I am enclosing some of the more important newspaper clippings."

000270



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Duplicate



AIR MAIL
Office of the Treasury
Representative

✓
Embassy of the United States
London, January 16, 1945

John W. Pehle, Esq.
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Main Treasury Building,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear John:

In view of the fact that many of our couriers
appear to be delayed, I am sending herewith a
copy of my letter to you of January 13 in the hope
that either the original or this copy will reach you
right away.

Very truly yours,

Jim
James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.

*copy let. of 1/13/45 has been
placed with extra copies*

000271

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Embassy of the United States
James H. Mann

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

VIA AIR-POUCH

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. John W. Penle,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Main Treasury Building,
Washington 25, D. C.

000272



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 TREASURY DEPARTMENT
 WAR REFUGEE BOARD



AIR MAIL

Office of the Treasury
 Representative

Embassy of the United States
 London, January 13, 1945

[REDACTED]

John W. Pehle, Esq.,
 Executive Director,
 War Refugee Board,
 Main Treasury Building,
 Washington 25, D. C.

Dear John:

The work here was very slow during the latter half of December but since then has picked up quite a bit. The German drive has revived the interest of many people here in refugee rescue problems. For the past week I have, so to speak, been as busy as a cat on hot bricks.

There are a number of items which I wish to take up in this letter. Some of them I have been investigating for sometime but did not feel that I had sufficient facts to put them before the Board. I well realize that it would be much better if I were able to write separate letters on each item. However, as you know, I have to impose upon the kindness of the Treasury office for secretarial help and we do not have adequate secretarial help for that.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS CRITICISM OF OLSEN

About two weeks ago a representative here of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Zelmanowitz, asked me to have lunch with him, Mr. Adler-Rudel, who had just returned from Sweden, and Dr. Barou a prominent English businessman who is one of the leading figures in the World Jewish Congress and who has just returned from the World Jewish Congress Convention in the United States. When we were assembled it became clear that this had been arranged in order for Adler-Rudel on one hand to tell me that the War Refugee Board had done nothing constructive in Stockholm and Dr. Barou on the other to say that everyone in the United States thought that things were well being taken care of merely because the WRB had been set up.

Mr. Adler-Rudel did most of the talking. He started out by asking why didn't the WRB do more and I asked him for concrete suggestions concerning the steps which could be taken. Thereupon he proceeded to deliver quite a criticism of Iver Olsen's work in Stockholm. He referred to an article which

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date SEP 8 1977

100273

appeared in the Communist paper in Stockholm sometime around the latter part of November or the first of December which attacked the Baltic rescue scheme and said that it had only served to save refugees from the Russians all of whom were Nazis or collaborationists. During his entire criticism of the Board work in Stockholm he attempted to give the appearance of quoting the newspaper article but it was clear that he was speaking his own feelings. He pointed out that the Baltic rescue program had been responsible for saving many people but that not one Jew was included in the lot. I told him that I was aware of this fact and that the WRB representative in Stockholm had discussed this matter with me and that he and the Board regretted very much that no Jews had come out. I told Adler-Rudel that Olsen had made every effort to get them to come out but that they were all in hiding, and feared that this was just another German trick to trap them, get them out in the middle of the Baltic, and that they would never be heard of again. Adler-Rudel said that the Jews probably could have been induced to come out of hiding had the right kind of people been running the boats but since the people running the boats were known as German collaborators the Jews would not put themselves in their hands. I told him I couldn't accept this statement as fact and I asked him whether he had gone to Olsen and whether the World Jewish Congress in Stockholm had gone to the WRB representative with facts to prove that the people operating the boats were in fact collaborationists. He said that he had not taken up this matter with Olsen but that many other people had. I told him that I knew Olsen to be a very competent and reasonable fellow and that I was certain had they been able to put before him any evidence whatsoever indicating collaboration with the Germans of the boat operators, that he would have taken immediate steps to correct the situation.

1/ I have hesitated to write about this matter until I have had an opportunity to investigate it. Miss Laura Margolis, who until the last few days has been in Sweden for the Joint Distribution Committee, has just returned to London and I asked her about the newspaper article. She did not know of the newspaper article but was aware of the criticism which had been levelled at Iver by the World Jewish Congress and said that it was most unjustified. I am enclosing a statement which she has given me on this matter which pays high tribute to the work which Iver did there. Miss Margolis says that sometime ago the World Jewish Congress people there criticized the WRB to her along the lines mentioned to me by Adler-Rudel. She defended the Board and Olsen against such attack and asked "What has kept you people from saving the Jews in the Baltic states? You've been operating here since 1940". My talks with Miss Margolis have confirmed the impression which I have always had, namely, that Iver has done the best that could be done under the circumstances in Stockholm.

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I am afraid that this story has had too widespread circulation. Miss Margolis tells me that a day or so ago when she talked with Sir Herbert Emerson and Pat Malin they both asked her about it. She told them that it was quite unfounded and praised the effort which Iver had made. I gather from her conversation that Pat Malin appeared to be particularly interested.

2/ In connection with the sending of Wallenberg to Budapest, there is enclosed a letter which Miss Margolis has given me and which may be of interest to the Board.

FOOD PARCELS FROM SWEDEN FOR CAMPS IN OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

It would be appreciated if someone on the Board could furnish me with the details concerning the shipment and distribution of the WRB food parcels, giving among other things a list of the concentration camps to which they are sent, the organizations making the distribution, and the mechanics of shipment and distribution.

The World Jewish Congress representatives here have for sometime been discussing with me their food parcel program in Sweden. They have said that they were short of funds for carrying on this project and have asked whether the WRB would be interested in financing the program. I have answered that I didn't know but that I would mention this matter to the Board.

3/ It appears that sometime ago the World Jewish Congress obtained a license for 100,000 kilos of food to be sent from Sweden into German occupied territory. Such food is obtained in Sweden and has been distributed by the Swedish YMCA. According to the WJC representatives this is a great scheme but as usual they find themselves short of funds. There is enclosed a memorandum on this matter prepared for me by Miss Laura Margolis. Apparently the JDC has funds to carry out this program if the WJC would turn the license over to them, which the latter will not do. The second installment of 10,000 parcels is now going forward under a JDC guarantee since the people in Sweden will not operate on the basis of a guarantee given only by the WJC. I am given to understand that this program is proceeding much more slowly than it should because of lack of funds on the part of the WJC and reluctance to let the JDC take over. Unless something is worked out on this by the time the second 10,000 parcels have been shipped it is altogether possible that things will come to a standstill. One possible solution of this matter might be to have the WRB take over the license and conduct the program in its name and the JDC finance it. I have attempted to sound out both organizations here on this point and gathered that the JDC probably would be willing to do this but the WJC in view of the fact that the Congress people in the United States have guaranteed the program would be extremely reluctant to turn

over the license. When I have asked the WJC whether the JDC had funds to finance the program, they have indicated that they did not want to have the JDC funds used unless some "coordinated arrangement" could be worked out. I would appreciate an expression of the Board's views on whether I should attempt to work out this matter along the lines which I have indicated in the event that it appears that the WJC will not have sufficient funds to carry on the program. I gather that there has been considerable friction between the WJC and the JDC on this point.

In mentioning the food parcel scheme to me the WJC representatives state that they have in Sweden about 6,000 names of persons to whom packages could be sent but that even with their present program they are not able to send packages to these people. I have told them that I would communicate this fact to the WRB. Accordingly, the Board may care to instruct the distributing agency in Sweden to consider sending WRB parcels to such addressees as the WJC representative in Sweden is able to furnish.

The WJC states also that there is an urgent need for clothing to be distributed in the various concentration camps. I am certain that the Board is well aware of this and that various programs no doubt are presently under way for sending such clothing as is possible into the German occupied countries. Any information which the Board can give me on this point would be appreciated.

VISIT TO LONDON OF IRVING ABRAMSON

As the Board is aware from cables which I have sent, Irving Abramson, who is the head of the CIO War Relief Committee arrived in London around the middle of December and left London on January 1. Abramson and I discussed the various labor projects and I think he was satisfied with all except the Dutch-Belgian-Luxembourg project. He felt that it had been kicked around and that there had been too much red tape which resulted in the fact that the funds had not been used. I tried to explain to Abramson that the funds had not been handled through London until recently, that I was wholly ignorant of the Belgian and Luxembourg funds but was aware of the fact that the Dutch situation was in something of a mess and that so far Oldenbroek, the Dutch representative here had been of little or no help to me in untangling it. Abramson agreed with me that such assurances as Oldenbroek had given could not be considered satisfactory assurances. I pointed out to Abramson that the WRB's interest in such funds as were sent to the French, Polish and Czechoslovak groups was the same as his, namely, that we wanted to see that money spent for relief or rescue work in the occupied territories as soon as possible. I pointed out that I had continually urged the representatives of those groups to use the funds for the purpose intended and I reviewed my experiences in each case for

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him. I think he was satisfied with the WRB's part in the case of the French, Polish, and Czech funds but was not altogether satisfied with the way the Dutch fund had been handled. I must confess to you that I agree with him. I think that Abramson understands that the fault was not the WRB's but that the Dutch and the remitting groups were at fault.

WRB 31 arrived after Abramson had departed and I accordingly was not able to advise him of the contents of that cable. I am now in touch with Rens and hope that by putting pressure on him I can see that this program is carried out from London. Rens, however, is extremely pessimistic concerning the chances of rescue.

POLISH FUNDS

Pursuant to WRB 30 confirming the action which I had taken in holding up the remittance to the Polish group I have now advised the Poles that those funds are available in London at an unnamed bank but that they will not be turned over to them until a report is received by the donor groups in the United States which satisfies them that the \$250,000 heretofore made available has been sent into Poland. Gotesman of the Polish Ministry of Finance has advised me that he has received cables stating that the first \$50,000 has been received by the Polish underground and that the remaining \$200,000 is packed and ready to be sent to Poland. He says he will have receipts when a courier comes through. I must say that I have no confidence whatsoever in the way the Polish program is now being handled. The London Poles who have contacts with the underground or supposedly have contacts with the underground are, as you know, in a desperate political position. In view of their desperate position I cannot place too much faith in their sending money into Poland for relief of people in the German occupied part of that country. (You have noted, no doubt, the Lublin accusation that the Polish underground army has persecuted the Jews and the fact that the London Poles have seen fit to make public denial of this. See Jewish Telegraphic Agency report 1/11/45.)

When I have asked repeatedly about the remaining \$200,000 I have received the vaguest kind of answers. Before proceeding further with this program I feel that the Board should check with the War Department and have the War Department determine whether in fact any United States currency has been shipped from Italy to Poland. I am sorry that I am unable to learn from the Poles here the airfields in Italy from which such currency is supposedly sent. It is my feeling that the Board should be extremely careful about any kind of monetary relief being sent to Poland at this time because (1) there is the

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possibility that such funds might not arrive there or (2) since it is being sent by the London Poles there is always the possibility that some of it might be used for political purposes against the Russians. Regardless of any reports that may be furnished me I shall continue to sit tight on the \$75,000 until I have heard further from you. Any reports which I receive will, of course, be forwarded to you immediately by airmail.

WRB CABLE NO. 33 CONCERNING HUNGARIAN JEWS IN SWITZERLAND

Immediately upon receipt of the above mentioned cable (Saturday, January 6, 1945) I prepared a letter and sent it to the Foreign Office, asking Mason if the British would consent to the 1,355 persons who had reached Switzerland from Bergen-Belsen going to Palestine. I followed this up on Monday with a personal call on Mason. He told me that he had not had time to clear with all the Departments. However, he indicated the possibility of favorable action. I have not cabled these preliminaries since I have been expecting to receive a definite answer any day now. It is quite possible that one will have been received and cabled to the Board before this letter arrives. I have mentioned this matter to the Ambassador and told him that the Board attached great importance to the evacuation of these people from Switzerland to Palestine. Both he and Gallman (Counselor of Embassy) have said that if I were unable to get results by working on the Foreign Office level at which this thing had been started they would both be glad to take it up with higher authorities.

DEPARTMENT'S 135, JANUARY 6, 4p.m. CONCERNING NEGOTIATIONS IN SWITZERLAND

Through Joseph Schwartz who is presently in London I have obtained detailed information concerning the negotiations which are and have been progressing in Switzerland. I have given this story to the Ambassador who has expressed a keen personal interest.

Immediately upon receipt of the telegram in question a letter was prepared to the Foreign Office. I have seen Mason personally since he received that letter and he has expressed himself as being greatly interested and has requested that I keep him advised of any developments which I have promised to do.

WRB TELEGRAM NO. 35

The London newspapers of January 4 carried detailed accounts concerning the British army report of Nazi atrocities in Belgium. I clipped the leading newspaper articles on that date and immediately tried to find the basic reports in question. Thus far I have been unable to get either the report or the photographs. I am informed that such are not available.

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However, the British Foreign Office has very kindly consented to attempt to obtain these for me. You may be assured that as soon as such reports are received they will be forwarded to you by airmail. In the meanwhile, I am enclosing some of the more important newspaper clippings.

RESIGNATION BRITISH MEMBER WAR CRIMES COMMITTEE

You no doubt are aware of the fact that Sir Cecil Hurst, Chairman and British delegate of the British War Crimes Commission has resigned. The newspapers here all say that the resignation was brought about because of differences between him and the Foreign Office concerning what constitutes a war crime. Sir Cecil apparently wanted to consider crimes committed by the Germans against other Germans and against nationals of the Allied states as war crimes, whereas the British Foreign Office did not, or at least refused to take a stand on this question favoring his position. Sir Cecil's case seems parallel to that of poor old Herbert Pell. There is gossip here to the effect that the War Crimes Commission is going to fold up. Pell is supposedly returning here with the answer as to whether the Commission will continue. You, no doubt, know more about this matter than I do.

FRENCH FUNDS

So far as I can ascertain, the French funds are still in France and unspent. They are in the hands of Pierre Neumeyer, Treasurer of the C.G.T. I have had some correspondence by cable with Hoffman on this matter and he has made it clear to Neumeyer that under the terms of the present license the funds could not be used in liberated France. Furthermore he has given Neumeyer to understand that the funds could be used to rescue French workers deported to Germany or to give relief to such workers. I understand that Neumeyer is presently trying to put such a program into effect. I talked with Hoffman by phone today and he had not heard definitely on this point.

Guigui, upon whom I pinned such high hopes in the early stages of the game has more or less disassociated himself from this matter. I am afraid that the instructions which he gave Neumeyer while he (Guigui) was in Paris were everything but clear. I shall call Hoffman again within a few days by way of cross channel phone to determine whether he has been able to get Neumeyer to put these funds in operation.

A short while ago when the CIO delegation was over here making plans with the British for the forthcoming labor conference in February, R. J. Thomas and a Mr. Aps called on me and asked if these funds could not be used in liberated France. I informed them that they could not without first having the license amended which would have to be done in Washington.

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I pointed out to them that there was still a big job of rescue and relief in the occupied countries to be done and urged that they make no attempts to have the license amended until they had satisfied themselves that there were no possibilities for using such funds to relieve or rescue French workers deported to Germany. They told me that they were well aware of this problem and that they would give the matter due consideration before asking that the license be amended.

DR. A. LEON KUBOWITZKI

As the WRB is aware, Dr. A. Leon Kubowitzki has been in London for something like a week. Immediately upon his arrival here Dr. Kubowitzki called upon me and he had four things which he wanted me to do. (1) Call upon Mr. Haccius the delegate here of the International Red Cross and urge upon him the importance of the IRC making a public declaration to the effect that stateless people held in concentration camps should be accorded the treatment prescribed for civilian internees under the Geneva Convention. (2) To contact the various neutrals represented here and urge them to establish consulates, etc., in South Austria for the purpose of getting protection papers into the hands of refugees. (3) Urge the bombing of the extermination camps in Poland as well as the railroads leading to them. (4) Find out the concentration camps to which the IRC was sending food parcels.

In connection with the latter, Kubowitzki feels that the IRC is not sending food to concentration camps in which Jews are kept. He continually stated that he would certainly not say that the IRC was anti-semitic but that he was interested in knowing the camps to which food parcels were being sent. If such information is available to you, I would appreciate your making it available to me. If I receive a list of the camps you may be assured that I will use all discretion concerning any information which I turn over to Kubowitzki inasmuch as I have dealt with him before.

I told him that I would see Haccius which I expect to do next week and that I would also discuss his project with the neutrals to see what they planned to do. I told him that the WRB had put up the matter of the bombing of the extermination camps to the War Department and that I knew nothing further that we could do. Kubowitzki stated that the WRB opposed the bombing of these camps. I told him that I felt he was mistaken there and reminded him that the Board had on at least two occasions put this matter up to the military authorities. Dr. Kubowitzki has just furnished me with two reports which are old but he has asked that I forward them to the Board. Such reports are enclosed.

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Kubowitzki in his talks with me has urged that measures be taken to have the International Red Cross distribute food and clothing to Hungarian Jews deported to Southern Austria to work on fortifications. He states that the WJC delegate in Geneva assures him that the necessary food and clothing can be purchased in Switzerland and liberated areas. I think there can be no doubt but that this is a worthwhile project. However, it may be questionable whether the necessary food and clothing can be purchased as stated by the WJC delegate. I would appreciate your advising me of anything being done on this project.

Kubowitzki has suggested that such a project could be financed by Inter-Governmental Committee funds. I have told him that in such case he should approach the IGC. He appears very much interested in what he terms the IGC funds and has asked me a number of questions about them. I have told him that I have no knowledge of such funds but he seems to think that the WRB and the State Department are trying to keep certain information from him. He says that he has asked you about this matter and that your replies have been "extremely vague". As of possible interest to you I will give you the story he relates to me.

It appears that sometime last Spring Dr. Nahum Goldman approached the then Assistant Secretary of State, Breckinridge Long, and requested that Congress be asked to appropriate funds for relief of Jews and others in occupied Europe. Long explained that there was a lot of red tape involved and that such an appropriation probably would never go through. According to Kubowitzki he then went on to say that there were funds available, viz., about 4 1/2 million dollars earmarked for the IGC and that this formed a part of a ten million dollar fund to which the British were pledged to contribute about four million. Kubowitzki and Goldman have searched and can't seem to locate the fund. He says Sir Herbert tells him the fund never existed and that the British never pledged to contribute four million dollars. I have told him that any information concerning IGC financing should come from the IGC, that I was not informed about the technicalities of IGC financing and that I was not authorized to speak for the IGC.

As I recall, the last IGC funds were put up by the Board out of funds made available to it by the President's Fund, and that there has been no answer to the Embassy's cable concerning IGC funds for 1945. I have told Kubowitzki nothing about IGC financing.

In connection with the above, Kubowitzki has given me a cable for Goldman concerning the "\$10,000,000 fund" which I shall transmit through WRB facilities.

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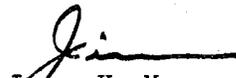
Kubowitzki has furnished me with a report in German furnished him by Frischer of the Czech Government. I am enclosing this report for such use as the Board may care to make of it. Should you find anything in the report which you might care to make public, please let me know in advance and I am certain that I could obtain the permission of the Czechs. The report is said to have been prepared and forwarded through the Czech underground. (I regret that I do not have facilities for obtaining a translation of the report. If a translation is made, I would appreciate receiving a copy.)

SCHWARTZ' VISIT TO LONDON

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Dr. Joseph Schwartz arrived in London around January 1 and is still here but expected to leave for Paris any day. He has given me a detailed account of the situation in Switzerland and he and I have explored a number of problems. He is most helpful and cooperative. Through the facilities of the WRB Schwartz has sent a number of messages to various of the neutral and liberated countries as well as some to the JDC in New York. One message which shows the continually recurring disagreement between the JDC and the WJC is enclosed, together with the reply which Schwartz made.

Very truly yours,

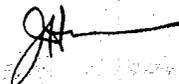

James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.

Enclosures.

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P.S. There are also enclosed a translation of a report entitled "The Situation in Slovakia" and a report in German. While these are rather ancient, they were given to me only a short while ago by the World Jewish Congress. The above-mentioned reports furnished me just now by Kubowitzki are ancient but he has requested that they be forwarded to you. (Enclosure # 5).

If the Board has copies made of any of the enclosed documents, I would appreciate your sending copies to me for my files.



no enclosures need in files, marked #4

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MEMORANDUM

REGARDING MR. IVER C. OLSEN, WAR REFUGEE BOARD, STOCKHOLM.

FOR: MR. JAMES MANN.

January 12th, 1945.

It is my impression both from my conversations with Mr. Olsen and from my knowledge of the refugee situation in Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, that Mr. Olsen did everything which was technically possible in order to rescue Jews from the Baltic countries.

It is a well known fact that those Jews who did survive in those countries, were hidden deep in the interior, and from my conversations with non-Jews who escaped from these regions, I am sure that many Jews who had an opportunity of escaping with guides sent over by the War Refugee Board, felt that it was too risky.

Mr. Olsen at all times, was prepared to listen and to cooperate with all persons in Stockholm who had plans for rescue work. The fact that no Jews were rescued I am convinced, is not due to any lack of effort or of interest on the part of Mr. Olsen. I feel that his inability to bring Jews out of the Baltic countries was entirely due to the physical difficulties surrounding such rescue work.

Furthermore, I found with reference to my own work, that Mr. Olsen was very well informed about the refugee problem in Stockholm generally, and although he was not in Stockholm long after my arrival, he was at all times, helpful and prepared to do whatever I asked of him.

Mr. Olsen was in an extremely difficult position since there were so many various groups bringing pressure on him to act. These are also the same groups and people who have criticised him. Many of these people discussed their fantastic rescue schemes with me, and to say that the schemes were fantastic, is putting it mildly. If Mr. Olsen did not act on all of these schemes, then it is due to his correct judgment, and not to his unwillingness to be helpful.

I regret deeply any reflections on the interest and helpfulness of Mr. Olsen with regard to the rescue of Jews from the Baltic.

Laura F. Margolis
LAURA MARGOLIS

Enclosure No. 1

000283

TRANSRADIO INTERNACIONAL

COMPANIA ARGENTINA TELECOMUNICACIONES S. A.

CORRIENTES 500
ESQUINA SAN MARTIN
BUENOS AIRES
TEL. 31 RETIRO 4701



TELEGRAFIA AL EXTERIOR
TELEFONIA INTERNACIONAL
FOTO TELEGRAFIA
SERVICIO RADIO MARITIMO

TELEGRAMA

No BS258 SDK4 CH

1944 SEP 21 AM 3 1944

STOCKHOLM 68 20 1930

LT HELLMAN CORRIENTES 2024 BAIRE

UPON APPLICATION RECOMMENDATION STOCKHOLM CONGRESSECTION SWEDISH
GOVERNMENT JUNE SENT RAOUL WALLEBERG SPECIAL MISSION HELP HUN-
GARIAN JEWS ENGAGED 40 JEWS ARRANGED 5000 SWEDISH PROTECTION
PASSPORTS FURTHER 4000 READY NEXT FEW DAYS GIVING ALMOST FULL
PROTECTION AGAINST DEPORTATION STOP TRANSIT TO SWEDEN DECLINED
TRYING CONCENTRATE IN SPECIAL

HEL PAGE2/18

BUILDINGS UNDER SWEDISH PROTECTION GOVERNMENT DOING UTMOST STOP
CABLE NAMES IMPORTANT PERSONS WHERE YOU WISH INTERVENTION

HITEL STORCH

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AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

110 REGENT STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1,
ENGLAND.

January 12th, 1945.

James Mann, Esq.,
War Refugee Board,
American Embassy,
1 Grosvenor Square,
W.1.

Dear Mr. Mann,

Attached is a clipping from the 'Mundo Israelita', published in Buenos Aires on October 7th, 1944. With regard to this telegram sent by Hilel Storch, I think you should know the following.

I attended the opening meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Stockholm about the middle of October. Mr. Storch gave a report of the activities of the Swedish section, which claimed the credit for having sent Mr. Wallenberg to Budapest, and for having arranged the Swedish Protection Passports. At the end of this report, Professor Ehrenpreis, who is Chairman of the Swedish section of the World Jewish Congress, stated at this public meeting, that he regretted deeply not having had an opportunity of reading Mr. Storch's report before this meeting. Professor Ehrenpreis publicly stated that the sending of Mr. Wallenberg to Budapest was not initiated by the Congress, and that as far as arranging for Swedish Protection Passports, most of the credit for this work must be given to the Mosaiska Forsamlingen in Stockholm. (Mosaiska Forsamlingen is the organized Swedish Jewish community)

The facts regarding the sending of Mr. Wallenberg to

Enclosure No. 2

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Budapest, as far as I have been able to determine it are as follows.

Mr. Wallenberg who is a personal friend of Mr. Vonwhl, a Hungarian Jew, now residing in Stockholm, was introduced to Mr. Iver Olsen by Mr. Vonwhl. It was Mr. Olsen who negotiated with the Swedish Government and obtained permission for Mr. Wallenberg to go to Budapest to see what he could do to help the Jewish people. Mr. Olsen gave Mr. Wallenberg 250,000 dollars of the JDC's money, and told Mr. Wallenberg that an additional sum of 250,000 was available in Stockholm from the JDC if needed.

The entire idea of issuing Swedish Protection Passports for Jews in Budapest was Mr. Wallenberg's. This information was given to me a week before I left, by one of the Secretaries of the Swedish Legation in Budapest, who arrived in Stockholm. In fact, she stated that the Swedish Minister, Mr. Danielson, was quite sceptical, and thought that nothing effective would result, but Wallenberg insisted on trying it.

The Foreign Office in Stockholm accepted applications for Swedish protection visas only from persons in Stockholm who had close relatives in Budapest. Such applications were received through the Mosaiska Forsamlingen and then cabled to Budapest.

It is true that Mr. Storch also filed such requests at the Foreign Office, but this was something which any person residing in Stockholm could do if he could prove that the person in Budapest for whom he was requesting this passport, was related.

There were thousands of applications for such Passports at the Foreign Office, but only the first 4500 requests were cabled to Budapest and issued there. I know this from personal experience, because I arrived in Stockholm too late to be able to help my own aunt, who

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AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

110 REGENT STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1,
ENGLAND.

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is in Budapest. Although applications were taken after
September 17th, they remained on file in the Foreign
office in Stockholm.

Yours sincerely,
Lana L Margolis

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MEMORANDUM

REGARDING THE PARCEL SERVICE
FROM
STOCKHOLM.

January 11th, 1945.

When I arrived in Stockholm on September 26th, 1944, prepared to start a parcel service with money appropriated by the JDC, I was told by Mr. Storch of the World Jewish Congress and Mr. Adler-Rudel of the Jewish Agency, that the World Jewish Congress had procured a Swedish license for 100,000 kilos of food-stuffs for parcels to Theresienstadt and Bergen-Belsen. The Blockade Authorities granted their permission about the 20th October, and from that date, all preparations were made by the Congress for sending parcels to Theresienstadt and Bergen-Belsen.

About the first of December, I was told that the parcel service had to be stopped because no money had as yet, been transmitted from the World Jewish Congress in New York. The 10,000 sent up to this time, had been guaranteed by Mr. Storch personally, pending the arrival of funds.

On December 12th, I proposed to the World Jewish Congress that since they had no money, they allow the JDC to finance the balance of their license. There remained about 75,000 kilos of food-stuffs. This offer was turned down and it was impossible for the JDC to procure a license on our own, in view of the fact that an unfinished license was pending. The Congress agreed however, that Professor Ehrenpreis, Chairman of the Swedish section of the World Jewish Congress, sent a cable to New York insisting that the Congress declare themselves regarding their ability to finance this project by

Enclosure No. 3

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December 22nd.

On December 26th, the World Jewish Congress sent the following cable to Professor Ehrenpreis:

"CONFIRMING YOUR CABLE REGARDING FOOD PACKAGES STOP EXECUTIVE AUTHORISE US GUARANTEE FULL PAYMENTS INVOLVED TRANSACTION STOP DELAY REMITTANCE MONEY DUE EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSE INCURRED WAR EMERGENCY CONFERENCE BUT NOW MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REMIT VERY SOON STOP YOU AUTHORISED PROCEED FULL PAYMENTS STEPHEN WISE GOLDMAN"

In view of this cable I considered the matter definitely settled, namely, that the parcels would continue to be sponsored by the Swedish section of the World Jewish Congress. The situation developed however, that the Jewish community of Stockholm called the Mosaiska Forsamlingen, in whose hands the technical details for the service were, refused to underwrite the monies needed to continue the service, on the basis of the Congress's guarantee. The Mosaiska Forsamlingen was still hoping that they would get the sponsorship of the parcels themselves with the JDC's funds, and therefore, in order not to discontinue the service while they were continuing negotiations with the Swedish section of the Congress, asked the JDC to guarantee the second 10,000 parcels. In order to keep the service running while the sponsorship was being clarified, I guaranteed for payments of the second 10,000 parcels, in case the money for this did not arrive from the Congress in New York.

The JDC has appropriated a total of 108,000 dollars for food parcels from Stockholm, of which 36,000 dollars has already been transmitted to Stockholm, and is placed in a JDC account in the name of Ragnar Gottfarb, who is acting as JDC Secretary for Sweden.

At the time I left, the service was continuing, but I cannot tell

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at what rate, in view of the fact that the Swedish Jewish Community was attempting to secure the sponsorship for themselves in view of the uncertainty of Congress's money being forthcoming.

Laura L. Margolis

LAURA MARGOLIS

translation from German.

8th August, 1944.

The reports about the examination of Jews, the centres of extermination and the methods of extermination have to be supplemented by the following details about Hungary:

It is certain that between May 15 and June 16 111 Transport trains left Hungary. Between the 25th June and 29 July, 9 transport trains left; between 6 July and 10 July 18 Transport trains left and on 20 July another Transport train left Hungary. All these Transports left from Kauschaa, Kyssak, Presov, Orlov, Sands, Krakau for Auschwitz-Birkenau. Each Transport consisted of 45 wagons. In each wagon there were on an average 80 persons. They were transported standing up, pressed one against the other in wagons without air, water or food. The journey took at least 3 days. Sometimes the journeys were interrupted, for reasons which are unknown to us. We know of one Transport which was stopped. This happened on the 20th July. At the beginning of July already the Hungarians told the Germans that the deportations would have to stop on July 10th. On July 10th another Transport was ready for departure when an Order from the Hungarian Government arrived stating that this Transport should not leave, as deportations had stopped. The people who were already in the Wagons were to be brought back to the Camp. For this the Germans took revenge when on the 19th July a hundred S.S. men entered the Camp with 25 lorries and carried out the deportations without the aid of the Hungarians. From all this it is evident that the Germans could also carry out deportations without Hungarian aid. It must be admitted that deportations had stopped by the Hungarians after 80% of the Jews had already been deported and murdered and 95% has been deprived of their economic possibilities of existence. But this is not enough.

The Germans believe that they had been fooled. Firstly the Jews had made a laughing stock of them in Turkey. Secondly the Hungarians had stopped the deportations by reason of the demands of Germany's enemies. From this it follows that negotiations must be conducted with both parties, if deportations are to be stopped from within: (1) with the Hungarians (2) also with the Germans, but the negotiations with the Germans are more important than those with the Hungarians. To stop the deportation of Jews several means can be adopted. One, in particular, is the destruction of railway tracks and of extermination camps.

