

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RESCUE FROM NAZI TERROR

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TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTER OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE June 30, 1944

TO Mr. J. W. Pehle

FROM L. W. Casaday

In accordance with your request I delivered to Miss Eleanor Rathbone your letter with its enclosures and talked with her at some length on the general problem of war refugee work. She was pleased to have detailed evidence of the work the War Refugee Board is doing.

Miss Rathbone has been ill in hospital for the past three months and when I saw her she expected to remain several weeks longer. She indicated that after she has read the material you sent and after she is up and about again and in touch once more with others interested in this work, she will write to you, either directly or through the American Embassy in London.

Miss Rathbone's principal concrete suggestion at the time I talked to her was the same as that summarized under point 4 of my memorandum of today's date re my talk with Dr. Scherer. She felt this was urgent and should be done before our troops enter large metropolitan areas such as Paris, where we may expect to find large numbers of refugees.

See: Council of "Rescue of the Jews in Poland" (Lewin)

L. W. Casaday

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of T.O. 160



By RWP Date 9/8/72

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APR 8 1944

Mr. Lauren W. Casaday,[✓]
American Embassy,
London, England.

Dear Mr. Casaday:

In order that you may be more fully informed of the steps which are being taken by the War Refugee Board, I am enclosing copies of a number of informal progress reports which we have prepared in the office. If, after reading the reports, any questions or suggestions occur to you I will greatly appreciate your advising me.

Also enclosed is a letter to Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, M.P., in response to a letter from her dated March 10, 1944. I would greatly appreciate your delivering this message to her. You may find it helpful to discuss the whole refugee problem with Miss Rathbone and you may allow her to read the enclosed reports in order to give her a clearer idea of the Board's activities.

The assistance and cooperation which you have been giving the Board is greatly appreciated, and I hope you will not hesitate to give us all suggestions that occur to you.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle,
Executive Director

Enclosures.

Sent by air pouch.

JWP:bbk - 4/5/44

JBP

*Original signed
by Mr. Pehle*

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APR 8 1944

Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P.,
Vice-Chairman, Executive Committee,
National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror,
5, Tufton Court,
Westminster, S.W.1,
London, England.

Dear Miss Rathbone:

I was pleased to receive your letter of March 10, 1944, and the enclosed pamphlet of the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, which have been transmitted to me by the American Embassy in London. The deep interest which the National Committee and you personally have in refugee problems is well known to me.

The War Refugee Board is fully conscious of the fact that the significance of expressions of policy in refugee as well as in other matters is dependent upon the steps which are actually taken to put the policies into effect, and is determined to translate into action the President's mandate with respect to the rescue and relief of refugees. Although the Board has only been in existence for a little more than two months, a number of concrete measures have been initiated for the purpose of carrying out without delay the policy announced by the President.

I have noted with a great deal of interest the contents of the pamphlet which you sent to me as well as the comments made in your letter. You may be interested to know that the War Refugee Board has been devoting a great deal of time to the study of many of these matters and has initiated certain projects designed to meet the problems involved. In general, the Board has been proceeding upon the following premises:

1. That the best chance of saving most of the Jews and other victims of enemy oppression from death lies in the possibility of changing the actions and attitudes of the enemy and particularly his satellites, subordinates and functionaries, and
2. That a real opportunity exists for actually bringing many of these peoples out of German controlled territory.

Accordingly, the Board is using all possible channels to bring home to

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the German people and the governments and peoples of the satellite countries the fact that the United States Government views in a most serious light their assistance in any form to Hitler's program to exterminate the Jews, and other similar groups, regarding all such actions as criminal participation in organized murder. At the same time, the Board is attempting to make clear to the enemy by all possible means this Government's intention to do everything in its power to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of death. The statement issued by President Roosevelt on March 24 is only one of the steps which have been and will be taken in this matter. The Board is also making every effort to increase the flow of refugees through neutral countries. It is offering financial and other assistance to the neutrals for the care of refugees and is attempting to assure them that refugees who are permitted to enter will subsequently be taken to havens of refuge elsewhere. Upon the Board's recommendation, Treasury licenses have been granted to various private organizations authorizing their representatives abroad to engage in communication and financing transactions in order to carry out relief and evacuation operations in enemy territory. In issuing these licenses this Government has concluded that any danger involved in permitting the enemy to acquire relatively insubstantial quantities of foreign exchange is far out-weighted by the importance of saving human lives.

Although a beginning has been made, much remains to be done. The Board's representative in Turkey, with the full cooperation of the American Ambassador, has succeeded in gaining a measure of cooperation by the Turkish Government as a result of which lives have been saved. However, it is necessary to obtain greater cooperation from the neutral governments, particularly Turkey, Spain and Switzerland. Our efforts to change the attitude of our enemies must also be intensified. The Board's determination to bring out refugees from occupied areas in as large numbers as possible makes it imperative to solve at once the problem of finding adequate, temporary havens of refuge for them in territories under the control of the Allied and United Nations. We are fully aware of the magnitude of these problems, but intend to leave no stone unturned in our efforts to find an adequate solution of them.

The Board has already appointed several representatives abroad and intends to appoint still others. It is contemplated that one or more full-time representatives will soon be sent to London, and such cooperation as you and the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror may be in a position to give them will be greatly appreciated. hoped

I believe that the foregoing will indicate to you that the Board is already attempting to deal with the three items with which your letter is particularly concerned. I have asked Mr. Lauren W. Casaday, Treasury Representative in London to discuss with you more fully the Board's activities.

I shall be glad to receive at any time any further comments or suggestions which you may care to make.

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

J. W. Pehle,
Executive Director

JBF:bbk → 4/5/44

Original signed
by Mr. Pehle

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

War Refugee Bd
Att. Mr. Pehle
AMERICAN EMBASSY
London, March 24, 1944.

No. 14639

Subject: Communication for War
Refugee Board.

1 copy only

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

1/ In pursuance of instructions with regard to facilitat-
ing the transmission of communications of the War Refugee
Board, I have the honor to enclose herewith a letter re-
ceived from Miss Eleanor Rathbone, addressed to Mr. John
Pehle, Acting Executive Director, War Refugee Board, Washington.

Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:

W. J. Gallman
W. J. Gallman
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure:

1/ As stated.

CC/PE

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RESCUE FROM NAZI TERROR

President: THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF CREWE, P.C., K.G.