And now work it out for yourselves: what have we done and what have you done to strengthen our position. We must admit that you have done a lot in connection with the Hungarians although you started far too late with the endeavours to save two to three million Jews, which should have been sacred duty. But as far as Germany is concerned, you have failed completely. Admittedly honestly: the Germans sent in strictest secrecy a delegate to negotiate about money and materials; on the Allied side, that is to say on outside wide publicity is given to the matter not in order to further it but to destroy it. It is blared out, that one does not want to negotiate. The Germans thereupon state publicly that the whole thing is a lie and that they had never sent a delegate to negotiate about the sale of Jews.

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"Europe can rest assured that the Jewish question will not be solved in the spirit of petty policy of shopkeepers." The danger is very great that the Germans in order to take revenge will attack the remainder of the Jews in Hungary and in other countries. At the moment the door is still open for negotiations.

We replied to the Germans saying that the official declaration by the Allied Governments had been made only for the public at large but that in reality the Germans would soon get all they had demanded.

You should know that we only have to deliver 250 Lorries (makkoroth which may also mean tanks), although we had to promise more. What difference can these 200 tanks make to the war? Is it not worth to save hundreds of thousands of lives? How many of the belligerent Governments have not delivered to the Germans lorries which are now helping to prolong the war? But now when it is a matter of saving Jews, people shrink back from taking such a step. Moreover all we ask for is money and nothing else. No material but 50 million Swiss francs. Is it necessary that you should know what is being done with the money? You can work it out for yourselves by how much this sum can prolong the war, at the utmost five minutes? We should also like to stress that we do not necessarily need 250 cars exactly. We know this from the Germans themselves. The German intermediaries had to tell the Nazi leaders that 10,000 cars would be delivered. But if in fact only the first 250 arrive the Nazis will have to be satisfied with that. It was agreed that a hundred persons should be set free in exchange for 1 car.

Again you should realize that all we need is money and nothing else. As regards dealing with the deportations from outside this is a matter which is entirely in your hands and not in ours. What have you done during the period of the deportations in order to destroy the railway tracks and the extermination camps, in particular as regards the line Zilina Oazoa, the only one which is still running to-day to Auschwitz? You cannot imagine perhaps that this small arrangement could prevent the extermination of the Jews in view of the fact that this extermination is the chief aim of the Germans. But the Germans have other worries apart from the Jews. Now after 6 million Jews have already been murdered in different places, certain leaders have been appointed for the extermination of the Jews. The supreme chief is Eichmann, who was born in Haifa. He speaks Hebrew and Arabic and is an inmate friend of the Mufti of Jerusalem. According to the evidence of one of his closest friends, the Mufti is the initiator of the whole process of extermination. One can find daily proof to show that Eichmann and the Mufti are in full agreement. The Mufti influenced Himmler through Eichmann, who is a friend of Himmler's, to organize the extermination of the Jews in this manner. Eichmann, who now realizes how the war is going to end, would like to save his own skin and that of his friends by saying that Hitler and Himmler were responsible for all the murders and destructions and not he, but that the salvation of the few who are being saved now is his merit. That is to say, that for the destruction of 9 million, Hitler is responsible, but for the salvation of the 1 million who are still left, the credit is due to him. In order to be able to tell Himmler that there had been enough deportations he began negotiations with the Jews for 10,000 lorries. In fact however Eichmann himself stated that 250 lorries would be enough. Please send the money. Believe us when we say that in this way you can really save lives. None of you from outside can understand this. When Brandt was sent from Budapest on the mission in question to Turkey, the Germans themselves stated that they were sending him. ~~Zyah Zheyxnewx~~

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We
They know that Brandt is not very clever.
Any know that Brandt does not know the background, motives and paradoxes
of this whole policy, but we who have been conducting the negotiations
for some months know with certainty that the possibility exists here for
rescue and there is no suspicion here that the war could thereby be
prolonged; perhaps you do not know of Brandt's mission. In that case go
and ask the Minister of Foreign Affairs or enquire at Zurich or from
Hugo Dinnebaum and Nathan Schwalb, but you must not delay and the main
thing is the bombardment of the Railway Tracks leading to those places.

Translation from German —

14th August, 1944.

All reports about the extermination of Jews in the different countries especially in Hungary must be supplemented by explanations why deportations from Hungary were stopped on July 10th. The reason is as follows:

The deportations from all occupied countries as e.g. from Poland is a matter which was exclusively in the hands of the Germans. The deportations from countries allied with Germany such as Bulgaria, Rumania and Slovakia on the other hand is a matter in which two parties have a say; one is the country which deports its Jews, such as Rumania, Bulgaria and Slovakia and the other one is the country which takes them, Germany. In all these allied countries, Germany behaves as if she had nothing to do with the carrying out of the deportations. It is pretended that the Governments of those allied countries had made urgent requests to Germany to relieve them of their Jews and that Germany acceded to their requests. Hungary is a country which is an intermediate position between an ally and an Occupied-country. Hitherto the Germans behaved in this matter towards Hungary as if it were an ally. They left the carrying out of the deportations to the Hungarians who conducted them with the utmost enthusiasm. After more than half a million Jews had already been deported from Hungary to Birkenau and had been slaughtered there, the Pope and the King of Sweden protested. Their protests probably made some impression on the Hungarians. As a result, they informed the Germans that deportations would cease on July 10th. For this reason the Hungarians did all they could to deport another 60,000 Jews between July 6th - 10th. On July 10th a Transport was already for departure from the Kyrstaroza camp. The deportees were already in the sealed wagons when a Hungarian messenger arrived with a written order that the wagons should be opened and the people should be taken back to the camp. As the execution of this order lay in the hands of the Hungarians and not in German hands it was in effect carried out.

As you know the Germans and Hungarians are negotiating with the Jews to stop the deportations on the basis of a barter of Jews in exchange for money and materials. We have informed you on several other occasions of this. These negotiations whose importance you either failed or refused to realize, which involve 300 lorries and 20 million dollars (as we have already told you several times) failed. The publication of these negotiations between the Germans and the Jews, by Jews was an insult to the Germans. To this must be added that the deportations were stopped not by the Germans, but by the Hungarians. As a result, on the 20th of July the Germans themselves entered the Kyrstaroza camp and carried out the deportations without Hungarian aid. Hungarian police looked on. The carrying out of this deportation was no longer conducted in the style used for an Allied country but for an occupied country. On the 5th of August the Germans also entered the Sracar camp and carried out deportations there in the same way as in Kyrstaroza. They sent the deportees to Auschwitz via Gallenta, Sered, Leopoldow, Zilina and Oadca. It is quite evident that the Germans are preparing further deportations of Jews in hiding. All these transports are sent by the same route to Auschwitz. (The rail routes to be taken have already been agreed upon between the Hungarians, Germans and Slovaks.

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.2.

I have learned from German and Hungarian sources in the camps and from the railway-men shows that in the next few days the Germans will deport another 300,000 Jews to Auschwitz, or if Auschwitz should be destroyed, to Sachsenhausen where they will be exterminated. All this can easily be prevented by the following measures:

1. The destruction of the railway lines Zilina, Cadca, Budapest, Callanta and by the destruction of all railway lines which run from Hungary to Poland and Germany including the lines connecting them with the camps.
2. The destruction of the extermination camps.
3. Strong protest against the terrible murders.
4. Retaliatory measures.

In addition one should negotiate with the Germans. For this purpose one does not only need the 20 million dollars and the 300 lorries. Work it out yourself, what is more important and whether these things will really prolong the war, is it not worth while to save 300,000 members of the people which has already lost two-thirds of its members and nine-tenth of whom have already been deprived of the possibility of existence?

Whose heart and ear are hardened to such an extent that he does not understand this and that he cannot hear the cries of millions who have been destroyed in this way although there was a possibility to save them? You lacked faith and understanding to save them. Do you still not hear the cries for help by the hundreds of thousands who have been left out of ten million Jews who were still alive two years ago and who were in the power of the murderer at a time when there were still possibilities for rescue, but one did not want to save them?

According to the statement by the German HAJEK the extermination plan is an idea of the Mufti, who is a friend of the Gaifa-born Richmann.

P.S.

1. I forgot to write that the camp-elder who organized the revolt in Treblinka was a Czech Jew whose name I unfortunately do not know.
2. Please watch the camps of Sereb, Novaky, Vyhne, Krupinka in connection with deportations.
3. We know that apart from these big extermination camps were also some small extermination camps where Jews were killed, such as Kattaowice, Minsk and other places.

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Tatsachenbericht über die Vernichtungslager der Juden.

In diesen Bericht sind nur wesentliche Momente, von direkten Zeugen, erster Quelle, aufgenommen. Ueber Birkenau /Auschwitz/, Maidanek /Lublin/ und Treblinka /Malkinia/ liegen mindestens je zwei, voneinander unabhängige Zeugenaussagen, aus erster Quelle, vor, über Belzec eine direkte und eine indirekte, aus zweiter Hand und über Sobibor eine direkte Aussage. Es handelt sich bei diesen Zeugen durchwegs um Juden, die erwiesenermassen in diese Lager eingeliefert wurden und denen es schliesslich gelang von dort zu fliehen. Diese Juden waren dort, bei der Vernichtung der Juden, entweder in "Sonderkommando" oder als "Arbeitsjuden" anwesend.

Ueber alle diese Lager liegen auch eine Reihe von vollkommen einwandfreien arischen Aussagen vor, darunter auch S/S Männern, die zur Bewachungsmannschaft dieser Lager gehören.

Das Ziel der Vernichtungslager ist die systematische Ausrottung der Juden Europas.

Bei der Errichtung einzelner Vernichtungslager und bei Beginn von besonders starken Kampagnen während dem Betrieb wurden diese regelmässige von Himmler und andren hochstehenden Notabilitäten der Gestapo und S/S inspiziert. Zweifellos gehen von den Vernichtungslagern ordnungsgemässe Berichte ins Führerhauptquartier.

Jeder in Vernichtungslager eintreffende Transport muss der Zentralstelle in Berlin gemeldet werden. Die Vernichtung erfolgt erst nach Einlangen eines speziellen telephonischen Befehles /Phonogrammes/ von Berlin. Keine Vernichtung darf vorher vorgenommen werden. Es kommt öfters vor, dass Transporte einige Tage stehen, "weil aus Berlin das Phonogramm noch nicht da ist" und sie werden erst nach Einlangen des Phonogrammes vernichtet.

Obwohl in diesen Lagern bis nun, systematisch und fabrikmässig, nur Juden vernichtet wurden, sind oft Aeusserungen verschiedener hochgestellter Funktionäre dieser Lager gefallen, dass diese Lager, nach Ausrottung der Juden, zur Vernichtung von weiteren 300- 400 Millionen Feinden des Reiches dienen sollen. Man hat dort oft die Bemerkung gehört, dass die Juden nur den Reigen eröffnen und zur Schulung gehören.

I.

Obwohl Plan und Betriebsordnung aller Vernichtungslager gleich ist, so haben diese im Verlaufe ihrer Anwendungszeit doch eine gewisse Entwicklung durchgemacht und in Birkenau den Höchststand ihrer furchterlichen Systematik gefunden.

Die Vernichtungslager werden nach industriellen Principien errichtet und rein kommerziell geführt. Das gemeinsame Grundprinzip aller Vernichtungslager ist, in vollster Wahrung des Betriebsgeheimnisses und strengster Vermeidung von "Werkspionage" mit geringstem Aufwand und mit den modernsten Errungenschaften der Technik, durch raffinierte Anwendung aller Propagandamethoden und aller Lehren einer Massenpsychologie, die grösstmöglichsten Mengen von Juden, im kürzesten Zeitraum, bei höchster materieller Gewinnbringung, zu vernichten.

Die Vernichtungslager werden in der Regel, inmitten unwegsamer Gebiete, zu meist Waldungen, errichtet. Zum Aufbau werden "Arbeitsjuden" eingesetzt. In der Waldmitte wird ein entsprechender Platz ausgerodet und mit der nächstliegenden Bahnlinie durch ein Zweiggleise verbunden. Hier wird das Lager errichtet.

Das Lager besteht aus einer besondern Anlage für die Tötung der Juden und die Verbrennung ihrer Leichen, Räume für das Sortieren und den Versand der Wertgegenstände und Bekleidungsgegenstände, schliesslich Ubikationen für die Wachmannschaft, die aus einer speziell ausgebildeten und ausgewählten S/S Gruppe als Lagerführung und ausübendes Organ, sowie aus einem jüdischen Sonderkommando besteht. Das Sonderkommando wird aus den Judentransporten von der Lagerführung, nach Laune, ausgewählt und wird successive ausgewechselt durch täglichen percentuellen Abgang in Folge systematischen Totschlages und eines ebensolchen Zuwachses durch die täglichen Transportauslesen.

Das ganze Lager wird durch ein System von Wachtürmen, starkstromgeladenen Drahtverhauen und tiefen Wassergräben umgeben. Eine dicht mehrfach gegliederte, schwerbewaffnete Wachpostenkette und ganze Rudel scharfer Wachhunde hindern jedes Herannahen von Aussenstehenden ebenso wie jeden Fluchtversuch.

Enclosure No. 6 - kelt. from Warsaw 9 Dec 1945

Gelingt es dennoch einem einzelnen, besonders geeigneten, mit seinem Leben sowieso abgeschlossenen Häftling, bei abenteuerlichster Vorbereitung durch die Kette zu kommen, so wird unverzüglich mit mehrfältigen Alarm der ganze Apparat der deutschen Gründlichkeit, unter Zuhilfenahme von hunderten, besonders dressierten Spürhunden, zur Einbringung des Flüchtlings, ob lebend oder tot, in Bewegung gesetzt. Der ergriffene Flüchtling, wird von wie weit immer, in sein Ursprungslager zurückgebracht und auf mehrere Tage öffentlich aufgehängt mit einer Anhängetafel auf seiner Brust; " ICH KEHRE ZURÜCK".

Die Vernichtungsanstalt selbst besteht aus grossen, in der Regel als Badeanstalt getarnten Räumen. In diesen Räumen findet das Töten der jüdischen Massen fabrikmässig, serienweise statt.

Bei jeder Serie muss der Platz bis zum letzten Winkel ausgenutzt werden, aus welchem Grunde die zu Vernichtenden aufrecht stehend, Körper an Körper gepresst, getötet werden.

Die eigentlichen Vernichtungsarten sind Erschiessen, Verbrennen bei lebendigem Leib, elektrischer Strom, Giftinjektionen und Giftgas. Die ersten Todesarten, obwohl sie an grossen Massen ausgeführt wurden, scheinen mehr Versuche gewesen zu sein, bis dann in der Vergasung die zweckentsprechende Methode gefunden wurde. / Lagerfunktionäre erklären öfters, dass gegen die Anwendung von Gas ursprünglich gewisse Bedenken wegen Gaskriegsrepressalien waren. /

Durch diese Arten werden beiläufig 90% der in Lager eingelieferten Juden, zumeist sofort bei ihrer Einlieferung, vernichtet. Weitere etwa 9% werden durch " Arbeitstod" methodisch ausgerottet. Diese Arbeiter müssen sich bei Hunger und übermenschlichen Arbeitsanforderungen, vielfach bei Einsatz mit tödlich wirkenden Chemikalien, buchstäblich zu Tode arbeiten. Qualvoller und sadistischer Todschlag dieser Arbeitsjuden beschleunigt systematisch ihre Vernichtung.

II.

Die Verbrennung der Leichen erfolgt entweder in langgestreckten, tiefen Gräben, in denen diese auf Brennmaterialien aufgeschichtet und mit Brennstoff begossen, unter starker Feuerentwicklung zu Asche verkohlen. Oder werden die Leichen in modernst ausgerüsteten Krematorien verbrannt.

Zur Zufuhr der Leichen zu den Verbrennungsanlagen dienen je nach den Ortsverhältnissen Karren, Lastautos, Feldbahnen, Aufzüge, Kräne und dgl.

Das Prinzip aller Verbrennungsanlagen ist, dass von der Tagesproduktion an getöteten Juden, bis zu Beginn der nächsten Tagesproduktion nicht die leiseste Spur zurückbleibt, sodass das Menschenmaterial des nächsten Tages transportes weder eine direkte noch indirekte Spur des tatsächlichen Zweckes der Anstalt vorfindet.

III.

Die kommerzielle Verwertung des eingelieferten Menschenmaterials ist eine der Hauptaufgaben der Vernichtungslager. Zu diesem Zwecke werden die abgelegten Kleidungsstücke nach verborgenen Werten sorgfältigst untersucht. Sodann Bekleidungs- und Wertgegenstände im Effektenlager genau sortiert, verpackt und zum Versand gebracht. Unter schärfster Aufsicht werden die Leichen selbst nach verborgenen Werten untersucht. Dabei ist Mastdarm und Scheidenuntersuchung obligatorisch. Die Goldzähne und Brücken werden den Leichen aus dem Munde gehackt. / In Birkenau z. B. ergibt die Tagesförderung an Zahngold 40-50 Kg. / Den weiblichen Leichen werden die Haare geschoren, in Kisten verpackt und einer Zentralfabrik zur industriellen Verarbeitung versendet. Die Leichenaschen werden, soweit sie nicht in unmittelbarer Nähe der Vernichtungsanstalten errichteten Musterlandwirtschaften der S/S als Düngemittel zur Verwendung gelangt, gleichfalls in Kisten verpackt und irgend einer Stelle versendet.

Scheinbar versuchsweise wurden in Sobibor Leichen chemisch verarbeitet doch dürften diese Versuche nicht rentabel gewesen sein denn später

und von anderen Lagern liegen keine solche bestätigten Nachrichten vor.

Eine Anzahl besonders gesund aussehender, junger Menschen wird im Beisein eines Arztes durch Genickschuss getötet, sofort danach frische Leichenteile /Häuten, Gesäss etc./ ausgeschnitten und, scheinbar zum Zwecke von Plastiken, konserviert.

Die Wertgegenstände wie Gold, Schmuckstücke und Valuten gehen durch eine Reihe von Dienststellen an die Reichsbank, jedoch ist erwiesen, dass ein Grossteil hiervon bei verschiedenen Organen verschwindet.

Ein Teil des lebenden Menschenmaterials wird im Sonderkommando zur Effekten und Leichenverwertung verwendet, viele Juden nehmen sich dabei das Leben durch Berühren der Starkstromleitung.

Ein anderer Teil, hauptsächlich junge Menschen und Kinder werden in bestimmten Lageranstalten als medizinisches Versuchsmaterial verwendet. Hinter verschlossenen Türen und Fenstern, hermetisch, schalldicht abgedichtet, wird in diesen Anstalten Vivisektion an ihnen betrieben. Besondere Versuche werden durchgeführt über Sterilisierungen und Kastrierungen, Wirkungen verschiedener Gase und Gifte werden ausprobiert. Das Versuchsmaterial verlässt die Anstalt niemals lebend.

Von besonders Geeigneten wird Blut für Transfusionszwecke gesammelt.

Ein Teil der Häftlinge wird zu Zielschiessübungen verwendet. Dazu benützt man vorzugsweise Kinder. Die traditionelle, fast in allen Lagern angewandte Methode besteht darin, dass ein S/S Mann das Kind möglichst hoch in die Luft schleudert und ein anderer es in der Luft abschießt. Nach vorher bestimmten Gliedern der lebenden Zielscheiben muss geschossen werden. Je nach Erfolg werden den überden Scharfschützen Punkte erteilt.

Dort, wo dem Vernichtungslager Arbeitslager angeschlossen sind / Birkenau, Majdanek/, wird ein Teil des lebenden Materials zur Arbeit verwendet und durch Arbeit azferieben, wobei als Prinzip das in manchen Lagern in Tafelanschriften angebrachte Motto "AUSNUTZEN - AUSROTTE!" gilt.

IV.

Die in die Lager gebrachten jüdischen Massen werden in ihrem Heimatland oder Heimatsort nach einem, in allen Details durchdachten, einheitlichen Plan zur Deportierung reif gemacht.

Dieser "Kriegsplan" wird überall wo eine Deportierung in Angriff genommen werden soll, von einer besonders geschulten Spezialtruppe, Wochen und Monate hindurch programmgenäss, in Schlag auf Schlag folgenden Aktionen durchgeführt.

Dieser Plan kann als ein System von Torturen, am laufenden Band bezeichnet werden. Auf kalten Wege, durch täglich neu erlassene Gesetze und Verordnungen werden die Juden physisch und psychisch immer enger, enger, mit dem Ziele ihrer Aufreibung, eingekesselt. Eine Unmenge von gesetzlichen Verordnungen wird zu diesem Zwecke auf die ins Auge gefasste Judenschaft niedergelassen. Die Verordnungen "regeln" immer wieder und wieder, mit täglich neuen Vorstössen, Erwerb, Freiheit, Vermögens und Wohnungsverhältnisse der Juden. Am Ende dieser Regelungserie finden sich die Juden, ohne Erwerb, Brot und Vermögen in engste, verwahrloste, auffällige, und allen Epidemien ausgesetzten Räumlichkeiten gepfercht, in Ghettos oder Konzentrationslager, unter strengster polizeilicher Bewachung, stehend. In diesem Zustand werden die Juden einige Zeit belassen, sozusagen um sie mürbe zu kochen.

Jetzt est fällt das Wort "Aussiedlung".

Gleichzeitig beginnt eine Kampagne von Zeitungsartikeln und öffentlichen Erklärungen, die behaupten, dass die Juden in ein geschlossenes Gebiet ausgesiedelt werden, wo sie endgiltig nutzbringende und brotspendende Arbeit, zwar streng abgesondert, aber ruhig und ungestört finden. Von diesem Gebiet sollen sie, nach Krieg und Sieg, unter deutscher Leitung, nach einem ausser-europäischen Raum, der dann ihr Staat werden soll, gebracht werden.

Die Juden, verhungert, entkräftet, müde, von Krankheiten geplagt, von Polizei und Partei Organen gefoltet, verängstigt und aphatisch, stets die verzerrten Elendsgesichter von Eltern, von Kindern vor sich sehend, immer wieder zitternd vor Schrecknissen der nächsten Stunde, glauben verzweifelt an das vorgetäuschet Trugbild von Arbeit und Ruhe und sind glücklich wenn die Garnitur endlich vorfährt.

Die arische Bevölkerung, die zum Teil von gutgläubigen befreundeten Juden zur geheimen Aufbewahrung von Sachwerden betraut wurde, oder die, die durch die gesetzlichen Massnahmen am Raub jüdischer Vermögens beteiligt war und die, die sich politisch dem herrschenden Regime verschrieben haben, war oft in hohen Masse mitinteressiert an der Wegschaffung der Beraubten, der späteren Zeugen und Ankläger.

So wird planmässig bei Juden jeder Widerstand ausgeschaltet, bei Arieren oft jede ethische und religiöse Hemmung durch systematische Schaffung von Mitschuldigen erstickt.

V.

Derart bei Juden und Nichtjuden vorbereitet, beginnt die Einwaggonierung, mit geringstem Aufwand.

Prinzip der Deportierungstransporte ist, dass das jüdische Menschenmaterial an Bestimmungsort, zu einem geringen Teile bereits tot und das noch lebende, in totalsten Erschöpfungszustand anlangt.

Dies wird dadurch erreicht, dass die Reisedauer ueberflüssig, grundsätzlich, zumindest 3-4 oft 7-8 Tage zu dauern hat. Ferner, dass die Deportierten in plombierten Viehwaggons, ohne Wasser, Nahrung und Luft, stehend aneinander gepresst werden. Vorrichtung für Notdurft ist nicht vorhanden und wird Wasser und Kot notgedrungen in die eigenen Kleider gelassen. Hiedurch und durch die vorkommenden Sterbefälle entwickelt sich ein scheusslicher Gestank und unerträgliche Hitze. Vielfach wird in den Waggons ungelöschter Kalk aufgeschüttet, welcher durch Urin und Schweiss automatisch, zum Dampfen gebracht, das Atmen fast unmöglich macht. Verschmachtender Durst ergreift bald alle Reiseteilnehmer. Dabei hat die S/S Begleitmannschaft den strengen Befehl, bei Anwendung der Schusswaffe zu verhindern, dass der in jeder Zwischenstation viehisch und wahnsinnig um Wasser brüllenden Masse, ein Tropfen Wasser gebracht wird. Ein weiteres psychologisches Druckmittel zur willenslosen Folgeleistung des Einwaggonierungsbefehls besteht darin, dass die "Familien nicht zerrissen werden dürfen".

Derart werden Eltern, Kinder und Geschwister beisammen in die Waggons gepresst und so durch das Familienzugehörigkeitsgefühl- bei Juden besonders entwickelt den Fluchtversuch einzelner auszuschliessen.

Dem schliesst sich die obligate Drohung an, bei Flucht eines einzelnen alle Waggonsinsassen mit ihrem Leben kollektiv verantwortlich zu machen.

VI.

Am Bestimmungsort angelangt, werden die unterwegs Verhungerten, Verdursteten und sonstwie Verstorbenen auf Haufen gelegt.

Das lebende, bis zur Ohnmacht erschöpfte, Menschenmaterial wird versammelt, wonach eine Ansprache gehalten wird, laut welcher sie hier zwar harte Arbeit, aber Wohnung, Brot und Ruhe finden werden. Dies wird mit einigen Tricks glaubwürdig gemacht. Man wird z.B. nach Zivilberuf ausgefragt, der bei jeder Transportankunft anwesende "Lagerarzt" in Begleitung eines "weissgekleideten" mit roter Kreuz Armbinde versehenen "Pflegepersonals", bestimmt mit todernster Miene einige Alte und Gebrechliche in "Spital". Ein Mann kümert sich besonders um barfüssige Kinder und verspricht ihnen bald Schuhe. Der ganzen, verhungerten und verdursteten Menge wird sofort nach "Bad und Entlausung" Erfrischung und warmes Essen versprochen.

Gleichzeitig wird bekanntgegeben, dass hier eiserne Disziplin herrschen muss-man ist eben in einem deutschem Lager- und die allerkleinste Befehlsverweigerung wird mit der Kugel bestraft.

VII.

Und jetzt beginnen die Befehle schon in Begleitung von Revolvergeschüssen. Ein kleiner Procentsatz wird "selektiert" /für Sonderkommando oder als Arbeitsjude/.

Die übrige Masse wird dann zum "Bad" dirigiert. Kurze Befehle und Schüsse zwingen zur raschen vollkommenen Entkleidung, die Menschen muessen selbst ihre gelegten Habseligkeiten auf besondere Kleider, Waesche, Schuhe und Pakethaufen legen. Nach dem "Bad" bekommt man ja neue "Arbeitskleidung" und die Laten müssen eben vorher "entlaust" werden. Weissgekleidete "Bade-waerter", Seifen, Handtuecher, Wandspiegel und blinde Tuschanlagen bestätigen den Badeeindruck.

Die nackte Menge wird dann in die eigentliche Badehalle mit Schüssen und sadistischen Prügeln gejagt. Zumeist werden die nackten Frauen and Mädchen sadistisch von schwerbewaffneten Mannschaften geschlagen und gepeinigt.

Ist nun die Badchalle von Körper an Körper, ohne Unterschied der Geschlechter, stehend aneinander gepressten Menschen, Junge, Alte und Kinder bis ins letzte Winkel gefüllt, so wird die schwere Türe geschlossen und mit einigen Handgriffen die Masse, je nach der in diesem Lager üblichen Methode, getötet.

In der Badehalle angelangt kommt plötzlich, dieser zu Tode gehetzten Menge, die Erkenntniss des wahren Tatbestandes.

Das Benehmen der jüdischen Masse bleibt immer gleich. Ein markerschütterender Massenaufschrei löst die bisherige apathische Ruhe und wie in einem Tempel wird, in einem kilometer weit hörbaren Chor, von der ganzen Masse, mit erhobenster Stimme das Sterbegerbet in hebraeischer Sprache gesprochen bis die Stimme im Tod erstickt.

Gegenwehr wird als vollkommen aussichtslos hier betrachtet und nur in seltensten Fällen kommt es zu einem solchen, von vorinein zum Schüttern verurteilten Versuch.

H i e r ist jede Gegenwehr Unsinn und b i s h i e r glaubt die grosse Masse an harte Arbeit aber Leben. Ein starkes Verantwortungsgefühl des einzelnen Juden gegenüber seinem Volke, zwingt ihn, diese vermeintliche Arbeit, in diesen unmenschlichsten Formen, wenn sie auch für ihn persönlich das Leben nicht mehr lebenswert machen, auf sich zu nehmen ohne den Versuch einer Gegenwehr. Er fürchtet dass für seine einzelne Handlung das ganze Judentum kollektiv verantwortlich gemacht werden könnte. Er fürchtet dass seine einzelne Handlung gegen einen einzelnen S/S Mann, ein Druck an einem Knopf werden kann, eine fürchterliche Mordmaschine, die er stillstehend glaubt, gegen das ganze Volk in Bewegung setzen könnte. Er will mit seiner Aufopferung, den Mördern, die er als solche auch nicht kennt, nicht die Legitimation zum Pogrom geben, er will durch seine Tat das "AERGSTE" das er nicht wahr haben will und kann nicht heraufbeschwören. Er will kein "Grünspan" werden.

Die Lagerführung und oft auch geladene Käste in Uniform und Zivil, hochgestellte Parteifunktionäre, beobachten amüsiert durch eigens errichtete Gucklöcher den tausendfachen Todeskampf.

Nach wenigen Stunden ist von einigen Tausend lebenden Menschen, mit Hilfe der modernsten Errungenschaften der Technik, keine Spuhr mehr vorhanden und die nächste Serie kann beginnen.

VIII.

In den den Vernichtungslagern angeschlossenen Arbeitslagern wie Birkenau und Majdanek, sowie in den vielen grösseren und kleineren im Reich, G.G. und besetztes Russland sich befindlichen jüdischen Arbeitslagern werden Juden systematisch und zum Mordtraining der S/S auf unvorstellbarste und grausamste Art getötet.

Hiebei ist die Durchführung der zügellosen Phantasie und Laune des Lagerführers und seiner Mannschaft überlassen.

Um nur einige g nz wenige Beispiele anzuführen :

In Judenlager Jerusalinski in Krakau pflegt man täglich einigen dressierten Riesendoggen lebende Juden, Erwachsene und Kinder zum Frasse vorzuwerfen und werden diese bei lebenden Leibe vor Augen des besonders vergnügt zuschauenden Lagerführers zerrissen und gefressen. Ebendort werden nackte Maedchen, im Beisein besonders interessiert S/S Zuschauer, mit Peitschen zu Tode geprügelt.

In Lemberg lies der Lagerführer oft Juden lebend in den dampfenden Kessel, welcher die Suppe für die Arbeitsjuden enthalten hat, geworfen.

In Matthausen werden täglich eine Anzahl von Juden, die im dortigen Steinbruch arbeiten in die, einige Hundert Meter Tiefe gestürzt.

In Majdanek werden unter andern Grausamkeiten Juden, in der mit Jauche gefüllten Senkgrube ertränkt.

In Neugammer und Grossrosen gibt es eine Strasse in welcher einige Hundert Juden die an dieser Strasse gearbeitet haben, vor die Walzmaschine geworfen und in die Strasse eingewalzt wurden. Diese Strasse wird dann im S/S Jargon "SS Strasse" genannt.

In Birkenau werden die Arbeitsjuden nebst allen anderen martervollen Todesarten mit vollen Steinkarren laufend, zusammen mit Steinkarren in die Tiefe gestürzt.

Die derart in Vernichtungs und Arbeitslagern systematisch getöteten Juden können nach vorsichtiger Schätzung mit

6 bis 6 1/2 Millionen beziffert werden.

IX.