Vice-Presidents:

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury
 His Grace the Archbishop of York
 The Moderator of the Church of Scotland
 The Moderator of the Free Church
 Federal Council
 The Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi
 Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B.
 Professor S. Brodetsky
 Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, D.B.E.
 Lady Violet Bonham-Carter
~~Colonel G. G. G. G.~~
 The Rt. Hon. the
 Viscount Ceell of Chelwood, P.C.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Davies
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 Sir Derrick Gunston, M.C., M.P.
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 Professor A. V. Hill, O.B.E., F.R.S., M.P.
 Sir Austin Hudson, M.P.
 The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Huntingdon
 Miss Anne Loughlin, O.B.E.
 Dame Edith Lytton, C.B.E.
 J. S. Middleton, Esq.
 The Rev. James Parkes, Ph.D.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Perth,
 P.C., G.C.M.G., C.B.
 The Rt. Hon. Lord Queenborough, G.B.E.
 Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, M.P.
 Wilfrid Roberts, M.P. *Vice-Chairman*
 The Rt. Hon. the Lord Rochester, C.M.G.
 The Marchioness of Reading
 The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Samuel,
 P.C., G.C.B., G.B.E.
 The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Sankey,
 P.C., G.B.E.
 H. U. Willink, M.C., M.P.
 The Rt. Rev. J. S. Whale, D.D.

Hon. Treasurer:
 Wilfrid Roberts, M.P.

Chairman of the Executive Committee:
~~Col. Walter...~~
 D. R. Grenfell, C.B.E., J.P., M.P.

Hon. Secretary:
 Miss Mary M. Sibthorp.

Private Address: 5, Tufton Court,
 Westminster, S.W.1.
Phone: ABBey 3131.

30, MAIDEN LANE,
 LONDON, W.C. 2.
 TELEPHONE: TEMPLE BAR 3803

10th March, 1944.

Dear Sir,

Our Executive Committee heard with great satisfaction of the establishment of the War Refugee Board in the United States. This news and that of your appointment reached us after the enclosed pamphlet summarising the whole position had been prepared, but in time for us to refer briefly to it and to print the President's Executive Order as an Appendix.

As our Committee includes most of the people who are working intensively but unofficially on this subject, I hope you may find time to glance through our pamphlet. This gives the "Ten-Point Programme" of measures we think practicable or worth attempting. But I venture to add a few notes on other points, which have either arisen since publication or are unsuitable for publicity. No doubt they are all known to you, *but it can do no harm to mention them here to please what is occupying our minds here.*

1) Warnings to Germany and its Satellites. We know that warnings are frequently transmitted by radio on the European Service here. Mr. Richard Law re-affirmed this in the Parliamentary Debate on March 1st (Hansard, col. 1491), saying that "No one in any of the Satellite countries can be in any doubt of the fact that the British attitude and indeed the world attitude, towards them after the war is bound to be affected by the way they act in this matter of Jewish persecution." But we think that these warnings by nameless voices would have more effect if supplemented by an authoritative statement, whether given publicly or privately through diplomatic channels by our Prime Minister and the President,

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separately or jointly. We gather that this is under consideration here and have also heard reports from American Jewish people now here that the President has conveyed very definite warnings to Hungary and Roumania. Hence we are refraining at present from pressing this point publicly. We realise fully the danger lest publicity may incite further pressure by the Gestapo on Satellite Governments. But it does seem that at present enough has been said publicly to put the Gestapo on its guard, but not authoritatively enough to convince Germany or the Satellites that the greater Allied countries really care and "mean business", not only as to the punishment of war criminals but as to the effect on the post-war position.

*I have been (not to a degree quite ready, except for those an
to advise for H. H. H. to a local German official board also to be prepared at present for attention
to the Board as the best*

1) Aid in money or food to refugees in occupied countries.

We gather that many more might escape, especially from France into Spain or Switzerland; more doubtfully from Poland and elsewhere, if funds could be conveyed to them to pay for their maintenance in hiding or guides when escaping. Those who now escape seem chiefly those who have private resources. This is hard on the poorer refugees. Representatives of Polish Jewry here seem convinced that money for this purpose is the sole means of saving the remnant now in hiding in Poland and that large sums could be so used. But our Government raises difficulties on financial grounds, even where the money could be provided from private sources. Difficulties about sending food to those interned in Poland or Bohemia &c. - also pressed for by Jewish representatives - are raised by the Ministry of Economic Warfare. But of course all this is familiar to you.

2) Transit visas for Turkey. The Jewish Agency here attaches much importance to increasing the number of transit visas from the Balkans, now limited by the Turkish Government to nine per week from Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria respectively, each visa covering a family. The actual number used is considerably smaller, as some refugees named prove to be unreachable or not permitted to escape. The numbers who could escape, especially from Hungary, are very much larger than are covered. The Turkish authorities seem very unfriendly on this point. We wonder whether stronger pressure by our own and the U.S.A. Government could not be used.

I think the above three questions are our greatest anxieties at present. But I hope to keep in touch with your representatives over here and this letter is mainly to establish contact and to let you know how much we hope for great results from your work and that of your Board.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,

John Pehle, Esq.

Eleanor P. Rattner
*(Vice-Chairman 1st
of the Com. Committee)*

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*Published in
Feb. 1944*

CONTINUING TERROR

HOW TO RESCUE HITLER'S VICTIMS

A SURVEY
AND A PROGRAMME

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RESCUE FROM NAZI TERROR
30, MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2.

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The National Committee includes representatives of all the large bodies working for similar objects and many individual experts.

The Committee was formed in March, 1943. Its objects are:

1. To act as a medium for co-operation between the various organisations, groups and individuals in the United Kingdom interested in saving victims of Axis persecution of whatever race or religion.
2. To consider what practical measures can be taken to this end.
3. To establish and maintain relations with non-official organisations and groups in other countries working for the same purpose.

Shortly after its formation the Committee agreed on a "12-Point Programme of Measures of Rescue." This has now been superseded by the "10-Point Programme" included in this pamphlet.

The Committee invites you to become a corresponding member with a minimum Annual Subscription of 10/6. Please write to the Secretary for full particulars.

The Continuing Terror

All the evidence from underground sources shows that the terror continues unabated.

It does not affect only those of Jewish race. Many thousands of others—Poles, Czechs, Russians, French hostages, etc.—have also perished. But the policy of total extermination of men, women and children, on purely racial grounds, is directed against the Jews. Figures are uncertain, but it is estimated by those best able to judge that in Poland alone, from one and a half to two and a half million Jews have already been murdered, or worked or starved to death. From the other enemy-occupied countries, trains continue to rumble by night to the slaughter camps in Poland, carrying truck loads of victims, of whom very many die of hunger or of asphyxiation on the way.

As to other countries, most of the Jews in the parts of the U.S.S.R. over-run by the Nazis are believed to have been murdered. After the liberation of Kiev, an old Jew found wandering in the streets believed that he was the only surviving Jew in the City. In Czecho-Slovakia, Holland and other countries under Nazi control, it is reported that Jews are still being rounded up in concentration camps to be sorted out for deportation previous to massacre or forced labour—the children, the old and the sick being singled out for murder.

There are similar reports concerning the Balkan satellites and Vichy France. But in them the position is more uncertain and the chances of influencing the national authorities to resist the pressure of the Gestapo are perhaps greater.

There have been some cases of successful resistance. The courage of the Danes in helping threatened victims to escape by sea, the generosity of the Swedes in helping and maintaining them, and the bold protests of the Swedish Government resulted in the escape of some 8,000 Jews and political suspects. In Poland, the Jews formerly reproached unjustly for their passivity, showed desperate courage as soon as arms were smuggled to them by Polish sympathisers. Following the fight last spring in the Warsaw ghetto, the notorious

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murder camp of Treblinka was set on fire and partly destroyed by Jewish victims, some of whom succeeded in escaping. There were other cases of armed resistance by men who knew that for themselves it could only end in death. Those who survived in Poland probably include many of the boldest and most enterprising, who after escape were hidden by non-Jewish Poles. A few individuals managed to reach this or other safe countries, to bring knowledge of the awful facts and to demand retribution. The names of ten Nazi war criminals, held chiefly responsible for the atrocities, were recently reported to the press by Dr. Schwarzbart, a member of the National Council of Poland.

So it goes on, and though means of rescue for those still in the power of the enemy may be impossible, all the greater is the urgency for doing everything practicable to help their escape to the bordering neutral countries and from thence to places of permanent settlement.

Summary of Governmental Action

Some eighteen months have elapsed since the Nazi policy of extermination of European Jewry began to be fully implemented; thirteen months since the facts were exposed to the world by the famous declaration of December 17th, 1942, made by Mr. Eden on behalf of the United Nations; nine months since the Conference between representatives of the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. met at Bermuda. As there recommended, the whole subject both of rescue measures and of post-war settlement of refugees was referred to the Inter-Governmental Committee originally set up at Evian in 1938.

Twenty-nine Governments were already Members of the Committee, twenty have since been invited to join, and of these seven have accepted membership. The Committee as a body has not yet met. Its Executive did not meet until August and has since held periodic meetings. It consists of representatives of the six States which originally composed it. The British representative, Earl Winterton, was re-appointed as its Chairman. The other five members are the Ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil, the Netherlands, the U.S.A., and

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Monsieur Viénot on behalf of the French Committee of Liberation. The Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee is as before, Sir Herbert Emerson, who is also High Commissioner for Refugees under the Protection of the League of Nations. He has now the assistance of two Deputy Directors, Mr. Patrick Malin of the U.S.A. and Dr. Kullmann of Switzerland, who is also his deputy in his capacity as High Commissioner. Dr. Sillem, formerly of the Netherlands Diplomatic Service, has recently been appointed as Secretary to the Committee. It is expected that the administrative expenses of the Committee will be shared among the Member Governments. But the Governments of the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. have agreed (subject to legislative consent) to underwrite jointly other expenditure, provided they have sanctioned it beforehand, on work undertaken by the Committee.

Since Bermuda, another international body has been brought into the picture, namely U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration). This among its other activities will share with the Inter-Governmental Committee in the work of caring for refugees. The proposed division of functions between them is described later.*

The latest move at the end of January is the establishment by President Roosevelt of a War Refugee Board for the U.S.A. consisting of the Secretary of State (Mr. Cordell Hull), the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Morgenthau) and the Secretary of War (Mr. Stimson). Mr. John Pehle, formerly Director of Foreign Funds Control, has been appointed Executive Director. (See Appendix.)

The various statements issued† show that considerable headway has been made in planning for the future, chiefly for the post-war future. These plans may affect immediate rescue measures by conveying warnings to the persecutors

* See footnote to Point 2 of "Ten-Point Programme" (p. 5).
† Report by Sir Herbert Emerson to the League of Nations on International Assistance to Refugees, August 1943.
Press Communiqué, October 14th, 1943, on the Re-organisation of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees.
Foreign Office Statement issued to the Press on December 10th, 1943, on the Bermuda Conference and subsequent developments.
White Paper Cmd 6497, issued December, 1943, on the First Meeting of the Council of U.N.R.R.A.

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and encouragement to those aiding in the work of rescue. But they contain little or no evidence of measures actually carried out or promising speedy fulfilment.

Considering the long duration and steady continuance of the Terror, the record of Governmental action has been, so far, a deeply disappointing record. The long pauses between every step; the delays in setting up machinery for action and planning; the cumbersome nature of the machinery, all suggest an atmosphere of leisureliness and an absence of that sense of urgency, of desperate anxiety to "get on with the job" which might have been expected in face of so great a horror as the massacre, under conditions of sadistic cruelty, of millions of innocent men, women and children. Making every allowance for the immense difficulties besetting rescue, for the minor measures believed to have been actually carried out which cannot discreetly be publicised, and admitting that there is no final remedy except through victory, could no greater energy have been put into the work of rescuing those for whom rescue is possible? The officials engaged in the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee and of the Government Departments concerned cannot be blamed. No doubt they are doing their best under the conditions imposed on them. The responsibility lies higher up. Statesmen engaged in the prosecution of the war have great pre-occupations. But is not the tragedy great enough to deserve more attention from them than they seem to have given it? Does not the matter deserve not only more attention but more generosity; less reluctance to undertake commitments which might conceivably prove troublesome even when they could not possibly hinder military operations nor delay victory?

In what follows, reproaches as to the past are avoided, except by such occasional references or illustrations as are necessary to show the reason for asking for changes. We are concerned only to set out, first, the measures which we believe could still be carried out or attempted, including for completeness some which are known to be already partly in operation; secondly, explanation of and arguments for these proposals; lastly, a summary of the evidence showing the extent of public concern and of the British support behind the demand for generous large-scale measures of rescue.

Ten Point Programme for Measures of Rescue from Nazi Terror

1.

RESCUE IN LANDS COMING UNDER ALLIED CONTROL. Instructions should be given to all Allied Commanders wherever operating, and requests made to chiefs of Guerilla Forces, to do everything possible, without hindering military operations, to rescue Jews and political prisoners. These should be transferred with the minimum of formality to countries of safety.

Similarly, immediate arrangements should be made to ensure that wherever there is a landing in Europe, military commanders should regard it as an urgent duty to do everything practicable to rescue those likely otherwise to be massacred.

To facilitate evacuation of those rescued, there should be extended provision of refuge camps and use of those already available, in places easily accessible under Allied control, for the temporary disposal of refugees collected from enemy-occupied or neutral countries.

2.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO NEUTRAL STATES TO ADMIT MORE REFUGEES, by:

(a) Gifts of and/or facilities for obtaining food, clothing, fuel, etc.; and/or financial aid now or after victory.

(b) Guarantees by the United Nations, or those willing to co-operate, that the refugees will, to an extent defined by numbers or date of reception, be evacuated after victory or sooner where practicable; such guarantees to be formally conveyed to the Neutral Governments.

(c) H.M.'s Government to take the initiative by promising to find homes post-war for a substantial number of those refugees who prove to be non-repatriable and to invite the Dominions to do the same.*

3.