Zu den stabilen Vernichtungslagern kommen noch die mobilen Vernichtungskommandos, die in Osten von Ort zu Ort ziehend "Aktionen" veranstalteten. Bei diesen Aktionen wurde eine grosse Anzahl Juden aus den Orten gejagt, zumeist in Wäldungen und Friedhöfe, und dort in schrecklichster Art getötet. Sie mussten sich selbst entkleiden, selbst die Gruben graben. Sie wurden dann in diese Gruben geschossen und mussten oft noch zum grossen Teil lebend von anderen Juden verschüttet werden. Die Erde dieser Gräber bewegte sich oft Tagelang. Solange die Erdbewegung dauerte, stand S/S Wache.

Ende 1942 fand im ganzen Osten eine besondere Kinderaktion dieser Kommandos statt. Babys wurden dabei/cca. bis 3 Jahre Alter/ mit den Schädel an die Wand zerschlagen und Hutüberströmt von Fenster geworfen.

In Lemberg z.B. wurden alle Kinder von Dachböden und Stockwerken auf die Strasse geschleudert und der Judenrat verpflichtet die bluttriefenden Leichen auf Fleischerkarren fortzuschaffen.

In Krakau wurden zu gleicher Zeit 5000 Kinder, darunter das grosse Waisenhaus auf der Josefinska, in einen Wald gebracht, die Kinder nackt entkleidet, in eine vorher von Juden ausgegrabenen Grube von grossem Ausmass lebend eines auf den anderen geschleudert und in diese Grube voll von tausenden, lebendig, schreiend und um sich werfenden Kindern wurden dann Handgranaten geworfen. Diese, zum grossen Teil noch lebende Kindermasse musste dann so verschüttet werden.

In Warschau wurden cca. 20.000 Kinder auf einem Flugplatz versammelt und dort mit Maschinengewehrsalven niedergemacht.

Die von diesen mobilen Vernichtungskommandos niedergemachten Juden können vorsichtig auf

1 1/2 bis 2 Millionen

geschätzt werden.

Bei diesen Schätzungen müssen Vergleiche mit einer Vorkriegsstatistik berücksichtigen, dass die Vernichtung auch eine grosse Zahl von Rassenjuden also solche, die sich früher weder religiös noch national zum Judentum bekennt hat traf und dass ferner im Osten eine grosse Zahl von Juden von der Statistik nie erfasst wurde.

X.

Seit Zurückfluten der Ostfront ist ein besonders Aufgrabungskommando tätig, welches jüdische Massengräber aufgräbt und die verwesenen Leichenreste in mobilen Krematorien oder Verbrennungsgruben sorgfältigst einäschert.

XI.

Die bekannten Vernichtungslager sind

Treblinka. Umfasst cca. 2 Quadratkilometer in Waldmitte. Hat Baracken für S/S, jüdisches Sonderkommando und Effektenlager auf der einen Seite und Vergasungsbaracke, Verbrennungsgruben auf der anderen Seite. Gesondert Baracken für die jüdische Leichenmannschaft und eine besondere Ubikation für die "Hofjuden" /die Erbauer von Treblinka, werden so genannt./

Nach Treblinka wurde die ganze Judenschaft von Warschau, den baltischen Staaten, von den polnischen Nordgebieten, ferner Juden aus Russland, Reich und besetztes Westeuropa gebracht.

Während der Deportierung Warschauer war die tägliche Produktion Treblinkas 25.000 vernichtete Juden.

Unter Führung eines aus der Tschechoslowakei stammenden Lagerältesten des jüdischen Sonderkommandos, hat dieses 1000 Mann zählende Sonderkommando im Frühjahr 1943 einen Aufstand gemacht, dabei ist das Lager zugrunde gegangen und wurde nachher planiert.

Belzec. In ersten Stadium. Baracke für Sonderkommando und S/S Spezialmannschaft. Verbrennungsgruben. In diese tiefe Gruben mündet ein unterirdischer Gang. In diesem Gang wird die entkleidete Masse zum "Bad" vorgetrieben. Wie der Gang voll ist wird aus seitwärts angebrachten MG Nester geschossen und die Masse stürzt von dem mit starken Gefälle gegen die Verbrennungsgruben geneigten Gang lebend und tot in die brennenden Gruben.

In zweiten Stadium wurden die Böden dieser Gänge mit elektrischen Platten versehen.

Sobibor. Gleiche Einrichtung wie Belzec. Sobibor scheint zeitlich, das erste Vernichtungslager gewesen zu sein. Hatte aber eine kurze Zeitdauer.

wurde dann von naheliegenden Belzec abgelöst.

Nach Belzec und Sobibor kamen Juden aus dem Reich, der Tschechoslovakei, besetztes Westeuropa, Ostpolen, Ukraina und Kaukasus.

Majdanek. War hauptsächlich Arbeitslager. Ein Teil der arbeitenden Juden wurde taeglich mittels elektrischer Platte vernichtet und im Krematorium /kleinere Dinension/ verbrannt.

Birkenau. Erstes Stadium. Die Vernichtung findet durch Fenolininjektion statt. Die Leichen werden begraben.

Zweites Stadium. Grosses modernstes Vernichtungslager. 4 Vergasungshallen mit 4 Krematorien. Jedes Krematorium hat 9 Oefen. Jeder Ofen fasst 12 Leichen. Verbrennungsdauer 1 1/2 Stunden. Vor diesem zweiten Stadium war ein Mittelstadium. Vergasungsbaracken und Verbrennungsgruben, gleiche Einrichtung von Treblinka in naheliegenden Birkenwald. Anlaesslich Ungarischer Vernichtung arbeiten beide Einrichtungen gleichzeitig. Die Kerne der Krematorien sind cca. 25 Meter hoch und waehrend Betrieb zuengelt noch eine Flamme von cca 5 Meter Hoehe von ihrer Muendung aufwaerts.

Das angewandte Gas traegt den Spitznamen Zyklon. Ist ein blaues krystallfoermiges Praeparat welches bei gewisser Temperatur vergast. Es kommt in 5 kg Dosen in Kisten verpackt von einer Zentralstelle im Lager an. Jede Kiste hat einen Zettel inliegend mit dem Vermerk "FUER DEN INHALT DIESER KISTE IST VERANTWORTLICH OBERSTURMBANNFUEHRER JANISCH etc.". Die Kisten werden streng bewacht. Fuer die Vergasung von 2000 Juden ist eine Menge von cca 50 Kg Zyklon erforderlich. Das Zyklon wird gemeinsam mit der juedischen Vernichtungsmasse in einem weit und breit deutlich mit einem roten Kreuz gekennzeichneten Auto zur Vergasungshalle gebracht.

Nach Birkenau kamen Juden aus dem Reich, Tschechoslovakei, Balkan, Italien, Westpolen, besetztes Westeuropa, und Ungarn.

Ausser diesen grossen Vernichtungslagern auf Import eingerichtet, waren auch einige locale Vernichtungslager wie z.B. Kattowitz und Minsk und andere mehr.

Treblinka, Belzec und Sobibor sind bereits plantiert. Auschwitz ist unterminiert und soll bei nahender Front gesprengt werden. Sicher gibt es bereits weiter westwärts ein neues Vernichtungslager in Vorbereitung /angeblich Sachsenhausen/. Die ungarischen "Arbeitsjuden" verbleiben tatsaechlich nicht mehr in Birkenau. /Teilweise werden sie zwar zu Festungsbauten bei Breslau verwendet, aber zum grossen Teil kommen sie nach Sachsenhausen/.

In Treblinka wurden	cca.	2,000.000	Juden
in Belzec und Sobibor	cca	2,000.000	"
und in Birkenau	cca	2,250.000	"

vernichtet.

Dazu sind noch cca. 2,000.000 Juden zu zaehlen die durch lokale Vernichtungen und mobilen Vernichtungskommandos umgebracht wurden.

XII.

Diese Darstellung erhebt keinen Anspruch auf Vollstaendigkeit. Es wurden nur bis nun bekannte einwandfrei abkontrollierte, zweifelsohne feststehende Tatsachen registriert. Es ist anzunehmen, dass aehnliche Anstalten in tieferen Osten ebenfalls taetig waren. Sicher ist es dass die hier angefuhrten kalt berechneten Vernichtungs- und Verwertungsmethoden sowie die angedeuteten sadistischen Grausamkeiten nur einen Bruchteil des wahren Sachverhaltens wiedergeben.

Informiert Dr. Zelmanowits Vertreter Frischers und Easterman über Situation in Slowakei stop Von Augenzeugenberichten wurde mitgeteilt dass in der zweiten Septemberhälfte und ersten Oktoberhälfte die noch in der Slowakei verbliebenen Juden sämtlich deportiert worden seien stop Es fanden angeblich Mitte September einige Tage dauernde Verhandlungen mit Brunner, SS Oberscharführer und.....dem Leiter der mitteleuropäischen Judenaktion und den Vertretern der U.Z. statt stop In diesen Verhandlungen verlangten die Deutschen von der UZ Maschinen, sowie Devisen, damit die Juden ähnlich wie in Ungarn entweder weiterbleiben oder ausreisen können. Am sechsten Tag der Verhandlungen wurden diese plötzlich abgebrochen und man begann mit den Hausdurchsuchungen und schleppte vor allem die Juden Bratislavas in grossen Kamions zu einem Sammelplatz von wo aus man insgesamt 4.000 in das Lager nach Sered brachte, das früher knapp für 1200 Personen Platz hatte. Die Verhältnisse in diesem Lager waren unbeschreiblich. Leider kamen auch sehr viele Juden, die jahrelang vor den Deportationen versteckt waren, am letzten Tage zwischen der UZ und den Deutschen geführten Verhandlungen aus ihren Verstecken, da es hiess, dass die Verhandlungen günstig stünden und mit einer Abwanderung in den nächsten Tagen zu rechnen sei. Auch Inhaber ausländischer Fässer meldeten sich und auch diese wurden mit deportiert. Juden, die sich weigerten, wurden auf der Strasse erschossen. Nach der erfolgten Deportation nach Sered wurde auch ein Judenlager in Marianka errichtet, dort sollen zum grössten Teil die Juden mit ausländischen Papieren bis Ende Oktober da der Augenzeuge das Land verliess, gewesen sein. Es hiess, dass diese Gruppe nach Oesterreich weiterreisen solle. Ausserdem wurde ein drittes Lager errichtet in der Nähe von Topolcany, mitten im Walde, wohin grösstenteils die in den übrigen Orten der Slowakei sich noch befindlichen teils legalen, teils versteckten und aufgefundenen Juden verbracht wurden. Dieses Lager ist auf 4 km im Umkreis streng bewacht, niemand darf in die Nähe des Lagers kommen, sonst wird er erschossen. Aus Sered wurden Mitte Oktober über 3000 Juden nach Norden weiter deportiert. Man nimmt an nach Auschwitz, es ist aber auch möglich nach Mähren. In der diesmaligen Judenaktion sind alle Juden der Slowakei auch die sogenannten " B " Juden mit enthalten und nur die jüdischen Frauen von Christen dürfen in der Slowakei bleiben. Im Lager Sered verblieben insgesamt 300 Juden, die wahrscheinlich auch vom Vertreter des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes, der endlich in der letzten Woche von Genf nach der Slowakei nachdem ihm viele Wochen das deutsche Durchreisevisum verweigert wurde, einreisen konnte, besuchen dürfen. Nur wenigen Juden gelang es, sich in Sicherheit zu bringen, resp. in Höhlen und Kellern versteckt zu werden. Insgesamt nimmt der Augenzeuge an, dass noch 20% von den Juden Bratislavas, das sind ungefähr 800 übriggeblieben sein werden, die irgendwo sich verborgen halten. Für diese Juden müsse durch Schutzpapiere durch die neutralen Staaten gesorgt werden, wie auch für die im Lager Sered befindlichen, sowie die nach dem Lager Marianka verbrachten Juden. Auf jeden Fall, ist eine dringende Demarche notwendig, damit erstens der Rest der Juden geschützt werde wie auch Aufschluss von den Deutschen verlangt werden soll, was mit den während des Monats September, Oktober deportierten Juden aus der Slowakei geschehen sei. Zu bemerken sei noch, dass die seinerzeit aus Sered befreiten 1100 Juden leider vor allem die Frauen und Kinder aus dem Maquis zurück ins Lager kamen, da sie das Leben im Maquis angeblich zufolge der grossen Physischen Anforderungen nicht mehr mitmachen konnten. Auch diese Gruppe ist selbstverständlich mit deportiert worden.

Von Gisi Fleischmann berichtet der Gewährsmann, dass sie versteckt gehalten sei, von Oskar Neumann wisse er nichts näheres über seinen Aufenthalt dagegen ist ihm der Name noch eines Mitgliedes der UZ dessen Versteck er selbst weiss, ebenfalls bekannt. In allen übrigen Orten der Slowakei sind dieselben drakonischen Massnahmen durchgeführt worden und die Juden aus den verschiedensten Verstecken aufgestöbert und mit deportiert worden. Weigerten sich nicht jüdische Slowaken die Juden versteckt hielten oder um Verstecke wussten, die mitzuteilen, so wurden sie verhaftet.

January 10th 1945

TO:

THE AMERICAN EMBASSY
LISBON

FOR:

ROBERT PILPEL
AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

FROM:

JOSEPH SCHWARTZ
AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE
LONDON

CONCERNING MESSAGE FROM JACOBSON BUCHAREST HAVE CABLED
FOLLOWING TO SALLY MAYER QUOTE WE HAVE RECEIVED DISTURBING
REPORT FROM BUCHAREST THAT KOLB AND STEIGER ARE PERMITTING
WILHELM FISHER AND MARTON OF WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS TO HAVE
DECISIVE VOICE IN DISBURSEMENTS OF FUNDS WHICH WE MAKE
AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF IN RUMANIA AND TRANSYLVANIA STOP
THIS CAUSING GREAT EMBARRASSMENT AND CONCERN TO FILDERMAN
AND OTHER MEMBERS OUR JDC COMMITTEE STOP WOULD APPRECIATE
YOUR ARRANGING FOR INTERNATIONAL REDCROSS NOTIFY KOLB THAT
ONLY FILDERMAN IS AUTHORISED TO DISBURSE OUR FUNDS AND THAT
NEITHER FISHER NOR MARTON ARE IN ANY WAY AUTHORISED TO ACT
OR SPEAK OUR BEHALF STOP FUNDS WHICH WE MAKE AVAILABLE FOR
RELIEF IN RUMANIA SHOULD BE DISBURSED THROUGH FILDERMAN AND
HIS COMMITTEE UNQUOTE

JOSEPH SCHWARTZ

Enclosure No. 7

000904

COPY

From Pilpel for Joseph Schwartz JDC 309. The following cable has been received here by HICEM for you from Jacobson, Bucharest, further reference our 296. The work of the JDC is being seriously hampered by constant pressure interference from World Jewish Congress and Zionist representatives Wilhelm Fischer and Ern Marton. Inter-Cross meetings concerning application reception Joint funds are attended by them. Marton also demanded in Red Cross tel Dec. 16 #403, 2 million Swiss francs which Joint leaders here recently requested for needs Hungary. The creation of South-eastern European Jewish Relief Committee has been proposed to Inter-Cross by Marton for the purpose of operating with Joint funds in which World Jewish Congress and Zionists will play large part. Marton now under consideration as Inter-Cross delegate for Hungary after liberation. Formerly he was a Transylvanian journalist. Most urgent Schwartz come to Lisbon to clean up mess as Joint leadership fed up.

000905

K T E N N O T I Z.

ueber eine Unterredung mit Herrn Dr. SCHIRMER, dem Vertreter des Internationalen Komitees vom Roten Kreuz in Budapest, in Anwesenheit von Herrn Dr. BACHMANN, 9/11/1944, 17.30 Uhr.

Herr Dr. Schirmer berichtete mir ueber die Taetigkeit der Vertretung des Internationalen Komitees vom Roten Kreuz in Budapest. Er wies darauf hin, dass die Aktivitaet der Budapester Delegation eine sehr lebhaft gewesene sei und dass sie alles in ihren Kraeften Stehende getan haette, um die Juden zu schuetzen. Bevor er in Budapest der Delegation zugeteilt worden sei, sei er bereits einmal drei Wochen vorher dort gewesen und habe mit Herrn BORN, dem Leiter der Delegation in Budapest die ganze Frage genaues-tens besprochen. Er habe festgestellt nach seiner Rueckkehr nach Budapest, dass Herr Born gute Arbeit geleistet habe und dass er in der Tat einen Apparat des CICR aufgebaut habe, der wertvolle und nuetzlich gewesen sei und gut funktionniert habe. Sie haetten u. a. ein spezielles Juden-Bureau errichtet, in dem 150 Angestellte, die zum weitaus groessten Teil ungarische Juden waren, arbeiteten. Sie haetten 5 - 6 Haeuser gemietet, in denen fuer etwa 2.000 Kinder Platz gewesen sei. Am Anfang haetten sich die Muetter von ihren Kindern nicht trennen wollen, so dass zunaechst zum grossen Teil Erwachsene dort untergebracht worden seien. Sie haetten Volkskuechen errichtet, in denen 18 - 20.000 Menschen taeglich zweimal ausgespeist wurden, sie haetten die Lebensmittelmagazine unter ihren Schutz genommen, die die Volkskuechen belieferten. Sie haetten u. a. von einer christlichen unbekannt bleiben wollenden Stelle eine Gratislieferung einer ganz bedeutenden Menge von Lebensmitteln dank den Beziehungen von Herrn Born erhalten, woei die christliche Stelle das Verschwinden dieser Lebensmittel den ungarischen Behoerden damit erkluert habe, dass diese den Russen in die Haende gefallen seien. Die ganze Arbeit sei in engster Zusammenarbeit mit dem Judensenat verrichtet worden, insbesondere mit Herrn Komoly. Ausserdem haetten sie auch dauernd mit Dr. Wilhelm, Hofrat Stern usw. zu tun gehabt. Alle juedischen Mitarbeiter des CICR, sowie die Mitglieder des Judensentes haetten besondere Schutzpaesse des CICR bekommen, die in fran-zoesischer, deutscher, ungarischer spaeter auch russischer Sprache abgefasst gewesen seien. Ausserdem seien auch besondere Schutz-briefe ausgestellt worden. Zunaechst habe es sich um einige hunderte von Schutzpaessen und Briefen gehandelt, spaeter nach den Ereignissen des 15. Oktobers seien sie sehr large mit der Ausgabe dieser Papiere gewesen. Jeder, der irgendwie mit ihnen zu tun hatte, haette so ein solches Dokument bekommen.

Ausser der Ausstellung dieser Schutzpapiere haetten sie nicht nur an der eigenen Juden-Abteilung des CICR sondern an allen Haeusern, in denen Juden-Bureaus amtierten, an allen Kinderheimen, Spitaelern, Volkskuechen, Lebensmittelmagazinen, sowie an den Wohnungen aller ihrer Angestellten Plakate angebracht, dass diese Gebaende sich unter dem Schutz des CICR befaenden. Auf meine Frage, warum der Judensenat gegen die Anbringung dieser Schilder an saemtlichen Judenhaeusern gewesen sei, erkluerte Dr. Schirmer, der Grund dafuer sei der gewesen, dass man befuerchtete, die Verallgemeinerung einer solchen Massnahme koemte ihr ueberhaupt jede Bedeutung nehmen.

Dr. Schirmer schilderte dann in kurzen Zuegen die Situation vor dem 15. Oktober, die eine verhaeltnismaessig guenstige gewesen sei. Die alte Regierung habe dem Vertreter des CICR bereits zugesagt gehabt, eine Reihe von Erleichterungen fuer die Juden zu gewaehren. Es sei sogar beabsichtigt gewesen, auch den Juden wieder die Ausuebung gewisser Beschaeftigungen zu gestatten und sie ueberhaupt anstaendiger zu behandeln. Die Reaktion der Welt haette doch einen sehr grossen Eindruck gemacht und er selbst, der seinerzeit den handschriftlichen Brief fuer Horthy uebergeben habe, haette ueberhaupt den Eindruck gehabt, dass die Regierung die weiteren Deportationen von Juden keinesfalls dulden wolle.

Die Situation habe sich dann nach dem 15. Oktober von Grund auf gewandelt. Er muesse allerdings noch bemerken, dass am 11. Oktober eine unangenehme Situation entstanden sei. An diesem Tage seien in einer grossen Anzahl von juedischen Haeusern Waffen und Munition gefunden worden. Auf meine Frage, ob diese Waffen nicht von denen, die sie gefunden haetten, eingeschmuggelt worden seien, erklarte Dr. Schirmer, nach seiner Information seien anscheinend wirklich Waffen dagewesen. Das habe die Situation sehr erschwert und in diesem Moment sei die Delegation des CICR sehr froh gewesen, dass sie nie an solchen Haeusern ihr Protektionsschild angebracht hatte.

Die Ereignisse des 15. Oktober seien dann sehr bitter gewesen. Zunaechst haette der Umsturz einen grossen Freudentaumel der Bevoelkerung, speziell der juedischen Bevoelkerung ausgelost. Das sei durch spontane Kundgebungen der Bevoelkerung, Manifestationen Hissung von roten Fahnen usw. zum Ausdruck gekommen. Nach drei Stunden sei dann das bittere Erwachen gekommen, als die Pfeilkreuzler die Regierung uebernommen haetten. Es begann nun eine Zeit des Terrors und der Verfolgungen. Waehrend drei Tagen herrschte der Mob auf der Strasse. Pfeilkreuzler und Nazis verhafteten Juden willkuerlich. Es gab viele Schiessereien, die Juden mussten in ihren Haeusern bleiben und hatten keine Moeglichkeit sich Lebensmittel zu verschaffen. Die Volkskuechen konnten nicht arbeiten. Es herrschte eine furchtbare Not. Im ganzen schaezt Dr. Schirmer, dass bei den Ausschreitungen dieser Tage etwa 600 Juden ermordet worden seien. Auch waehrend dieser schlimmen Zeit sei die Delegation sehr aktiv gewesen. Sie haette insbesondere ein paar hundert Kinder retten und in ihre Haeuser aufnehmen koennen. Ihre gesamte Angestelltenchaft habe waehrend dieser Tage bei ihnen kampiert. Auch der gesamte Judensenat haette bei ihnen geschlafen, wie sie ueberhaupt jeden aufgenommen haetten, der zu ihnen gekommen sei. Ihre Gebaeude seien voellig ueberfullt gewesen, er selbst habe in diesen Tagen auch auf der Erde in einem kleinen Winkel mit allen anderen zusammen geschlafen.

Am 18. Oktober nach dem der neue Aussenminister seine beruehmte Rede gehalten habe, haetten Dr. Schirmer und Herr Born sofort eine Audienz beim Aussenminister erwirkt. Sie seien die ersten gewesen die ueberhaupt zu ihm vorgelassen worden seien. Dr. Schirmer gab dann eine sehr malerische Schilderung dieses Empfanges bei dem im gruenen Hemd mit angeschnalltem Revolver uniformierten Aussenminister, den er selbst fuer den Portier gehalten habe und der sie dauernd mit Kamerad Schirmer und Kamerad Born betitelt haette. In dieser Audienz seien sie ungeheuer energisch aufgetreten. In dem Bewusstsein, dass man gegenueber Gangstern nur mit Gangstermethoden arbeiten koenne, haette sie einfach gebluefft. Sie haetten dem neuen Aussenminister erklart, was die Genfer Konvention und das CICR seien und haetten ihm gesagt, was alles in der Konvention drin stuende und dabei alles erzaehlt, was sie verlangten, und was juristisch voellig haltlos war. Da der Aussenminister keine Ahnung hatte, was die Genfer Konvention ist, ist er auf diesen Blueff reingefallen und habe alles geglaubt, was sie ihm von dieser Konvention erzaehlt haetten. Sie haetten ihm erklart, die Behandlung der Juden sei eine grosse "Schweinerie" und dass die Bestimmungen der Konvention eingehalten werden muessten und dass sie auf keinen Fall dulden werden, dass diejenigen Menschen und Haeuser usw., die unter ihrem Schutz stehen, irgendwie behelligt werden. Sie haetten gedroht, dass es sonst ungeheuerere internationale Komplikationen geben werde. Das habe dann der Aussenminister auch versprochen und habe erklart, die Judenverfolgungen wuerden eingestellt. In der Tat seien auch sofort Weisungen ausgegangen, dass die Gebaeude, die unter dem Schutz des CICR, die Schutzpasse und Briefe des CICR sowie die Schutzpasse der auslaendischen Missionen in Budapest respektiert werden muessten. Am 19. Oktober haette sie dann eine neue Intervention beim Innenminister gehabt, in deren Verlauf sie wiederum energisch interveniert seien. Sie

haetten bei dieser Gelegenheit insbesondere auch den Schutz fuer den Judensenat erwirkt, indem sie erklart haben, sie brauchen den Judensenat um arbeiten zu koennen und haetten einfach be- hauptet, die Arbeit des Judensenates sei in allen anderen uebrigen Laendern auch gestattet.

Kurz darauf sei dann der Befehl gekommen, dass alle Juden, Maenner und Frauen, zu Schanzarbeiten eingesetzt werden muessen. Die beiden Delegierten des CICR seien sofort wieder bei der Regierung interveniert und haetten erklart, es sei absolut unmoeglich, dass man Kinder, Kranke, Frauen insbesondere schwangere Frauen zu solchen Schanzarbeiten einsetzte und dass sie das auf keinen Fall zulassen wuerden. Drauf sei dieser Befehl wieder zurueckgezogen worden. Kurz darauf haette die Delegation des CICR dann eine Note von der deutschen Regierung erhalten und Dr. Schirmer habe eine laengere Unterhaltung mit dem deutschen Legationsrat Dr. Grell gehabt. In der deutschen Note sei ausgefuehrt worden, dass die Juden sich nicht an die Bestimmungen gehalten haetten, dass sie ihre Hauser verlassen haetten, ihre Judensterne nicht trugen, antideutsche Propaganda trieben, Spionagetatigkeit zugunsten der Alliierten ausuebten, dass sie sich schliesslich bewaehrt haetten und auf die Deutschen geschossen haetten, usw. und dass die Deutschen deshalb Schutzmassnahmen treffen muessten. 50.000 juedische Maenner mussten nach Deutschland in den Arbeitseinsatz eingesetzt werden. Die sonstigen arbeitsfaehigen Maenner zwischen 16 und 60 Jahren und die arbeitsfaehigen Frauen zwischen 14 - 40 muessten zu Schanzarbeiten in der Naehة von Budapest eingesetzt werden. Die uebrigen sollten in 4 - 5 Ghettos, die um Budapest herum etabliert werden sollten, konzentriert werden. Die Note sprach dann auch von denjenigen, die spezielle Schutzpapiere haetten, insbesondere Palaestina-Auswanderungspapiere und sprach davon, dass diesen zu "gegebener Zeit" die Ausreise gestattet werden wuerde. Die Vertreter des CICR forderten erneut, dass saemtliche Leute, die unter dem Schutz des CICR stehen, saemtliche Menschen die Schutzpasse besaessen, insbesondere diejenigen, die in der schwedischen Massaktion, in der Palaestina-Aktion, in der Spanien-Aktion und in der schweizerischen Aktion einbegriffen seien, von den Massnahmen ausgenommen werden. Sie forderten weiter, dass Greise, Kinder, Kranke, schwangere Frauen usw. nicht beruehrt werden sollten. Sie bemaechten sich ueberhaupt soweit wie moeglich, die anderen Kategorien zu schuetzen. Gegen den Einsatz von Maennern zum Arbeitsdienst haetten sie nichts sagen koennen, da es sich um Einsatz zum Arbeitsdienst handelte und auch die nicht juedische ungarische Bevoelkerung zum Arbeitsdienst eingesetzt wurde. Alle ihre Forderungen wurden von den Deutschen akzeptiert und ueberhaupt habe die Aussprache mit Herrn Legationsrat Dr. Grell in einer sehr offenen Form stattgefunden. Sie haetten dabei Einblick in alle internen Instruktionen, die die deutschen Be- hoerden in Budapest erhalten haetten, nehmen koennen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit haette Dr. Grell erklart, "wir werden keinesfalls auf dieses tuechtige Menschenmaterial der 50.000 juedischen Maenner verzichten, die wir dringend als Arbeitskraefte brauchen." Dr. Schirmer sagte mir dann, sie haetten ueberhaupt in diesen kritischen Tagen zwischen dem 20. - 22. Oktober eine grosse Anzahl von Interventionen bei allen moeglichen Ministerien und Stellen unternommen. Ich koenne diese Interventionen im einzelnen in seinen Berichten nachlesen, die im CICR vorliegen, wo auch die deutsche Note sich befinde.

Auf meine Frage, wie nun die Situation bei seiner Abreise ge- wesen sei, erklarte mir Dr. Schirmer, dass die 50.000 Maenner aus Budapest weg seien und zwar seien sie im Fussmarch nach Cesterreich er zu abmarschiert. Die Form des Fussmarsches sei noch die beste gewesen, erstens seien ueberhaupt keine Waggons und Transportmoeglichkeiten vorhanden gewesen und zweitens seien

bei den furchtbaren Verfrachtungen in Waggonen die Leute schon zum Teil im Zug umgekommen, so dass unter diesen Umstaenden der Fussmarsch noch das beste gewesen sei. Bis zu seiner Abfahrt am 29. Oktober seien saemtliche Inhaber von Schutzpapieren sowie saemtlichen Institutionen, die unter dem Schutz des CICR standen, von den Behoerden respektiert worden. Man kann etwa taxieren, dass ca 15.000 Menschen solche Schutzpapiere besaessen. Die 4 - 5 speziellen Ghettos, die in der Umgebung von Budapest vorgesehen waren, seien bis zu seiner Abfahrt nicht errichtet worden und es sei wohl auch nicht damit zu rechnen, dass sie noch errichtet werden. Die Frauen, Kinder und Greise usw. seien weiterhin in ihren Wohnmengen. Im Ganzen schaezt Dr. Schirmer, dass sich ca 160. - 170.000 Juden noch in Budapest befinden. Ausserdem seien etwa 50.000 Menschen noch von frueher her in Ungarn im Arbeitsdienst. Dazu koemen die abtransportierten 50.000 Menschen, die ebenfalls im Arbeitsdienst stunden.

Auf meine Frage, wie es mit der Versorgung der Juden in Budapest bestellt sei, sagte mir Dr. Schirmer, dass sie noch grosse Lebensmittelvorrate in den Magazinen haetten und dass insoweit insbesondere fuer die Volkskuechen vorgesorgt sei.