RECONSIDERATION OF REGULATIONS FOR UNITED KINGDOM VISAS in order to include:

(a) Greater liberality in the admission of refugees. The present strictly utilitarian tests of usefulness for the war effort

* The above assurances should be given publicly or privately, as discretion requires. The contributions promised would necessarily vary with the circumstances both of the States giving and the States receiving the assurances. Their purpose is to encourage the Neutral States not only to continue to receive escaping refugees but to offer to receive large numbers from the Enemy Powers. Their response may become increasingly favourable as our victory approaches. The willingness of the Neutral States to make offers may depend on how far they can count on the necessary aid. Assurances have already been officially given of help both in maintenance and in evacuation. (See the Foreign Office statement issued December 10th.) The task will, we gather, be shared between U.N.R.R.A. and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, the former being concerned chiefly with post-war maintenance and the repatriation of those who can return to their home-lands; the latter assuming responsibility for finding homes for those who cannot return. The numbers of these non-repatriables may be substantial, owing to racial and political difficulties and the fear of being permanently encumbered with them may deter the Neutral States from making large offers. Hence the importance of Point II(c).

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should be supplemented by the humanitarian tests of rescue from Nazi terror, both subject to precautions for security.

(b) Removal of the present rule that a visa cannot be promised for any refugee while still in enemy-occupied territory, in cases where there is reason to believe that the promise would facilitate the refugee's escape or admission to a neutral country.

4.

WORKERS EXPERIENCED IN DEALING WITH REFUGEES, with the appropriate linguistic and other qualifications, should be sent to assist the British Authorities in all countries where such assistance may be needed.

Supplementary Passport Control Officers should be appointed to Consulates in Neutral countries, to relieve the greatly over-worked officials.

5.

INCREASED TRANSPORT FACILITIES FOR EVACUATING REFUGEES, including:

(a) The use of neutral or other ships as ferry boats between ports in neutral or enemy countries where refugees could be congregated and ports under British or Allied control.

(b) The use of ships which have brought troops, supplies, etc. to Allied ports or food to Greece, for taking refugees to places of safety on their homeward journey.

6.

THE ADMISSION OF JEWISH REFUGEES TO PALESTINE should be facilitated by:

(a) The removal of the restriction, announced by the Colonial Secretary but unjustified by the terms of the White Paper of May, 1939, that the 34,000 certificates still available under the immigration quota of the White Paper must be used mainly for children.

(b) The supply of unnamed certificates to the British representatives at Ankara, to be filled up on nomination by the representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, for refugees whether already in neutral territory or to facilitate their escape thereto.

(c) Extended arrangements, if permitted by the Turkish Government, for the accommodation within their territories, without expense to them, of refugees in transit, and for facilities for transport.

7.

CONTINUED PRESSURE ON GERMANY AND ITS SATELLITES (including Vichy) to refrain from cruelties and deportations and to let their victims go; making it clear that those responsible for these cruelties will be considered as war criminals.

8.

FREQUENT APPEALS, THROUGH RADIO AND LEAFLETS, TO THE PEOPLES OF ENEMY AND ENEMY-OCCUPIED LANDS, making known the facts and urging them to resist deportations and cruelties, politically and by succouring the victims.

9.

RECOGNITION OF THE EXTREME URGENCY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM. The position should be frequently reviewed by the Cabinet. Parliament should be kept fully informed of the activities of the Inter-Governmental Committee and of U.N.R.R.A. The British representatives on these bodies should take the initiative in proposing all possible measures of rescue.

10.

Adoption of the principle that, whatever other Nations may do or leave undone, the British Contribution to the work of Rescue should be the speediest and most generous possible without delaying victory.

Explanations of the Programme

Point 1. Rescue in Lands coming under Allied control.

A new situation has developed and will develop further. In Italy, France, Yugoslavia and other enemy-occupied countries where regular or guerilla forces are already or may soon be operating, there are large numbers of Jews and political suspects, some in concentration camps or prisons, some in hiding. Many, no doubt, will have been murdered or deported before there is a chance of reaching them. But there may be opportunities for rescuing some even before the places where they are come fully under Allied control. These opportunities may be lost unless the attention of the military commanders is drawn to the matter and they receive all available information as to localities; also encouragement and help in coping with the task and in passing on encumbering refugees to places of safety. This task will inevitably be theirs in territories where their control is established. For example, in Southern Italy there was a notorious camp at Ferramonte where thousands of refugees were congregated. Many had already been deported before the Allies took over but some thousands were found still there.

Many lives might be saved—it would surely lessen rather than add to the burden on the military command—if there is as much planning and preparation as is possible beforehand. A refuge camp has already been established in North Africa, mainly for receiving the overflow of refugees who had

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escaped into Spain and Portugal. But there may be a need for other such camps in places easily accessible to the various military fronts.

Point 2. Encouragement to Neutral States to admit more refugees

This dull-sounding heading covers what is probably the most important measure for achieving large-scale rescue, pending the liberation of enemy-occupied countries. Its significance is partly explained in the footnote to the Point. But something more can be added.

The chief avenues by which thousands of refugees have reached safety has been by escaping over the frontiers of enemy or enemy-occupied countries into neighbouring neutral countries, especially into Sweden, Switzerland and Spain. The failure to rescue any but a handful of those in Czecho-Slovakia or Poland has been due to the fact that these countries have no such accessible neutral neighbours. The three neutral States named have shown humanity in not—as a rule—thrusting back those who have thus managed to enter. Usually they have interned or imprisoned them, pending investigation, and have maintained them either out of their own funds—especially Sweden and Switzerland—or with the help of funds and facilities supplied by Allied States and voluntary organisations. But the burden of finding accommodation and maintenance for so many is heavy, and they cannot be expected to sustain it indefinitely. The case of Spain is relatively easy, because through the medium of another neutral, Portugal, it has been possible to evacuate large numbers to countries of permanent safety and further arrangements have now been made for this by the establishment of the aforementioned refugee camp under Allied control in North Africa. But evacuation from Sweden is much less possible owing to difficulties of transport—and from Switzerland, under present conditions, it is wholly impossible. Hence these two countries, generous and humane though they have shown themselves, can hardly be expected to increase the burden by making offers to the enemy to receive further large numbers unless the assurances of aid which they receive are satisfactory. Yet the possibility of further large rescue may

depend on these offers, especially for children and parents unwilling to leave their children. These can seldom escape secretly. They can only do so by the consent or connivance of the authorities in the enemy state where they are living. It is known that some overtures made earlier were rejected. But as our victory approaches, the Nazis and their satellites may be willing to think again.

Probably the main difficulty in the minds of the Neutral Governments concerns the non-repatriables. Though the numbers are not likely to be enormous and—given international co-operation—should be quite manageable, they present a considerable problem for small neutral countries. Deep-seated anti-Semitic prejudice in certain countries may prevent many Jews from willingly returning to their countries of origin. Political hostilities may make return dangerous for many others, such as Spaniards and White Russians. What is to become of all these? It has been officially admitted that repatriation cannot be made compulsory. The Allied Governments of countries now occupied by the enemy cannot be expected to do much more than to receive back into their ravaged territories refugees who are their own nationals and foreigners of long-standing residence in their countries. Except Holland, none of these have large possessions overseas. Hence the responsibility for aiding the Inter-Governmental Committee in the task assigned to it of finding homes for the non-repatriables is likely to rest chiefly on the shoulders of H.M.'s Government, the Dominions, the U.S.A. and such other American States as can be persuaded to share in it. The countries of the British Commonwealth, including ourselves, our Colonies and Dominions, should be able to take a large share. Many of those are underpopulated or expecting a steep decline in population owing to low birth-rates. A lead set by Great Britain might influence the Dominions. Canadian public opinion is already deeply stirred over this issue and influential bodies there are pressing for measures very similar to those we are urging.

So we ask H.M.'s Government to take the initiative by promising a generous contribution to the work of finding permanent homes for those refugees who cannot be repatriated. The opportunity for further rescue may be lost

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owing to the recalcitrance of the Enemy Powers, or the reluctance of Neutral States to make offers, or the practical difficulties impeding rescue. But we should run no risk that it may be lost because of any lack of courage or generosity on our part.

Point 3. Reconsideration of Regulations for United Kingdom visas

This raises the question of what measures of generosity we have already shown and of what more can be expected of us.

The facts and figures as to the number and kinds of refugees now in Britain are briefly as follows.* At the outbreak of war, the refugee population was under 91,000, including children. Of the total, 55,000 adults and 18,000 juveniles were refugees from Germany and Austria, about 90 per cent. of them Jewish. The remainder included 10,000 from Czecho-Slovakia, 4,000 to 5,000 from Poland, smaller numbers from Spain, Italy, etc. During 1940, '41, '42, rather over 63,000 refugee aliens were admitted, this figure including about 20,000 seamen but not the large numbers who came as members of Allied Forces.† Admission during 1943 have been officially estimated as about 800 monthly. These figures add up to 163,600. But allowing for deaths and re-emigration, the P.E.P. Broadsheet is probably right in estimating that the present refugee population is round about 140,000 and that—as losses from these causes may about balance admissions if these are in future at the present rate—the number may be much the same at the end of the war. These numbers are small compared with those received both before the war and since by some other countries, relative to their and our native populations. For example, Switzerland, with a population of less than a tenth of ours, has now some 62,000 refugees on its hands. It is true that a large number of these are members of Allied Nations, escaped prisoners of war, etc., who will be repatriable as soon as hostilities end. But this is true also of refugees in this

* For a fuller statement see the Broadsheet No. 216, issued on January 14th, 1944, by P.E.P., 16, Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W.1. A pamphlet on the subject will be published shortly by P.E.P.

† Prime Minister's Statement on April 7th, 1943. Hansard: col. 637.

country. The P.E.P. Broadsheet, after careful analysis, estimates that the numbers likely to want to remain in Britain will be roughly 40,000. This may be an under-estimate, but at its greatest, the burden cannot be heavy for a country such as ours.

But should these refugees be regarded as a burden or as an asset? In the pre-war period, when unemployment was serious, it was admitted that the admission of foreign refugee industrialists, mainly Jewish, had resulted in setting up about 300 new factories, mostly in depressed areas, which employed between them about 15,000 British workers, largely in industries previously centred abroad. Only a few key men in these were foreigners. Another result was that London instead of Leipzig became the centre of the international fur market. Eighty firms were established by refugees, with a capital of about £750,000 and an annual turnover of over £4 millions. The number of refugee firms is now over 450.

During the war years nearly all the refugees who are employable have become gradually absorbed into useful occupations. As early as November 27th, 1941, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour said:

"The Government recognises that in the foreign population of this country we have a valuable addition to our man and woman power, of which the most effective use should be made with the same wage standards and working conditions and the same social services as those which apply to British subjects doing the same work."

Subject to careful precautions for security and for the protection of British workers from unfair competition, that policy has been steadily developing.

Speaking in the House of Commons on September 23rd, 1943, the Minister of Labour said:

"Since 1941 it has been found possible to increase the opportunities open to aliens to engage in war-work and the number who now remain unemployed is negligible. It includes some who by reason of health, inability to speak English, or inadaptability by reason of previous occupations, are well-nigh unemployable."

And of the 2,600 aliens, 1,500 of them of enemy nationality, who had been trained in Government centres for the engineering industry, he added:

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"The great majority have not only responded well during training, but have subsequently proved a valuable addition to our labour forces."

Bearing on the general problem of the value of refugees, the following quotations are also significant:

"Since the Germans drove the Jews out and lowered their technical standards, our science is definitely ahead of theirs."
(The Prime Minister on August 20th, 1940)

"There is no reason why the world of thought should differ from the world of industry and why, as a result of wisely directed help to the refugee scholars, we should not help to make this country the intellectual centre of the world."
(The Home Secretary in 1939.)

So much for the past and the present. What of the future? Could we afford to show greater liberality in admitting foreigners now or after the war?

Though the official estimate of those brought in under Home Office regulations is about 800 monthly, it is plain that the test applied is not only strictly utilitarian, but that it is mainly that of acceptability for the Armed Forces and the Merchant Services of ourselves or our Allies. Hardly any are admitted for civilian work, even when possessing qualifications for occupations in which there is a shortage. Refusals include many refugees already in Spain or Portugal whose evacuation is desirable to make room for others and for whom this country seems the natural destination because their families are already here and they have homes and jobs awaiting them. Though separated families are a common lot in wartime, it seems unnecessary in such cases to prolong a separation which has often lasted during years of terror and of loneliness in strange lands. In this one respect, U.S.A. regulations seem more humane than ours, aiming specially at the re-uniting of separated families.

Last May, three small concessions were made to meet hard cases. Subject to security precautions, persons were to be considered eligible for admission who were either:

- (i) Parents of persons serving in His Majesty's or Allied Forces, or in their Mercantile Marines.

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- (ii) Persons of other than Allied nationality willing to join his Majesty's Forces and who are certified to be fit and acceptable for them.

- (iii) Parents of children under 16 who are already here and who came here unaccompanied.