Ich stellte Dr. Schirmer dann noch einige Fragen, in denen ich um Details ueber die Schutzpassinhaber ersuchte. Ich wies auf die widersprechenden Mitteilungen hinsichtlich der Anerkennung der schwedischen Schutzpaesse hin. Er erklarte dies daraus, dass in den kritischen Tagen um 16. Oktober herum, die schwedischen Paesse nicht anerkannt worden seien. Spaeter seien aber auch die schwedischen Paesse wieder offiziell anerkannt worden. Es habe bei der Schweden-Aktion einige Missbraeuche gegeben, weshalb er mit der schwedischen Gesandtschaft nicht im engsten Kontakt gestanden habe. Hinsichtlich der verschiedenen Kategorien der schweizer Schutzpassaktion konnte er mir keine genauen Angaben machen. Er sagte, dass sich die Gesandtschaft nicht sehr bemueht habe, dass aber das Bureau von Herrn Konsul Lutz und insbesondere dieser selbst aktiv gewesen seien. Was die Palaestina-Aktion anbetreffe, so gebe es ca 7.000 Personen, die in diese Aktion einbezogen seien. Ein grosser Teil der Zertifikatsinhaber sei jedoch nicht angefundnen worden. Es seien dauernd Bemuehungen im Gange, um diese Personen zu finden. Die seinerzeit zusammengestellte Gruppe von 2.000 Palaestina-Auswanderern, fuer die ein Kollektivpass ausgestellt worden sei, bestehe aus solchen Zertifikatsinhabern, die man sofort angefundnen habe. Die Delegation des CICR habe von der Regierung verlangt, diese Gruppe in 2 - 3 besonders Hausern unterzubringen. Die Regierung habe dies auch sofort zugesagt und eine Anzahl Haeuser zur Verfuegung gestellt. Bis zu seiner Abreise sei dieser Plan aber nicht realisiert worden. Nachdem ein grosser Teil der Palaestina-Zertifikatsinhaber nicht angefundnen worden sei, sei man auch hinsichtlich der Zertifikatserteilung, soweit er informiert sei, wesentlich laenger geworden. Hinsichtlich der Spanien-Aktion, so handle es sich um 700 juedische Kinder, die die Einreise fuer langer haetten. Diese Kinder seien in einem speziellen Gebaeude untergebracht, das unter dem Schutz des CICR und der spanischen Gesandtschaft stuende. Auf die Frage, ob unmittelbar Transporte aus Ungarn nach der Schweiz in Kuerze zu erwarten seien, konnte Dr. Schirmer keine Auskunft geben.

Von dem Anfang der deutschen Besetzung deportierten Juden aus Ungarn weiss Dr. Schirmer nichts zu berichten. Er gab jedoch seiner Bitterzeugung Ausdruck, dass jetzt die Politik der voelligen Vernichtung der Juden aufgehoert habe. Man brauche alle Haende und koenne nicht auf Arbeitskraefte willkuerlich verzichten. Er sagte wuertlich mehrmals: Das "System Auschwitz" ist vorbei. Wir seien wieder in die erste Phase, die im Erriege die Behandlung der Juden gekennzeichnet habe, zurueckgekehrt, d.h. zum Einsatz der Juden in die Kriegswirtschaft.

Diese Ueberzeugung stuetzte Dr. Schirmer insbesondere auch auf seine Erlebnisse auf seiner Rueckreise aus Budapest. Er sei mit seinem Auto durch Oesterreich durchgefahren und habe ueberall Kolonnen von Arbeitern gesehen, die zu Aufraeumungsarbeiten und anderen Arbeiten eingesetzt worden seien. Er habe ein paar Mal sein Auto angehalten und eine Atopanne simuliert, um mit diesen Menschen in Kontakt zu treten. Er habe bei dieser Gelegenheit mit einer Reihe von Juden gesprochen, sie ausgefragt, wie sie behandelt wuerden, wie ihre Behausung und Ernaehrung sei usw. Er habe festgestellt, dass sowohl die Bekleidung wie die Behausung in Baracken, wie auch das Essen zufriedenstellend zu sein scheinen und auch die Behandlung schein eine ganz anstaendige zu sein. Er fuegte hinzu, er habe in seiner langjaehrigen Taetigkeit im CICR einen Blick bekommen und koenne auch selbst schon unterscheiden, in welchem Zustand sich Menschen befinden, insbesondere seine vielfachen Besuche in Kriegsgefangenenlagern und anderen Lagern haetten sein Auge hierfuer geschaeft.

Auf seiner Rueckreise in Wien ist Dr. Schirmer mit Dr. L. Löwenherz in Verbindung getreten. Dr. L. habe ihn in der Saitenstettengasse empfangen, wo Dr. Schirmer erstaunt gewesen sei, einen Haufen Wiener Juden noch vorzufinden. Dr. L. habe ihm gesagt, er koenne ihm keine Angaten machen, Dr. Schirmer muesse erstmal mit den deutschen Behoerden in Fuehlung treten. Dies habe Dr. Schirmer dann auch getan und er habe die deutschen Behoerden gefragt, ob es ihm erlaubt sei, fuer die 18.000 Juden, die bei Wien Arbeitsdienst leisten, eine Hilfsaktion zu unternehmen. Die deutschen Behoerden haetten dies sofort gestattet und haetten ihm gesagt, die Betreuung dieser Juden mache das Bureau Dr. L. Darauf sei er erneut mit Dr. L. zusammengekommen und habe mit ihm eine ganze Nacht ueber diese Fragen verhandelt. Er hausserte sich in aeusserst positiven Worten ueber die Person von Dr. L. und fuegte hinzu, dass dieser anscheinend auch den Deutschen einen grossen Respekt einfloesse.

Dr. Schirmer erlaerte, dass er eine Hilfsaktion fuer die 18.000 Juden, die um Wien herum seien, sofort unternehmen koenne, er brauche nur Geld, dafuer. Wir sollten mit dem War Refugee Board in dieser Hinsicht sprechen. Es sei nicht noetig, dass wir Lebensmittel von hier aus schicken. Er selbst koenne sowohl Lebensmittel wie auch Kleider bzw. Stoffe fuer Bekleidung an Ort und Stelle anschaffen. Die 18.000 Juden in der Naeh von Wien bestaenden zum groessten Teil aus ungarischen zum Teil aber auch aus tschechoslowakischen und polnischen Juden. Woher diese beiden letzten Kategorien kaemen, wuesste er selbst nicht. Es gebe in der Umgebung von Wien etwa 400 - 600 Lager. Diese umfassten zwischen 5 Personen und 2 - 300 Personen. Das dringendste sei die Beschaffung von Kleidern insbesondere im Hinblick auf den herankommenden Winter. Dr. Schirmer begibt sich in Kuerze wieder via Berlin nach Wien und wird mit Dr. L. wieder in Verbindung treten. Er ist bereit, Bestellungen von mir an ihn mitzunehmen.

Auf meine Frage, ob Interventionen bei den Deutschen angesichts der allgemeinen Kriegslager auf fruchtbareren Boden stiessen als frueher, erlaerte Dr. Schirmer, dass nach seinem Eindruck, dies unbedingt der Fall sei. Er habe auch in Wien diese Erfahrung gemacht. Es geue jetzt ueberhaupt Leute, die uns helfen wollten, wahrscheinlich, um sich ein Alibi zu schaffen.

Am Schluss erlaerte Dr. Bachmann, dass man im CICR ueber den Bericht von Dr. Schirmer sehr erfreut gewesen sei, man habe den Eindruck, dass doch wesentlich mehr geschehen sei, als sie selbst geglaubt haben.

Schluss der Unterredung um 19 Uhr.

Genf, den 10. November 1944.

G. Riegner.

GR/MS.

Strictly confidential.

Report from Geneva.

THE SITUATION IN SLOVAKIA.

According to a report which has just reached Switzerland from two eye-witnesses, the liquidation of the Jews in Slovakia was completed during the second part of September and during the first part of October. All Jews who were still legally in Slovakia during that time, were fetched from their homes and taken to the three Jewish camps in Slovakia, Sered and Marianka, and to a newly-established Jewish camp in the woods near Topolcany. Details follow concerning the latest deportations:-

It is believed that discussions took place for some days, during September, between S.S. Group-Commander Brunner, at present Head of the Central European Jewish Section, and representatives of the U.Z. (Ustredna Zidovska - Jewish Council - previously elected by various Jewish bodies and confirmed by the Slovak authorities). In the course of these discussions, the Germans demanded from the representatives of the U.Z., machines, lorries and foreign currency, in exchange for allowing Jews to remain in Slovakia, or to leave legally - in a similar way to the Jews in Hungary. In the evening of the sixth day, these negotiations were broken off. Before the representatives of U.Z. had been able to reach their homes, the round-up of Jews started. Houses everywhere were searched, and the Jews from Bratislava, especially, were taken to a large collection-centre from where, after a short time, 4,000 Jews were transported to the camp already existing in Sered. This camp (Sered) formerly contained, at the most, 1,200 Jews. It was a labour camp and was one of the first to be liberated during the revolt of the Czechoslovak Resistance Movement. The Jews in this camp were, from this moment, under the supervision of the Czechoslovak Resistance Movement. A Jew named Stern - a member of the Czechoslovak National Council - was held in high esteem by the Resistance Movement and fought courageously during the battles. Unfortunately, a large number of Jews (mainly women and children) returned to the camp, as they were not able to endure the hardships of life in the Maquis, their physique having become undermined through living conditions in the camp. Conditions in the Sered camp were indescribable at the time when the 4,000 Jews were brought there. Accommodation was extremely limited, there being room for only 1,200 persons. The camp was now under the supervision of the Germans, and according to eye-witness reports, this deportation was carried out by Germans. Moreover, many Jews who had been in hiding for two years came to the camp during the period of the negotiations as it looked as if the negotiations with the Germans would be successful and that they would soon be able to leave the country. These Jews, however, were also deported, as were, too, the holders of foreign passports who are said to have been sent to the Marianka camp. Jews who refused to obey orders or who attempted to escape, were shot. The internees at the Sered Camp, with the exception of 300, were quickly sent away by train in a northerly direction, probably Poland. 3,000 persons were on the train. It is believed that they were sent to Auschwitz, but it is possible that the train might have been diverted to Moravia.

The Marianka Camp contained mainly Jews holding foreign passports. They are said to have been deported to Austria. It must be added that in this drive all Jews in Slovakia, including the so-called non-aryan "B" Jews, were taken, and

only Jewish wives of non-Jews were left in Bratislava. It is estimated that only a few, perhaps 20%, of the Jews remaining in Bratislava by the end of August, succeeded in concealing themselves in caves or cellars. Razzias for Jews were also carried in Central and Eastern Slovakia. Weapons were used at the slightest attempt at resistance. A third new camp was set up in the woods near Topolcany. Jews from the remaining parts of Slovakia are said to have been taken there from places where they were found or where they still had the legal right to reside. The camp is very closely guarded and cut off from the rest of the world within a radius of 3 miles. The eye-witnesses have no further details about this camp.

An urgent plea is made to try and secure protective documents from neutral states for Jews in hiding and in the camps of Sered and Marianka, so that they may still be saved at the last moment. According to eye-witness reports, the leaders of U.Z. were also deported. Only Mrs. Gisi Fleischmann may have succeeded in remaining in hiding. Nothing is known about Dr. Oscar Neumann, Head of the Selbstverwaltungsstelle (Jewish administration). Eye-witnesses know the name of another member of the U.Z. and his hiding-place. He asks for protection papers which, in the first place, should be put at the disposal of the Swiss Consul. It is reported that means of communication does exist in the case of some of the Jews in hiding and contact is established with them and they are provided with the most essential food-stuffs. At the moment, money is not being asked for. The amount of 500,000 Kc. which was provided during the summer has been of the greatest value both to the Hungarian Jews who escaped to Slovakia, as well as for the Jews in hiding there. At the present time no large sums of money require to be sent, as there are large sums of money still available in Slovakia which, it is believed, are sufficient for the time being, to provide for the needs of the Jews in concealment.

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COPY OF CABLE FROM GENEVA.

During the past few days, a considerable number of reports have reached us according to which it is revealed that further transports to Theresienstadt left Prague towards the end of October; amongst them were our friends Dr. Emil Heller and Heinz Grossnitz. Simultaneously, we received news of the removal from Theresienstadt particularly of younger friends to forced labour camps. We have been informed, through Prague, that Jepps Lichtenstein and Hans Gaertner, who had been transferred with the second large transport from Theresienstadt to Birkenau during last winter, have now written from Berlin-Sachsenhausen. We learn that at least a section of this transport was brought from Birkenau to Sachsenhausen. Further information reveals that 400 labour camps were recently set up in Austria where over a hundred thousand Jews are said to be employed. It is assumed that 18,000 Jews in these camps are in the care of Dr. Loewenherz. According to eye-witness accounts, the Czechoslovak Jews are at present presumed to be doing forced labour in Austria. Attempts are being made to ascertain whether these groups originate from Theresienstadt or consist of recently-deported Jews. In Czechoslovakia, too, newly-established camps exist - i.e. Halfischen, near Pilsen Sudetengau, where there is a women's concentration camp. Further camps in Upper Silesia are: Oppeln, and the transition camp Breslau-Burgweide.

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December 18, 1944.

Dear Jim:

Your letter of December 9 concerning the talks with Sir Herbert Emerson and Malin on the subject of Heathcote-Smith has been read with interest by all of the members of the staff.

It is the opinion of all of us that you handled the matter splendidly. As you know, we were particularly concerned that Sir Clifford should not learn that the private agencies were the source of some of the complaints presented by us since their representatives might have to continue to work under Sir Clifford on his return to Italy. At least, we did not want any information furnished by the Board to be the cause of any resentment that might be created between Sir Clifford and the private representatives. Of course, if the private agencies wished to discuss the matter directly with Sir Herbert -- and I understand that this has been done in at least one case -- that was a matter for their own decision.

I realize that the optimum result, Sir Clifford's removal, has not been attained but I feel that this was perhaps too much to be expected. Your conversation, however, did add weight to the complaints already made by others against Sir Clifford, and his retention if any more "incidents" occur is thereby made much more difficult.

Ackermann tells me that he could take issue with a few of Sir Herbert's statements concerning the movement of the one thousand refugees and Sir Clifford's popularity with the Allied Commission in Italy. It is felt, however, that this would not serve much purpose since you have already accomplished as much as possible under the circumstances.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

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I also want you to know that I do not feel that you were too frank or open in your discussions and that I am well satisfied with the results of your talks. Even though Sir Clifford will remain on the job at present there seems to be some hope that in the not too distant future a more satisfactory result will be attained.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Fehle

J. W. Fehle
Executive Director

Mr. James H. Mann
Special Representative
American Embassy
London, England

LEAckermann:ro

12/16/44

JH / *JW* *JH*

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AIR MAIL

Office of the Treasury
Representative

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT



Embassy of the United States

December 9, 1944

Hon. John W. Pehle
Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear John:

I refer to your letter of October 31, 1944, concerning Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith, resident representative of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in Italy. This matter was discussed with Sir Herbert Emerson yesterday. However, I think it very doubtful that my discussion will have any effect other than to again bring to Sir Herbert's attention that many people are complaining about Sir Clifford.

Before seeing Sir Herbert, I had a talk with Ambassador Winant in which I set out the many causes for complaining about Sir Clifford and I asked if he saw any reason why Sir Herbert and I should not have a full and frank discussion concerning this matter. The Ambassador said, as I was certain he would, that he saw no reason why this should not be frankly and fully discussed, and he even went so far as to say that I should tell Sir Herbert that he and I had discussed it and that he recommended a discussion. Accordingly, I made an appointment to see Sir Herbert, outlining several matters which I wished to discuss with him. Sir Herbert said that he would like for Malin to be present. While I did not care to have Malin present, I raised no objection to this since I knew Sir Herbert would tell Malin about our conversation and I felt that too much harm would not be done if Malin were there and got it first hand.

As I have stated, I mentioned to Sir Herbert that there were several things which I cared to discuss with him, but I am afraid that it was pretty obvious that Sir Clifford was the principal topic. All the matters were discussed, but much more time was spent in discussing Sir Clifford than any other. There follows a detailed account of our conversation on this point.

I asked Sir Herbert if Heathcote-Smith had departed for Italy and was told that he had not since he was having some difficulty in arranging passage. At this point I told Sir

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Herbert and Malin that several complaints had come to me and to the Board from various organizations and groups interested in refugees and that while I had been hesitant to mention it, I had talked the matter over with the Ambassador and he felt that we should have a very frank and open discussion concerning this matter. I also stated that in view of our very good relations and our previous open and frank discussions, it was my feeling that when I had something of this nature on my mind Sir Herbert would prefer that I mention it to him. Sir Herbert said, "Yes, of course."

You will recall that your letter leaves it to my discretion how far I wish to go in the matter. After careful consideration I could see no advantage in not getting down to brass tacks since I was certain that a timid, beating around the bush approach would accomplish nothing, and yet, insofar as the record goes, I still would have been in the position of having complained about an IGC representative. Accordingly, after getting assurances from Sir Herbert and Malin that our conversation would be treated as strictly confidential, I proceeded to discuss Sir Clifford. I stated that the factual basis for my complaint was gathered during my time in Washington as an Assistant Executive Director of the Board and from talks with various persons in London.

I mentioned that because of temperament and the whole approach which Heathcote-Smith followed, he was not, in our judgment, an effective representative of the IGC. Sir Herbert stated that he had had some misgivings about him when he was hired. He felt that a man who had had nineteen years in the British Consular Service might not be able to react to humanitarian problems to the extent required in refugee work, but he thought that his misgivings on this ground had been dispelled. At this point I stated that it had been mentioned to me that Sir Clifford had not exercised the patience which one would normally expect to find in a person dealing in refugee problems, and that many of the Jewish groups here in London were of the impression that he had been unnecessarily curt, if not harsh, in his dealings with refugees.

Malin then arose to the defense of the accused by pointing out that refugees as a group were sometimes difficult people with whom to deal, that they were psychologically upset, and that sometimes little things unintentionally done served to rub them the wrong way. He said that both of us (he and I) had been in this business long enough to know that it was very easy to be criticized, sometimes unjustly. He knew that Sir Clifford tried to do the right thing, and that he felt very strongly on this whole refugee question. Sir Herbert said that the matter of atrocities committed on Jews was a new discovery on Heathcote-Smith's part and that this had, for the moment,

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unbalanced the man on this question. Whereas he had had misgivings about the man not doing enough or becoming sufficiently worked up on this matter, the opposite had taken place. He went on to say that if one had to be at fault in this field by either not being sufficiently emotional on this question or being too emotional and trying to do too much by disregarding the cold, day by day practicalities, it was better to err on the side of the latter.

Knowing that Dr. Joseph Schwartz had on at least one occasion complained to Malin that many of the refugees considered Heathcote-Smith anti-Semitic, I asked at this point if the IGC had received any complaints on that score. Sir Herbert and Malin both said they had but they were both personally satisfied that he was not. This led to a long speech by Sir Herbert on Zionism and Zionist pressure. He mentioned the statement concerning the taking out of Italian citizenship and, as he told it, all that Sir Clifford said was that Palestine was a small country and there were difficulties in getting there. I remarked that the reports of the incident appearing in the J.T.A. Bulletin and "Palcor" had presented it a little differently. Sir Herbert had discussed this matter with Sir Clifford and he was satisfied that the Jewish press had not fairly reported this incident. Heathcote-Smith did not remember the description of Palestine as a "pocket handkerchief" country. He also mentioned Sir Clifford's proposal that Madagascar was a good place for the Jews to settle. This report he said was most unfair since Sir Clifford did not suggest Madagascar alone but mentioned several other places (I take it that they were all equally undesirable) and to report only Madagascar was most unfair. Sir Herbert said that it was true that Madagascar was a bad suggestion and he considered the whole incident unfortunate. Sir Herbert thought that it possibly was true that Sir Clifford did resent some of the Zionist pressure being put on refugees to go to Palestine. In fact, Sir Herbert had found in his recent trip all sorts of evidence of strong Zionist pressure to get Jews to go to Palestine when the Jews, themselves, did not want to go. That, he thought, was a problem that the IGC was going to have to face in the times to come, and it was a problem that presented some difficulties. After the speech against Zionism had proceeded for some time, I reminded Sir Herbert that the Board took no position on immigration to Palestine, that we neither favored Zionism nor opposed it, and that I supposed that coincided with the position of the IGC. He said that it did. However, I mentioned that the handling of the Italian matter was reported by some groups here to have been such that in addition to the criticism made by Zionists, it was open to criticism on the basis that it harmed any chances of getting Jews to take out Italian citizenship. Both Sir Herbert and Malin admitted that few or no Jews had applied for Italian citizenship, but they both attributed this to Zionist pressure.

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They repeatedly reassured me that Sir Clifford was not anti-Semetic. I, of course, was very glad to hear this because of some of the complaints that had been made on this score and because I regretted to say I had not been reassured on this point in my conversations with Sir Clifford. I mentioned, further, that it was my observation that whether he was or was not anti-Semetic, a great many of the Jewish groups thought he was, and that this warranted consideration.

I told Sir Herbert that from personal experience I had found Heathcote-Smith a difficult person with whom to work, and that he seemed to feel that his way of doing things was the only way. I felt that I probably was not alone in this feeling. I cited my conversations with Heathcote-Smith concerning his propaganda campaign and the fact that he had circulated a memorandum which had the effect of inviting the WRB to call a conference on refugees, notwithstanding that I had told him that in the Board's opinion we did not need a conference on refugees at this time, but rather a little more action, and that the Ambassador had fully agreed with my position. Sir Herbert thought his memorandum on psychological warfare was slightly ridiculous at this stage and pointed out that this document was not limited to the refugee field, but attempted to outline a program of psychological warfare for the United Nations. Both documents he attributed to the fact that the atrocity side of the picture was a new discovery, and that this had had such a profound effect upon Sir Clifford that he was for the moment a little unbalanced on the question, but, of course, unbalanced in the right direction, viz., he was trying to do too much. Malin came in again with his point that we all had our little idiosyncracies, and that it was easy to do something to get yourself criticized in this field. For instance, he said that Heathcote-Smith complained that Ackerman waited a month to get in touch with him after Ackerman had his instructions with regard to selecting the 1,000 refugees. I, of course, couldn't discuss this as I knew nothing about it and hadn't discussed this matter with Ackerman. But, in connection with the 1,000 coming to the U.S., I did recall, since I was there at the time, that it was of some embarrassment to the Board to find that 10 male refugees of military age were included in the 1,000, notwithstanding clear instructions to the contrary, and that if my memory served me correctly, these men were selected by Sir Clifford. That, however, was a very small matter in considering Sir Clifford's fitness for the position which he held. Malin said that they had consulted General Lusk, head of the Control Commission in Italy, and that he had said that Sir Clifford was doing a splendid job and he wanted him to return.

Sir Herbert stated that while Sir Clifford was far from perfect, he felt that he did not have enough against him to re-

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move him. I reminded him that I had not requested him to remove him - that I had merely stated that on the basis of facts which had come to the attention of the Board and to me while in London, it was our judgment that he was not an effective representative of the IGCR.

I told Sir Herbert that our discussion on this point had taken much more time than I had anticipated, that I had intended merely to state our position, and that I had not intended to debate the matter in detail (I had considered the matter and I definitely had planned to go into detail if Sir Herbert refused to accept a general statement of complaint). Again I reminded him that I had been at loss concerning what to do on this matter and had discussed it in detail with Mr. Winant who felt that we should have a very frank talk which, of course, we had had. Sir Herbert and Malin expressed themselves as glad that we had had such a frank talk on this matter, and thought that we should continue to discuss such matters frankly and openly when we had such questions on our mind.

It is to be regretted that Malin was present. However, I felt that once Sir Herbert had suggested his being present, it would not have helped matters any for me to have objected. Malin was responsible for hiring Heathcote-Smith and will, I feel, retain him in the IGCR at all costs. I am told that Heathcote-Smith gets on Sir Herbert's nerves and that the two see very little of each other. In fact, according to Joe Schwartz, Malin was doing his best to get Sir Clifford off to Italy before Sir Herbert returned from the continent. I doubt very much that my discussion with Sir Herbert will produce the result which I would like to see, viz., that Sir Clifford be eased out of the IGC or at least placed in a position where he could do less harm. However, I think the discussion did have the effect of letting Sir Herbert know that Heathcote-Smith's conduct of affairs was causing more dissatisfaction than he had thought. I feel, too, that Sir Herbert may feel that any more blunders on Heathcote-Smith's part or complaints will leave no alternative but removal.

You may feel that I have been a little too frank and open in my discussion with Sir Herbert. However, I feel that once I had Mr. Winant's approval of a frank and open discussion with Sir Herbert that my taking a weaker position or being less frank would have been wasting an opportunity, which I could not in good conscience do, and could have accomplished nothing. As I have told you in previous letters, I have seen a great deal of Sir Clifford while he has been in London, and I am strongly convinced that he is most unfitted for the job he has, or, for that matter, for any job which requires his working with refugees, particularly Jews. While your letter certainly makes a very damning case against him, I feel that it is an understatement of the case that can be made.

000919

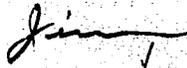
In our meeting, Sir Herbert and I discussed many other things such as the matter discussed in my cable No. 10803 of December 6, and the general Hungarian-Slovakian situation; the transportation of the children to Palestine from western Europe, discussed in my letter of November 29; ~~the Hungarian situation~~; and, of course, Sir Herbert's trip.

With regard to the transportation of the children to Palestine, Sir Herbert has told Joe Schwartz, whom he saw in Paris, that he considers the project premature. He feels that it will take considerable time to determine whether the parents of the children can be found or accounted for, and until that has been done, he feels that they should remain where they are or near about. As of interest to you, he mentioned that OSE had already reunited 2,500 children with their parents.

I shan't attempt to discuss Sir Herbert's trip at this time. We are going to have further talks concerning some of the problems which he encountered. He emphasized that I should tell you that while he was gone he was continually on the look out for projects for which the IGC could spend money. I gather that he is very anxious to convey the impression that the IGC is an active go-getter organization. At a later date I shall write you more details concerning Sir Herbert's trip.

Since writing the above, Pat Malin happened to be in the Embassy and dropped in to tell me that he was very grateful to me for bringing the matter of Sir Clifford to his and Sir Herbert's attention. He said that Sir Clifford would return to Italy, but that the work there was not nearly as important now as it has been in the past. When things are finished there, they plan to let him go. Malin said that he wanted me to know that both he and Sir Herbert had their misgivings about Sir Clifford, but felt that they could do nothing more about the situation at present. Both he and Sir Herbert wanted me to feel free at any time to bring such matters to their attention for frank discussion.

Sincerely yours,


James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.

100920

DEC 8 1944

Dear Jim:

In connection with the question which you have raised several times concerning your status, I have checked with both Mr. Pehle and Mr. Warren and find that it is the view of both the War Refugee Board and the State Department that you have been designated Special Representative of the War Refugee Board and Special Attache of the Embassy at London. I enclose copies of the two telegrams on which this is based. Mr. Warren advises me that nothing further has been done in any of the other cases where we have designated Special Representatives. He suggests that the only further document you might need will be something from the Ambassador which he feels you should request yourself.

I have written the foregoing in a personal letter to you which may have been delayed and for that reason I am sending this official letter through the pouch.

I am also enclosing a copy of the press release announcing Mr. Pehle's assignment as Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury. You will note that he will continue to serve as Executive Director of the War Refugee Board.

Under separate cover, we are mailing you 50 copies of the release on the extermination camps at Birkenau and Auschwitz. You will be interested to know that the press has given unusual coverage to the stories and requests for copies of the document are pouring in every day. A cable from Moscow advised us that a fifteen inch spread appeared in Ivestiya and mention has been made that in the course of the recent trial of the war criminals in Lublin, the reports published in this country were introduced into the record. We have no official information on the latter point but we were all interested in the press comment.

As to the reports which were requested on the Polish, Czech and French projects, it should be made clear that the Board itself did not instigate the request. As you know, the interested groups here must report on the use of their funds to the National War Fund and they have been pressing us for these reports in order to qualify for further allocations from the National War Fund. Needless to say, the labor groups are very disappointed that their programs did not get under way sooner. Even the programs they financed for operations in Switzerland have been

000921

negligible in results. The only one which operated successfully was the one which Olsen handled from Sweden. The Board has not pressed for reports on the use of funds on these licensed projects, even though the licenses do provide for periodic reports. As a matter of fact, no detailed reports have been received on the operations from Switzerland. A few reports have been received from Turkey and Sweden.

Your comments on the Joe Schwartz memorandum to the IGC concerning the transportation of children from France to Palestine have been noted with interest. Schwartz correctly stated what occurred at the conference here concerning the matter.

The question of your transfer from the War Refugee Board is to be held in abeyance. I have discussed the matter with Mr. Pehle and Mr. Luxford and they have both asked me to advise you that they feel it inadvisable to arrange for the transfer at this time. I have gone into more details concerning this matter in a personal letter to you. I assure you that the situation is well in hand and that your interests will be protected.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Florence

Florence Hodel
Special Assistant to the
Executive Director

Mr. James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
American Embassy,
London, England.

Enclosures.

sd
with B. Palmer
FH:kd 12/7/44

000922



TREASURY DEPARTMENT

- WASHINGTON - 25 -



AIR MAIL

London

Air Pouch

December 2, 1944

Dear John:

There is enclosed a report prepared by Mr. Jan Becko, Minister of Social Welfare in the Czechoslovakian Government and one of the trustees under Treasury License No. W-2153, together with a copy of Mr. Becko's letter addressed to Labor's War Relief Program, and a copy of a letter dated May 18, 1944, addressed to Mr. Becko and Frantisek Nemecek by Mr. Matthew Woll and Mr. Irving Abramson. I have serious doubts whether this report is as detailed as the Board and Treasury would like.

You will note that a part of the funds were spent for relief work in liberated Czechoslovakia. Such expenditures were personally supervised by Mr. Frantisek Nemecek, who has been in the liberated part of Czechoslovakia for some time. About a month after my arrival here, I had a long talk with Mr. Becko and Dr. Kelemen, his secretary, in which I made it very clear that the funds could not be used for relief purposes in liberated areas. Dr. Becko does not understand English and Dr. Kelemen, who serves as his interpreter, does not understand it too well, now states that he has never understood that the funds could be so used. I called his attention today to the wording of the Treasury license when he furnished me with the report. He said he was aware of the wording of the license but hadn't thought that it was as strict as I made it appear. He said they (the Czechs) had difficulty in distinguishing between refugees, and that the statement in the Woll-Abramson letter, "You are naturally permitted to adjust the program to the constantly changing condition in your country", in his opinion authorized such expenditures as had been made. He pointed out that many of the people who had received aid through these funds were in danger of death if they did not receive medical care, etc. I asked Dr. Kelemen if these funds had been used in lieu of funds of the Czech Government and he said they had not. According to him, the advances which were repaid by the funds were obtained on the strength of the assurance that funds had been obtained with which to repay them - referring, of course, to the funds remitted under Treasury license.

While I feel that the report is too sketchy to satisfy the reporting provisions of the license, I felt that it was better to send it to Washington for comment without quibbling with the Czechs here on my own. I did point out that I had expected a much more detailed report and I emphasized that some of the expenditures

100923

1/11/44



made were not in accordance with the Treasury License under which the funds were transmitted. Both Becko and Kelemen stated that this was an honest mistake on their part (of which I am convinced) and assured me that they would communicate with Nemeo at once to see that any other expenditures made were made pursuant to the strict terms of the License.

Now that I have started on the bad news of use of funds in liberated areas, I will proceed to give you a little more cause for concern and this story concerns our friend, Guigui, who has just returned to London. The following is a paraphrase of a cable which I sent Hoffman on November 29, 1944, and which I think is self-explanatory:

"Under Treasury License (project of War Refugee Board) seventy-five thousand dollars were sent from U.S. to Albert Guigui who was then in London. Pursuant to the terms of the license, the funds can only be used to provide relief in enemy or enemy-occupied territory for persons in imminent danger of death, or to provide evacuation to places of safety for them. The senders of the funds in September sent Guigui a telegram concerning the use of the funds which erroneously stated that such funds could only be used in occupied France. The misunderstanding was cleared up by WRB which telegraphed that senders only intended funds could not be used in liberated areas. Guigui then transferred funds to France and himself returned there with plans to use funds to rescue deported French workers from Germany. Senders then sent another telegram through commercial channels which Guigui and his labor union wrongly understood to authorize use of funds in liberated France. He now understands limitation that funds can only be used for rescue or relief in enemy or enemy-occupied territory. However, funds have been handed over to Pierre Neumeyer and Robert Bothereau of Confederation General of Labor (CGT), 213 Rue Lafayette, Paris, who mistakenly believe funds can be used in liberated France and are planning to spend funds for relief of the families of French workers killed or deported into Germany. Guigui since talking with me has wired them to make no such payments from funds, but he says they may feel he is mistaken since they cannot understand why people of U.S. would send funds to France which could not be used there for relief purposes of this nature. Urgent that you please explain to Neumeyer and Bothereau the restrictions placed on use of these funds by Treasury license. Also explain that funds cannot be used for relief as planned and cannot be used for any other relief in liberated areas. I would appreciate it if the results of your conversation were telegraphed to me."

000924

I have not yet heard from Hoffman but I think I found out about this plan in time to stop it. The above telegram is, of course, based upon the information given me by Guigui. He says a part of the confusion resulted from the fact that cables were received here in London by his Secretary who translated them into French and forwarded them to him in Paris. According to Guigui, none of the funds should have been distributed yet. Here's hoping.

The two cases above cited do raise a question which I feel is going to be coming up from time to time. As I have repeatedly said in my letters, so far as I can ascertain most of the Governments here are no longer really interested in rescue. They are waiting for their countries to be liberated so they can return. Also, they are all very anxious to make a good impression by getting into the liberated areas as soon as possible and start giving relief to all who remained in the country during the occupation. That, you know, is great stuff to strengthen their position politically with the people. Also, the people over here have great difficulty in differentiating between rescue as a worthy cause for sending money over to them and other worthwhile relief projects. They do not understand that one agency of our Government may be interested in rescuing refugees and another agency may be interested in another phase of the problem: To them a refugee is a refugee. Or, as the Czechs say - what is the difference in expenditure - you have people in the enemy-occupied part of Czechoslovakia who are in danger of death if they aren't rescued, and you have people in the liberated area of Czechoslovakia who are sick or injured and in danger of death if they don't get medicine. To them it sounds rather silly to say that under a Treasury License funds can be used for only one purpose. They say they are being put to good use and aren't benefiting the enemy. Their point of view, of course, doesn't make any sense to us, but they do not understand our point of view. I think we will have more causes for concern on this point when all of the reports are received. In view of the cases cited, you may want to give consideration to having the organizations in the States sending funds under Treasury License warn the recipients against use of the funds in liberated areas for relief purposes. Also, we should see that letters of the enclosed Abramson-Woll type are written so that they are clearly consistent with the terms of the Treasury Licenses.

It first occurred to me to cable you concerning the Czech report. However, upon reflection, I felt that since the expenditures had already been made, it was perhaps better not to direct too much attention to the fact, particularly since it was a thing capable of being misunderstood.

000925

As in most of my other letters, I must say a word about our friends, the Poles. You are, of course, aware of the recent Polish political developments as a result of which only one of the three trustees under the Polish license is now a cabinet Minister, viz., Mr. Jan Kwapinski (three of the four trustees formerly were cabinet Ministers). While Stanczyk and Grosfeld appeared to me to be violently anti-Russian, they apparently were not sufficiently anti-Russian to be allowed to march under the colors of the new cabinet. Just before the cabinet change, the Poles informed me that the \$250,000 remitted to them and first converted into pounds had been reconverted into U.S. currency and was awaiting shipment to Italy from where it would be sent into Poland. So far as I can ascertain, the currency has not yet been shipped to Italy. As soon as things settle down a little more, I shall make discreet inquiry and advise you of the status of this matter.

About November 13 the National Provincial Bank called me and advised that they had received \$75,000 to be turned over to Kwapinski, Stanczyk, Grosfeld and Scherer. In view of the fact that the \$250,000 had not been used, I took it upon myself to advise the bank to withhold advice of the receipt of such funds until they heard further from me which the bank agreed to do. I have not yet given the advice and won't until I know what has been done about the \$250,000. It seems to me we are feeding these boys a little too fast. The Czechs received a further remittance before they had reported on what had been done with the previous amount sent and before it had been spent. Ever since I have been here I have been after these various groups receiving funds from the States trying to get some action out of them, but it is difficult at times to get them to act. I hope that you will agree with the action I have taken thus far in connection with the Polish funds.

I am anxious to get the Board's comments regarding the Czech report. Since I am retaining a copy for my files, it will be easy for you to telegraph your comments, making reference to appropriate parts of the report.

You will notice that the report is addressed to Labor's War Relief Program (Labor League for Human Rights and National C.I.O. War Relief Committee). I assume the report will be forwarded to the addressee after the Board has made copies. *

In my last letters I have neglected to mention the service which the Blockade Committee gave us on the additional 300,000 food parcels. I assume the Board was as much surprised

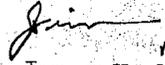
000926

by my cable giving a favorable answer in so short a time as I was by the promptness of the Committee's answer.

Sir Herbert has now returned, but is ill. He hopes to be able to come to his office on Monday or Tuesday when I shall see him about Heathcote-Smith.

Best regards to all.

Sincerely yours,



James H. Mann
Special Representative
War Refugee Board

Mr. John W. Fehle
Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Main Treasury Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Enclosure

I instructed the Agents to address the report to me but, again, they misunderstood. *JHM*

000927

- 1/ The relief of families in Czechoslovakia of executed persons and political prisoners.
- 2/ The rescue of persecuted people from Central Europe to neutral and allied countries.
- 3/ The relief of persecuted people hiding in Czechoslovakia and sofar,unable to escape.
- 4/ The relief of Jews confined in ghettos in Czechoslovakia.
- 5/ The relief of Czechoslovak Jews transported to Poland.
- 6/ The relief of Czechoslovak women and children refugees in France-- mostly the families of Czechoslovak soldiers.

You are naturally permitted to adjust the program to the constantly changing conditions in your country.

We hope that you will accept this contribution for the suffering people of Czechoslovakia as an expression of the strong fraternal bond uniting the labor movements of our two countries.

The first \$ 50,000 will be cabled this month, and further transmittals will be made later on your request.

With best wishes to you personally, and with hopes for a speedy restoration of the democratic trade union movement in a free Czechoslovakia, we are,

Sincerely and Fraternaly yours.

Irving Abramson /sgd/

Matthew Woll /sgd/

.....

.....

Irving Abramson, Chairman
National CIO War Relief Committee

Matthew Woll, President
Labor League For Human Rights, AFL.

W:A:EB
AFOE-23076

000929

53, CADOGAN GARDENS,
LONDON, S.W.3.

LONDON, 27th July 1944.

Dear Sirs and Friends,
I am writing to you on behalf of the
National Relief for Czechoslovakia, Ltd.,
London, 27th July 1944.
Irving, London, Ltd., Chairman.

New York.

Dear Sirs and Friends,

I am writing to you on behalf of the
National Relief for Czechoslovakia, Ltd.,
London, 27th July 1944. In using this
aid we have acted in the directions contained in your
letter of the 12th May 1944, your reference to
1944-1947.

We have taken advantage of your authorisa-
tion, and according to the development of the situation
in our country we have granted aid in some cases for
other purposes than those stated in 4-5 of your
above-mentioned letter, and these purposes correspond
in principle to your social and humanistic endeavours.

I apologise for not having sent this account
earlier and in this connection should say to ask you
very earnestly to take into account our special situation
and the difficulties resulting from it. In future we shall
send our accounts regularly.

The Czechoslovak Government has sent Mr.
Frant. Hance as government delegate to the liberated
territories of the Czechoslovak Republic, in order to take
over there from the Supreme Command of the Red Army the
liberated Czechoslovak territories and to organise and
direct the political administration. I am in constant touch

P.S.O.

000930

TO: [illegible] FROM: [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

000932

53, CADOGAN GARDENS,
LONDON, S.W.3.

- of the aid received to the
from the
the administrative
- 1/ For settlement of the loan
trustees in Czechoslovakia
of families in Czechoslovakia
persons and political
 - 2/ For the settlement of the loan
Switzerland and
for the rescue of persecuted
Central Europe to reach
countries
 - 3/ For settlement of the loan
Czechoslovakia for the
persecuted people living in Czechoslovakia
and, so far, unable to escape
 - 4/ For settlement of the expenses
with the relief of
ghettos in Czechoslovakia
 - 5/ Transfer for the relief of Czechoslovak
women and children refugees in
mostly the families of Czechoslovak
soldiers
 - 6/ Support of Children's Home in
 - 7/ For settlement of the loan
our trustee in
For expenses connected with the
tion of the workers Trade Union
in Czechoslovakia

P.I.C.

000933



TREASURY DEPARTMENT

- WASHINGTON 25 -

London



AIR MAIL

November 29, 1944

Dear John:

Fortunately, Heathcote-Smith has not yet been able to get his passage to Italy cleared but is expecting clearance almost any day. Sir Herbert Emerson is expected back in London either today or tomorrow and I plan to see him as soon as possible and discuss Heathcote-Smith with him.

I am still after all the parties concerned with regard to the reports requested in WRB 13. The Czechs tell me that their report has been prepared and is now being translated. They have promised to give me the report in English sometime this week, but you know they have made promises before and have not fulfilled them. Guigui has just returned to London and I am seeing him either tomorrow or the next day. You recall that he had spent none of the money sent to him when he left for France. The Poles have spent none of the \$250,000 remitted to them by Polish War Relief. The funds were converted into pounds and the Poles hoped to purchase dollar currency from the Polish Government and make repayment in the pounds resulting from remittances of the Polish War Relief. When they found that they could not do that, they succeeded in getting the pounds reconverted into dollar currency by the British Treasury and the dollar currency is now awaiting shipment to Italy from where it will be sent into Poland.

With reference to WRB 16, I have spoken to Oldenbroek and have straightened him out on the \$90,000. I am awaiting a few further facts from him in connection with the report. Getting reports from these people is like pulling teeth. Are the other representatives of the Board experiencing the same difficulties in their respective posts?

Joe Schwartz was in London for several days enroute to Switzerland via Paris. I regret that I was unable to get him into Paris any quicker than I did. However, he arrived here at a time when there was a tremendous backlog of people awaiting transportation to Paris. Considering the cases of many others who have been trying to get to Paris (including some State Department employees), I think we were rather fortunate to get him out when we did.

Needless to say, Schwartz and I spent considerable time talking over various and sundry War Refugee Board problems. Schwartz, however, was unable to make any suggestions concerning

moves which might be initiated from London which would have the effect of saving human life. After talking with the various interested groups, he reported that none of them had anything to offer.

Since writing my last letter to you, I have seen your statement reported in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency denying that the Board was to be liquidated on January 22. I told Joe Schwartz to be sure and see that a copy of that got into Pat Malin's hands.

You recall that a short time ago you were approached by the JDC, the Jewish Agency and Hadassah regarding the transportation to Palestine of some 3,200 children from France, Belgium and Switzerland. Schwartz has raised the problem with the IGC while here and presented them with a memorandum in which he set out the substance of talks with you and with Secretary Morgenthau. He quotes you as pointing out that this is not, strictly speaking, a WRB problem, but that "the Board was willing on the basis of its general interest in refugee problems, to discuss the matter with us, and to be as helpful as it possibly could be." You apparently told Dr. Schwartz that you had discussed this matter with the War Shipping Administration which indicated that shipping at the present time was so scarce that nothing could be expected in the near future. According to the memorandum, both you and the War Shipping Administration promised to explore the matter fully and keep the JDC advised of any favorable developments. The following is a reference in the memorandum to the conversation with Secretary Morgenthau (after stating that he thought it inadvisable to bring the matter to the attention of the President): "Mr. Morgenthau promised that he and other members of the Board would exert every possible influence to arrange for the transportation of these children, but he also pointed out that shipping was very scarce, and that the prospects for finding facilities in the immediate future were not bright." Schwartz's memorandum places the problem before the IGC on the following basis:

"The help of the Inter-Governmental Committee might take one of two forms:

"A. It might take up with the British and American Authorities the possibility to arrange transportation at an early a time as military and other conditions would make that feasible.

"B. Should it be necessary to use neutral shipping, which would involve large expenditure of funds, the Inter-Governmental Committee, being the primary agency interested in resettlement, might find ways of financing in whole or in part, the transportation of the children in the first place, and ultimately, of the adults as well.

"In connection with B, the question was raised by the War Refugee Board whether it would not be possible to arrange for neutral ships to call at a French port in order to carry the children to Palestine. We pointed out the difficulties involved:

"First, that it was unlikely that neutral countries would permit its ships to call in a port that was in a combat zone.

"Second, that it was unlikely that the Allied military authorities would permit neutral ships to come into waters that were of strategic importance.

"Third, that neutral shipping would involve heavy expenditure of funds to cover transportation costs.

"We felt, however, that the Inter-Governmental Committee might be helpful in overcoming all of the above difficulties.

"For these reasons we believed that the matter should be referred to the Inter-Governmental Committee. We assumed that the Jewish Agency had also taken the matter up directly with the Committee, and for that reason we did not go into detail in our cable. We now find, however, that the Jewish Agency has not discussed the matter with the Inter-Governmental Committee, and we are, therefore, taking this occasion to explain the matter more fully."

(I regret that I cannot set out the memorandum in full, but it is long and because of its length I am unable to get it typed at this time. I think my summary and excerpts give you the substance of the memorandum).

The subject of Schwartz's memorandum was the subject of a telegram to the IGC (sent before his arrival here) which was forwarded to Sir Herbert Emerson while he was in Brussels. Sir Herbert prepared a memorandum on this cable, a copy of which is enclosed.

Malin has now written the Embassy asking if it has any comments to make on the above materials at this time, and the Embassy has replied that it has none and that since the matter has been taken up with the War Refugee Board that it is being informed "of the interest of the Inter-Governmental Committee in this matter." Accordingly, my remarks here are intended to give you a "status" report on the matter. It is contemplated that talks will be held concerning this question when Sir Herbert returns, and I shall keep you advised of such talks.

000937

I am happy to see from the weekly report that Eisenhower made his long expected statement on November 7. The statement, so far as I know, was given absolutely no publicity in the British press, and I did not know that such a statement had been made until yesterday when I read it in the weekly report. Had I been advised before the statement was made, I could have obtained some publicity unless, of course, for some reason the Board did not desire that the statement be given publicity. As a matter of fact, Schwartz left for France wondering when, if ever, the statement would be made.

There have been several stories in the British press on the document released by the War Refugee Board concerning the murders of Jews and others in Poland. Already I have had some requests for the document. I presume that copies will be sent to me for distribution. At this point I cannot estimate the number needed, but I feel that I can easily distribute 50 and would like to have 100, if possible.

I have made several inquiries in my last two or three letters which as yet have not been answered. I must confess that most of them have been of a personal nature. However, I am a little concerned over the fact that I have not received a reply. Accordingly, I would appreciate it if you could have someone look into the points which I have raised and advise me. I am particularly anxious to get your reaction to my suggestion that I be transferred to Treasury payroll and then placed "on loan" to the Board to carry on my duties here for such time as you consider necessary. Also, there is still no clarification of my status, i.e. whether I am attached to the Embassy. I am continuing to help Bill and Buz on some of the Treasury work, and I am also working some with "Bernie's boys" in the Army.

When I started this rather hurried epistle, I intended to send it to you by Iver Olsen. However, he has made his last appearance and is leaving a little sooner than I had anticipated, and so I am forced to send this by pouch.

Please give my best to all.

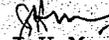
Sincerely yours,

Jim
James H. Mann,
Special Representative
War Refugee Board.

Mr. John W. Pehle,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Main Bldg., Treasury Dept.,
Washington 25, D. C.

P.S.: Peggy writes me that she finally got around to distributing the long promised boleadores. I hope the Secretary didn't mind my presenting him with a souvenir from Argentina.

In addition to serving to remind you, Lux, Joe Friedman, and Joe DuBois of your trials and tribulations with Argentina, all of you will find them very handy for catching run-away children. I am told that an expert can bring down a four-year-old child at fifty yards.


J.H.M.

copy

V.D.'s message repeating Dr. Schwartz's telegram re children in France, Belgium and Switzerland reached me on the 9th, just before leaving Brussels.

There are two aspects:

(i) Financial participation of I.G.C. This depends on attitude of U.K. and U.S.A. Governments. The former might prefer to help the children who will not go to Palestine, thus freeing private funds for latter purpose. However, V.D. is already making provisional enquiry.

(ii) Selection of children.

Most of the children in France and Belgium are Polish and do not come within our mandate. Paragraph 3 of my note on Belgium (of 9.1.44 and written before I got V.D.'s message) should be read. We do not yet know the position in Switzerland.

Organisations in France and Belgium responsible for their rescue are at present unwilling to send children to Palestine, or elsewhere, unless it is certain that both parents can not be traced. Tracing may take many months. Thus there is likely to be only a comparatively small number of children - 1,000 at the most - (we were told that in Belgium there were 150 children only known to be without both parents) who

(a) come within the I.G.C. mandate,

(b) satisfy above condition

and are at once available for emigration. Transport and other difficulties mean that even for these, there will be delay of several months. It is not a matter to be rushed.

2. I.G.C. should help towards the problem of children - but form of assistance can be considered on my return. It will have to be discussed with indigenous organisations as well as with J.D.C., Jewish Agency for Palestine, and, of course, with Governments of U.K. and U.S.A.

sad/ H. N. Emerson

Paris 12.11.44

000940



TREASURY DEPARTMENT

- WASHINGTON 25 -

London



AIR MAIL

November 14, 1944

Dear John:

I have just received your letter of October 31, 1944, relative to Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith. As you probably know, Sir Herbert Emerson is now in France surveying the refugee situation and probably will go into Belgium and Switzerland before returning. He is expected back in about ten days or two weeks. In his absence I hesitate to mention this matter to Malin since I have no relations with him. His attitude has struck me as being curious to say the least.

When I arrived in Foynes, Ireland, on the way over, I ran into Malin who at first appeared not to recognize me as I passed by him on the way into the airport office to check in. When I had checked in, I told him who I was, that we had attended some conferences together in Washington, etc., and he became quite friendly. He was awfully glad that I was going to be in London: Sir Herbert was anxiously awaiting me, etc.

I saw no more of Malin until he returned from the States after he had attended the UNRRA Conference in Montreal, when I invited him to have lunch with Olson, Sir Herbert and me. On this occasion he was extremely friendly and mentioned his conferences with you while in Washington. That was the last I have seen of Malin and that has been between six weeks and two months ago. He calls the Embassy frequently on refugee matters but always calls Brown. When Sir Herbert calls, he always calls me. Since Sir Herbert has been in France, I have heard nothing of the IGC, except, of course, through Heathcote-Smith. Malin recently entertained for the people at the Foreign Office in the Refugee Section. Brown represented the Embassy. I don't think Malin dislikes me personally, but I do think that he looks upon the War Refugee Board and the IGC as competitors. He has done nothing of which I know to indicate even a passing interest in the Board's work here. Sir Herbert is quite different. He and I usually meet for lunch each week to discuss developments on the refugee front, and we telephone each other frequently.

In view of Malin's attitude, I think it best to wait until Sir Herbert returns from France. The only unfortunate thing in this delay is that Heathcote-Smith plans to go to

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Italy sometime around the 19th of this month. If he returns to Italy, there is some possibility that he would not be recalled, whereas if I could put a bug in Sir Herbert's ear before his departure, things might be arranged to either ease him out of the IGC or at least give him some unimportant work to do---something that would keep him from going out into the field and doing the harm to the refugee cause which he has apparently done in the past. I expect that Heathcote-Smith will call me within the next few days and I shall try to persuade him, through one means or another, to stay around until after Sir Herbert's return.

As I stated in my letter of October 23, which apparently crossed yours of the 31st, I have seen a great deal of Heathcote-Smith since he has been in London. In fact, he has called me so much by telephone that I cannot describe him other than to say that he is a damned nuisance. I indicated in my letter of the 23rd that Heathcote-Smith was anti-Semitic, and I have now seen enough of him to confirm my earlier suspicions. He has just discovered that Jews are being killed by Germans and he wants to do something about it, but he is much more interested in doing something for the people who aren't Jews. It is true that his attitude on the Palestine question (and on other matters probably) is the same as that held by the British Colonial Office.

I mentioned before his idea of pamphlets being distributed by airplane to the various concentration camps. He has now favored me with a memorandum on the subject which I enclose without comment. Also, I am the happy recipient of another memorandum prepared by him which suggests that a conference be called to consider what could be done to save "these unfortunate people". I mentioned to him that I was constantly in contact with people from the various groups interested in rescue work and that I would be glad to arrange for him to see them and discuss any ideas which he had. He thought this was nice but still felt that we should have a conference. He also mentioned that at such conference we might have some experts on this matter. I asked him what he meant by "experts" and he replied, "People who have escaped from concentration camps." Again I told him that the various groups which I had mentioned were in touch with such people, but he didn't seem to be particularly interested because he wants to call a conference. All in all, my impressions of the man are that he is anti-Semitic and that he is a blunderer.

As I have told you, the Jewish groups here have been pretty hard down on him. However, Heathcote-Smith called on

Dr. Chaim Weizmann the other day, gave him a copy of his memorandum on dropping pamphlets, and talked with him in general, and I gather from Linton (Weizmann's lieutenant) that when he left, Weizmann felt that in the past he probably had misjudged the man---that he really was sincerely interested in doing something. Dr. Weizmann, however, recognized his incompetence in his job.

I am sorry to inform you that I am having some difficulty in obtaining reports from the various groups here. This is a long story. When I arrived in London, I found that the officer of the FEA handling the licensing matters had just requested reports from the Czechs and the Poles. As soon as I had made my introductory call, I renewed this request for reports and promises were forthcoming that such would be prepared and handed to me within a few days. The reports were not forthcoming and I repeated the request. Still no reports. After receiving your telegram asking for reports, I personally called upon high officials of both the Czech and Polish Governments and requested such reports. Again the promises were forthcoming but as yet no reports have been received. I expect, however, to get a report from the Czechs sometime this week and I will forward it to you immediately.

Guigui (the French labor leader) has now returned to France and when he left London about one month ago had not spent any of the funds remitted to him. However, I have sent a message to him asking that he report what he has done or intends to do. You recall, of course, that he is going to attempt to send the money into Germany through Switzerland to rescue some of the French labor leaders who have been taken to Germany. I do not expect to hear from him for two or three weeks yet. And that brings us to the Poles.

When I personally requested a report of Stanczyk, he promised that such would be prepared immediately and furnished me. However, time passed and it was not received. I tried to call Stanczyk and found that he had been ill for quite some time. However, a day or so ago one of the Poles was in to see an officer of the FEA to discuss the matter before seeing me. It appears that the Poles have used the funds received from the States to purchase dollar currency from the Polish Government. Thus, the Polish Government uses up its dollar currency and accumulates pound balances in England. The Pole, Grossman, who called upon the officer of the FEA, is coming in to see me tomorrow and you, no doubt, will have received a cable concerning this matter before you receive this letter. I propose to tell Grossman, if the facts are as

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they have been communicated to me, that he will have to get an exchange permit from the British and convert the pounds resulting from remittances from the States into a currency that can be used in rescue work, and that if such cannot be done I will have to communicate with the Board in Washington to determine what steps must be taken. I will also tell him that a report on what has been done with the dollar currency obtained from the Polish Government will have to be furnished right away.

Dr. Joseph Schwartz is now in London enroute to Switzerland, and I think we just about have things in order for him to leave. He plans to leave around Saturday of this week. Schwartz and I have had some long conversations in which I have attempted to outline the situation here, as I see it, and he has passed on to me the substance of his talks with Board members. He is a very likeable fellow and, no doubt, extremely competent. He told me that from the standpoint of the JDC he did not think so much of the compromise agreement which I worked out in Portugal this past summer. However, he said that from the point of view of the Board, he could not criticize it. I am very glad that Schwartz is going into Switzerland and, in order to facilitate things here, I have said that he is an officer of the Board. I presume there will be no objections on your part to that. I was about to forget to mention that Schwartz expressed himself as approving the board's instruction to Dexter to close up shop.

With reference to the maps which I sent you in my letter of November 7, I am still waiting for the other maps of the area which have been promised. I called about them on Saturday and Lachs told me that he was having to get copies made and that was delaying things. He expected to be able to put them in my hands sometime this week, and, since he is generally reliable, I think we have a reasonable chance of getting them.

I am continuing to do some Treasury work and some work for Bernie. On the whole my time is pretty well taken up. I have built up quite a bit of "RB" "business", notwithstanding that there aren't many results to show for it, and that, plus the other work, keeps me without any time on my hands. As a matter of fact, I am behind on most of the work for Bernie and Treasury.

In my letter of October 23 I mentioned that the Treasury offices were so short on stenographers that I was doing a great deal of my own typing. It has occurred to me that you might care to send over a secretary to do my work. While the work which I have for the Board probably wouldn't keep her busy all the time, there is enough other work that she would

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have plenty to do. Should you decide to send someone, she should be thoroughly competent and adaptable to conditions of work in the field.

In addition to doing some of my own typing, I am my own code clerk. As you know from some of my cables, the code room here has been running behind from three to five days on all except U.S. urgent cables. The officer in charge informed me Saturday afternoon that I had received a cable but that there were 10,000 code groups to be deciphered before it. Accordingly, I told him that I would decode it, which I did. It only took me two and one-half hours on Sunday to decipher 179 code groups---I hardly qualify as an expert. However, I would have progressed a bit faster had it not been for two garbles in the message which took a little time to figure out. I mention this so that I may qualify as a code clerk in addition to getting civil service status as a typist. Incidentally, the cable was the one concerning an additional 300,000 kilo food parcels. We are at work on this and will let you know something soon.

Under separate cover, I am sending you two pamphlets from the IGC, one of which contains "Minutes of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees", and the other contains "Rules for the Constitution and Procedure" and "Financial Regulations". Joe DuBois will note that he is listed in the former as a Special Observer.

I mentioned in my last letter that Pat Malin had told a great many people (or so I believe) that the War Refugee Board was contemplating liquidating itself around the end of November. Schwartz, however, says that you do not plan to transfer the Board's functions to some other agency or department of the Government until January at least. I would appreciate it if you would have someone drop me a line on this and let me know your plans. Also, if possible, I would appreciate knowing what plans, if any, have been made for me after that time. I have now received your letter of October 17, 1944, in connection with my appointment as Special Representative of the War Refugee Board. However, so far as I know, the appointment has not as yet gone through. A cable was sent to the Ambassador some time ago stating that it was proposed to appoint me Special Representative and Attache, and asking if he had any objections. The Ambassador very kindly replied that he would be delighted. So far as I can ascertain, there has been nothing since then. I should appreciate it very much if you would have someone check into this and advise me of my status.

Bill and Mike join me in sending their highest regards to you. Buz and Patterson are now in Belgium. Please

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remember me to all the staff, particularly Joe Friedman,
Lux, Joe DuBois, Florence, Jig Abrahamson, and Larry Lesser.

Sincerely yours,

J.H.M.
James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.

Mr. John V. Pehle,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Main Treasury Building,
Washington 25, D.C.

T.S.: I have just now received the enlarged map of the
Auschwitz (Oswiecim) area, and I enclose it.

J.H.M.
J.H.M.

*P.S. I am now informed that the Polish
situation is being worked up. It is my understanding
that the British Treasury is going to give the Poles
an equivalent of dollar currency. It is most
fortunate that these funds have not been used
for rescue purposes before now. I shall write
you in detail at a later date when I am
able to do so. I shall also write the full story, and I
shall send this letter without holding it
up until I do have complete information
on the Polish matter.*

J.H.M.

♡

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SAVING LIVES OF THREATENED INTERNEES.Proposals for further help for internees, workers or other civilians in Axis power, exposed to the danger of massacre or inhumane treatment.

1. The problem.
2. Steps taken to date.
3. Reasons for new unwavering measures.
4. Measures proposed.

1. The Problem.

There were at one time after 1939 nearly six millions of Jews living in Axis-held lands. Of these over three millions - the Jewish leader Dr. Ch. Weizman gives four and a half millions - have been slaughtered cold-bloodedly, scientifically, with calculated brutality, and with the regularity of a railway timetable.

Aryans:- Russians, French, Dutch, Poles and others, but in much lesser numbers - have been similarly butchered.

The B.B.C. on 19th October, 1944, reported the Polish Government's announcement that "Germany had begun the mass murders of Poles in gas chambers"

There are twelve (?) million foreign forced and "voluntary" workers in German-held Europe. Will their lives at no stage be threatened?

German concentration camps are still full of United Nations civilian internees. In their camps, too, are the United Nations prisoners of war.

Then there are many thousands of anti-Nazi Germans - intellectuals and others - in concentration camps. And the Nazi leaders, with a Black Record unequalled in the blackest pages of human history, hold all these persons at their mercy. How many can be saved from further inhumane treatment, which may in some cases include mass-massacre?

2. Steps taken to date.

There have been repeated public official WARNINGS by the United States and Great Britain to Germany, threatening her and summoning her to cease all massacres and inhumane treatment. Stalin in no dubious terms has solemnly made clear all war criminals will be punished; indeed, most of those captured have already been executed by the Soviet.

Nothing could have been more explicit than President Roosevelt's very full warning of 24th March, 1944.

But the butchery and cruel treatment continues. Are there no other ways of endeavouring to help some among the many exposed to Axis savagery?

3. Reasons for new UNREMITTING MEASURES.

The millions of civilians in Axis hands today comprise French, Russians, Poles, Italians and many others; not forgetting the remnants of the Jews, most of whom are stateless.

There are signs of a Niebelung complex among the Nazi leaders - "if victory is impossible, we will, massacring all those we hate, sink in one glorious orgy of defeat".

Once our Armed Forces have encompassed Germany's downfall, she could have already had her orgy of slaughter.

This downfall is a matter of months, or possibly even weeks only.

Therefore, if further measures could be fruitful, they must be immediate.

Their results might be only fragmentary; but the numbers in Germany today longing for escape from the fear of cruelty or death are vast.

The more our efforts to help reach large numbers of those trapped in Axis hands, the more they will feel hope.

The fact that ALL the war criminals should eventually be brought to book is scant consolation to those longing for present alleviation.

My proposal involves particularly an UNREMITTING campaign, until Germany's collapse, of propaganda, warnings, threats, dramatic and reasoned statements, to the actual GERMAN PEOPLE - those carrying out the Nazi behests, those without whose co-operation Nazi tyranny would collapse.

All these people have been conditioned, and most have become tough Nazis. Recent events, however, have shown vividly there are in existence many anti-Nazis at heart.

The Nazi leaders themselves now talk of their own possible defeat; they have cast aside all pretension of victory.

The United Nations' forthcoming victory has produced an entirely new psychological phase which must be sorely affecting countless German minds.

with doubts, hesitations, would-be disloyalties - impossible two years ago.

Now is the moment for ours - the civilian side - to start an unremitting, intensive campaign among the German people to create, build up and foster this new outlook, and for internees, this new hope. The purpose would be that during these last crucial and critical months everything humanly possible would have been attempted. An unflagging campaign is advocated which should change some Germans inside the Reich into collaborators, keen, whether from conviction or self-interest, to help wherever possible all those now gripped in the Nazi vice.

4. Proposed Measures.

It is realised that the Nazi leaders have the unaccountability of criminal lunatics in their dangerous reactions; therefore that the measures proposed must not produce an even more savage outburst by the Nazis.