But six months later, it was stated that the number of British visas authorised under these three categories had been only 24, 18 and 10 respectively, or 52 in all. The small number under category (ii) is surprising because a good many refugees of German origin but unquestionably anti-Nazi sympathies are known to have applied in vain to secure admission to join the Pioneer Corps. Some of these were informed as late as last September on making application at the British Consulates in Madrid and Lisbon that these had no knowledge of the new Pioneer Corps concession. An explanation may also be that the Corps has not recently required more recruits for its alien companies. But the negligible result of these concessions seems to show that other relaxations of our drastically rigid regulations might well be made without risk of inconveniently large numbers. The truth is that the number who have a chance of escape and for whom this country is the most natural and accessible place of refuge is at best painfully small. To limit admission unnecessarily may affect relatively few people. But it is a bad example to other countries whom we may ask to show generosity. There is evidence that the difficulty of obtaining visas for this or any other country overseas and the slowness of procedure is a serious impediment to the work of refugee organisations in neutral countries. Hence we ask for greater liberality in granting visas and more consideration of the humanitarian aspects in the granting of visas. A further small concession asked for concerns the promise of visas for refugees still in enemy territory. The Home Secretary and his spokesmen have repeatedly argued that this might endanger security, as the refugee might prove to be a spy and that it might also endanger a refugee if the promise were conveyed to him, by calling the attention of the Gestapo to him. Both these arguments are unquestionably true in many cases. But there are refugees in enemy territory whose antecedents and character are so well-known that their

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reliability is beyond question. There are also means known to workers among refugees by which it is sometimes possible to convey information secretly to individuals in enemy lands. Proof that a British visa awaits him if he can succeed in escaping into a neutral country may induce the frontier guards of that country to let him pass or may save him from spending many months in prison after he has entered, and this may be so whether the refugee himself possesses the evidence or whether it is known to the authorities that his name is on a list of those for whom British visas have been promised. It is at least indisputable that the authorities of Neutral States when asked to grant a visa for a refugee in enemy territory, sometimes make it a condition that a visa for a further country of reception shall first have been secured so that they may know that he will only be in transit.

Point 4. Workers Experienced in Dealing with Refugees.

That these should be available to assist British and Allied authorities in foreign countries is an obvious need already admitted and partly provided for through several official or officially recognised organisations. But the plans made seem to have post-war requirements chiefly in view. A more liberal and immediate supply of assistance seems called for by the changing war situation. The authorities in newly liberated lands have enough on their hands without having to cope with the refugees of various nationalities who may be found there. They will need the help of experts in these problems with the necessary linguistic qualifications. These might directly represent the Inter-Governmental Committee or U.N.R.R.A. or might be unofficial but approved by and working under the direction of the appropriate authority. Representatives of Jewish organisations and trustworthy foreigners with experience of the races specially concerned might be specially useful.

The Passport Control Officers in some neutral countries are said to be greatly overworked and hence long delays occur in dealing with claims. Hence attention is particularly drawn to this need.

Point 5. Increased Transport Facilities for Evacuating Refugees.

The suggestions made under this point are too obvious to need much expansion. But as shortage of shipping is often put forward as one of the main difficulties impeding evacuation, it may be asked whether the shipping available is always used as fully and as economically as possible. Many ships bringing troops or goods from the New World to this country or from here to the war areas are believed to return half empty. Could not some of these be used for refugees, who would not expect a high standard of accommodation? A recent press report stated that the U.S.A. was considering bringing over by this means a quarter of a million Italian labourers for agricultural work. And there may be similar possibilities with regard to the use of neutral ships. Is there sufficient intercommunication between the governmental departments and bodies concerned with refugees and those concerned with problems of supply and transport?

Point 6. The Admission of Jewish Refugees to Palestine.

The National Committee as a body is not concerned with the political aspects of the Palestinian question, only with its bearing on the problem of rescue. The three proposals here made all have this bearing.

As to the children, everyone admits their prior claim. But, in fact, under present conditions few children can escape to neutral countries and thence to Palestine. Those who can do so are mainly able-bodied adults, whose labour is badly needed there. Also, visas for other countries are more easily obtainable for children than for adults.

The supply of unnamed certificates for the use of the British Authorities at Ankara is desirable for much the same reason as already put forward in the case of United Kingdom visas under Point III. It is believed by those in a position to know the facts that this would facilitate escape from the Balkans and subsequent admission to Turkey. It is necessary that representatives of the Jewish Agency at Ankara should be consulted as to their use, as that body has the right of nominating the Jewish recipients of Palestinian certificates.

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Similarly, escape from the Balkans would be facilitated if the Turkish Government could be induced to allow refugees to be accommodated for longer than the very brief period for which they are now permitted to enter Turkey.

The importance of Palestine for rescue purposes is strengthened by the indications mentioned in the next paragraph that there is less resistance by the Nazis to the removal of Jews to Palestine than to other countries. This might justify its use as a place of temporary refuge for numbers in excess of the number now permitted apart from the question of permanent residence.

Points 7 and 8. Continued Pressure on Germany and its Satellites and frequent appeals to their Peoples.

It is often argued that warnings and appeals to the Nazi persecutors are useless and may even incite them to further atrocities. The possibility of that cannot be denied. But there are symptoms that whatever may be the mood of Hitler and his principal fellow-criminals, some at least of their subordinates are beginning to realise the danger of further inflaming the well-nigh universal scorn and detestation with which the world regards them. There seems no doubt that the outspoken condemnation of the Swedish Government and the bold resistance of the Danes against the threatened deportations of the Jews from Denmark resulted in their escape being connived at by the Gestapo or many of its agents. More recently, the German authorities in Paris actually permitted the exit to Spain of several hundreds of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, this being the first instance of permitted exit of Jews since the policy of extermination began to be implemented over eighteen months ago. Again, the ship which this January took some 800 Jews of all nationalities from Spain to Palestine is said to have been given a safe-conduct by the enemy. Some time ago, Dr. Goebbels was reported as saying—a unique admission—that a humanitarian solution of the Jewish problem might be found by letting Jews go to Palestine. That plainly might be represented as consistent with the policy of exterminating *European Jewry*.

All that seems to signify a changing attitude on the part of at least some of the Nazis, and this is even more likely to be true of their satellites—Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania, and of the Vichy collaborators—all obviously shaking in anticipation of the wrath to come. It has for long been plain that the Government of Bulgaria was reluctant to let its people know the purpose for which Jews were being collected in internment camps, and that deportation was merely a preliminary to massacre. The attitude of Hungary has always been relatively humane and free from the worst forms of anti-semitism. In Roumania, anti-semitism has also been rampant in ugly forms but even there large sections of the people are strongly opposed to it. Warnings and appeals to all three are well worth while, and the same is true of France where great courage has been shown by the representatives of the Churches and by many others in protesting and rescuing and succouring, often at great risk and sacrifice, threatened Jewish and other refugees.

Appeals of the kind suggested have frequently been made over the radio to these countries, but not, we think, by sufficiently authoritative voices. They should be frequently repeated and strengthened.

Point 9. Recognition of the Extreme Urgency and Importance of the Problem.

Though the steps recorded in our summary of Governmental action are all to the good, there is as already remarked an insufficiency of urgency about them and most of the plans are for the post-war period. Their effects on immediate rescue measures though real are mainly indirect.