With this clearly in mind, certain steps are suggested.

No originality is claimed for any of them; but it is believed that this new psychological phase induced by our coming victory reopens paths hitherto blocked.

The purpose is that a whirlwind campaign be carried through, aimed at reconditioning, or de-conditioning to some extent, the Nazi-formed minds of some among those on whom the Nazi authorities must rely; and thereby, during this last crucial period for "our internees", create many scattered groups of interested collaborators.

Imminent defeat must in itself be preparing fertile soil here and there for the reception of new ideas.

If we do or say nothing more, the worst could still happen. And our leaders are constantly warning the Reich officially.

On balance, therefore, further judicious but strenuous efforts are judged to be worth attempting rather than the other alternative - the policy of abstention.

The Pamphlet Campaign.

1. From now on, whenever air raids or other missions over German-held territory allow, pamphlets will be dropped down on the appropriate cities, internees' camps, prisons and military barracks.
2. Such radio broadcasts as are possible will continuously supplement

the pamphlets' campaign.

3. The campaign will be unrelenting and intensive.
4. These pamphlets will be addressed exclusively to the German people, the new Landsturm, the German Army and the Churches.
5. They will be where necessary dramatically worded; illustrated; in German only; and work up to a climax.
6. Pamphlets would be marked "Destroy when Read". Some internees would know German, and links would through the pamphlets be established with the gaolers.

The measures would be in four sections, with the headings:-

- SECTION 1. POLITICAL OUTLOOK.
- SECTION 2. THE ATROCITIES.
- SECTION 3. THE WORLD OUTSIDE.
- SECTION 4. THE ROLE FOR SANE GERMANS.

The sections could be interspersed, or any one section, if time allowed, be followed through first before tackling the second.

Every pamphlet would bear the slogans -

TIME IS SHORT

ARE YOU FOR PUNISHMENT AS A NAZI WAR CRIMINAL?

SECTION 1. POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

(Note: There is no attempt made under the following headings to give a synopsis of what might be said, but in certain instances one or two specific points are emphasized.)

- (a) DOOM OF NAZIDOM. Its ephemeral nature: coming defeat already acknowledged by Nazi leaders..... If you are interested in your own fate and you are a Nazi criminal, you must fear the United Nations more than the Gestapo.
- (b) MEANING OF ALLIED VICTORY. Explanation of recent dramatic change.
- (c) HITLER - FRIEND OR ENEMY OF THE GERMANS? His empty boasts, his unpardonable contradictions, his ungovernable fits of passion, Germany's losses.
- (d) GERMANS AND SPORTSMANSHIP!!! Explain Germany's degradation in this respect.

- (e) GERMANY THE OUTCAST AMONG NATIONS. Chivalry, decency, humanness.
- (f) THE GESTAPO AND THE S.S. Their place in history.
- (g) THE GERMANY OF GOETHE AND BERTHOVEN CONTRASTED WITH NAZI GERMANY.

Authors esteemed in Germany, telling quotations from these authors whether German or foreign.

SECTION 2. THE ATROCITIES.

- (a) GENERAL PICTURE OF ATROCITIES ON ARYANS.
- (b) GENERAL PICTURE OF ATROCITIES ON JEWS.
- (c) EYE-WITNESS account of AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU - in serial form
- (d) " " " MAJDENEK - " " "
- (e) " " " DACHAU - " " "
- (f) EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE WARSAW GHETTO INFAMY, in serial form, with illustrations.
- (g) EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF OTHER CAMPS.

SECTION 3. THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

- (a) CAMPS OF PRISONERS OF WAR AND INTERNEES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES. Illustrations. Internees' statements.
- (b) THE WORLD CONSCIENCE AND THE GERMAN CONSCIENCE.
- (c) GERMANY JUDGED BY NEUTRALS. Extracts from press, ect.

SECTION 4. ROLE OF SANE GERMANS.

- (a) ENSURE HUMANE TREATMENT IN CAMPS AND FACTORIES. Instructions and advice. No incitement to disobedience if treatment humane.
- (b) OPPOSE ALL DEPORTATIONS LEADING TO MASS-EXECUTIONS. Instructions and advice.
- (c) GENERAL SAFETY OF INTERNEES. Secure this at all costs if threatened. You will be saving your own life. Only act at appropriate moment.
- (d) TO THE LANDSTURM AND OTHERS. Extracts from announcements from Field-Marshal von Paulus and other German leaders.
- (e) EXTRACTS FROM DECLARATIONS BY MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, MARSHAL STALIN. "You must work your passage home" (W.C.) "Germans must earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving nations" (F.D.R.)

The foregoing headings are merely given to indicate what was in my mind. Some may be appropriate, and clearly there are countless other points to be hammered into what should be, today, the German minds in a more receptive state.

If the campaign were judicious, it could not bring on "our internees" any added harshness: and we may rely on the human trait of self-interest for such a campaign to create many would-be allies disposed to help the internees at the crucial moments that must occur. There will certainly be times when the orders of the Nazis regarding our internees can be frustrated in such a manner as to lead to their escape and safety if they can find the requisite internal help.

A COROLLARY TO THE CAMPAIGN AMONG THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

A further solemn warning to the Reich Government would be issued. It would state that we covered "all internees" with our moral protection.

Any crimes committed against them would be considered as war crimes and punished accordingly.

Those thus protected by us would include, besides the prisoners of war, all forced and "voluntary" labourers, all stateless and denationalized persons, all internees.

It might be found politic to include under these all anti-Nazi German political prisoners. Such a move would be welcomed by all their relatives and friends outside the prisons, and might help "our internees".

The fact of the granting of this moral protection would be stressed in the pamphlets addressed to the German people.

C. Heathcote-Smith

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

London, 9th November, 1944.

SAVING LIVES OF THREATENED INTERNEES.

Further Memorandum by Sir Clifford E. Heathcote-Smith, Resident Representative in Italy.

In my Memorandum of the 24th October, 1944, I proposed taking immediate advantage of the new psychological situation, as regards the issue of the war, in which the German people now find themselves.

I urged the exploration of the possibility of an unremitting propaganda campaign, embodying fresh substance and directed at the mass of the population.

Subsequently, in various quarters, those in close touch with conditions in Germany have forcefully stressed the dangerous consequences that unwise measures might bring upon those whom we wish to protect. On the other hand, if new or additional measures could alleviate their situation, then it would be essential to apply those measures.

Therefore, to secure competent advice with the maximum speed, I suggest that the British War Cabinet Committee on Refugees, and the War Refugee Board of the United States should arrange forthwith for a special or ad hoc conference in London of experts qualified to decide whether or not it is advisable to take any further or wider steps to protect the several kinds of threatened groups in Germany and all Axis occupied territory. If anything additional were deemed possible, the experts could jointly, or separately, make the necessary recommendations to the appropriate authorities.

Such a conference need have no more than two or three sessions. Its membership could be limited to representatives of the civilian and military agencies most immediately concerned, including not only those of the United States of America and Great Britain, but also of the Soviet Union and other European Allies who have borne the brunt of German terrorism. It is further suggested that the conference might utilise as consultants, individuals - escapees or others - who have had inside knowledge of German concentration camps, and whose views on the danger or safety of any proposed measures would be of great value.

C. Heathcote-Smith

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OCT 31 1944

Dear Jim:

Reports reaching me from various sources indicate that Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith, resident representative of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in Italy, has been the cause of considerable dissatisfaction in a number of quarters. Some of the reasons therefor are outlined below and I think it might be appropriate, when the opportunity arises, for you to discuss this matter with Sir Herbert Emerson. You will realize, of course, the highly confidential nature of our information and that if it should reach the ears of Heathcote-Smith, it may affect the positions of certain persons now working in Italy under his supervision. I therefore do not believe it advisable for you to show this letter to Sir Herbert and I think it will be best if you would only refer to such parts of it as you deem necessary. However, in order that you may be well informed on the subject, I am briefly outlining all of the matters which have been brought to my attention.

Heathcote-Smith was a member of the British Foreign Office for the greater part of his working life. He retired therefrom (or was retired) a little less than a year before his appointment to the IGCR. For nineteen years prior to his retirement he was Consul-General in Alexandria, Egypt. As a result of this background and experience, I am told, he has many of the attitudes and feelings quite common to persons engaged in similar positions. Thus, although he professes to feel sincerely for the plight of the Jewish people, he has not shown too sympathetic an attitude in his personal dealings with them. In fact, he is said to have made himself distinctly unpopular with many Jewish refugees in Rome. He is not frequently available to them when they call and when he does interview them, his attitude and demeanor are not sympathetic but rather somewhat imperious. Because of this a large number of refugees feel that he is consciously (or perhaps unconsciously) anti-Semitic. His effectiveness has therefore become greatly impaired.

The second complaint made against him is that he is a difficult person with whom to work; that he does not take too kindly to the suggestions of others and acts as if the Heathcote-Smith way is the only correct way. Several incidents in connection with the movement of the thousand refugees to the United States might serve to illustrate this. I have been advised that it was agreed between Captain Korn of the ACC, Heathcote-Smith and Ackermann that he (Heathcote-Smith) would interview and set the machinery moving to select the refugees in Rome who were to be included in the group,

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but that Ackermann would go to Rome to aid in the final selection. However, Heathcote-Smith proceeded to make the final selection before Ackermann had an opportunity to get to Rome, selecting, it might be said, almost every person requesting the opportunity to go. At the same time, the persons making the selection in the southern part of Italy, because of the limitation on numbers, had to choose one out of every three applicants. If a more discriminatory selection had been made at Rome, the southern Italian selection problem might have been somewhat eased. In addition, he was advised that in general, young men of military age, in good health and able to support themselves should not be selected since there were so many other women, children and old men who desired to go and therefore appeared much more deserving. Despite such advice, he proceeded to select about ten persons in this category.

The Military Intelligence Authorities also had cause to complain of Heathcote-Smith's work in the refugee movement to the States. He was aware from his experience with a previous shipment to Palestine and he was again carefully advised by the Intelligence Authorities that no security clearance would be granted to any refugee selected unless a specified information form was completed. Nevertheless, he did not have such forms filled out but used a special form which he had caused to be printed which did not contain sufficient information upon which the security authorities could make the proper investigation. After it was learned that Heathcote-Smith had not had the prescribed forms prepared, it was necessary to make a number of long distance calls to Rome (very difficult at that period) and finally for the forms to be shipped from Rome to Bari by special plane courier. And when the forms arrived, they were improperly filled out, causing further delay at the staging camp near the port of embarkation.

Several of the private agency representatives have also found it difficult to work with Heathcote-Smith. You may recall that several of such agencies have been permitted to enter Italy, under the restriction that they be attached to the Allied Control Commission under the jurisdiction of the Intergovernmental Committee. The programs of these agencies cover not only problems of immigration and repatriation but also that of immediate relief. The private agency representatives are paid by their agencies and not by the Intergovernmental Committee and they disburse the funds of their agencies. These representatives are men with a great deal of experience in the refugee, relief and welfare fields. Despite these factors, Heathcote-Smith, on several occasions, has acted without consulting them, stating on one occasion that he was accustomed to acting on his own and not accustomed to asking advice from others. One private agency representative has also complained that for several days at a time and on several occasions he has found it difficult to arrange meetings with Heathcote-Smith, who frequently found himself too busy to spare the time therefor.

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In one case where he could have contributed substantially to the solution of the refugee resettlement problem, he did more harm than good by his attitude and manner. This involved his program to grant Italian citizenship to refugee Jews who had been in Italy for a specified period of time. After some discussion, he convinced the Italian authorities to grant citizenship in cases certified to them by the Intergovernmental Committee. This would have represented a solution to the resettlement problem of at least a certain percentage of the foreign Jews now in Italy had the matter been properly handled. However, without consulting the private agency representatives who had been in daily touch with large numbers of refugees and without taking any of them with him, he proceeded to address a meeting of a large number of Jews called to hear about the program. After addressing them and explaining the matter, he was asked a number of questions, including one as to whether the taking of Italian citizenship might have an adverse effect upon an individual's chances eventually to get to Palestine. Instead of giving a soft answer, he replied with a tone of irritation in his voice that the Jews might as well forget about Palestine and realize that there would be little or no more immigration to that place; that they should make up their minds to take a substitute therefor such as the remedy he offered; and that they were the victims of Palestinian propaganda. The reaction to this reply, of course, horrified those with ambitions of going to Palestine and so irritated many others who did not have that country in mind (and therefore might have wanted to stay in Italy) that his whole proposal met with such a bad response that it can almost be considered a dead issue.

I am also informed that Heathcote-Smith apparently feels that he has been placed in his position to represent the British Foreign Office point of view rather than to consider himself as an Intergovernmental representative and therefore adopt a neutral attitude. On the basis of facts reported to me, it would appear that neither by background, training or temperament is he qualified to hold down his present job. It is my understanding that a person working with refugees must at least be one of long patience, sympathy and understanding. Heathcote-Smith has not illustrated that he possesses these qualities.

As I mentioned before, I do not believe it wise for you to go into many specific matters in your discussions with Sir Herbert. The best approach might be to state that you have heard that Heathcote-Smith, because of his temperament and the whole approach he follows, is not in our judgment an effective representative of the IGCR. How much further you will wish to go is a matter which, of course, I must leave to your discretion.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle

Mr. James H. Mann,
War Refugee Board
c/o U. S. Embassy,
London, England.

Edward E. Ackermann
LEAckermann:ecr - 10/30/44

000956

September 7, 1944.

1. Since it will not be possible for you to come here soon, your representatives feel it their responsibility to bring to your attention the difficulties they are experiencing with Malin's representative here. (A communication on the same problem has been written to Philadelphia by the AFSC representative here.)
2. The representative in question has much personal charm and good social presence, as you know. However, he has deep seated prejudices against the race of the people he is here to help so that it seriously handicaps the work of all of us. I don't believe he is aware of the prejudices and denies they are present when it is pointed out to him by anyone here. He has the prejudices against both Zionists and Jews that one would expect of a person who held the position he held for so many years and whose contacts were almost exclusively with Arab and British Palestinian officials.
3. The prejudices are evident when he talks with any one of the Jewish race, whether it be refugees, leaders of the community or staff. In every instance in which he spoke with refugees either individually or in groups, he takes away by his attitude the last remaining bit of security they might have had. All have complained of him, as have others not of our people who have seen him with refugees. Also since he believes himself to be an authority on racial problems, he suggests to any who talk with him about this problem, a huge ghetto for all Jews in either Europe or America.
4. Although he is here as the representative of an organization in which many governments participate, he consistently takes the point of view officially of the foreign office of the government of which he is a national. That has been evident in meetings which we attended in which he spoke, and admitted that he takes that line deliberately.
5. He has little administrative ability nor does he know how to work with others. It usually takes three days after I request a conference with him until the request is granted. Since we have to deal with the ACC through him, this greatly impedes our work.
6. He has no comprehensive program and refuses to permit the staff to help him develop one. He is dissipating his time and energies in pursuing impractical rescue schemes and refuses to deal with the practical problems at hand. A case in point is when I asked him to discuss with the proper authorities inadequate assistance to ex-internees, and gaps in the program of public assistance for refugees, he declined to do so.
7. Despite all this, your representatives have continued to maintain a fairly harmonious relationship with the representative in question, in order that the work may continue.
8. Since Malin is in the United States at present to attend the meeting at Montreal, we hope you will discuss this matter with him and urge him to lose no time in making a personal investigation here.

11/10/44
M. J. ...
10/10/44
10/10/44

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



TO: Mr. Warren

FROM: Mr. Pehle

It will be appreciated if you will arrange for
the immediate dispatch in cipher of the attached cable
to Ambassador Winant, London, England.

Attachment.

000958

CABLE TO WINANT, LONDON, AND MANN FROM WAR REFUGEE BOARD AND TREASURY

It is agreeable to both Treasury and War Refugee Board that
✓ Mann may devote any time not required for handling War Refugee
Board matters to Treasury work.

FHshd 11/15/44

000959

the Secretary
Mr. D.W. Bell
Mr. Gaston

Mr. Connell
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Charles Bell

* * *

Miss Alger
Mr. E.M. Bernstein
Miss Chatfield
Document Room
Mr. I. Friedman
Mr. A. U. Fox
Mr. Glasser
Mr. Heffelfinger
Mrs. Kern
Mr. Klaus
Law Library
Mr. Lynch
Mr. Oliphant
Mr. Pehle
Mrs. Ross
Mr. Schmidt
Mr. Shaeffer
Mr. Stewart
Mr. Taylor
Mr. Tietjens
Mr. Wenchel
Mr. White

Mr. Aarons
Mr. Alk
Mr. Arnold
Mr. Brenner
Mr. Bronz
Mrs. DeLacy
Mr. DuBois
Mr. J.B. Friedman
Mr. Lesser
Mr. Minskoff
Mr. Moskovitz

Noted

OK

*Abraham
Friedman
Hodell
Kovsar*

*(6 copies
done
11/1/44*

FROM: MR. LUXFORD - Room 270

000960



TREASURY DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON 25X

London, October 23, 1944.



AIR MAIL

Dear John:

I received your letter of September 23, 1944 a little over a week ago and was, of course, very glad to hear from you. The enclosures were helpful and I trust that I shall continue to receive such documents from time to time. As you are aware, I have not been flooding the Board with cables concerning my activity; so, I'll try in this letter to give you an idea of how things stand and how I spend my time.

Typing at this time falls under the heading of services in short supply. Since all of the girls in the Treasury Office are busy doing rush Treasury work, I am typing this letter myself. Accordingly, I shall ask at the outset that you overlook the many mistakes that, no doubt, will appear. I also mention this in order to try to get for myself a Civil Service rating as a typist.

In my judgment there isn't a whole lot that can be done from London at this time which will contribute materially towards the rescue of people from the occupied countries. I am, of course, spending considerable time with the various Jewish organizations interested in rescue work and with Sir Herbert Emerson, representatives of the "refugee" governments, some of the UNRRA people and others. How in importance comes from most of these talks and they do consume quite a bit of time. I feel, however, that I should and I do arrange to see these people at regular intervals just to be sure that I get whatever news they have concerning the refugee front and a line on their thinking. At this point, even the most ardent pressure boys have nothing to suggest and seem to be just waiting to see what will happen. Up until about three weeks ago, they all seemed to think that the war was about over (I must confess I did too) but now they feel that it will last probably until the spring (I don't share that view but recognize the possibility) and this has aroused their interest in the problem but not to the extent to cause them to suggest any concrete projects.

My talks with the "refugee" governments, have on the whole been disappointing. The Belgians left London shortly after I got here. The Dutch are not interested in refugees since they feel that they will be leaving most any time----in fact they were prepared to say their good byes when the German resistance stiffened and they were forced to sit around and wait awhile. Most of the Czechs (Government Officials) haven't given too much thought to the matter of rescue. One of their ex-officials, Dr. Ambrose, did quite a bit of thinking on rescue and tried to work out something but he left the Czech Government shortly before my arrival to take a job in the Welfare Division of UNRRA and he now has no interest (other than personal) in rescuing and saving refugees. The head of the Social Welfare Department of the Czech Government is interested mostly in the post war situation. He would like to

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~~It is~~ do something in the way of rescue but isn't clear concerning what he would like to do. He has suggested that some effort be made to get medicine, vitamins and food concentrates into concentration camps located in Czechoslovakia, and he urges that the Board take up the matter with the Red Cross. He outlines the situation in the concentration camps there as extremely bad but doesn't have any details of the treatment. He is, of course, discussing this matter with the Red Cross and other organizations. Nemec, trustee under the Czech license, is said to be doing good work but he has been out of London since I have been here and I haven't had a chance to talk with him. He is now in Czechoslovakia. Jan Becko, the other trustee, is preparing a report on the work which is being carried out with funds transmitted under the WRE-Treas. license.

I find that there is no coordination of effort among the interested groups within the various Governments. One group of Poles doesn't know that another group is receiving funds from the States and one group of Czechs does not know that another has even the remotest interest in the rescue of persons from the Germans. I have attempted to work out some degree of coordination among these various groups, but, as you can well appreciate, I have had to be very careful not to get mixed up in differences between various political factions within a Government, and I have felt that I could not disclose to one group (pressuring for funds) the fact that another was receiving funds from the States for rescue work until I assured myself that such disclosure would increase rather than prejudice the chances for successful operations. Such cases, I might say, have been rare.

In this connection, I think that there is one major thing that could be accomplished and I am working on it, i.e., the coordination of the efforts of the various Governments. As things stand now, there is no contact, insofar as the London officials know between one underground group such as the Poles and another underground group such as the Czechs. You can imagine the difficulties in working out such coordination between such groups. However, I am trying to work something out and hope that I shall be successful, but it isn't easy.

It is questionable whether the refugee Governments (except for a few individuals in each Government) are really interested in evacuating their nationals to neutral havens etc. I think I can say that most of the "refugee" Governments feel that their nationals should stay within the country, try to hide themselves and take an active part in resistance movements.

He possibly could have had some success in working with the French a little earlier in the game. Guigui impresses me as a man who can get things done. However, with the liberation of France, his principal interests have been other than rescuing refugees. He is, as you know, attempting to get some of the French who were deported to Germany, out of Germany and back to France. That I should think would be most difficult, but he does have the contacts (or ~~xxxx~~ so I am led to believe) and I think that if anyone can do it, he is the man.

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Ivor Olsen has recently returned to Stockholm after a visit of about a week to London. [Buzz Aarons says that he didn't come down on Treasury business. Certainly, he didn't come down on War Refugee Board matters; so, I guess that leaves only the OSS.] Ivor and I had some very interesting talks while he was here. He acquainted me with the situation in Sweden and I told him about my activity in London. He feels that he has done everything possible in Sweden and that the only thing left to do is for him to wind up and write his report. While he was here I arranged quite a lengthy talk with Sir Herbert and Pat Malin at which we devoted most of our time to discussing Wallenberg's activities in Budapest. Ivor made a good impression both on Sir Herbert and Pat. I didn't think it worth while to take him over to the Foreign Office since there wasn't anything to discuss. Ivor didn't think it worth while to try to meet with the various groups here interested in rescue. Also, he seemed to have his time pretty well taken up by whatever business brought him to London.

I see by the papers that Hirschman is back in the States and presumably he has had another press conference. The following is from the Washington Diary column in the News-Chronicle of October 20, 1944:

"There is no longer a refugee problem in the Balkans. This is the gist of a report by Mr. Ira Hirschmann, War Refugee Board official, who has just returned from Turkey. The outlook for Jews in Bulgaria and Rumania 'has improved tremendously' (he said last night) mainly as a result of the Board's dual program.

Under this program, he said, many thousands of Jews had entered Palestine as permanent residents, 45,000 Bulgarian Jews had been reinstated, and most of 48,000 had been returned to their homes.

No more Balkan refugees will be brought to the U.S., he added, and the camp at Oswego, New York, is likely to remain the only refugee 'free port' in this country."

[The dual program part floored me for a minute---I wondered if he were talking about tobacco.]

By way of newspaper statements, I might add that the President's statement (reported here Oct. 18, 1944) on unrestricted immigration to Palestine was certainly well received by the Zionist organizations and I believe, most of the Jewish organizations in London. I understand that Dr. Weissman is or has seen the Ambassador to express the gratitude of the Zionists groups for the statement.

With regard to the matter of needing the War Crimes Commission, the Board's telegram that it had made its position clear to the Department of State was not much satisfaction for poor old Herbert Pell. He wants to know where we go from there. He now ranks as one of my greatest time killers in London. He calls on me about once each week to see if I have heard anything and he generally stays from one to two hours depending on whether he has a comfortable

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chair, plenty of cigarettes, etc. In these sessions we review the situation (that is to say--he reviews it) and I now have it committed to memory, word for word. He always ends these sessions by expressing some new fear if the message is not forthcoming. He now says that such a message should be received by him and published in the newspapers before the election, pointing out that if the Republicans had knowledge of the situation as it exists, they might be able to make quite a stink about it and pick up a few votes----as he puts it, all because some people in the Department of State don't want to do anything for the Jews. I think he may have something there. However, I am sure that all of you have considered the "political dynamite" angle (Poll's term). In addition to my talks with Herbert, I have attempted to do a little needling on this point and one of my friends in the Polish Foreign Office tells me that he has written an article which is to be published in the Juridical Review saying that such acts constitute war crimes. In view of Secretary Hull's statement (the last one) to the effect that we have our own list of war criminals, the question of punishment probably doesn't depend upon the decision of the War Crimes Commission of what constitutes a war crime. However, it strikes me that it is a matter of sufficient importance to justify our doing all possible.

Heathcote-Smith appears to have done it again. You no doubt have heard of his interesting comments concerning Madagascar as a home for the Jews. In the event you haven't, I am enclosing an extract from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin of Oct. 12, 1944. That statement has really aroused some of the Zionists here in London. You recall his famous remark of some time ago to the effect that Palestine was a small country and there were 11 difficulties in it. There he says why isn't the refugees in Italy take out Italian citizenship and settle in Italy? Following that, the Jewish Agency representatives wrote to Sir Herbert Emerson asking him to call upon Heathcote-Smith for an explanation. Sir Herbert refused. He thinks that Heathcote-Smith is a fine fellow and a able representative of the IJC. I don't mind his thinking that but it is somewhat embarrassing sometimes after Heathcote-Smith's remarks to be reminded that he is speaking for an inter-governmental committee on which the U.S. is represented.

In connection with the Madagascar suggestion, the Zionists here point out that Madagascar as a haven for Jews was considered by the Poles sometime ago and even they found it unsuitable. In fact I am told that there are rears of unbiased reports saying that a person accustomed to the European climate would find the going there rather tough. When Linton of the Jewish Agency told me about the Polish refusal to accept Madagascar, he told it in such a way as to imply that if it couldn't get the Polish approval then no one would approve it.

Sir Clifford is now "somewhere in southern England" and intends to be here for about ten days. Friday, he came to the Embassy for a short (one hour) talk with me. [The timing of his visit was most unfortunate for me since I was trying to meet a deadline on a project for Bernie Bernstein. Sir Clifford called and asked for

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an urgent appointment stating that he would only stay fifteen minutes. Of course I readily agreed to see him and when he came he got so interested in his own conversation that he ran slightly over the quarter hour which he had of his own accord set as the "expected duration". Furthermore, he had nothing urgent to discuss.]

He started by paying high tribute to the Board because, he said, it was a fast moving organization and was an organization very much needed in the rescue work. He purported to be alarmed by rumors which had reached his ears to the effect that the Board would soon liquidate and pass its functions over to some other agency of the government. He admitted that he had his information from Pat Malin who appears to have told this to a great many people. I, of course, had heard nothing. Sir Clifford wanted to know whether it would help if he would see Ambassador Winant and get him to send a cable to Washington strongly recommending that the Board stay in existence until the end of the European war. I told him I felt that such was unnecessary, explaining that every recommendation of the Ambassador received the greatest consideration in Washington and that he was greatly interested in the Board's work, but I stated my personal view that the Board would remain in existence as long as there remained a task which it could effectively accomplish. I pointed out, however, that in my opinion, such did not necessarily mean until the end of the European war.

Heathcote-Smith made many references to the bestial acts committed by the Germans and I got the impression that this was a new discovery on his part. Furthermore, I gathered that the discovery was not made while in Italy but on the way home through Switzerland when he stopped to talk with McClelland. He made many references to documents which he had read while in Switzerland. He said many nice things concerning McClelland and the fine work he was doing in Bern.

Finally, Sir Clifford unburdened himself of his big idea of the moment for saving the Jews of Europe and inspiring hope in those not saved by his plan. He is writing, or perhaps better to say thinking, about a pamphlet which would be dropped in all the concentration camps of occupied Europe from airplanes. However, he plans to write quite a lengthy affair and I am afraid that if he writes out all the ideas which he outlined to me, the pamphlet would resemble a peace time Sears-Roebuck catalogue and might kill anyone it happened to hit if dropped from high altitude. Roughly he has in mind reviewing practically every bit of propaganda which the Allies have previously used or is now available to them. A German who read the pamphlet would be convinced that Germany had lost the war and that German soldiers had better be careful what they did to Jews in concentration camps. Jews in concentration camps who read the pamphlet would be inspired with a new hope. He asked from time to time if the Board were interested in saving people other than Jews and I told him we were. Also, he carefully pointed out in discussing his idea that in

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addition to saving "these unfortunate people" the pamphlet would help the Allied war effort. I told him that I had given some thought to the idea of dropping leaflets from planes but I hadn't considered anything quite as elaborate as his plan.

In our conversation Sir Clifford mentioned also that he had taken up with the Papal Nuncio in Bern the question of approaching the Italian Republican Government in North Italy through the Archbishop of Milan asking that all Jews in North Italy be allowed to go either into Switzerland or pass into Allied Italy. He has outlined this in detail to McClelland and I presume that it has been reported to the Board. I should appreciate being advised if there are any developments on this point.

You'll forgive me for devoting so much time in this letter to Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith. Since you know Sir Herbert and Pat Malin, I thought it worth while to introduce to you by letter another important officer of the ISL.

I mentioned in my letter of September 19, 1944 that the British were still raising objections to the so-called "hard currency" provisions of WRB licenses. The long expected talks on this point finally took place as you know from the airgram A-1213 of October 6 (giving the text of a memorandum from the British asking that licenses which involve placing of funds in neutral territory "at the disposal of enemy persons" be issued only after consultation between the State Department and the British Embassy in Washington) and the PEA cable (sent also to the Board) of the same date. Mr. William Stone of PEA did not ask me to attend this meeting but before the meeting he did consult me on the strategy to be followed. I outlined to him the talks with Dingle Foote and told him the whole history of this matter, the aide-memoire etc. I suggested that there were only two courses open---either courteously decline the British suggestion or transmit the suggestion to Washington for instructions. He was not prepared to follow the former so the suggestion was sent to Washington for consideration. I feel certain that the Board will not agree to such a consultative procedure unless it is felt that things have reached such a state that it doesn't matter whether any licenses are issued or not.

The substance of Board's telegram of October 2 (Depts. No. 7998) was given to the Foreign Office immediately after its receipt. I feel that the delay in replying to my telegram of September 11 on this matter and not having the communications from Washington to Bern repeated to me here was most unfortunate since it gave the Foreign Office the idea that we were not really on our toes. Furthermore, I had been most insistent that the British make no reply until I heard from Washington which, I assured them, would not take long.

In the near future, I shall prepare and send to you a report of expenditures of funds placed at my disposal. Such expenditures have been negligible in amount and consist only of taxi fares,

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cables, and a small amount for entertainment. The latter expenses have been only for repaying obligations. For example, when I first arrived I called upon various people interested in rescue work asking for an appointment to see them and discuss matters generally. Since it is quite stylish here to transact business over the lunch table, some of these people asked me to have lunch with them and talk over refugee matters. I have repaid such obligations by subsequently taking them to lunch. You may be assured that the fund has not been abused for this purpose. I trust that such expenditures as I have made will meet with your approval. As you know, London is very expensive and the seven dollars per tier is not sufficient to cover actual living costs let alone provide for business entertainment.

The above, I believe, pretty well covers the situation for the present. There have been no big problems come to light since I have been here and there have been no spectacular accomplishments. However, I am attempting to carry out the Board work to the best of my ability. I can say that I have not given away the Board's shirt. On the other hand, I can't say that I have been able to get anybody else's shirt for the Board--so to speak, particularly in connection with Joe DuBois favorite project. I must say that barring the unforeseen, I cannot anticipate any big problems arising here in the near future. Of course, I am trying to keep myself informed on the Hungarian and Slovakian situations. But the information here is not too good and I have not considered it worthwhile to go to such general information on the situation as I have received because I know that the Board acts much more specific information and such as has come into my hands, I know has reached the Board. Too, I never know just how reliable the information is which comes to me. At any rate, I seldom receive anything which is not in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin within a short time.

[Now I have one or two personal matters which I would like to mention. As you probably know, I have been devoting considerable of my time in the past to some projects for Bernie Bernstein and the Treasury officers and I expect that as time goes on I shall spend more time working on such projects and less on Board matters since it strikes me that the Board work will be decreasing. My devoting time to such projects is in accord with my talk with Bill Taylor upon his arrival here and is in accord with the letter which Lux sent by Bill. I find the Treasury work quite interesting and hope that I shall be able to do quite a bit of it and make a worthwhile contribution there. However, I do feel a bit awkward notwithstanding Lux's letter and my conversation with Bill and I would much appreciate further clarification if such is possible. As you know I would like to return to the Treasury payroll. It has occurred to me that it might be possible to transfer me from the Board to Treasury and the latter lend me to the Board to carry on its work in London for such time as is necessary. Such a transfer would serve to more or less regularize my status on the Treasury work and would remove some of the uncertainties. Before leaving Washington, I filled out several forms for transfer to Treasury and left them with Lux's secretary to be used at the

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appropriate time. I would very much appreciate your advising me whether such transfer can be effected, and, of course, if it can be effected now, I would appreciate your giving the necessary instructions to bring it about.

I must mention that the situation is further complicated by the proposal to appoint me Special Representative with diplomatic status. A cable was received a few days ago proposing such a pointment and the Ambassador immediately replied that he would be delighted to have me appointed. Accordingly, I presume that the formal appointment will come through within a few days. I very much appreciate the Board's appointing me. Furthermore, the diplomatic status is an advantage and can be of help in dealing with refugee matters. However, the appointment can complicate matters in connection with the Treasury work. Of course, it would not matter insofar as Bill and Buzz are concerned, but such an appointment (as Attaché) definitely puts me on the Embassy staff and if the Embassy saw fit to do so, I take it that it could assign to me all refugee matters including the handling of ICC problems, relations with UNRRA's displaced persons branch, etc. Furthermore, others in the Embassy might think it peculiar that I also worked on other than refugee matters. The latter is not really important but it cannot be overlooked.

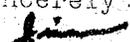
I was somewhat at a loss to know why I was not so appointed earlier and should receive the appointment at a time when it appears that the representatives in other capitals are receiving instructions to liquidate Board affairs and turn them over to the regular Embassy staff. Please understand that I am not complaining but am merely attempting to point out some possible difficulties in connection with my doing Treasury work. In order to get around such difficulties, I would suggest that if the appointment formally comes through, as I presume it will, a cable be sent to the Embassy stating that it is expected that I will devote any time not required for handling Board matters to Treasury work.]

The statement in your letter that you were considering having the military make a statement warning those who kill Jews and others of the consequences had almost escaped my attention. That strikes me as an excellent idea. I feel that it would have a much greater effect at this time than a statement from any civilian official of our Government other than the President. While I have not mentioned your suggestion to the various interested persons and groups with whom I am in touch, many of them have said that a statement of warning by the military would probably carry more weight than one made by high officials of our government.

Please give my best regards to Joe Friedman, Lux, Joe DuBois, Florence, Jim Abrahamson and Larry Lesser. Bill Taylor, Buzz, and Mike Hoffman wish to be remembered to you.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,


James H. Mann

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Extract from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin. 12.10.44.

JEWS TO MADAGASCAR: VIEWS OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF INTER-
Rome. Oct. 11th. GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES.

The suggestion that the United States set aside land for the settlement of Stateless Jews was made by Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith representative in Italy of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees during a discussion of the refugee situation with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency correspondent here.

Sir Clifford also suggested as a possible site for a new Jewish homeland the island of Madagascar, which he termed 'a really wonderful place'. Sir Clifford expressed his disappointment that "only a few" of the refugees had volunteered to accept Italian citizenship, and that most of them wish to go to Palestine. He said: "They are victims of propaganda." He added that he had recommended to the Committee that renewed efforts be made to find havens for Jews in places other than Palestine.

Revealing that he was returning to London for conferences regarding the refugee situation in Italy, the Intergovernmental Committee representative said that there were between 4,000 and 5,000 refugees from other countries in Italy. Sir Clifford disclosed that none of the refugees from Germany wish to return there and only a few from Austria are willing to go back to that country.

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PERSONAL AND C [REDACTED]

London, October 23, 1944

Dear John:

I received your letter of September 28, 1944, a little over a week ago and was, of course, very glad to hear from you. The enclosures were helpful and I trust that I shall continue to receive such documents from time to time. As you are aware, I have not been flooding the Board with cables concerning my activity; so, I'll try in this letter to give you an idea of how things stand and how I spend my time.

In my judgment there isn't a whole lot that can be done from London at this time which will contribute materially towards the rescue of people from the occupied countries. I am, of course, spending considerable time with the various Jewish organizations interested in rescue work and with Sir Herbert Emakson, representatives of the "refugee" governments, some of the UNNRA people and others. Nothing of importance comes from most of these talks and they do consume quite a bit of time. I feel, however, that I should and I do arrange to see these people at regular intervals just to be sure that I get whatever news they have concerning the refugee front and a line on their thinking. At this point, even the most ardent pressure boys have nothing to suggest and seem to be just waiting to see what will happen. Up until about three weeks ago, they all seemed to think that the war was about over (I must confess I did too) but now they feel that it will last probably until the spring (I don't share that view but recognize the possibility) and this has aroused their interest in the problem but not to the extent to cause them to suggest any concrete projects.

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CC - Mr. Abrahamson, Mr. Friedman, Miss Hodel, Mr. Lesser

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date MAR 13 1973

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do something in the way of rescue but isn't clear concerning what he would like to do. He has suggested that some effort be made to get medicine, vitamins and food concentrates into concentration camps located in Czechoslovakia, and he urges that the Board take up the matter with the Red Cross. He outlines the situation in the concentration camps there as extremely bad but doesn't have any details of the treatment. He is, of course, discussing this matter with the Red Cross and other organizations. Nemes, trustee under the Czech license, is said to be doing good work but he has been out of London since I have been here and I haven't had a chance to talk with him. He is now in Czechoslovakia. Jan Becko, the other trustee, is preparing a report on the work which is being carried out with funds transmitted under the WRB-Treas. license.

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France. That I should think would be most difficult, but he does have the contacts (or so I am led to believe) and I think that if anyone can do it, he is the man.

Ivor Olsen has recently returned to Stockholm after a visit of about a week to London. Ivor and I had some very interesting talks while he was here. He acquainted me with the situation in Sweden and I told him about my activity in London. He feels that he has done everything possible in Sweden and that the only thing left to do is for him to wind up and write his report. While he was here I arranged quite a lengthy talk with Sir Herbert and Pat Malin at which we devoted most of our time to discussing Wallenberg's activities in Budapest. Ivor made a good impression both on Sir Herbert and Pat. I didn't think it worth while to take him over to the Foreign Office since there wasn't anything to discuss. Ivor didn't think it worth while to try to meet with the various groups here interested in rescue. Also, he seemed to have his time pretty well taken up by whatever business brought him to London.

I see by the papers that Hirschmann is back in the States and presumably he has had another press conference. The following is from the Washington Diary column in the News-Chronicle of October 20, 1944:

"There is no longer a refugee problem in the Balkans. This is the gist of a report by Mr. Ira Hirschmann War Refugee Board official, who has just returned from Turkey. The outlook for Jews in Bulgaria and Rumania 'has improved tremendously' (he said last night) mainly as a result of the Board's dual program.

Under this program, he said, many thousands of Jews had entered Palestine as permanent residents, 45,000 Bulgarian Jews had been reinstated, and most of 48,000 had been returned to their homes.

No more Balkan refugees will be brought to the U.S., he added, and the camp at Oswego, New York, is likely to remain the only refugee 'free port' in this country."

By way of newspaper statements, I might add that the President's statement (reported here Oct. 18, 1944) on unrestricted immigration to Palestine was certainly well received by the Zionist Organizations and I believe, most of the Jewish organizations in London. I understand that Dr. Weissman is or has seen the Ambassador to express the gratitude of the Zionist groups for the statement.

With regard to the matter of needling the War Crimes Commission, the Board's telegram that it had made its position clear to the Department of State was not much satisfaction for poor old Herbert Pell. He wants to know where we go from there. In addition to my

talks with Herbert, I have attempted to do a little needling on this point and one of my friends in the Polish Foreign Office tells me that he has written an article which is to be published in the Juridical Review saying that such acts constitute war crimes. In view of Secretary Hull's statement (the last one) to the effect that we have our own list of war criminals, the question of punishment probably doesn't depend upon the decision of the War Crimes Commission of what constitutes a war crime. However, it strikes me that it is a matter of sufficient importance to justify our doing all possible.

Heathcote-Smith appears to have done it again. You no doubt have heard of his interesting comment concerning Madagascar as a home for the Jews. In the event you haven't, I am enclosing an extract from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin of Oct. 12, 1944. That statement has really aroused some of the Zionists here in London. You recall his famous remark of some time ago to the effect that Palestine was a small country and there were difficulties in going there so why didn't the refugees in Italy take out Italian citizenship and settle in Italy? Following that, the Jewish Agency representatives wrote to Sir Herbert Emerson asking him to call upon Heathcote-Smith for an explanation. Sir Herbert refused. He thinks that Heathcote-Smith is a fine fellow and an able representative of the IGC. I don't mind his thinking that but it is somewhat embarrassing sometimes after Heathcote-Smith's remarks to be reminded that he is speaking for an inter-governmental committee on which the U.S. is represented.

In connection with the Madagascar suggestion, the Zionists here point out that Madagascar as a haven for Jews was considered by the Poles sometime ago and even they found it unsuitable. In fact I am told that there are reams of unbiased reports saying that a person accustomed to the European climate would find the going there rather tough. When Linton of the Jewish Agency told me about the Polish refusal to accept Madagascar, he told it in such a way as to imply that if it couldn't get the Polish approval then no one would approve it.

Sir Clifford is now "somewhere in southern England" and intends to be here for about ten days. Friday, he came to the Embassy for a short (one hour) talk with me.

He started by paying high tribute to the Board because, he said, it was a fast moving organization and was an organization very much needed in the rescue work. He purported to be alarmed by rumors which had reached his ears to the effect that the Board would soon liquidate and pass its functions over to some other agency of the government. He admitted that he had his information from Pat Malin who appears to have told this to a great many

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE
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people. I, of course, had heard nothing. Sir Clifford wanted to know whether it would help if he would see Ambassador Winant and get him to send a cable to Washington strongly recommending that the Board stay in existence until the end of the European war. I told him I felt that such was unnecessary, explaining that every recommendation of the Ambassador received the greatest consideration in Washington and that he was greatly interested in the Board's work, but I stated my personal view that the Board would remain in existence as long as there remained a task which it could effectively accomplish. I pointed out, however, that in my opinion, such did not necessarily mean until the end of the European war.

Heathcote-Smith made many references to the bestial acts committed by the Germans and I got the impression that this was a new discovery on his part. Furthermore, I gathered that the discovery was not made while in Italy but on the way home through Switzerland when he stopped to talk with McClelland. He made many references to documents which he had read while in Switzerland. He said many nice things concerning McClelland and the fine work he was doing in Bern.

Finally, Sir Clifford unburdened himself of his big idea of the moment for saving the Jews of Europe and inspiring hope in those not saved by his plan. He is writing, or perhaps better to say thinking, about a pamphlet which would be dropped in all the concentration camps of occupied Europe from airplanes. However, he plans to write quite a lengthy affair and I am afraid that if he writes out all the ideas which he outlined to me, the pamphlet would resemble a peace time Sears-Roebuck catalogue and might kill anyone it happened to hit if dropped from high altitude. Roughly he has in mind reviewing practically every bit of propaganda which the Allies have previously used or is now available to them. A German who read the pamphlet would be convinced that Germany had lost the war and that German soldiers had better be careful what they did to Jews in concentration camps. Jews in concentration camps who read the pamphlet would be inspired with a new hope. He asked from time to time if the Board were interested in saving people other than Jews and I told him we were. Also, he carefully pointed out in discussing his idea that in addition to saving "these unfortunate people" the pamphlet would help the Allied war effort. I told him that I had given some thought to the idea of dropping leaflets from planes but I hadn't considered anything as elaborate as his plan.

In our conversation Sir Clifford mentioned also that he had taken up with the Papal Nuncio in Bern the question of approaching the Italian Republican Government in North Italy through the Archbishop of Milan asking that all Jews in North Italy be allowed to go either into Switzerland or pass into Allied Italy. He has outlined this in detail to McClelland and I presume that it has been reported to the Board. I should appreciate being advised if there are any developments on this point.

000974

You'll forgive me for devoting so much time in this letter to Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith. Since you know Sir Herbert and Pat Malin, I thought it worth while to introduce to you by letter another important officer of the IGC.

I mentioned in my letter of September 19, 1944, that the British were still raising objections to the so-called "hard currency" provisions of WRB licenses. The long expected talks on this point finally took place as you know from the airgram A-1213 of October 6 (giving the text of a memorandum from the British asking that licenses which involve placing of funds in neutral territory "at the disposal of enemy persons" be issued only after consultation between the State Department and the British Embassy in Washington) and the FEA cable (sent also to the Board) of the same date. Mr. William Stone of FEA did not ask me to attend this meeting but before the meeting he did consult me on the strategy to be followed. I outlined to him the talks with Dingle Foote and told him the whole history of this matter, the aide-memoire etc. I suggested that there were only two courses open---either courteously decline the British suggestion or transmit the suggestion to Washington for instructions. He was not prepared to follow the former so the suggestion was sent to Washington for consideration. I feel certain that the Board will not agree to such a consultative procedure unless it is felt that things have reached such a state that it doesn't matter whether any licenses are issued or not.

The substance of Board's telegram of October 2 (Depts. No. 7998) was given to the Foreign Office immediately after its receipt. I feel that the delay in replying to my telegram of September 11 on this matter and not having the communications from Washington to Bern repeated to me here was most unfortunate since it gave the Foreign Office the idea that we were not really on our toes. Furthermore, I had been most insistent that the British make no reply until I heard from Washington which, I assured them, would not take long.

The above, I believe, pretty well covers the situation for the present. There have been no big problems come to light since I have been here and there have been no spectacular accomplishments. However, I am attempting to carry out the Board work to the best of my ability. I can say that I have not given away the Board's shirt. On the other hand, I can't say that I have been able to get anybody else's shirt for the Board. I must say that barring the unforeseen, I cannot anticipate any big problems arising here in the near future. Of course I am trying to keep myself informed on the Hungarian and Slovakian situations. But the information here is not too good and I have not considered it worthwhile to cable such general information on the situation as I have received

000975

SEE ATTACHED LISTING
OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE
JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY
FOR THE YEAR 1947
AND THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE
JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY
FOR THE YEAR 1948

because I know that the Board gets much more specific information and such as has come into my hands, I know has reached the Board. Too, I never know just how reliable the information is which comes to me. At any rate, I seldom receive anything which is not in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin within a short time.

The statement in your letter that you were considering having the military make a statement warning those who kill Jews and others of the consequences had almost escaped my attention. That strikes me as an excellent idea. I feel that it would have a much greater effect at this time than a statement from any civilian official of our Government other than the President. While I have not mentioned your suggestion to the various interested persons and groups with whom I am in touch, many of them have said that a statement of warning by the military would probably carry more weight than one made by high officials of our government.

Please give my best regards to Joe Friedman, Lux, Joe DuBois, Florence, Jim Abrahamson and Larry Lesser. Bill Taylor, Buzz, and Mike Hoffman wish to be remembered to you.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Jim

James H. Mann

OCT 13 1944

Dear Jim:

There are forwarded to you herewith
for your information some of the more recent
interesting cables.

Very truly yours,

(Sgd) Florence Hodel

Florence Hodel
Special Assistant to the Director

Mr. James H. Mann,
American Embassy,
London, England.

Enclosures.

FH:hd 10/12/44

*M. Hodel to
when received in
files*

000978

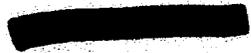
I wa Ref. St. Pehle

RECEIVED
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

ORIGINAL TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington
TO: American Embassy, London
DATED: September 1, 1944
NUMBER: 7073
X

CONTROL COPY



The following cable is from Pehle for Mann:

We are transferring ten thousand dollars to you for use at your discretion in furthering the program of the War Refugee Board. These funds are not subject to usual government disbursement procedure and you will be responsible to me alone for their expenditure. You should, however, keep careful record of expenditure and obtain receipts where possible.

HULL

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date **SEP** 8 1972

000979

CABLE TO AMEMBASSY AT LONDON, ENGLAND

The following cable is for Mann from Pehle:

We are transferring ten thousand dollars to you for use at your discretion in furthering the program of the War Refugee Board. These funds are not subject to usual government disbursement procedure and you will be responsible to me alone for their expenditure. You should, however, keep careful record of expenditure and obtain receipts where possible.

4:25 p.m.
August 31, 1944

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Abrahamson, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Mannon, McCormack, Cable Control Files

DWhite:dm 8/28/44
dw

000980

April 22, 1944

Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company
Government Unit
725 13th Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Mr. James H. Mann, Assistant Executive Director of the War Refugee Board is in need of telephone service at his residence 1829 19th Street, N.W., second floor.

For your information, the War Refugee Board is an emergency agency established by the President on January 22. The Board itself consists of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of War, and is charged with the responsibility of effectuating with all possible speed the rescue and relief of victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death. In these operations we are in constant touch, by cable and otherwise, with diplomatic representatives of this Government as well as with special representatives of the War Refugee Board stationed abroad. These circumstances make it necessary for the Board to be in constant touch at all times with certain of its employees for conferences and other work at night and on Sundays.

For this reason it is urgently recommended that telephone service be installed at Mr. Mann's home. I shall appreciate anything you may do to facilitate the service requested.

Very truly yours

(Signed) J.W. Pehle

John W. Pehle

Executive Director

WStewart:dm

dm 4/22/44

W.S.

Section of Mr. White's
files

000981

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD

INTER-OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE April 20, 1944

TO Mr. Stewart

FROM Mr. Mann

As you know, I have recently moved to 1829 19th St., N.W.
where I have an apartment on the 2nd floor. There is no telephone
in the apartment. Could you or the Board be able to have one
installed for me? If you will do whatever is necessary on this
while I am out of town, I will be most grateful.



000982

Mann James H.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD

INTER-OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE

March 16, 1944

TO Files

FROM Ward Stewart

Subject: Discussion of James H. Mann Situation with Mr. Raynor of Mr. Stettinius' Office

Mr. Friedman and I went to Mr. Raynor's office this morning at Mr. Pehle's suggestion to discuss the question of the liaison work of Mr. James H. Mann. Mr. Friedman gave Mr. Raynor a copy of Mr. Pehle's memorandum to Mr. Stettinius outlining the difficulties we have been having in the present liaison relationships through Mr. Warren's office. Mr. Raynor showed us a draft of a letter for Mr. Stettinius' signature giving the State Department's views with respect to Mr. Mann's status.

Apparently there is no question with respect to keeping Mr. Mann on the State Department pay roll and giving him the salary increase that has been recommended. With respect to the question of occupational deferment Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Pehle will handle that matter between them. With respect to Mr. Mann's proposed working relationships within the State Department, Mr. Raynor had included in his draft of Mr. Stettinius' reply to Mr. Pehle a paragraph indicating that Mr. Mann would have no contacts whatever within the State Department except with Mr. Warren and would perform only such work as Mr. Warren might assign. We suggested to Mr. Raynor that such an understanding would reduce Mr. Mann's effectiveness very substantially and finally convinced him that the question could be handled more satisfactorily on an informal basis between Mr. Mann and Mr. Warren subject to agreement between Mr. Pehle and * Mr. Stettinius. Mr. Raynor agreed to strike out the last paragraph of the draft reply and said that he would raise with Mr. Stettinius the question of handling the matter on an informal basis. Mr. Raynor also agreed that he would see that Mr. Mann is introduced into the Department under such auspices as to give him the prestige necessary to perform his work satisfactorily. I assume we will receive Mr. Stettinius' letter on this subject within the next few days.

W.S.

Assistant Executive Director
(Management)

* Raynor called later saying he had discussed the matter with Stettinius and Stettinius had decided to leave the paragraph in as originally written.

W.S. 3/16

Discussed with J.W.P. W.S. 3/17

(Subj. m. initials files)

000983



AIR MAIL

Office of the Treasury
Representative

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD



Embassy of the United States
London, January 31, 1945.

Miss Florence Hodel,
Assistant Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Florence:

I am enclosing a copy of News From Hitler's Europe issued by the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, which summarizes the report released by the War Refugee Board on Auschwitz and Birkenau. I am also enclosing three back copies of the News as they may be of interest to you. If the Board is interested in receiving this publication as released, please advise me and I shall forward it from time to time.

I have again made inquiry concerning the report mentioned in WRB No. 35. I am advised by the Foreign Office that it is not yet available, that when it is available they will favor me with copies for transmission to Washington.

As of possible interest to you, there is also enclosed a short summary of the activities of the Netherlands Repatriation Commission on behalf of Dutch persons in occupied territory.

Very truly yours,

James H. Mann,
Special Representative,
War Refugee Board.

Enclosures.

000984

Office of the
National Committee for
Rescue from Nazi Terror
1111 RIA



NEWS FROM HITLER'S EUROPE

ISSUED BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RESCUE FROM NAZI TERROR

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The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Sankey,
P.C., G.C.B.
The Rt. Rev. J. B. Whaley, D.D.

Offices: 30, MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2 Telephone: TEMple Bar 3803

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No. 30

January 30th, 1945

THREE TIMES FOUR.

Twelve years ago, Weimar Germany came to an end. On January 30th, 1933, Reich President Hindenburg entrusted Herr Hitler with the formation of a new Government. Two days later, Hitler promised the German people that "within four years", he would overcome all their misery and distress. The great experiment of the Fachlar State had begun.

The scheduled period is now over, three times over; and the results are more devastating than even the greatest pessimists once dared to predict. It is not necessary to-day to draw up a formal balance sheet of the Third Reich; its evil consequences in every field of human activity, are almost beyond debate. Even Germany, now on the verge of final defeat, finds herself faced with shame and destruction instead of the promised glory and happiness. It is difficult to think of any other regime in the history of mankind which, in so short a time, has caused so much human despair and frustration.

The Nazi leaders cannot complain that they did not have a fair chance. In Germany herself, they were able to crush all effective opposition within a few weeks after their carefully planned Reichstag Fire. The non-German world was prepared to tolerate the Nazi regime, even up to the point where it initiated its policy of active aggression. It is true that from the very beginning many democrats deplored the uncivilised policy pursued by the Nazis at home; but a large body of public opinion outside Germany was favourably impressed by some of the measures taken by the Third Reich, particularly during its first Four Year period. It took a long time for people to realise that the so-called "strong" policy of labour service and national "unity" was in fact a policy of organised misery and of preparation for war.

It is certainly true that the value of freedom, democracy and a peaceful popular policy could not have been realised so clearly without the negative experiences of the last twelve years. In this respect, and in this respect alone, the Nazi experiment may after all prove useful. Government of the people, for the people, and by the people has once again become a "modern" slogan. The world which will emerge from this war will not be in need of "strong" governments on the Nazi pattern.

000985

EYE WITNESSES FROM OSWIECIM.

One of the latest Red Army bulletins has announced the capture of the town of Oswiecim (Auschwitz) in Polish Upper Silesia, in whose neighbourhood two of the first extermination camps of Nazi Europe have been situated. The world will probably hear in a day or two whether any inmates of these camps have been liberated, or whether they have all been killed in the gas chambers and shooting yards. Some information on the inhuman conditions prevailing in these camps is contained in a report which we have just received, issued by the U.S. War Refugee Board.

The report contains eye witness accounts from three former inmates of the camps who managed to escape to the free world. The War Refugee Board (which is sponsored by the American Government itself) declares that these accounts tally with all the trustworthy yet fragmentary reports hitherto received; "the Board has every reason to believe that these reports present a true picture of the frightful happenings in these camps."

The number of prisoners in the camps was equal to the population of a medium-sized town. One of the witnesses says that at the time of his arrival, in April 1942, there were about 15,000 prisoners in the camp of Oswiecim alone. The number of prisoners in the neighbouring camp of Birkenau (about five miles away), was 35,000 in April 1944; rather less than half of these were Jews, and a quarter of them were women. However, even these figures do not provide anything like a real picture of the crimes committed in the camps. First of all, owing to the huge number of "natural" and unnatural deaths, the number of people admitted to the camps was many times as large as the camp population at any given moment. One of the three escapees who happened to have worked in the so-called infirmary of Oswiecim says that the weekly "draft" in dead was about 2,000 in that camp alone. About one third of these were directly murdered - the others died from exposure. Another one of the eye witnesses (a Polish Major) is the only survivor of his original group of sixty non-Jewish prisoners.

Furthermore, only a small minority of the Jewish deportees who arrived in Oswiecim, were even admitted to the camps. Those who were not particularly strong were sent to the gas chambers immediately on their arrival. The total capacity of these gassing plants was, finally, about 6,000 per day. Death occurred within three minutes, and the corpses were at once burnt. One of the eye witnesses estimates that the number of those gassed was between one and one and a half million; another says that between April 1942 and April 1944, approx. 1,765,000 executions of Jews were carried out. Later, large numbers of Hungarian Jews are believed to have been killed in these chambers.

The non-Jewish prisoners were classified according to five categories: political prisoners; "professional" criminals; dodgers and anti-social people; homo-sexuals; and members of the religious sect of the "Bibelforscher". Some 16,000 gypsies were also sent to Birkenau, the great majority of whom have died. The camps were truly "international", with inmates from all the subjugated nations and from Germany itself. All prisoners, irrespective of category or nationality received the same treatment but non-Jewish prisoners when sentenced to death, were usually shot instead of being gassed.

All inmates, whether men or women, had their heads shaved and their registration numbers tattooed on their bodies. The dormitories were huge rooms with cubicles "too narrow for a man to lie stretched out and not high enough to sit upright." The camps were always

Continued at the bottom of page 3.

News from Holland.THE DUTCH RAILWAY STRIKE.

Reports published by the International Transport Workers Federation show that the Dutch railway strike was from the beginning a well-prepared and disciplined action organized by the underground movement. Hiding places had been arranged beforehand for 1,500 key workers such as traffic controllers and dispatchers, locomotive men, signal men, and shutters. Records containing the addresses of staff members disappeared beforehand from the railway offices.

Strike propaganda had been made on several occasions during the last few years but the railwaymen, guided by their responsible leaders had rejected any suggestion for premature action. They followed, however, the call to strike, given on September 17th, almost to the last man.

The Dutch (Nazi) Labour Front never accounted for more than 300 members among the 40,000 railwaymen of the country. During the strike, according to the information at the disposal of the strike leaders, no more than 50 men offered to perform blackleg work. The repair shops also closed down.

Reich railway staff had to clear the main lines of goods trains which had come to a standstill, and to operate the few military trains that circulated. As they are not familiar with the Dutch signalling system, the trains run "on sight", crawling from point to point and thus presenting an easy target for Allied aircraft. It is known that even towards the middle of November, after two months' practice, journeys which normally take twenty to thirty minutes, still took two to three hours, and this was considered as a great improvement.

Railwaymen have not received any wages since the beginning of the strike, and have been largely dependent for their living on the solidarity and help of the Dutch people.

Continued from page 2

infected with vermin. "Our food consisted of one litre of turnip soup at midday and 300 grammes of bad bread in the evening."

At the entrance to Oswiecim camp was a huge poster with the inscription, "Work brings Freedom." Within the camp there were several factories; a war production plant, Deutsches Aufruestungswerk (DAW); a factory belonging to the Krupp works; and one to the Siemens concern. Other prisoners were employed in a huge "Buna" plant outside the boundaries of the camps. Working conditions were "inconceivably hard" and the workers were beaten on every occasion.

Death sentences were passed quite arbitrarily. For instance, "if the recorder (himself a prisoner) has noted down a death by mistake - and this often occurs with the unusually high mortality - the discrepancy is simply straightened out by killing the bearer of the corresponding number." A biological laboratory was attached to the camps where men and women were employed as "guinea-pigs" for medical experiments.

FURTHER INFORMATION FROM THESE EYE WITNESS ACCOUNTS CAN BE GIVEN ON APPLICATION.

000987

NEWS JOTTINGS.Deportations of Clergymen.

The number of Norwegian clergymen deported to Germany has increased from 50 on January 1st, 1944, to 104 on January 1st, 1945, according to Swedish Church circles. In addition, there were 50 clergymen held under arrest in Norway itself at the beginning of this year, compared with only 20 twelve months previously. The recruiting of Nazi clergymen has shown poor results recently; only six have been newly ordained during the year. Conditions in many congregations are described as "almost chaotic". Many children are not christened, and in many cases there is no longer any preparation for confirmation.

Persecution of Half-Jews in Germany?

"Stockholms-Tidningen", of January 19th, contained the following message from its Berlin correspondent:- "Recently various campaigns have been launched against half or quarter Jews and also against Germans married to Jewesses who have refused to divorce their wives. The drive against half-Jews assumed greater proportions, after it was found that the escaped General Lindemann had been in hiding with a half-Jewish family."

The correspondent adds that Goebbels has been stressing again recently the anti-Semitic slogans in his propaganda; and there is an acute danger that during the final phase of the war, the measures hitherto used against full Jews will be adopted against anyone with Jewish connections.

Slave Workers Decorated.

The policy of appeasing foreign workers in the Reich (see last issue of NEWS FROM HITLER'S EUROPE), has led to the decoration of a group of "Eastern" workers, who until recently were treated as the lowest cast of labour slaves. A number of Ukrainian men and women who are employed in the Gau Lower Silesia, received the German Bronze Medal for Distinguished Services, in consideration of "their work and their general attitude," says the "Angriff" of January 11th.

Greek Refugees to Return Home.

The first Greek refugees to be repatriated under a special UNRRA scheme, are those from the Aegean Islands, according to recent reports in the Egyptian press. About 5,000 refugees belonging to this category, have been living in the Middle East; another 5,000 in Cyprus; and about 2,500 in East Africa, Belgian Congo and Ethiopia. It is expected that the repatriation of these (roughly) 13,000 persons will cause fewer difficulties than the repatriation of those normally living in other parts of Greece.

No Travel Without Medical Certificate.

The Railways Commercial Directorate in Rumania has found it necessary to decree that all civilian rail passengers must possess certificates from their district doctors showing them to be free from infectious diseases. Bucharest Radio has announced that no tickets will be issued without such certificates.

Publication Received.

"Revolt in the Ghetto." By Reon Stone. Published by the United Emergency Committee for European Jewry. Sydney, 1944. One Shilling.

NEWS

FROM HITLER'S EUROPE

ISSUED BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RESCUE FROM NAZI TERROR

Hon. Treasurer:
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No. 29

January 9th, 1945

HITLER'S EUROPE.

HITLER'S EUROPE STILL EXISTS. Large territories have been liberated by the Allied Armies; the Germans themselves now no longer talk of their European "New Order". But many millions of non-German Europeans, both in and outside Germany proper, are still living under the Nazi yoke; and Goebbels has by no means given up his slogan, the "solidarity" of the European people. On the contrary, he has now started a new propaganda drive to catch the "soul" of the foreigners in the Nazi Realm.