The last full-dress debate on the subject took place on May 19th. Since then Parliamentary discussion has been rather discouraged and in our desire to give the Government full opportunity to develop the plans made at Bermuda without risking indiscreet publicity, we have not pressed for it. There have been brief references to the subject in the course of other discussions and in the debate on the Address at the beginning of the Session. Members of our own and other

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Committees concerned have had many private discussions with Ministers of the Foreign and Colonial Offices and with officers of the Inter-Governmental Committee. There has been no lack of friendliness and willingness to communicate information. But these talks behind the scenes do not serve to remind the public of the continuing terror or to convince the world that the matter is regarded by the Government as one of high importance.

Point 10. Adoption of the principle that, whatever Other Nations may do or leave undone, the British Contribution to the work of Rescue should be the speediest and most generous possible without delaying victory.

This needs no expansion. Everything said on previous points argues the case for it.

Meantime, the trains continue to rumble across Europe bearing their freight of victims to the murder camps in Poland. The thought which continues to haunt many of us is that if there could have been found anywhere a front-rank Statesman able to devote himself to this question and to bring to bear on it the energy and the fire of passionate conviction of a William Gladstone or a Dr. Nansen, it might have been and might still be possible to rescue many thousands from death and from mental and physical torture worse than death.

Public Opinion at Home and Abroad

The most notable recent developments in public opinion have taken place in Canada and in the U.S.A. Perhaps because of their greater distance from the European tragedy, these countries appeared relatively little moved during the early months of 1943 when feeling in Great Britain was profoundly stirred.

In Canada there has been, during recent months, an influentially backed movement aiming at much the same measures of rescue as those included in our "Programme."

A national petition has been organised asking that asylum should be given in Canada to persecuted refugees, without regard to race, creed, or financial condition, and that the immigration laws and administration should be changed if necessary to permit of this.

In the United States several conferences and meetings on a very large scale were held during the summer, in which leading statesmen, representing widely different sections of opinion, took part. The latest news is the press statement on January 31st, reporting the formation of a National Committee against Nazi persecution and the extermination of the Jews in Europe, announced by Justice Frank Murphy, member of the United States Supreme Court. Among the members of the Committee are Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Wendell Willkie and other leading personalities. The Committee is to co-operate with "such United Nations' groups as the British National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror."

In Great Britain, those mainly responsible for guiding public opinion on refugee questions have, as already indicated, deliberately discouraged public agitation during recent months, believing it fair to give the Government time to develop the plans made at Bermuda without indiscreet publicity. Hence there is not much to add to E. F. Rathbone's summary of "Evidences of Public Concern" in the June edition of her pamphlet "Rescue the Perishing." But as it is well that the strength of British opinion should not be forgotten and her summary of the evidence is here quoted:

Answering the objection that the admission of more Jews might promote anti-Semitic feeling, the figures of a Gallup Poll, taken last spring, were given. Referring to the Nazi's 'disgusting barbarism' towards the Jews, the question was asked: 'Do you think that the British Government should or should not help any Jews who can get away?' Seventy-eight per cent. of those approached replied 'Yes,' this being almost the largest majority ever recorded in a Gallup Poll. 'Over half of those so replying wanted admission to be extended to 'as many as can come.' Those questioned were 2,450 adult civilians in 175 constituencies throughout England, Scotland and Wales, chosen scientifically, according to the well-known Gallup method, to form a cross section of the whole public.

And later: "With its sure instinct for the practical and its

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inherited sense of individual responsibility for all remediable human suffering, the British public after the Declaration of December 17th, fastened immediately on the question 'What can be done for rescue?'

"Knowledge was spread and action stimulated by the publicity given to the subject by the press, by Victor Gollancz's moving pamphlet 'Let My People Go' and by the strong lead given by the heads of the Churches. But it was not a machine-made agitation. Resolutions, petitions, letters, poured in upon the Government, on M.P.s, and on all known to be prominent in the movement. All asked for quick and generous measures of rescue. Most pressed for a policy of 'the open door' or at least for the relaxation of restrictions on entry to this country. Very many offered practical help; hospitality, loan of houses, money for maintenance, secretarial or organising assistance. Limits of space forbid more than a very few miscellaneous examples:

"A member of the R.A.F. drew up a strongly worded petition and set himself to collect signatures from officers and men of his Unit, stopping when he had easily reached his target of 1,000 signatures. The head of an Anglican sisterhood wrote to twenty similar communities suggesting that they guarantee between them maintenance for a number of children. A lady living on a small income in two rooms rushed off a cheque for £50, 'in haste to catch the post,' apologising for the meagreness of her contribution. A lady pledged herself to raise £50 a week and wanted to go 'anywhere in Europe' to collect the children. Many households volunteered to keep one or two refugees on their present rations without asking for more. Whole-time workers offered their week-ends and evenings for secretarial work. A resident in a poor neighbourhood, shocked at the charge of anti-Semitism, started to test feeling by collecting signatures to a petition for the admission of Jewish refugees and reported hardly a single refusal from 250 houses. A meeting in a strongly Conservative rural neighbourhood resulted in an offer to establish and maintain a camp for refugees. And so on.

"More formal demonstrations have included meetings in numerous cities chaired by the Mayor or University Vice-Chancellor and supported by leaders of all political parties, Trade Unions and Religious Organisations. A debate in the Oxford Union resulted in the two selected opponents crossing the floor and supporting an almost unanimous resolution. The undergraduate societies of Conservatives, Labour and Liberals then formed a Committee to raise funds, collecting within a week nearly £500. A public meeting in Oxford, chaired by Sir William Beveridge and addressed by the Vice-Chancellor, the Master of Balliol and the Bishop passed a remarkably strong resolution expressing disappointment with the meagre action taken by the Government. This was subsequently signed by ninety of the best-known Oxford names, including the heads of many of the Colleges. A letter in the 'Times,' of February 16th, bore the signatures, among others, of Professor Carr Saunders, Sir Wyndham Deeds, Professor Gilbert Murray, the Hon. Harold Nicolson, Sir John Orr, G. Bernard Shaw, Professor Tawney, Mrs.

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Beatrice Webb, Lady Rhondda, Lord Sankey. It asked boldly for the following measures:

"(1) To make representations by the United Nations to the German Government to permit Jews to leave the Occupied countries of Europe. (2) To offer the joint protection of the United Nations to Jews liberated or escaping from the occupied territories. (3) To facilitate the transfer of Jews to, and their asylum in, the territories and colonies of the United Nations. (4) To urge on neutral countries the desirability of receiving as many Jewish refugees as possible until, with victory, it is possible to consider ways and means of their permanent settlement. Where food and finance raise difficult problems for neutral countries willing to assist, the United Nations should agree to make these available to them. (5) To make available the fullest possible facilities for the immigration of Jewish refugees into Palestine.

"We suggest that as a prelude to these large-scale measures the British Government should offer immediately to admit to Great Britain the largest possible number of Jewish refugees, especially children. We see little difficulty, given goodwill, in taking all the necessary precautions which the national security demands."

"A Notice of Motion, tabled in the Commons, was signed by 277 M.P.s., representing the three main political parties in fair proportion to their numbers, and including a majority of those unconnected with the Government and therefore free to sign, and normally in attendance in the House. An identical Motion moved by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Lords and supported by leading Peers of all parties and religions, was carried unanimously. It ran:

"That in view of the massacre and starvation of Jews and others in enemy and enemy-occupied countries this House desires to assure His Majesty's Government of its fullest support for immediate measures on the largest and most generous scale compatible with the requirements of military operations and security, providing help and temporary asylum for persons in danger of massacre who are able to leave enemy and enemy-occupied countries."

"Most significant of all, as showing the quality of the support, is the cable sent to Mr. Eden at Washington on March 20th. The 206 signatures, collected in three days, scarcely any refusals, include those of four Archbishops, the leaders of nearly every religious denomination, the Lord Mayors of nearly every large city, the heads of many of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, the Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, Provosts, etc., of nearly every University in England, Scotland and Wales, many Labour and Trade Union leaders, and many of the most famous names in science, literature, music and art. The cable ran:

"With reference forthcoming Anglo-American Conference on massacre of Jews and others by Nazis, we assure you of the fullest support of public opinion in this country for treating problem

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as one of extreme urgency calling for immediate and boldest measures of rescue. British conscience so deeply stirred that country prepared for any sacrifice consistent with not delaying victory. We hope that the great opportunity afforded by your visit may be used for the speedy achievement of definite results.

No message more strongly worded or more weightily signed has, perhaps, ever been despatched to a British statesman abroad.

Appendix

Since this statement was prepared, the text of President Roosevelt's Executive Order establishing a War Refugee Board has become available. It bears so closely on our Programme and especially on Point IX that it is here reproduced in full. In our former "Twelve Point Programme" we asked for "the formation of a new instrument within the British Government." There is already, as stated by Mr. Eden in the Debate of May 19th, a Cabinet Committee set up to deal with the problem, which includes three members of the War Cabinet. But this private body cannot be regarded as a new instrument in the same sense as the President's War Refugee Board with its Executive Director and its extensive and carefully defined functions and responsibilities. Hence this new body seems a development of great importance. Its results will be hopefully awaited.

The full text of the Executive Order concerning the establishment of the War Refugee Board, which was issued by President Roosevelt on January 22nd, reads as follows:

"Whereas 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 to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war; now, therefore, by virtue of the Authority vested in me by the Constitution and the Statutes of the United States, as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and in order to effectuate with all possible speed the rescue and relief of such victims of enemy oppression, it is hereby ordered as follows:

"(1) There is established in the Executive Office of the President a War Refugee Board (hereinafter referred to as the Board). The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State, the

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Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War. The Board may request the heads of other agencies or departments to participate in its deliberations whenever matters specially affecting such agencies or departments are under consideration.

"(2) The Board shall be charged with the responsibility for seeing that the policy of the Government, as stated in the preamble, is carried out. The functions of the Board shall include without limitation the development of plans and programmes and the inauguration of effective measures for (a) the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression, and (b) the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims. To this end the Board, through appropriate channels, shall take the necessary steps to enlist the co-operation of foreign Governments and obtain their participation in the execution of such plans and programmes.

"(3) It shall be the duty of the State, Treasury and War Departments, within their respective spheres, to execute at the request of the Board, the plans and programmes so developed and the measures so inaugurated. It shall be the duty of the heads of all agencies and departments to supply or obtain for the Board such information and to extend to the Board such supplies, shipping and other specified assistance and facilities as the Board may require in carrying out the provisions of this order. The State Department shall appoint special attachés with diplomatic status, on the recommendation of the Board, to be stationed abroad in places where it is likely that assistance can be rendered to war refugees. The duties and responsibilities of such attachés to be defined by the Board in consultation with the State Department.

"4. The Board and the State, Treasury and War Departments are authorised to accept the services or contribution of any private persons, private organisations, State agencies, or agencies of foreign Governments in carrying out the purposes of this order. The Board shall co-operate with all existing and future international organisations concerned with the problems of refugee rescue, maintenance, transportation, relief, rehabilitation and resettlement.

"5. To the extent possible the Board shall utilise the personnel, supplies, facilities and services of the State, Treasury and War Departments. In addition the Board, within the limits of funds which may be available, may employ necessary personnel without regard for the civil service laws and regulations and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and make provisions for supplies, facilities and services necessary to discharge its responsibilities. The Board shall appoint an Executive Director who shall serve as its principal executive officer. It shall be the duty of the Executive Director to arrange for the prompt execution of the plans and programmes developed and the measures inaugurated by the Board, to supervise the activities of the Special Attachés and to submit frequent reports to the Board on the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees.

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"(6) The Board shall be directly responsible to the President in carrying out the policy of this Government, as stated in the preamble, and the Board shall report to him at frequent intervals concerning the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees and shall make such recommendations as the Board may deem appropriate for further action to overcome any difficulties encountered in the rescue and relief of war refugees."

[This text taken from the "Daily News Bulletin," of January 25th, 1944, issued by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Ltd.]

Materials obtainable from the Committee's Office



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- TWELVE-POINT PROGRAMME. (April 1943.)
- CABLE TO THE RT. HON. ANTHONY EDEN.
With over 200 signatures.
- SUMMARY OF PUBLIC OPINION. (31st May, 1943.)
- RESCUE THE PERISHING.
Pamphlet by Eleanor F. Rathbone, M.P.
(Revised Edition. June, 1943.)
- THE JEWS IN EUROPE.
A Broadcast by Watson Thompson, Winnipeg.
- TERROR IN EUROPE.
Contributions by Alexei Tolstoy, a Polish Under-
ground Worker and Thomas Mann.
- TEN-POINT PROGRAMME. (January, 1944.)
- NEWS FROM HITLER'S EUROPE.
Topical information published at irregular
intervals.

Other Material :

- LET MY PEOPLE GO.
Pamphlet by Victor Gollancz.
- NAZI MASSACRES OF THE JEWS AND OTHERS.
Speeches by the Archbishop of Canterbury and
Lord Rochester, in the House of Lords, dated
March 23rd, 1943.
- HAVE WE ROOM FOR THE REFUGEES?
By Sir Norman Angell.
- THE REFUGEE QUESTION.
A Speech by Eleanor F. Rathbone, M.P. in the
House of Commons, 14th December, 1943.
- REFUGEES IN BRITAIN: Can Refugees be an Asset?
A Broadsheet issued by P.E.P.
- A NUMBER OF PAMPHLETS ON ANTI-SEMITISM.

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