New Policy Towards Foreign Workers.

The change in policy towards foreign workers has become particularly marked since the decree of November last whereby foreigners were entitled to the same food rations as Germans who were doing similar work. At about the same time, a high Labour Front official (Herr Mende) officially repudiated the "policy of the stick" in foreign labour camps. Since then, discriminatory articles against non-German workers (which formerly appeared very frequently) have practically disappeared from the German press. Instead, a number of new measures have been published which are evidently designed to win over the support of foreigners for the German war effort.

Various "awards" have been given to foreign workers in Germany. For instance, the "Shield of Honour", which was created to decorate citizens of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, has for the first time been given to Czech skilled workers in Germany whose "exemplary fulfilment of duty" has been praised in the German press. Twenty-nine camps for foreign workers, all of them situated near Berlin, have been given special awards "for exemplary cleanliness and equipment", as a result of a "better housing" competition in the Reich. The MPD news agency reports that in these camps the incidence of illness amounted to a bare 2.6 per cent.

The German Broadcasting Service, in the Dutch language, reported early in December, that the first (sic) rest home for French, Dutch and Belgian workers in the Reich has been opened "in a lovely part of the Province of Brandenburg."

The special wage tax of 15 per cent which has hitherto been levied against Polish workers, is in future only to apply in cases where their work is unsatisfactory. Polish workers this year were eligible for the first time for the Christmas bonus.

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The German Labour Front, after making "minute investigations" into the causes of work accidents among foreign workers, has now given instructions to their factory wardens how to avoid such accidents in future.

Vocational training schemes which have hitherto only been carried out by individual employers of foreign workers, have now been centralised under the auspices of the German Labour Front. It has been announced that roughly 350 new vocational training courses for foreign workers are starting every month; 10,000 workers are taking part as students. Most of these students, according to the "Angriff", are Frenchmen, but courses are also held for Flemings, Dutchmen, Walloons, and Ukrainians. It has also been reported from one place in the Reich that "discussion evenings", probably of a propagandist character, have just been arranged for foreign workers by the German Labour Front.

"Refugees from Bolshevism."

Most revealing perhaps is the "kind interest" taken by the Nazis in the well-being of the workers and others from Soviet territory - especially since they were regarded less than a year ago as inferior to all other foreigners in the Reich. The official Nazi press has featured two lengthy articles on the anti-Bolshevist Movement of the Russian General Vlasov, during the one month of December alone. Dr. Goebbels himself received a delegation of "volunteers from all the peoples of Russia who are fighting against Bolshevism", in order to receive from them - five days before Christmas - a collection of toys; presents for the bombed-out children of Germany.

On December 19th, General Vlasov formed in Berlin a "Council of Nationalities" supposedly in order to represent the different nations of the Soviet Union. Ten days later, the official German News Agency (quoting an article in the "Deutsche Korrespondenz") made the astonishing revelation that "millions of people belonging to the Eastern peoples fled from Bolshevism, leaving their homes and belongings behind them, in order to return with the German troops and to put themselves under German protection." The writer (a high civil servant) continues by saying that a great number of Ukrainians have been settled in Polish territory while many White Russians have been transferred to the Reich proper. Thousands of Cossacks and members of the North Caucasian mountain tribes are also mentioned as being among these "refugees" and we are further told that many Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians are still streaming into the Reich. As a matter of course, all these people are excellently cared for, and voluntarily place themselves at the disposal of the Reich either as workers, or as members of Vlasov's fighting forces.

"In addition to these refugees (says the writer of this article) more than two million workers from the Eastern peoples came (sic) to the Reich during the German occupation. They, too, have to be politically guided and instructed; they want to know what Germany intends to put in the place of Bolshevism. About 30,000 children of school age from the East bring Germany face to face with the problem of pre-occupational education."

*

It is unlikely indeed that large numbers of "Europeans" will be deceived by these propaganda measures - after so many years in which they have been treated as sub-human. The purpose of the new drive is too obvious. But it provides a noteworthy indication of how the Nazi mind is working at the present time.

News from Germany."PARLIAMENT" OF RE-EVACUEES.

THE NAZIS HAVE NOW TO TACKLE THEIR OWN REFUGEE PROBLEM. This first emerged in the course of 1944, when some 300,000 German settlers had to be evacuated from the territory of the Soviet Union. Still larger numbers have since been evacuated from France, Belgium, South-Eastern Europe and from the frontier districts of Germany herself.

The German re-evacuees from Russian territories have been settled in the so-called "Warthegau" - i.e. those parts of Western Poland (formerly widely known as "the Corridor") which have been incorporated into the Reich proper. Himmler himself promised these Russo-Germans early in 1944 that every one of them would receive a farmstead in the Warthegau, but the German authorities have signally failed to comply with this undertaking. So great has been the disappointment of the re-evacuees that the Nazi officials of this Gau decided on the quite unusual step of calling together a "parliament" of deputies representing those concerned in order to attempt to deal with their grievances.

This "parliament" met on December 11th in the town of Poznan. There is no information available as to how the deputies were "elected" but the reports in the local press clearly show that the proceedings were fundamentally different from those at ordinary Nazi conferences. We gather from the newspapers that the representatives of the colonists, not content merely to listen to the official speeches, were bold enough to "present their demands which ranged from questions concerning wages and the provision of clothing, to political problems."

The Nazi spokesmen themselves did not disguise that they had failed to tackle satisfactorily many of these problems. The following points from their speeches are mentioned in the press:-

(1) These Germans, on their arrival in the Warthegau, found conditions for colonisation "very bad". It was "necessary to employ most of the men who had formerly been independent farmers, as agricultural labourers; this was contrary to Himmler's promises but the fulfilment of these will have to be postponed, owing to war-time difficulties." Only 2,000 families received independent farmsteads. (SS Leader Huebner.)

(2) Colonists were urged "to work with a supreme spirit of sacrifice in order to ensure the food supply of the Fatherland." They were asked to limit their demands to those things which it was humanly possible to procure. (Gau Peasant Leader Kohnert.)

(3) The Germans from Russia should discard any "inferiority complex" (sic); they had a right to be considered equal in status to all other Germans in the Warthegau. (Gauleiter Greiser.)

Gauleiter Greiser also took pains to point out that the present "parliamentary" meeting did not constitute a concession to the ideology of parliamentary democracy. The Nazi leaders, he said, were always prepared to hold discussions with the direct representatives of the people, and had therefore no need for the usual parliamentary machinery.

*

A newly issued decree of the Reich Minister of the Interior (Herr Himmler) on the treatment of German refugees from Alsace, provides for labour duties on the part of the fugitives, and for welfare assistance for those in special need. There is no suggestion of any re-settlement in farmsteads or businesses as a matter of right.

NEWS JOTTINGS.Death Roll in Germany.

149 Danish citizens are known to have died in German concentration camps or prisons during 1944 (up to December 25th), according to the records of the Free Danes. The great majority of these deaths occurred in the second half of the year. Among the victims are political prisoners, Jews, so-called habitual criminals and a-social elements, as well as a great number of Danish policemen who were deported to the Reich. In Terezin which is known as a "model" camp for Jewish people, no less than 15 per cent of the deported Danish Jews have died. According to a Swedish wireless report, a fresh transport of 118 Danish deportees left for Germany on November 28th.

*

The number of death sentences passed by the German criminal courts in the Reich, was 99 in 1939; in 1941 the number had risen to 1,392 and in 1943, the total was 5,336, according to the newspaper "Trots Allt." The editor says that this information is contained in a secret publication "Die Lage", exclusively published for Nazi Party bosses. These figures do not include many private executions carried out by the Gestapo.

Budapest : The Situation of the Jews.

Only some 75,000 Jews - most of them infirm - are believed to remain in Budapest. No large numbers of Hungarian Jews have probably been deported to Poland since the summer; but all able-bodied people, perhaps as many as 100,000, have been sent to labour camps situated between Vienna and the Russo-German front, in order to help with fortification works. Smaller numbers have also recently been sent to the German concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen near Hanover where their future is uncertain. A number of Budapest Jews have been arrested by the Hungarian authorities on a charge of assisting the Red Army, according to the German News Agency. Reports received in Switzerland towards the end of December said that the food supply of the Budapest ghetto had then been interrupted for several days.

Remnants of Jewry : Provisional Figures.

Only one out of six Jews who lived before the war in the countries which became Nazified, is still alive according to the estimates of the Jewish Agency. The following provisional figures are available from some liberated countries:-

	<u>Jews in 1938</u>	<u>Survivors</u>
Rumania	1,000,000	350,000
Bulgaria	90,000	45,000
Greece	73,000	10,000
France	240,000	180,000
Belgium	60,000	22,000
Italy	48,000	25,000

The proportion of survivors among the Jewries of some other countries particularly Poland and Germany, is probably much smaller.

Some 15,000 Jews have found refuge in Sweden, and some 26,000 in Switzerland, together with larger numbers of non-Jewish refugees.

NEWS

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No. 28

December 19th, 1944

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE.

By Dr. James Parkes.

The task to which we have set our hand on this committee is a task to which men and women of goodwill have had too often to devote themselves in the chequered course of human history. For our task is to try and help those who are the victims, not of the cataclysms of nature, but of the cruelty of their fellow-men. Christians, Jews and humanists, we have each of us in the past, sometimes in the remote past, played the role of both persecuted and persecutor. It is something on which to dwell with hope in a world full of distress that this time we are all united in a common hatred of human cruelty and a common desire to rescue the oppressed, whatever may be their faith.

As Passover to the Jews, so Christmas to the Christians stands as the witness to a divine event, an event which is both promise and fulfilment, and it is fitting that at this Christmas season some Christian declaration should be made, both of sympathy with those who suffer, and of fellowship with those who strive to save the oppressed; and some pledge given of our determination to work together until all that man can do has been done to save and restore the victims of these terrible years of war and occupation in Europe.

We can do no less, if our Christianity means anything serious in our lives, because we are pledged by our faith to seek to help all who are in distress. But we are confronted to-day with more than the physical persecution of human beings. In the antisemitism which has caused the persecution there is also the determination to destroy not only men, but a religion and a civilisation of which the world has need. We who are Christians have too often forgotten in the past that the divine event of Bethlehem stands eternally within the four corners of the divine event of Sinai; that it was from Jewry that came the first call to recognise as brothers those who were neither of our nation nor our faith; that it is from Jewry that still comes, through law-giver, prophet and rabbi, the teaching of a way of life for the nations which is a way of peace and of mutual service.

In a world ridden by all the devils of hatred, bitterness and division, Jews and Christians have need of each other and can serve each other; and in their mutual service and understanding lies much

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of the hope for all men in the coming generations. May that co-operation, begun in sorrowful tasks, continue in joyful tasks. With the added power of sympathy and understanding which work for a common purpose engenders, may we build a world in which men may dwell together in unity with none to make them afraid.

NEWS FROM EUROPE'S CHILDREN.

Dutch Children for Britain.

About 800 Dutch children, most of them destitute, will arrive in January for a long stay in this country; and it is hoped that it will be followed by many similar transports. The children will have to stay in quarantine camps for about two months; and quite a number of them will probably have to be transferred to hospitals. However, all those who are sufficiently strong, will as soon as possible be accommodated in private homes in Britain. Many offers of help have already been received from British people; but more are needed if this work is to continue for some time to come. Those who are willing to take care of one or more children, should communicate with the Reception Committee for Young People from Occupied Countries, 68, Ennismore Gardens, East Molesey, Surrey.

*

The "Reception Committee" which is now assisting the Dutch Government in making the necessary preparations for these children, was formed as early as 1940 with a view to fostering inter-Allied exchange visits after the war. The case of the Dutch children is the first practical task to be tackled by this organisation, but the Committee is aware that children and young people from many other countries are in dire need, and its plans cover their reception after the liberation of their homelands. The following messages give a few examples of the desperate position of the youth of Europe.

Child Problems in France -

The French Ministry of Prisoners of War, Deportees and Refugees has announced that a Central Register is to be compiled containing details of all children of political and racial deportees who have been placed, officially or clandestinely, in asylum, in public or private homes. The scope of this register, and of the problems involved, is shown, for instance, by the fact that at least half of all Jewish children who have survived the occupation, have lost their parents by death or deportation. Most of the orphans are in need of public welfare assistance. In some cases it may be feasible to re-unite the families but very often it is not even possible to establish the real identity of these children.

The misery to which generally speaking the working-class children are exposed, is demonstrated by an increase of 50 per cent above the pre-war figure in the child death rate in French urban districts, says the Christian Democratic newspaper "L'Aube."

- Jugoslavia -

Sofia Radio announced on the 10th of December, that the Bulgarian Youth Movement had invited 10,000 Yugoslav orphan children to spend the winter in Bulgaria "because surely the Bulgarian people, especially the mothers, will meet the needs of their neighbours and will give shelter to their orphans." The announcer added that there are many thousands of orphan children, without shelter or food or sufficient clothes, in Belgrade and other parts of Jugoslavia; and the Bulgarian people, themselves short of many necessities of life, should show an example of practical solidarity by helping the victims of Hitlerism in a neighbouring country.

- Bulgaria.

Child destitution in Bulgaria herself is particularly marked in the Jewish quarters. A spokesman of Radio Sofia mentioned on December 8th, "the pitiable sight of starved and naked children with eyes full of despair," in the overcrowded and unhealthy surrounding of the ghettos. Mr. Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, has promised to do his utmost to bring at least the youngest children to Palestine; although according to the latest announcement of the Bulgarian authorities, children without their parents will not be allowed to leave the country for Palestine.

REFUGEE AND RESCUE : NEWS FROM ALL COUNTRIES.Swiss To Save Human Lives.

The Swiss Government has agreed to admit 14,200 people from the concentration camp in Bergenbelsen near Hanover and from the Hungarian ghettos, says the Jewish Agudist organisation in London. These internees have so far been in constant danger of deportation or annihilation, and the new decision of the Swiss Federal authorities may save their lives. This decision was reached after the intervention, amongst others, of the International Red Cross. It is also reported that the Swiss Government has allocated the sum of 810,000 Swiss francs for accommodation of the refugees, and 608,500 Swiss francs for their personal requirements.

New Anti-Alien Drive in Belgium?

The Brussels Catholic newspaper "Het Nieuwsblad" says that "many people have been arrested and imprisoned together with the real Fifth Column and the plain black riff-raff, solely because they were not of Belgian nationality." The paper adds that these foreigners who are now being rounded up and sent to very ugly places of internment, "have suffered dreadfully in our country during the German rule and in certain and far from infrequent cases, they have rendered great services in the genuine Resistance."

The paper also says: "It would be a good thing to count the number of foreigners who were executed at the Tir National for their resistance against the Occupier. Their percentage in the total of martyrs is impressively high."

Sweden : More Refugees.

The influx of refugees from the devastated areas of Northern Norway continues at a rate of a score or so per day. Their escape is hampered by extremely bad weather conditions, and no agreement has so far been reached between Sweden and Germany for the orderly evacuation of more considerable numbers of people from the extreme North.

Latest official statistics illustrate that Sweden, even without the added influx of more Norwegians, has probably proportionately the largest refugee population. The total number of foreigners (most of them refugees or evacuees) was given early in December as 180,000; this includes, 45,000 Finnish children and 38,000 Finnish adult evacuees; 30,000 Norwegians; 16,000 Danes; 31,000 people from the Baltic countries; and 20,000 others. Among the refugees from Estonia are 6,600 whose mother tongue is Swedish; this represents 95 per cent of the former Swedo-Estonian community.

Immigration at a Standstill in U.S.A.

Mr. E.J. Shaughnessy, Assistant Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalisation, in an official statement before Congress, flatly

denied that any considerable number of would-be immigrants has lately arrived in the United States without proper authorisation. "As a matter of fact," he said, "immigration is practically at a total standstill."

Discussions About Kimberley.

The official rejection through the Australian Federal Government of the scheme for Jewish mass settlement in the uninhabited Kimberley area in Western Australia, has given rise to new discussions among the Australian public on the merits and demerits of the case. The Australasian Council of Trade Unions, Bishop Pileher of Sydney, and the influential newspaper the "Sydney Morning Herald" all give their continued support to the scheme; but the Government, in the words of its official spokesman in Parliament, "are opposed to large groups of foreign nationals being established in any one place." The Government has apparently the support of influential Opposition leaders; and an important section of the Jewish community has also taken up a very critical attitude towards the project.

JEWISH PLIGHT AND REHABILITATION : NEW FACTS AND FIGURES.

Remnants in Yugoslavia.

The Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees estimates that only 1,600 Jews are still alive in Yugoslavia, out of a pre-war total of some 70,000. The vast majority have been arrested and killed or deported to Polish camps, according to all the available information. Some 5,000 have probably escaped into Italy but many of these have since perished, or live in hiding; only 2,000 of them have so far reached liberated territory. About 600 of those remaining in Yugoslavia have joined the partisan forces while most of the others are aged people, invalids, women and children. British planes have recently dropped some clothing for groups of needy Jewish people in Croatia.

Towards Rehabilitation in Rumania?

A decree abolishing all anti-Jewish laws has been published in the Official Gazette on December 15th. This decree which provides for the re-instatement of employees dismissed on racial grounds, the return of confiscated property, and the restoration of cancelled tenancy rights goes a long way to meet the wishes of the Jewish population; but there are two other urgent requests which were submitted to the Soviet Armistice Commission by the President of the Jewish Communities, in a memorandum of December 11th:

(1) That 9,000 Rumanian Jews who are still in Transnistria, whereto they were deported by the Germans, be repatriated by the Soviet authorities to their home towns in Rumania;

(2) That Jews who were sent by the Germans from Transylvania for forced labour on the German-Russian front and who were taken prisoner by the Russians, should be released from Russian internment and returned to their homes.

Uncertainty in France.

The "Populaire," official organ of the French Socialists, has demanded swift action by the Government for the restoration of Jewish property, and for the suppression of antisemitic propaganda. The paper asserts that over one-third of the adult Jews who survived persecution in France, live in utter distress and are dependent on public relief, as a result of the Government's inaction in taking steps to restore their property.

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No. 27

December 5th, 1944

"SCORCHED EARTH" IN NORTHERN NORWAY.

A new refugee problem - on a large scale - has arisen as a result of the recent military developments in Northern Norway. The following article which deals with these problems is based on an interview with a representative of the Royal Norwegian Government Information Office.

In the last few weeks thousands of civilians have perished in Northern Norway; scores of thousands have been driven from their homes and are now facing an uncertain future. On November 1st, the Germans decreed the evacuation of Finnmark, the northernmost province; they have since extended that policy to cover other parts of Northern Norway. One hundred and sixty thousand people have so far been directly affected by the evacuation measures. It is feared, however, that very shortly the whole of Northern Norway, with half a million inhabitants, will be involved. The strategic aim of the Wehrmacht is to destroy all vestiges of civilised life in that area and thus to create a complete desert between themselves and the advancing Red Army.

The Countryside.

Scorched earth policies have been practised in more than one theatre of war during the last few years; but nowhere has the countryside lent itself so well to organised destruction as in this grim region of the Arctic zone. In no other country, therefore, has the civilian population been confronted by a more desperate situation.

Northern Norway is an extremely inhospitable country, even in the summer. During the Polar winter, temperatures are on an average between 30 and 40 degrees below freezing point; furthermore, the country is plunged into almost complete darkness during two full months, from late in November till late in January. It is a region of high, trackless mountains; there are no railways apart from the one famous line connecting Narvik with the Swedish iron ore mines; and the only easy means of land communication which connects it with the outside world, is one modern road running from North to South.

Lap nomads who cross the country with their reindeer herds, would probably have remained the only inhabitants of the country -

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if it were not for the rich fishing grounds near the Lofoten islands and other coastal districts. Fishing, and its attendant industries, have become by far the most important occupation of Norwegians there. The majority of the people live in timber-built houses, in small isolated villages; they even manage to cultivate some root crops, and to carry on a certain amount of stock-breeding.

The Wehrmacht.

The German soldiers, now in retreat in Northern Norway, are generally reported to be of a very low calibre. Most of them are elderly men who have lost courage after all the disappointments experienced during the past years; many of them are constantly drunk and the SS attempts to enforce discipline among them in vain. The "scientific" destruction of the countryside is, however, entrusted to the SS; SS detachments are the last to leave the towns and villages; the inhabitants are given the choice of either leaving their homes or being shot. The timber-built houses are burnt; all livestock is killed; roads are blown up; and the fishing-boats are confiscated. To stay behind, even if one escapes the attention of the SS, is to all intents and purposes to commit suicide. On the other hand, those who have so far been "evacuated" are concentrated in an overcrowded area which even normally is barely able to support a small local population.

Kirkenes, it will be remembered, was the first important place in Norway to be captured by the Russians. It is a fairly big townlet, with about 3,000 inhabitants; and the scorched earth policy has been carried through less thoroughly than elsewhere, owing to the swift Russian advance. Moreover, Kirkenes is a mining town (the only mining town in the area), so that no less than 5,000 inhabitants were able to escape evacuation by hiding in the pits. The proportion in other districts is doubtless much lower. Even in Kirkenes, however, all local buildings, with the exception of 30 stone-built houses, were completely destroyed by fire.

North and South.

The suffering of the people in Northern Norway has made a profound impression on those living in the South of the country - and indeed, on all Scandinavians. The question of an armed intervention on behalf of their Norwegian brothers has been openly discussed in the Swedish press. Roughly one sixth of the whole Norwegian population lives in those areas which are immediately threatened by the scorched earth policy, and their fate cannot fail to excite the indignation and compassion of those in other parts of Scandinavia.

The catastrophe in the North also has direct repercussions on the situation in Southern Norway. Most of the Norwegian fishing grounds are in the North; and there is reason to fear that the supply of fish will practically cease as a result of the confiscation of the fishing-fleet. The average Norwegian has hardly seen any eggs or cheese recently and the meat ration is restricted to 2 lb per month, while fish has so far been unrationed and fairly plentiful. The disappearance of the fish supplies would mean that the Norwegian diet would consist only of bread and potatoes, and even this year's potato harvest has been extremely poor. Starvation is threatening even in the South of the country.

Some 400 to 500 Norwegians and Laps have so far escaped over the mountains into Sweden, most of them in a state of exhaustion. The Swedes are building up food depots near the frontier in an attempt to help these refugees. Special frontier guards and spotter aeroplanes have also been sent to the danger zone, and two Red Cross ships are on their way to Narvik, with foodstuffs for the Norwegian population.

Continued at the bottom of page 3.

NAZI TERROR: NEW FACTS AND FIGURES.Report on Oswiecim.

The American War Refugee Board has published a report, based on eye-witness accounts, on the twin extermination camps of Oswiecim and Birkenau, in Upper Silesia. The Report says that 1,765,000 persons from all the main Continental countries were put to death in these camps between April 1942 and April 1944. Subsequently, large numbers of Hungarian Jews were slaughtered in the Silesian camps.

Deportation From Holland -

Results of investigations carried out in the liberated parts of Holland seem to confirm that the Jewish deportation policy was carried on in the Netherlands much more thoroughly than in any other country of Western Europe. Only between five and six per cent of the local Jewish population has been found alive in the liberated towns and villages.

- Czechoslovakia -

The Czechoslovak Government in London has received a report from their Minister-Resident in the liberated area of Ruthenia, on the position of the local Jewish population. A number of Jews are still returning from their hiding places in the mountains but it would seem that rather less than one tenth of the pre-war Jewish population still remains in the country. Before the war, the Jews formed as much as 15 per cent of the total population of this Czechoslovakian province.

- Denmark -

The Danish Resistance Movement reports that there were at least 4,500 Danish prisoners in the German concentration camps of Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Stuthof, Terezin, and Neuen Gamme at the beginning of November. This number does not include some 2,000 inmates of Gestapo camps in Denmark itself. Among the prisoners are members of the former Danish police force, underground workers, journalists, Jews, etc.

(It may be noted that Buchenwald is named as among the concentration camps where Danish prisoners are at present being kept, although the Nazis announced some three months ago that this camp had been destroyed "by British bombs", and that its 7,000 inmates, most of them German political prisoners, had been killed. The new Danish report confirms once again that the "destruction" of the camp was a Nazi lie, and that its inmates have been killed by the Gestapo itself. Editor.)

- Yugoslavia.

Only 25 Jews out of a pre-war community of 12,000 have survived in Belgrade, according to a report from the local Reuter correspondent. It is believed that another 1,000 Jews have escaped and are hidden elsewhere. Most of the Jews of Belgrade were slaughtered in a Gestapo camp near the city.

(Continued from page 2.)

All such help is of course, very limited in scope. The only real remedy, in the absence of a swift military victory, would be through the organised mass transport of Norwegian refugees to Sweden. Negotiations on these lines have been going on for some time between Sweden on the one hand, and the German and Quisling authorities on the other. Sweden is prepared to make every possible sacrifice for the sake of her Norwegian neighbours; and there is hope that the Wehrmacht will ultimately agree to this solution, in their own interests. It goes without saying that the care of tens of thousand more refugees, most of them destitute, will be a tremendous burden for the Swedes, and one which may well call for the assistance of Britain.

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THE REFUGEES; NEWS FROM ALL COUNTRIES."Enemy" Aliens in France and Belgium.

Sir Herbert Emerson, High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Refugees and Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, has made friendly representations to the French and Belgian Governments on behalf of refugee aliens from Germany and Austria. A number of such refugees have been interned in both countries notwithstanding the fact that they were undoubtedly Jews or anti-Nazis. Sir Herbert has reminded these Governments of the British experiences in this matter, and has suggested that all such cases should be speedily re-examined; refugees whose internment is not justified on particular personal grounds, should be given virtually complete freedom.

Child Migration to Palestine.

Palestinian immigration certificates are to be given for 2,000 children in France; 1,000 children in Switzerland; and 200 persons, mainly children, in Belgium, according to information received by M. Yarblum, President of the Federation of Jewish Societies in France. M. Yarblum considers that these figures are entirely inadequate in view of the large number of children whose parents have been deported and whose future care in countries like France and Belgium would create difficulties. "Belgium needs at least 1,000 such certificates since 2,000 children are already registered there, and France needs at least double its present allotment."

No Emigration from Bulgaria?

The Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior has issued new regulations rendering emigration to Palestine "difficult if not impossible," according to a report received by the Jewish Telegraph Agency. The Ministry has notified would-be emigrants to Palestine that they could receive a Bulgarian exit-permit only if they were prepared to sign a declaration abandoning all real estate and other property on leaving Bulgaria, and renouncing any claims against either the Bulgarian Government or Bulgarian banks or individuals. Another Government order prohibits the emigration of children and juveniles without their parents.

British Legion Against "Unfair Competition.

The National Executive Council of the British Legion has now adopted a resolution according to which no refugee alien should be allowed to work in this country as long as there is a single ex-Service man or woman unemployed. The Legion is in particular opposed to refugee aliens carrying on their own businesses; and it advocates a system whereby licenses granted to aliens during the war, shall be periodically examined. A letter, in which the "danger" of competition from refugees is shown in its true perspective, has been sent to the British Legion by Dr. Mallon, chairman of the Refugee Aliens Protection Committee.

More Immigrants for Ecuador.

The Ecuadorian Government whose liberal attitude towards immigrants has been noteworthy for some time past, is now preparing a new immigration bill which will give considerable facilities particularly to immigrants whose occupation is farming. Tax exemptions for many years will be granted to those who begin the cultivation of fertile virgin lands. The avowed purpose of these new immigration measures is to increase the density of the population and thereby to raise the general productivity and economic prosperity of the country.

NETHERLANDS REPATRIATION COMMISSARIAT:

Relief to Displaced Persons in
Occupied Territory.

1. FOOD-PARCELS:

A. From Sweden.

As parcels can only be sent on an individual basis, they are addressed personally to each internee, whose present location is known.

1. To political prisoners in German concentration-camps.

The expedition of food-parcels is handled by the Stockholm representative of the Netherlands Commissioner for Repatriation in conjunction with the Swedish Red Cross. In accordance with the requirements of the Ministry of Economic Warfare, London, a license has been obtained for the forwarding of 2000 food-parcels monthly, containing 1 Kg. sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. cakes, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. Vitabread, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. butter, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. cheese, 2 tins sardines, 1 Kg. jam, 6 souptablets, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. conserved meat, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. sweets, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. ovomaltine, 1 piece of soap, 1 box of vitamine-tablets, 1 tube of tooth-paste, 1 tooth-brush, 5 razor-blades 200 paper-serviettes. Price approximately Kr.25.- for each parcel.

2. POLITICAL PRISONERS IN GERMAN PRISONS.

The German authorities do not permit inmates of prisons to receive food-parcels.

3. JEWISH INTERNES IN BERGEN-BELSEN AND THERESIENSTADT.

The forwarding of food-parcels is handled by the representative of the Netherlands Commissioner for Repatriation in conjunction with the Swedish Section of the World Jewish Congress, who has obtained a license for the shipment of 100.000 Kgs. of food in parcels of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. each. They contain 1 Kg. sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. Vitabread, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. powdered milk, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. smoked bacon or $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. margarine. Price approximately Kr.12.- per parcel. Reports have been received, indicating that there also is a possibility of sending clothes; this matter is at present ^{being} investigated.

Parcels to Belsenbergen can only be forwarded, if the age or block-number of the internee is known.

3. JEWISH DEPORTES IN OCCUPIED POLAND.

Some endeavours are being made to send food-parcels to labour camps in Silesia, but thus these have not met with success. As a trial a limited number of parcels has been sent to Birkenau, through the intermediary of the Swedish Red Cross.

B. FROM SWITZERLAND:

Food-parcels can only be sent on an individual basis, - in some cases medicaments however have been sent on a collective basis.

1. To political prisoners in German concentration-camps.

The expedition of food-parcels is handled by the

Swish Branch of the Netherlands Red Cross, through the intermediary of the International Red Cross. Detailed reports as to the contents and frequency of these parcels have not yet come to hand.

2. To Jewish Internees in Belsenbergen and Theresienstadt.

Parcels are forwarded by the Dutch Jewish Co-ordination Committee in Geneva, in conjunction with the Netherlands Red Cross and the American Joint Distribution Committee. Approximately 1000 parcels are being dispatched at irregular intervals containing $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. marmelade, 300 grams bisouits, game-pie and preserves, price Bw. francs 17.- per parcel.

Medicaments have also been sent at irregular intervals. In one instance it has recently been possible to forward underwear, toilet-articles, soap and pharmaceuticals.

3. Jewish Deportees in Occupied Poland.

It is apparently not practicable to send parcels to Jewish internees in Polish labour and concentration-camps.

C. FROM PERSIA:

The American Joint Distribution Committee is at present making arrangements for the dispatch of food-parcels to Jewish survivors in the Lublin district of liberated Poland.

II. RESCUE AND RELIEF THROUGH UNDERGROUND CHANNELS:

According to arrangements between the Dutch and Polish authorities, the latter have undertaken to try to extend their rescue activities, - conducted through the intermediary of the Council for Aid to Jews in Poland, - to Netherlands nationals, deported to German occupied Poland.

III. EXCHANGE:

The Netherlands Foreign Office has approached the German authorities through the intermediary of the Protecting Power, with a view to the exchange of Dutch internees in Germany against German Nationals in Allied Territory. The prospect of these negotiations materializing, do, however, not appear to be hopeful.

HD/JP
21 December, 1944.

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